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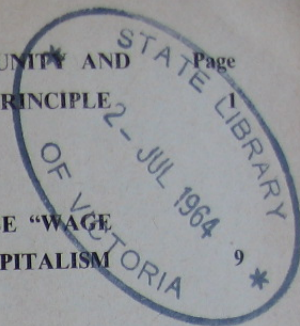
A JOURNAL OF MARXISM-LENINISM

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On the Question of Unity and the Struggle for Principle

QUITE a number of people who approve of the policy of the Australian Marxist-Leninists have nevertheless said that they cannot support us because they do not think it is correct to "break away" from the Communist Party or they believe the struggle should be carried on within the Communist Party or they are just heartily sick of the "quarrelling". There are many variations of this. Without doubt these people have honest views and they want honestly to serve the working people.

Here we must try to answer some of these queries.

At the outset it must be said that the history of the working class has been a history of struggle for the correct path to socialism. Marx and Engels carried on a strenuous battle with all sorts of opponents. Many of their works—today's classics of Marxism—evolved as arguments against this or that opponent of scientific socialism.

So Marx's Poverty of Philosophy was in refutation of the ideas of Proudhon. Engels' "Anti-Duhring" was in refutation of the ideas of Duhring. Much of the Marx-Engels correspondence is directed at refuting the wrong ideas of various participants in the then labor movement. Those who have read Marx and Engels know that both Marx and Engels carried on their arguments with their opponents with great vigour—strong language, ridicule, but always put forward the correct view on the issue in controversy and substantiated it.

Marx and Engels founded the Communist International. Again its history was a history of struggle for correct scientific socialist ideas. Finally the First International ended in the 1870's because of the splitting activities of the anarchists headed by Bakunin. Nonetheless the ideas of Marx and Engels had triumphed: they had grown stronger: they had become the property of many more people. Today the names of their opponents are all but forgotten. Indeed, their names are not entirely forgotten mainly because they have been perpetuated in a negative way by Marx and Engels. People have to ask themselves who was Duhring? No one reads the writings of Duhring now. A little more is known of Proudhon and Bakunin, but they are insignificant compared with the gigantic names of Marx and Engels.

To the then participants in the struggle, it was a very serious matter. Contemporaneously these men, Proudhon, Bakunin, Duhring were prominent figures each with a following and each a contender for the correctness of his ideas. No doubt the followers of each deplored the quarrel—sought unity—were seriously upset by the lack of unity. The issues to the participants were not as

crystal clear as they are today. No one erected a signboard and said this is revisionism—this is serving the capitalist class.

No Yielding On Principle

History has brilliantly substantiated the firmness of Marx and Engels in never yielding a single inch in principle—in never relenting or shrinking from the struggle. Marx and Engels knew they held the correct views and they upheld and defended them to the end. Had they yielded an inch—had they compromised—had they sacrificed principle for so-called “unity” in the First International socialism would at least have been postponed. Their contribution to the liberation of mankind lay not only in evolving and developing their world outlook but in upholding it against all attacks. Asked what he enjoyed most in life Marx replied in one word: “struggle”. And it was not struggle for struggle’s sake but struggle to uphold the purity of revolutionary theory and practice. Thus in bitter struggle the foundations of Marxism were laid.

After Marx’s death in 1883 Engels carried on the struggle—arguing—defending but above all upholding Marx’s ideas and applying them in practice. Engels never departed from struggle and his profound writings abound with his criticism of alien trends in the working class movement.

The second international arose. It gave great breadth to the working class movement: its great contribution was that it organized the working class as an independent class in the struggle against capitalism. In its turn the second international collapsed. Tested on the outbreak of World War I its leaders showed that they had become corrupt, had adopted the positions of their own capitalist class and instead of leading the workers against the imperialist war they led the workers into the imperialist war. This was paralleled by the leaders of the Australian Labor Party and typified in Andrew Fisher’s famous statement pledging Australia to the last man and the last shilling in the imperialist war.

Lenin was the foremost opponent of the betrayal by the leaders of the second international. Through the history of the Russian labor movement Lenin carried on a relentless struggle for the purity of Marxism. Against all the many wrong trends in the Russian working class movement—terrorism, anarchism, economism, Friends of the People, he waged fearless polemics. Again there arose from the participants in the struggle the same cries of “unity” against splitting. No doubt many of the followers of the various trends became dispirited, disgusted and abandoned the struggle. But was Lenin correct when, even though almost entirely alone, he championed the cause of Marx, repudiated all attacks on principle? No matter how distressing, how difficult, how tempting to take an easy way out, Lenin never wavered. On the contrary, he strengthened and developed his ideas. Lenin’s contribution emerged in bitter conflict and struggle—bitter polemics—amidst

charges that he was a dictator, a spy, a dogmatist and a thousand and one other things. Lenin’s contribution emerged precisely from these polemics. Just as in the case of Marx and Engels so in the case of Lenin, the names of Lenin’s opponents have all but been forgotten.

Of course, the outstanding controversy in Lenin’s life was that against Kautsky, the leading theoretician of the Second International. Lenin’s denunciation of Kautsky probably has no parallel anywhere: it was a ruthless examination of Kautsky’s role and his betrayal of the working class. Kautsky was a man who had been a Marxist and who enjoyed tremendous international prestige and following. Many of his followers were sincere, class conscious workers. Again the cry was raised against Lenin of “splitting”, of opposing unity, of dogmatism. Lenin never wavered. No doubt to some of the participants in the struggle it was “disappointing” and distressing to see the quarrel for they honestly hoped and wished for unity against capitalism.

But was Lenin correct in speaking out despite all the difficulties? Yes, he was correct and no one today questions it.

Lenin developed the theory of Marx and his titanic contribution will stand for all time. His refusal to compromise on principle, to yield an inch on theory resulted in the Russian workers winning the 1917 revolution and building socialism.

There were those at the time who said Lenin should not have split the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party: those who said they agreed in principle but his tactics were all wrong. Just the very things that trouble some honest people today. Of course, it was not Lenin who was the splitter or dogmatist or dictator but those who attempted to impose upon the working class incorrect ideas. Lenin’s stand has been more than amply vindicated by history.

Had Lenin compromised—had he for the sake of “unity” lent his name to incorrect ideas, then he would have been quite wrong and history would either have forgotten him or condemned him. If, for example, Lenin had remained on editorial boards of Russian newspapers which were spreading wrong ideas his opponents in answer to criticism would have said, “Look, Lenin himself is on the Editorial Board so what are you talking about?”

Lenin understood very well that a clear line of demarcation had always to be drawn between himself and his followers on the one hand and all alien trends on the other.

Today’s Battle Just As Critical

Today just such a controversy is taking place. It is not necessary to go into all the ins and outs of it here because we are concerned to meet only the arguments of those who say we should conduct the battle inside the Party led by Sharkey, Aarons and Dixon. The battle today is just as critical as it was in the days of the First and Second Internationals.

It raises very similar issues only, of course, at a greatly more advanced period of history.

Capitalism is now in an advanced state of crisis and there is no hope whatever for it. It is doomed and its doom is not far away. It strives by every means possible to avoid that doom. Its most important weapon is revisionism, i.e. revising from Marxism-Leninism all revolutionary concepts.

So that in the very crisis of capitalism—in its most extreme difficulties when unity around revolutionary principles and proletarian internationalism could rapidly give it its final push there are those in our midst who want to put revolution in the background and who want to put into the foreground the old reformist concept of peaceful evolution into socialism and peaceful co-existence between oppressed and oppressor.

The soil for revisionism is always present even after the victory of the socialist revolution. Revisionism arises out of capitalism—the constant striving by the capitalists to adapt the working class to capitalism. Capitalist elements—capitalist ideas—petty production in some measure remain after the victory of socialism. Capitalism always attempts to buy off top sections of the working class. It envelops the whole working class in its own ideas: its ideas also penetrate into the socialist countries. The existence of revisionist ideas is nothing new.

What is new for us is that they have come to the top in various Communist Parties including those of the Soviet Union and Australia.

But it confronts the world's revolutionaries—Marxist-Leninists with problems essentially similar to those which Marx, Engels and Lenin faced. This is a bad thing, but it is not the end of the world. Out of it good is coming and will come. It has happened before and undoubtedly it is a struggle which, even after the defeat of the modern day revisionists, will go on in one way or another because, as we have said, the soil for revisionism is there.

No, we must frankly and honestly face the objective fact that revisionism has come to the top in a number of Parties. There it is and it must be dealt with. It is no good being dismayed, disgusted, upset or what have you. Political questions are not determined by emotions: they are determined by the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Why Not Struggle "Inside"?

But, it is said, why don't you conduct the struggle inside the Party? Why do you split the Party? We must face this frankly. There are many sides to it. For Party leaders such as Hill, Johnson, the late K. C. Miller, Malone, F. Russell to remain silent inside the Party is tantamount to their underwriting the policy of betrayal now followed by Sharkey, Aarons and Dixon.

Indeed, in the days when the struggle in the Australian Party was just becoming open and these people (Hill, Johnson, Miller, was used.

When some honest people criticized various aspects of the Party's policy the answer was, "Oh, Hill is a member of the Political Committee", and later the same was said of all the named people.

When Hill first raised opposition on the Political Committee and later, in the Central Committee, an unscrupulous campaign of lies and slanders was circulated about him and an entirely distorted picture of his views and those of others was put forward.

And then it was demanded in the name of unity and democratic centralism that they should remain silent. But democratic centralism of the Communist Party and unity are part of Marxism-Leninism and along with Marxism-Leninism have been abandoned by the revisionists. They are merely slogans now misused by the revisionists in their campaign against Marxism-Leninism.

Had they remained silent they would have been guilty of the same policy as Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons. They would have confused the workers and assisted to adapt the working class to capitalism. As Marxist-Leninists they refused to remain silent. In some cases they were "expelled" from the Party: in other cases they left.

Thus the revisionists Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons split the Party by adopting and persisting in a wrong policy and then by the organizational methods of expulsion, ostracism, organized slander and so on.

To those who have doubts, we say try to imagine the situation if Hill had remained a member of the Secretariat, of the Political Committee and the other people concerned had acted in a similar way.

Then the revisionists would for the time being have gone by without challenge: there would have been more confusion.

But the challenge has been thrown down by authoritative and influential Australian working class leaders and it has made the critical issues matters of mass debate. So in the days of Marx and Engels and in the days of Lenin they were matters of mass debate amongst the advanced workers. Is there anything to fear in this? Anything to be upset about? No, really there is not.

For our part we believe you should consider our views—we believe they are correct and in accord with Marxism-Leninism. We believe you should study the views of those whom we call revisionists. We are quite happy to republish some of their material and deal with it critically because we do not fear debate. We believe you should study the views of the A.L.P. and of the Menzies Government. No Marxist-Leninist is afraid of debate: the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevails. It can withstand any attack.

Revisionists Fear Debate

The revisionists Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons, however, fear debate. We believe they have deceived some honest people by their appeal for unity, their call for adherence to democratic

centralism, for loyalty to the Soviet Party leaders. They say that we had ample opportunities to put our viewpoint and it was rejected and we were given the opportunity to win a majority to our standpoint and failed. The truth of the matter, however, is that those of us who were not directly expelled were effectively prevented from expressing our viewpoint. The revisionists took action to ensure their own domination. They demanded (and they said frankly enough that they made no apology for it) that delegates to conferences could only be elected if they adhered to the Central Committee line.

But, of course, the very purpose of a conference is to discuss the line—democratically to decide the line. Hence a very big number of leading members was excluded altogether from, for example, the Victorian State Conference.

Even more fundamental is that Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons deserted Marxism-Leninism altogether and tried to impose their desertion on the whole Party. In our opinion it is absolutely essential to denounce that desertion and to make the denunciation as widely known as possible. Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons have assisted us in that they have liberated us from their party. We are free to point out to the working class just what is at stake. Again, imagine the situation if we were not "free" in this way.

Then it is said that we should not have engaged in factionalism. A faction is a group of people who raise within a given Communist Party an anti-Marxist-Leninist banner against Marxism-Leninism. What we did was to raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism against the anti-Marxist-Leninists. The fact is that Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons organized a faction and, like all factionalists, they resorted to lies, slanders and dishonest practices of every kind. You must think that over carefully. It was said, for example, that the late Ken Miller was a warmonger. (No doubt it was and is said of others.)

But this is a statement of which there is proof and then Ken Miller was held bound to silence when he objected. Allegations of personal financial dishonesty were bandied about it. The foulest political allegations were made against us. When you say or think we should not fight these things, think it over.

What in effect it means is giving licence to the opponents of Marxism-Leninism, the revisionists Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons, to say and do what they like and denying the Marxist-Leninists the opportunity to defend and prosecute Marxism-Leninism.

Then another objection is that people like Dixon, Sharkey and Aarons should not be called renegades, that the term is too strong, that it is quarrelling. Again we must justify this.

It is necessary in working class politics to call a spade a spade. Renegade is a strong word and it should only be used with full consideration. In fact if our political argument is correct (and we approach the problem on the assumption that you who object to

the term accept our political argument) then Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons are the worst type of renegade.

Renegades Must Be Identified

It is easy enough to identify renegades of the Petrov, Gouzenko, Sharpley type. They proclaim it to the world and they very quickly lose their working class support. But people of the type of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons do not proclaim it to the world. They strongly deny it and they put on the cloak of Communism, of Marxism-Leninism. Hence they must be identified as renegades and it must be stated why they are renegades. Lenin wrote a whole book entitled "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky". He used very strong language as he did of other renegades. Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons are just as much renegades as Kautsky and for substantially similar reasons.

In one way they are worse because they do not tell the truth about their own previous community of views with the Communist Party of China.

Let us take another example. At a Central Committee meeting in 1963 Sharkey roundly condemned the right wing leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India for their support of Nehru's aggression against the People's Republic of China. That was very good. He said they were renegades. That was quite correct and it was a welcome pause in the political degeneration of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons. But today in South-East Asia Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons are lined up in exactly the same position as the leaders of the Indian Party. If it was correct (as we firmly believe it was) for Sharkey to brand them as renegades then obviously Sharkey by his own test is a renegade.

Still further, it is said, but you shouldn't refer to the private lives of such people. And we agree that, generally speaking, that is undesirable. But if a working class leader puts himself forward as a man of integrity and fit to lead the workers and yet is guilty of anti-working class conduct it is absolutely necessary for it to be said, however distasteful.

It is impermissible to put on the cloak of anonymity to make the statement. If the personal property interests of such leaders influence them or are a factor in their embracing revisionism it is necessary for it to be said.

There is no necessary shame in being a businessman, and a revolutionary businessman, provided you are completely disciplined and realize that the natural ideology emanating from such a position is a capitalist ideology.

Lenin said, "... small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale" (Lenin: Selected Works, 12 Vol. Edition, Vol. 10, p. 60).

Khrushchev has provided the "theoretical" basis for all these elements to embrace revisionism. Again we must quote Lenin: "Preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat not only calls for the intensification of the struggle against the reformists and centrists trends, but also for a change in character of this struggle. The struggle cannot be limited to explaining the errors of these trends; it must unswervingly and ruthlessly expose every leading man in the working class movement who reveals these trends, otherwise the proletariat cannot know with whom it will march to the most decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie." Lenin practised precisely that.

Still another argument. It is said by some that the issues have not yet crystallized and hence it is premature to struggle. However, there will never be a time when renegades raise the sign-board of their own renegacy. The issues are crystal clear—for or against Marxism-Leninism. The task of all Marxist-Leninists is to make them clearer to all the advanced workers, to struggle might and main for this noble end.

Then it is said that the Communist Parties of Albania and China should never have waged the struggle. Historically, of course, neither of these Parties took the public initiative in the struggle. They publicly replied when publicly attacked. And they courageously upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism against the splitting tactics of the revisionists. Put it the other way—had they remained silent in the face of these attacks how much greater would have been the confusion? In refuting the revisionists the Chinese and Albanian Communists have upheld Marxism-Leninism. Their opponents will pale into historical insignificance as have Duhring and Proudhon, but they will emerge as even more gigantic figures than they already are. Had they kept silent and preserved a spurious unity, history would have condemned them.

It is worth everyone reading the whole of Volume 10 of Lenin's Selected Works (12 Volume Edition). It contains some of the material written by Lenin in the formation of the Third International, i.e. in the split between the then revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists.

In our country Marxist-Leninists have repudiated the leadership of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons. Communists should have nothing to do with their views because in the interests of the socialist revolution—of the liberation of mankind—it is necessary to have the clearest possible break with them—politically, ideologically, organizationally.

Only thus can sound healthy Marxist-Leninist leadership be given to the workers. Any other course will only confuse the workers and lead to disaster. Communists in Australia will rebuild their Party.

There Can Never Be "Wage Justice" Under Capitalism

THE erroneous concept that "wage justice" can be obtained under capitalism is the central theme of much of the propaganda now being issued by all sections of the labour movement in support of the Australian Council of Trade Unions' demand for a 52/- increase in the basic wage now before the Arbitration Commission.

The Sydney Tribune, official organ of the revisionist party of Sharkey, Dixon, Aarons & Co., has joined in the chorus. "Workers Ready to Fight for Wage Justice" ran its front page headline of January 29.

If the article under this heading had spoken of the struggle for wage justice in terms of the class struggle, as a struggle that would only be resolved when the workers had established socialism, that is, when they had overthrown the rule of the monopolies and established their own class rule, then the headline would have had some correct meaning.

But the Tribune said no such thing. In fact the Sharkey, Dixon party press, having long ago abandoned its revolutionary stand, now helps to buttress the reformist illusion that "wage justice" can be obtained under the system of capitalist exploitation.

Nowhere can be found in this press a consistent call for the wages struggle to be lifted into the political struggle for socialism.

If "wage justice" were possible under capitalism, then why worry about struggling for the ending of capitalism and the establishment of socialism?

The plain truth of the matter is that there can be no "wage justice" under capitalism because the very process of capitalism, its very life, depends on the exploitation of one class by another and, further, the continued intensification of that exploitation.

The law of maximum profit prevails under capitalism. The working of this law intensifies the INJUSTICE suffered by the working people, for the accumulation of profit means, at the same time, the increase in the poverty of the masses, no matter what wages they are paid nominally.

The general law of capitalist accumulation elucidated by Karl Marx, is of immense significance in understanding capitalism and for an understanding of the direction in which capitalism develops.

Under capitalism, in Australia as well as in any other capitalist country, the law of capitalist accumulation increases the poverty of the working class. That is, the general, all round lowering of

living standards, not only for the workers but also for the middle sections, is the direct consequence of the operation of the general law of accumulation.

Karl Marx went to great lengths to show that the law of relative and absolute impoverishment of the working people derives from the basic laws of the development of capitalism. These laws leave no room for revisionism or talk about "wage justice".

The law of accumulation and its derivative law of impoverishment generates the revolutionary perspectives of Marxism for, as capitalism develops, the exploitation of the working class grows. As it develops, capitalism brings with it both a relative and an absolute impoverishment of the working class.

Marx has this to say about the absolute, general law of capitalist accumulation and its consequences:

"... Within the capitalist system all methods for raising the social productiveness of labour are brought about at the cost of the individual labourer; all means for the development of production transform themselves into means of domination over, and exploitation of, the producers; they mutilate the labourer into a fragment of a man, degrade him to the level of an appendage of a machine, destroy every remnant of charm in his work and turn it into hated toil; they estrange from him the intellectual potentialities of the labour process in the same proportion as science is incorporated in it as an independent power; they distort the conditions under which he works, subject him during the labor process to a despotism the more hateful for its meanness; they transform his life time into working time . . . But all methods for the production of surplus value are at the same time methods of accumulation; and every extension of accumulation becomes again a means for the development of those methods.

"It follows, therefore, that in proportion as capital accumulates, the lot of the laborer, be his payment high or low, must grow worse. The law, finally, that always equilibrates the relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets labor to capital. It establishes an accumulation of misery corresponding with accumulation of capital.

"Accumulation of wealth at one pole, is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, that is, on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital" (Marx, "Capital", Vol. 1, pp. 659-60).

There is no talk of "wage justice" here—only a burning resentment at the injustice of capitalism.

What is the reality of Australia today? Does this law operate?

Australia's capitalist development after the war has been quite rapid and this rapid growth is explained by intensive investment of accumulated capital. From 1945-46 the gross national product rose from £3,006 million to £7,327 million in 1961/62—an increase of more than 100 per cent. Total investment in the 13 years (1948-49 to 1960/61) amounted to £17,100 million.

Of this amount the greater part was local capital but in recent years foreign investment has expanded rapidly and some of the decisive sections of the Australian economy have been taken over by American capital.

The picture of U.S. investment here is worth drawing for it has an important bearing on the wages struggle and its political implications are far reaching.

Ninefold Rise Since 1948

American investments in Australia rose more than ninefold from £60 million in 1948 to £540 million in 1962. Australia has now outstripped such traditional American spheres of influence as Canada and Latin America in the rate of growth of American investment.

Of the 100 biggest American corporations, 37 have investments in Australia or licence agreements with Australian firms. In 1960/61, altogether about 230 branches of American monopolies operated in Australia and over 900 Australian firms had licence agreements with U.S. firms.

The engineering (automobile, farm machinery, road building and excavation machinery), chemical, pharmaceutical, food and oil refining industries are the main area of U.S. operations. About two-thirds of the auto industry's output is produced by General Motors and Ford.

U.S. capital invested in Australia is mainly private and almost 90 per cent of it consists of direct investments which guarantee practically complete control. To facilitate their expansion the U.S. monopolies also make use of international finance organizations, in particular the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This bank gave Australia loans totalling £210 million (as of June 30, 1962); Australia is the fourth largest recipient of long-term loans from the International Bank, after India, Japan and France.

Foreign monopolies are extracting huge profits from Australia. In 14 years, from 1947/48 to 1960/61, new British investments, that is capital actually exported, amounted to £586.5 million. The British monopolies have already received back almost all the capital they exported. Profit on this investment equalled £544.9 million, or 93 per cent of the capital actually exported.

As for U.S. investments, during this period investment amounted to £178.1 million, while profits received reached £370.3 million. Thus U.S. profits here were more than twice as large as the amount actually invested over the period indicated.

Total foreign private investment in Australia over the 15 years (1947/48-1961/62) amounted to £1,512 million, of which Britain contributed £862 million or about 57 per cent, and the United States, £474.4 million, or over 30 per cent.

While Australian monopolies, such as the monopoly steel and iron producer, Broken Hill Proprietary, occupy the central and most decisive position in the economy, the foreign "takeover" has reached alarming proportions. The contradictions between local and foreign capital and between British and American interests within the Australian economy are intensifying. U.S. imperialism is attempting to ride roughshod over Australian interests and hostility to it is rising from many quarters.

However, on the question of exploitation, the different monopoly groups are all united.

The Australian wages system, naturally, is of more than passing interest to those foreign monopolies with investments here.

It is a notorious fact that in 1951 at a dinner attended by American and Australian business interests in Chicago, one of the chief executives of International Harvester said that American investment would be largely conditioned by the wages structure. He attacked the system of quarterly cost of living increases in the basic wage, stating that it was an "unstable" factor that would have to be eliminated before American businessmen would risk their money in Australia.

The Menzies Government was certainly quick to take the hint. By 1953 the cost of living adjustments had been eliminated and basic wage was "stabilized" or pegged.

And since that time American money has poured into the country. In 1961 the interstate executive of the Australian Council of Trade Unions estimated that since 1950 the loss per worker on an accumulative basis amounted to £190 as a result of the pegged basic wage.

American imperialism has emerged as the most ruthless exploiter of the Australian people. Its profit rate is three times as high as its nearest competitor. Its factories here are notorious for their speed-up methods which intensify exploitation.

In the Ford factory at Broadmeadows last year a dispute arose over "regulations" which prevented men from leaving the production line to relieve themselves. In this factory the wash rooms and toilets have been deliberately elevated so that people visiting them are easily visible.

All American-owned plants are notoriously anti-union. The managements place every obstacle they can to prevent unionization. Active unionists are victimized.

In General Motors shops the "walking wounded" are notorious. Personnel injured on the job are made to come back if at all possible. In GM shops there are elaborate systems of bonuses which, in fact, act as fines for late arrival or stop work action.

Paralleling this aggressive job policy is the activity of the U.S. Embassy Labor Attaches in the various trades hall buildings in the capital cities. These so-called attaches bribe and flatter union leaders and through them exert influence at such trade union gatherings as the A.C.T.U. Congress.

The U.S. Embassy Labor Attaches were behind the moves in recent years to split the A.C.T.U. and create two trade union centres. The leading exponents of this idea in the trade union movement were the Shorts, Riordans and other right wing elements close to Santamaria's National Civic Council which is supported by American funds. The U.S. Labor Attaches have paid much attention to A.C.T.U. President Monk and Vice-President Kenny, the Secretary of the N.S.W. Trades and Labor Council.

Thus U.S. monopolies, with much purpose and drive, attempt to stamp out job action and at the same time split the entire trade union movement so that no obstacle will be in the way of their continued intensive exploitation of the Australian working people.

Concentration of capital and production has reached an extremely high level in Australia. The following figures give an idea of the degree of this concentration.

One hundred of the biggest companies in all branches of the economy, comprising 10 per cent of all companies, account for 75 per cent of all paid-up capital; among them 20 monopolies with a joint-stock capital of more than £10 million account for 40 per cent. According to official statistics, factories of the manufacturing industry employing 100 and more persons comprise 3.2 per cent of all such enterprises. **BUT ACCOUNT FOR MORE THAN 50 PER CENT OF ALL EMPLOYEES.**

Thus it can be seen that the wages struggle is a direct confrontation of local and foreign monopoly, the most active and aggressive of which is U.S. monopoly.

It is these facts which should be made known to the Australian working class. What "justice" is there in them? Compare the huge profits that are announced almost daily in the financial columns of the daily press with the plight of our aged and sick, with the plight of our Aboriginal people, with the lack of schools, hospitals and other social services, such as transport, not to speak of the wages system itself.

It is true that in a certain sense the general standard of life has risen, but at what cost?

Two Elements In Wages

The value of labour power (the commodity the worker sells for wages), said Marx, is formed of two elements, that is to say that

in order to exist and reproduce, to prolong his physical existence, it is necessary for the working class to obtain the means of subsistence, indispensable for living and multiplying.

Parallel to this purely physiological element, the price of labour power is determined in each country by a traditional standard of life that consists not merely in the physical sense but in the satisfaction of certain needs springing from social conditions in which men live and have been brought up.

Thus the value of labour power is variable, depending on the historically defined needs of the working class. Amongst these needs there are some which derive from the very conditions of labour; for example, the industrial concentration has led to the sprawl of suburbs and the necessity for an ever-growing number of workers to travel long distances to work. The cost of this transport must therefore be included in the value of labour power.

Many workers today spend two hours getting to and from work. Their needs here are increased not only because of the expense in bus, cars, trains, etc., but by reason of the additional fatigue and human exhaustion. These hours are added to the working day and can only be normally compensated by increased leisure and better nourishment.

The general conditions of life create other needs. To keep up with traditional standards wives go to work and for this to happen a washing machine is needed. More married women are working in industry today than ever before.

Because of the increased intensity of exploitation and the increased pressures to live decently "going out" becomes a drudge. Thus cultural life is cut down and television comes into the home. A television set is now an accepted need. Because of the bad public transport and the long distances between home and work, a motor car has almost become a necessity. Thus, when it is thought about, the increased standards which bourgeois propaganda claims capitalism has brought to the average Australian home are necessities which are linked fairly positively with the process of increased exploitation. These items—washing machine, television, refrigerator and a personal vehicle—in turn force the worker to work harder and longer in order to pay them off.

And behind all this is the cutting back on other necessities. So the wage-earner, moving from a slum to a decent dwelling some 15 to 20 miles out, finds himself obliged to cut down on other expenses to pay off his home and other increased charges.

Marx described all this very vividly as the poverty that "carries the colours of civilization".

"The development of capitalism," wrote Lenin, "inevitably produces an elevation of the level of the needs of the people and of the working proletariat."

It is by struggle that the working class has imposed the inclusion of a part, at least, of these new needs in the price of labour power. What is true is that the real wages are less than the value of labour power for the whole process of capitalism tends to drag the wage down to its lowest limit which is the physiological minimum required to sustain the worker. On the other hand the struggle of the working class tends to include in the wage the historical elements in the value of labour power.

THIS STRUGGLE, THIS STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WILL NOT CEASE UNTIL THE ABOLITION OF CLASSES IS ACHIEVED. IT WILL NOT CEASE UNTIL THE EXPLOITERS AND THEIR CONTROL OF THE STATE APPARATUS ARE OVERTHROWN. ONLY THEN WILL JUSTICE BE ACHIEVED.

To talk of wage justice under capitalism is to turn one's back on Marxism-Leninism. The price of labour power (wages) can never be raised except between limits which leave intact the basis of the capitalist system.

At the basic wage rally in the Town Hall on February 19 several speakers lifted the sights of the wages struggle to horizons outside capitalism and spoke of the need for socialism. The working people are hungry for revolutionary theory. The Marxist-Leninist newspaper "Vanguard" reported one of the speakers referred to above as saying:

"We must fight inside and outside the Arbitration Commission, and to fight outside the Commission we need our job organization.

"Some people talk about irresponsible action on the job, but job action behind wage demands is the most responsible type of action. We may suffer our defeats, but our victory lies always in our expanding organization and unity. While we are being exploited we will always have to struggle and our gains will be within the limits of capitalism. What we need to do is to think about getting rid of exploitation altogether and bring Socialism into our struggles."

Both Marx and Lenin urged the same thing. In his classic "Value, Price and Profit" Marx wrote: "At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady.

They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They

ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes on them, the present system simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto: 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!' they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword: **ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM.**"

For too long the wages struggle has been bounded by the confines of reformism. Both Marx and Lenin always placed the emphasis on the struggle to raise the political consciousness of the working class, to make the working class conscious of its own strength. Lenin put it this way: "We have to talk about reforms but in a speech of half an hour we should talk reforms for five minutes and revolution for 25 minutes."

To fail to present the whole picture, that is, the need for reforms and the need for the ending of capitalism and to show the connection between the two struggles, to fail to do this, is to slip into the slough of reformism.

Marxism-Leninism is the theory of the proletariat because it lays bare the class struggle and the need to prosecute it to the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the only road to socialism leads through the determined class struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie (capitalist class) and the establishment of its own political power.

Marxist-Leninist political economy penetrates deeply into all the innermost recesses of the capitalist system of coercion and exploitation. It uncovers the true nature of class relations which the "learned" hirelings of the bourgeoisie try to befog and even deny.

Marxist-Leninists support the wages struggles of the workers as the workers' resistance to the offensives of capital prevents the lowering of wages to the lowest level and tends to bring them closer to the value of labour power and helps the proletariat to organize and become conscious.

However, Marxist-Leninist political economy centres its attention on the developing contradictions of capitalism, which leads to its destruction and to the triumph of the socialist revolution.

As the newspaper "Vanguard" said: "Historically speaking conditions are maturing for massive class struggles in Australia. These struggles need the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory for their successful fruition. The proletariat, armed with Marxist-Leninist teaching, carries on the struggle for socialism with certainty. It knows the laws of social development; with its struggles, its work, its activity, it follows these laws, which lead to the triumph of socialism."

Another Article (Written 1960) L. Aarons thought "Sectarian"

This article was written by E. F. Hill in 1960, before the 81 Parties' conference in Moscow.

In the course of the struggle against revisionism in the Communist Party of Australia, L. Aarons made an issue of three of Hill's writings.

The first we have published—the pamphlet "Towards the Police State".

This is the second. We publish them both for their intrinsic content and as of historical interest in the struggle against revisionism.

If the article were written today it would be modified, in its reference to Cuba which is a socialist country and in the too positive appraisal of some of the Communist Party's history. In this respect it overlooks certain errors, in which Hill agrees he shared, in the work of the Communist Party. Otherwise it remains valid.

THE 1957 declaration of the 12 Parties said: "In condemning dogmatism, the Communist Parties believe that the main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, right wing opportunism, as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralysing the revolutionary energy of the working class and demanding the preservation or restoration of capitalism."

An examination of many factors leads to the conclusion that this statement applies with force just as great today as then. Indeed, its truth can be seen more clearly today than before.

After the events of 1956 a noisy vociferous minority made its presence felt in the Communist Parties including the Communist Party of Australia. These people were characterized as revisionists and they quickly eliminated themselves or were eliminated from the Party.

The simple fact about them was that experience proved they were not and had never been Marxist-Leninists. The process of their defeat and elimination was not particularly difficult.

Just as important a side of this matter, however, is the source of the danger of revisionism (namely capitalism) and its continued pressure on the Party and the working class. That pressure is always there—it exerts an influence—it weans away people who are not necessarily aware of it—it influences both particular policies and general policies—it requires the utmost vigilance and the utmost purity of Marxism-Leninism. The 1957 Declaration requires intense study.

The 1956 events exerted another influence too that requires comment. It introduced a certain element of uncertainty, lack of decision in dealing with alien trends, alien policies. Perhaps it would be better to describe it as a certain tolerance of these trends. But intolerance of alien ideas is of the essence of Marxism-Leninism. Firmness of principle is vital. The defence of Marxism-Leninism, upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism is crucial to the life of the Parties.

This is not a question of conservatism, dogmatism, sectarianism or anything of the kind. But that is the accusation made against it and before which some retreat. Lenin long ago in "What Is To Be Done" and in other works dealt very strongly with those who raise the spurious slogan of "freedom of criticism" (in the sense in which he dealt with it) accused the Party leaders of dogmatism, conservatism and what have you. It is one thing to deal sympathetically with a person who deviates—if he is an honest person, of course one must go to the utmost pains to try to correct his errors, but it is another thing entirely to tolerate—live with alien trends or show a lack of firmness.

There are particular questions where the right danger shows itself. A few comments about some of these.

The defence of peace has occupied a very large place in our work and naturally so. Imperialism breeds war. The overall outlook—the strategic outlook for the collapse of imperialism is good indeed. The end of imperialism historically is in clear sight. But war and imperialism go hand in hand. No change of heart of the imperialists has ever been recorded. If the imperialists can make successful and profitable war they will do so. That is their very life. It arises from the nature of imperialism and nothing has happened to change that nature. What has happened, however, is that there is a vast change in the relation of world forces which places in the hands of the people weapons—in the final analysis weapons of power—which keep the imperialists in check. By way of example, in days gone by the U.S. imperialists would quickly have ended the Cuban bourgeois nationalist independence movement. Today they cannot act in the same way.

The crux of the question is the question of force—balance of forces. It is a question of power politics—one force for peace and

one for war. It is a desperate life and death struggle of which there can only be one final outcome—the victory of the anti-imperialist forces.

From our standpoint the defence of peace is a class question—a question of working class against capitalist class—socialism against imperialism. It is essentially a part of the revolutionary struggle for socialism. It demands the ending of capitalism. It is partisan indeed. No question of fear of hydrogen bombs or atomic bombs should arise. No question of pacifism arises. Ours is a call to the working class to struggle with all its might against monopoly capitalism—against imperialism. The U.S. imperialists are the centre of world imperialism—they are planning aggression—war.

The Menzies government is up to its neck in their plans and, of course, has schemes of its own. It is a violent brutal government relying on force and understanding only one language—that is organized powerful opposition. Australian imperialism is no different from any other imperialism. But in some of our appraisal and thinking there is a trend of pacifism. It emphasizes the horror of war—the danger of nuclear explosions and so on. These things are a fact—it is quite correct to expose them and struggle against them—there is nothing wrong with it.

But the critical question is monopoly capitalism and imperialism—its exposure—its criticism—and the way to bring it to an end. Far more of our emphasis needs to go into showing the working class that the danger of war lies in the nature of imperialism itself.

It is not my purpose to examine the role of Australian imperialism in S.E.A.T.O., the Anzus Pact, in New Guinea or elsewhere other than to point out that it is plotting and planning in the foulest of foul traditions of imperialism. Only its complete end will bring peace. The essential question is not whether they are armed with nuclear weapons, bacteriological weapons, jet planes, rockets or some other diabolical weapon—all that is important and is demonstrative of the ferocious character of imperialism, but it is not the essential question. The essential question is imperialism itself—the essential task of the working class is the overthrow of imperialism.

Lessening Of International Tensions

There are those who put great stress on the lessening of international tension. That is important enough but it depends on how national tension. That is important enough but it depends on how imperialism imperialism changed its it is seen. At no stage has Australian imperialism changed its outlook. It has gone through various tactical changes as the situation has changed—Menzies even supported peace through Summit talks. But whether the spokesmen for Australian imperialism have been the Menzies government or unfortunately the Labor Party leaders such as Mr. Calwell (and whatever terms are used to cloak

it), Australian imperialism has acted in the only way imperialism can act—i.e., as an aggressor with external aggression and with internal repression.

To put one's emphasis on the lessening of tension and leave it at that is indeed a grievous error. Whenever there has been an apparent lessening of tension the imperialists have never put aside their plans for world domination—the force in the world for peace has compelled them to manoeuvre. Hence the vital question is not the lessening of tension but still imperialism and how to devise tactics to combat the manoeuvres of imperialism.

It is, of course, a tribute to the forces of socialism and the people that the imperialists are compelled even to give lip service to peaceful slogans, but it would be a grave error to be taken in by this. Certainly we stand for peaceful co-existence—war is quite alien to the nature of socialism—socialism eliminates exploitation—hence it has no need for war. The humanitarian question is very important but it flows from, is secondary to, the scientific character of socialism. On the other hand, war comes from the exploitation that is the essence of imperialism. The socialist countries proclaim their peaceful foreign policy and policy of peaceful co-existence. That is very correct but it is not a passive thing, a thing that will come of itself. Peace has to be imposed on the imperialists—imposed by power—by struggle—by their final overthrow and so the concept of peaceful co-existence is a question of relative strengths—if the imperialists are surrounded by forces hostile to imperialism then they will be restrained. But never for one moment can vigilance be relaxed. No matter how difficult the situation for the imperialists, they will always find room to manoeuvre, to pursue their basic aggressive aims.

The Broad Peace Movement

In the post-war period millions of people have been moved into action in defence of peace for one reason or another. There has come into being what in our literature has become known as the broad peace movement. This movement has a diversity of forms and aims. A good deal of it is purely pacifist. It is very important that the broadest possible section of the people take action for peace, however small. It is equally important that the Communists should see both the strengths and weaknesses of this. On the strengths of it, a good deal has been said and it is unnecessary to repeat it.

But insufficient attention has been paid to the dangers of pacifist trends.

Pacifism opposes all war. But the imperialists may well impose a war. It is quite clear that they are preparing in every way for war. Will a pacifist attitude solve that problem? Not at all. Only a militant anti-imperialist stand will solve that problem. Quite a

trend in these circles is to blame the U.S. and the Soviet Union equally for world tension. But how can that really be? It cannot for reasons already stated—the Soviet Union is a socialist country and the U.S. an imperialist country.

But what of it, you might say. The danger of it for one thing is that in a critical situation such people will actually side with the imperialists because when the imperialists make war they are certainly not going to say, well, here we are—we are making an imperialist war. No, they are going to resort to slogans of peace—defence of the so-called free world—to deceit and what have you.

The case of Bertrand Russell—well-known figure in broad peace activity—is a case in point. When the Summit talks collapsed he said the blame was nine-tenths that of the Soviet Union and one-tenth that of the U.S. If war had come through the U2 dropping a bomb or something of that character Bertrand Russell no doubt would have said that the war was nine-tenths the fault of the Soviet Union and one-tenth that of the U.S. and nine-tenths of him would have supported the U.S. side of the war.

Bertrand Russell is by no means alone. Moreover, the intelligence services of the capitalist countries have devoted great attention to this aspect of the peace movement with the aim of disrupting it or of turning it to their own advantage in the sense outlined above. It is well to remember how the International Peace Campaign, which did valuable work in the pre-World War II period, actually fell to pieces under the impact of World War II. This is not to deny that there have been very great changes indeed since then, but it is to draw attention to a simple fact.

Hence the Communist approach to the peace question is not a general nebulous approach. It is a precise scientific approach based on an analysis of imperialism and the need to end it. We support all moves for unifying the peace forces: we recognize the importance of all peace activity even though many of the participants may be far removed from Communism. Nonetheless our essential task is to struggle with all our might (naturally in appropriate ways) to influence all the people, all the peace forces to an understanding of imperialism and as for ourselves independently to take an unequivocal anti-imperialist stand and to eschew all pacifist sentiments.

Actually, of course, we support all action against imperialism because such action is just. This is axiomatic to Marxism-Leninism but it needs repeating because the great emphasis that has been put upon the general renunciation of war can well blind us to the fact that war is imposed on us by the imperialists.

Another aspect of this same matter is the strong tendency among certain participants in the broad peace movement to exclude the Communists and the left generally and the acceptance by some

Communists of this position. That illustrates the point. But the peace struggle is a partisan struggle, is a struggle against imperialism and to eliminate the Communists for reasons of respectability or something of that character is really to assist the imperialists. Indeed, it is their policy. Then again those Communist participants in such activities often refrain from sheeting home the responsibility to where it really belongs—on U.S. imperialism. Again we recognize that language, presentation, etc., vary from audience to audience, but it is the duty of the Communists everywhere to explain their view of the situation.

Today with the shattering of many of the pillars of illusion about the peaceful intent of people like Eisenhower and the revelation of the bare face of imperialism, emphasis has been given to this whole matter.

The Question Of Peaceful Transition

Take another question—the question of the peaceful transition to socialism. Well, of course, we stand for the peaceful transition to socialism. But the matter is not one for us: it is a matter for the ruling class. Is the ruling class likely to submit peacefully to its expropriation? History knows of no case where it has done so. Engels in the forties of last century put this matter very well when he said:

“Question: Will the abolition of private property be possible in a peaceful way?

“It were to be wished that this could happen, and the Communists would certainly be the last to take exception thereto. The Communists know too well that all conspiracies are not only useless, but even harmful. They know too well that revolutions are not made arbitrarily and to order, but that they were everywhere and at all times the necessary consequence of circumstances which are entirely independent of the will and control of particular parties and whole classes. They also see, however, that the development of the proletariat in almost all civilized lands is forcibly suppressed, and that in this way the opponents of the Communists are making with all their might for a revolution. Should the oppressed proletariat be in this way driven finally to a revolution, then we Communists will defend the cause of the proletarians just as well with deeds as we now do with words.”

It is very instructive to recall the 1957 Declaration on this whole matter when it said:

“The forms of the transition from capitalism to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the entire people, with the national interests of the country.

“Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class headed by its vanguard has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and decisively rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

“In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

“The possibility of one or another way to socialism depends on the concrete conditions in each country.”

Experience after experience demonstrates the truth of this. In modern times one may think of the overthrow of the radical (not even Communist) government of republican Spain in a bloody war (1936-1939), the U.S. intervention in Guatemala to overthrow a bourgeois nationalist (non-Communist) independent government, the experience in Kerala where a Communist government, which never resorted to a programme of socialism but which had been elected in orthodox Parliamentary style, was overthrown or to the U.S. threats against the Cuban bourgeois nationalist government of independence and their statement that they will not tolerate a Communist government in the western hemisphere.

Or in Australia one can think of the tightening by the ruling class of the noose of repressive measures directed against the working class, certainly against the Communist Party and against any radical non-conformist opinion. No, the long and short of it is that the State is based on force and nothing has happened since

Marx, Engels and Lenin analysed this matter in such detail to alter their basic conclusions. What has of course happened is that there has been a tremendous accession of strength to the working class and socialism, which opens the way for more effective dealing with the conspiracies of the ruling class.

A failure to understand this is to disarm the working class in its struggle for power. Indeed, just because of the strengthening of the working class and world socialism the desperation and fury of the ruling class increases.

But the pressure of the ruling class, of alien ideas, of illusions as to the stability and character of capitalism of democracy have led to a blunting of consciousness on these matters. The fact that the situation is far more favourable for socialism in one way simplifies the problem and in another way intensifies the struggle for it. In our country, illusions have grown up, based upon the superficial prosperity, of a sort of growing into socialism.

But the Australian ruling class has no illusions. It is tied up with every reactionary plan. It is openly flaunting its aggressive connections with SEATO, ANZUS and continually it prepares itself to meet any challenge by the people—it strengthens its secret police, its reactionary legislation, makes sure the powder of repression is kept dry.

Errors Subordinate To Achievements

Another line this pressure takes is to depreciate the role and achievements of the Communist Party. It is unnecessary to dwell on the ferocity of the attacks of the reaction on our Party. They speak for themselves. But another form of thinking needs close attention. This thinking comes under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, or criticism and self-criticism or the struggle against dogmatism or something of that character.

Some people are no doubt unaware that they have fallen victim to this sort of thing. In words very often it is difficult to find much wrong with what they say, but nonetheless the essence of it is there. Let me deal with aspects of this. The elevation to front place of errors in the work of the Party is one form it takes. But the errors our Party has made in its 40 years' history are indeed secondary to its mighty achievements; of course, the Party has matured and makes less mistakes today than in the past. But to do anything that suggests that our main activities have been **characterized** mainly or even largely by errors is entirely wrong. Particularly is it wrong in the present conjuncture of circumstances where the enemies of the Party do everything to attack and discredit us. This is not at all to stifle criticism but it is to put the errors in their proper place—i.e. subordinate to our splendid achievements.

It is often said that our Party has made dogmatic errors. No doubt there have been dogmatic errors but they are quite incidental to the main stream of our work which has been quite correct.

Statements to the following effect should not go without comment. "Now like the Soviet Party our Party has waged a resolute struggle against dogmatism, particularly in recent years, and has overcome **some of its worst expressions**. But as we know, such influences did exist and show up in our propaganda as in other fields of work.

"Take the question of the capitalist economy, for instance. Among the workers we still have to some extent a reputation as 'calamity howlers' due to a tendency among some of our propagandists to exaggerate every manifestation of instability in the economy and to elevate symptoms of overproduction into full blown crisis. In no sense, is this characteristic as strong as it **once** was, but it is evident in some of our propaganda and is, of course, a **dogmatic trait**.

"The workers are alert to these weaknesses, and the effect upon many of them is to sow doubt, not only about the soundness of our political standpoint, but also about our motives. **It helps to nurture the age-old slander that we welcome misery for the people**. Obviously we all have to be more sober and careful in our analysis and deepen our study of Marxist political economy, not just in general, but in its application to the specific conditions of modern Australian capitalism.

"One reason for our **dogmatic** errors lies in our too great reliance upon our general political understanding and an under-estimation of the importance of studying specific situations . . ." (Communist Review, June, 1960, page 251; all emphasis mine.—E.F.H.).

With some of the words and sentences of this there could be no objection but that in this writer's opinion adds to the vice of it. What emerges is a great emphasis on so-called dogmatic errors at the time when every force of capitalism is pressing the right danger. To elevate so-called dogmatic errors in the way done by the article is clearly to open the door for the influence of the right and to smuggle in right wing ideas.

A few comments. Our Party has in the course of its work over the last few years conducted a resolute struggle against revisionism: the trend has been to the right. To apply the words of a Soviet resolution has not been to dogmatism or, better put, left sectarianism. The danger on propaganda to our conditions is precisely to be guilty of the on propaganda to our conditions is precisely to be guilty of the vice against which the Soviet resolution is doing battle. As the writer says and we have quoted: Take the question of the capitalist economy. The simple fact is that capitalism is caught in a general crisis: in the post-war period in the world (in Australia too) there have been acute phases of cyclical crisis.

But the central question is the very narrow outlook of the writer—he forgets about world capitalism, about the colonies, about all the things of which L. L. Sharkey spoke in *Socialism in Australia*. By clear implication he subscribes to the view that we are calamity howlers in the sense of which he complains. Most certainly we are strong (no stronger) adherents of the view that capitalism is calamitous for the people. (No stronger exposé of this than Lenin could be thought of.) And what are we to do—retreat before this so-called slander and play up the virtues of capitalism?

For my part I do not believe we are regarded by the workers as “calamity howlers” in a slanderous sense and if we do not expose the calamities of capitalism we are not doing our job. To overstate this situation is an error, of course, that we need to keep in mind. Nor, to take an unquoted paragraph, is the so-called bandying about of inaccurate figures a characteristic of our work.

Again, naturally enough, errors are made, but the great feature of the work of all our Party members is their accuracy, their devotion to truth. To use this statement to support an argument for dogmatism (left sectarianism) is incorrect. The proof of all this is the amazingly sound job done by all our main propaganda outstanding in which are the *Tribune* and *Guardian*. If you study issues of these, our most important medium of propaganda and agitation, you will see that their absolutely outstanding feature is their tremendous development and improvement over the years.

Let me quote again—“Our Party has justly been renowned for the calibre of its speakers, in which color, wit, humour and, above all, popular language and presentation have been strong features. Today, unfortunately, this does not seem to be such a feature of our propagandists, some of whom are too self-conscious, even tedious, and use a jargon and mode of expression far removed from the idiom of the people. No doubt there are many reasons for this, but, obviously, we must try to overcome these weaknesses.”

Yes, we must try to overcome all weaknesses. But this passage does scant justice to the many, many party members who speak in the factories, on the wharfs, on the ships, in houses, in halls. While, of course, every speaker can and should improve his skill, what is the outstanding feature is the development of a large number of good effective speakers who cannot be brushed off in this superior way. It is true that L. L. Sharkey is a very effective speaker just because he presents in a correct way the profound political line of the Party and while often making use of “wit, humour and above all popular language” never subordinates political content to these things.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the writer wants such things to take first place—to subordinate content to form.

If the author wants to point to a few errors in propaganda that is one thing; if he wants to put a case for better propaganda that is one thing; but to put it into the framework of the struggle against dogmatism at the very moment when the main danger is revisionism is an entirely different thing.

Relations With The Labor Party

Then there is still another question on which incorrect ideas can easily arise—the question of the A.L.P. More particularly over recent years there has developed the unity of the working class—an exceedingly important development. Very good relations have developed between Communists and A.L.P.-ers. The conditions of the struggle have had a large part in that—for example the struggle for peace has attracted people of diverse opinion to a common cause (already I have dealt with some of this), the struggle for increased wages and the general protection of living standards has again impelled the workers into a common struggle and on the front of democratic rights similar considerations apply.

Every effort should be made to strengthen this. But close relations with the A.L.P. workers also have the side that unless there is eternal vigilance A.L.P. ideas creep into our ranks and naturally enough already exert a great influence in the ranks of the working class. But we understand that the A.L.P. is a capitalist party in the form of a working class party. Sympathetically we present that to the working class. We may take the rankly imperialist statements of Mr. Calwell over New Guinea (and indeed on many other questions) as illustrations. The striking fact today is that the workers accept and think deeply about criticism of the A.L.P. But this is not to deny or minimize the strength of their loyalty and allegiance to the A.L.P.—a fact which must be taken fully into account.

In our ranks and in our propaganda and agitation there must be the utmost vigilance against the penetration of the fundamental position of the A.L.P. leaders (be they left, right or centre) which is the subordination of the working class to capitalism. This is not a plea for sectarianism or for jumping over stages but it is a plea for adherence to Marxism-Leninism.

Precisely when the ideas of socialism are becoming mass ideas, scientific ideas must be advanced. The policy of unite and struggle—unity—struggle—unity—needs correct understanding and correct application. Subordination of our Party to reformism is a danger: it has not occurred and if we understand the character of the two Parties correctly it will not occur.

Yes, it is true that our Party over the 40 years of its existence has made many errors, but they are not dominant factors. Its 40 years record is one of learning from errors, and above all the triumphant progress of the ideas of socialism. Today we rejoice in that progress: resolve to take it further, faster.

More Light on L. L. Sharkey's Betrayal of Marxism-Leninism

IN the "Marxist Review" of October, 1963, under the title of "Creative Marxism Is the Basis for Revolutionary Practice", L. L. Sharkey, general secretary of the Communist Party of Australia (revisionist), in a rambling article enumerates a number of ideas which he calls "creative Marxism" but in reality have little or nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

Hopping from one point to another, with little or no concrete analysis, the article comes down to an attack on the Communist Party of China and rehashes a number of anti-Marxist propositions of the revisionists.

The issues discussed are too numerous to answer unless one writes a book, but the overall answers are well covered in a resolute Marxist-Leninist way in publications issued by the C.P.C. Almost from the beginning to the end, Sharkey resorts to distortion, half-truths and downright lies against the leadership of the C.P.C.

Sharkey, in the conclusion of the article, says, "In all its activities, our Party (the Australian Party) adheres firmly to the principles of proletarian internationalism." However, the anti-Chinese content of the article completely contradicts the principle of proletarian internationalism.

How is "proletarian internationalism" equated to the policy of the Party in Australia regarding the Indian-China border conflict? At a central committee meeting following the armed attacks by the Indian reactionaries on socialist China, Sharkey condemned the stand of the Indian Communist Party as traitorous to Marxism and similar to the betrayal of the Second International.

This condemnation was buried and never saw the light of day in the Communist press. However, shortly after this, there appeared articles in both the "Tribune" and the "Guardian" which objectively supported the actions of the Nehru Government.

And this policy continues today.

So in a matter of a few weeks the Australian Party occupied the same unprincipled position as the Indian Party. "Proletarian Internationalism" of the Australian "creative Marxists" is further highlighted in the attacks on socialist Albania, at the same time declaring that we should develop a friendly attitude towards "socialist Yugoslavia". This latter question completely contradicts the 81 Party Statement.

Lance Sharkey, how do you and the present leadership line this kind of "internationalism" up with the internationalism so firmly fought for by Comrade Lenin and betrayed by the leaders of the Second International?

Further, the article made reference to "their (C.P.C.) belated defence of the Stalin cult". This is a Sharkey fabrication.

Sharkey well remembers the discussion he and other Australian delegates had during the 8th Congress of the C.P.C., in 1956. At this particular discussion with Chou En-lai, it was clearly stated that the position of the Chinese leadership was not as Sharkey says "a belated defence of the Stalin Cult", but was a balanced estimate of the contribution Stalin had made to Marxism-Leninism and the building of socialism in the Soviet Union as well as his mistakes in later life, and the estimate that his contribution to Marxism outweighed his negative side 70/30.

And further, the Chinese comrades made clear their disagreement with the method used to attack Stalin through the secret report of Khrushchev delivered to the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Sharkey Kept Discussion Secret

It was at your insistency, Mr. Sharkey, that this discussion was kept secret from the Political Committee and the Central Committee but, following the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., when it suited your desertion from Marxism, you made a distorted report of this 1956 discussion to a cadres gathering, misrepresenting the position of the leadership of the C.P.C.

You also have knowledge of many discussions between the Chinese and Soviet leaders on this very same question. For example, on January 18, 1957, Comrade Chou En-lai held the fifth talk with the Soviet delegation in Moscow. In this talk Comrade Chou repeated the Chinese three points of criticism on the Stalin question; the lack of an all-round analysis, lack of self-criticism and absence of consultation with fraternal parties.

This method of criticism by the Chinese comrades is quite in accord with the letter and spirit of unity of the international Communist movement; a correct Marxist-Leninist method of criticism of a brother party and in sharp contradiction to the methods used by the leaders of the C.P.S.U. The Chinese leaders refrained from public criticism, and their purpose was quite clear. It was for the sake of unity against the enemy and urging the C.P.S.U. to reflect on this and not go too far.

Eight years after Stalin's death, at the 22nd Congress, the Stalin question was again made a stalking-horse. No other course was left for the C.P.C., but to state their criticism in public. The C.P.C. does not defend the so-called "cult", but has made an all-sided Marxist analysis of the Stalin question.

To quote again, Sharkey says: "The facts impel us (the Australian Party) to the conclusion that the Chinese leaders have deliberately embarked on a course of splitting the international Communist movement."

Historical facts demonstrate that differences and splits have their foundation in fundamental questions of policy. There are many examples, but one of the most outstanding is the history of Lenin's struggle against the "heroes" of the Second International. A split arose because of an attempt to revise Marxism. The Kautskyites made similar charges against Lenin, as Sharkey makes against the Chinese leaders.

Was it correct or not for Lenin to hold aloft, as he did, the banner of Marxism-Leninism? History has given the answer.

Although present historical conditions are very much changed, Marxist-Leninist principles remain. Today, it is urgent and necessary for weakened imperialism to subvert the revolutionary movement, and therefore the revision of Marxism-Leninism is a central task.

At the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., questions of peaceful transition, peaceful co-existence, parliamentary action, were all presented with a one-sided emphasis.

By direct implication, the revolutionary struggle of the world Communist movement was to be guided into more "peaceful" forms. In addition to this was the question of the Stalin leadership. The attacks on the "Stalin cult" were calculated to negate the revolutionary policy fought for by Stalin, and to reject the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, upon which the very foundations of the first socialist state had been built. In other words, the plan was to revise the fundamental policies upon which Lenin and then Stalin had steered the first proletarian revolution, and had built the Communist international movement.

The 20th Congress, and later the 22nd Congress, presented these erroneous policies as a "creative Marxist" approach in the present epoch.

They could not be left unchallenged

The Chinese leadership, while disagreeing with some of the decisions of the 20th Congress and later the 22nd Congress, strictly adhered to the correct, principled Marxist method of criticism and discussion in consideration for the unity of the international Communist movement.

Many discussions were held between the two Parties in an attempt to get agreement and unity against the enemy. During this period, the C.P.C. published two articles, "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", and in these against imperialism and the Tito clique.

After July, 1958, when the Chinese leaders rejected some propositions that would have meant Soviet control over China, the C.P.S.U. intensified its activities against China, both in words and deeds.

Atom Industry Agreement Cancelled

The C.P.S.U. attacked the domestic policies of the Chinese Communist Party and, in particular, the communes. In June, 1959, the agreement to help China set up an atomic energy industry and to manufacture the atom bomb was cancelled. On September 9, 1959, the Soviet news agency Tass issued a statement on the Sino-Indian border incident which sided with the Indian reactionaries. This displayed to the whole world the differences between the two countries.

In September, 1959, around the time of the Camp David talks, Khrushchev publicized "a world without weapons, without armed forces, without wars". And at this time vigorously propagated the so-called "spirit of Camp David", and did his utmost to prettify imperialist leaders, make peaceful co-existence the overriding task and advocated that the United States and the Soviet Union should co-operate in determining the fate of mankind, actually proclaiming that the nature of imperialism had changed and that Marxism-Leninism was outmoded.

During this period the C.P.S.U. published many books and articles in many fields, philosophy, social science, the History of the C.P.S.U., etc., supporting the erroneous viewpoints of the 20th Congress.

In 1960, the C.P.C. published "Long Live Leninism" and two other articles which upheld Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration, and criticized some revisionist and opportunist viewpoints.

But the main target was again directed against imperialism and the Yugoslav revisionism. In June, 1960, at Bucharest, the C.P.S.U. leaders launched a surprise attack on all fronts against the C.P.C., and organized a number of fraternal delegates to attack the C.P.C. Such action set an extremely bad precedent in the international Communist movement, undermined unity and violated the guiding principles of relations between parties. It was a splitting action within the international Communist movement. But throughout the controversy the Communist Party of China has adhered to the correct handling of the differences. Only after the organized attacks did the C.P.C., left with no other alternative, enter into public debate. The content of the Chinese stand has been a resolute stand in upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism. It provides a concrete analysis, from a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, of the differences, and will be recorded in revolutionary history as an epic in the struggle against the attempted modern revision of Marxism.

Further, Sharkey states, "In trying to impose its particular views on the other parties, acting in this way, the Chinese leaders are denying the right to take part independently in determining the general line of the Communist movement." What rubbish! The Chinese leaders have published their views on the major principled questions under debate and, just as Lenin did, with the utmost vigour and determination, to expose the fundamental deviations from Marxism-Leninism and expose the essence and face of revisionism, both in strategy and tactics. If this is "imposing particular views", well then Marx, Lenin, and all the great revolutionary leaders must be guilty of the same charge.

Let us have a look at the facts about who's imposing viewpoints.

Firstly, the revisionist leaders in Australia have every reason to be concerned with the measured and logical Marxist-Leninist presentation of these principled matters by the C.P.C. Party members in Australia are reading them and independent opinions are growing. The policy and tactics of revisionism are under great debate and the revisionist influence of Sharkey, Dixon, Aarons and Co. is slowly but surely losing ground.

The results of the **"imposition" of a revisionist policy** on the Australian Communist Party is beginning to rebound, and is losing ground in the international Communist movement, because the truths of Marxism-Leninism are invincible.

The Australian Party has driven out and expelled some of its best members because they refused to accept the dictates and methods of "imposing policy". Such actions are not a sign of strength, but on the contrary, it only reveals weakness and undue haste to "impose" a line contrary to working class principles.

Those comrades who uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism are a rallying centre for all Marxist-Leninists in Australia, including many honest Communists who, because of their loyalty to the party, still hold a party card.

Why Not Publish Both Sides?

If, as you claim you are not **"imposing the policy"** on the Australian Party membership why not publish all the sides of the debate, circulate the pamphlets and publish the principled arguments of the C.P.C.?

If your policy of "creative Marxism" is correct, what have you to fear? Truths of Marxism-Leninism will be upheld.

Who then is "imposing their views" on the international Communist movement? The C.P.C. gave you an example; they have issued their publications in many languages as well as in Chinese; they have also published openly, in their papers, the letters of the C.P.S.U., and the attacks by other parties. The Chinese people are well informed as to the two sides of the debate. It is a mass debate.

The C.P.C. has conducted the debate in a principled Marxist-Leninist way. The result of this great debate in China has not created difficulties, but on the contrary has strengthened the ideological understanding of the Party, its people in the factories, the countryside, and of the intellectuals.

This debate is inspiring the Chinese people to even greater efforts in socialist construction and understanding of internationalism.

Having failed at the Bucharest meeting, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. took further actions to **impose their policy** by extending pressure to the sphere of state relations. In July, 1960, these leaders unilaterally decided to withdraw all the 1,300 and more Soviet experts in China and stopped the departure for China of another 900 and scrapped hundreds of agreements and contracts.

This caused serious difficulties and inflicted serious losses on China. The Soviet leaders applied similar pressure on Albania by withdrawing experts, cutting off Soviet aid and later by taking the unprecedented action of breaking off diplomatic relations. At the 22nd Congress Khrushchev publicly attacked the Albanian Party of Labour, and even called for the overthrow of Albanian leaders, Hoxha and Shihu.

The above-mentioned is not only pressure to "impose ideas" on brother Parties, but is a complete repudiation of Communist internationalism and a violation of Marxism-Leninism.

These facts prove the leaders of the C.P.S.U. have gone further along the road towards splitting the international Communist movement. Their increasingly drastic, and more and more organized attacks are the efforts of desperation in trying to crush any opposition. This method of unprecedented imposing of erroneous policies has disrupted the international Communist movement and is completely alien to Marxism-Leninism. It assists the enemy of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

The October Central Committee meeting saw a heightened attack of the leading revisionists on the C.P.C. In the December "Communist Review", speeches by Sharkey, Dixon, Gibson and Aarons mainly contained a tirade of slanders, misrepresentation and outright distortion.

According to the champions of "internationalism", the Chinese comrades are warmongers, Trotskyites, and just a bunch of left dogmatists!

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this display is that, because of the recent publications of the Chinese Communist Party, exposing the erroneous policy of the 20th and 22nd Congresses, an unpleasant situation for the Australian revisionists has been created.

The panic in their utterances will only create further interest as to what is right and what is wrong in the issues under debate and this will surely result in more and more people upholding the truths of Marxism-Leninism.

The Australian revisionists, concentrating their attacks on the C.P.C., hope in vain to obscure the fact that they lead the only party in South-East Asia which follows the "baton".

In addition to the C.P.C., New Zealand, Indonesia, Japan, North Korea, North Vietnam, Thailand, Burma and Ceylon have rejected revisionism and upheld Marxism-Leninism. Of the estimated 42 million Communists in the world, the membership of the above parties constitutes more than half. Thus there are 23 million who do not support the erroneous policies of the 20th and 22nd Congresses.

Those champions of revisionism, Sharkey and Co., would have us believe that the majority of the world's Communists follow a Trotskyite line, are warmongers and oppose peaceful co-existence. The bankrupt theories and practices of revisionism are losing ground daily.

It is the bounden duty of Marxists-Leninists to work with new vigour in upholding resolutely the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism. The truths of Marxism-Leninism will triumph.

Correct Errors of the Past to Build for the Future

By KATH WILLIAMS

THE immediate question facing Australian Marxist-Leninists is the question of laying the basis for building a new party to replace the old Australian Communist Party, the leadership of which has deserted the revolution, leaving the working class and the masses leaderless and at the mercy of imperialism.

Such a party must be firmly based on Marxism-Leninism. It must be a party of a new type, which was first visualized, fought for and brought to fruition by Lenin, long ago. In carrying out this aim, each one of us has a personal responsibility.

How do we set about this?

First, I think it is necessary to examine objectively why the revisionists have been successful in gaining control of and destroying the old party.

We were all members of that party, members of many years' standing. Many of us were on one or more leading committees of the party, holding responsible mass positions.

Under such circumstances, can any one of us escape responsibility for what has happened? I don't think so.

To help clarify this question, I have endeavoured to make a critical examination of myself and the part I played in the past.

It hasn't been easy. It has taken me a long time, and much thought, plus a lot of reading and study of the Marxist-Leninist classics, the current Chinese and other overseas material, to face up to the unpleasant task of looking back over the past, and realizing my own shortcomings.

I accepted the report of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., although I didn't understand it, and found it hard to accept, particularly the charges against Stalin.

I remember the first report I heard on the Congress, soon after I returned from overseas in 1956. I was horrified and upset.

But did I mention my problem? No, I kept it to myself. Why?

At the time I put my action, or lack of action, down to the fact that I was a loyal, disciplined party member. I have had to dig right down and examine myself unmercifully, to realize finally the truth. I was not prepared to speak up and face the prospect of being wrong. I wanted to be right—and on the safe side.

Again when Khrushchev visited America, and I read his statements in the press, I couldn't work it out. I was confused and worried. But did I mention it, or take any steps to try to understand it? No.

It was only after reading "Long Live Leninism" and realizing that I was not alone—that many of the world's greatest Communist leaders were speaking out—only then did I find the strength and courage to put forward my views, take a stand, and fight it out in the party.

Even more serious, since the split in the party I've talked about my doubts, as if it was something to be proud of.

The fact that I had these doubts so early revealed an ideological strength.

And many others have talked in the same way.

It is only now that I realize, after a protracted struggle with myself, that I was guilty of taking a liberal attitude towards myself—of putting my personal interests above the interests of the revolution.

Liberalism is an expression of opportunism, an insidious enemy fundamentally in conflict with Marxism.

It is passive in character, and objectively helps the enemy.

There is no room for it in a Marxist-Leninist Party.

I cannot say with truth that I have overcome my subjectiveness, but I have recognised it, which is the first step to overcoming it, if one is vigilant and honest with oneself.

We are all products of the past, and only by an objective examination, first of all ourselves, will we be able to break away from the past, remould and develop ourselves, and so fit ourselves to shoulder our responsibilities to the working class in the present and future.

Our responsibility is to build a Marxist-Leninist Party — a party united, ideologically, politically and organisationally. To do this we must all face up to our own position, examine objectively our own strengths and weaknesses. Each one of us has strengths and weaknesses. No one has all the answers. It has always been easier to see one's own strength than one's own weaknesses, and easier to see the weaknesses of others, than their strengths.

It is only by constructive criticism and self-criticism, conducted in a friendly comradely way, that collectively we will be able to help one another overcome our weaknesses and develop our strengths.

The inner party struggle is not something to be avoided but on the contrary, something to be tackled in a correct way. We know that inner party struggles are a reflection of the class struggles outside the party. These are the bases of all kinds of opportunism within the party and the source of inner party struggle.

How To Conduct The Struggle

We are all aware of this. The main question is how to conduct the struggle in a way which will fit in to build a party, ideologically, politically and organisationally united, to carry forward the revolutionary cause which is the objective of us all.

The inner party struggle must be a concrete struggle around matters of ideology and principle.

We have seen enough of unprincipled struggle by the revisionists in the old party.

This kind of struggle, without principle or content is utterly unnecessary and detrimental to a party of Marxism-Leninism.

If we keep in mind always, our objective, the revolutionary movement, put it first and foremost, above our personal feelings, then we will not fall into the pitfall of personalities, with their disruptive effect on our work.

Communists working in trade unions need to be particularly vigilant, for they work in an environment of reformist opportunism.

I remember when I first became a trade union official. It was said to me: "Now your first loyalty is to the union — not to the Communist Party".

I could not accept this.

As I saw it, my first loyalty was to the working class — to give it political, ideological and organisational leadership.

To draw it into activity around its basic needs, and in the process, help to drive out ideas which divide it — TO UNITE it as a class against its class enemy.

Nevertheless, I, as some others, succumbed to the environment of the trade unions, and fell into errors, paying more attention to the united front from above rather than from below and "settling" disputes by negotiation on top. This is the error of doing things ourselves, by bureaucratic methods and not involving the rank and file.

Yet we know that the masses are the makers of history, and that the mass line of leadership, "from the masses to the masses", is the Marxist-Leninist method of leadership.

Despite this knowledge, in practice, we often fail to consult the masses, to take them into our confidence, discuss their problems with them, get their ideas about how their struggles should be conducted in friendly consultation, so that we go into battle as a united force and then follow through by discussing with them where mistakes have been made. How and why they were made.

In this way lessons can be drawn from experiences which should be systematised and taken back for further discussion, so that step by step their understanding is developed to a higher plane.

Not to do this is to stifle the initiative of the masses, relegate them to a passive role and whether we are consciously aware of it or not, shows contempt for the masses and is a denial of their role in the struggle for socialism.

This is something out of the past which must be overcome if we are to carry out our responsibilities to the Australian masses.

Today, on a world scale, we see the rapid deterioration of imperialism in its desperate efforts to quell the rising tide of revolutionary struggle of the colonial and neo-colonial people, against poverty, disease, and for democratic rights.

As we feel the effects of this more acutely, there is no doubt that the workers will be pushing up more and more problems. We must equip ourselves to deal with these. To initiate and lead their campaigns — to unite and educate the masses for the battles ahead.

Our job is to raise the class understanding of the working class, organise more activists and develop more cadres.

I suggest that all Marxist-Leninists working in trade unions should make it a must to study Lenin's "What Is to be Done". There is nothing more certain than that reaction will move in on us and attack us, use the arm of the State in all its viciousness to destroy us.

For we are the main enemy of reaction, and they know it. We can only continue to carry out our responsibilities to the Australian people, by developing a strong mass movement. We must set out to mobilise mass activity to the fullest extent.

On the Role of the Union of Australian Women

"Since classes arose there never was a time when society could do without a working class. The name, the social status of that class has changed; the serf took the place of the slave, to be in his turn relieved by a free working man — free from servitude but also free from any earthly possessions save his own labour power. But it is plain: whatever changes took place in society, society could not live without a class of producers. This class then, is necessary under all circumstances — though the time must come, when it will no longer be a class, when it will comprise all society." (Engels: *The British Labour Movement*.)

As class society developed, women of the privileged classes were relegated to the home and to the task of providing heirs to property. They were completely dominated by men and the myth of their inferiority was propagated over the centuries. But among the poorer classes, the overwhelming majority, women have always had to work, as slaves, as serfs or as wage slaves. In many countries today, still living under a feudal system the whole family works but a wage is paid only to the husband. Bourgeois laws are based on property rights and over the years women have been doubly oppressed. Even the poorest peasant had one right — the right to beat his wife.

With the rise of capitalism also arose women's organisations, begun and supported by petty bourgeois women who resented their unequal status. They fought valiantly for equal property rights and reforms which would alleviate some of the injustices forced upon them by class society. They were like utopian socialists; they had no intention of changing society but they wanted a better deal from it.

These early struggles made little difference to the vast masses of women who had no property for their children to inherit. Equal pay, equal opportunity, the right to be free from domestic slavery are fundamental rights which have yet to be achieved and this is impossible in class society.

For capitalism cannot function without the labour power of women. They are a source of cheap labour, essential to capitalism in its greed for maximum profit. The natural division by sex is used to divide the workers. We have often said that many processes

are more suitable to women's capabilities, but this is a feminist approach and one used by the employers to keep whole industries such as food and clothing, in the low-paid categories.

With the introduction of machinery, women are quite capable of doing jobs which were previously too heavy for them. And many jobs which are considered to be women's sphere, such as nursing, are eminently suited to many men.

Employers use many arguments for not giving equal pay and opportunities to women. They claim that women do not intend to remain in industry, that they do not have to provide for a family and constantly raise the cry that women's place is in the home. Yet industry would collapse if all women stayed home!

International Women's Day was established in 1910 to rally women all over the world to fight for their emancipation. It was seen by Clara Zetkin, the founder, not as a celebration for past reforms but as a starting point for a great upsurge of women for the ending of class society. The participation of women in the October Revolution and their subsequent participation in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union gave a big impetus to women everywhere. They began to see that their demands for equality was decisively linked up with the question of political power. The myth of inferiority was demolished for ever. The national liberation movements which are achieving success today, are united fronts of men and women together fighting against oppression. Lenin said "... the success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it".

The Second World War drew thousands of women into the struggle against fascism. Many fought alongside men, others took up the tools the men had left and kept industry and agriculture going. The women of Europe especially, face to face with fascism in its most naked form, saw the need for a world-wide movement of women and so the Women's International Democratic Federation was born. It had nothing in common with the bourgeois, feminist, pacifist women's organisations. It was a militant organisation which demanded action against imperialism. It demanded the liberation of all men and women suffering from oppression in all its forms and demanded exposure of the causes of their oppression.

Freda Brown, now an Australian member of the WIDF Bureau, says WIDF was never a revolutionary organisation because "it is not, and never has been, a condition of membership in our organisation (the UAW) or of the WIDF that women completely support socialism".

This sophistry cannot in any way alter the fact that the organisations which make up WIDF called for revolutionary activity by women all over the world. It is only in recent years since the Freda Browns of the world have become active in the WIDF that this revolutionary essence has become diluted.

Since the end of the war and the establishment of socialism in many European and Asian countries, the struggle between the imperialist countries for markets has intensified. In the continuous search for profit the capitalists need cheap labour. Despite the illusion that we are living in an affluent Australia, more and more married women are entering the work force, the majority through economic necessity.

With one colonial country after another breaking away from imperialist domination the capitalists welcome women into industry at low wages. The number of women on "home duties" dropped from 23.4% of the population in 1947 to 18.7% in 1961 (Rural Bank quarterly trends) and has dropped further in later years.

But analysis of the development of class society shows how each society contains within it the seeds of a new society. The participation of women in large scale production makes them part of the proletariat. "The overthrow of bourgeois rule can be accomplished only by the proletariat, as the particular class whose economic conditions of existence train it for this task and provide it with the opportunity and the power to perform it." . . . "While the bourgeoisie breaks up and disintegrates the peasantry and all the petty bourgeois strata, it welds together, unites and organises the proletariat." (Lenin: State and Revolution.)

In Australia, a women's organisation, the Union of Australian Women, arose out of the need for a progressive organisation led by militant women and close to the working class. Its aims were to embrace all progressive women and to unite all women fighting for peace and against the preparations for another imperialist war. Also to support women of other countries already in the struggle to free their country from imperialist domination and to build a better life for their families. An organisation that would not be afraid to unite with men and women in their trade union struggles for better living standards. An organisation which in fact represented the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of women from the working people.

Other organisations, most of them led by petty bourgeois women, diverted the energy of women away from the basic need of struggles

that would develop their political understanding and socialist consciousness and see the root cause of high prices, crisis in education, high hospital costs, and lack of housing in the exploitation of capitalism. The UAW attracted the most politically conscious progressive women, Communists and non-Communists.

Struggles went on inside this organisation as in all others as to the correct stand it should take on many questions. There were those who wanted a broad progressive women's organisation that should not associate itself too closely with the working class and its trade unions. They were against the organisation participating in May Day as this would brand it as Left.

There were those who felt the magazine it produced should not deal with the lives of women in the socialist countries, in case this would frighten women away. Others felt that Communist women in the leadership should not be known as Communists.

The battle against petty bourgeois thinking has been continuous. Those women wanted a "respectable" progressive women's organisation to attract women well known in the community. The emphasis was not on the overwhelming majority of women, little known as individuals but who were struggling in many ways for a better way of life.

This battle was being won by the most conscious of women in the leadership of the Victorian section. Their militant stand did not isolate them from the leaders of other organisations. On the contrary it drew their respect. Groups had grown up in a number of localities. The trade unions and the Labour Movement as a whole held them in respect. But despite this, the revisionists in the Australian Communist movement set about to destroy this organisation as it did to others. A militant organisation of women was not to the liking of the imperialists.

Freda Brown manoeuvred herself into the position of national organiser, a position especially created to put her in the leadership. She soon took over as national secretary and got herself elected to represent the UAW overseas. The disgraceful stacking of the annual meeting of the Victorian section removed the militant leadership from that State and the stage has been set to turn the organisation into one acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

But the contradictions within capitalism continue despite the revisionists' attempt to reconcile them. On a world scale they are being exposed—their capitulation to imperialism and their "begging for peace" is unacceptable to the progressive women of the world. No force on earth can change the correct direction of the world women's movement.

Mr. Paddy Malone Answers A Letter From An Old Friend

JUST before Christmas Mr. Paddy Malone, secretary of the Victorian branch of the Builders Laborers' Union, received a letter from an old friend who is a member of the Communist Party of Australia. His letter is answered by Mr. Malone. We publish both, the first being the letter to Mr. Malone.

Dear Paddy,

I heard the other day about a resolution on the Building Trades Federation, condemning a leaflet got out by the Party which called for militant action to obtain a better agreement. I couldn't help wondering if you really know where you are heading, so I decided to write and set out some of my thoughts to you.

Two years ago you and the boys were of tremendous assistance to us and, in the course of our work, a leaflet was produced that really went to town about anti-Communism and in particular attacked Joe for his red-baiting.

Now it seems that you and the others are so anti-Communist that you too are becoming red-baiters and condemning the Party for carrying out its independent role of publishing its policy.

As well as that you and the others refused to handle 50 lousy raffle books that were for the purpose of building up an election fund for our elections next year.

If these things don't land you in Joe's camp, then what do they do? Paddy, as long as I have known you, the thing that stuck out was your caution. When we were young blokes bursting with militancy it was your "let's have a second look at it" that very often brought about a change in the way we handled particular problems. But now, to me, it seems that your caution is absent at a time when it was never more necessary. Surely you can see where your present actions are leading? Surely there has been sufficient time now to see which policy is right and which is wrong?

There is only one party capable of leading the people to socialism **and you aren't in it**. Right from the start I was staggered to hear you had "differences" and, in spite of knowing where I stood, I went along and listened most carefully to you at the last B.T. aggregate meeting I attended before the party's State Conference.

When I raised the point that we may have missed an opportunity of taking the workers into struggle, I couldn't fault your report.

At the State Conference I agreed with most of what you said until you were critical of the conference because it excluded a number of people who you named.

Some of them of course had been delegates to previous State conferences but some of them had **never been** to a State conference. One of them I know only attended his branch meeting about a dozen times in ten years. Under these circumstances how on earth do you think that he should have been a delegate to the State Conference?

Paddy, in the leaflet I spoke about (I am enclosing one) the main content is for unity and attacking the splitters. Why don't you have a "second look" and a third and a fourth? Unity is as essential today as it ever was but your actions won't bring unity.

I am not trying to be vindictive nor a smart Alec, but it seems to me that unless you pull back before it is too late, you run the risk that the fine achievements you have spent a great part of your life helping to make will go down the drain.

Yours fraternally,

The Reply

January 22nd, 1964.

Dear . . .

Thanks for your letter received before Xmas and regret the delay in replying to same, due partly to the intervention of the holidays and also because I really wanted a little time to think over the matters you wrote about. I appreciate your personal concern on the matters referred to but I must say, however, that I feel that your criticisms appear to hinge on secondary questions and ignore certain questions of principle which are at issue and from which all others flow.

In particular you seem to ignore the very deep ideological differences on fundamental questions that exist in the world Communist Movement. Consequently you see the actions of myself and my colleagues in a detached way and in isolation from the general struggle for a correct working class, i.e., a Marxist-Leninist position.

As a result, the conclusions you draw and the estimates you make are inclined to be superficial and one-sided (I hesitate to say "dogmatic"!).

To try to explain what I mean, I will take up your advice to "take another look", as you say, correctly, I have often advised others to do.

Certainly! As a matter of fact this is precisely what I have been doing all along.

I would like to assure you that the stand I have taken was not taken lightly, but only after I had invoked all my characteristic caution which you refer to.

For example, when I saw the rostrum of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. used for a public attack on a brother party, I "took

another look" at the 81 Party Statement and what it had to say about Communist Unity and the relations between the world's Marxist-Leninist Parties which "are independent and have equal rights".

And, again later, when the delegate of the Communist Party of China to the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was hissed and booed while the delegate from Tito's Revisionist League of Communists was treated as an honoured guest — I had yet another look at the 81 Party Statement.

There was no mistake about what I saw — not only about the relations between Marxist-Leninist Parties but also about Yugoslav revisionism. As the Statement said, it had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and "further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionism was an essential task of Marxism-Leninist Parties".

I've also had a good hard look at Khrushchov's fond embraces of Tito and R. Dixon's defence of the Yugoslav revisionists in the Guardian recently. This is not my idea of adhering either to the 81 Party Statement or to what is obviously correct.

I have also taken more than one look at the India-China border dispute. I see a socialist country being attacked by a capitalist country which is led by bourgeois reactionaries of the capitalist and landlord class — and another socialist country in the position of supporting the capitalist country by way of propaganda, money and ARMS! Proletarian internationalism? Not for mine!

This is where modern revisionism leads to. Have another look yourself.

Certainly there have been plenty of "square-offs" and a lot of clever talk, but at rock-bottom there has been a betrayal of class principles which cannot be justified and which will certainly be condemned by history. Of that, I am absolutely confident.

I cannot deal here with all sides of these complex questions. But I am tempted to get on to the question of the treatment of Stalin, especially as you said in your letter that you agreed with "most of what I said at the State Conference". You will remember that a considerable part of my contribution was on the theme that the attack on Stalin was an attack on the policies he stood for and the Marxist-Leninist politics he upheld and defended.

Now you can go back a year or two in this movement. Have you yourself "taken another look" at the question in the light of your own experiences? Do you really believe that the mighty achievements of the great Soviet people and their great Party in building socialism in one country and the historic feats of the Red Army during the war were won under the leadership of a "despot", a "murderer", a "fool", a "bandit", an "idiot".

Comrade J. V. Stalin has been called all these things by Khrushchov and the little Sir Echos who now trail in his wake.

You charge me with anti-Communism! What is more anti-Communist and anti-Soviet than these preposterous attacks on Stalin?

Struggle Between Two Ideologies

These are not isolated events but part of a pattern. They are concrete expressions of a struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology in the world communist movement — a struggle in which no one who is genuinely concerned with the cause of the working class can escape his responsibilities.

In particular, it is a struggle for Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism which as you know was agreed by the 81 Parties to be the main danger for very sound, scientific reasons.

Revisionism is not new, nor is it an accidental phenomenon. It aims to adapt the working class to the needs of capitalism — imperialism — abandoning the class struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the name of "creative application" of Marxism-Leninism it aims to strip Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary essence — a sore and desperate need for dying imperialism.

Here I must take up your point that "there is only one Party that can lead the Australian people to socialism", and, as you underline, I'm "not in it". Here again I say, don't be taken in by appearances. This is not a question of labels, but of revolutionary theory and practice.

The Australian people will be led to socialism, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on that basis alone.

You can draw your own conclusions about where I'll be found in that process. But, more important for you, watch out for yourself! The present C.P. of A. is a party whose leaders have turned about face to follow Khrushchov down the path of revisionism. Such a party will lead no one to socialism, but will betray socialism—and you ARE in it!

With due respect to you, I say, "take another look", a deep look, don't just scratch about on the surface.

Conscientiously seek to distinguish truth from falsehood, right from wrong, primary questions from minor, secondary ones.

About the questions of unity which you raise, I must point out that unity is not an abstract question, but must be based on some aim or object of policy and must be directly related to the fight for working class principle.

Trade union unity from a working class viewpoint can only be based on a struggle against all forms of reformist class collaboration.

In the struggle for trade union unity Communists have an implacable, principled class stand and while being flexible in

tactics must not give away on that principle even if it means a temporary division on the issue.

If the struggle is conducted around principle, unity will be finally won on a higher level.

Let us look at a couple of examples.

One illustration of the struggle for principled unity is the struggle against the Industrial Groups in Victoria.

At times during this struggle deep temporary divisions developed in the trade union movement, but finally the grouper policy was discredited and its supporters isolated. This struggle was conducted under the leadership of the **then** State Committee of the Communist Party, most of the members of which are now called sectarians, dogmatists, and so on.

The recent struggle of the wharflies for improved wages and conditions saw the savage imposition of fines under the penal sections of the Arbitration Act. This led to a meeting of the A.C.T.U. executive with representatives of the W.W.F. At this meeting a resolution calling for active support of the trade union movement under the leadership of the A.C.T.U. was counterposed by a proposition by the right wing A.C.T.U. leaders which emasculated the action call of the original resolution.

The counter proposal of the right wing was carried by a majority at the meeting. It led to a conference between the employers and government which in turn has led to the establishment of a peace committee to settle disputes on the waterfront.

This action completely sidetracked the rising struggle against the vicious use of the penal legislation.

Little or nothing has been said publicly about this deliberate right wing policy of class collaboration.

The Communist Party press has remained silent.

In regard to your criticism of the B.T.F. resolution condemning the leaflet issued under the name of W. H. Tregear.

Our union initiated a proposal on the B.T.F., calling for a discussion to formulate a log of claims, and a mass campaign aimed at winning a new improved Building Industry Agreement. At that stage we even submitted a rough draft of a log based on a rank and file discussion previously.

The B.T.F. endorsed the proposal in principle and decided to set up a sub-committee consisting of union secretaries of affiliated unions to work over the draft log.

The B.T.F. then at a subsequent meeting endorsed the draft of the sub-committee and decided to send a copy to each affiliated union.

Each union was invited to make whatever changes they deemed necessary and indeed some alterations and additions were made.

The B.T.F. then adopted the log and sent it to the T.H.C.

The T.H.C. then called another meeting of reps of the building

trade unions to finalise the log. The T.H.C. then served the log on the employers and asked for a conference to discuss it.

The leaflet you speak about was issued subsequent to all this. The leaflet made no mention of a B.T.F. log which was at that time being discussed at lunch-hour job meetings. The leaflet made no call for rank and file support of the campaigns launched by the B.T.F.

The leaflet was deliberately silent about our program and campaign. Instead, the leaflet exaggerated the wage level position of the metal industry as compared with the building industry and also raised matters outside those that had been settled by the democratic processes referred to above. The leaflet, by implication, aimed to split the building workers away from their leaders and to discredit people like myself and my colleagues.

In my opinion the B.T.F. properly estimated the leaflet and condemned it.

Our own union, at the November branch meeting, condemned it by a **unanimous** vote.

Other unions affiliated with the B.T.F. condemned it also. The Transport Workers' Union condemned it in very strong terms.

Again, looking at facts, we see our union as really the main union holding lunch-hour meetings on the job to develop the campaign, lift the level of understanding of the workers and assist them to draw the proper political conclusions on current issues.

Undoubtedly there can be improvements in this and a strengthening of the campaign now. We will be fully co-operative in any genuine moves for this. But was that the real spirit of your leaflet? Is this the spirit of the petty gossip that circulates in your party about the leadership of our union?

In regard to the leaflet produced some two years ago which you mentioned. I would point out that the content of that leaflet was directly related to the fight for working class principle and consistent with the position we now occupy.

I would like to inform you, however, that the leaflet in question was branded by some leading members of the Central Committee as sectarian and very sharply criticised.

As I said before, it is not possible to deal with all aspects of quite a complex question in my reply to your letter. We can be sure that the struggle in the defence of Marxism-Leninism will continue, and I intend to the best of my ability to participate in that struggle.

We can be equally sure that the Australian working class will continue to struggle for the correct path to travel and in the process build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party capable of going forward to socialism.

I again thank you for your letter and your viewpoint.

Yours, Paddy Malone.

How Revisionists Subvert The Women's Movement

THE victorious struggles of the anti-imperialist majority of the world's people, and the fear and contradictions within the imperialist camp cause the imperialists to become more vicious and cunning. Their tactics range from brutal aggression to the more subtle forms of ideological corruption. One moment gunboat diplomacy and nuclear blackmail and the next, fair words and hypocrisy with which they try to hide their true nature.

The great upsurge in the international women's movement and women's ever more significant role in the struggle against imperialism, and for liberation and peace, fills them with anger. With the full support of their reserve army, the revisionists, they are using every dirty weapon to subvert the struggle of women, to exploit their emotions for peace and the security of their children, and to hold them in bondage of bourgeois pacifism and "humanism".

In Spain and Greece women patriots rot in jails. In Angola and South Vietnam they are tortured and butchered. In Latin America they are unmercifully exploited and two out of every three of their children are hungry and diseased. In Nicaragua 50 per cent of all deaths are of children under five years.

These are the conditions imposed by the imperialists, with the United States at their head, while they prate about "mother love", and "womanliness".

In America they beat their breasts and write academic theses on juvenile delinquency while certain interests grow fat on the sale of filthy comics aimed at the corruption of children's minds to the acceptance of war, violence, and racialism.

In our own country monopoly reaps huge profits from the economic exploitation of women as a source of cheap labour, and the ruling class perpetuates other forms of discrimination, both economic and social, in order to keep women in a backward state, and split the working class.

The World Congress of Women convened by the Women's International Democratic Federation, and held in Vienna in March, 1962, showed this great upsurge of struggle by the world's women, and particularly the women of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The militancy and class consciousness of delegates was

the dominant note, and was in keeping with the original role of the Women's International Democratic Federation, which had its birth in the struggle against fascism and imperialism. Though they tried, the revisionists could not achieve their aim of turning the Congress into a bourgeois pacifist forum.

In the year which elapsed before the next Congress, in June, 1963, they gathered their forces, and set out to impose their incorrect policy on the WIDF and the international women's movement. They took the Congress to Moscow and stacked it, in an effort to isolate the real progressives and patriots. Their aim was to rob the Congress of its inspiring and unifying potential, and to promote their revisionist friends.

The Italian delegate condemned the exposure of the U.S. Imperialists as, "not the language of women". She called it, "bringing cold war themes into the Congress hall". The contributions of the women of Africa, Asia, and Latin America were no "cold war themes". Their experiences were the struggles of life and death!

Madame Cotton, re-elected President of the WIDF by the revisionist voting machine, praised Kennedy as "a man of peace". The Spanish delegate, Dolores Ibarruri said, "we intend to reach agreement on the question of the struggle for peace with Mrs. Kennedy". It was implied that as Mrs. Kennedy was also a mother the barriers of class interests did not exist between her and other mothers, say in South Vietnam. One can imagine how these sentiments would sound to a delegate from South Vietnam, where children die, bloated and blinded by U.S. chemical warfare.

Eagerly welcomed into the revisionist circle at the Congress, was the leader of the Australian delegation, Mrs. Freda Brown. Speaking on the rights of women she said, "the time has long since passed when one could say that the most consistent policy of legislation was to exclude women from active participation in public life. Today they may independently work in industry and commerce, have their own possessions, enjoy the same rights as mothers as men do as fathers, and be equal before the law in case of divorce. Almost complete equality has been accomplished in the legal sphere, but some important reforms need to be introduced".

This petty-bourgeois rubbish from a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia, and National Secretary of the Union of Australian Women, with its tradition of progressive and militant policy! This extract from her report is scarcely calculated to inspire Australian women in their struggle not only for equal pay and against all discrimination, but in their part in all the great struggles of the Australian working class.

It is significant that this was the extract from her contribution to the Congress reported in last November's issue of "Women of the

Whole World". But, of course, this WIDF journal, now in revisionist hands, will more and more be used to dampen down struggle, and all class content will no doubt gradually be eliminated from its pages.

Over a number of years some activists in the women's movement in Victoria have been critical of the bourgeois feminist trend reflected in "Women of the Whole World", and determined efforts were made against similar trends in "Our Women", journal of the Union of Australian Women. These efforts succeeded in strengthening, nationally, its class character. Since the revisionists have gained control of the leadership its pages are being used to split the women's movement and forward the revisionist line.

No doubt the next issue will laud the fraudulent Test Ban Treaty, and lead women up the pacifist garden path. It will no doubt also lead them up the diversionary blind alley of opposition to French tests by dealing with this question in a one-sided way, in step with revisionist policy in the peace movement.

The next issue of "Our Women" will presumably deal also with International Women's Day which will be celebrated in Melbourne from March 4th-8th. The celebrations will be attended by Madame Henrietta Katz, a president of the French Union of Democratic Women. The theme of the celebration will be "Protect the Children — Stop French Tests". It is safe to assume that the revisionists on the I.W.D. committee will seek to use the I.W.D. platform to put forward their line. They will no doubt exploit women's real fear of nuclear fall-out from French tests as they did over the test ban treaty fraud.

The struggle against petty-bourgeois and reformist ideology in the Australian women's progressive movement has always demanded vigilance. The revisionists see work amongst women as a happy hunting ground to extend appeal to the emotions and mother love, and to hold out the lure of pacifist illusions. Their influence will sooner or later be rejected by increasing numbers of women who will refuse to be seduced from a correct class position by these shoddy tactics. Can anything be more cruel than the deliberate exploitation of women's instincts and aspirations? It must be exposed at every opportunity.

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E. F. Hill's Report to Historic Conference of Marxist-Leninists

PART I

The following is the first part of the political report delivered by E. F. Hill to the recent conference of Marxist-Leninists which decided to repudiate the revisionist leadership of Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey and establish the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

The second part of the report will be published in the next issue of the Australian Communist.

Before the conference is a draft Marxist-Leninist programme for Australia. That programme sets before the Australian workingclass and all Australian toiling people the revolutionary perspective of a socialist Australia.

It places Australian Communists in the great army of proletarian internationalists. It calls upon the Australian workingclass to play its rightful part in the international workingclass movement.

It shows Australian Communists gathered here as the rightful heirs of all that is good, clean, honest and revolutionary in the Australian workingclass. It raises aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism which has been thrown down by people who masquerade as Communists.

That programme is a fitting basis upon which to reconstitute the Communist movement in Australia and to repudiate the Aaronses, the Dixons and the Sharkeys. It is a programme bound to attract the support of the Australian working people because it is true: it expresses truly their innermost desires and aspirations.

It is a historic milestone in the Australian revolutionary movement: this Conference itself is a truly historic conference. The fate of the Australian workingclass really turns upon the success of our conference and our reconstitution of the Communist Party: it is the greatest and noblest responsibility that one could possibly undertake.

Hence we must approach our deliberations fully conscious of this immense responsibility: fully conscious that upon us has

devolved the noble task of upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

There is no doubt that we will do that: there is no doubt our conference will successfully reconstitute the Communist Party and put the Communist Party of Australian (M.L.) upon the correct path of socialist revolution.

The nature of our times imperatively demands that we uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism: demands that we organise the highest possible quality Communist Party closely linked with the masses.

Experience has shown that there are fearless champions of Marxism-Leninism in the Australian workingclass movement — men and women who have not been daunted by intimidation, lies, slanders and have not been led astray by bribes and flattery.

Experience has shown that the relative handful of Marxist-Leninists who from the very outset of the struggle against revisionism in Australia took a firm stand have been joined by the cream of the workingclass movement.

Experience has shown that daily, hourly throughout the world new forces join the ranks of Marxist-Leninists and oppose revisionism.

TIME FOR SUPREME OPTIMISM

Experience has shown just that development in Australia culminating in this wonderful conference. There is no power on earth that can prevent the advance of Communism: there is no power that can prevent the advance of Communism in Australia.

Our epoch is the epoch of the world supremacy of socialism. The socialist system has become a world system — the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the great October Socialist Revolution goes on apace.

The national liberation movement is battering at the very foundations of imperialism. Here in South-East Asia the Indonesian people are waging a great battle against imperialism: so too the people of South Vietnam, South Korea, Laos, Japan. The New Guinea people are on the move against Australian imperialism.

The struggle against imperialism is a concrete reality and the workingclass movement goes along hand in hand with the movement for national liberation. The common enemy is monopoly capitalism with its imperialist interests.

The Australian workingclass is restive — its militant demands and struggles for improved living conditions challenge the monopoly capitalists. There is as never before the prospect of ending capitalism for ever — with socialism a world system, the national liberation movement on the march and an awakened workingclass more and more open to scientific socialist leadership.

This is a time for supreme optimism when the scientific vision of those two men of genius — Marx and Engels — who stood

almost alone, is about to become a world reality because it is backed by millions of people imbued with their ideas.

We do not see the postponement of socialism to some remote and dim and distant future as do the revisionists — Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey. It should be known that Sharkey has often said that he cannot see the end of capitalism for a hundred years or more and this within forty-seven years of the October Revolution and fifteen years of Chinese liberation.

We believe along with the 81 Parties' Statement that the main content of our time is the transition from capitalism to socialism—that the 81 Parties' Statement means what it says: that it is our job to give it body and soul, flesh and blood in accordance with its revolutionary principles here in the conditions of our country.

IMPERIALISM IS ON TRIAL

Imperialism is ever more on trial. The general crisis of capitalism which grips the economy, the politics, the ideology of capitalism has intensified.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. U.S. imperialism has put itself forward as the champion of imperialism: it strives might and main for world domination. It seeks to oust the older colonial powers from Asia, Africa, Latin America and establish its own neo-colonialism: it seeks to dominate the economies of the capitalist countries—Europe, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

It seeks to consolidate its position in these two sets of countries as part of its plan for world domination and then direct attack upon the socialist countries. For the destruction of socialism it must secure its hinterland — the intermediate areas between it and the socialist countries.

Hence it creates enemies everywhere — the national liberation struggles are in the first place directed against the U.S. imperialists who support, guarantee, underwrite every reactionary move seeking all the time their own ends. The U.S. imperialists encounter more and more vigorous and revolutionary opposition. The people of Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Indonesia all rise up against the U.S. imperialists who are forced to rush hither and thither whilst the peoples in these countries tighten the nooses around the necks of U.S. imperialism. We salute the heroic fighters for national liberation. We thank them for the immense help they are giving us: the immense contribution they are making to the peace of the world: we determine that we will not be found wanting in our international proletarian duty.

Within our country the U.S. imperialists arrogantly pursue their plans for domination. They arouse the opposition of wide sections of the people. Their economic penetration proceeds apace. Every Australian is keenly aware of the alien influence of U.S. imperialism.

From its gigantic monopoly bases in Australia such as G.M.H., Fords, International Harvester, the oil combines, it strives might and main to subvert the Australian working people to its own ends.

It uses the foul agency of the D.L.P., N.C.C.: it enlists the support of the reformist A.L.P. leadership, it owns the Menzies Government. U.S. imperialism and its agents emerge as the No. 1 enemy of the Australian people and the Australian nation. The U.S. aggressive military blocs, SEATO, ANZUS are a menace to the security of Australian people.

They threaten to involve Australia ever more deeply in the dirty wars in Malaysia, Vietnam, Laos and the other areas threatened by U.S. aggression.

U.S. imperialism has developed bases in Australia: its U.2 planes fly all over the country. The U.S. base at Exmouth Gulf is supported alike by the Menzies Government and the A.L.P. leaders. It is a direct threat against the people of South-East Asia: against their liberation movement: it is a direct threat to the people of Australia.

The U.S. 7th Fleet moves around our shores, potentially directed from the U.S. base at Exmouth Gulf. U.S. policy determines the attempted quarantining by the Menzies Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

MENZIES' REACTIONARY POLICY

All this meets and must meet with increasing opposition from ever-expanding circles of Australian people. The workingclass is directly menaced by the aggressive war plans of the U.S. imperialists: by their ever-intensifying exploitation and attacks upon the wages and living conditions and rights of the workers: the toiling people of the countryside are more and more intensely exploited by the U.S. machinery and oil companies, food processing companies, the invasion of land, the dictatorial trade policy of the U.S. imperialists: sections of the capitalist class menaced by the extension of U.S. monopoly investments and competition come into increasing conflict with the policy of U.S. imperialism.

At the behest of U.S. imperialism the Menzies Government pursues an utterly reactionary foreign policy. Not only has it entered into SEATO and ANZUS but in every international issue it takes up the most reactionary stand: it fiercely exploits and suppresses the New Guinea people and as part of its neo-colonialism imposes on them the farce of a so-called free election: it denies them immediate and unconditional independence: denies them elementary rights and living conditions: imposes a head tax: sends out punitive expeditions all in the interests of the great

monopolies. It ruthlessly suppresses the Australian Aborigines and denies them elementary human rights.

The Menzies government has attacked the living standards of the Australian people: it ended the adjustment of the basic wage: its arbitration tribunals backed by all the punitive force of the State (fines, gaol) keep wages and conditions at a minimum standard.

At the behest of the monopolies, headed by the U.S. imperialists, it has resisted every move by the workers for improved wages and conditions.

It has extended and strengthened the whole repressive apparatus of the State. Above all it has strengthened and re-organised the standing army, chief weapon of the monopoly capitalists.

It has imported a never-ending stream of U.S. admirals, generals, diplomats to give it advice on how best to organise its forces: it has arranged the integration of Australian armed forces with those of the U.S.

The main direction of all this is against the Australian working-class and toiling people and the peoples subjected by Australian imperialism. It has strengthened the courts — organ of repression and in particular the Industrial Court, direct weapon against the workingclass. It has increased considerably the range of repressive legislation. Its 1960 Crimes Act amendments radically increased the number of political offences and drastically increased the penalties for these offences, including the death penalty, life imprisonment and fifteen years imprisonment for direct working-class activity and in particular for offences constituted by united action between the Australian workers and the national liberation struggles.

VINDICATION OF LENIN'S ANALYSIS

It has extended and developed the system of telephone tapping and hypocritically has legalised it. It has extended and strengthened the secret police (security service) with the direct object of disrupting the workingclass, gaoling its activists and resorting to forgery, frame-up, provocation, diversion, planting agents in workingclass organisations and doubtless along with all other such cloak and dagger organisations planning even worse crimes.

All this it has done under the slogan of democracy. The Menzies Government has increasingly placed the direct representatives of the monopoly capitalists in key positions in the State apparatus. It has made Australia a typical example of state monopoly capitalism.

It is a classical vindication, substantiation of Lenin's analysis of the State — an apparatus for the repression of one class by another — a weapon of the monopoly capitalists for the suppression of the Australian workers — to enforce exploitation, to smash

down with force and violence (gaols, fines, the army, the police) the opposition of the workingclass — to smash down with force and violence the opposition of the people to its war plans and those of U.S. imperialism.

Experience shows that as the crisis of capitalism develops — as the capitalists are confronted with greater and greater difficulties they resort more and more to force and violence. Force and violence are not merely the firing of guns but the whole coercive apparatus of the State ultimately backed by the firing of the guns.

The Menzies government participates in actual unjust wars; it prepares to participate in more unjust wars. Its state apparatus is conditioned to that. Its enormous expenditure on arms (now far in excess of £200,000,000 a year) is aimed at internal and external repression. It is a classic example of the correctness of all Lenin's teachings on imperialism and just and unjust wars.

The Menzies government wages war on behalf of the monopoly capitalists and at the behest of U.S. imperialism to safeguard the system of exploitation. Lenin taught us to ask the question — in whose interests is the war being waged: in every case the Menzies government wages war, and prepares for new wars, in the interests of the monopoly capitalists, the very people who exploit the workingclass.

Lenin taught us to ask the question in whose interests is it to resist such wars and we answer without hesitation: in the interests of the working people. It is to their interests to strike from the hands of the U.S. imperialists, from the Menzies government the weapons of aggressive war.

Only a strict scientific workingclass approach can determine this question. Any failure to identify the enemy of peace — U.S. imperialism, and the Menzies Government, on behalf of Australian imperialism, can only confuse the workingclass.

The Menzies government — headed by Menzies, self-confessed admirer of Hitler, Mussolini, Hirohito — signed the Tripartite Pact legalising nuclear weapon testing. The Menzies government never in history has signed a progressive pact. Has it suddenly changed its character: has the leopard changed its spots? Despite all the hullaballoo about it, the Menzies government signed yet another reactionary pact when it signed the Tripartite Pact.

It did so to delude the people that it was taking a step for peace when all the time it was intensifying its war plans. Instead of supporting the Chinese government's proposal of July 31, 1963, for a conference of heads of governments to arrange the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and destruction of the existing stockpiles, it along with the A.L.P. leaders, the revisionist leaders, certain leaders of peace bodies isolates out the French tests and thus allows U.S. imperialism to go ahead with perfecting its nuclear armory.

Peace and war: the nature of the state: these are critical questions today — questions which the modern revisionists headed in Australia by Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey, would confuse at the very moment when above all absolute crystal clarity is demanded. Vital questions of our day indeed!

PEACE IS NOT INEVITABLE

Peace must be fought for every inch of the way — peace while imperialism lasts is not inevitable. Imperialism engenders war: war is a constant feature of imperialism. World war can be prevented if the socialist camp is united, the national liberation struggle is prosecuted and the workingclass in the capitalist countries is increasingly vigilant.

The forces for peace are superior to the forces for war. Unfortunately the disruption imposed on the socialist camp and the world Communist movement by the Soviet Party leaders is a source of weakness: it is in the interests of U.S. imperialism but the great Soviet people and the people of other socialist countries will not tolerate this disruption. We hail with great joy the discussions between the Communist Parties of China and Rumania.

Repression of national liberation, attempted destruction of national sovereignty is inevitable while imperialism lasts. Resistance by the peoples of given countries is inevitable: it contributes to world peace.

So the Australian people must wage ever more vigorous struggles against the imperialist war plans, must identify U.S. imperialism as the main enemy and its agent the Menzies government — supported in all essential respects by the A.L.P. leaders.

Only the most vigorous campaigning and the widest united front of all people opposed to the plans of U.S. imperialism and the Menzies government can guard the peace. Failure to identify the enemy, failure to unite against the enemy makes for spurious peace activity and enables the enemy of peace to adopt the very slogans and tactics of peace and under cover of that to prosecute aggressive war plans.

The activity of the revisionist-led peace bodies actually assist the enemies of peace — they put up general slogans of peace not directed against anyone and that is the very position of the imperialists who claim that their plans are all directed at this peace. Hence the peace bodies become centres of revisionism.

The call for peace of the revisionist Khrushchov merges with the call for peace of the U.S. imperialists. Hence the Tripartite Pact on banning all but underground tests of nuclear weapons is hailed by Khrushchov as a great contribution to peace and also by the U.S. imperialists when it suits them but in fact it legalises the war preparations of U.S. imperialism.

The so-called hot line between Moscow and Washington is hailed as a contribution to peace when it is the very reverse because it tries to confuse the people into believing that wars are accidental and can be stopped by a telephone call, which is the complete denial of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that imperialism is the cause of war.

Likewise the prohibition of outer space for nuclear weapons. So too the Soviet leaders permitted the rape of the Congo, the murder of Lumumba, by participating in the U.N. decision to put troops into the Congo and now have done the same thing in Cyprus.

They have spoken of Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson as men of peace, as reasonable men, as representatives of realistic U.S. circles as against reactionary circles — again a complete denial of the nature of imperialism and the nature of the monopoly capitalist state of which these gentlemen are the direct representatives — it could not be otherwise.

The Aaroneses, Dixons and Sharkeys speak at this very moment of the significant easing of international tension. How can it be said that international tension has eased when the people of South Vietnam are being killed by the U.S. imperialists?

Are not the people of Vietnam international: are they outside the concept "international"? Is Indonesia outside the concept "international" in its rightful opposition to Malaysia which we join? Is Cyprus outside the concept "international" menaced as it is by the U.S. and British imperialists facilitated by the Soviet revisionists?

No this emphasis on significant easing of international tension is designed to help the aggressive war plans of the imperialists. Yes, said the revisionist newspaper Guardian, there was no need to hold the Federal elections when they were held (twelve months before the due time) because there had been a significant relaxation of international tension and the Marxist-Leninist newspaper Vanguard said that precisely because international tension had not eased and was about to be intensified the Federal elections were held early. Who was correct? — the revisionists or the Marxist-Leninists?

We repeat, the Australian people must fight might and main to defend the peace against its violators the U.S. imperialists, the Menzies Government and the A.L.P. leaders facilitated by the revisionists Aarons, Sharkey and Dixon.

That demands stepping up the campaign in support of the people of Vietnam, against the rape of Cyprus and the Congo, against the imperialist Malaysia, against the U.S. bases in Australia, for the complete destruction and prohibition of all nuclear weapons.

On The Tasks Of The Communist Party (M-L)

IN March, 1964, the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) took up the banner of Marxism-Leninism from where it had been dropped by the present-day Australian revisionists.

Its formation guarantees Marxist-Leninist leadership to the workingclass.

Before the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) are immense tasks. Those tasks will be performed because Marxism-Leninism is all powerful — it is true.

But the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) will not be successful merely because of its formal creation. It must be a Marxist-Leninist Party strictly adhering to Marxism-Leninism and aware of the danger to it from the right and left and, indeed, from all alien trends.

It can only develop and lead the workingclass by unflinching adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Those admitted to its ranks must steadily strengthen their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

In the first place, they must individually study the classics of Marxism-Leninism. There is no substitute for the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung—no substitute at all.

Regrettably the heritage from the revisionists is an ignorance of the basic — even elementary — truths of Marxism-Leninism. Political economy — the very foundation of an understanding of capitalism — has been neglected. But Marx put forward scientific political economy very well in Value, Price and Profit and Wage, Labour and Capital — each a small pamphlet readily available.

To those who initially find it difficult to read Marx and Engels, Lenin offered some very good advice. He said — do not be put off by difficulties — read them through quickly — even skip over the difficulties — then return to read again. On a second or third or fourth reading, what was not clear originally becomes clear.

Test your reading by practice.

Test Marx's statement that profit is made by selling at value by your own knowledge of capitalist society, by your own experience of exploitation.

The simple truth that profit is made by selling at value opens the whole apparent mystery of capitalist exploitation yet it is safe to say that the revisionists have deliberately refrained from developing knowledge about it.

Hence our members must master Marxist-Leninist political economy and turn from these pamphlets to Marx's Capital.

Of course, it all takes time — work — but it is vital to the workingclass. There are those to whom one can turn for assistance — there are adjuncts such as discussion groups but there is no substitute for one's own reading and study.

An invaluable statement, too, is that of Lenin in his essay on Karl Marx where the whole range of Marx's views are covered in summary form.

Marx and Engels in 1848 wrote the Communist Manifesto, a brilliant and easily read statement of the whole of Communism.

Today, works like Lenin's "State and Revolution" and "Imperialism" stand out in their importance. If our members equip themselves with the basic principles in these works they will independently, critically, find their way through the mass of contemporary material and be able to approach all points of view, indeed all learning, from a firm Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

It is a commentary on revisionism that at this advanced stage of the revolutionary movement, attention must be called again to these basic works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The modern revisionists here in Australia, as elsewhere, have almost buried them.

Struggle Against Past Errors

In fighting to strengthen the Party, we will not forget Lenin's and Stalin's great work on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist Party — "What is to be Done", "One Step Forward", "Two Tactics of Social Democracy" and Stalin's brilliant summary in Chapter VIII of the "Foundations of Leninism" nor Liu Shao Chi's works "On the Party" and "How to be a good Communist".

It would be naive to believe that the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) will automatically free itself, or its members free themselves, from the bad influences of the past. The past was characterised by political degeneration and departure from Marxism-Leninism. The past was characterised by groups around this or that person, by intrigue, by personal gossip and slander.

All that requires recognition, and a determination never to let it rise again, or if it does to deal with it firmly. It must be recognised that it is an eternal danger imposed on us by the past and by the conditions of capitalism. It is nothing to be alarmed about but it must be recognised as a fact to be dealt with.

Firm adherence to Leninist principles of organisation offers the solution.

Time was when criticism and self-criticism were suppressed or distorted but now it is open to develop criticism and self-criticism, modesty, and all the qualities that go to make up good Communists.

Time was when there was excessive struggle. The revisionists gave a classic example of it in the Communist Party of Australia — intriguing, factionalising, gossiping, slandering.

It was one of the factors resulting in the destruction of their party because it is part of all that is alien to Marxism-Leninism.

A Communist Party does not develop without struggle — there are always correct views expressed, partially correct views, partially incorrect views, wholly incorrect views. It is the resolution of the differences in accordance with Marxism-Leninism that results in the correct integration of Marxism-Leninism with Australian reality.

No one person can pronounce correctly on all questions. Only a full functioning of democratic centralism can ensure that the Central Committee collectively reaches the correct conclusion on the major policy issues, or in the case of a branch, only the full functioning of the branch can ensure that the branch collectively reaches a correct decision.

Those who put themselves forward individually, or are accepted by a separate group within the Party, as being an individual leader have no place in a Marxist-Leninist organisation.

On the other hand, individual views will be put forward in the given organ of the Party with every encouragement so that they assist in the collective decision. The atmosphere for full, frank and free discussion of Marxism-Leninism and its integration with Australian reality must be developed.

Firm Discipline Essential

Discipline in the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) is iron because it is conscious adherence to the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism integrated with Australian reality.

It demands the full development of the individual's Marxist-Leninist knowledge and the subordination of his personal interests or sphere of influence to the whole Party. Little kings arose all over the Communist Party of Australia each with his own sphere of influence and his followers. So you will find some proclaim Sharkey king, others Dixon, others Aarons, some Hughes, and within the States a similar process goes on.

The fate of their followers hangs on the fate of the "leader". There is no unity; there is no solidarity; each is suspicious of the other; each is quite happy about the discomfiture of another. Such an atmosphere breeds disaster.

Such an atmosphere, amongst other things, creates favourable conditions for secret police penetration: secret police agents fasten themselves on to this or that group. Hence we must learn too from the past. Marxism-Leninism does not allow this sort of thing; it is totally alien to Marxism-Leninism.

There will be expressions of leftism in our ranks and there will be expressions of rightism. Each reflects the conditions in capitalism. Again there is nothing to be afraid of: it is necessary to recognise it. These things will be resolved if there is a high quality Marxist-Leninist standard throughout the Party.

The Communist Party of Australia was characterised by incorrect relations between the leadership and the membership — authoritarianism and a real denial of democracy both in the leading organs and amongst the rank and file.

The atmosphere arose where it was impossible or very difficult to express a view in conflict with that of the leadership even when that leadership had obviously become revisionist.

The classical illustration of this was the organisation for the Victorian State Conference in 1963 when the Central Committee leaders demanded (and proudly said they made no apology for it) that only people be admitted who adhere to their revisionism.

It was the logical outcome of revisionism.

Today these people prohibit or prevent their members even from reading Marxist-Leninist literature. The relations we must strive for in the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) are those of equality, democracy, discussion in accordance with Marxism-Leninism, where there are no superiors and inferiors, but a recognition that there are more experienced and less experienced, more talented and less talented, that the leadership is composed of the most authoritative and experienced.

No relations of hostility and suspicion can develop in a Communist Party properly organised according to Marxism-Leninism. It has been said that the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) will simply carry over all the evils of the past and that its formation is premature. Yes, that would be true if things simply went on as before.

But no Marxist-Leninist ever believed that. Eternal struggle is the only absolute of Marxism-Leninism. An eternal struggle against capitalism, against the past and positively for Marxism-Leninism and a Marxist-Leninist organisation is what is expected and required.

The Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) is not premature because without it there is no Marxist-Leninist Party in Australia, and a working-class without a Marxist-Leninist Party is a working-class without leadership.

The times urgently demand a complete break from revisionism — politically, ideologically and organisationally. Moreover, absence of a Marxist-Leninist Party leaves the field to the revisionists who masquerade under the name of Communists and assist the deception of the workingclass.

Again, the severe reverses suffered by the revisionists in Australia (as internationally) imperatively demand the existence of an Australian Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

The struggle against revisionism (and its father and mother imperialism) has progressed at an enormous speed historically — quicker than many expected — again a tribute to the all conquering truth of Marxism-Leninism.

Internationally the struggle against revisionism has reached a decisive stage: the forces for Marxism-Leninism must close their ranks to deal the death blow to it.

The membership of the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) is a membership of quality and it must always be so. Its smallness of size is no criterion of its strength. Its small numbers have strong mass connections: they will be strengthened. Its members already have a proud record of mass struggle — it will be even prouder. We do not demand that only finished Marxist-Leninists join our ranks: on that basis we would have no members. But we do demand a definite minimum of knowledge and a definite determination to master Marxism-Leninism.

Unlike the old Party we will not admit any person just because he is prepared to sign a form.

We unashamedly ask those many who support us but who are not prepared to fulfil our standards, not to try to join but to remain as our staunch non-Party friends and sympathisers. They will be welcomed.

The revisionists already sneer that this one or that one is not fit to belong to the new Party. Let them sneer. We will certainly exclude revisionists for they have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

Now we must work hard to clarify for the working class all the main principles of Marxism-Leninism — matters so shamefully confused by the revisionists. Fearlessly, we must explain the nature of revisionism and its historical place, the nature of the A.L.P., the united front, political economy and imperialism, the nature of the Australian State, dialectical materialism and fearlessly we must strive to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with Australian reality.

Our Party programme is in course of publication: it stands in striking contrast to the revisionist documents. Our Party and the workingclass will give that programme body and soul, flesh and blood. Together we have taken a decisive step. Let us go forward in the great and glorious struggle for a socialist Australia.

In Memory of K. C. Miller, A Great Marxist-Leninist

By E. F. HILL

APRIL 2, 1964, marks the anniversary of the birth of the late Kenneth Craig Miller, one of Australia's outstanding Communists — a giant who towered over the pygmies who claim to be Communists and who in his lifetime slandered him.

At the recent conference of the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) many present paid tribute to the life and work of this outstanding man. In my concluding remarks, I said:

"Comrade Miller made an outstanding contribution to Marxism-Leninism throughout Australia and was an outstanding human being. He was outstanding in his capacity to master Marxism-Leninism, to read all of the contributions to learning of all of the world's great thinkers (not confined to Marxism-Leninism), and to assess them from a Marxist-Leninist point of view.

"In that regard, he was a real teacher to all of us. He was able, by the strength of his Marxism-Leninism to assess all forms of knowledge.

"He was an extremely well-informed person of outstanding all-round knowledge as all the great Marxist-Leninists were.

"Comrade Miller's contributions live in this conference. We have all seen it live. It will never be forgotten.

"When the founding of our party is spoken of in the future, everyone will know of the contribution he made and his name will be associated with it. There are comrades here who received their initial introduction to Marxism-Leninism through Comrade Miller's example and were assisted in their formative stages through his work, his guidance and patience and every other virtue that he had.

"Comrade Miller was a great comrade in arms in the struggle against revisionism on the Central Committee and State Committee and in every walk of life. We at this Conference should understand the immense contribution he made. Next month marks the anniversary of his birth and we will, I think, take it as a direction from this conference that this anniversary should be properly marked in the Australian Communist.

"This man of outstanding character and outstanding contribution is one who will always be with us and while we grieve at his death we rejoice in the contribution he made."

This does little enough justice to his life and work. In these days, when it is necessary to reassess so many questions Kenneth Craig Miller's independent mastery of Marxism-Leninism already helped to set us on the correct path. His assessment of the national liberation struggle in New Guinea is on record. Many

of his writings are in existence. His pamphlet on political economy written many years ago is a splendid contrast to the rubbish written by E. Aarons on the same subject. His contributions to the Guardian were always Marxist-Leninist. Under his leadership, the Guardian was acknowledged internationally and nationally, as by far the best Communist newspaper in Australia.

How low it has sunk from this day can be seen now, when every issue is a potpourri of comment on affairs of little basic interest to the workingclass or, where they are of basic interest to the workingclass, are treated in the most superficial and vulgar way.

Under the leadership of the present-day revisionists the Guardian has sunk to the level of a poor commentary on a few happenings in capitalist society. It is a travesty of the paper which K. C. Miller inspired.

Take for instance its recent eulogy of the late J. V. Stout. For our part we worked with and enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Stout, but that did not blind us to the vast gulf that separated us politically — a gulf which K. C. Miller never failed to see nor to point out so that the workingclass would understand the difference between reformism (for which Mr. Stout stood) and scientific socialism, for which K. C. Miller stood.

Yet the Guardian editorially and through the mouths of the revisionists Gibson and Brown painted Mr. Stout as a great socialist, and failed in any way to draw any line between socialist revolution and reformism. Such a thing could not have happened under the leadership of the strong Marxist-Leninist K. C. Miller.

On all the main questions of our time the Guardian—once so powerful — follows the line of revisionism introducing confusion and hesitation into the ranks of the workingclass. It fails to point to U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of peace. Instead it speaks of "significant relaxation of international tension".

It fails to point to the reformist character of the A.L.P. — its heroes are the reformist leaders of the A.L.P. It fails to deal with the need for socialism nor to draw the socialist lessons from all people's struggle. It has become a farrago of superficial nonsense.

But now the spirit of K. C. Miller's work is carried on in Vanguard which attempts to deal with all current questions fundamentally — to draw the socialist lessons — to show the socialist lessons in all people's struggles — to draw the line and demonstrate the difference between reformism and Marxism-Leninism.

K. C. Miller's life and work will be honoured by upholding Marxism-Leninism. As he put it himself, we Australian Marxist-Leninists — since his death organised in the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) — inherit all that is best in the Australian communist movement. Part of that inheritance is the life and work of K. C. Miller.

Culture is a Class Weapon

In the armoury of reaction the weapons are many and varied. Not the least deadly is the use of cultural forms designed to paralyse the will of the intended victim, and obscure the face and the intention of the aggressor.

Propaganda in its crude forms may be more readily detected, but ideas of class collaboration sometimes penetrate under the cloak of "culture".

In many cases bourgeois art presents ideas with technical skill, and emotional and artistic appeal. In order to reject its corrupting influence it is necessary to be armed with the understanding that culture is a class weapon, and to be able to detect what class interests it serves.

The bourgeois state with all its organs of repression is clothed in the garments of "above class" deception — so, too, is bourgeois culture presented as transcending class interests.

This deception is exposed in "Problems of Art and Literature". Here Mao Tse Tung wrote, "all culture or present day literature and art belong to a certain class, to a certain party or a certain political line. There is no such thing as art for art's sake, or literature and art that lie above class distinctions or above partisan interests".

The function of all art which truly serves the people is to stimulate and inspire them to action, to engender courage and resolution, to unify and organise. Again Mao Tse Tung says: "The creative forms of literature and art supersede nature in that they are more systematic, more concise, more typical, more idealised, and therefore more universal."

Bourgeois decadent culture not only cannot perform the above functions but is also deliberately aimed at creating confusion, passivity and hopelessness.

An article entitled, "An Example of Modern Revisionism in Art", by noted critic Chang Kuang-Nien, and printed in abridged form in Peking Review, Dec. 13th, 1963, is a powerful exposure of revisionist influence in this field, and points to the need for vigilance to be able to reject anti-workingclass ideas, no matter how cunningly they are presented.

Poison of Revisionist Humanism

It is easier to reject the filthy concoction of violence and racialism, mystery and horror, served up in the American comic than the sugar coated pill of revisionist "humanism" — but both are poison. The bourgeoisie have always tried to inculcate the idea of universal love — "all men are brothers".

What of the fratricide of the imperialists, neo colonialists and racialists? There can be no such thing as universal love in class society.

The revisionists are quick to rush in and exploit this theme of abstract universal love. In the women's movement they play on the emotions of mother love, and try to make it a solvent for class struggle.

Madame Cotton, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation, writing in its journal, "Women of the Whole World", states, "the deep aspirations of man are the same everywhere".

Are the aspirations of the exploiter and exploited identical? The Madame Cottons would have the exploited believe so!

A feature of decadent art and literature is its alienation from life. This is not only an indication of its degeneracy, it also has the deliberate intention of creating an intellectual "elite" who move in a charmed circle, breathing air too rarified for the common man. Honest criticism of this so called "cultural" hocus-pocus is dismissed as Philistinism.

The publishers of "Arena" have in mind the fostering of just such an "elite". The editorial of No. 2 of this journal says, "as a Marxist intellectual journal Arena was something of a novelty".

We couldn't agree more!

It also states, "it is our object to give expression to different trends of Marxist opinion".

In fact the peddling of petty bourgeois diversions under the name of Marxism is no novelty, and furthermore its obvious object is to give expression to different trends of revisionist and reformist opinion.

Its editorial board believes that in left intellectual and university circles the response to Arena is positive. But in fact Arena is not only un-Marxist but pompous and dull; its "appeal" is confined exclusively to the mutual-admiration society of windbags responsible for its publication.

The development of the critical faculty which enables the reader, hearer or viewer to assess correctly the class character of an artistic creation is only the first step to countering reaction in this sphere.

Many fine writers and artists have put their talents to the service of the working class. Those who have degenerated politically, to embrace revisionism, will inevitably degenerate culturally. Out of the struggle to combat revisionism there will emerge new writers and artists of the workingclass who will truly use their abilities to inspire and organise the Australian workingclass through the media of cultural forms.

J. Nolan's Speech to Queensland State Committee (CPA); Feb. 23

OVER the recent period the ideological differences within the international Communist movement have become a public issue.

These differences are basic.

They effect the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

Such differences are the cause of great concern to all here who desire to uphold the purity of our proletarian science.

To ignore the differences now — to fail to attempt in an objective way to study both viewpoints — to make decisions on the basis of a one-sided or limited knowledge of both viewpoints — this would indeed be to act the role of the ostrich.

As I understand this problem, the differences are presented — on the one hand —

As a struggle against dogmatism — against left sectarianism.

This erroneous line, it is claimed, finds its main base in the stand taken by the Chinese Communist Party.

If applied locally to Australian conditions such a general line would lead to the isolation and virtual destruction of the peace movement and lead to the Party's isolation from the masses with all its resulting perils.

This dogmatic, left sectarian line, it is claimed, fails to evaluate correctly the changed historical conditions — the strength of the socialist camp — the power of the united forces for peace — it would lead to a nuclear war.

This, I believe, is the general viewpoint put forward by N. S. Khrushchov.

What then is the other viewpoint?

That modern revisionism, first emanating in its modern international form from the renegade Tito clique, is the main danger, and is in fact now showing expression in some forms in the stand of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. headed by N. S. Khrushchov.

The stand taken by the majority of our central committee, and unanimously by this Queensland State Committee has been in practice one of opposition to the line that modern revisionism is now the main danger.

It has, I believe, been one of general support for the line of Khrushchov despite some protests that we march along a road of our own.

As a member of the Queensland State Committee I have supported — and have contributed to this stand.

On the basis of my personal study of the problem I now believe this viewpoint to be incorrect.

I am mindful of the fact that the leading comrades of this committee, and our central committee in many ways have a greater intellectual capacity for the development and application of Marxism-Leninism.

However, with due modesty in this regard, it is my opinion — now — that this committee has erred in its decisions on the ideological differences.

It is my opinion — now — that this committee made these decisions based on one-sided information and confusion of the two viewpoints.

This confusion and one-sidedness has prevented us for a time from making an objective appraisal of the ideological differences.

Previously I firmly believed that the Chinese party was indeed taking a dogmatic left sectarian line.

I was guided in my opinion — in the main — by reports from leading comrades who had participated in recent international gatherings, and by quotations and extracts from Chinese publications, and reported statements of Chinese leaders.

Summarising what I, and indeed all party members are given to understand, is this:

- (1) The Chinese party and those who stand with them have rejected the Leninist position of struggling for peaceful co-existence.
- (2) The Chinese party and those who stand with them want, or at least pursue, a policy that would involve the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union in war. Further they want a nuclear war . . . in particular they wanted one over Cuba.
- (3) The Chinese party and those who stand with them have made a public issue of the ideological differences — interfered in the affairs of fraternal parties — are splitting the Communist movement.

I could name more points such as Test Ban Treaty, chauvinism, etc., but my contributing time is limited.

I could only assume on the basis of the information previously at my disposal that the leading Chinese comrades had gone collectively insane!

Indeed, how could one explain such rabid leftism, after their heroic inner-party struggle against three left lines — three left lines that resulted in tragic losses not only politically but in the flesh of their peoples.

Was it not the leadership of this party that cut their political teeth and were steeled in struggle against leftism.

This is the same leadership that brilliantly overcame three left lines — and a right deviation, to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of China.

As a result the Chinese masses were able to throw off the yoke of oppression.

Indeed, they have either gone politically insane or are being misrepresented!

It was on this basis that I began to study more carefully the statements of Khrushchov.

It was on this basis that I began to carefully study the Chinese viewpoint (and not just quotes) on the issue.

I have been astounded at the distortion of the declared Chinese position.

Not to my credit, I have — on the basis of one-sided knowledge of the Chinese position — contributed to the confusion that exists within the party branches on this issue.

It is one thing to object to the views of a fraternal party.

It is another thing to one-sidedly present those views.

Let us look at the position of the Cuban crisis!

What was our information?

What were we told?

China wanted a war over Cuba. China wanted a policy of blow for blow . . . bomb for bomb . . .

That was all — nothing else.

Kennedy said so — Khrushchov said so — everybody said so.

In effect — they were nuclear bomb happy!

We must all agree that the best authority on the Chinese viewpoint is the Chinese.

Then listen to this . . .

This is what the People's Daily (official organ of the Chinese party) has to say on the bomb and on Cuba.

I quote . . .

"We have always maintained that socialist countries must not use nuclear weapons to support the people's wars of national liberation and revolutionary civil wars and have no need to do so.

"We have always maintained that the socialist countries must achieve and maintain nuclear superiority. Only this can prevent the imperialists from launching a nuclear war and help bring about the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

"We consistently hold that in the hands of a socialist country, nuclear weapons must always be defensive weapons for resisting imperialist nuclear threats. A socialist country absolutely must not be the first to use nuclear weapons, nor should it in any circumstances play with them or engage in nuclear blackmail and nuclear gambling.

"We are opposed both to the wrong practice on the part of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. of withholding support from the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and to their wrong approach to

nuclear weapons. Instead of examining their own errors, they accuse us of hoping for a 'head-on clash' between the Soviet Union and the United States and trying to push them into nuclear war.

"Our answer is: No, friends. You had better cut out your sensation-mongering calumny. The Chinese Communist Party is firmly opposed to a 'head-on clash' between the Soviet Union and the United States, and not in words only.

"In deeds, too, it has worked hard to avert direct armed conflict between them. Examples of this are the Korean War against U.S. aggression in which we fought side by side with the Korean comrades, and our struggle against the United States in the Taiwan Straits.

"We ourselves preferred to shoulder the heavy sacrifices necessary and stood in the first line of defence of the socialist camp so that the Soviet Union might stay in the second line. Have the leaders of the C.P.S.U. any sense of proletarian morality when they concoct such lies?

"In fact, it is not we but the leaders of the C.P.S.U. who have frequently boasted that they would use nuclear weapons to help the anti-imperialist struggle of one country or another.

"As everyone knows, the oppressed peoples and nations have no nuclear weapons and they cannot use them to make revolutions nor is there any need for them to do so. The leaders of the C.P.S.U. admit that there is often no clear battle line between the two sides in national liberation wars and civil wars, and therefore the use of nuclear weapons is out of the question. We should then like to ask the leaders of the C.P.S.U.: What need is there for a socialist country to support the peoples' revolutionary struggles by nuclear weapons?

"We should also like to ask them: How would a socialist country use nuclear weapons to support the revolutionary struggle of oppressed people or nations? Would it use nuclear weapons in an area where a war of national liberation or a revolutionary civil war was in progress, thereby subjecting both the revolutionary people and the imperialists to a nuclear strike? Or would it be the first to use nuclear weapons against an imperialist country which was waging a conventional war of aggression elsewhere? Obviously, in either case it is absolutely impermissible for a socialist country to use nuclear weapons.

"The fact is that when the leaders of the C.P.S.U. brandish their nuclear weapons, it is not really to support the people's anti-imperialist struggles.

"Sometimes, in order to gain cheap prestige, they just publish empty statements which they never intend to honour.

"At other times, during the Carribean crisis, for instance, they engage in speculative, opportunistic and irresponsible nuclear gambling for ulterior motives.

"As soon as their nuclear blackmail is seen through and is countered in kind, they retreat one step after another, switch from adventurism to capitulationism and lose all by their nuclear gambling.

"We wish to point out that the great Soviet people and Red Army have been and remain a great force safeguarding world peace. But Khrushchov's military ideas based on nuclear fetishism and nuclear blackmail are entirely wrong. Khrushchov sees only nuclear weapons."

I agree with this viewpoint.

I was shocked to read it.

I was shocked because only one aspect of the Chinese position was made known to me and then in a one-sided way.

No mention was made of adventurism.

In the last few days I selected 10 comrades. I asked them what they understood of China and Cuba. Their answer — almost exactly — China wanted a nuclear war.

This is slander, nothing less . . .

Take the policy of tit for tat.

Exaggerations and a one-sided appraisal has been made of this. What does tit for tat mean?

Does it mean as some would tell us that without regard for any consequences — without regard for who will be victorious — without regard for concrete conditions, we engage in any specific full-scale battle with the class enemy.

I know a Chinese comrade who fought in the Liberation Army. He told me the Chinese Army were champion runners — he told me they gained this skill in running from the enemy.

Not running because of cowardice comrades. They ran in order not to clash with a superior force or to meet the enemy on their terms.

I think this is even tit for tat, for don't forget they often ran back and annihilated a section of that army on their own terms.

Comrade Mao Tse Tung said: "How to give 'tit for tat' depends on the situation. Sometimes not going to negotiations is tit for tat, and sometimes going to negotiations is also tit for tat . . . if they start fighting we fight back, fight to win peace . . . peace will not come unless we strike hard blows at the reactionaries who dare to attack the liberated areas."

Is this dogmatism? Is this left-sectarianism?

Is this a rejection of the Leninist policy of peaceful co-existence?

We co-exist with imperialism on the basis of our strength — nothing else.

We hold back the forces of war on the basis of our strength — nothing else.

What does Khrushchov have to say on this? I quote:

"It should be borne in mind, however, that naturally the President and I could not at one sitting clear away all the accretions of the 'cold war' that have piled up in the course of many years. It will take time to sweep away that rubbish and not only to sweep away, but to grind it to dust. Certain things that divide us are still too fresh. It is sometimes difficult for some leaders to discard old positions, old views, old definitions.

"But I can tell you in all frankness, dear comrades, that as a result of my talks and discussions of concrete questions with the U.S. President I have gained the impression that he sincerely wishes to see the end of the 'cold war', to create normal relations between our countries, to help to improve relations among all countries. Peace today is indivisible, it cannot be secured by the efforts of two or three countries alone. Hence it is necessary that all nations, all states participate in the fight for peace."

I take it we will all unite against war.

This is indeed a new contradiction.

It reminds me of a favourite saying of the late American comedian, Lou Costello . . . "That's a big . . . big lie".

Is this the Leninist concept of peaceful co-existence? Is this how we unite to hold the peace?

An American imperialist state will never participate in the fight for peace . . . never!

Imperialists are warmongers. Today American imperialism is the greatest warmonger.

We hold the peace as I understand it by the unity of all those forces opposed to the warmongers?

Again, on Khrushchov — I quote:

"I would like to tell you, dear comrades, that I have no doubt that the President is prepared to exert his efforts and his will to bring about agreement between our countries, to create friendly relations between our peoples and settle pressing problems in the interests of a durable peace.

"At the same time, it is my impression that there are forces in America which are not operating in the same direction as the President. These forces stand for continuing the 'cold war' and the arms race. Whether these forces are great or small, influential or unimportant, whether the forces backing the President — and

he has the support of the absolute majority of the American people — can win, are questions I would not be too hasty to answer."

Am I correct in assuming that he proposed that the leading cadre of imperialism wants or wanted peace?

Similar things have been said of Kennedy. There is a lot of talk these days of not seeing the imperialists as one block — of seeing the differences. I agree there are differences in their camp.

But let's look at how Khrushchov sees the problem.

He keeps talking of "men of reason". Meaning people who accept co-existence.

If we are to assume that a Kennedy or Eisenhower and others are "men of reason", men who will "exert" themselves "to create friendly relations between our peoples" . . . if they are indeed representative of a peace group within American imperialism, does it not follow that this group can become dominant . . . what then?

In other words for a time — long or short — a day or a night — even a second, imperialism will lose its warlike content — because this imperialist peace group, "men of reason" imperialists who "exert" themselves "to create friendly relations between our peoples" led by a Kennedy or a Eisenhower become a dominant force.

What rubbish!!

But this is a fair and reasonable conclusion to the views expressed by Khrushchov.

Is this the Leninist concept of peaceful co-existence? This is revisionism.

I have great respect for all comrades here!

I don't believe we are revisionists.

I do believe we have made a mistake.

I know that eventually this mistake will be corrected.

We have all been recently re-studying Left Wing Communism. Lenin is brilliant.

No communist would disagree with his analysis of this problem. But comrades, if we study Lenin in the present way — that is in relation to a one-sided appraisal of the Chinese viewpoint then we do great harm to Lenin's cause.

HERE IS AN EXAMPLE:

If we study Left Wing Communism and relate it to a distorted view of the meaning of the terms "paper tiger" then we harm Marxism.

Why do some leading comrades now fail to mention aspects of strategy and tactics stressed by Mao in his definition of a paper tiger.

Have we all forgotten that he stressed to both slight, and take note of the imperialists.

Comrades, who interferes in the affairs of fraternal parties?

Who is responsible for making inner party problems a public issue?

Who stands for disunity?

Practice has proven that it is N. S. Khrushchov and those on the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. who follow him.

We all here know that it was N. S. Khrushchov at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. who publicly attacked the Albanian Party and Government.

We all here know that it was Chou En Lai, the leader of the Chinese Party to the 22nd Congress who cautioned Khrushchov for raising the problem publicly.

How did Khrushchov react to this?

In his reply to discussion Khrushchov rejected the Chinese leader's caution.

He again attacked the Albanian Party leaders.

Here is something of what he said. I quote:

"Those who today stand for friendship with the Soviet Union, with the C.P.S.U., are regarded as enemies by the Albanian leaders.

"How can all this be reconciled with the pledges and assurances given by Shehu and Hoxha about friendly sentiments for the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union? It is evident that all their prattling about friendship is only hypocrisy and deceit.

"That is the situation prevailing in the Albanian Party of Labour; that is why the Albanian leaders are opposing the Leninist course of the 20th Congress of the Party. For to end the personality cult would virtually mean for Shehu, Hoxha and others to resign their leading positions in the Party and the State. This they do not want to do. But we are confident that the time will come when the Albanian communists and the Albanian people will have their say and the Albanian leaders will then be held responsible for the damage they have inflicted on their country, their people and the cause of building socialism in Albania."

Is this not interference?

It is more, it is a call to counter revolution.

How much more politely he handles the Tito clique whose hands are stained with the blood of Hungarian communists.

It is Khrushchov and those that follow him who are the real splitters.

His road is the road of revision.

To fight against this line is to fight for real unity — for Marxism-Leninism.

In conclusion, I formally move this resolution.

"This meeting of the Queensland State Committee of the Communist Party of Australia request the Central Committee to again reconsider its stand in relation to the ideological differences in the communist movement.

"We call upon the Central Committee to facilitate the distribution of all relevant material pertaining to the present dispute.

"In particular we request the C.C. to ensure the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist Party, as expressed in their numerous publications and booklets is made available along with the views of Khrushchov. Communists should be encouraged to read both viewpoints.

"We call upon the Central Committee to instruct all delegates to the forthcoming State Conference and the National Congress to study both viewpoints so that the decisions of Conferences and Congress will be genuinely based on their thorough knowledge of the issues."

Sharkey, Dixon, Aarons Are The Real Splitters

THE Communist Review of March, 1964, contains some extracts from a Report to C.C. Meeting by L. L. Sharkey headed—"Unity Against Dogmatism".

As Mr. Sharkey is nominally still the leader of the Communist Party of Australia it is necessary to look at what he has to say.

The article falls mainly under three headings—An attempt to analyse the tactics of the ruling class in the last Federal elections—with a grovelling apology to the Labor Party for its failure to win—a diatribe against the "Hill group" and "Dogmatists", and of course, as we have now come to expect when hearing from Mr. Sharkey, the usual tirade against the Chinese Communist Party.

Let us deal with the last-mentioned first. Mr. Sharkey tells us that his main points of disagreement with the Communist Party of China are as follows:

1. Their erroneous attitude to the socialist countries. They assert that each socialist country should go it alone instead of promoting a socialist division of labour among themselves, as is the case with the European Socialist countries.
2. The personality cult flourishes.
3. They assert the main force of contemporary development is not the socialist camp, not the working class, but the national revolutionary movement of the peoples exploited and oppressed by imperialism.
4. They believe the H-bomb is a paper tiger. Just like that! No explanation. No documentation. Just bold assertion. Members of the Communist Party and the Australian working class are supposed to accept without question that (1) This is a correct presentation of C.P.C. views, and (2) That it is the main basis for disagreement.

Any serious student of political affairs can and should obtain the Chinese publications for themselves. Just as soon as they do this, it becomes exceedingly clear that the real basis of Mr. Sharkey's disagreement with the Communist Party of China, and well he knows it, rages around the fundamental propositions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin about the correct road the working class must take to successfully achieve Socialism.

Certainly, he disagrees with the Communist Party of China on those points he singles out. But that flows from his disagreement on the fundamental questions of the revolutionary struggle.

It flows from his disagreement with the fundamental propositions put forward by Lenin in "State & Revolution". Does the road to socialism lie through the Parliamentary machine of the ruling class or must the working class smash the old bourgeois State machine and create a new working class State?

Marx, Engels and Lenin are clear and unequivocal on the subject. . . . the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another . . . (Lenin, *State & Revolution*, p. 9, Vol. 7, Selected Works, L. & W. ed.). "Revolution alone can 'put an end' to the bourgeois state" (Lenin, S. & R., p. 18, Vol. 7, Selected Works, L. & W.). "A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Lenin, S. & R., p. 33, Vol. 7, Selected Works, L. & W. ed.).

Parliamentary Majorities

What is the attitude of the leadership of the Communist Party of Australia to these vital propositions? One gets a little enlightenment from an article by R. Dixon, Chairman of C.P.A., in the same Communist Review.

"Our efforts are directed towards securing a peaceful transition to socialism, but whether this will be possible or not, will, in the final outcome, depend largely on the nature of the resistance offered by monopoly to the revolutionary forces. Whether the transition to socialism is peaceful or non-peaceful, it will come about as a result of revolutionary struggle and will involve the overthrow of the political power of monopoly capital and the establishment of the power of the working class" (C.R., p. 73).

An ambiguous statement if ever there was one.

If he means what Lenin does, why not say so and be done with it? But when you read the whole of Mr. Dixon's article, see what Mr. Sharkey has to say, take into account all the propaganda issued by the Communist Party during the last Federal Elections, and examine the programme of the C.P. of A. it is clear that the ambiguous statement about "overthrow of the political power of monopoly capital and the establishment of the power of the working class" is included merely as a sop to those who still remember the revolutionary principles of Lenin's "State and Revolution", to satisfy those members who want something more than the ever-continuing talk of "directing efforts towards securing a peaceful transition to socialism".

What the Communist Party leadership has in mind is clearly the winning of socialism by Parliamentary majorities. Certainly, nobody in his right mind would choose winning Socialism violently if it could be done peacefully. But Lenin dealt with facts, not wishes.

The working class must be organized on the basis of facts. How does Mr. Dixon envisage organizing the Australian workers? "The majority of the Australian workers are either members or supporters of the Labor Party and these are the forces that must be won to a revolutionary position before socialism can be established here."

Well, that's not bad as far as it goes, but how does Mr. Dixon the "expert" on the problems of unity proceed?

"We are not setting out to destroy the Labor Party, which is the 'Left' sectarian approach." (No one will need do that, Mr. Dixon. When the workers through **correct** leadership and experience reach the position of demanding really revolutionary leadership from a Labor Party which will be unable to provide it, the working class itself will abandon its traditional allegiance to that Labor Party).

But to continue: "Starting from unity in action in the day-to-day struggles of the workers we envisage the development of working class unity on an ever wider scale—a unity that will lead at one stage or another to political unity, to the establishment of one party of the working class based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For this it is necessary to combat and overcome reformist ideology among the workers, but this is something different from seeing the problem as the destruction of the Labor Party."

Why, Mr. Dixon?

Is the bourgeois character of the Labor Party (admitted to be a fact by you in this very same article) the same thing as the character of this "Marxist-Leninist" Party you speak about?

If you would hasten to deny this, how can you claim that if you fundamentally change the character of this bourgeois party, it would not be destroyed as we know it? But in any case, one only needs to look a little more closely to appreciate the utter absurdity of the whole proposition.

A Marxist-Leninist Party must consist of those who embrace the theory of Marxism—who extend "the acceptance of the class struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat".

We presume you are including in your membership Mr. Calwell because you always insist on recognition of your estimate that he is not a right-winger, but of the centre. Mr. Sharkey repeats the estimate in his afore-mentioned contribution. L. Aarons follows the same line of reasoning in his article "Marxism and Mr. Calwell", also in the same edition of the C.R.

According to this last masterpiece, the only trouble with Mr. Calwell is that "he has never taken the trouble to study" Marxism. So there shouldn't be any trouble. Enrol Mr. Calwell in E. Aarons' next study group where he can study the "new creative" Marxism and his membership in your new future "Marxist-Leninist" Party is assured.

L. Sharkey tells us Mr. Whitlam may be a right-winger, but Mr. Calwell, ah! that's different. Mr. Calwell only accepts as right the existence of a U.S. base at Exmouth Gulf. Mr. Calwell only seeks to outdo Sir Garfield Barwick in his vilification of Indonesia.

Mr. Calwell only proclaims he stands as one with Menzies on Malaysia—but Mr. Calwell, he's no right-winger. When we've gone up all the steps of this mythical "unity" ladder he's going to be No. 1 recruit for the equally mythical "Marxist-Leninist" Party.

So that all the talk about the necessity "to combat and overcome reformist ideology among the workers" is just so much poppycock. Deeds, please Mr. Dixon, not words!

Your leader, Sharkey, in the same "Review" article almost falls over himself in his abject efforts to prove that it was through no fault of the Communist Party that a Labor Government was not returned at the last Federal elections, because a "Labor Government . . . promised a number of useful reforms".

Certainly, Labor policy proposed a few minor reforms, but then so did Liberal policy. So to offer this as a reason is absurd.

To use Lenin's phrase of many years ago, we support a Labor Government in office as the rope supports the hanged man.

We recognize that the workers need this essential experience of a Labor Government to test for themselves the deeds of "their" Government as opposed to its words.

Dimitrov, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 spoke of our "attitude of absolute opposition to Social-Democratic governments, which are governments of compromise with the bourgeoisie".

It's embarrassing in the extreme, we know, to have to be reminded of these "left" pronouncements of the great revolutionary leaders. But there it is, the printed word is a very stubborn thing and even if you rubbed from now until doomsday, you would be unable to erase this fundamental proposition either from the history books or the minds of the world's people.

Fantasy In The Mind

So this fantasy of stepping stones you have built for yourself in which you are combatting reformist ideology among the workers exists only in your mind. Let's face it, Mr. Dixon, you are in fact contributing to reformist ideology among the workers. Not one word of either this speech or any other of recent times attempts to criticize from a **class position** the theories of reformism.

Both Sharkey and Dixon try to bolster up their sagging courage by screaming about every second paragraph—"it's all the fault of Hill and the splitters—we must have unity".

The heading to Mr. Sharkey's "theoretical" contribution just says "Unity—Against Dogmatism".

Unquestionably this call for unity is being repeatedly used by the revisionists in the leadership of the C.P. of A. to drag into

line those within their ranks who continue to have doubts about the correctness of the policy of the leaders.

It would not be the first time it has been used in the revolutionary movement for thoroughly reactionary claims.

"The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles—Unity is a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life against self-styled socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie only as a **class** and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois) one cannot be greatly grieved that the inevitable struggle has broken out" (Engels to A. Bebel, Oct. 28, 1882, Selected Correspondence of Marx & Engels, Moscow, p. 427).

Marx and Engels had their share of revisionists too, both within the ranks of the German Social Democratic Party and outside it. They had to wage firm and repeated struggles on behalf of correct proletarian revolutionary ideas.

Marx, Engels and Lenin never hesitated to deal with this cry of "unity", uttered by those who are in the process of abandoning the class struggle—who are revising the fundamental propositions of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and they need a nice, easy path (no opposition, please!) on which to do it.

Crisis Is No Accident

This crisis, as with previous major crises in the ranks of the revolutionary parties, is no accidental thing. It does not arise from a clash of personalities or as the result of a local argument. The present big debate, it is clear to see, is a world-wide phenomenon, a reflection of the objective world situation, a direct result of the general world crisis of imperialism.

None would deny that this immoral, outmoded system is in its death throes. Socialism is now the prevailing system over one-third of the earth. The colonial revolution is hammering away at imperialism's doors—the hitherto backward peoples are on the march.

Each big crisis for imperialism gives rise to desperate measures to save the doomed system—the crisis for imperialism expressed in the 1914-18 war also found a crisis in the ranks of the working-class International, the second International of that time. Looking back now, it is easy to say—easy to see—that the revisionist leaders of the Second International betrayed the working class. They were renegades to the revolutionary movement.

But, back in the 1914 days—these very same leaders were respected far and wide as the leaders of the revolutionary movement. Should Lenin have denounced their treachery or should he have kept quiet in the interests of "unity"?

"Unity—a great cause and a great slogan! But the workers' cause required the **unity of the Marxists** and not the unity of the Marxists with the opponents and distorters of Marxism" (Lenin Collected Works, 4th Russian Ed., Moscow, Vol. 20, p. 211), and further "It is impossible to carry out the tasks of Socialism at the present time, it is impossible to achieve real international unity of the workers, without a determined rupture with opportunism, and explaining to the masses the inevitability of its bankruptcy" (The War and Russian Social-Democracy, Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 403).

So, clearly, Lenin made no bones about it. The leaders of the Second International had betrayed the working class. The working class must be told the truth. Was he a splitter?

Every revolutionary, without hesitation, would answer that Lenin upheld Marxism-Leninism. He was prepared to accept all the vilification and slander that the erstwhile leaders of the Second International could heap upon his head. There is no question that in revealing the bankruptcy of their position before the working class he performed a mighty service for humanity, he made vitally important contributions to the theory of Marxism—he assisted to develop and advance the development of the Third Communist International.

He assured the success of the socialist revolution in Russia. His failure to speak out, his flinching in face of the storm of abuse would have retarded the revolutionary movement for many years.

The same principle holds good for today. Those, who in the name of "creative Marxism", under the slogan "against dogmatism", slander the great Chinese Communist Party, the Albanian C.P. and others, slander those who within our country insist upon upholding the principles of revolutionary doctrine, the sum total of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 81 Parties' Statement, have in fact broken with Marxism-Leninism.

They are the real splitters.

They have split with fundamental revolutionary doctrine. They are splitting and confusing the working class. Every one of our readers is advised to read and re-read their statements. Sift out their false theories, compare them with the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Compare them with the whole experience of the revolution throughout the world.

R. Dixon, in his article in the Communist Review mentioned earlier, claims that the world-wide discussion "deepened our understanding of Marxism-Leninism both in its general principles and its application concretely, to the conditions here in Australia". Our readers are invited to test the validity of this claim for themselves.

We have endeavoured to do just this with one or two important propositions—namely the attitude of a sincere revolutionary party to the capitalist state, to a capitalist Parliament.

Class Character of A.L.P.

We have touched upon some matters in relation to the Labor Party. Mr. Dixon, of course, claims that because we believe in facing the facts, and point out the class character of the Labor Party and the ruling class position of its leaders, that we stand opposed to unity with Labor Party rank and file, Labor Party supporters.

Nothing, of course, is further from the truth. The precise way to achieve unity with those workers who support the Labor Party must lie both in working unitedly with them for the fulfilment of common demands at the same time as we discuss truthfully the fact that the Labor Party is a Party of capitalism. How else can the workers be won to support a revolutionary path?

Mr. Dixon is critical of our attitude to the "Left" in the Labor Party. He and his colleagues are incapable of seeing the differences within the Labor Party as a situation which if taken proper advantage of can deal a blow against reformism as a whole—the "left" included.

No! They hold up slightly more progressive sections of the Labor Party, clothe them with such virtues and honesty as to create even more illusions within the ranks of the working class about reformism.

As to Mr. Dixon's claim (p. 70, C.R.) to be deepening his understanding of Marxism-Leninism, one has only to look both at this particular issue of the Communist Review, to read carefully the Communist Press to conclude, as so many workers are doing, that it is more and more simply becoming a mouthpiece for the policy of the Labor Party.

What new theories have they advanced? Nothing, but to rob the Moscow Declaration and 81 Parties' Statement of their revolutionary content—nothing but to abandon the struggle against revisionism and all by themselves declare "dogmatism" to be the main danger facing the Communist Parties. Nothing, but to throw overboard Lenin's revolutionary proposition about smashing the State apparatus and substitute the proposition of "peaceful transition" and Parliamentary majorities to legislate socialism.

No longer do Mr. Dixon and his colleagues merely stumble down the barren, sterile path of theoretical confusion. They are literally rushing headlong into the abyss where they will finish with a bourgeois party enunciating a completely bourgeois theory. They will become a left wing of social democracy attempting to bolster up imperialism for a little longer.

Man's Will IS A Part Of Objective Reality

IN the March issue of the *Communist Review* there is an article entitled "Wishful Thinking Versus Objective Reality". It is written by Eric Thornton, a member of the Melbourne Guardian's editorial staff.

The article commences with an attack on E. F. Hill for his correct statement in the first issue of the Australian Communist which says:

"Man's will is part of objective reality, and in turn influences objective reality. Marxist-Leninist Parties are based upon recognition of the universal laws revealed by Marxism-Leninism and the recognition of the fact that man himself, as a conscious being, is capable of influencing the operation of these laws.

"Knowledge of those laws, gives him freedom to act within them. Ignorance, or denial of them, makes his actions blind and irrational. Hence the Party of Marxism-Leninism must act in accordance with those laws. Centralism gives it that capacity to act. Marx said: 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it'."

Thornton says that this statement identifies man's will with objective reality and therefore "deserves to be included in an anthology of schoolboy howlers".

Let us examine what the learned Mr. Thornton says.

His article starts off: "Dialectical materialism holds that man's will is a form of consciousness of individuals or groups and classes which when translated into practical, material activities can and does affect the working out of objective laws in nature and society, by retarding or accelerating their operation. But 'left dogmatists' in the person of E. F. Hill, their local ideological leader, have distorted this correct idea by putting forward the proposition: 'Man's will is part of objective reality'."

And so right at the very beginning Mr. Thornton commences to tie himself in knots.

Thornton cannot distinguish will from thought because he cannot distinguish objective reality from matter. Not a strange thing for a man whose knowledge mainly comes from books. Will cannot be treated in the abstract.

Man's will is the product of reason—that is a synthesis of the objective and subjective and as such becomes again the objective as soon as it becomes practice. Will cannot be divorced from practice.

Thought is the reflection of the material world—but will is not just thought. Will is action, practice and as such cannot be separated from objective reality.

In Capital, Volume 1, Marx makes this fairly clear when he says: "Labor is, in the first place, a process in which both **MAN AND NATURE** participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates and controls the material reactions between himself and nature. He opposes himself to nature, **AS ONE OF HER OWN FORCES**, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body in order to appropriate nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature" (our emphasis).

Man Is Not Passive

Thornton says quite plainly that man's will is the reflection of reality. And then he leaves it at that.

If man's will was only a reflection of reality it would not be will; it would be thought. But man is not just a passive creature.

In contrast to evolution in nature the development of society does not proceed of itself. As Engels noted "everything that sets men acting must find its way through their brains", and consequently social processes, once the necessary material conditions are there, depend in large measure on the meaning people put into their actions and on the aims they pursue, that is, on the subjective factor.

Needless to say, people do not determine this meaning or these aims arbitrarily; in the final analysis they are historically conditioned by economic development. "Hence," said Marx, "man-kind only sets itself such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or are at least in the process of formation."

In the transition from capitalism to communism, the role of the subjective factor—of consciousness—grows steadily. Man, at first the passive object of history, changes into the active subject. Concentration of industry creates objective conditions by virtue of which the workers become conscious of their class solidarity.

Thornton's article is worth careful study for it reveals the inner reasoning of a revisionist which combines negation of struggle with dogmatism.

So it is logical to find in Thornton's article a sneering criticism of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that all imperialists are paper tigers and that "no one has yet observed a will strong enough to

enable 100 unarmed men, or men armed only with rifles in an exposed position, to withstand an assault by one aeroplane armed with a block-buster bomb".

Here we see defeatism, pure and simple.

And worse than that, a complete lack of understanding or, rather, a failure to grasp the essence of the very rich revolutionary lessons of the last 100 years.

We do not advocate self-destruction, least of all the Chinese whose military brilliance has been well confirmed over recent times.

But the revolutionary forces always start off being immeasurably weaker than the class enemy. The task is to preserve them and build them, and strengthen their morale. This cannot be done by adventurism or capitulation.

Has Thornton not read of the Cuban revolution—how it started with 12 men and seven rifles? And the present struggle in South Vietnam: surely this struggle is proving in practice that man is decisive and is superior to weapons.

It is clear that Thornton has no understanding of the essence of Marxism, which is struggle.

Let us return to the question of will for it is vitally important today when people like Thornton are trying to weaken and undermine revolutionary consciousness and action. The hallmark of an opportunist is that he meekly accepts reality and will not struggle to change it; so therefore makes the best of a bad thing. This ideology runs right through Thornton's lifeless article.

Must Find Way Out

A philosophical system in which the sensed is regarded as something exclusively external and foreign to the logical, where all the independence of the material sensations vanishes into "pure" thought, is naturally incapable of finding a way out.

That can only be done if the subject is regarded as the materialistic and, at the same time, the organic centre of an active process which unites sensation and thought.

This activity of the social subject is the same thing as the material practice of social man. In this we have the sensuous apprehension of the world of objects by purposeful, directed action, an apprehension which thus includes a reasoned relationship to surrounding reality.

It is this concrete, human, sensuous activity which Marx opposed to the purely ideal activity of German philosophy.

In Volume XI of his *Selected Works* (12 volume edition) on page 394 Lenin writes: "If the perceptual world is objective reality, then the door is closed to every other reality or quasi-reality (remember Bazarov believed the 'realism' of the im-

manentists, who declare god to be a real concept). If the world is matter in motion, matter can and must be infinitely studied in the infinitely complex and detailed manifestations and ramifications of this motion, the motion of this matter; but beyond it, beyond the 'physical', external world, with which everyone is familiar, there can be nothing."

Thornton is apparently unaware of the well-known dictum of Marx on that form of labour which appertains exclusively to man. It is this, that in contradistinction to animals, man "not only changes the form of that which has been given by nature—but also realizes at the same time his own conscious aim, which, like a law, defines the means and character of his actions and to which he is compelled to subordinate his will."

In actuality, both the conscious aim of action and the understanding of the material conditions of its realization are included in the process of social practice; are brought forth by it and evolve on its basis.

The recurrence in practice of various phenomena with which man comes into contact, the reproduction of phenomena, the substitution of one object for another, the union of very different objects in the reproduction of conditions of social life—all these create the basis for generalizations and conclusions.

Engels points out that the notion of the causal connection of phenomena, which expresses the objective connection of various aspects of the material world, arose from the very fact of man's purposeful changing of nature by his activity.

Man, by reproducing the conditions necessary for the occurrence of any given phenomenon, by acting upon one phenomenon and thereby evoking from it another—often something not previously met in relation to the first circumstance—rises to the level of an understanding of causal relations.

Practice, by its creation of the unity and mutual conditioning of the sensed and the logical moments of knowledge, is, at once, a verification of the correctness of both of them, and a measure of the truth of knowledge as a whole.

In this same verification there is realized in its turn the mutual transition of the sensed and the logical, and we notice that the verification of any theory—the transformation of it into life—is at the same time a creation of a new objectivity that can be perceived.

Practice is the crown and completion of the ideal and, as such, unites in itself both the moment of universality, attainable at once by reason, and the great diversity of sensed material.

"Practice," Lenin wrote, "is higher than theoretical knowledge,

because it has not only the property of generality, but also direct actuality."

Ideas have as their basis human action, the attribute of man alone; they give him his uniqueness, since they have no place in any other forms of the movement of matter.

The transformation of scientific theory into life, and the possibility, on its basis, of uniting and dissociating the different forms of movement of the material world that are found outside the human head, and of manipulating them according to previously formed aims—these disclose the close connection of theory with objectivity.

"Objective reality is not merely that which exists. It is that which exists independently of us, of our consciousness."

So Thornton writes. And here is his fundamental error. He is confusing objective reality and matter. Matter exists independently of us and of our consciousness, no matter what we do it continues to exist. Matter is that of which the whole universe, including ourselves, is composed. It is eternal and always in motion. Our concept of it varies with the increase of science, e.g. from atoms to electrons, but the philosophic definition remains correct.

Materialism says that the things which act on our sense organs and cause our perceptions really exist independently of our consciousness. Idealism says that they only exist as sensations as ours, that is in our minds. One idealist even went so far as to deduce his immortality from this—arguing that if his consciousness perished, the whole universe also perished, as it was only an idea in his mind—and of course that would be inconceivable so he would live forever.

We, the materialists, therefore call the world we see, hear and feel objective reality—meaning it has an existence of its own, independent of our (subjective) thoughts. But we do not say that the material world is the only objective reality—that things which we can't see, hear and feel do not exist. For example men's thoughts, emotions and will exist, social classes exist, ideologies exist.

Here is the point at which Thornton becomes confused. He is caught in a tangle of words and he goes on to contradict himself. He for instance admits that mass consciousness is an objective factor in any given situation, that it determines mass activity in the material world which means that it does alter objective reality in a thousand ways by, for example deposing governments, building a new army, expelling imperialists, conducting an agrarian revolution, constructing factories, etc.

Thornton continues by accusing Hill of believing in the absolute supremacy of the human will, of pragmatism. This is pure misrepresentation for Hill, even according to Thornton, said

that man is free to act within the universal laws if he knows them.

Objective reality is composed of matter and its actions. Now we are part of objective reality and objective reality to some extent is not independent of us and our consciousness. Matter, from which we are composed, is eternal but we are not.

We can alter or destroy the temporary shapes that matter assumes. We act on it and change it with the help of our consciousness, that is, of our knowledge of science, tools, etc., as illustrated above. And, of course, we can, to some extent, change ourselves with medicine and surgery. A large part of objective reality, namely the sun and stars, we do not act on to any measurable degree and that part exists independently of us and our consciousness, at least up to the present.

Our thought and will are part of objective reality. They are both actions of our brain and even confused thought such as that of Thornton is objectively real.

No one can deny its existence!

Thornton then returns to his original error. To repeat he writes: "objective reality is not merely that which exists. It is that which exists independently of us, of our consciousness".

This is perfectly true as an answer to idealism which places the existence of objective reality in our consciousness and denies its real existence. It is not true if it is interpreted to mean that we, with ideas derived from our sensations caused by the external world, cannot alter objective reality.

For the rest Thornton imputes things to Hill and the Chinese comrades that are absolutely false. We and the Chinese do not think world war inevitable. On the contrary we think it can be prevented by a correct policy and not by kow-towing a la Khrushchev to the imperialists. We fully recognise the changes that have taken place including the wresting of colonies from the imperialists, the decisive place occupied by the socialist countries, the change in the balance of forces. However, we affirm with absolute confidence that these changes do not change the universal laws discovered by Marx and Lenin, any more than they change the law of gravitation.

We have not forgotten Engels' observation that necessity would force even the capitalists to renounce weapons when they reach a certain point of destructiveness and expense. We would remind Thornton and his friends that Mao tse Tung said in 1947 that the atom bomb would probably never be used again. The last 17 years have borne out that statement.

Thornton accuses us too of undue haste of wanting to skip over necessary stages. We, however, still accept Lenin's advice that a revolutionary should never fix dates, he should do the correct work and wait till the proper time comes. No one, Mr. Thornton, has yet been able to fix the date for a revolution, even a month before that event.

Marxist-Leninists place great emphasis on ideological understanding in order to guide men's actions correctly. But Thornton says "the most fundamental way in which man changes the world is not according to his will, but by being drawn, of necessity, into production and production relations, in which his will plays only a minor part."

Such a statement, as shown above, is at complete variance with Marxism-Leninism.

The whole purpose of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party is to lift man's consciousness, to bring into the working class movement the ideas of socialism and a new morality.

It teaches, simply and profoundly, that man makes history.

How? By being passive?

No, by daring, and daring again, and again and again until final victory.

There is no place in the working class movement for people who whimper and snivel over difficulties, who are afraid of block-busters or atom bombs, who are afraid to stand up and say "we are for revolution".

Today the world revolution is unfolding magnificently. Millions of people are in struggle against imperialism. They are exerting their wills and every day, every hour, every minute are creating new favourable conditions for further action and further victories. The national liberation movement is, for us, a very real part of objective reality.

It is no accident that Thornton's article was published in the Communist Review. The job of the Party of Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey is to weaken man's will to struggle. The only conclusion that can be drawn from Thornton's article is: "Give it all away—it's far too difficult."

And we say "no", a thousand times "no", to this rubbish.

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