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Australian MARXIST Review

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**Theoretical journal of the
Socialist Party of Australia**

- * *The 25th Congress CPSU*
- * *Aboriginal Land Rights*
- * *Trotskyism*
- * *Terrorism In Ireland*
- * *The Monetary Crisis and Gold*

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Australian MARXIST Review

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The 25th Congress of the CPSU and Ideology

by P. Symon

The main report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU delivered by L. Brezhnev was rich in ideological content. It raised the main issues being discussed in the international communist movement and about which there are some differing views.

It is no secret that it was ideological differences that led to the formation of the SPA in 1971.

In a number of other Parties, tendencies similar to those which overwhelmed the Communist Party of Australia, have been exhibited. The Australian experience is not unique.

Nor is the contention between Marxism-Leninism and bourgeois trends in the labour movement something new. Marxism-Leninism has grown in ceaseless struggle against the various manifestations of idealist philosophy.

Marx and Engels conducted an ideological struggle on all fronts and so did Lenin.

There are two sources for revisionist trends. Firstly, ideas arise fundamentally out of social conditions. So long as certain classes exist so will the ideology which expresses the class relationships and interests of that class in society.

Secondly, imperialism, deliberately and consciously disseminates ideas which are in one way or another expressions of bourgeois ideology. They include reformism, petty-bourgeois radicalism, religion, anarchism, and many more.

In the ideological struggle with Marxism-Leninism the bourgeoisie makes use of all these trends at one time or another.

In addition great attention is now being given to developing and promoting all kinds of distortions and deviations of Marxism.

Speaking to the 25th Congress, L. Brezhnev said: "The positive changes in world affairs and the detente go to create favourable opportunities for the broad spread of socialist ideas. But, on the other hand, the ideological contest between the two systems is becoming ever more acute, and the propaganda of imperialism ever more refined."

He went on: "There can be no question of compromise on matters of principle, of reconciliation with views and actions contrary to the communist ideology. A concession to opportunism may sometimes yield some temporary advantage, but will ultimately be damaging to the Party."

Internationalism

When writing the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848, Marx and Engels inscribed the slogan, "Workers of the World, Unite" putting in words the universal identity of workers everywhere.

Internationalism remains central to communist ideology and has been consummated in countless solidarity actions by working people of one country in support of those of another.

"Communists," said L. Brezhnev, "act upon the common laws and regularities governing the development of the revolution and the building of socialism and communism.....Understanding of these common laws and regularities and reliance on them in combination with a creative approach and with consideration for the concrete conditions in each separate country, were and remain the inalienable and distinctive feature of the Marxist-Leninist."

In the course of the growth and many common struggles, the international communist movement elaborated the principles upon which the relations between communist parties were based. The 1969 meeting of world communist and workers' parties established the characteristics of these relations as being solidarity, mutual assistance, non-interference, equality and independence.

However, some Parties, including the Communist Party of Australia give a one-sided emphasis to the question of independence. What can one say about this?

First, that Parties already have their independence and no-one denies it or threatens it. All Parties determine their policies, strategy and tactics according to their own assessment of the national and international situation. So independence is an open door.

To put forward independence in a one-sided way, to the point of forgetting about solidarity and mutual assistance, leads to the development of ideas of exclusiveness, uniqueness, of being different, in a word — nationalist.

It leads to a denial of the "common laws and regularities" applicable to all countries.

Eventually "independence" becomes independence from the world communist movement and independence from Marxism-Leninism.

The leaders of the Communist Party of China were early protagonists of "independence." The road for them ended in complete betrayal.

Peaceful Coexistence

For some time various distortions of the meaning of peaceful co-existence have been put forward. It has been portrayed as a policy of "going soft on imperialism," of "abandonment of struggle" and so on.

Today, detente, which flows from an application of the principles of peaceful co-existence is similarly attacked.

The Maoists attack detente as a fraud and a deception and talk endlessly about the inevitability of war. "Peaceful coexistence meets the needs of imperialism," they say.

Other opponents of detente are the Ronald Reagans, the Schlesingers and the Malcolm Frasers who assert that detente is a trap and only benefits the Soviet side. President Ford has dropped the word from his vocabulary!

The similarity of views on detente by the extreme right and the "left" is yet another example of the fact that the extremes arrive at the same position but from opposite directions.

On this question the main report of L. Brezhnev said: "Now that detente has become reality, the question of how it influences the class struggle arises often in the international working-class movement and among its opponents."

"Some bourgeois leaders affect surprise and raise a howl over the

solidarity of Soviet Communists, the Soviet people, with the struggle of other peoples for freedom and progress. This is either outright naiveness or more likely a deliberate befuddling of minds. It could not be clearer, after all, that detente and peaceful co-existence refer to interstate relations.

"This means mainly that disputes and conflicts between countries are not to be settled by war, by the use or threat of force. The detente does not in the slightest abolish, and cannot abolish or alter, the laws of the class struggle. None should expect that because of detente Communists will reconcile themselves with capitalist exploitation or that monopolists become followers of the revolution.....

"We make no secret of the fact that we see detente as the way to create more favourable conditions for peaceful socialist and communist construction. This only confirms that socialism and peace are indissoluble.

"As for the ultra-leftist assertions that peaceful co-existence is the next thing to "helping capitalism" and "freezing the socio-political status quo," our reply is this: every revolution is above all a natural result of the given society's internal development. Life itself has refuted the inventions about the freezing of the status quo. Suffice it to recall the far-reaching revolutionary changes in the world in recent years."

Democracy

One of the most sustained campaigns of imperialism against the socialist countries and the communist movement as a whole has been its charge of lack of democracy, or that democracy is attacked and destroyed by socialism.

The capitalist system emerged from amidst the autocracy and suppression of feudalism with the catchcries of freedom and equality on its lips. At that time the young emerging capitalist class was able to mobilise the masses of the people behind these slogans in the revolutionary struggles to overthrow feudalism.

However, once the rule of the capitalist class was established it became clear that the basic freedom was to be freedom for the capitalist class to exploit the labour of the developing working class and that equality was to be equality of the capitalist class with the feudal nobility.

This remains the essential content of "freedom" and "democracy" in every capitalist society today.

It was only the subsequent struggles by the developing working class which won adult franchise, no taxation without representation, trade union rights and a number of other important political freedoms.

However, the dictatorship of capital remains real. It is only obscured by the existence of a Parliamentary system. The capitalist class does not hesitate to restrict or destroy the rights of working class organisations to protect the interests of capital even while mouthing hypocritical phrases about freedom.

Australia saw what the ruling class was prepared to do last November 11th. The Fraser government is now preparing a heavy attack on the rights of the trade union movement and some Liberal State governments have not waited for the Federal government to act but are preparing their own restrictive legislation.

Socialism abolishes the dictatorship of capital (a small minority) and establishes the rule of the working class and its allies (the vast majority).

Socialist democracy is, however, not some non-class democracy, democracy in general. It is democracy for the working people and acts against capital and specifically prohibits the monstrosities of imperialism which include the propagation of war, violence and racism.

L. Brezhnev said in his report, "Let us recall Lenin's idea that in our society the moral things are those which serve the interests of communist construction.

"Similarly, we can say that for us the democratic is that which serves the people's interests, the interests of communist construction. We reject everything that runs counter to these interests, and nothing can persuade us that this is the wrong approach. We know exactly where we are going as we improve our political system. Today, we know not only the theory but also from long years of practice that genuine democracy is impossible without socialism, and that socialism is impossible without a steady development of democracy. We see the improvement of our socialist democracy as consisting above all in a steady effort to ensure ever fuller participation by the working people in running all the affairs of society, in further developing the democratic principles of our state system, and in creating the conditions for the all-round flourishing of the individual."

Much more could be said on all these questions and they are only three of the important ideological issues covered in the report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU which make study of L. Brezhnev's report valuable for all political activists.

The 25th Congress and the Future of Humanity

by W.J. Brown

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stands as an event of profound significance for the future of humanity.

The decisions of the Congress in relation to the 10th Five Year Plan setting perspectives for a secure economic future of full employment, stable prices and ascending wage levels is of obvious significance in a world where chronic inflation, soaring prices, mass unemployment and attempts to impose wage restrictions are the grey norms of the capitalist economies.

The future of humanity is clearly bound up with the need to develop a stable economic system that is capable of providing the people of all lands with secure and expanding guarantees of economic security and unfettered development of their social and cultural potential.

The dynamic contrast of the consolidated and ongoing security of the Soviet people under socialism as set out at the 25th Congress clearly indicates what the people of all lands can achieve.

A most significant feature of the 25th Congress was the new Peace Program outlined in the report of General Secretary L. Brezhnev. It is on this point that this article is focussed.

To return to the capitalist world from attending the 25th Congress is like coming into a part of the globe where things are turned upside down, where truth is stood on its head.

The 25th congress presented a comprehensive series of proposals for world peace which met the approval and applause of delegates from 96 countries.

The proposals were reasonable rational. They offer humanity a secure path of peace through the nuclear age. One would have thought they would have at least received a reasonable, rational response from at

least the more responsible sectors of the capitalist press. Speaking for the Australian media one can only make the sad comment that even to this point (nearly two months later) no sector of the capitalist controlled press, radio or TV has attempted to make anything like an objective appraisal of the quite historic document known as the Peace Program of the 25th Congress. Even the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the government station with special claims to be "non partisan" and "objective" has not presented any serious reportage of the 25th Congress in general nor its peace proposals in particular.

One can understand the media of the capitalist world not wanting to give publicity to facts that show that in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries there is no unemployment, no rising prices, no inflation and no fear of a future haunted by economic insecurity.

But in suppressing the truth about Soviet peace offers they are suppressing information important to their own class interests.

Obviously war in the nuclear age means obliteration for capitalism's vast private property holdings and annihilation for millionaire controllers of multi-national corporations as well as millions of people the world over. So why suppress the truth of Soviet peace offers and spread the lie about "Soviet threats?"

The fact is that the new and serious proposals for peace made at the 25th Congress of the CPSU have been met, not with any common sense approach, but with one of the worst outbreaks of warmongering since the Cold War years.

And the Fraser Government abetted by the Australian media is among the most irresponsible.

Together with the media, the Fraser Government has launched wild charges that the Soviet Union is allegedly establishing bases and an expanding naval presence in the Indian Ocean.

As the Fraser Government (and the media) well know, Mr. Brezhnev stated categorically in his report that the Soviet Union has "never had and now have no intention whatever of building military bases in the Indian Ocean. And we call on the United States to do likewise."

The Sydney Morning Herald, one of the leading exponents of the lie about "Soviet expansion in the Indian Ocean" has actually suppressed a letter setting out the facts on what Mr Brezhnev actually said.

The war-inciting trend is not confined to Australia. In America,

President Ford, who only recently sat down and talked detente with Mr Brezhnev has bowed to mass pressure and said he has even dropped the world "detente" from his vocabulary. Ex-Hollywood cowboy bigot Ronald Reagan, in fact, is making considerable ground in the United States presidential race precisely on a violent anti-peace program openly based on aggressive policies against the Soviet Union.

Reagan cannot be dismissed as a ratbag. Such arms race ravings are good for big business profits.

Arms race pressures are already a major factor in American politics.

In April, for instance, the House of Representative of the US Congress approved a bill to allocate 33,300 million dollars for purchase of weapons in 1976-77. The total military budget being planned in America amounts to the record figure of 113,000 million dollars. No wonder powerful business interests profiting from arms contracts want to reverse detente and intensify the arms race.

However, there is a considerable basis for differentiation among various sections of the capitalist class, even among right circles.

As the National Times, May 10 commented "Reagan's six-gun diplomacy frightens even the far right." The journal adds that when even Barry Goldwater, who wanted to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam, "accuses Ronald Reagan of having a dangerous, militaristic mind, most Americans take fright."

Plainly the world faces a deliberate attempt to reverse the sound detente policy set at Helsinki last August. Plainly there are extreme forces among the capitalist class who see rejection of detente and stepping up of the arms race as a reckless path to greater profits for their corporations — and even a path to the ultimate insanity of actual nuclear war on the Socialist countries.

To their discredit, so-called "left" publications in Australia take a similar line of either outright attacks on detente or suppression of any mention of the word side by side with silence on the 25th Congress Peace Program. The various outright Trotskyite journals are notable in this regard.

The "Tribune" — official journal of the "Communist" Party of Australia — like the capitalist press, has made no positive response to the 25th Congress Peace Program. ("Tribune" columns, in fact, to this point have made no call for support and action around the new Stockholm

Peace Appeal and its call for detente, disarmament, and development although this campaign has been getting mass response internationally and in Australia, following its launching by the NSW Trade Union Peace Committee and the Union of Australian Women.

Mr. Brezhnev dealt effectively with the ideological struggle for clarity on the concept of detente. He frankly drew attention to the fact that detente is opposed by both the right and the ultra left.

In Australia, various ultra-left elements put forward the precise line Comrade Brezhnev warns about. Objectively opposition to detente from the "left" assists those on the right who want to destroy detente.

The SPA, recognises that there are sincere forces who are misled by opposition to detente as expressed in the line of the present CPA leadership, the Trotskyite and Maoist groups.

To combat this the SPA needs to do more to develop vigorous campaign for ideological explanation of the real import of this concept.

Detente simply means relaxation of tension among the nations and the dialectics of detente are either that the peace forces of the world win the struggle for continued *relaxation* of tension or the enemies of peace win the struggle for *intensification*. In short, detente stands at the head of the struggle for peace.

Those standing for intensification of tension are the extreme sectors of the capitalist class, the big multi-national directors, the armament manufacturers, the American industrial-complex, etc. Those who want relaxation of tension are the supporters of peace, the Socialist countries, the people fighting for national liberation, the mounting people's mass movement for peace right across the world.

The Peace Program of the 25th Congress of the CPSU should be objectively studied by all sections of the labor movement and, for that matter, by all sectors of the Australian community including big business.

Its points include Soviet—US agreement on reducing strategic arms, the earliest possible holding of a World Disarmament Conference, peaceful elimination of hotbeds of war such as the Middle East conflict, do everything to deepen detente, work for Asian security based on joint efforts by Asian states, work for a world treaty on non-use of force, complete elimination of colonial oppression and racism, removal of artificial barriers on trade.

The essence of the Peace Program adopted by the 25th Congress reflects the main-stream drive for peace contained in the Stockholm Peace Appeal recently launched by the World Peace Council.

A major task in Australia is to see that the foreign policy of our government is also brought, by mass pressure, to the stage where it also reflects the main points of the world peace movement's program.

The policy of the Socialist Party of Australia is to give maximum support to both the peace program of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the peace policy advanced by the World Peace Council.

Unfortunately in Australia, a line advanced by sections of the "left" is to pose regional issues against the global issues presented in those policy statements.

In practice, this takes the form of raising important national issues such as opposition to foreign bases on Australian soil or regional issues such as solidarity for freedom for East Timor but playing down or even ignoring altogether the global issues of detente, disarmament and development — ignoring the Stockholm Peace Appeal.

Regional issues are very important. They identify with issues facing the people within Australia and the surrounding area.

There is good room for unity on issues such as opposition to foreign bases, East Timor independence, no American base at Diego Garcia, etc. The issue raised in the 25th Congress Peace Program of working for an Asian Security conference in this area is also an issue in our region around which a major united campaign should be mounted.

But side by side with such regional issues a central united campaign needs to be developed around the Stockholm Peace Appeal.

The remarkably good response to the petition launched by the NSW Trade Union Peace Committee and the Union of Australian Women shows that the mood to support sane global initiatives for peace is running strongly among the Australian people.

Similarly, the current revival of the "Soviet threat" rubbish can be defeated providing broad unity is developed in a campaign calling on the Fraser Government to take up the peace offers made in the 25th Congress Peace Program.

Despite its detractors, detente is gaining ground and can be made irreversible providing broad, united action of the people is mounted across the world.

The Socialist Party of Australia welcomes the correct emphasis given to this concept at the 25th Congress of the CPSU as a clear indication of Soviet sincerity in its support for a better life for all people in a world of durable peace. We will be playing our full part to develop the broadest possible united action in support of the objectives of detente, disarmament and development as a keynote of the SPA's peace policy in Australia.

* * * * *

This is the second of two articles discussing some aspects of the Socialist Party of Australia's policy on the Aboriginal national minority adopted at the Second Congress.

The first article was published in the January 1976 issue of the *Australian Marxist Review*.

The Australian National Minority

Part II

by Dr. Hannah Middleton

The recognition and granting of land rights to the Aborigines remains at this time the key to the recognition of their position as Australia's national minority. This applies not only to the communities who are claiming land but to all people who identify themselves as Aborigines wherever and under whatever conditions they live.

Land rights mean not leasehold (as have been given to the Gurindji) or a form of freehold (which seems likely once the recommendations of the Woodward Commission become law). They mean *communal* and *inalienable* land.

This is a matter of *principle* from which we must not deviate one inch. Further, our support in principle means that each claim by an Aboriginal community must be carefully examined in the light of their needs and interests and also the interests of white people living on that land. Our support for the principle does not and must not mean that we give unconditional support to any and every land claim.¹

Our demand is for communal land rights because this approximates most closely to the Aborigines' own demands and their traditional form of land ownership. It also carries with it a degree of protection against the loss of land: if the whole group collectively owns the

1. "The whole task of the proletarians in the national question is "unpractical" from the standpoint of the nationalist bourgeoisie of every nation, because the proletarians, opposed as they are to nationalism of every kind, demand "abstract" equality; they demand, as a matter of principle, that there should be no privileges, however slight..."

land there is less likelihood that it can be sold off by individuals (the development of a black bourgeoisie is already beginning and is obviously in the interests of the capitalist establishment) or to outsiders, particularly Australian and/or foreign companies interested in cheap pastoral land or natural resources.

We also demand *inalienable* land rights for Aborigines to protect them from the danger of having their land stolen again, this time by subtle, legal means or from economic necessity. The demand also implies a recognition of the unbroken rights of Aborigines to their land from the past (at least 40,000 years) into the future.

This should not be understood in an absolute sense, however. The question of land rights under socialism has been raised as if this contradicts our demand for inalienable land rights now. It is important to stress that under socialism the concept of "ownership" assumes a totally different character and, in a sense, becomes irrelevant.

Under socialism land, as one of the basic means of production, becomes the property of everyone through the state. However, this is combined with a system whereby the Aborigines would never be made to move from a particular area of land against their will and in which every effort would be made to encourage and assist them to develop economically, socially and culturally to the utmost.

Our demand for communal, inalienable land rights for the Aborigines is put forward in the context of monopoly capitalism and it has two basic aspects: the recognition of the Aborigines' aspirations and national rights, and the protection (as far as this is possible under capitalism) of those rights when/if achieved.

There is one final point in connection with land rights which we should take into consideration. This is their *revolutionary* aspect.

Land occupation is an illegal activity. By their example of combining legal methods with illegal action against the discriminatory class laws of Australia, Aboriginal groups — initially and predominantly the Gurindji — have not only exercised a profound influence on the struggle of Aborigines throughout the continent, raising it to a qualitatively higher

"The proletariat is opposed to such practicality. While recognising equality and equal rights to a national state, it values above all and places foremost the alliance of the proletarians of all nations, and assesses any national demand, any national separation, from the angle of the workers' class struggle. This call for practicality is in fact merely a call for uncritical acceptance of bourgeois aspirations."

V I Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" in *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p.411.

level, but have also contributed to strengthening the revolutionary tendency in the consciousness of the white working class.

In claiming land, Aboriginal groups are demanding the return of part of the basic means of production.

They are also resisting the exploitation of tribal lands by mining companies and directly play a part in the fight against monopolies and imperialism. Others are confronting representatives of overseas monopoly leaseholders of pastoral land.

In addition, the demand for Aboriginal communal, inalienable landed property in the fight against monopoly landed property has an anti-monopoly, revolutionary character because it sets an example of the expropriation of private property generally and because it creates a counter position to state monopoly or private landed property.

Finally, the establishment of pastoral or other collective enterprises by Aborigines on the basis of communally owned land possesses the same anti-monopoly character. It also represents a form of struggle and organisation of national liberation against capitalist exploitation and racial discrimination.

Autonomy

The Aborigines form a national minority as we said previously. For this reason we do not raise the demand for self-determination* but for *autonomous areas* based on land rights. This is in no sense comparable with the "black state" demanded by some Aboriginal ultra-radicals which has been correctly criticised as approximating in the present conditions to a form of apartheid.

The demand for autonomy is again one that we raise in principle at this stage; the details of where such areas should be located, what powers their governing bodies should exercise and so on would have to be worked out in detailed and careful discussions with the black and white communities concerned.

This is particularly true because of the efforts by Australian capitalism to create and develop a black middle class. In the concrete demands that we raise and support it will be necessary to watch out for this danger and in unity between black and white Australians to try to combat it ideologically and organisationally whenever it appears.

1. *Self-determination applies to nations and not to national minorities. It means the right of the people concerned freely to decide their destiny up to and including secession, the formation of an independent national state.*

Despite this danger, the demand for Aboriginal autonomous areas is one which we should be raising and explaining at this time. It seems to me that this also involves our support for the councils which are being established on some settlements and reserves now although this must be combined with demands for improved Aboriginal education generally and in the political sphere particularly.

We base our approach on the application of the Leninist policy on the national question and the experiences of the USSR and other socialist countries to the specific conditions in Australia.

"All nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union enjoy equal rights and have equal opportunities for their development.

Article 123 of the Constitution reads: "Equality of rights of citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other social activity, is an indefeasible law.

"Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality as well as any advocacy of any racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, are punishable by law."

"Every nationality has its own national state or national territorial formation: union republic, autonomous republic, autonomous region or national area."**

"An autonomous region is a national territorial formation which, by virtue of its specific features and national composition, enjoys administrative and political autonomy... The power in an autonomous region is exercised by the Soviet of Working People's Deputies of the region... Each autonomous region has equal representation in the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet — five deputies from each region, and proportional representation in the Supreme Soviet of the union republic of which it is a part. The work of the bodies of state power, administrative bodies, courts, procurator's office, schools, cultural and public establishments and the press is conducted in the mother tongue of the population of the region."***

* USSR '73, *Novosti Press Agency Year Book*, p. 125.

** *Ibid.*, p. 127.

"A national area also has a specific national composition (it is usually inhabited by several nationalities). As a rule it is sparsely populated.

Each national area is represented by one deputy in the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet....

The State and administrative power in a national area is exercised by the local Soviet of Working People's Deputies and its executive committee, which are part of the single system of local bodies of state power and administration of the Russian Federation.* The bodies of state power and administration, courts, and procurator's office conduct their work in the mother tongue of the local nationality.**

Conclusion

Lenin pointed out that "one must not...contrast the struggle for the right to national self-determination and the revolutionary struggle of the working class for socialism. The very fact that imperialism spills over the boundaries of national states and extends and intensifies national oppression on a new historical basis leads us to the conclusion that we must link the revolutionary struggle for socialism with the revolutionary programme on the national question...

"It would be a serious mistake to believe that the struggle for democracy can divert the working class from the struggle for socialism."***

The struggle for Aboriginal rights including improved health, housing, education and employment and for communal, inalienable land rights and autonomous areas is an integral part of our struggle for socialism.

The immediate task, in which we as communists have a responsibility to take an active role, is building black-white unity in the struggle for Aboriginal rights and in the general fight against capitalism and imperialism. This is one contribution to broadening and strengthening the anti-monopoly peoples' alliance, a vital stage in winning socialism in Australia.

* The ten national areas are all incorporated within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

** USSR '73, Novosti Press Agency Year Book, p. 128.

*** Lenin The Great Theoretician, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970.

The Threat of Trotskyism

by Gisele Mesnage

Contributions to the discussion around the Draft documents of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) are tending to concentrate more on inner party problems rather than the development of the party's program and policies. Here for example is a quote from Praxis No 7 (CPA "internal" discussion document) which indicated trends in discussion at the Congress in June this year:

"It is now "admitted" in most quarters that there are three loose groupings in the party each being defined by a characteristic strategic position. Two of these groupings in the form of the majorities in the Sydney and national leadership on the one hand, and the Victorian leadership on the other hand, meet regularly and frequently in party organisations and committees. The third, the "left tendency" meets irregularly and infrequently and is spread over three states..... we should not admit that tendencies exist, we should proclaim it."*

The "Left Tendency" has already submitted an "alternative" program called "For a Revolutionary Strategy" (Praxis No 7) which was drawn up at a national meeting of the Left Tendency on October 11-12 1975 in Adelaide.

Evidence that the three tendencies have now been "admitted" is the fact that at least one article from each of the three tendencies will be submitted to each issue of the now monthly theoretical journal "Australian Left Review."

* The three states are South Australia (Adelaide branch), Victoria (Carlton branch) and New South Wales (Glebe — Balmain branch). Its members are most ex-members of the various Trotskyist organisations and others have now joined up various Trotskyist organisations.

But the breaking down of the branches in the CPA is not merely confined to political tendencies and interest groups. It has now extended to social problems grouping with the reported formation of a "homosexual" branch. Basis for participation at the Congress will no doubt ensure their adequate representation.

Will there be another split in the CPA? The sharpening internal conflict makes it almost inevitable. Laurie Aarons, National Secretary (Central majority tendency) who at the last Congress voted for Rob Durbridge (Left Tendency) to fill the last position on the National executive against Dave Davies (right tendency-Melbourne) is now reported to be seeking the support of the Melbourne tendency which have rejected the drafts.

The problems of the CPA are not only internal. The Communist Party has become increasingly isolated from the whole labor movement. It has played a disruptive role and lost most of its influence in the unions and has become increasingly active in petty-bourgeois organisations and the student movement who are in turn using the CPA as their forum.

Their anti-Soviet policy has extended far beyond the question of "bureaucracy" and "democracy" in the Soviet Union. It is no longer restricted to "Socialist-based" or "transitional society" descriptions and accusations of ill-treatment of dissidents. It has now extended to attacks on the Soviet Union's foreign policy for detente which puts them in the same camp as the US imperialists and the revisionist Chinese leadership.

The CPA today is a living example of the threat of Trotskyism to the labour movement. The CPA did not simply develop into a Trotskyist group. It was a *victim* of Trotskyist infiltration. The fact that they were successful in forcing the Marxist-Leninist forces out of the Communist Party is more than sufficient proof of their threat to the Labour movement.

The successful setting up and consolidation of the Socialist Party of Australia as a Marxist-Leninist party does not mean we have defeated or even weakened the Trotskyist movement in Australia.

The current development in the CPA indicates that they have strengthened their forces and have been completely successful in their aims to destroy the once sound Communist Party of Australia — a grave setback for the labour movement.

More proof that the Trotskyists have strengthened their forces is the

fact that there are now nine* Trotskyists groups in Australia, one of which is now a political party, the Socialist Worker's Party which ran 12 candidates in the last election.

Their influence should not be underestimated. A growing number of young people are now coming under the influence of Trotskyism. Why?

A fellow Young Socialist League member saw it this way: "Because they have grown up with anti-Soviet ideas which have been stuffed into them by their parents, their teachers and the mass media, and even when they rebel against the system, they cannot part with these ideas.." This is a simple but correct assertion.

Of course another factor is that the trotskysts sound more "revolutionary" flying the red flags and shouting "Revolution now!", forcing police confrontations and always ready to go "further on!"...it is not easy if one is young and full of enthusiasm to "smash the system" to resist the call for "direct action" irrespective of the circumstances.

And then there is the "Doing your own thing" line, which entitles you to do as you please — regardless of any majority decision.

How plausible is the argument that *no-one* should be "suppressed"! Everybody should be able to do what they want, how they want and when they want. This, of course, is no more than rejecting democracy and exalting anarchy.

Yes, the Trotskyists have increased their influence and strengthened their forces.

And let us not be fooled into believing that the Trotskyist movement is divided...despite the fact that there are now nine groups in Australia.

* *The nine Trotskyists groups are:-*

Socialist Workers Party/Socialist Youth Alliance.

Socialist Labour League.

Communist League.

Spartacist League.

Revolutionary Marxist group.

Adelaide Revolutionary Marxists.

Melbourne Revolutionary Marxists (No organisational ties with Adelaide group.)

International Socialists (also known as SWAG).

A group of Fifth internationalist led by an Owen Gager. (He led a group called Red Federation in New Zealand.)

The truth is that their differences are merely superficial. One group might claim that the Soviet Union is "State Capitalist" and another that it is a "degenerated worker's state"...but they are *all* anti-Soviet...one might claim that detente is counter-revolutionary and another might claim that "it cannot work" but they are all against the principle of peaceful co-existence. They all believe in a voluntarist international revolution, they all believe that a majority has no binding power over a minority...to put it in simple terms, they are all "Trotskyists" — and they have this basis for unity on anti-Soviet, anti-Marxist-Leninist standpoints.

The Trotskyists only divide themselves to multiply their chances of destroying the Labour movement.

How many are puzzled by the fact that there are at least *thirteen** organisations claiming to be the one and only Marxist-Leninist organisation in Australia today?

How many people are so confused they could remain sympathetic outsiders for ever?

How many have asked "Why don't you unite"...?

Well, many may remain puzzled and many will stay confused sympathetic outsiders, but unity with these counter-revolutionaries is not possible.

* *The thirteen groups are the:-
Nine Trotskyist groups.
Communist Party of Australia.
Communist Party (ML) (Maoist)
Socialist Labor Party (Delconites)
Socialist Party of Australia.*

To add to the confusion we have the:-

*Workers Party.
National Socialist Party.
Both Fascist groups.*

Footnote: The confusion can best be cleared away on which is the genuine Marxist-Leninist force in Australia by noting the fact that the Socialist Party of Australia is the ONLY Party of the Australian Left that supports and stands in unity with the International movement of Communist and Workers' Parties and stands in solidarity with the socialist countries.

They might all appear very revolutionary. They all claim to struggle for socialism, to be against imperialism and to stand in solidarity with the National Liberation movements. They all claim to support black liberation and women's emancipation.

Why are the Trotskyists critical of *every* established Socialist system? Why are they critical of genuine National Liberation movements? Why are they against the principle of detente since it has played a decisive role in the struggle against imperialism? Why do they hinder the struggle for socialism and equality of man, by putting blacks against whites and women against men. Why?

Because they are determined to destroy the real movement for Socialism.

There is far too little awareness of the real threat of Trotskyism. They are often *casually* dismissed as "agents of the CIA" but few would admit they represent an even greater danger to the labour movement than the extreme right.

Potential broad movements are often kept narrow and ineffective because of the disruptive role played by the Trotskyists.

The Timor Moratorium for independence for the people of East Timor is an example. The first meeting was attended by representatives of the ALP, the Australia Party, the ACTU and individual unions as well as many supporters of the Peace movement.

But because the Trotskyists insisted on pushing such ultra-leftists slogans as "Solidarity with the workers revolution in Indonesia"...or "No UN interference in East Timor"...these representatives were never to be seen again.

It is time now to start fighting Trotskyism at every opportunity. The Communist Party of Australia has been destroyed. The Peace movement has been narrowed and reduced. The whole labour movement has suffered many defeats because of the activities of the Trotskyist forces.

They are growing stronger, they are becoming more influential. Let us act to defeat them before they defeat us.

* * * * *

Alternative to Terrorism

by Patrick Gorman

The Irish problem is not a religious one. It is economic. The solution to the problem lies in the destruction of the system that maintains and lives off the division of the working class — the capitalist system. Various attempts have been made, all to no avail, to reform and prop up the system and make it acceptable. But world capitalism is on its last legs, being continually torn apart by its own contradiction. People the world over are demanding a better life and turning to socialism.

Socialists demand detente so that the world can develop along the lines of peace and not in the shadow of destruction. Capitalism jeers at Detente because it is a prerequisite for progress.

Republicans in Ireland demand peace. It may seem strange to most people that such a demand should come from the Republican Movement. If it appears so it is because the capitalist media have portrayed the actions of the Provisional IRA as representative of those of Republicanism. Nothing could be further from the truth. To discover why it is necessary to look at the background of the Provisional IRA and see how and why they came into being and why the capitalist media insist on portraying them, and not the socialist Official Republican movement, as the representatives of Republicanism in Ireland.

The traditional role of the Republican Movement has been to re-unite Ireland. The annexation of Ireland occurred under the terms of a treaty signed in 1921 by the English and the leaders of the independence movement in Ireland following a bloody fight for Irish freedom.

The treaty gave England control of six counties in Northern Ireland while the remaining 26 counties formed the Irish Free State. As a result of the terms of the treaty and the withdrawal of British troops from the Free State a civil war broke out. On one side were the defenders of the Free State who maintained that 26 counties were better

than none and on the other side, the Republican Movement which said that the fight should continue until all Ireland was free.

After a very bitter conflict the Free State forces emerged triumphant. The Republican Movement, however, pledged that they would fight on until the last British soldier was driven from Irish soil.

Consequently all efforts of the Republican Movement were directed towards Northern Ireland. This was a purely nationalist role. Although there were progressives within the Movement, the question of class consciousness was never an issue. However with the failure of campaign after campaign, particularly the last one of 1956-1962, the leadership of the Movement were forced to reassess their policies and strategies. The progressive forces for the first time came to the fore. They insisted that the re-unification of Ireland could only be brought about by the unity of the Irish working class. The Republican Movement was going left. This was not just a new tactic but a realisation that the freedom of the Irish people did not only constitute the mere territorial re-unification of Ireland.

James Connolly, the great Irish socialist and trade union leader said in 1897, on the question of Irish freedom: "If you remove the English Army tomorrow, and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic your effort would be in vain. England would still rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and industrial institutions she has planted in the country."

It took a long time for the Republican Movement to accept this. Having come to realising its validity, they set about involving the membership in the ordinary day to day struggles of the People. It naturally followed that not only were the people of Northern Ireland not free, so also were the people of Southern Ireland. This was the first time the Republican Movement became a threat to the Irish Free State. A movement that tackled the Irish problems on the real issues, the class issues, could expose the hypocrisy and corruption that existed. Our members became involved in and set up many organisations to challenge the system in the Free State and Northern Ireland. One such organisation was the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

When the Civil Rights Association took to the streets in 1968 with demands for basic reforms, the corrupt system let loose vicious repressions. But the people united behind coherent, realisable objectives could not be beaten with all the repressive forces of the system.

Repression only welded them closer together and raised their consciousness of the true nature of the struggle — the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. This raising of consciousness struck terror into the Free State politicians and their capitalist allies, who feared the struggle could spread on a broader base down South. They set about derailing the Republican Movement from its objective of a united socialist Ireland, and returning it to the position of former campaigns.

Through Government representatives, a group of businessmen offered the Republican Movement 50,000 Pounds worth of fire-arms on condition that the socialist leadership be got "rid of", that all activities be confined to Northern Ireland and no involvement in Free State politics. The offer was rejected and the capitalist forces set about splitting the Republican Movement. They did this by approaching certain nationalist elements with the same offer and conditions. They were successful and thus was born the Provisional IRA and its "political" Provisional Sinn Fein. This group was born of a capitalist conspiracy to smash the socialist forces in Ireland. If the progress of socialism couldn't be halted it could be retarded by the formation of a group of bigoted reactionaries with no understanding of class politics. The aim was to divert the attention of the workers away from the real issues, by the use of this terrorist group to institute a purely military campaign which would shatter any hope of working class unity. The Provisionals have done the work of their masters well. By 1971 the revolutionary impetus was lost. By 1972 the back of the peoples' struggle was broken and it was subsequently beaten into the ground.

Sectarianism flourished and once more Protestant and Catholic workers were shot, bombed and maimed by confused and bitter working class people in the interest of imperialism. The bitter division that exists between the two communities has existed for well over 100 years and is not accidental. It has been carefully fostered and nurtured by the forces of imperialism. The minority Catholic population are deliberately discriminated against to foster the illusion amongst the Protestant working class that the state was their friend and ally. Anyone who challenged this state was challenging and threatening them. Thus, the corrupt capitalist state had a great insurance in a divided working class.

A great deal of bitterness, fear and distrust exists, traditionally, in both communities. It is in the system's interest to maintain this and it must be a priority to smash this sectarianism and re-unite the workers.

Groups such as the Provisional IRA are very necessary to divert the people in a popular struggle from the real issues. The sectarianism

of the Provisional IRA ensures the establishment of an equally sectarian Protestant para-military group. The whole situation snowballs and soon the law of the bullet and the bomb rules. It is also worth noting that the Provisional IRA could never have got off the ground were it not for the fact that the whole repressive institutions of Northern Ireland were brought to bear on the minority Catholic population.

This gave the Provisionals the initial boost of being portrayed as the traditional protectors of the community. Even when in 1971 the British Army assumed civil responsibilities, the Catholic population were willing to accept them. They made the mistake in thinking the British Army was there to protect them and administer law and order in an even-handed manner. It didn't take long however, for the army to show they were there in the interest of British imperialism. During the past few years the demands and objectives of the bombers, the sectarian killers and the British terror squads have dominated the scene and have obscured the demands of the masses of people driven from the streets in 1968 in their struggle for justice.

However the demands have not been silenced and the progressive forces are once again on the march. British imperialism is losing its grip and will be smashed by the unity of Irish workers. A campaign being conducted by the trade unions in Northern Ireland around the theme, "A Better Life for All," is getting unprecedented support in its fight against sectarianism. The official Republican Movement, the Communist Party of Ireland and some left wing Labour Party members have established a popular front in Southern Ireland. With the nation's natural resources being given away to the multi-national corporations, 80 per cent of all companies in Ireland foreign owned and unemployment at a record high of 160,000 people, the need for worker's unity has never been greater.

Despite the attempts of capitalism and imperialism, through their dupes, to railroad the struggle for socialism they are failing. The freedom of Ireland will be claimed by the Irish working class as a whole and will ensure the establishment of a united socialist republic.

That is why the most progressive and revolutionary demand at this time is for an end to all terror campaigns. For the mass of the people this means the opportunity to resume the real struggle, the struggle for the basic democratic rights, the struggle for a job or for proper housing, the struggle for the ownership of their country. All the progressive forces in Ireland demand this alternative to terrorism.

It is the progressive way forward to true freedom and independence for Ireland.

The Capitalist Monetary Crisis & Gold

by J. Cooper

The Australian Treasury White Paper 1973 stated that the role of gold in the monetary system had declined significantly in recent years. The widely held view is that the decline is unlikely to be reversed.

At the Smithsonian Conference of the Group of Ten; Western Financiers and Finance Ministers in 1971, George Schultz, US Secretary of the Treasury stated:- "I do believe orderly procedures are available to facilitate a diminishing role of gold in international affairs in the future." This at a time when the US balance of payments deficit stood at \$50,000 million, and in inconvertible dollars.

President Kennedy, one of the US's most capable presidents, speaking at the IMF conference in 1962 was forthright in the view that the issuance of American paper dollars did not breach propriety:- "We, in the United States feel no need to be self-conscious in discussing the dollar. It is not only our national currency — it is an international currency. It plays a key role in the day-to-day functioning of the free world's financial framework. It is the effective substitute for gold in the international payments system."

At the time President Kennedy spoke, the US balance of payments stood at about \$5,000 million. This was destined to grow astronomically as we will later prove. The Bretton Woods, while it gave official recognition of the dollar as international currency, it also fixed the dollar price of gold at \$35 an ounce. The fixing of a dollar price of gold is, of course, a reversal of its function as a measure of value. The dollar is a token which, then, represented 1/35 of an ounce of gold. The capitalist world currencies were fixed against the dollar with a parity fluctuation of \pm one per cent. By and large they were kept within this boundary.

However American ruling circles acted as free from any limitations taking full advantage of the control which the issuance of dollars gave them and which replaced gold in international payments. Using the dollar as a weapon, American Monopoly Capitalism sought world domination. Most important was the issue of US banknotes in dollars which were accepted as a legal medium of exchange and remained uncontrolled in the hands of US ruling circles. Such a situation allowed them to issue banknotes and other liquid assets for the expansion of credits, similar to internal circulation.

Arising from this, US dollars became world credit money, giving the opportunity for the US Government and the monopoly ruling circles to proceed on a policy of unlimited issues.

The Time magazine commented:- "The root cause of the dollar weakness is that ever since the early 1950's the US has been living beyond its means in the world. Consumers, businessmen, tourists and the Government have been spending tens of billions every year to build factories in Europe, buy Japanese cars and cameras, bask in the Riviera sunshine, dispense foreign aid and station troops around the world and wage the costly war in Vietnam."

It is clearly evident that the powerful position held by the US, militarily, financially and economically, in the Western World, went to their heads. The positions sought by Hitler by military means, appeared to be theirs for the taking and that is what they proceeded to do.

In their greed, they forgot that the world is ruled by objective economic laws, and that a positive role in the development of our society is played only by those concepts which reflect these laws and the prospects of their operation.

The main factor is that the US and other Western leaders, rejected the fact that present day capitalist economic relations are based on the law of value. No amount of tinkering with monetary reform will correct the present inflationary situation, if this fact is disregarded.

The country which widely pays, without any control, in effect buys these commodities on credit. And only when the token money put into circulation in the world market returns to the country of its origin, is the debt repaid.

"Paper money is a token representing gold or money. The relation between it and the values of commodities is that the latter are ideally expressed in the same quantities of gold that are symbolically represented

by the paper. Only in so far as paper money represents gold, which like all other commodities has value, is it a symbol of value." (Capital I.P. 29).

That is very true, even though the circulation of paper money on the world market is accepted as exercising the function of world money. We have to face the fact that world trade is conducted through the exchange of paper money.

It has been suggested that in conditions of the wide socialisation of production and its internationalisation, foreign trade turns into a kind of commodity circulation effected according to the formula C-M-C (Commodity-money-commodity). World money increasingly began to play, as it were, a monetary role, a mediatory role of a simple circulating medium. Foreign trade partners are not always interested in the real value of money as such as it is not kept for long. The mediatory role of money in foreign trade gives rise to the possibility — swiftly translated into reality — of replacing real money (gold) by its substitutes — simple token money.

"The conversion of foreign trade into regular multilateral commodity exchange, has become the direct cause of the emergence of paper money on the world arena as the representatives of world money." (Int. Affairs, 6/73.)

These postulates are effective only if the law of value is respected and that no country seeks to issue paper currency in excess of the values exchanged.

That this hasn't been observed by the US is evident from this caustic comment by the President of the Austrian National Bank, Mr. R. Kamitz:- "No gold and foreign exchange reserves are high enough for a country which pursues reckless financial policies leading to inflation and consequential external deficits, I think it is very important that in pursuing domestic economic aims the US also has to pay heed to the external payments situation."

The irresponsibility of the US Government and its capitalist monopolies is revealed by the continued and ever expanded export of capital and the structural deterioration of its trade position vis-a-vis Western Europe and Japan. The system of fixed parities compelled other countries to maintain their balance of payments between the limits set by Bretton Woods, \pm one per cent.

Dr Otmar Emminger, Deputy Governor of the Deutsche Bundesbank, a representative of FRG on the OECD., Chairman of Deputies of the

Group of Ten, and Federal Germany's representative on the IMF delivering the Per Jacobsson Lecture on Inflation and the Monetary System stated:- "We have an excessive creation of world reserves, the origin of which are mostly the deficits of the United States and, to a minor extent, also of the United Kingdom and other countries."

Also:- "Even after the Smithsonian Agreement of December 1971, the other countries in order to defend the agreed fixed parities (or central rates), had taken in over \$20,000 million by March 1973. This was more than the total amount of dollar reserves held in the world up to the beginning of 1970. It was a costly sacrifice in defense of a system that had more and more degenerated into an inflation machine."

"From the beginning of 1970 through March 1973, more new reserves were created than in all the previous monetary history of the world. The dynamic element in this process was foreign exchange reserves. They more than trebled during this period, from \$32,000 million (he called it billion J.C.) to approximately \$115,000 million.....The major source of this tremendous increase in foreign exchange reserves was, of course, the payments deficits of the United States."

On 22-8-71 the managing director of the International Monetary Fund, Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, sent a telegram to all member states:- "Unless prompt action is taken, the prospect before us is one of disorder and discrimination in currency and trade relationships which will seriously disrupt trade and undermine the system which has served the world well and has been the basis for effective collaboration for a quarter of a century."

The Council of Ten met on 15/16-9-71 but beyond recognising the necessity of monetary reform made no important decisions even though Japan had floated the Yen on August 28.

The principal capitalist countries refused to support the market rate of the dollar and its rate in relation to other currencies continued to drop, while the price of gold began to rise not only in dollars but also in other currencies. The capitalist world was, once again, made aware of the primacy of gold in the monetary system of capitalism which, despite their efforts to the contrary, is regulated by the immanent law of value.

A decision to devalue the dollar was taken at a meeting of the US Financial top brass with the Group of Ten, 17/18-12-71. This decision was called the Smithsonian Agreement. They avoided the word — devaluation — the US undertook to raise the price of gold from

\$35 to \$38 per ounce, an effective devaluation of 8.57 per cent.

Dollar convertibility was not achieved as the US gold stock now stood at \$10,000 million as against American paper dollars in the reserve banks of other countries with a face value of over \$50,000 million.

The second devaluation of the dollar, by 10 per cent, was effected on 12-2-73. While the fluctuations of the parities of other currencies was eased to ± 2.25 , no real attempt was made by the US Government or its monopolies to curb the outflow of capital from America. The latest Australian figures — 1974 — show an investment increase of \$US281 million, despite a minus trade balance of 150 per cent.

During the Helsinki Conference last year, the President of France, V. Giscard D'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt, the Chancellor of Federal Germany, attempted to arrange a "Monetary Summit" to discuss what they called "the crisis we face is not economic. It is monetary."

Reporting this the *Financial Review* commented:- "In other words, the twin evils of recession and inflation are not incidents in a classic business cycle but signs that the world monetary system has collapsed. Therefore they will not go away until it is repaired.....The view that the collapse of the monetary order is a direct cause of the world's economic difficulties is supported by a survey of developments in the past four years since the dollar became inconvertible.

"In that period paper money has lost three-quarters of its value. It clearly has done against gold which was quoted, in the free market, at the time of Mr Nixon's decision — 15-8-71 —, at \$US 42 an ounce.

"Today it is worth just four times that much.....

"In the same period dollar claims held by non-Americans have soared from \$US55,000 million to almost \$300,000 million....In the same four years, to next Friday, the size of the Euro-currency pool — that reserve of money that reproduces itself in new credits without any official control or restraint — has swollen from \$70,000 million to \$230,000 million. Meanwhile, of course, the world has suffered one of the worst and certainly most widespread monetary inflations on record. (*Financial Review* 11-8-75).

The recent Jamaican Conference of the IMF also failed to arrive at any conclusions other than to legalise floating parity rates between nations. These, as Dr. Fekete, the Hungarian economist, states, are an obvious manifestation of the weakness of international co-operation.

The military ambitions of the United States and the greed of her monopolists have unmistakeably wrought untold damage to the very system which they seek to preserve, a formidable task, even, for a nation prepared to recognise the realities of a sick society. Seeking, to capitalise on the western world's acceptance of the dollar as a circulating medium, it was and is issued with little regard for values and no regard for the economies of the countries in which they sought to take over the industries and commerce.

The text of this article is to indicate that inflation, even allowing for our local contribution, is a product of world capitalist relations and is largely contributed to by the militarisation of the capitalist economies, which, led by the US is adopted to win the hegemony of the world, defeat socialism, and to stimulate production to the point necessary to retain the confidence of the people.

As they and their economists do not recognise the law of value, they failed to understand that military expenditure has no value in the immanent laws of their own economy and therefore the colossal expenditures in the post-war period have made a vast contribution to the very serious problem of inflation now endemic in all the capitalist states.

Claims by the Frasers, the Lynchs and Co that they can wave the wand which will waft it all away are lies. Worse they know they are lies.

* * * * *

These comments below by the Communist Party of Chile on the harm done to the working class and their allies by ultra-leftism holds special importance for the Australian left.

The Australian left movement has suffered heavily because of the divisiveness of ultra-left and sectarian policies and tactics. Much of the comment by the Chilean Party could apply to the ultra-left, anti-Soviet aspects of the line of present leaders of the Communist Party of Australia. The Chilean Party comment serves as particular warning in regard to the Trotskyite and Maoist activities. It shows how these forces of loudly proclaimed "radical postulates" which played into the hands of the USA while also making anti-Soviet attacks which were also used by the enemies of Chilean democracy. It all has a familiar ring in regard to the ultra-left anti-Soviet line of the "leftism" in our own land.

An interesting point raised by the Chilean comrades is whether it is correct to speak out firmly against "left" forces who adopt extremist and anti-Soviet positions when there is "a favorable climate for convergence with all democratic forces." The Chilean Communists reply by saying they do not deny that there are serious revolutionaries among those influenced by ultra-left trends. They recognise the historic need for unity of all democratic forces but at the same time it is essential to speak out against the repetition of ultra-left mistakes that objectively helped the fascist junta to strike down Chilean democracy. This (abridged) article is of obvious value to all serious supporters of socialism in Australia.

Ultra-Leftism--Trojan Horse of Imperialism

(Statement of the Communist Party of Chile)

At present, the central task of the popular movement in Chile is the creation of a broad anti-fascist unity capable of overthrowing the dictatorship and carrying out the revolutionary transformations needed by our society. The decisive role in this new democratic, popular, revolutionary unity belongs to the working class.

The chief cause of our temporary defeat was that the enemy was able to increasingly isolate the working class from its allies, and to set against us many of those who had held neutral positions and even those who had sympathised with the revolutionary experiment of the Allende government. Therefore, of prime importance is the need to overcome our shortcomings and weaknesses in the ideological struggle against sectarian and dogmatic tendencies imposed on part of the popular movement by petty-bourgeois revolutionism, or ultra-leftism.

From the first it became necessary to wage an ideological battle against bourgeois ideology, which even during the surge of working-class

struggle tries to "dominate" the situation. In addition, there was the need to counter petty-bourgeois revolutionism--anarchism, Trotskyism, Maoism and MIR-ism (Revolutionary Left Movement)--which attempted to infiltrate the working class. All these "brands" of ultra-revolutionism ended up in the bog of opportunism, primarily due to their anti-communism.

The most eloquent instance is the collusion of the Maoist clique with the Pinochet fascist dictatorship. Maoism also presented itself in Chile as an ultra-revolutionary trend. Our enemies loudly repeated its "radical" postulates in front of the North Americans while at the same time using each of its anti-Soviet attacks. The Chinese clique launched a virulent campaign against the Communist Party of Chile.

After the fascist coup in September 1973, not a single progressive person has any doubt regarding the position of those who support the policy of the Maoist clique. In our country, we witness fraternisation between the openly anti-working-class, sanguinary regime and the representatives of Peking who have stretched out hands to each other. There are photographs showing them full length. We are witnesses of how far adventurism and revisionism of Marxism-Leninism can lead. They do what even many representatives of the bourgeoisie cannot afford to do. By abandoning fundamental principles, they end up in the service of the most infamous cause: defence of Yankee imperialism.

Every conscious workers knows that in the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle, and all the more so in the struggle against fascism, united action with the democratic and revolutionary contingents of other classes and strata is obligatory. It is just as clear that unity cannot and should not exclude confrontation of ideas, opinions, elucidation of respective opinions, while maintaining the absolute independence of proletarian positions. From our experience we know what a high price the popular movement has to pay for internal weakness, when a part of the petty-bourgeoisie succumbs to revolutionism, to spontaneity, and, instead of approaching the positions of the proletariat, imposes on the working-class parties a policy of division and confrontation. Such tendencies surface owing to the weakness of the working-class movement, its inability to smash them through ideological struggle, to ensure unity and establish the leadership of the working class. This is one of the mistakes that must be corrected.

Some may ask, is it not wrong to insist on these accusations, to prove the harm of extremist tendencies, speak out against people who declare in support of the revolution when it is a matter of struggle against the dictatorship? Is there not a favourable climate for convergence with all democratic forces, with those who uphold Popular Unity, as well as those who did not? Does it not smack of "sectarianism"?

The Party's position is that: "We are not against the ultra-left a priori, and do not deny that there are consistent revolutionaries among them. We proceed from facts, from the actual situation. Today, as before, we place above all else the historic necessity for unity of all anti-fascist forces, democratic, popular and revolutionary organisations and elements. Those ultra-leftists who without resorting to sectarianism or splitting activities facilitate this unity and adopt an anti-fascist programme, will have a place next to the Communists and other revolutionaries."

The necessity for unity of all anti-fascist forces is today more urgent than ever. But it is a matter of creating a front that would be widely recognised by the people, which would not commit mistakes tomorrow and would not become meaningless as a result of internal strife or incorrectly defined objectives. To achieve this, the revolutionary core, the working class and peasantry, broad urban and rural sections must overcome sectarianism and splitting tactics.

Ultras Attack the Popular Movement

Precisely sectarianism and splitting tactics mark the activity of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), which appeared as a political organisation in 1965, when the political situation in Chile was characterised by a certain ebb in the popular movement due to the defeat in the 1964 elections, when bourgeois reformism, as represented by the Frei government, had reached its apex. Created on the basis of a few groups of intellectuals of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois origins, MIR united practically all the old, dispersed trends of petty-bourgeois revolutionism, Trotskyists, Maoists, Vanguardists, etc., as well as individuals earlier expelled from working-class parties. It was also joined by some who saw it as a militant revolutionary organisation. On the other hand, there were not a few who came to MIR because of their anti-communist positions. MIR proclaimed itself a new revolutionary force opposed to the "traditional parties.", and openly professed anti-communist views, practised anti-Sovietism and made terrorism its main political tactic. In line with these criteria, up to 1970 MIR opposed the creation of Popular Unity and announced its own line of boycotting the elections, but a month before the elections, when the victory of the Popular candidate became a reality it revised its position.

Petty-bourgeois revolutionism defined the Allende government as "reformist" and directed all its efforts to creating a "revolutionary pole", with clearly anti-communist features and oriented on splitting the Popular Unity. Left opportunism was presented as an alternative to the working-class parties and their policy. Its main concern was to achieve

a relation of forces favourable to extremist positions inside the broad revolutionary mass movement, while disregarding the need to strengthen the positions of the Popular government and to extend its social base.

Implementation of such objectives inevitably led to MIR playing into the hands of the enemies of the government. As it became clear after the coup, it was widely used for the infiltration of police agents who launched subversive activities. Such a centre always provided fertile soil for shady adventures.

The striving of the MIR-ists to counterpose themselves to the working-class parties and, particularly the Communist Party, led to their indiscriminate use of revolutionary phraseology, in support of both right and "left" positions.

In line with their dogmatic conceptions, the MIR-ists declared everyone not belonging to the proletariat or semi-proletariat an adversary of the revolutionary process. To justify their contentions, they denied the need for an anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic stage of the revolution, proclaiming its immediate socialist character. Losing sight of the principal enemies, they followed a primitive policy of isolated clashes with small and medium owners and the middle sections. This led to the isolation of the revolutionary forces, providing a mass base for the enemies of the Popular government and facilitating preparations for the coup.

This course was counterposed to the policy of compromise and alliance needed to direct all forces against imperialism and the oligarchy. The shortsightedness of the slogans advanced against the measures of the Popular government to strengthen its positions is evident in analysing the history of the events.

Today it is clear that opposition to the dialogue of Popular Unity with the Christian Democrats was unjustified. The Christian Democratic Party, as is known, is a multi-class party, including, besides representatives of the monopolistic oligarchy, large groups of the democratically oriented small and middle bourgeoisie, middle sections, the peasantry and the working class. From dogmatic positions, this party was seen as a single mass. This facilitated the activity of the reactionary bourgeois groups led by Frei, and striving to unite around itself the entire party and direct it along a path of blind opposition to the Popular government. In these circumstances, it was easy for the right forces in the CDP to frustrate the attempts of the democratic-minded leaders to prevent the CDP from slipping into collaboration with the fascist plotters.

Today we can clearly see that the ultra-left actions to frustrate

cooperation between the Popular government and the constitutionalist section of the armed forces were untendable. The attacks against General Carlos Prats, when he assumed the post of head of the government, palpably demonstrate the sectarianism and irresponsibility resulting from the ultra left's striving to counterpose themselves to the left parties, and to picture as "reformists" the revolutionary leadership, the Popular Unity and the President.

Equally, we should not underestimate the harm caused by opportunist tendencies inside the Popular movement, that demobilised and diverted its forces from the urgent task of forming new economic and social relations, which was of fundamental importance in defending and developing the revolutionary process.

Progressive government measures met with the resistance of the monopolies, latifundists and imperialist companies, which resorted to boycott, sabotage, disorganisation and chaos in all branches of the economy. This was the key aspect of Kissinger's plan of "destabilising" the Popular government...

These are some ideas concerning irreconcilable struggle against sectarianism, divisive actions and dogmatism, which have done so much harm to the struggle of the Chilean people. An objective analysis of the recent past shows that our Party, the Party of the working class, has not fought firmly enough for its own independent policy, against right and left opportunism within the working-class movement. And it would be a crime to repeat this mistake. To fight more effectively against the main enemy, to consolidate the unity of the people, we shall conduct our ideological struggle more vigorously than before in order to combat confusion, sectarianism, divisive tactics and conciliation.

This struggle is not designed to dissociate a single decent fighter from the revolutionary movement. On the contrary, it is our purpose to attract every real revolutionary to the positions of the working-class movement. And we are convinced that in this case his or her contribution to the revolutionary process will be really fruitful.

The Communist Party of Chile
(Abridged)

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