

**Some Articles On
Striving For
Marxism-Leninism
In Australia**

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In this booklet we reproduce a number of articles originally published in the journal "Australian Communist". We do so because in our opinion they serve a useful purpose in the people's struggle in Australia. "Australian Communist" is a journal of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). It strives to espouse Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The task of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is to strive to lead the Australian working class and its allies in the struggle for independence from imperialism. No other class than the Australian working class can solve this problem. The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is the Party of the Australian working class, that is, it concentrates the real hopes of the Australian workers.

It is a cardinal principle of Marxism-Leninism that revolution can neither be exported nor imported.

Only a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism and deeply based in the masses and particularly the workers can lead the revolutionary struggle. Thus the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) set out to base itself deeply in the Australian working class and amongst the Australian people to lead them step by step to revolutionary struggle. In the process the Communists learn from the Australian workers and people. There is no substitute for the process.

The precise path to independence and then to socialism in Australia can only be determined in Australia and according to the way in which the Australian revolutionary struggle unfolds. This lies in integrating the world outlook of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with actual Australian conditions.

The principles of revolution were deduced by Marx and Engels by an examination of all history of all countries, of all societies. They demonstrated laws that governed social events and history.

During the course of the people's struggle against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism in Australia, many rich lessons have been learned.

The articles from "Australian Communist" set out to investigate many of the problems which confront the Australian people in the resolution of the class conflicts in this country.

The articles follow.

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CONTENTS

Investigating Foreign Ownership in Australia	No. 51	1
Australian Communist	No. 51	1
Armed Struggle and Revolution	No. 51	1
Yeean "Talks" of Great Australia to U.S.	No. 52	12
Minutes of Communist Party of Australia (M.C.P.) Study	No. 53	21
Revolution is the Main Tendency in Australia	No. 54	28
We Strive to Promote Revolution - Not to Be Knewled	No. 55	35
Party Organisation	No. 56	42
The Trade and Trade Union	No. 57	49
Struggle of the Aboriginal People Widened Program	No. 58	55
There are No Short Cuts to Revolutionary Struggle	No. 59	62
Crime, Punishment and Revolution	No. 60	68
Communist Party is Part of the Working Class	No. 61	75
Get Rid of Imperialist Power of "The Law"	No. 62	82
Struggle for the Right to Work	No. 63	89
Teacher's Need Analysis	No. 64	94
Social Social Imperialism Explores Australia	No. 65	104
A.L.P. is a Party of Capitalism	No. 66	111
Leading Role of Working Class	No. 67	118
The Struggle to End Australia's Trade Dependence	No. 68	125
Struggle to Prevent Persecution of Trade Union	No. 69	132
Continuing Revolution by Stage	No. 70	139

INVESTIGATING FOREIGN
OWNERSHIP IN AUSTRALIA

	Page
Investigating Foreign Ownership in Australia	
Australian Communist	No. 51 1
Armed Struggle and Revisionism	No. 51 5
Yenan "Talks" of Great Assistance to U.S.	No. 52 16
Message of Communist Party of Australia (M-L) to Students	No. 52 21
Revolution Is The Main Trend In Australia	No. 52 28
We Study To Promote Revolution – Not To Be Knowalls	No. 52 33
Party Organisation	No. 52 39
The State and Trade Unions	No. 53 47
Struggle of The Aboriginal People Widens And Deepens	No. 53 55
There Are No Short Cuts In Revolutionary Struggle	No. 53 60
Crime, Punishment and Revolution	No. 53 68
Communist Party Is Party of The Working Class	No. 54 75
Get Rid of Illusions Over Nature of "The Law"	No. 55 86
Ideological Struggle Is Never Ending	No. 56 97
Tactics Need Analysis	No. 56 103
Soviet Social Imperialism Endangers Australia	No. 56 110
A.L.P. Is A Party of Capitalism	No. 56 116
Leading Role Of Working Class	No. 57 124
The Struggle To Rid Australia From Imperialism	No. 57 132
Struggle To Prevent Perversion of Trade Unions	No. 58 139
Continuing Revolution By Stages	No. 58 145

INVESTIGATING FOREIGN OWNERSHIP IN AUSTRALIA

In the Commonwealth Senate a decision was made to set up a Select Committee to investigate foreign ownership in Australia. The Committee has advertised its terms of reference and sought evidence. The terms of reference deserve close study. They are:

The Senate has resolved that a Select Committee be appointed to enquire into and report upon foreign ownership and control of Australian commerce, industries, land and resources and in particular to report upon:

- (a) the increasing alienation of the beneficial ownership of Australian resources to non-Australian interests;
- (b) whether or not foreign ownership and control of Australian commerce, industries, land and resources is prejudicial to Australia's interests in all circumstances;
- (c) whether in respect of any commerce, industry, land or resources foreign ownership or control is excessive;
- (d) the best method of mobilising Australian capital resources and attracting their commitment to national development;
- (e) the best method of reconciling the inflow of overseas capital for Australian development with the retention of Australian ownership and control;

CONTENTS

1	Investigating Foreign Ownership in Australia Australia Commission
2	Armed Struggle and Revolution
14	Years "Tails" of Great Britain to U.S.
11	Message of Communist Party of Australia (M.L. to Students)
13	Revolution is the Main Trend in Australia
21	We Study The Russian Revolution - Not To Be Known
22	Party Organisation
23	The State and Trade Unions
24	Struggle of The Aboriginal Workers And Peasants
25	There Are No Short Cuts In Revolution Struggle
26	Class, Revolution and Revolution
27	Communist Party is Part of The Working Class
28	Get rid of Illusion Over Nature of "The Law"
29	Technological Struggle is New Factor
30	Workers Must Organise
31	United Social Revolution Impoverishes Australia
32	A.L.P. is a Party of Capitalism
33	Leading Role of Working Class
34	The Struggle for the Revolution from Imperialism
35	Struggle To Prevent Revolution of Trade Unions
36	Continuing Revolution in Europe

- (f) the operation of exchange control restrictions which may prevent Australian investors from buying shares in companies registered overseas which have a major beneficial interest in an Australian company;
- (g) the advantages and disadvantages of existing and potential foreign investment, with particular regard to export performance, commercial and industrial initiatives, and introduction of valuable skills and technology;
- (h) whether the purpose for which foreign capital is sought or is made available should be a factor in determining its acceptability;

and to recommend such legislative and administrative measures by the Commonwealth, either alone or in co-operation with the States, as will ensure such Australian ownership and control of Australian participation in the ownership and control of Australian commerce, industries, land and resources as will protect and advance the interests of Australia.

These terms obviously raise questions of very great importance for all Australians. In itself it is good that such questions are brought so sharply before the people. It reflects the growing opposition of the people to imperialist domination of Australia.

Big questions about Australia's destiny are involved in this whole matter.

The assumptions of the Select Committee's terms of reference are clear enough. What the sponsors of the investigation seek is more Australian capitalist say in exploitation of Australia. They want Australia to be controlled and exploited by Australian capitalists rather than foreign capitalists. There are in fact Australian capitalists who oppose foreign domination. And that is very good. But

there is no possibility of building Australia into an independent capitalist country free from foreign imperialist control nor of building Australia into an independent imperialism. The world, other than the socialist world, is already divided among the great powers and there is not room for a new comer, let alone a newcomer of the comparatively minor significance (in a world sense) of Australia.

The path therefore of these capitalists must lie in joining forces with the anti-imperialist struggle. The main force in that anti-imperialist struggle is the working class. It is the most selfless, most farsighted, most cohesive, most disciplined force. It is directly exploited by the foreign imperialists and in the first place by U.S. imperialism. It alone has the power to be the leading force in struggle against imperialism. Around the working class farmers, clerks, small business people can be united. All sections of Australians except the collaborators with imperialism are squeezed and exploited by the imperialists.

The questions posed in the terms of reference have in fact been largely answered. Certainly there is much detail still to be uncovered as to imperialist domination. But it is clear for example, that "foreign ownership and control of Australian commerce, industries, land and resources" is prejudicial to Australia in all circumstances. It is clear it is excessive.

Nor is it a question of the best method of how to combat it. There is only one method and that method is not the mobilisation of Australian capital but the mobilisation of Australian people in struggle against the imperialists and their local collaborators. There is a place for capitalists but not for substitution of one monopoly exploitation for another and in any event as we have pointed out there is no possibility of Australian monopoly control. Australian

patriotic capitalists can give their support to the people's struggle. Doubtless terms can be worked out for that but this is an all embracing people's struggle under the leadership of the working class.

Again the terms of reference contemplate only (or exclusively) parliamentary measures to deal with the problem. This overlooks the fact that parliament is the institution of the imperialist dominators of Australia. The ruthless U.S., Japanese and British imperialists are scarcely going to allow their own parliamentary institution to legislate them out of existence in favour of their Australian rivals.

This goes back still once more to people's struggle. The U.S. and other imperialists back their imperialist exploitation of Australia with armed force both external and internal. They resist and will resist with that armed force any challenge to them even from capitalists (whom they would prefer to buy off). Armed force can only be combated by armed force. Hence the perspective for anti-imperialist struggle is a perspective of combating imperialist armed force with anti-imperialist armed force. The problem cannot be solved in parliament.

The term Australia itself can be misleading. It must be approached in a class way. Every kind of thinking is stamped with the brand of a class. When the U.S. imperialists speak of Australia they speak of their dependency Australia. When the Australian workers speak of Australia they speak from an anti-imperialist, real substantial democratic Australia and ultimately of a socialist Australia. There is an imperialist conception of Australia and revolutionary anti-imperialist conception. There is not and cannot be an Australian capitalist Australia. It is a question of which class. Genuine patriotism is people's ownership of Australia — people's ownership led by the working class and based on the worker farmer alliance.

ARMED STRUGGLE AND REVISIONISM

The revisionist 'C'PA has recently published a pamphlet by John Sendy ("Socialism . . .") which quotes Lenin and other Marxists in order to justify "peaceful transition to socialism". This quoting of Lenin to oppose Lenin is nothing unusual for revisionists; after all if they did not do this they would not be bourgeois revisionists at all, they would just be common or garden bourgeois liberals (and bourgeois fascists) because that is what their ideology, stripped of the "quotations", amounts to.

Lenin wrote a great deal and it is not hard for revisionists to find isolated words and phrases that, taken out of context, can support their views, there is nothing at all surprising about this. What is surprising in Sendy's pamphlet however is the **depths** to which he sinks in seeking to use Lenin for his own purposes. Instead of merely **distorting** Lenin (which is now so common as to be almost 'acceptable' from the revisionists!), Sendy goes one step further and actually **reverses** him! We reproduce below Sendy's quote from Lenin and what Lenin **actually** said. The example is instructive, not only because it clearly indicates the difference between Lenin's views on armed struggle, and Sendy's but also because it sheds light on **how and why** Sendy quotes Lenin. It shows that Sendy's distortions of Lenin are not merely confusion or "misunderstanding", but a **deliberate and conscious policy of lying**. No other interpretation is possible when Sendy reads an article by Lenin on "Guerilla Warfare" (Vol II, Collected Works, cited on

p 18 of the pamphlet), and then quotes as Lenin's **precisely** the arguments which Lenin is **demolishing!**

Here is Senny's argument from p 19 of his pamphlet (quoted in full, lest we be suspected of taking **him** out of context.):

"Then there are those fervent young revolutionaries, who despite their praiseworthy efforts and volume of work, attempt to apply a grotesque caricature of Maoism to Australian conditions. They seem to think that the working class is ripe for revolution and that the only things standing between the workers and revolution are ALP politicians, trade union bureaucrats and 'revisionists' of the CPA.

"To give some examples of this rev-rev-revolutionary ardour (sic). At a July 4 demonstration three years ago, a handful rushed to the head of the march to the US consulate chanting 'people's army—people's war'. Recently, prominent young 'Maoists' advocated the formation of people's militia among students at universities to combat police appearances on campus. The August 19, 1971 issue of **Vanguard** after stating that armed struggle is the only way to political power goes on to talk of the 'step by step arming of the workers' as being 'inseparable from patient persistent work to organize the working class . . . to raise its political consciousness'.

"Such are the kind of tactics proposed which, as Lenin argued in connection with similar proposals in his day, 'demoralise workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganize the movement and injure the **revolution**'. Such tactics are again reminiscent of immature intellectuals who are either incapable of linking up the

revolutionary struggle with the labor movement or lack any real possibilities to do so." (emphasis ours)

Here is what Lenin **actually** said in his article about the armed struggle ("Guerilla Warfare", Collected Works Vol 11, p 213-223. Also published elsewhere as "Partisan Warfare", originally written in 1906):

"The usual appraisal of the struggle we are describing is that it is anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralise the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganise the movement and injure the revolution. Examples in support of this appraisal can easily be found in the events reported every day in the newspapers.

"But are such examples convincing? (Here Lenin examines the example of guerilla warfare in the Lettish territory, citing **with approval** such things as the publication by the party newspaper of regular lists of spies 'whom it is the duty of every decent person to exterminate', and the reporting of a sum of 5,600 rubles contributed by a party branch 'for arms' and obtained 'by expropriation' —Ed.)

"The example of the Letts clearly demonstrates how incorrect, unscientific and unhistorical is the practice so very common among us of analysing guerilla warfare without reference to the circumstances of an uprising. These circumstances must be borne in mind, we must reflect on the peculiar features of an intermediate period between big acts of insurrection, we must realise what forms of struggle inevitably arise in such circumstances, and not try to shirk the issue by a collection of words learned by rote such as are used equally by the (liberal bourgeoisie and other reactionaries) anarchism, robbery, hooliganism!

"It is said that guerilla acts disorganise our work. Let us apply this argument to the situation that has existed since December 1905, to the period of Black-Hundred pogroms and martial law. What disorganises the movement more in **such** a period: the absence of resistance or organised guerilla warfare? . . . the only conclusion that can be drawn is that guerilla warfare is not to blame for the state of disorganisation of the (Communist) working-class movement in Russia in 1906.

"Allusion is often made in this respect to the peculiarities of national conditions. But this allusion very clearly betrays the weakness of the current argument. It is a matter of national conditions then it is not a matter of anarchism, Blanquism or terrorism—sins that are common to Russia as a whole and even to the Russians especially—but of something else. Analyse this something else **concretely**, gentlemen! You will then find that national oppression or antagonism explain nothing, because they have always existed in the western border regions, whereas guerilla warfare has been engendered only by the present historical period. There are many places where there is national oppression and antagonism, but no guerilla struggle, which sometimes develops where there is no national oppression whatever . . .

"It is not guerilla actions which disorganise the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions **under its control**. That is why the anathemas which we Russians usually hurl against guerilla actions go hand in hand with secret, casual, unorganised guerilla actions which really do disorganize the Party.

"What we have said about disorganisation also applies to demoralisation. It is not guerilla warfare which de-

moralises, but **unorganized**, irregular, non-party guerilla acts. We shall not rid ourselves one least bit of this **most unquestionable** demoralisation by condemning and cursing guerilla actions . . .

". . . We fully admit criticism of diverse forms of civil war from the standpoint of **military expediency** . . . But we absolutely demand in the name of the principles of Marxism that an analysis of the conditions of civil war should not be evaded by hackneyed and stereotyped talk about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, and that senseless methods of guerilla activity adopted by some organisation or other . . . at some moment or other should not be used as a bogey when discussing the question of the participation of the (Communist) Party as such in guerilla warfare in general.

"The argument that guerilla warfare disorganises the movement must be regarded critically. **Every** new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices, inevitably 'disorganises' organisations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle . . . But this does not mean that one must not fight. It means that one must **learn** to fight. That is all.

"When I see (Communists) proudly and smugly declaring 'we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this, we reject guerilla warfare', — I ask myself: Do these people realise what they are saying? Armed clashes and conflicts between the Black-Hundred government and the population are taking place all over the country. This is an absolutely inevitable phenomenon at the present stage of development of the revolution. The population is spontaneously and in an unorganised way — and for that very reason often in unfortunate and **undesirable** forms — reacting to this phenomenon also by armed

conflicts and attacks. I can understand us refraining from Party leadership of **this** spontaneous struggle in a particular place or at a particular time because of the weakness and unpreparedness of our organisation . . . But when I see a (Communist) theoretician or publicist not displaying regret over this unpreparedness, but rather a proud smugness and a self-exalted tendency to repeat phrases learned by rote in early youth about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, I am hurt by this degradation of the most revolutionary doctrine in the world".

Could any **HONEST** person, reading this article of Lenin's say that Lenin would have disagreed with the statement in **Vanguard** that "step by step arming of the workers" is "inseparable from patient persistent work to organise the working class . . ."? Could anyone but a **DELIBERATE LIAR** be responsible for quoting only the argument that Lenin refutes, and **not** his refutation of it, as Sendy does?

Earlier (p 18) Sendy quotes from the same article by Lenin, saying: "To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given moment at the given state of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist view". Needless to say Lenin was here arguing **against** parliamentarism and trade union politics and in **favour** of guerilla warfare. Nevertheless, the point is important and it is entirely reasonable for Sendy to quote it. Lenin certainly would not say that simply because he supported guerilla warfare in Russia in 1906, therefore we should, in Australia in 1972 (neither for that matter would we, we are not arguing for the desirability of launching an insurrection **tomorrow**, but for the importance of both

resisting the existing level of police violence **now**, and **preparing** for future armed struggle as this violence continues intensifying). But what is interesting about Sendy's quote is that he **does** indicate the source on this occasion, whereas he **doesn't** for the **completely** dishonest quote about armed struggle demoralising the workers, disorganizing the movement etc. One can only conclude that he was fully aware of his deceit and did not want anyone casually looking up his references to come across it. (Without exception, **all** Sendy's "quotations" are taken out of context from works which in essence argue **in favour** of armed struggle, but this was the most glaring example of something not merely "out of context", but an **OUTRIGHT LIE**).

So much for Sendy's complaint that people "should talk about Lenin a lot less and study his writings a lot more instead of just the bits and pieces selected and handed on by Stalin and his successors" (p 12 — perhaps he would prefer us to confine ourselves to the falsifications selected for us by Sendy and his colleagues!)

It is not at all surprising that Sendy refrains from accurately quoting Lenin's article. We need only compare Lenin's remarks on the relation between national oppression and guerilla warfare, with Sendy's conclusion that armed struggle is "justified" (sic) "Where **national** oppression has to be fought . . .", to understand his reticence about quoting Lenin. Nevertheless it is surprising to see Sendy deliberately falsifying Lenin's writings. Even with the safeguard of not citing the source of the quotation, surely a more prudent policy would have been to pass over the point in silence?

The reason for this recklessness is simple. The revisionists are getting desperate. More and more Australians **are** grasping the necessity for armed struggle, and they are doing so under the leadership of Marxist-Leninists (why else would

the "C"PA bother to publish a pamphlet on the subject). Not only is it necessary to falsify Lenin in order to combat Leninism, but even Mao Tsetung himself is drafted for the purpose. In the past the revisionists would not have hesitated to simply attack Mao and Maoists outright. These days they have to be more careful. They insist on referring to "Maoists" in quotation marks, and describe Australian supporters of Mao Tsetung Thought as "applying" a grotesque caricature of Maoism to Australian conditions". Apparently we are to believe that it is no longer Mao himself and Maoism that are objected to by the revisionists, but only the "grotesque caricature". Sendy very clearly reveals the **complete unity** between the older modern revisionism and the latest neo-revisionism. Both center their attack on Marxism over the fundamental question of armed struggle and violent revolution. Both seek to conceal this with a flurry of fine words about other times and places, and with efforts to obscure the question with side issues, and both are prepared to quote Marx, Lenin or even Mao Tsetung himself in support of their revisionism.

In the case of Sendy, his efforts to co-opt Mao are no less pathetic than his falsification of Lenin. He says (p 19):

"Ultimately, of course, Mao's concept ('political power grows out of the barrel of a gun') is basic in the sense that real political power — state power — is at bedrock based on the state machinery. Yet Mao was speaking in 1938 of the situation in China as a reading of **Problems of War and Strategy** reveals quite plainly. Mao was arguing that in **Chinese conditions** 'the main form of struggle is war and the main form of organisation is the army' . . . In Australia there are other paths open to revolutionaries". (Sendy's emphasis).

It is of course true that Mao's writings refer mainly to Chinese conditions, after all, it is only geniuses like Sendy who are able to proclaim the path the whole world is to follow, without having any concrete knowledge as to what is going on.

Here is what Mao **actually** says in regard to the assertion that "In Australia other paths are open to revolutionaries . . .".

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. **This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.**

"But while the principle remains the same, its application by the party of the proletariat finds expression in varying ways according to the varying conditions . . ." (emphasis ours).

This is the very first paragraph in the article to which Sendy refers, "Problems of War and Strategy". It is not surprising that Sendy disagrees with it and refrains from quoting it, but he can hardly expect us to believe that he **never noticed** this introduction, or that he **honestly** believes that Mao would disagree with the application of his views on armed struggle in Australia in 1972 (despite Sendy's quotation of Wilfred Burchett's views on the subject!).

Sendy's pamphlet reveals not only the mutual bankruptcy and amalgamation of revisionism and neo-revisionism, but also the supreme importance of carefully studying **and applying** Marxist-Leninist principles regarding armed struggle and people's war. It is not enough for us to affirm

our willingness to "ultimately" support armed struggle (as Senny and the neo-revisionists do in words), we must **practically** prepare for it with deeds. Lenin's article on Guerilla Warfare and Mao's article on Problems of War and Strategy make a good start for study, actually combating and replying to, fascist police violence, makes a good start for practice.

Lest it be thought that it is only from Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought that Senny departs, and that it is somehow possible to do this while remaining a "Marxist", we conclude this article with some remarks by Engels in his classic work "Anti-Duhring". Engels deals with the very heart of Senny's position, no less clearly than do Lenin or Mao:

"... That force, however plays another role" (other than that of a diabolical power) "in history, a revolutionary role; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with the new, that it is the instrument by the aid of which the social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilized political forms — of this there is not a word in Herr Duhring (or Mr. Senny — Ed.). It is only with sighs and groans that he admits the possibility that force will perhaps be necessary for the overthrow of the economic system of exploitation — unfortunately, because all use of force, forsooth, demoralizes the person who uses it. And this in spite of the immense moral and spiritual impetus which has resulted from every victorious revolution! And this in Germany, where a violent collision — which may indeed be forced on the people — would at least have the advantage of wiping out the servility which has permeated the national

consciousness as a result of the humiliation of the Thirty Years' War. And this parson's mode of thought — lifeless, insipid and impotent — claims to impose itself on the most revolutionary party which history has known!" (Quoted by Lenin in "The State and Revolution" Chapter 1, s. 4).

YENAN "TALKS" OF GREAT ASSISTANCE TO US

Chairman Mao's opening remarks to, and his summing up of the discussion at the "Talks At The Yen'an Forum On Literature And Art" are a brilliant development of Marxism-Leninism. They deserve constant and serious study by all Australian revolutionaries.

At this forum, Chairman Mao made crystal clear, the truth that ideology is the fundamental question in the class struggle against reaction. Over the last decade we have waged, and are still waging, a basic struggle, a life and death struggle, against revisionism. This struggle is the struggle for a correct outlook, a correct ideology. Do we take the class stand of the proletariat or do we take the class stand of the bourgeoisie — this is the question which decides everything. If we take the stand of the proletariat it means that we have to wage a deep and thoroughgoing struggle against all bourgeois influence. We have to break with the bourgeoisie, not passively but actively. This means that we take up the battle for the supremacy of the proletariat, the leadership of the proletariat in everything. Over the last ten years we have waged the ideological struggle against the two sacred cows of parliamentarism and orthodox trade unionism. In this we have rejected the boundaries of struggle laid down by the bourgeoisie and have worked to range the working class against the capitalist class dictatorship and the instrument of that dictatorship, the state. The capitalist class exploits the working class and other working people. In life this means that the working people lead a hard life, an insecure life. Their wages and salaries

are not sufficient to meet their needs; the pressure, despite improved production techniques, is in the direction of depression of living standards. On the other hand the monopolists, that is the big capitalists amass huge profits. These profits come from the exploitation of the people.

The people struggle constantly against this situation. Everywhere there is spontaneous struggle, struggle that has immediate demands such as higher pay, better job conditions and, in a broader sense, struggle against pollution, foreign domination and for the independence of Australia. Such now is the breadth and depth of the people's struggles in Australia that the ruling class (and their class is under the dominance of U.S. imperialism) is using force more and more openly to smash them and break them up.

The task of revolutionaries is to join in all these struggles, become part of them in order to give them revolutionary perspective. This can only be done by integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the practice of these struggles. When we talk of revolutionary perspective we mean joining the immediate, spontaneous struggle to the long range struggle to overthrow the capitalist ruling class and establish a state that is under the leadership of the working class and serves all the working people.

The people develop class consciousness in struggle. This is fundamental. As Chairman Mao says:

"In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."

The capitalist class relies fundamentally on force, on guns, on its state machine. But it must have its "culture" also. The capitalist class does not just exploit people and leave it at that. No, it is forced to conduct a ruthless and unremitting ideological campaign to convince people that capitalism is the highest form of society that can be achieved; that it is a 'natural' state of affairs; that it represents the apex of human freedom; that it is fair, just and offers equal opportunity to everyone; that it expresses human nature and so on. It wages its 'cultural campaign' through the education system, literature, art, films. It uses religion to justify exploitation and aggressive war. It carries this ideological struggle right down into the ranks of the workers. Its newspapers, T.V., radio are used 24 hours a day in the battle to stop the people from developing revolutionary ideas, from rebelling. Without its constant ideological battle the capitalist class would be in great difficulties for reality would assert itself ever-more strongly. The capitalist class pays great attention to its ideological campaign. For instance when people with talent emerge who try to break away from bourgeois influences and develop independent, proletarian art and literature, the ruling class sets out deliberately to bribe them and bring them back to the fold. There are examples of this in Australia. We won't bother to mention their names here. After World War II a crop of writers, influenced by the great anti-fascist struggles of the people which resulted in the defeat of Hitler, Germany and its allies, emerged. But some did not last long. Most succumbed to revisionism, that is the idea that emancipation of the working class and working people could be "won" peacefully through the so-called democratic institutions of

capitalism. Look around — there is no artist or writer who gained prominence in the period mentioned who is today upholding the red flag of revolution. They are all conforming, keeping well within those capitalist boundaries. And they try to justify themselves by shouting at revolutionaries "leftism" or "secretarianism".

Today there is a great upsurge of revolutionary struggle. It is the main trend right throughout the world and in Australia. It is creating fertile conditions for the sprouting of revolutionary art and literature; art and literature that assists the working class to see itself not only as a class, but as the most advanced class of society, the class which is going to liberate mankind forever. What a really glorious perspective this is! We are now gaining some good, solid experience in the revolutionary class struggle and this experience can be written about. Past experience can be written about in the light of the new revolutionary experience. The prospects are, indeed, very exciting. Nothing can stop the 'new culture' from arising. It is already sprouting. Chairman Mao in the "Talks" said "to oppose the new culture the Chinese reactionaries can now only 'pit quantity against quality'." Proletarian culture is quality and much can be done with quality. No matter, at the beginning, if form is a bit rough it is the content that counts. Content decides form and with helpful criticism, study and effort new techniques will be developed to give the highest expression to revolutionary content. In this issue some comrades have made some contributions. All revolutionaries should study them and offer helpful criticism. "What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political con-

tent and the highest possible perfection of artistic form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the 'poster and slogan style' which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. In questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts."

Proper, principled criticism is an essential ingredient for the development of proletarian literature and art. However, those who aspire to make a contribution in this field must understand that the fundamental essentials are to take part in the people's struggles, not to stand aloof from the revolutionary movement and to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Revolutionary literature and art is, after all, the integration of revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice in an artistic way, in a way which will help the people to see the revolutionary path more clearly, to gain confidence in themselves and to inspire people to greater struggle. It is an extremely important and difficult task and cannot be achieved without great effort.

"It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted. Writers and artists should study society, that is to say, should study the various classes in society, their mutual relations and respective conditions, their physiognomy and their psychology. Only when we grasp all this clearly can we have a literature and art that is rich in content and correct in orientation." (Chairman Mao).

MESSAGE OF COMMUNIST OF AUSTRALIA (M-L)

—Signed by E. F. Hill, C. L. O'Shea,
N. L. Gallagher and E. A. Bull

Ever since the rebellion of students against reactionary university councils commenced, the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) has supported the rebellion.

The Party has not necessarily supported every view or every action in the rebellion. But it has wholeheartedly supported the essence of the rebellion and has joined in it with people who have different views and participated in actions with which it may not have wholly agreed.

This has been because we see the essence of the rebellion as against imperialism, and in the first place, against U.S. imperialism.

What has happened in the world that has led to students' rebellion?

Imperialism has increasingly isolated itself from the people. Its anti-popular position has become clearer. It has been unable to depend upon its monopoly of ideas. Its ideas have lost their capacity to deceive.

This is because the naked exploiting character of imperialism has been forced into the open. The world has been divided up among the great imperialist powers so that there are no new "untouched" areas for imperialist exploitation. That means that the imperialists struggle to intensify their exploitation of other countries, they jostle each other out, what was one imperialism's domain becomes another imperialism's domain. So Australia from being the

creation and colony of British imperialism has passed to the domain of U.S. imperialism.

The peoples of the oppressed countries have risen against imperialism. Just as the hardships imposed on the peoples by the imperialist war of 1914-1918 led to rebellions by the peoples and the great October socialist revolution in Russia, so World War II, and particularly its ultimate anti-fascist character, led to world wide rebellion of the peoples. China's liberation was achieved in 1949. There were great upheavals throughout Europe. The most populous places in the world, Asia, Africa and Latin America became storm centres of anti-imperialist struggle.

Imperialism was being challenged as never before. Its very survival was in issue. China had fallen right out of the imperialist orbit; the comparatively small Vietnamese people had mounted an unprecedented challenge to the U.S. giant imperialism. All over the world revolt either occurred or was brewing. What was at stake was the historical destiny of the peoples — either imperialist enslavement or liberation.

Critical to the survival of imperialism are ideas. Imperialism must strive to maintain the supremacy of its ideas. It must maintain people, cadres, experts, to propagate its ideas. It was put by the great Russian revolutionary Lenin that as crisis develops imperialism must engage an extra number of "scientists agitators and priests". The universities serve to train these experts. University courses under the guise of being objective, propagate imperialism, propagate ideas of the status quo, they allow "debate" but debate within limits that are not formally defined but ensure, just as surely as if formally defined, that the debate does not really challenge imperialism.

To be objective means to recognise facts and facts in their essential movement. It is objective to recognise the crisis of imperialism and its overthrow by the oppressed peoples. These things are objective facts. To deny them or to recognise them and then to deny their implications is not to be objective. The universities serve to impose a class "objectivity" i.e. an objectivity which suits the imperialists. Our objectivity is based on an analysis of the facts, where they are going and people's conscious participation in social affairs as facts. We believe that Marxism alone holds the answer to proper analysis: "The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics.. One is its class nature; it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasises the dependence of theory on practice, emphasises that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice." (Mao Tsetung)

The universities aim to turn out ideologists and functionaries of capitalism who propagate ideas to serve imperialism or at least not to challenge it. This whole process has been greatly intensified in recent times.

Of course the current questioning of "accepted" ideas has caused a change in the tactics of university authorities. These authorities stress the old ideas of "objectivity," "the search for truth", "academic freedom", etc. In certain ways, they carry those ideas into effect. But they never carry them to the effect of a real challenge to the social system they serve. All this has been made clear in all universities in the capitalist world. In the final analysis their "objectivity", "academic freedom", "search for truth" have to be protected by police, army, courts and gaols. Imperialist U.S.A. and Japan provide the most spectacular

examples. Australia has seen it in universities in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Hobart and Canberra. Behind the "academic freedom", "objectivity", "search for truth", etc. men such as Matheson, Derham and Glenn stand the army, police, courts and gaols. This is not to reflect on these people personally but to show that despite what they say these men carry out imperialist policy. Rebellious students who take seriously and act upon "objectivity", "academic freedom", "search for truth", soon find that these things have imperialist limits.

A university is revered in society: it is looked to as a centre of learning. Its pronouncements have great authority. Its ideas therefore carry more weight than other ideas. When those ideas serve imperialism as they do, it is a very important service indeed. It is inconceivable that the authorities would tolerate a university that propagated ideas hostile to imperialism, for example, ideas of Communism. The universities do have people who speak in the name of anti-imperialism or even of Communism. But from the universities' standpoint that is designed to increase deception for imperialist purposes, to present the myth that the universities represent all shades, to widen the audience, to show the university is not afraid of other ideas, etc. (There are of course genuine anti-imperialist and Communist people on university staffs but they are used by the universities for pro-imperialist purposes.)

In the University governing bodies in Australia such as the University Councils, the predominant and decisive positions are openly held by direct representatives of monopolies and by politicians, lawyers, medical men, who serve those monopolies. This is simply a fact. It is no less a fact because in some cases trade union representatives

or labor party members appear on such Councils. That too is only camouflage. These Councils directly ensure that imperialist policy is carried out in the universities. In Australia, as the whole bias of thought has been in the direction of U.S. imperialism, so the University Councils and ideas are part of that bias. Concessions to student representation or hearing students, etc. are indeed concessions, concessions by imperialism. These concessions do not in any way alter the essential imperialist content of University Councils. By their very nature of concessions, they confirm that imperialist content.

In short, universities are just as much a vital part of imperialism as are newspapers, armies, police, courts, gaols, etc.

It is precisely against imperialism that people's struggle has developed. It takes varying forms, from the armed struggle of the Vietnamese people to the demonstrations against and criticisms of imperialism in Australia.

The student body of Australian universities is composed of honest courageous and sensitive young men and women. They are not in the main imperialist or imperialist minded. Their minds have not been corrupted or filled up with a lot of rubbish. The world outside their minds is in fact a world of poverty in the midst of plenty, of enormously rich countries and enormously poor countries, of war against people like the Vietnamese people, of disasters like the Yarra Bridge collapse with multiple deaths, of enormous profits and exploitation, of inflation, of difficulty in getting jobs, of ideas that do not explain these things but seek to justify them or push them to one side. Naturally they revolt. They seek a way out. They would stand condemned if they didn't seek a way out.

They bring really questing vigorous minds to the University. If they take seriously "objectivity", "search for truth", "academic freedom", then they are compelled to revolt to give these concepts real content.

Against whom will their revolt be directed in the immediate sense? It will inevitably be directed against those who talk about "objectivity", "search for truth", "academic freedom", namely the university authorities. When the Councils are seen to be composed of real live representatives of actual big business, then inevitably the students struggle against them. Occupations, demonstrations, exposure, are the natural result.

We believe that the students act quite correctly. We think they are correct in rebelling against all this and in refusing to be sidetracked by what we think are false cries of "objectivity", "academic freedom", "search for truth". From time to time we have sent messages of support and our spokesmen have spoken to students' meetings.

As we see it, an essential part of anti-imperialist struggle is to expose the imperialist role of the university authorities and the imperialist use to which they seek to turn the universities. Students' struggles against this imperialist role are a component part of the world wide anti-imperialist struggle. Students who participate in it have our wholehearted support.

We believe that in waging that struggle, students are fighting alongside workers and other exploited people in the cause of anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism, and in particular anti-U.S. imperialism, is vital to Australia. Australia can only die in the stranglehold of U.S. imperialism: it can only live by throwing out U.S. and other imperialisms. Students, workers, and other exploited people have this great common cause.

The methods used to repress the students' struggles are essentially similar to those used to repress workers struggles. The cause they both serve is common: the weapons used against them are common. We believe they should unite and struggle. We believe the oppression against students and workers is a component part of the repression which in Indo-China takes the form of bombs, gas, chemicals, etc.

As Communists we believe in socialism but we do not demand as a condition of our participation in and support for workers' and students' struggle adherence to socialism. So long as the given struggle serves the cause of the people against imperialism (even if that be fairly remote) we participate in and support it.

In the current struggle at LaTrobe we have supported the students from the beginning. We do not seek to impose our Communism on them. We believe that they are waging an entirely just anti-imperialist struggle and are quite capable of making their own decisions. Their demands are modest demands but they are important demands. The University Council at La Trobe is composed of big businessmen and their representatives. That is a simple fact. That Council is acting to suppress the students. It is doing so as a test for repression throughout all Australian universities. Given success, repression will be intensified and the cause of imperialism comparatively strengthened. (It threatens also all workers). We do not believe the Council will be successful. It will be defeated because the main trend in the world and in Australia is against imperialism and La Trobe students are acting in accordance with that trend. They have abundant support.

REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN AUSTRALIA

Revolution is the main trend in the world today. This embraces Australia. Seemingly, appearances belie prospects of revolution in Australia. But Marxist-Leninists look below the surface.

Australia exists in a real world. Its dependent position on U.S. imperialism renders it subject to all the ups and downs of U.S. imperialism's crisis. U.S. imperialism is engulfed in the general crisis of capitalism which set in in World War I and it is beset by the periodical crisis of capitalism within that general crisis. U.S. imperialism is beset and besieged by the people of the world. It is assailed by its own people. It is a colossus with feet of clay as Lenin called it and a paper tiger as Chairman Mao called it.

In Australia an ever growing united front of the people against U.S. imperialism is developing. Its consciousness is deepening. Under the leadership of the working class more and more people are participating in struggle against it.

There are many many struggles. They arise around various issues. They have their ups and downs. In the first place is the struggle of the working class. It has waged big struggles for improvement in economic conditions. Some of these have been in industries not so dominated by U.S. monopolies but any struggle in Australia for improved conditions inevitably affects the U.S. imperialists. An improvement in conditions threatens them with similar improvements whereas a defeat for the workers strengthens not only

the employer involved but the U.S. monopolies which constitute the core of capitalism in Australia. Again any struggle against pollution either directly affects the U.S. monopolies or indirectly affects them in a similar way. This is because again victory in the struggle against pollution even though it may not be (though most will) directly against U.S. monopolies affects the chief polluters, the U.S. monopolists. A struggle in a university has similar implications. It is so throughout the length and breadth of struggle.

A special word should be said about the Australian black people. Victory for them in their land rights' struggle or in their struggle for equality or for improved wages on, for example, the cattle stations, affects the U.S. imperialists in their drive to take over Australian land and minerals. They have a special interest and special experience in repression of black people.

We mention all this because all struggle does as a matter of fact, as a matter of objective reality run into the anti-U.S. imperialist stream and insofar as Japanese imperialism increasingly enters Australia, then into the anti-Japanese militarist stream.

All these struggles have greatly intensified over recent years. They have become more bitter. The U.S. imperialists and their local stooges have resorted to more and more repression and more vicious repression. We have pointed out, for example, that when rebels were first brought before the courts sometimes cases were dismissed or adjourned for long periods to be ultimately dismissed. When that did not stop rebellion small fines were imposed. When that did not work, larger fines were imposed. When that did not work small gaol terms were imposed. When that did not work longer terms were imposed and then indefinite imprisonment.

Some struggles result in comparatively quick victory for the workers and working people. Some result in setbacks for the workers and working people. Some cause some casualties, some cause more casualties, some cause no casualties. Some are long and go through many phases, periods of victory and periods of defeat. In the course of struggle one must never be led astray by victory or cast down by defeat. The revolutionary struggle is tortuous. Of its nature it has victories, defeats, setbacks, casualties. Some people are apt to be led astray by victories and dejected with defeats not understanding that no revolutionary struggle ever was waged without victories and defeats. Lenin pointed out that intellectuals particularly tend to be afflicted with alternate moods of exaltation and despair. Stalin warned of the danger of dizziness with success at some achievement.

The revolutionary struggle in Australia is long and hard. There will be no quick, no easy victory. It has gone through many phases and it will go through many more. It is certain to be successful but it must be worked and struggled for. Supreme optimism is certainly correct. There is no room for pessimism. Our optimism is an optimism of responsibility, of materialist dialectics. We must be prepared for victories and responsibly assess them. False shallow optimism, mistaking a partial victory for total victory, is quite wrong. Pessimism in defeat is quite wrong. Defeat must be analysed, assessed.

Though we have done much to fight against illusions in parliament, against trade union politics, against legalism, against illusions about democracy, against left blocism it would be quite wrong to think they have been defeated. There is much to be done both in the way of propaganda and in the way of experience.

We are well aware that force and violence are weapons of the U.S. imperialists and their Australian stooges. The army is the chief component of their state power. It is used for internal repression and external aggression. It must be met by the force and violence of the people's united front against U.S. imperialism and its local stooges. That demands a people's army. As yet there is not a people's army. Only embryonic experience in people's revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary force and violence has been gained. There is much experience and much hard work involved in solving this problem. But the problem must be stated, must be worked at, for it involves the central question of revolution, the seizure of state power. To overestimate its development can lead to dangerous putschist moves. To underestimate it leads to disarming the people against the enemy. In the process of development on this matter, setbacks are scarcely avoidable but it is certain that the setbacks are secondary to great achievement.

The place of setbacks and sacrifices must be seen in the revolutionary-struggle. We do not want setbacks or sacrifices. But we are materialists. History, facts show they are unavoidable. Our job in daring to struggle, daring to win, is to minimize them and to avoid unnecessary setbacks and sacrifices. Our approach to this is determined by the mass line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We are living in a period of new awakening of the working people of Australia. "If we tried to go on the offensive when the masses are not yet awakened, that would be adventurism. If we insisted on leading the masses to do anything against their will, we would certainly fail. If we did not advance when the masses demand advance,

that would be Right opportunism." (Mao Tsetung Sel. Works Vol. 4, p. 243.)

All revolutionaries are entirely correct in their revolutionary optimism. They strive to be thoroughgoing materialists and thoroughgoing materialists are fearless. Australians have dared to struggle, dared to win. Anti-U.S. imperialist consciousness has grown tremendously. A critical part in that has been played by the Party which has been the most determined consistent upholder of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Nowadays very wide sections of the people have joined the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle. "We should rid our ranks of all impotent thinking. All views that overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people are wrong".

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WE STUDY TO PROMOTE REVOLUTION - NOT TO BE KNOW-ALLS

The spirit of studying problems together is one for which persistent fighting is required within the Party and revolutionary movement. Personal ease of mind and liveliness is how it is sometimes put. The atmosphere must be created in which comrades feel they can put forward their point of view without reservation.

Only by the exchange of views in this spirit, only by the studying of problems in this way, can correct conclusions be reached.

It is simply a fact that some people are timid and other people are bold in putting forward viewpoints. Some people are domineering and impatient with views that differ from their own. They make it very difficult for others to put a different point of view. Such people must study how to develop the style of work that puts an end to any form of suppression or limitation of other viewpoints.

Those who take part in revolutionary activity are honest, sincere people. They all without exception make a contribution. Australian revolutionaries, particularly amongst the young, have displayed wonderful initiative and courage. They are the pride and joy of the revolutionary movement: it is on their shoulders that great responsibility rests. Youthful enthusiasm and impatience are very good things and at the same time they can be bad things. Amongst all

revolutionaries including young revolutionaries there are points of difference in approach to problems of the revolutionary movement. Is that surprising? No it is not at all surprising. It **would** be surprising if the contrary were the case. The existence of differing points of view arises from differences in environment from one to the other, differences in class background, differences in experience, differences in economic position, differences in levels of understanding and so on. The differences are differences on how best to pursue revolutionary activity in Australia i.e. they centre around the greatest single question, revolutionary service to the people in the struggle to win people's power.

They are differences which, if properly handled, can greatly assist in lifting up revolutionary service to the people. Even if a standpoint is not adopted its differences from others assist in clarifying the correct standpoint. In any event, the correct standpoint only emerges in struggle and in practice. Commonly a standpoint agreed upon as correct often has to be modified in the light of practice and struggle.

The suppression of different standpoints is a very bad thing. It was characteristic of the Communist Party in previous times. He who was "off the line" or dared to raise a different standpoint from some "authoritative" pronouncement was frowned upon as a dissident. (Almost every contribution in the old stereotyped party meetings was prefaced by the statement "I agree with the report". When in 1961-2 some said they didn't agree with the report it was almost unheard of.) No distinction was made between on the one hand differences in the struggle for a correct line and on the other outright opposition to

any correct line. Today the situation has changed. But still there is not full understanding of how to handle differences. Some do not fully understand that the very vigour and manner of their activity and expression of ideas, their style of study and work, does intimidate others and does not fully contribute to personal ease of mind among revolutionaries and liveliness in putting forward ideas. On the other hand those who feel suppressed or intimidated have an equal responsibility to acquire ease of mind and liveliness and to speak up about their views. In short this very problem is one that must be studied earnestly together. Criticism and self criticism is the method of handling differences. By criticism and self criticism we do not mean its improper use. It requires proper practice of criticism and self criticism. Chairman Mao said: "We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go, and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of 'curing the sickness to save the patient', which is the only correct method." (Rectify the Party's Style of Work). To one degree or another **we all** suffer from the sickness of imperfection in style of work and study. We are therefore talking of ourselves. Chairman Mao's "Combat Liberalism" is a very good study in this regard.

We do not advocate turning the Party into a debating society against which Lenin so vigorously argued and exposed in such works as "What is to be Done". Our Party is a Party of action and operates on the principle that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice. Its organisational principle is democratic centralism, the subordination of the minority to the majority and lower bodies to higher. But, of course, there is in the Party

almost always agreement on the general line derived from proper consultation in the Party. It is democratic centralism born of the conscious unity of the Party. Occasionally there is misunderstanding of it. In the Party there are differences mainly in approach. It is wrong publicly to do or say or write something that is in conflict with what a Party member knows to be Party policy but it is a very different thing within the Party.

There is a way too to put differences. To tell someone that someone's views are all completely wrong is often not very helpful. It is much better to study how to take what is positive and put the suggestion in the positive. When one thinks oneself is 100% right then the caution lights ought to come on. Rarely is anyone 100% right. One of the great merits of the late K. C. Miller was his integrity of viewpoint. If he disagreed he said so in a firm but sympathetic way: if he agreed he tested his viewpoint: if he expressed a view that he thought was correct he tested it on others not in the sense of seeking support but really to test it; if he finally dissented, he was gentle in dissent; he never forsook principle. It has been truly said that it is easy to unite with those with whom one agrees but difficult to unite with those with whom one disagrees. This is so even where all believe in revolution. Loose branding of people, loose condemning of them, intolerance of other's ideas, is no good; indeed it is very important to listen to a viewpoint differing from one's own. Unless a person is an enemy of the revolution (and such a conclusion needs firm ground to support it) then he is a good person. Actual enemies, agents, are few and far between. The good people must be cared for and every effort made to create the atmosphere in which they grow.

As for enemies, of course we must be very vigilant, must study the record in struggle, in ideology politics and organisation, the history of all. There are enemies. The class enemy goes to all sorts of trouble to plant agents within the revolutionary ranks. The prime purpose of this is to destroy the mass work of the Party by spying on its members, disrupting its activity and various other filthy activities. Such people must be exposed and relentlessly driven out. As we said they are few and far between. There is no panacea for revealing them. Experience, however, shows that people like Sharpley, Petrov and Co. almost all had no real ideological grasp. They used the words and phrases of Communism but lacked any grasp of it. They had no real feeling for people. Commonly they were degenerate people in matters of drink, sex, etc. More recent cases are of people with no real politics, even anti-Semitism, liars, degenerates. In their revelation it is critically important consciously, diligently to cultivate an overall high ideological, political and organisational level in the Party. This **does** mean study. It is not nearly sufficient for the vanguard of the working class to have a superficial understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is not very difficult to acquire a superficial understanding. Nor is it very difficult to acquire a deeper understanding and it is precisely that that we must acquire. That deeper understanding turns upon the unity of theory and practice. The "theoretician" alone, the armchair philosopher, is not much good nor is the "practical" man alone. Deepest study, deepest understanding, arise from the synthesis of theory and practice. One is no good without the other; they are a unity and a division. In the correct atmosphere enemy agents cannot live, they are perforce exposed. Just because

they are enemies they have no **real** desire to study and to work. They must betray themselves. Moreover, strict adherence to our organisational principles minimises the disruption that such agents cause. Irresponsibility, carelessness, lack of punctuality, slovenliness, the tendency to undertake everything under the sun without finishing anything, create circumstances in which enemies can live and work. The most valuable work an enemy can do is to cause political errors. Honest errors are scarcely avoidable but one aspect of analysing them is to reveal any enemy promotion of them.

Of course it is only one aspect of proper study and work that agents be revealed. The purpose of correct study and work is to pursue revolution. In these days the responsibility is greater and greater and it increases day by day. Our comrades must try very hard to acquire a knowledge of the Communist Manifesto, of Marx's analysis of the economy of capitalism, of Lenin's "State and Revolution", "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", of Chairman Mao's writings. What is required is not superficiality but basic knowledge, the capacity really to use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the conditions of Australia.

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PARTY ORGANISATION

Australian Communist has often spoken of the ideology politics and organisation of Communism. A lot of attention has been paid to ideology and the need to place it in first place in Party building. Historically far too little attention had been given to Marxist-Leninist ideology. After the reconstitution of the Communist Party in 1964 big efforts were made to correct this and to place Party building on the ideological plane.

Ideology politics and organisation are at once a unity and division. They serve each other. Ideology on its own is of no importance. Marx said: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to **change** it." (Theses on Feuerbach: Thesis XI). Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung ideology leads to particular politics, the politics of class struggle, the struggle of class against class, in Australia the struggle of the people against imperialist domination. Ideology and politics demand organisation to serve them. Lenin said that in its struggle for power the working class has no other weapon than organisation.

Our Party organisation therefore has the purpose of serving Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung ideology and politics. It is the most important organisation in Australia and membership of that organisation is the most important thing in the life of the given Communist. This does not mean membership merely for the sake of membership. It means membership to change the world. In Australia it means

membership to change Australia in discharge of the Australian Communist Party's duty to the world revolution. Communist Party organisation and Communist Party membership therefore take precedence over all other organisations and all other memberships. It is supreme. The Communist Party has been spoken of as the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat. It is the vanguard organisation of the proletariat, the general staff of the proletariat.

The world outlook of Communism enables the Communist Party organisation to see clearly the social forces, it enables a correct political grasp and the working out of correct political tactics. But organisation to apply them is critical to their correct use. It is true that without that organisation the social laws will continue to operate towards the destruction of capitalism. An essential part of the social laws is man's dynamic role. ("Freedom is the recognition of necessity" said Engels.) Organisation that understands and interprets those social laws changes capitalism. The Indo Chinese Communists understand the role of U.S. imperialism and its local Indo-Chinese puppets. Their organisation carries the ideological and political analysis into effect to rally the people to drive out U.S. imperialism and destroy its local puppets. In Australia the Communist Party functions as an organisation to analyse the position of Australia as dominated by imperialism and to rally the Australian people to achieve independence and people's democracy. Organisation independent of all non proletarian trends is vital to that task.

To build up party organisation means to build up and strengthen its grip of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung

Thought. That involves strengthening its politics and its organisation. One cannot exist without the other.

Our membership must be composed of the best sons and daughters of the proletariat (included in which are those from other classes who have adopted a proletarian stand). Those best sons and daughters must place their Communist Party membership and organisation absolutely in the first place in their lives. This is service to the people. The Party can only develop its organisation, its politics and ideology in actual struggle. Membership and organisation serve that struggle.

In the conditions of capitalism there is a fierce class struggle. One aspect of that struggle is to suborn Communists from their revolutionary duty. Pressures, crude and subtle, operate all the time. The trade unionist has the pressure of trade union politics to divert him from revolutionary politics, the worker in the factory has all sorts of temptations and pressures to divert him from his revolutionary duty. The student has pressures with their own characteristics. Everyone has the pressure on him for the comfortable life (why should I worry). In the Australian environment, the calls of Party membership and organisation can easily be casualties. Historically there are examples (very negative examples) of these casualties and indeed almost a whole leadership succumbed to revisionism. Fear, intimidation, bribery plus the ever present more subtle influences of capitalism combined to create an atmosphere where Party membership and organisation can take second place. An essential feature of the maintenance of revolutionary integrity is to resist all this by giving first place to revolutionary ideology, politics and organisation.

On the other hand and more importantly, many outstanding Communists have emerged in struggle in Australia since the Party was reconstituted. From their positive example very much is to be learned. The Party organisation must be very good at selecting good examples and propagating them. They are the most important. At the same time learning from negative example is a vital factor in learning.

"Too busy" is an expression sometimes used when the duties of Party organisation and membership call. Too busy is a bourgeois enemy concept. How can one ever be too busy to attend to the duties and obligations of party membership and organisation? How can it happen? It already means that party ideology, politics and organisation are taking second place in one's life. Absolute devotion to revolutionary service to the people is expressed in scrupulous systematic struggle for Party ideology politics and organisation. Wherever he or she is, in whatever circumstances or whatever sphere, a Communist is always and at all times a Communist. His very life is Communism. He can never be too busy to be a Communist. Wherever he works or lives his life is devoted (appropriately of course and not in the old crude left bloc style) to building up Party organisation to serve Party ideology and struggle.

Lenin spoke of the lackadaisicalness, lack of punctuality, carelessness, slovenliness, untidiness, nervous haste, the inclination to substitute talk for work, the inclination to undertake everything under the sun without finishing anything as characteristic of "the educated". Party membership and organisation demand an end to that sort of thing. They demand precision, punctuality, care, liveliness, tidiness, care-

ful consideration, discussion directed to action, talk so as to work, fulfilling the tasks undertaken. In a word, they demand combating the tendencies of which Lenin spoke. How can there be these evils if Communist membership and organisation is in the first place? By negative example one may take the well known revisionist Gibson who exhibited every one of the vices of which Lenin spoke. He ended up in the disgrace and bog of revisionism.

Every Communist plays a vital part in organisation. Organisation must be strict and efficient. It does not wait for some decree on high but demands initiative, cohesion, discipline based on consciousness of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung ideology.

Some people speak of "security" by which they mean protecting the party organisation and membership from the enemy. The starting point however is mass Communist work, work for Communist ideology politics and organisation in the conditions of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary membership and organisation operate in full knowledge of this dictatorship. The very struggle is directed to its overthrow. How then can its membership and organisation be in any way careless on this matter? It simply cannot be.

Party membership and organisation demand study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with problems in mind. It must be systematic study. Elsewhere in Australian Communist is an article on study in a family. It is indeed a useful example. There are many ways of study by our members and organisation. New experiences have emerged. Study must always be closely attended to.

In every sphere of work there are Communists. Their organisation is aimed to secure the best revolutionary activity of the people. Of all things people are most precious. By exchange of opinions, views of tasks (often very different views are held by Communists) the best view emerges probably composed of various different views. But how can a task be best accomplished without the Communists' careful estimation and analysis? In a given field of work the very starting point for activity lies in party organisation. How otherwise can Marxist-Leninist ideology and politics be applied in the given sphere of work? Lenin spoke of the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. How is it tested? How is it reinforced? he asked. And answered: "First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and, to a certain degree if you will, merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletarian, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses become convinced of this correctness by their own experience. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party that is really capable of being a party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline are inevitably transformed into a squib, a phrase, a grotesque gesture. On the other hand, these conditions cannot arise at one stroke.

They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which, in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes complete shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement."

Chairman Mao developed these great ideas in "On Practice", "On Contradiction", "Reform our Study", "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing", "On Strengthening the Party Committee System", "Methods of Work of Party Committees"; indeed throughout his works. In the "Foundations of Leninism", Stalin summarised Lenin's views on the Party (Chapter VIII). He spoke of the specific features of the Party of the new type as (1) The Party as the vanguard of the working class (2) The Party as the organised detachment of the working class (3) The Party as the highest form of class-organisation of the proletariat (4) The Party as the instrument of the dictatorship of the Proletariat (5) The Party as the embodiment of unity of will, incompatible with the existence of factions (6) The Party is strengthened by purging itself of opportunist elements. Stalin's writing on the Party refers extensively to Lenin, and Lenin's works on the Party which are the product of the struggle against social democracy are fundamental material that must be studied.

The Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) is a living organism. It is in perpetual change and development. It lives by the resolution of contradiction through the method of criticism and self-criticism. The struggle to strengthen its organisation in every respect is a never ending one. Let us study and work together to build it up in revolutionary

service to the people so that we can fulfil the teaching of Chairman Mao:

"A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

Australian Communist No. 52 (June 1972)

THE STATE AND TRADE UNIONS

Every strike action of Australian workers is being met now with increased retaliation by the capitalist class. In addition the puppet governments, both Federal and State, swiftly take their stand on the side of the employers. There is no hesitation, no attempt at pretence, no effort to camouflage. During the oil workers' struggle against the foreign-owned oil companies, the Canberra puppets immediately acted provocatively against the workers. The lackeys Anthony, Lynch, Snedden, "advised" the oil companies to reject the workers' demands. In recent applications for basic wage rises, the Canberra puppets have "intervened" on the side of the employers. During the power workers' struggle in Victoria, Bolte initiated one provocation after another. Why is this?

The over-riding reason is that U.S. imperialism is, as the Vanguard put it, "on the offensive against the Australian working people." Over the last three years or so the tempo of U.S. "investment" in Australia has increased sharply. Industry after industry has been swallowed up, vast tracts of land have come under the control of the U.S. imperialists, U.S. banks and insurance companies are now well established, U.S. financial companies operate here in a big way. In addition to this, the two giant motor car monopolies, G.M. and Ford have expanded their Australian plants and administration into large-scale regional bases for developing exports to S.E. Asia. They have done this to advance their

competitive capacity against Japanese monopolies. Alongside the economic expansion runs the intensified military activity of the U.S. imperialists. It is a matter beyond dispute now that U.S. imperialism controls Australia's armed forces. As the Yankee overlords themselves say "the Australian forces have been buttoned into the U.S. military system". One manifestation of this is the plan to bring the Australian armed forces under one joint control — as in the U.S.A. This in turn will facilitate U.S. control. All this quantitative change cannot but lead to a qualitative change. Today the truth is that Australia is a dependent state of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism's intensified economic and military activity here cannot be separated from the deepening internal crisis of U.S. capitalism. U.S. imperialism's attempt to dominate the world has landed it in a mess. The extent of this mess is expressed by the dollar crisis which is now continuous. Despite tariff barriers and other emergency measures such as the suspension of convertibility of dollars into gold the dollar crisis has not been cured. On the contrary it has grown worse. As big military expenses, capital exports and trade deficits accelerate the growth of the U.S. international payments deficits, the dollar crisis has become more grave. The steady dollar flow into Australia is really the export of crisis. In an attempt to solve the recurring economic crisis at home, the U.S. government has for a long time inflated the currency by printing more paper money, increased credit and reduced bank rate interests. These moves have intensified the internal crisis and increased the flow of dollars abroad. U.S. monopoly is buying up in Australia as much as it can with inflated U.S. dollars which soon could be worthless. There are now 60,000 million

U.S. dollars circulating abroad — a sum far greater than can be honored by U.S. gold reserves.

U.S. imperialism is in no position now to solve its problems militarily although, of course, it will never cease to try to do so. Its aggressive war in Indo-China has bogged down. Despite the expenditure of billions of dollars and the prosecution of the most barbarous war in the history of mankind, it cannot achieve its aims in Vietnam or in the rest of Indo-China. However, not reconciled to defeat, it prepares for further aggression against the peoples of Asia and, accordingly, is dragging Australia further and further into its wild schemes.

In the light of the above it can be seen why the U.S. imperialists are on the offensive against the Australian working people. Australian capitalism is now largely U.S. capitalism. Today there is hardly a struggle of the people that does not come up against U.S. imperialism and consequently, is met with savage retaliation. U.S. imperialism has enough on its hands without its dependencies causing trouble. Thus the puppets of U.S. imperialism are made to toe the line more quickly and are most anxious to show their masters that they can deal with the "slaves". Like Bolte in the power strike, McMahon went from one provocation to another until finally he was ready to create a "state of emergency". In his preparations for an "emergency" McMahon called in the army brass for consultations. McMahon's antics made it difficult for the Whitlam and Hawkes in as much as they helped make it clearer to workers that something more than orthodox trade union struggle was necessary to meet the situation. Hawke and company desperately tried to find a way out with manoeuvres for providing emergency supplies of fuel and with attacks on

the government's "collusion" with the oil companies. Collusion did not go far enough in describing the government's position. Scrvility would have put the matter more correctly. The truth was that the government, as in everything it does, carried out the dictates of the U.S. imperialists. In the oil struggle the restriction of orthodox trade unionism was clearly seen. The oil workers stood firm and they enjoyed widespread public support. Everyone who has anything to do with them knows that the oil companies are fleecing the people. But at all costs the people's hatred of the oil companies had to be contained and not allowed to flower into action. Always struggle must be contained. The orthodox trade union leaders did not develop the attack on the foreign oil companies. They did not mobilise other sections of the working class in support of the oil workers

The reality of U.S. imperialism's control of the country was not brought out consistently and clearly. The term "foreign" oil companies was bandied about, but the essence of the matter — U.S. imperialist domination — was avoided and deliberately avoided.

The oil companies were in a weak position and they knew it. While McMahon was issuing ultimatums to impress his masters, hard headed moves to find a way out "within the framework of arbitration" were being made. But all this kind of stuff is only temporary — struggle is absolute. U.S. imperialism will continue the squeeze and the class struggle will sharpen. Australian workers are developing their struggles and are learning as they do so that they must rely more and more on themselves. The orthodox trade union leaders are facing in the same direction as the puppets — they all work to contain struggle and cover up the political reality that it is against U.S. domination of

the country that the workers are really fighting. On the other hand the Australian working class and other working people are turning more to revolutionary struggle. There is a growing awareness of the need for revolutionary organisation that will meet challenges by the puppet governments made on behalf of U.S. imperialism.

Working people want to struggle. They want to break through the restrictions of orthodox trade unionism to a higher form of struggle.

In the book "In Place of Fear" by the late British "left" labor parliamentarian, Aneurau Bevan, is an interesting excerpt which deals precisely with this question. It is worth quoting. The quote says:—

"I remember vividly Robert Smillie describing to me an interview the leaders of the Triple Alliance had with David Lloyd George in 1919. The strategy of the leaders was clear. The miners under Robert Smillie, the transport workers under Robert Williams, the National Union of Railwaymen under Thomas, formed the most formidable combination of industrial workers in the history of Great Britain. They had agreed on the demands which were to be made to the employers, knowing well that the Government would be bound to be involved at an early stage. And so it happened. A great deal of industry was still under war-time control and so the State power was immediately implicated. Lloyd George sent for the labour leaders, and they went, so Robert told me truculently determined they would not be talked over by the seductive and eloquent Welshman'. At this Bob's eyes twinkled in his grave strong face. 'He was quite frank with us from the outset', Bob went on. He said to us: 'Gentlemen, you have

fashioned, in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy. The Army is disaffected and cannot be relied upon. Trouble has occurred in a number of camps. We have just emerged from a great war and the people are eager for the reward of their sacrifices, and we are in no position to satisfy them. In these circumstances, if you carry out your threat and strike, then you will defeat us.

“‘But if you do so’ went on Mr. Lloyd George, ‘have you weighed the consequences? The strike will be in defiance of the government of the country and by its very success will precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance. For, if a force arises in the State which is stronger than the State itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the State, or withdraw and accept the authority of the State. Gentlemen,’ asked the Prime Minister quietly, ‘have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?’ ‘From that moment on’, said Robert Smillie, ‘we were beaten and we knew we were.’

“After this the General Strike of 1926 was really an anti-climax. The essential argument had been deployed in 1919. But the leaders in 1926 were in no better theoretical position to force it. They had never worked out the revolutionary implications of direct action on such a scale. Nor were they anxious to do so. Industrial action was in the air and they could not deny it. The General Election of 1918 had been a cheat, and the majority in the House of Commons did not represent the post-election mood of the country. Nevertheless, the authority of Parliament is part of the social and political climate of Britain, and it

was so even in the days when the House of Commons was elected on a more limited franchise than today.’

Yes, Lloyd George, was certainly right. The working class must create its own ruling apparatus — and this is what revolution is all about. Orthodox trade unionism is not enough. Mass movements can be very big and powerful — such as a general strike — but contained by bourgeois ideology, that is orthodox trade unionism which accepts capitalism, respects its laws, institutions, etc., then it must fail to end exploitation of the capitalist class.

Every strike struggle shows us the need to build the Communist Party (M-L), the only revolutionary Party, so that the revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought can be more widely integrated with the struggles of the Australian working people.

Struggles must be used to build the party. Party building is an ideological question — it is not a matter of recruiting all and sundry. The need for the Party, its role, the struggle to break from capitalist ideology and develop a revolutionary class outlook — all these questions can be greatly clarified in struggle if they are linked in with it. In the past the Communist Party could not do this for it was still, itself, under the influence of bourgeois ideology. Marxism-Leninism had not won supremacy. Economism had not been overcome. Now we are breaking through it all and already the response from the working people has been great. The whole movement is quickening. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought corresponds with the needs of the working people. There is no third way—either accept capitalism or develop revolutionary struggle against it.

And what is the central question of revolution? The

State. Lloyd George, whom Lenin regarded as one of the astutest of bourgeois politicians, put his finger on the central question.

Australian working people are learning much about the role of the state by their own experience. They will learn more as time goes on. But their experience must be constantly summed up in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the theoretical generalisations made taken back to the masses and tested. In this way, the mass movement rises to higher levels, develops correct organisation and is not defeated.

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STRUGGLE OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WIDENS AND DEEPENS

A recent feature of Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory and the Kimberley region of Western Australia has been the increasing incidence of self-assertion by the Aboriginal people, and of groups of Aborigines aiding each other in such programs.

This is stated in a leaflet issued during the Black Moratorium demonstrations last month.

The leaflet, bringing together the main struggle centres of the Aboriginal people, shows that the Aborigines are very much on the move behind their just demands and that they are a powerful component in the revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and the local traitor class.

We reprint the leaflet in full. It reads:

Wattie Creek was not the first strike by Aborigines in protest against wages injustice, debased living conditions and white domination: In 1943 Pilbara (W.A.) Aborigines attempted an unsuccessful strike, but 1946 saw another try and the start of two decades of struggle which culminated in April of 1972 with the establishment of mining and livestock enterprises on Strelley station, 40 miles from Port Hedland.

In 1966 the Gurindji people walked off Wave Hill station (N.T.) their claim being for better wages and living conditions. But this protest soon developed into a demand for land which the Federal Government had leased to the

British Company, Vestey's. The area involved included a large tract of traditional Gurindji territory. In June of 1972 the Gurindji won a partial concession when the Federal Government ceded 25 square miles of Wave Hill land to Crown title. It was understood that the Aboriginal people then applied for a lease of this area which included within its boundaries the Wattie Creek campsite.

But this was not the freehold ownership that the Aborigines had asked for. That the Government was able to cancel Vestey's lease leaves the Federal body with the power to repeat this action at any time they so wish in the future. But in opposition to this Government power is the growing Aboriginal protest movement in the north. Whilst Wattie Creek has become a by-word for Aboriginal protest, other communities, large and small, have commenced to assert themselves in their search for 'independence' from white domination. Despite Mr. McMahon's January 26 rejection of land rights based on traditional association, many of these groups are continuing to ask for just what the P.M. is denying them — ownership of the land which the Aborigines know is theirs. Some of the groups which are emerging from the pit of white suppression are mentioned below: A few are well known, others are relatively unknown:

1. Yirrkala: The adverse decision handed down to the Aborigines in 1971 over disputed land ownership between the Yirrkala people and Nabalco Pty. Ltd. was not the only area of conflict. Since then Nabalco have applied for a permit to establish a wood-chip industry over 5,000 square miles of north east Arnhem Land, and once again the Aboriginal people have expressed concern as to what will happen to sacred sites and to their Aboriginal way of

life. Nabalco made its application in a formal document to Mr. McMahon by the chairman of Nabalco, Sir James Vernon in Canberra on December 8, 1971. The Minister for National Development, Mr. Swartz, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Mr. Howson, Mr. Hunt and Mr. David Griffin of Nabalco were at the meeting. While this meeting claimed that the project would 'confer benefits on the Aboriginal people', it is noticed that neither the Government nor Nabalco saw fit to have Yirrkala representatives present.

2. Bathurst Island: The Tiwi people have also expressed some concern over the possible establishment of a wood-chip industry on their island. A number of companies have shown interest in the idea and the Minister for the Interior, Mr. Hunt, has given companies up until September 30 to apply for Forest Product Licences.

3. Larrakia: A small group of survivors of this tribe have laid claim to an equally small area of land within the precincts of Darwin. The present 'owner' is Mick Paspalis, the local millionaire. The Larrakia have pursued their objective with a series of symbolic protests, such as lying down on the Bagot Road at peak traffic and raising their own flag over the Darwin Court House. In return they have been harassed by police and are continually met by both apathetic and vindictive opposition.

4. Victoria River Downs: In April of this year 200 Aborigines walked off this station in protest against both conditions and the manager, who claimed white people had stirred up the move for political motives. The feature of the move was the aid received by the VRD people from the Gurindji who helped to move the 200 to their camp at Wattie Creek.

5. Humbert River Station: A few weeks after the VRD episode 12 Aborigines walked off this station and joined the two groups at Wattie Creek. The reasons for this move are confused but the important factor once again is the co-operation that exists between the three communities: Aboriginal people were aiding each other in an attempt to remove the restrictions which white authorities have imposed on all facets of Aboriginal life.

6. Territory Aboriginal Rights Council: This all Aboriginal Council at its inaugural meeting in April 1972 included in its agenda the following resolutions:—Mission and settlement Aborigines to get control or the white authorities to get out: Aboriginal stockmen to get station land to build homes and an end to all pay and condition discrimination on stations.

Other Aboriginal communities involved in pressing for civil rights and land are the Roper River people: Anvergne station Aborigines have asked for improved conditions, and the Maningrida Government Settlement people expressed at their Council meeting (8/6/72) a resentment at the continual visits of Government representatives, for "the Government should know what we want — all they do is ask all the time the same questions, but nothing happens afterwards: It's time now the Government helps us with materials and not with words".

8. Mirima Council: In the East Kimberley town of Kununurra the Miriwung people, last December formed themselves into a constituted body known as the Mirima Council. They wish to develop the town reserve to include community living in large family groups rather than be broken into isolated family units scattered within the

white town. They also wish for a piece of land which would include sites that are still sacred to them. A final point with the Miriwung is that the \$100 million Ord River project is taking place within their country, and of the above sum they have not received a cent in direct benefit to themselves, let alone mere recognition of their right to the land. When McMahon opened the main Ord dam in early July of this year the celebrations that went with the occasion brought the total cost of the P.M.'s jaunt to the sum of \$325,000. Needless to say little consideration was given to the presence of sub-nutrition among the Miriwung people who lived a mile from where McMahon was cavorting.

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THERE ARE NO SHORT CUTS IN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

Revolutionary struggle calls for determination, persistence, discipline. Knowledge of the theory of revolution is one thing: capacity to carry that theory into practice is another: actually carrying it into practice is still another.

The revolutionary party serves revolutionary theory and the revolutionary movement. "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs".

The question of the type of Party was the subject of controversy between Lenin and his opponents. Lenin expounded the principles of Party organisation. And they are fairly well known.

As part of the ruling class's seeking to adapt and destroy the theoretical truths of Marxism-Leninism, it seeks to adapt to itself and destroy the Communist Party. On the other hand genuine revolutionaries seek to build up the revolutionary organisation of the Communist Party entirely independent of bourgeois ideology.

Revolution is a protracted process. This is so even under socialism. Our conception of the revolution that the

Communist Party serves is that of continuous revolution by stages. Throughout the world the revolution is in various stages. That flows from the law of the uneven development of capitalism elucidated by Lenin. In China and Albania the socialist proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are being consolidated. In countries like Australia the revolution is in its preliminary stages the — the stage of uniting the people in revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle for an independent people's democratic Australia. Whatever stage the revolution in a given country has reached, the ideology politics and organisation of the Communist Party are vital.

The most important thing in the life of a revolutionary is his membership of the Communist Party. The Party is devoted to revolutionary service to the people. It is the most important organisation in Australia. In the particular sphere in which the given Party organisation exists it is the vanguard organisation and the most important organisation. It must assess and examine the situation in which it lives and operates and must constantly sum up experiences by making a most minute examination of successes and failures. It cannot go into a struggle or lead the masses in struggle without making a painstaking analysis of the situation and the perspectives of the given struggle. This involves real devotion to the Party, placing party requirements above everything else because Party organisation serves the only genuine ideology and politics in Australia.

The revolutionary struggle overall in Australia is a protracted struggle. There can be no quick victory and there can most certainly be no final defeat. There must be victory. That is a law of history. Therefore all revolutionaries are optimists, responsible revolutionary optimists. They know

there can be no defeat because Marxism-Leninism shows that the collapse of capitalism is inevitable but a part of that inevitability is man's own dynamic role. Service to the people is an historical revolutionary necessity. It arises from the character of the revolutionary struggle; of course, it embraces man's own dynamic role over which the given man has control. His role is vital. Hence his consciousness is vital, his ideology, politics and organisation are vital.

Within the overall revolutionary struggle are myriad other struggles. They must be guided to merge into one single anti-imperialist, national independence struggle. In these struggles, there is more often than not no quick victory; not uncommonly there is seeming defeat. (But no defeat is absolute for even in defeat there are lessons and vice versa.) There are advances and retreats, ebbs and flows, smaller victories, and smaller defeats. The path is often tortuous. People are apt to be deluded by temporary success or cast into despair by temporary defeat. This is particularly so with intellectuals who Lenin once said are prone to suffer from alternate moods of exaltation and despair. By its very discipline, its cohesion, its attachment to the most advanced means of production, the working class is more determined in waging protracted struggle through its various ups and downs, victories and defeats, advances and retreats, setbacks and so on.

In Australia there have been struggles in the past few years where comparatively quick victory has been achieved. This goes in the working class and amongst students and in general people's struggles. It would be naive to believe that the achievement of quick victory did not encourage among some revolutionaries certain moods of complacency, conceit, if you like, dizziness with success. When quick

victory is not achieved some revolutionaries get affected by moods of pessimism, get browned off, discouraged, suffer from inertia.

The ruling class constantly reviews its tactics of struggle. In some struggles in Australia it has fairly rapidly given way, made concessions. It does so only to gain time, to review its tactics so as to attack again. We must never be deluded. The nature of capitalism does not change. Now the ruling class is fighting with more persistence. For example, it is fighting to restore its authority in banning strikes, taking penal action, using the State forces more. In the universities and schools it is resorting to more far-reaching repression than in earlier times. In the struggle of the people against such things as the Esso pipeline it has resorted to armed thugs, police, courts, and so on. The ruling class attacks from many sides — ideological, political and organisational. It uses the labor lieutenants of capital, it uses its own propaganda organs, it uses its repression, and so on. All of it must be carefully analysed in all its aspects. Nothing is too small for observation and analysis. Only by the closest observation and analysis of the enemy and his tactics is it possible to work out correct policy and tactics for the working class and people's struggle. Who are our enemies and who are our friends are indeed prime questions. They are questions only the Party can answer.

Many young and new people have turned to the struggle for proletarian revolution. This is indeed a wonderful thing. And these young people have performed many acts of heroism. They have waged long struggles and short struggles. They have dared to win. They have taught the workers as a whole much. They have taught the older revolutionaries much. They have acquired much valuable

experience which must be closely studied analysed and summed up. For them and for all revolutionaries there must be systematic education as to the protracted character of revolutionary struggle, its ups and downs, advances and retreats, victories and defeats, ebbs and flows. In this way confidence in ultimate victory and avoidance of short term reactions can be cultivated. It requires systematic work, persistence in struggle.

The shortcomings of comrades must be sympathetically handled. Rude, crude, arrogant handling of comrades is simply no good. It is true people make mistakes. Only he who does nothing makes no mistakes. One mistake is a certain romanticised, idealised conception of revolution and the working class. This is a result of political subjectivism, the wish being father to the thought. Revolution is certain but it is also certain that it is a protracted process. The working class is the greatest class in history but its political development is a protracted process. Persistent work is required to raise its consciousness. Then with revolutionary students other problems exist. There is a difference, for example, in making speeches about revolution to students from on the other hand making the same speech to the workers. Time too is a different thing to the student from what it is to the worker. The student can come and go at any time: the worker of necessity must clock on at a fixed time and clock off only at another fixed time. Discipline and reliability in commitments with the worker are almost conditioned reflexes whereas with the student they must be worked at and for. In the latter's case cultivation of such traits is an essential factor in adopting a proletarian stand. Lenin had much to say on these matters in "What is to be Done" and other works. The

cultivation of these traits and the adoption of a thorough-going proletarian stand are in themselves the work of a lifetime. It is a process with ups and downs, retreats and advances, victories and defeats. It is a matter for all, for systematic, understanding criticism and self-criticism.

Democratic centralism characterises Party organisation. It involves "(1) the individual is subordinate to the organisation (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.

Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity". (Chairman Mao). Understanding of democratic centralism too is a process. It too is a question of resolving the contradiction between ignorance and knowledge. Discipline not based on understanding is of no real value: it falls to pieces under the first blow. On the other hand discipline based on understanding is iron discipline. History has shown that a Party has iron discipline when it has a high level of Marxist-Leninist understanding embracing deep connections with the masses. On the other hand history has shown that "discipline" in Parties riddled with revisionism was quite artificial and collapsed. In the development of the Party in Australia great attention requires to be paid to democratic centralism. The acquisition of personal ease of mind and of the lively putting forward of ideas and different points of view are all catered for by democratic centralism. An atmosphere of responsible democracy aimed at achieving the correct revolutionary line in every sphere of activity must be cultivated. Comrades must feel free to raise without inhibition or reservation any question and must not feel diffident for fear of such things as being "off the line" or being incorrect and so on. Nor should

they be overborne by people who can talk well, write well, put a case well. It does not follow that such people are the repositories of all wisdom. There is commonly a big gap between words and deeds. The less articulate are often very good. Moreover "education" is a two fold thing. Certainly it helps in reading and writing but it hinders in that commonly the educated have to get rid of the burden of bourgeois rubbish whereas the "uneducated" may have difficulty with reading and writing but commonly have not got the burden of bourgeois rubbish that the "educated" have. Lenin dealt with this matter and Chairman Mao gave it graphic treatment in "Oppose Book Worship". The "educated" must be aware of the problem and strive to overcome it and the "uneducated" must strive to overcome his problem. Both must work for Marxist-Leninist ideology politics and organisation. To strike down someone who has a different standpoint from one's own, to slander or abuse him, to use crude and harsh methods or "clever" debating points is quite wrong. When discussion has run its course and decision has been reached it must be carried out. To take a different line in the knowledge that it is a different line from that of the Party is a breach of Party spirit, democratic centralism or to use the Party press for a like purpose perhaps under the cover of dealing with another question again is a breach of Party spirit, democratic centralism. Where a Party decision has been reached as to a given course of action in united front activity and on that basis agreement with non Party people has been reached, it is a breach of Party spirit, democratic centralism to carry out some other line unless events show the original decision to be quite wrong. The principles of Chairman Mao's "On the Question of Independence and Initiative

within the United Front" are a fundamentally important study on this type of matter.

There are many other matters involved in this question. The classics of Marxism have dealt much with them. Lenin's early books on Party organisation like "What is to be Done", "One Step Forward", "Two Tactics", Chairman Mao's "Combat Liberalism", "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party", Stalin's "The Party" in Foundations of Leninism all contain invaluable material.

The supreme position that the Party occupies calls for thoroughgoing conscientiousness. All Communists, if need be, are prepared to give their lives for the revolutionary cause. No sacrifice is too great in the struggle to emancipate Australia from imperialism, to win people's power with the dictatorship of the proletariat. A strong Party is fundamental to that. It is the core leading the cause of the people forward. "What really counts in the world is conscientiousness and the Communist Party is most particular about being conscientious". (Chairman Mao.)

CRIME, PUNISHMENT AND REVOLUTION

The first thing that can be said about crime is that it is a class question. No amount of moralizing about so-called criminal acts can produce a tenable code of absolute morality nor detract from the definitive class nature of crime.

Significantly it is only the capitalist system with its bourgeois set of laws that proclaims a universal morality, and simultaneously transgresses it at every step. The old maxim "thou shalt not kill" translated into bourgeois law gives severe penalties for individual acts of murder yet condones the wholesale slaughter by legally constituted capitalist armies of people struggling for their national liberation. Similarly the "sacred" status of private property is protected when threatened by demonstrations against imperialist companies, yet the destruction of the national property of the Vietnamese people is legally sanctioned.

The monstrous hypocrisy of bourgeois law is best characterized by the fact that on the one hand a theft prompted by necessity receives a criminal penalty, whilst on the other, the capitalist system of the institutionalized theft of the surplus labour of the working class is protected and hallowed by a complex set of laws.

The Marxist or any other genuine humanitarian confronted with this situation can only come to the conclusion

that it is the capitalist system which is criminal. In this light then all so-called crime must be judged relative to the extent to which it increases or reduces exploitation and suffering. This is the only basis upon which moral judgments can be made. Hence the man who steals from the wealthy to feed his family is acting in accord with the objective morality of the working class (that is the proletariat) and his action from the standpoint of his class is blameless. However, the man who extorts and steals from ordinary people while his actions may be unorthodox, is acting in accord with the practice of bourgeois class morality and thus is morally condemnable from the point of view of the proletariat.

Obviously "crime" does not always fall conveniently into the categories which the above examples suggest. The moral lines between just and unjust "crimes" are generally blurred. For instance in the case of a sadistic murder of a child, both the Marxist and the bourgeois would show abhorrence and desire some form of redress against the murderer. However, the bourgeois would be behaving hypocritically in the face of his support for murderous imperialist wars and perpetuation of those very social conditions which produce barbarous crimes. Only the Marxist could face the situation squarely, understanding the solution to the problem in the destruction of its root cause. Again "crimes" of theft do not always follow rigid class patterns. Thus on one day a thief can rob a business, yet on another he can steal from working people. The bourgeois will imprison such a person (with a certain amount of consensus from the mass of working people) but his own greater crimes of systematic exploitation continue not only unchecked but also are legally endorsed. In

comparison therefore the crimes of the indiscriminate thief are minor.

The Marxist would reiterate that it is the capitalist system which is criminal and that "unauthorized" crime is a product of the socio-economic antagonism of capitalist society. To this extent prisoners are victims of the capitalist system.

Whilst types of crime vary in almost all cases their source can be drawn from the exigencies, tensions and frustrations which the capitalist system generates.

The case of the man who steals to relieve family hardship has already been mentioned. But the case of the youth who steals and subsequently dumps numerous Holden Monaros is more typical of "crimes" induced by the responding to the norms and values capitalism imposes. Even the case of the convicted pack rapist who invariably is of an underprivileged background can be related to the class inequalities under capitalism. Apart from the prevailing milieu of male supremacy, the high incidence of rape must be seen in the light of the social sublimation of creative desires and their canalizing into physical sexual ones. Further the continual bombardment through advertising of spurious associations of simple consumer goods with glamorous women, can create in the more vulnerable man unrealizable urges with destructive results. These factors coupled with the stratification of the working class and the consequent clashing of inter and intra-class cultural and social patterns engendered by modern imperialism, produces for the youth (especially) of the most depressed sections of the working class unfavourable terms of material competition in attracting women (even from his own class) with the

ensuing frustrations which can result in rape and its criminal penalty.

The inferred solution to the problem of "crime" is the destruction of the criminal system, capitalism, which causes it, and the institution of a socialist system with the elimination of poverty, deprivation, class inequalities and alienation.

For the bourgeois, however, the solution to (unauthorized) crime is its isolation and the punishment of the offender. Whatever the euphemisms employed by the respective capitalist ideologists might happen to be, the main function of the penal system is punishment. And this punishment is performed not in order to redress wrong done to the community but rather to protect that sacred god of capitalism "property" or alternatively to whitewash society by scapegoating individuals. The other possibly more important object of punishment is the political "criminal" who dares to challenge the power of the capitalist state apparatus. This function becomes more apparent as political rebellion develops amongst the working class.

"Capitalism without the window dressing" is an apt description of prisons in modern bourgeois societies. However, just as there are quantitative differences between capitalist systems throughout the world, so too are there similar differences in penal conditions in the various capitalist countries. It would be generally true that the more vicious the exploitation of the working class is, the worse the prisons are. And the degree of exploitation is in proportion to the extent to which the working classes are domestic or foreign controlled wage slaves. Thus the greater exploitation of colonized or neo-colonized workers manifests itself in worse prison conditions than found in indigenous capitalist countries with their own local working

classes. In other words, imperialism produces a worse penal system for its overseas economic possession than it does for its domestic possession.

Following on from these general principles the worst prisons in the world therefore are to be found in countries where the oppressor (directly or indirectly) of native peoples is white monopoly capitalism or imperialism. Here the factor of racism reduces the population to the level of slaves and the prisoners to that of animals. One need not look to a typical colonial relationship such as Portuguese Guinea to find these examples. South Africa and United States are places where the colonizer and the colonized people are situated within the same national boundaries. Here it might be argued that surely there are worse prisons in the world than those of South Africa and the United States. This is the same empiricism which argues that the black man in South Africa is better off than his counterpart in neighbouring black countries. What this argument does not and never takes into account is the scientific concept of exploitation which is relative to a number of factors, chief of which is the level of national wealth and how it is owned and distributed. On this basis then both the blacks of South Africa and of the United States are the most exploited peoples on earth. It is in this sense alone that the prisons of these two respective countries are placed among the worst. The United States exhibits the two extremes of penal systems found in the capitalist world. There is a marked contrast between the shocking prisons in the Deep South engineered for black victims and those better ones, predominantly for white people.

Australia is in somewhat a unique position. Whilst not strictly a neo-colony (for Britain's dominance has de-

clined) it is an imperialized country controlled politically and economically by foreign capitalism chiefly that of U.S. imperialism. The quasi-feudal attitude towards prisons is the logical outcome of the subservience of the comprador ruling class to foreign interests. Undoubtedly the standard of living in Australia is comparatively high yet in proportion to our national wealth we would be one of, if not the, poorest white capitalist countries in the world. This relative poverty naturally manifests itself in all our institutions especially in the penal system.

While the term "rehabilitation" is commonly in currency in the ideology of all modern capitalist countries, only a few in fact ever try to implement this myth. Perhaps the goals of "non-imperialist" capitalist countries like Sweden are superior to those in Australia but the difference is a quantitative not a qualitative one. As the concept of "rehabilitation" means to reform the criminal so that he can adjust to community life, it is essentially a fraud in capitalist societies. Here to 'rehabilitate' the criminal means to make him adjust and conform to the exploitive realities of capitalism and to those very social conditions which forced him into "crime". In this context "rehabilitation" could be more correctly redefined as "reconformism". This so called progressive attitude as opposed to the punishment school of thought is the true expression of the (non-imperialist) bourgeoisie at times when its political power is not strongly challenged. In these relatively quiet periods "rehabilitation" is all in vogue; however, capitalism when threatened, quickly strips off this veneer and reverts back to the punishment syndrome. This analysis of course, precludes the Australian ruling class under the control of imperialism

from ever voluntarily adopting in practice the concept (or mythology) of "rehabilitation".

In capitalist countries the future of gaols and their inmates is in the hands of the working class and the prisoners themselves. The general tendency of the development of revolutionary consciousness amongst the working class will inevitably have its reverberations in the politics of prisoners. On the balance sheet of classes and their respective interests, prisoners are among the oppressed, and thus are a potential revolutionary force. Like all other oppressed classes prisoners must earn their emancipation through struggle. And this is gained through their recognition and understanding of their situation as members of the working class and their willingness to organize and fight for socialism.

Marxists must take an unequivocal position towards the struggles of prisoners. This must be one of total support and future promise to liberate all gaols. On this point a demarcation line is drawn between Radical Bourgeois Reformists on the one hand and Marxists on the other. These Reformists with due deference to Marxism in their own sociological theories will agree that crime is a product of social conditions; that the system is at fault not the criminal, and even that in the future there should be no gaols. But the one point at which they hesitate and falter is not that of revolution but of breaking open the gaols! Their opposition to opening the gaols means in essence their real hostility to working class revolution. The Marxists reply to the backdown and hesitancy of the reformists through the simple logic of revolution; if you agree that the system is the cause of crime, then you must also agree that the remedy is the destruction of that system and the vindication of its victims.

COMMUNIST PARTY IS PARTY OF WORKING CLASS

The Communist Party is the party of the working class. It must be organised deep in the heart of the working class. The working class has the leading role in the struggle for socialism and in the struggle for the preliminary to socialism, people's democratic anti-imperialist power. One of the weapons of the bourgeoisie is to attack the whole idea of the leading role of the working class.

The questioning of the leading role of the working class takes many forms some open, some crude, some secret, some subtle. The ruling class promotes attack upon the leading role of the working class because it understands or senses that it is precisely the working class that is the grave digger of capitalism. As early as 1848 in the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels said:

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." Chairman Mao said: "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must

unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them." Lenin pointed out time and again that the working class was the class directly attached to the most advanced means of production, that it was organised and disciplined by the very process of production itself.

Sometimes it is said in the revolutionary movement that these truths are self evident and do not need repetition. We prefer to repeat them. But even more important is to act upon them.

Within the revolutionary ranks systematic education and work on the leading role of the working class is vital. It is by no means a question just of recording the fact and then going on with one's activities. It involves the whole question of outlook, of direction, of what has been called orientation.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the ideology of the working class. In Australia, the working class is by far the biggest single class. Of course there are strata within the working class, for example, the skilled and unskilled, the factory worker and the office worker, the high paid and the low paid. All these are factors that require examination.

The Communist Party is the possession, the capital, as Dimitrov once called it, of the working class. Unless it is organised deep in the working class it cannot discharge its revolutionary task. It is and must be a party of the working class.

Diversion of the Communists from organising deep in the working class takes many forms. Some of them must be considered.

The most important diversion is trade union politics. The essence of trade union politics is to limit the struggle of the workers to economic or trade union demands, even give those demands a political content such as getting legislation beneficial to the worker but to avoid presenting them as part of the revolutionary struggle. The critical question of politics is which class holds state power. The politics of the Communists are for the workers to lead the struggle to wrest state power from the imperialist overlords of Australia and their local hangers on. Trade union politics, trade unionism, is not concerned with this central political question. This is not to say at all that trade unions are not necessary. But it is to say that trade union politics and the acceptance of trade unions as sufficient organisation for the workers, is bourgeois politics.

In the organisation of the Communist Party the critical question is its organisation in the workplaces, in the factories. It is inconceivable that a Communist Party can lead the revolutionary struggle without its being organised deep in the working class; without that organisation leading the struggle of the workers and propagating appropriately Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

That organisation must develop irrespective of trade unions, trade union organisation and of course in conflict with trade union politics. Trade unionism would

confine the workers to organisation that serves the trade union, that is, a non-revolutionary organisation. Job organisations certainly are necessary, job delegates, shop committees and the Communists **must** be interested in them, active in them. But the **most important** task is the building of the Communist Party itself in the factories. Only the Communists have a scientific analysis of the limits of trade unionism, of struggles over immediate demands and positively have a perspective as to how all these can serve the revolutionary struggle. It is only the Communists who can undertake with revolutionary meticulousness the detailed analysis of overall events, of daily events, of fitting the partial into the whole, the factory into the whole working class, the working class into the revolutionary struggle.

Sometimes trade union officials are condemned for not paying attention to building Party organisation on the jobs. It is true that several decades of experience in Australia do demonstrate that Communists who hold trade union official positions do not pay much attention to this matter. This must be recognised as a simple fact and not as a matter of abuse. It has several explanations. In the first place there is a very deeply held belief that trade union organisation is sufficient in the revolutionary struggle. This exists in the working class and it exists among revolutionary students. (The worship of the trade union leader, as Lenin called it.) In words, a given Communist will deny he is victim to this belief. But reality belies him. It too is a simple fact. Then there is the fact that trade union leaders are very busy with their trade union activities and organisation. This is a fact. It

is a physical fact which of necessity is reflected in their minds and holds them within the confines of trade union activities and affairs. Involved in this is that trade unions are tied to the capitalist state, there is in the nature of things mutual give and take between bosses and trade union officials and a certain compromising of trade union officials occurs. (We do not at all mean crude bribery but the asking and granting of favours both ways must affect people.) There is the fact of the job with certain prestige, comforts, perks. Revolutionary organisation on the job does disturb this state of affairs. No one need get unduly excited about this recital of facts. They are only some of the facts. But the recognition of them and others as facts is vital to an understanding of the limitations in the outlook that trade union officials tend to have in the solution of the problem of building Communist organisation in the workplaces.

The influence of the trade union leader, particularly he who is a Communist, extends far beyond his trade union. His influence carries these traits with him. The position of Hawke illustrates our point (not of course our revolutionary point). But from his official trade union position his influence reaches wide sections of the people. Among revolutionaries the influence of a revolutionary trade union leader extends far beyond his trade union. By virtue of the very fact that he occupies a trade union position is the implication that through the trade unions lies the revolutionary way forward. Nothing could be further from the truth.

This is not to say revolutionaries should not

hold trade union positions. Again it is a simple fact that they do hold such positions. Nor does it mean that trade union officials are bad people. On the contrary there are outstanding revolutionaries among them. But it is to say that the problems of revolutionary ideology politics and organisation will never be solved through revolutionary trade union officials.

Another trend has been the idea put forward by the ruling class that in effect the working class has ceased to exist. This lies in the proposition that technological advance is such that workers are now predominantly technologists and are all intellectuals. Therefore leadership of the revolutionary movement lies with the intellectuals. Quite a band of academic people have put this view forward. No doubt some of them are sincere people and sincerely believe their views to be correct. It is true that there has been great technological advance and it is true that it has produced certain changes in the workers. But the number of workers has increased, the number of unemployed people has increased. Marx is not out of date. The facts of today prove the truth of what Marx and Engels said in the 1848 Communist Manifesto: "But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows and it feels that strength more." This is true in Australia. The proposition that events have proved that Marx is out of date, or was wrong in the first place, simply will not stand up to examination. That is another subject about which a great deal can be said. Our concern at the moment is that from this variety of attack upon Marxism arises another

form of the denial of the leading role of the working class. If the view were correct then of course it would be unnecessary to build revolutionary organisation in the workplaces. These ideas have an influence beyond the immediate academic circles which hold them. They influence in one way or another, some revolutionaries even though in words these revolutionaries would reject any such idea.

A very active component in revolutionary struggle in Australia, and indeed, in the world, has been revolutionary student activity. Many spectacular actions led by revolutionary students occurred. They were and are extremely important in initiating action and raising revolutionary consciousness. Our revolutionary students performed and perform acts of heroism that will never be forgotten. And their activities must go on, must be encouraged and supported. Those who wanted to suppress them in the name of experience, advice and so on really wanted to prevent all revolutionary activity.

One aspect of this spectacular activity was the generation of the idea (again denied in words and honestly denied) that revolutionary students were the leading force in the revolutionary movement. If it is correct that revolutionary students are the leading force in the revolutionary movement then again there is no need for revolutionary organisation in the work places. The idea of the students being the leaders of the revolutionary movement received encouragement in some quarters. It and the results of so called technological advances, have an interconnection. Moreover it is natural

enough when student leaders emerge that even without being conscious of it, they are seen as the overall leaders. It produces an effect on them and on the general revolutionary ranks. Student leaders are very important. They are treasured people and may well turn out to be the overall revolutionary leaders. But because student activity advanced comparatively rapidly and some aspects of workers' struggle advanced comparatively slowly, the idea of student leadership gained currency. In particular struggles, students are the leaders. That is correct. However the problem we are concerned with is the historical role of the working class. Notwithstanding any temporary backwardness or passivity, the leading class is by the very nature of capitalism the proletarian class. "The question is not what this or that proletarian, or even the whole of the proletariat at the moment considers as its aim. The question is **what the proletariat is**, and what, consequent on that **being**, it will be compelled to do. Its aim and historical action is irrevocably and obviously demonstrated in its own life situation as well as in the whole organisation of bourgeois society today." (Marx and Engels: The Holy Family.)

No part of this must in any way discourage revolutionary students. They are wonderful people. They are serious people and do seriously study the revolutionary situation. The spectacular actions arose in a particular conjuncture of circumstances in which the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and the crisis of the Vietnam war were important factors. They also arose in conditions where the ruling class had

had little experience in dealing with rebellious students. Changes occurred, changes always occur. Different conditions require close study and careful analysis and different tactics. Spectacular actions are good and they go to enrich the wider revolutionary organisation and activity.

The building of revolutionary organisation deep in the working class must proceed on the basis that it is an ideological and political matter. Revolutionary organisation is the most important organisation. If the working class is the leading class then it follows that organisation in it is the most important revolutionary organisation. Trade union activity and revolutionary youth activity conducted by revolutionaries must be directed to building up revolutionary organisation in the working class, in the work places. If the ideology that emanates from trade union politics, from the technocracy argument, from student activity is understood and properly dealt with then difficulties can be overcome. When we say politics in command we mean revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought politics in command.

Revisionism denies revolution. Hence it is not interested in the leading revolutionary role of the working class. Its organisation is based upon localities. These emanate from parliamentary electoral boundaries because revisionism believes in the parliamentary road to "socialism". Leading Australian revisionists like Aarons and Clancy vie with each other in a Sydney electorate as to which will poll the larger number of votes. This is good because it reveals the bankruptcy of

all revisionism. Still, the influence of revisionism penetrates revolutionary thinking and activity. It would be quite wrong to fail to recognise this.

We have not mentioned Trotskyism, Guevarism, Marcuse, New Left, etc. All of them deny the leading role of the working class. And again influences from them penetrate the revolutionary ranks.

Maintenance of the purity of ideology and politics is a never ending struggle. And that struggle is not abstract; it is concrete. In the struggle of the workers the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is being upheld. That banner demands that every revolutionary be he or she worker, trade union leader, student, professional man or woman or whatever adopt a proletarian stand, adopt the stand of the proletariat. A proletarian stand does require as part of Marxist-Leninist ideology politics and organisation fighting for the supremacy of Communist organisation and that means fundamentally Communist organisation in the workplaces. This is the only answer to trade union politics and trade unionism, is the only answer to those ideas which deny the leading role of the working class.

To build up the Party in the work places requires painstaking work. It is the workers and those who have adopted a proletarian stand who have the discipline tenacity and determination to carry out the protracted struggle of making revolution. Already there are examples of comrades who through tenacious painstaking work in very difficult conditions have achieved success in this. They did not confine their attention to

proclamations of the leading role of the working class but acting upon their conviction of this Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought carried it into organisational effect. They do not look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma and stand in contrast to those of whom Chairman Mao said: "They approve of Marxism but are not prepared to practise it or to practise it in full; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism by Marxism. These people have their Marxism, but they have their liberalism as well — they talk Marxism but practise liberalism; they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each". (Combat Liberalism.) Put another way they have understood the need "to take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses" and not being riddled with illusions have not wanted only "to do big things". (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party.)

In all the competing ideas then the leading role of the working class emerges more clearly than ever. Other struggles come and go. They are important. But the working class struggle continues because of the historic nature of the working class and its mission to overthrow capitalism. Party organisation deep in the working class emerges as the most important single factor of organisation. It is through this building that a correct attitude to trade unions, trade union politics, revisionist organisation and politics emerges.

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GET RID OF ILLUSIONS OVER NATURE OF "THE LAW"

A good deal of illusion still exists over the nature of law, the courts, democratic liberties. This is a question that bears directly on the central question of politics – the question of which class has political power. It bears on the question of the so-called peaceful transition to socialism as against the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist state power.

Bourgeois sociologists have paid a great deal of attention to persuading people of the tremendous virtues of English law. They extol such things as the rule of law, the omnipotence and supremacy of Parliament, equality before the law, habeas corpus and other what are called prerogative writs, independence of the judiciary, independence and integrity of the bar, freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly, of organisation. It is very important indeed to subject this all to very close analysis. If what these theoreticians say is true then there is no need for revolution; everything can be achieved through the law.

The fundamental basis of the argument really is that the law exists above classes; that it has an existence independent of social classes. If that is correct, then one would think that from the very beginning the law would have been essentially the same. The merest cursory

glance shows that this is simply wrong. Slavery had a legal system; under it the only persons known to the law were the slave owners, the slaves were chattels; under feudalism the legal system protected the feudal landowners, the feudal serfs had "rights" that were conditioned by their feudal service to the feudal lords; under capitalism the legal system protects the capitalist owners, the workers have rights conditioned by their exploitation by the capitalist owners. The appearance of the law however, is to put capitalist and wage slave on the same footing. It is necessary to look beyond the appearance. Marx said: "In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society – the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness." (Marx – Introduction: A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.)

Changes in the superstructure, that is, legal and political institutions, occur as a reflection of changes in the mode of production of obtaining the necessities of life. Capitalism arose within feudalism. The feudal

barriers against the free exchange of commodities were smashed down, tying of the feudal serf to the land was smashed down to create a "free" labour force for capitalism, production of commodities in factories and their exchange evolved from within feudalism. It was a more efficient way of getting a living than that which had given rise to a feudal superstructure. Changes in the mode of production gave rise to the struggle of the capitalist class against the feudal overlords. Involved in the struggle were all the people against the feudal overlords and their retainers. "Liberty, equality, fraternity" was the slogan of the French revolution. Under it the developing French capitalist class mobilised the people to smash down the feudal barriers that were standing in the way of the development of capitalism. "Liberty, equality, fraternity" applied to all. Everyone wanted such desirable things. In England, "the divine right of kings" expressed the absolutism of feudalism. It was smashed by the rising capitalist class at the head of all the people against the feudal kings and their retainers. Charles I lost his head. The 1689 upheaval with its Bill of Rights saw a foreign capitalist king imported to England. Again the people were the main force of the bourgeois revolution but its leadership was the rising British bourgeoisie. This accorded with changes in the mode of production: capitalism had a long way to go before becoming a fetter on production and the proletariat had not yet gone through the school of education of exploitation by capitalism.

A consequence of all this was that many of the rights won in the struggle against feudalism nominally

belonged to all the people. Instead of the judges being dependent upon the feudal king they became independent of the king. Habeas corpus was developed to protect the rising capitalists against arbitrary detention by the feudal overlords (other prerogative writs like mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto were other forms to prevent arbitrary feudal action), all people were equal before the law and so on. In these respects the law had a certain progressive side which reflected the fact that the social system of capitalism was a great advance on feudalism, that is, the mode of production, the method of getting a living under capitalism was a great advance on feudalism. It did not mean that all feudal restrictions had been broken down but the decisive content of the law reflected capitalist interests; there were remnants of feudalism.

As capitalism developed, the law necessarily reflected that development. On the one hand it expanded its "freedoms" against feudal remnants and on the other hand it evolved doctrines to curb the rights of the working class or invoked old feudal laws to do that. So laws of conspiracy were used to prevent the workers from organising. In the hey day of capitalism various liberal ideas were reflected in the law. But always there were the opposite of these either in the capacity of the judges to find existing laws to curb the workers or to invoke old feudal laws for the same purpose.

Capitalist law therefore always had a dual character namely the side that reflected the historically progressive struggle against feudal absolutism and on the other hand

its own opposition to the workers for which it could even invoke the old feudal laws and it could make its own laws. By far the most decisive aspect was the repressive side against the workers.

The traditions of capitalism's own freedoms won from feudalism do exert an influence. They give "substance" and credence to the story that there is a rule of law before which everyone is equal, that judges are independent, that habeas corpus prevents arbitrary arrest. All sorts of legal theorists have arisen to push this sort of thing forward. Within the working class the revisionists and social democrats (ALP) foster it.

Reality is that it was never true. It was partially true in protecting the bourgeois class against the feudal overlords but this only means that in the struggle against feudalism, capitalism got the upper hand and in the process evolved amongst other things legal doctrines. The workers did not ever get real protection from this version of the law. In the struggle between competing sections of the capitalist class the workers could sometimes take advantage of divisions and sometimes because of their own strength could compel the capitalists and their legal system to make decisions in their favor. The working class did indeed wrest democratic rights in a stubborn struggle. These rights had a precarious existence, were always under threat. English law most certainly keeps 2 sorts of law in stock - open oppression and "liberal" oppression. It uses both. Sometimes it thinks one is better; at other times it thinks the other is better. It is a tactical question, the determination of

which turns on the given circumstances of the class struggle. Open repression is commonly not the best weapon; liberal measures perpetuate deception and are more effective in controlling the workers.

The inconsistencies of English case law (i.e. decisions of courts) which constitutes the so-called common law, can be explained in this way. Theoretically judges are bound by preceding decisions of courts (higher in the hierarchy of courts). They have never, however, found any difficulty in "distinguishing" inconvenient cases. They have evolved a whole legal theory to "justify" this - the theory of the so-called ratio decidendi which reduces a decision if need be, to its narrowest possible basis and enables them to escape from any inconvenient implications - all "according to law". It all has its inconveniences because as Engels pointed out: "In a modern state, law must not only correspond to the general economic position and be its expression, but must also be an expression which is consistent in itself, and which does not, owing to inner contradictions, look glaringly inconsistent." (Engels: Letter to Conrad Schmidt, October 27, 1890. Emphasis his.)

Let us look at practice a little more closely. The supremacy of parliament meant historically the supremacy of the bourgeois parliament against feudal absolutism. Nowadays parliament is merely a facade to conceal the real rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class. The rule of law, equality, before the law, habeas corpus, freedom of the press, etc. were all products of the capitalist struggle against feudalism.

The law is a class weapon. It is the doctrine developed to serve the ruling class in its oppression. That is true whether it uses open repression or liberal repression. Capitalism for example, developed the legal doctrine of what is called common employment; that was, that a worker injured by the carelessness of a fellow worker could not recover damages from the employer because the injured worker was deemed to have willingly taken the risk of working with a careless fellow worker. As industry developed this caused great unrest among the workers. Protest action disrupted production. The doctrine of common employment was modified and ultimately abolished. Things like workers' compensation were evolved. In one sense they were victories for the workers, products of working class struggle. But the then contemporary views of the ruling class showed that it believed that by abolishing the doctrine of common employment and introducing such things as workers' compensation, there would be a more contented working class and that would favorably affect profits. Moreover it would make the workers loyal to the capitalist system. Modification of criminal punishment had a similar sort of origin. Extension of the parliamentary franchise likewise. Within the ruling class there were always those who opposed any sort of reform; that is there were 2 lines – the line of "liberal" oppression and the line of open oppression. Each sought to maintain exploitation and oppression. Each fed the other. They were a unity and a division.

The struggle of the workers certainly could and did take advantage of the "liberal" line in the bourgeoisie

and did take advantage of the "freedoms" the bourgeoisie had itself wrested from feudalism. Today that can be done and is being done. But it in no way affects the oppressive character of the law nor its character as a weapon of oppression by the ruling class.

There is in fact no rule of law before which all are equal, there is no real safeguard in things like habeas corpus, there is no such thing as independence of the judiciary, etc.

Judges are simply functionaries of the state. The state is an instrument of class oppression. The judges, the police, the gaols, the army are all of the same kind. No judge ever challenges the system. Habeas corpus so hallowed in English legal systems is no different from any other legal procedure. It is subject to the same class considerations as all law. It is hallowed because of its importance in the struggle against feudalism. It does not serve the workers. If its existence is inconvenient it is simply abrogated just as parliament is when people take its democracy too seriously. Freedom of the press, speech, assembly, organisation are the shadow and not the reality of those freedoms, they are freedoms with substance for the ruling class and with little substance for the workers. Lenin's description in 1917 applies in its essentials: "In capitalist society, under the conditions most favourable to its development, we have more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. But this democracy is always restricted by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority,

only for the possessing classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-owners. Owing to the conditions of capitalist exploitation the modern wage-slaves are also so crushed by want and poverty that 'they cannot be bothered with democracy', 'they cannot be bothered with politics'; in the ordinary peaceful course of events the majority of the population is debarred from participating in social and political life."

In Australian history this process can be seen clearly enough. The law has a capitalist content, it is the product of capitalism to protect capitalism. Its equality is well expressed in its "majestic impartiality in punishing the rich and poor alike for stealing bread." It has never stood above classes. Its judges have never been independent. But it is true that there have been certain court decisions that have been favorable to the workers. This is for reasons exactly similar to those outlined above. One can give any number of illustrations. In 1950-51 the constitutional validity of the Communist Party Dissolution Act was debated in the Australian High Court. There was on the one hand ample constitutional support for its validity and on the other hand ample support for saying it was not constitutional. In the result the court in a 6 to 1 decision threw the Act out. Why? There was a great mass campaign against it. This campaign drew on the very traditions of liberty to which the bourgeois struggle against feudalism had given rise. This was a very big factor. Coupled with divisions in the ruling class as to the best method to carry out repression it was enough

to get the Act declared constitutionally invalid. The bourgeoisie differed amongst themselves as to the correct tactics i.e. whether outright prohibition such as a ban on the Communist Party or prohibition within the law e.g. by prosecution for individual offences, conspiracy, etc. would be better. Moreover they were concerned for themselves because the maintenance of consistency in legal principle (Engels) may have visited unhappy consequences on sections of the capitalists themselves by constitutionally justifying similar far-reaching measures against capitalist rivals. O'Shea was gaoled for contempt. Mass struggle and divisions in the ruling class similar to those to which we have referred secured his release. Langer and the La Trobe students likewise. None of these things was due to courtroom advocacy, no doubt that helped to give legal justification. The decisions were social decisions, legal decisions brought about by social considerations.

It is quite wrong to believe the law or judges have independence. Everyone lives as a member of a class and every kind of thinking is stamped with the brand of a class. A revolutionary in court understands this: he serves the revolution by understanding it. He takes what advantage he can of conflicts in the law, amongst the bourgeoisie and he upholds the mass struggle. Favorable results (and they are few and far between) should never blind anyone to the real content of the law, the real nature of courts. They are merely weapons of the state and the state is an instrument of oppression. "The state is a special organisation of force; it is the organisation of violence for the suppression of some class." The

capitalist class suppresses the workers. The proletariat at the head of the people must smash it. They will smash the law, the courts, the gaols and establish a people's army as the chief component of the state in contrast to the reactionary army of the bourgeoisie.

The formal liberties such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of organisation, what liberal traditions in the law there are have an importance for the working class, and other patriotic people. They enable the workers to organise, to study, to fight. True there are limitations. The workers and other patriotic people work to understand that the struggle to preserve and extend democratic rights is not an end in itself but part of the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of state power. Lenin said: "We are in favour of a democratic republic as the best form of state for the proletariat under capitalism; but we have no right to forget that wage slavery is the lot of the people even in the most democratic bourgeois republic. Furthermore, every state is a 'special repressive force' for the suppression of the oppressed class" (State & Revolution). He also said: "It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

Australian Communist No. 55 (November 1972)

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IS NEVER-ENDING

The struggle to acquire correct ideology, politics and organisation is certainly a never-ending one. Within the Party that struggle must proceed in an atmosphere of personal ease of mind and liveliness. The attainment of personal ease of mind and liveliness is in itself a struggle. What do we mean by this expression? We mean that everyone is alert to put forward his point of view, that he has ease of mind in doing so and that his point of view is considered carefully in an atmosphere that encourages him to put it forward and have it carefully considered. It means that it is put forward in an atmosphere where there is no backbiting, no scoring of points, no debating tricks, no attempt to overawe him, no attempt to intimidate him. It means the free exchange of opinions – an exchange of opinions disciplined by the common striving for the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Certainly it does not mean just a debating society; it does not mean "freedom of criticism" so roundly condemned by Lenin in "What Is To Be Done". It does not mean that sort of thing; rather in terms of Lenin's "What Is To Be Done", it means that we recognise that "we are marching in a compact group along a narrow and precipitous path firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy . . ."

The great unifying factor in our Party and our Party life is adherence and devotion to revolution, to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We recognise that we are students of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We have made many mistakes. Our advance to knowledge occurs through the continual resolution of the contradiction between ignorance and knowledge — a process that must be recognised, respected and struggled for.

It is inevitable that different people look at the same problem in different ways. This extends to Marxist-Leninists. They have different solutions of the same problem or the problem itself assumes different shapes in different minds. This is due to imperfections in understanding the Marxist theory of reflection and imperfections in its practice. Because one person sees the problem or its solution in a way different from another does not mean that either of them is a scoundrel; even when one sees it differently from a majority or different from anyone else, does not make him a scoundrel. So long as the central struggle to attain Marxist-Leninist clarity remains, there must be ease of mind in attaining it. It is easy for comrades who always (or almost always) see problems and their solution in a similar way to unite; it is difficult to unite with an equally earnest adherent of Marxism-Leninism who sees problems or their solution in a different way. Moreover it is easy to condemn the latter as anti-Party or anti-Marxist-Leninist or even as a complete scoundrel. This is a heritage of past bad practices and reflection of capitalist competition which continually seeks the destruction of a rival. In seeking the truth, all who honestly and sincerely put forward a viewpoint,

ought to be listened to with great respect. No single person is or can in the nature of things, be the repository of all wisdom.

There are sometimes cases where those who have different views go outside the limits of Party unity and of democratic centralism. Each of those ideas — Party unity and democratic centralism — is a Marxist-Leninist idea. So long as the Party adheres to Marxism-Leninism and its striving for Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought in its ideology politics and organisation, party unity and democratic centralism are guiding principles of organisation. Internally that permits the expression of different views with complete ease of mind (no reprisals of any kind against those who differ). Externally it precludes the canvassing of a view that is different from that of the Party or a Party majority. It precludes Party members from taking up Party matters with people outside the Party. It demands the keeping of Party confidence including the confidence of who else is a Party member or who is the author of a Party document or other things of that character. Party spirit, Party discipline, is born of class consciousness, the consciousness that in its struggle for power the working class has no weapon other than Marxist-Leninist organisation with Marxist-Leninist ideology and politics. Discipline is not something imposed from outside: it is voluntary, born of consciousness, born of ease of mind.

The tendency of people to agree amongst themselves readily or to see problems from the same point of view and to unite with each other to the exclusion of those who disagree with them or who don't see the

problem in the same way, can easily degenerate into sectarianism within the Party, or to the formation of cliques within the Party. It can lead to recrudescence of left blocism. These are real problems.

"Ease of mind" is not just a mechanical formula for repetition or to be put up as an image to be worshipped but an important concept for Party unity, discipline and the correct resolution of problems. It applies to all. In one way or another people often in practice do not contribute to ease of mind; they do not easily understand that it applies to them, to me.

It should go without saying that we do not encourage disagreement just for the sake of disagreement. In fact all Marxist-Leninists fairly readily agree just because they do have a basically common approach. What we encourage is the full exchange of opinions in the spirit of arriving at agreement on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

There is a tremendous responsibility on all Communists to build up the Party, to build it up ideologically, politically and organisationally. This is a responsibility that embraces every single Communist. There are those in whom the tendency to leave it to others is well advanced. But there can be no leaving it to others in such a tremendous cause as that of revolution. Again it is a question of Party spirit, Party discipline. If a comrade does not discharge his responsibility it is the job of his comrades to see that he does discharge his responsibility, that is, that his consciousness is raised to the stage where he does discharge his responsibility. Arbitrary denunciation or condemnation is of little use. Revolutionary res-

ponsibility increases all the time. Demands upon us increase all the time. There are many small things and many big things to be done. It is only we who will do them.

Sometimes questions arise as to the relative weight to be given to the opinions of experienced and inexperienced Communists. Of course we should give weight to the views of experienced comrades but we should never be overborne by them. Merely because an experienced comrade expresses an opinion does not necessarily make that opinion correct. It should be discussed and weighed in an atmosphere of personal ease of mind. The so-called inexperienced comrade often brings quite a new and fresh light to the solution of problems. It is the proper combination of all opinions in a correct atmosphere that leads to the correct solution of problems. Anyone who arbitrarily throws his weight around because of his "experience" does not act according to the spirit of ease of mind; indeed any conduct which makes the expression of opinion in any way difficult does not accord with Party spirit.

Sometimes agreement cannot be reached. Commonly in such situations some matters can be left on one side and resolved later. The solution of a problem only emerges in practice. What seems to be correct at one moment, ceases to be correct when practice shows its imperfections. Hence again the capacity to analyse and sum up practice and modify plans and decisions are essential parts of revolutionary struggle.

Some comrades hold their views with great intensity. They want to impose them on everyone. They as it

were, see the light and they cannot understand why everyone else doesn't see it with the same clarity. It is good to hold firm views but it is also good to listen to other views and not to regard oneself as the last word.

There are many other aspects of these problems. Our conclusion is that the struggle to study problems together with personal ease of mind and liveliness is indeed a big and continuing struggle.



TACTICS NEED ANALYSIS

The tactics for building a broad national united front in Australia against U.S. and other foreign imperialisms and their domestic counterparts need constant analysis.

Life is varied and complex. This is a point often not appreciated by a number of honest believers in socialism. It is easier to substitute general truths for scientific examination. It is regarded as sufficient to proclaim that socialism is the goal and therefore "get on with the job". It may be conceded that although struggle exists on many fronts, unless all those who participate in struggle consciously understand that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy, then no united front against U.S. imperialism exists.

It is but a short distance from such a position to a complete closed door position which demands full revolutionary consciousness as a **starting point** for any struggle.

It means ignoring the reality of the magnificent opposition to the imperialists which already exists.

It means supporting the view that working class leadership can be won by proclamation and not in the process of struggle together with other groups and classes.

By contrast a real application of national united front tactics needs thorough and detailed examination of

all that is happening in Australian political and social life.

The election of the Labor Government in Australia brings emphasis to the point.

That election itself was due, amongst other factors, to difficulties encountered by U.S. imperialism, to splits and opposition developing among the Australian capitalists, and most important of all, the vigorous struggle developed among wide sections of the Australian people around numerous differing issues . . . Vietnam - standards of living - concern for education and health - the need for trade to offset economic difficulties - pollution etc. etc.

All these struggles involved, at some point and in varying degrees, blows against the position and policy dictated by U.S. imperialism in Australia.

We have constantly asserted that the Labor Party is a party of capitalism. That remains true. Nevertheless the presence of a Labor Government gives rise to the need to examine matters carefully.

Important measures have already been enacted such as the recognition of China. This accords with the interests not only of the working class but big sections of the capitalist class. The Labor Government, in this and other matters, has taken a forward step in line with other progressive forces.

However, the need for the revolutionary forces to build a strong national united front of the people

against U.S. and other imperialisms is even more urgent than before. More and more must be won over. Working class leadership can only be achieved in struggle. Supporters and adherents of the Labor Party and its policy must be convinced of the need to take the path of revolutionary struggle and reject any proposition of leaving matters to the Labor Government.

Already, since the elections, important sections of the working class have moved into action over Vietnam - the banning of U.S. ships - proposals to ban U.S. construction. The front of protest against the immorality of U.S. policy in Vietnam has been considerably strengthened by the action of the seamen, waterside workers and others.

This activity outside parliament poses some problems for the newly-elected Labor Government.

True, the Government is prepared to issue some protest. And in face of the rising tide of world wide revulsion at the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam it would be difficult to do otherwise.

Federal Ministers Cairns, Cameron and Uren issued statements condemning the U.S. in forthright, vigorous language.

Their words certainly assist in the consolidation of the struggle and cannot be ignored.

Back in 1951 in the Anti-Communist Referendum campaign the words and stand of Dr. Evatt and other Labor leaders, even though based on the interests of

sections of the ruling class, contributed greatly to the forces opposing Menzies and played an important part in the subsequent victory.

It is also true that there are countless examples in the history of the Australian working class movement of the Labor Party politicians who, after pressure, waver, vacillate and eventually betray the interests of the workers.

Pressure is certainly present in this instance.

It is not at all to the liking of the Australian capitalist class that leadership in any opposition to U.S. imperialism should be taken out of the hands of parliament and the capitalists and placed in the hands of the workers.

And certainly the U.S. imperialists would not welcome any opposition be it token, or vigorous and meaningful. However, official, polite protest from Whitlam is one thing and energetic working class action is an entirely different kettle of fish.

So the imperialists exert great efforts to force the Australian workers to give up the path of direct action against U.S. imperialism and to "leave matters to the parliamentary leaders". So-called workers' leaders such as Hawke manoeuvre hard to concede that the workers have a case in the most militant language whilst putting every effort into ways in which bans can be called off and working class struggle immobilised.

It cannot be denied that many Labor Party leaders

have in the past showed a genius for deception. They have connections with the Australian capitalists and the U.S. imperialists. They fear mass struggle.

Nonetheless, their presence in the government, their public statements and positions (when these accord with the needs of the mass movement) afford opportunity for extending the mass struggle and cannot be ignored. They must be used to the fullest.

The united front has no room for any closed-door attitude. Tactics cannot fail to take into account the constant shifts, splits which occur in the ranks of the ruling class and the various foreign imperialist groups vying with each other for favorable footholds in Australia. Mao Tsetung described closed-doorism as driving "the fish into deep waters and the sparrows into the thickets".

It drives the masses over to the enemy's side whereas our aim must be to win the masses over to the side of revolution.

Hence our struggle must proceed carefully to weigh up each situation, often in company with somewhat unlikely allies, in order to isolate the main enemy.

We need to reject the proposition that only the completely politically pure can join in the united front.

There are many diverse views within the people's movement on the best way in which to go about things.

Just to take one example — the campaign proceeding against the building of freeways demanded by the big foreign car monopolies.

These campaigns have attracted academics, professional people, shopkeepers, homeowners, municipal councils. Many are people whose business is that of words, reports. So they believe that a campaign against freeways must be based on words, reports, surveys. Many of those workers in the struggle who thirst for immediate direct action show some impatience, would brush aside the middle class people whilst proclaiming the need for workingclass leadership and the desire to get down to the real business.

Certainly it is important to get down to the real business. But workingclass leadership is not established by pronouncing on its need. Workingclass leadership is achieved on the matter of Vietnam for instance when important sections of the working class refuse to handle U.S. business, showing by their actions that they are the vanguard, the leading class. So must it be with other issues, freeways included.

The middle class has a part to play — without their participation there will be no united front... Already in the freeways campaign they have assisted considerably to arouse public opinion. They will willingly respond to workingclass leadership when the people who, in the long run will have to build the freeways, act to oppose

the imperialists' policy.

True revolutionaries on all fronts will work patiently at the side of those other groups with differing views, regarding them as firm friends and valuable allies.

The revolutionary road can be very tortuous with unexpected twists and turns. It cannot be straight-jacketed.

It is the Marxist-Leninists who must help to bring all the paths to a common goal.



SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM ENDANGERS AUSTRALIA

For a long time we have spoken of the collusion and struggle between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for world domination. Australian people have waged a big struggle against U.S. imperialism. It has covered many aspects. But it is very important that we should not lose sight of the expansion of Soviet revisionism to embrace Australia. Awareness of the problem and struggle against Soviet imperialism are just as important as struggle against U.S. imperialism.

In the first place it must be emphasised that there has been the thoroughgoing restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union with the emergence of a new bourgeoisie based in the managerial and technological personnel of the Soviet Union. This new bourgeoisie is imperialist through and through. Like the bourgeoisie of all history it is impelled to intensify exploitation and expansion. There are some honest workers who simply cannot reconcile themselves to this. But facts speak louder than old ideas and the facts of Soviet imperialism simply shout out. It is of the utmost significance that the young revolutionaries of today have no doubt that the Soviet Union is an imperialist power. That is because their minds reflect reality accurately; the image in their minds is not distorted by old loyalties. The bourgeoisie of the other imperialist powers treat the Soviet Union as an im-

perialist rival; in the old days they spoke of "red imperialism" in the slanderous sense of the export by the Soviet Union of revolution but there is none of this now. The countries of the third world know the Soviet Union is an imperialist power. Its attempted occupation of Egypt in its pursuit of dominance of the Mediterranean led to a revolt against it by the Egyptian people; its underwriting of Indian aggression against Pakistan showed how far it had extended its tentacles; its military occupation of Czechoslovakia revealed its determination to maintain the countries of Eastern Europe as semi-colonies. All this (and there is much more) is the foreign policy of a former socialist country now turned capitalist-imperialist, in which the U.S. monopoly Pepsi-Cola, the Italian monopoly Fiat and other international giants, exploit the Soviet people.

History shows that imperialism leaves no corner of the world untouched by its exploitation. It is literally interested in the world and every part of it. Nothing is too big for its attention and nothing is too small. It was truly said of British imperialism in its heyday that the sun never set on the British Empire (and the critics added that the blood never dried on it). U.S. imperialism maintains a global interest. Soviet imperialism follows this same path. It follows it because it is a social law of imperialism. Hence Soviet imperialism reaches out to every part of the world.

How does this express itself in Australia?

Some people say that the Soviet Union is not interested in Australia. The facts belie it. On December 23,

1972 the newspaper "Australian" carried a full page advertisement which contained excerpts from the speech of Brezhnev on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union. This speech is a turgid rehash of stuff the Soviet revisionists have now been peddling since the advent of Khrushchov in the mid-fifties. In itself it would be of no intrinsic interest to Australian workers or working people. It ought to be read because it is a good teacher by negative example. But it is of great interest to Australians in a sense that its promoters did not intend. That sense is the answer to the question — why did the Soviet revisionists go to such pains and such expense to insert this speech as an advertisement in an Australia wide daily newspaper? The answer is that the Soviet imperialists are interested in the raw materials of Australia and are interested in Australia as a market for Soviet products. Imperialist expansion must be accompanied by ideological and political preparation (it used to be done by missionaries, 'philanthropic' workers, etc.) This advertisement was part of it — to get Australians used to Soviet activities.

The speech moreover contained a most significant passage which renewed the Soviet proposal for a collective security pact in South East Asia. This proposal is really a proposal to bring under Soviet control the countries of South East Asia. It is paralleled by the great Soviet activity in Singapore and Malaysia, the Soviet bases in India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and Soviet activity in all the countries of South East Asia, even in Taiwan. Soviet interest includes Australia. The nature of Soviet imperialist interests is well illustrated by her "alliance"

with India — aimed simply at the exploitation of the Indian people and at allying herself with the Indian ruling class expansionists so that the two "partners" can extend their spheres of influence.

The advertisement in the "Australian" is a clear indication of Soviet imperialist interest in Australia.

The matter can be followed out in other respects. Heavy advertising in Australia for cheap package tours in Soviet ships is increasing in tempo. It is a strange thing that the Soviet Union should promote such commercial tours from Australia. It is hardly what we would expect of a socialist country. These are tours organised on a purely capitalist basis. It amounts to this that thousands of miles from the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionists promote "tours" based from Australia on a purely capitalist footing. There is no suggestion of socialist propaganda, seeing socialism at work, seeing socialist working conditions or anything of that character. The real purpose of this Soviet activity is to make material and ideological preparation for Soviet imperialism's interest in Australia. It gets people used to the idea of Soviet imperialist trading and it enables the Soviet imperialists to cash in on the tourist trade (a traditional imperialist weapon) at the same time as it feels out the ground and prepares to extend its interest.

The trips to Australia by Soviet officials, sportsmen, artists, all have the object of promoting this interest. At the same time, the Soviet imperialists encourage trips to the Soviet Union by Australian government officials, businessmen, trade union officials, workers, etc. It all

has this same sinister purpose, to create the conditions necessary for Soviet expansion in Australia.

In the more recent history of the Communist Party in Australia the same process can be seen. In 1961-2-3-4 the revisionists split away from Communism in Australia. They did so under Khrushchov's baton. They were "united". Aarons and his immediate followers conceived the idea of a more national Communist Party. They criticised certain aspects of the Soviet "Communist" Party's activities and policies. They condemned the Soviet revisionist military occupation of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet revisionists took none of this lying down. They promoted a pro-Soviet group within Aaron's "Party" from amongst those who had been "united" with Aarons. Ultimately a section of this group formed the Socialist Party of Australia headed by Clancy. The Soviet revisionists cynically exploited the love that older Australian workers had for the Soviet Union in its socialist days to promote this Party now in Soviet imperialist days. Now the Socialist Party of Australia is indeed a weapon of true Soviet imperialism. It is lavishly supported by the Soviet imperialists who use it to make propaganda in Australia for Soviet imperialism, to extend pro-Soviet contacts, to promote Soviet-Australian trade. Just as the U.S. imperialists used Browder, and those who followed Browder, to "soften" up Australian workers for U.S. imperialist expansion in Australia, so do the Soviet revisionist imperialists use the Socialist Party of Australia. They use Clancy to promote their cause with trade union officials and business contacts. It is certainly not in the cause of socialism: it is solely in the cause of Soviet imperialism.

The British imperialists have been compelled to withdraw from South East Asia. The U.S. imperialist position is declining. British imperialism's position in Australia is declining. U.S. imperialism stepped in and now Japanese imperialism is stepping in. But under all sorts of slogans of "peace", "collective security" etc. Soviet imperialism is extremely active in Australia as elsewhere in the Pacific. There is no doubt of its navy's activities in the Indian Ocean nor its use of India, Sri-lanka, Singapore for trade and naval and military purposes nor its interest in Indonesia. All this is, and indeed could only be, Soviet imperialist expansion. It is an essential part of the Soviet imperialist struggle for world domination, its collusion and struggle with U.S. imperialism and Japanese imperialism.

Soviet imperialist expansion is even more sinister and dangerous than U.S. and Japanese imperialist expansion. We say this because Soviet imperialism is able to deceive people by using Communist terminology; it says its expansion is dictated by the needs of socialism etc. etc. Social imperialism is socialism in words: imperialism in practice. Its real ruthlessness is concealed under high-sounding phrases and by pretences of championing the people etc. etc. It is critically important to tear this socialist mask from it. Reality is that it is the most ruthless of ruthless imperialisms — more cunning than its rivals. Just as it makes ideological preparation for expansion in Australia, we must take vigorous ideological and political steps to oppose it. . .



A.L.P. IS A PARTY OF CAPITALISM

The Australian Labor Party is a party of capitalism. It has the name "labor" but it serves the capitalist class. It is a parliamentary party and parliament is an institution of capitalism. Historically all its actions have served the capitalist class.

The election of an Australian Labor government on December 2, 1972 for the first time in 23 years is an important event. It means that many people who have not previously experienced a Labor government in office will now do so. They will be able to test it in experience.

Since coming to office the Labor government has made many important decisions particularly in the field of foreign affairs. It has established normal relations with China; it has reversed reactionary votes in the U.N.; it has protested against Nixon's bombing of Vietnam; it has ended conscription; it has withdrawn all Australian soldiers from Vietnam. These things are very important. They are in the interests of more than 90% of Australians.

In internal matters it has as yet made no decisions of importance other than the revaluation of the Australian currency. In itself this reflects the world currency crisis but it at least made it more difficult for the rampant seizure of Australian assets that was going on.

The Labor Party came to office with the support of very big sections of the capitalist class and without real opposition from the U.S., British or Japanese imperialists. Almost all the Australian daily newspapers supported the return of Whitlam. Those that opposed it did so in a lukewarm way. Thus it is apparent that the ruling circles were quite anxious to have a Labor government.

After the election the reaction of the monopoly capitalists was certainly not one of concern. In an article on December 5, 1972 the Australian Financial Review said that "the first reaction of Australian investors to an Australian Labor Party government was perilously close to being a non-event". It quoted a big Sydney stockbroker as saying "Don't worry: the stock market should go up." It reviewed the reactions of other stockbrokers both local and overseas, as well as various industrialists and the comments were all to the same effect. The press since December 2 has praised the government and given it what is called a "very good press". Thus everything is consistent with the Labor Party maintaining its position as a party of capitalism.

Why then did the bourgeoisie bring the Labor Party to office? There are many reasons. Some of them should be commented upon.

Capitalism is in an all-round crisis. It is a crisis which is deepening and which is all-pervading. Its own social laws determine that crisis must deepen despite assertions, particularly by revisionists, that the nature of imperialism and capitalism has changed. The crisis

of U.S. imperialism has greatly deepened and this has profound repercussions throughout the capitalist world. The liberation struggles have dealt imperialism a tremendous blow. There is a world wide breaking from U.S. imperialism and its isolation is growing. The third world powers are developing in strength and independence. China's admission to the United Nations was a tremendous victory for the peoples of the world. It not only registered a general shift in the world to the left but it gave it great impetus. The dominant position of U.S. imperialism had given way to several centres of power in the world: U.S. imperialism, Soviet imperialism, the European Economic Community, Japan and China and the countries of the third world were asserting themselves against imperialist domination.

In Australia, the struggle of the people against foreign domination, for friendship with China and the people of South East Asia had reached new heights. It was part of a world wide process. The more realistic bourgeoisie in Australia, both foreign and native, and their spokesmen, had long recognised the futility of fighting the peoples of Asia and positively had sought normal relations with the countries of this part of the world.

U.S. dictation had prevented this and had involved Australia in the war in Vietnam and in the most reactionary positions in the United Nations. The governments of Menzies and McMahon had been the most servile tools of the most reactionary U.S. imperialists. (Gorton on certain questions, had revolted against this.) In consequence, the Liberal-Country Party governments

had been closely identified with a policy that in the present-day world was rapidly becoming untenable. D.L.P. influence on it was just an expression of this ultra-reactionary U.S. imperialist policy, the D.L.P. having been promoted and financed by the U.S. imperialists. (It is no accident that in December, Santamaria spent time in Saigon urging continuation of the war.) Hence the Australian government was trying to maintain an old policy expressive of naked U.S. imperialist domination when the very basis of that was disappearing and when the people including sections of the capitalists were revolting against it. U.S. imperialism was declining in power, cutting its operations in South East Asia and the Pacific and the movement for independence and liberation was gathering way. In addition, serious signs of cyclical crisis within the Australian economy were expressing themselves. Inflation was up to almost 10% per annum and unemployment was at a higher level than at any time during the post war years.

To deal with the new situation new tactics were required. Those new tactics required to take account of the new situation in the world. People's China had emerged as a mighty power. No realistic bourgeois could afford to ignore its existence. Not only is there the question of trade and other exchanges but no international question can be settled without People's China. Hence Australia's position had to be made normal. McMahon was so closely identified with continuance of the old policy of "isolating" China that he could not do the job. On the other hand Whitlam and other Labor leaders had long been identified with the bourgeoisie which took a

realistic view of the situation. This went, too, for the previous identification of Australia with ultra-reactionary policies in the U.N. Such policies led to difficulties in Australian trading and diplomatic affairs. It was cleared out of the way in a clean break by Whitlam's government.

We do not reduce our support for Whitlam's actions in these respects one bit by pointing out that it was thoroughly in accord with a bourgeois position. It meant indeed that this party of the bourgeoisie was in a certain sense in the leadership of a leftward trend and that it could be in the position of containing it and influencing it. Indeed Whitlam himself was quick to indicate that his new measures were important but they were within Australia's capitalist policies. He went out of his way to reassure the U.S. imperialists that the basis of Australian foreign policy lay in the U.S. Australian alliance. (In a Radio Australia broadcast at the Christmas weekend, he said that in the great essentials there would be no decisive change in the Australian-American relationship under the new government): he went out of his way to assure the Soviet Ambassador that Australia attached great importance to Australia-Soviet relations.

His protests to the U.S. imperialists against the bombing of Vietnam, his withdrawal of troops and "aid", ending of conscription are all very good things; they express an accurate assessment of the people's sentiment and are in accord with the general trend of bourgeois policy.

In Australia too, the pre-election period was characterised by sounds of alarm at the collapse of the

parliamentary system. It was pointed out that parliament depended upon a 2 party system. This meant that the parties had to alternate in government; otherwise the whole thing would collapse. The pretence of democracy was in peril. Maintenance of illusions about parliament and democracy is very important to the survival of capitalism. It was also said that if the Labor Party did not win the election, then it was in danger of collapse as a parliamentary party. All this was a good argument for return of a Labor government. (Significantly electoral apathy remained and the "swing" to the Labor Party was less than 3%.)

Just as important is the problem of inflation and unemployment. These things are manifestations of the crisis of capitalism. The crisis of capitalism is born of the capitalist system itself. Inflation arises from currency manipulation which is caused fundamentally by the bankruptcy of the modern capitalist states. Unemployment arises from overproduction, a chronic disease of capitalism. In order to get over crisis conditions, the bourgeoisie always seeks to impose the burden of crisis on the workers and working people. Great difficulty in doing this has always been experienced by Tory governments. However a government which speaks in the name of labor, initially has more success with attacks on the workers and by its measures paves the way for further attacks by the open parties of the reaction. These considerations are very important in estimating why the bourgeoisie brought the Labor government to office.

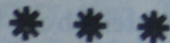
One aspect of the history of the Labor Party in

Australia has been its centralist policy and compared with the Liberal-Country Party its comparative freedom from sectional interests. In its dying phases the sectional interests within the Liberal-Country Party tore it to pieces, its members were identified with competing interests and they carried that competition into the government. Certainly the Labor Party is not free from this but its members do not have the same identification with particular interests. They speak much more for the bourgeoisie as a whole.

There are many things already where the Labor government is recording its anti-working class character as, for example, in its retention of the ASIO directed as it is against the militant working class movement. On the international field its position is by no means consistently progressive.

It is important that Communists do not just rant and rave against the Labor government. On the contrary, its good decisions ought to be praised and supported: its bad decisions criticised. Certainly it can be recognised that the Labor government is accumulating important political capital for itself by its good decisions; at the same time these decisions unleash more people's forces and initiative. They make ultimate attacks by the Labor government on the workers and people more difficult to carry through provided the people persist in struggle. Communists must carefully study the history of the Labor Party, of social democracy in general and of correct tactics towards it. Deep study of Lenin's "State and Revolution", "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", "Leftwing Communism, an

Infantile Disorder" and Chairman Mao's "Initiative and Independence within the United Front" is imperative. Great skill and care are required. Above all Communists must rely upon the people, upon the people in struggle. The struggle for national independence and people's democracy must be carried through to the end taking full account of differing tactics. Struggle is absolute.



Leading Role Of The Working Class

Much has been written about the leading role of the working class. Its leading role is a cardinal principle of Marxism-Leninism. It has been written about by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tsetung. It is one of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. It, like all the other universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, is under constant attack both open and insidious. Hence it needs constant affirmation and constant analysis.

Like all Marxist-Leninist truths, the particular truth that the working class has the leading revolutionary role needs specific integration into the concrete conditions of Australia. In its simplest form such integration affirms that the Australian working class has the leading role in Australia's struggle for independence and people's democracy. But in given particular struggles the leading role of the working class needs particular integration and that is by no means achieved merely by assertion.

Why is it that the Australian working class has the leading revolutionary role? On what basis can we make that assertion? Is it true for Australia or is Australia some sort of exception from this general truth? Is the Australian working class backward and non-revolutionary?

The answers to those questions lie in some general considerations and some particular history of the Australian working class.

In the Communist Manifesto (published in 1848) Marx and Engels said "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." (Emphasis ours) In the world there has been colossal development of modern industry since Marx and Engels made this statement in 1848. In Australia, modern industry is the decisive feature of the lives of the Australian people; an industry true that is largely the creation of imperialism. There has been a colossal development of modern industry in Australia. The Australian workers are directly attached to modern industry, to the most advanced means of production. They are disciplined by the very process of production. They live right at the centre of exploitation. They increase in numbers and in cohesion. The Australian working class is thus the most disciplined, the most cohesive, most exploited class in Australia. It has only its own labour power to sell and nothing (in the way of property) to lose. It has nothing to lose but its chains in Marx and Engels' words. It is the very class with the greatest interest in overthrowing the imperialist exploiters of Australia and of establishing a state in which it is the leading class and which state will put an end to imperialist exploitation. The Australian working class is the greatest class in the history of Australia. It is the

most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in struggle. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them. (Paraphrase of quotation from Chairman Mao). The Australian workers are in fact already engaged in socialised labour. This is a very important truth. They are employed in big factories, mainly owned by foreign imperialists, I.C.L., Courtaulds, G.M., Fords, Chryslers, International Harvester, etc.) No single worker ever makes the finished product. On the contrary, his labour is dependent on the labour of many others in the factory and indeed even outside the factory (e.g. in the processing of the raw materials in motor vehicle manufacture). His labour is socialised. The great basic contradiction in Australia is that the products of I.C.L., Courtaulds, G.M., Fords, Chryslers, International Harvester are socially produced but individually owned by a handful of imperialist owners. It is the resolution of that contradiction, the solution of that problem that constitutes the basis of the independence struggle in Australia and demonstrates the leading position of the Australian working class in it.

This fact is constantly obscured and covered up by the imperialists and their local agents in a thousand ways. They put it about that the workers are dull and stupid; will never advance, are like sheep, will get nowhere without imported technical know-how, that Australia can only be developed by foreign investment etc. etc. Or it is put about that the universities are the leading force in

the progress of Australia. Or that all the people are workers because technology has abolished the "old" notion that the proletariat exists, it has lifted up the proletariat to the technological level and that the technologists are now the leading force and that Marx was wrong. Or it takes the form of saying or implying that students are the most revolutionary force and the workers are slow, backward and ignorant. There are many, many variations on this theme. They come from the open enemies of the workers and from within the working class and even some who speak of the leading role of the working class and sincerely think they believe it, by their actions and writings really deny it. Hence we are dealing with a very important question indeed.

Even if the Australian working class were numerically the smallest class it would still be the leading revolutionary class because of the reasons we have advanced. However, Australian reality is that not only is the working class the leading class but it is the biggest single class by far and the main force in revolutionary struggle. There has been far from enough investigation of the actual position of the working class in Australia. It needs far more investigation in the spirit that Chairman Mao teaches in such works as "Oppose Book Worship". It can be said in general that the Australian workers consist of the advanced, the intermediate and the backward. There is nothing surprising or unique in this. The advanced workers represent all the real interests and aspirations of all the workers. Hence when we speak of the workers we are commonly speaking of the advanced

workers.

Australian workers are proud of their position as workers. They have every right to be. In their hands lies the destiny of Australia. They are the leading force that unites around itself all other sections of the population except that tiny handful of enemies. By asserting pride in their position as workers, there is no reflection at all on other struggling sections of the population. In struggle the rural workers, semi-workers, smaller and not so big farmers, public servants (other than the top ranks) insurance and bank clerks, small shopkeepers and some sections of the capitalists unite with the workers. But there is constant struggle as to who is to lead. One can see that struggle in Australia today. People emerge and trends emerge from the native Australian capitalists to take the leadership in the struggle for independence. That does not mean they are necessarily bad people but it does mean awareness of the fact of struggle and the need to understand thoroughly that only the working class for entirely objective reasons can consistently lead the struggle against imperialism to the end.

Historically the Australian workers have an exceedingly proud tradition. From the very beginnings of capitalism in Australia the workers organised in their own defence. Repressive legislation to suppress them was passed by the colonial authorities. Australian workers struggled against it. It was the embryonic workers (not yet a working class in the true sense) which constituted the shock troops in the great and historic Eureka rebel-

lion in 1854. It was that that forced a measure of independence from the British imperialists. Throughout the 19th century there was constant struggle – sometimes open, sometimes concealed. The Maritime Strike of the 1890's is another jewel in the crown of working class struggle. The struggle against the imperialist war of 1914-18 was led by Australian workers. The No vote in the referendum of 1916 and 1917 was a case of the workers uniting around themselves other sections of the people. The general strike of 1917 in New South Wales was still another example. They all had an anti-imperialist direction. In 1920, the Australian workers formed the Communist Party of Australia. Tremendous struggles occurred in the twenties; the Australian workers were the leaders of them; they united other sections of the population around them. In the Anti-Crimes Act, anti-Japanese imperialist struggle of the thirties, the most significant action was taken by Australian workers. (Few do not know of the wharfies' struggle against loading scrap iron for Japan). In the whole anti-fascist struggle and against repression in Australia the working class was the decisive force. In the forties the workers led the struggle for improved living conditions and for democracy. The great strikes of 1946-7-8-9 have written an indelible page in Australian history. The big coal mine strike of 1949 is rich indeed in its lessons. In the fifties, the outstanding struggle against the general repression of the workers and all democratic rights expressed in the Communist Party Dissolution Act and its referendum was led by the workers. The defeat of several provocations culminating in the

Petrov provocation (where the desertion of a Soviet Embassy official was used as a pretext for a general attack upon the workers and all democrats) was engineered and led by the workers. In the sixties many great struggles occurred culminating in the big struggle against the penal powers, weapons of the imperialists. Again the engineer and leading force was the working class. In the struggle against U.S. domination and Australian participation in the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, the Australian workers were the leading force. Today in carrying through the struggle for independence it is the Australian workers who are the leading force.

None of this is to minimise for a minute the part played by others in all these struggles. Nor is it to deny that in some cases the initiative lay with people other than the working class. This is to the credit of those people. Many outstanding students and other leading people arose. Still the most stable and decisive force was the working class. Though sometimes seemingly slow to act, Australian workers have acted decisively on the main issues in Australia's struggle for independence. They have been the sheet anchor of struggle. It is their historical destiny that they will continue to be the sheet anchor of struggle.

There is indeed a rich tradition of struggle. Its history has been neglected or handed over to the bourgeois historians who even turn events like Eureka to their own advantage. Within our ranks are people capable of research and writing about this wonderful tradition. It

ought to be done. It is crying out to be done.

To destroy the leading position of the working class the bourgeoisie indeed employs many methods. It uses agents like the "left" labor leaders, "left" trade union leaders, revisionist "Communists", who are far more dangerous than petty deserters like Petrov. The bourgeoisie never loses sight of the leading role of the working class. It is the working class which has always been and is the main target of attack. This in itself is sufficient to call into play the well known truth "what the enemy opposes we support, what the enemy supports, we oppose."

Pride in the workers is an essential feature of Communism. Today the main trend in the world is to revolution. It may be that revolution is not so obvious in Australia but irresistible forces are working to revolution. This is an objective fact. The Australian workers are the chief upholders of the banners of independence and democracy. Let us paraphrase Marx and Engels: The question is not what this or that Australian proletariat or even the whole of the Australian proletariat at the moment considers as its aim. The question is what the Australian proletariat is, and what consequent on that being, it will be compelled to do. Its aim and historical action is irrevocably and obviously demonstrated in its own life situation as well as in the whole organisation of bourgeois society today. (The Holy Family).

The Struggle To Free Australia From Imperialism

Australia is a country with vast resources and vast potential development.

It was seized by British imperialism from the Australian black people.

It was 'developed' primarily by British imperialism which still has the biggest single investment in Australia. In recent years the amount of U.S. imperialist investment in Australia has greatly increased. It occupies the No. 2 position as a foreign investor in Australia. In still more recent years Japanese imperialist investment in Australia has been accelerating. Still more recently the Soviet social imperialists have been showing greater "interest" in Australia.

The relative strengths of the imperialist powers undergo constant change. For example, the all dominant position of U.S. imperialism in the world is today under challenge from Soviet social imperialism, from Japanese imperialism, from the European Economic Community and so on. The main collusion and struggle in the world

today is that between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

All this affects Australia because Australia is a victim of imperialism. The struggle of its people is to free themselves from imperialism. The changing strengths of the various imperialisms are thus of great importance to Australian people. Hence all patriotic Australians do pay great attention to the world scene.

The ultimate objective of Australian workers is socialism but before that can be achieved Australia must be freed from imperialist control. People from various different strata of Australian society want to be free of imperialism. Therefore they unite in the struggle against imperialism. In particular, Australians have in fact united to struggle against U.S. imperialism which has identified itself as the main enemy.

The central force in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is the Australian working class. Australian workers have struggled directly against the U.S. imperialist exploiters in Australia like G.M., Ford, Chrysler, the oil companies etc. and against repressive actions largely instigated by U.S. imperialism and its local stooges such as in the struggle over the penal powers or in the pipeline struggle in Port Phillip Bay. In all these actions other strata of the population have also participated and made a very important contribution.

Other struggles in Australia like that against the Clutha project or for the preservation of Lake Pedder

have seen the workers in comparatively not so active a role. Nonetheless the very centre of gravity in the whole struggle lies in the Australian workers. This is precisely because of the direct exploitation of the Australian workers by U.S. imperialism, because the workers are most cohesive, most disciplined, most directly attached to the most advanced means of production, most clearly and unreservedly for the independence of Australia. They have no reservations and in this lies working class Australian patriotism. In Australia, moreover, the workers are the most numerous class. Nor is it so much a matter as to what this or that individual worker thinks about these matters: it is the working class as a whole and its real interests and what it is and will be impelled to do. All this is the universal Marxist-Leninist truth of the leading role of the working class. This is a truth deduced from the facts, from history. In a given situation, of course, we do not necessarily go around shouting or writing about the leading role of the working class. It is neither necessary nor appropriate to do so. Most certainly, however, we proceed in all matters with this universal truth in mind and work with it in the actual conditions of a given struggle whatever it may be.

The working class has the capacity to unite other sections of the population around itself. In the very first writings of Communism, Marx and Engels pointed this out. In all Australian struggles against imperialism many diverse strata are involved. The political parties which represent these diverse strata are involved. This embraces the workers' party, the Communist Party of Australia

(M-L). There is another universal truth of Marxism-Leninism namely that in the united front the Communists must maintain their independence and initiative. Again this does not mean shouting or writing about it in every struggle but it does mean keeping it well in mind and doing it.

Which class heads the anti-imperialist struggle is indeed a question of first rate importance. There is real struggle about this. Sections of the bourgeoisie participate in the struggle and do so very well. They have their own reasons. That is fair enough. History shows they cannot lead the anti-imperialist struggle through to the end. This does not mean they are to be discarded at all. But it does mean that class struggle does go on in the united front. Never forget class struggle. Then there is what might be called a propaganda solution of problems. Some think that by holding a few meetings or writing a few leaflets or pamphlets the question of the anti-imperialist struggle can be solved. This is far from true. It is actually in the experience of the workers and other sections that effective struggle is waged.

In the penal powers struggle, over many years, very good propaganda material was published. It did not get rid of the penal powers. But struggle dealt them a mortal blow. Of course, the propaganda was important as preparatory material; it was vital. So too it is in the whole anti-imperialist struggle. It is the more effective the more directly it is linked with actual experience and actual struggle. This is an important matter. If an organisation

is geared solely for propaganda or allows ideas of only propaganda solutions to dominate it, it will be organized accordingly. If it makes struggle its basic idea then it will be organized deep in the heart of the people who are struggling, in the first place the workers, and its organization will use propaganda as one of its weapons. No single piece of propaganda ever won a revolutionary struggle and, no matter how good, will never do so. On the other hand good propaganda is vital for anti-imperialist struggle.

Revolution is the main trend in the world today. That is true. It is a universal truth. But it does not follow that in a given country there is either an anti-imperialist revolutionary situation or a proletarian socialist revolutionary situation. In Australia there is not a revolutionary situation. That does not mean for a moment that we should ever lose sight of revolution and, as the first stage, the anti-imperialist revolution. But it does mean very great care in tactics. Obviously the advent of a Labor government about which people have illusions (believing it is revolutionary) makes a difference in tactics, the unfolding of revolution is a step by step process. It is continuous but by stages. To underestimate the effect of the general trend would be a mistake; to overestimate it would be a mistake.

There are many influences in Australia at work on the most important social questions of our day. There are capitalist influences which take the form of revisionism (betrayal of revolution), Guevarraism (petit bourgeois impetuosity which denies the part that the mass

of the people play in struggle and leaves it to a few "elite"), Trotskyism (the super-"left" use of revolutionary phrases) and others. There is Marxism-Leninism — Mao Tsetung Thought, the scientific theory of the working class. How correctly to integrate Marxism-Leninism — Mao Tsetung Thought into the actual conditions of Australia is a very big question. Merely by asserting, for example, that the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) has the correct solution does not establish that fact. It remains to be seen in struggle, in practice. Some think they have the entire solution and are intolerant of others who question that.

Very rarely does any one person or one group of persons have the entire solution or are 100% correct. After all, the people, and the people alone, make history and of all things people are most precious. It is they who play a big part in teaching us. Communists must listen to the opinions of others, even listen to their most trenchant critics, even to the criticism of their enemies but certainly to that of their friends; they must create the climate in which diversity of opinion can be expressed and weighed up and resolved. To act otherwise is to be guilty of contempt of the masses. Even if a criticism is 90% wrong still the 10% is valuable. This applies to all; to both sides in an argument. It is scarcely avoidable that there will be differences of opinion. What is certainly avoidable is that they be resolved as if they were contradictions between the people and the enemy.

All this is necessary to say because there are certain

problems in Australia. The way forward must be found in patient persistent and yet urgent search. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought provides guidance. It teaches us to study actual conditions and to respect facts. It is no good reading it or agreeing with it if in the solution of given problems and in discussion and relations with other people, it is simply thrown out. It requires earnest study and earnest application.

Australian Communist No. 57 (April 1973)

Struggle To Prevent Perversion Of Trade Unions

The striving to prevent the trade unions in Australia become part of capitalism has been stepped up in recent times. Historically, after the workers achieved the "right" to organise trade unions in the capitalist world, 2 lines asserted themselves. The capitalists came to understand they could not prevent the workers from organising. Hence they set out to adapt the trade unions to capitalism. On the other hand, the workers (and we speak of the advanced workers) strove to keep the trade unions independent of capitalism.

As to capitalism's striving to adapt the trade unions to itself, it made their existence conditional upon the law i.e. capitalist law. In England, a series of legal measures regulated the trade unions, gave them conditional legality. In the course of class struggle, the conditions have either been liberalised or contracted according to the situation of capitalism and to the respective strengths of the contending parties from time to time. That process commenced as early as the 18th century (and in a way, even earlier) with the various Combination Acts

that prohibited workers from organising. The case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs showed how an ancient law against the administration of "unlawful oaths" was invoked to smash a trade union. The process continues to this day though the strengths of the contending parties have altered.

In Australia, (true at a later stage of history than that in England) a similar course has been followed. In the 19th century, Master and Servant Acts were used to attack the trade unions. Since Federation, the Arbitration and Conciliation Act has frequently been altered in accordance with the then comparative strengths of the competing parties and in accordance with variations in the tactics of the ruling circles.

The bourgeoisie reserves to itself the right to "limit" or prescribe the conditions upon which the trade unions in Australia will be legal. It has developed a very complicated system of law to do this. From time to time it liberalises or restricts that law.

These changes in the law simply reflect what is going on outside the law. In addition to giving the trade unions a conditional legality, all sorts of other tactics are used to adapt the trade unions to capitalism. The basic tactic is the ideology of trade unionism. Lenin said that left to itself, the working class would develop trade union consciousness, but that that trade union consciousness was not in itself a challenge to capitalism; it meant the enslavement of the workers to capitalism. The bour-

geoisie, therefore, develop "labor lieutenants" of capitalism to propagate trade union politics, to urge that no more need be done than achieve trade union consciousness; socialist consciousness according to this, is not necessary. Lenin pointed out that the only answer to this was in every way to enhance the socialist consciousness of the workers.

This has remained the struggle — on the one hand, the rulers of Australia fostering, nurturing the limitations of trade union consciousness to rivet the workers to capitalism and on the other hand, the workers striving to achieve socialist consciousness.

In Australia, in recent years, there has been a qualitative leap in the struggle of the bourgeoisie to rivet the workers to capitalism. The encouragement of the spontaneous tendency of the workers to trade unionism has been developed into the attempt to take the trade unions into active participation in capitalism. The line that this has taken has been ACTU partnership in Bourke's Store and the investigation of other such ventures, the ACTU partnership with the monopolist Thomas Nationwide Transport (largely foreign controlled) in a travel agency, the setting up with Israeli and West German capital (backed by the Soviet Union) of an ACTU housing project, etc. This represents the logical outcome of trade union politics. According to this new "theory", the workers become the owners of capitalist enterprises against which there is no need to struggle; the solution of the workers' problems is simply to extend this work-

ers' partnership into the sections of industry in which problems exist. This is the "theory". It is a guarantee to the capitalists that the workers will not struggle against capitalism, a guarantee the capitalists are always seeking.

The difficulty with this "theory" is that the guarantee will never be implemented. What Marx called the immanent laws of capitalism dictate that. Not only will the capitalists never allow the workers calmly to take over capitalism or go into partnership with them on any terms that will upset capitalism, but the workers are impelled into struggle against capitalism by the very mechanism of capitalism. The basic exploiting nature of capitalism does not change and never will change. The workers, far from becoming more adapted to capitalism, are becoming more socialist minded as the collapse of capitalism approaches. The very events of capitalism that it cannot avoid, like the Vietnamese war, greatly enhance the consciousness of the workers. On the narrowest footing, these partnerships can never work or even put a dent in capitalism. Attempts that people have made to set up ideal socialist communities (like Lane's Patagonian colony) or co-operative enterprises within capitalism, have inevitably failed because the all pervading strength of capitalism simply destroys them or adapts them. There is only one way to deal with the problem and that is to smash capitalism. Only the organised workers and their allies can do that. Thus the partnership with Bourke's is a complete failure. Even if it were a success, it would be a capitalist success and indeed that is the criterion accep-

ted by Mr. Hawke. As to the travel agency, it too may offer "cheap" (in the comparative sense) travel, but what worker has the freedom or economic capacity to travel as the bourgeoisie travel? So it goes on. These enterprises are capitalist, through and through. Their nature is not changed by trade union participation. Nor do the workers get any benefits from the process. The idea behind these schemes is to rivet the workers ever more firmly to capitalism.

The whole process produces a result opposed to that intended by its sponsors. Increasing numbers of workers question and challenge what is going on. It raises in their minds the further question — what are the trade unions for? Which class are they to serve? Trade unions for what and for whom? Within the existing structure of the trade unions, struggle against these capitalist ventures grows up. This is the direction the workers will take, irrespective of the desires or wishes of the ACTU and its leaders. Why do we say this? Because we believe that the immanent laws of capitalism compel the workers to take this course. Consciousness by the advanced workers of this process leads to the spread of consciousness throughout the working class. There is an instinctive revolt amongst broad sections of the workers, that takes the form that trade unions were never intended for this. Thus out of this position emerge very important questions for the whole working class. By negative example the ACTU assists the workers to a deeper understanding of their position under capitalism.

The central task of the workers is to build revolu-

tionary organisation deep in the heart of the working class. Communists work in the trade unions with that in mind. They strive to build up the socialist consciousness of the working class. In that sense they can thank Messrs. Hawke and Co. for so vividly showing how the ruling class works to maintain a tame working class. To do the opposite to what the ruling class wants is a very good working rule. The 2 lines in the working class can be clearly seen through this new manoeuvre. We are certain the revolutionary line will triumph.

Australian Communist No. 58 (May 1973)

Continuing Revolution By Stages

The ultimate objectives of revolution in Australia are socialism and then the building of Communism. We speak of socialism as the first stage of Communism. It is the stage where the maxim "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" prevails, the stage where socialism has emerged from capitalism and bears the birthmarks left by capitalism upon it. Communism is the stage where the maxim "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" prevails, where the birthmarks left by capitalism have gone, class struggle has been eliminated and the government of people is replaced by the administration of things. It takes a historical epoch of socialism to reach the stage of Communism.

We are adherents of the theory of continuing revolution by stages. Our view is that the Australian first stage of the Australian revolution is the anti-imperialist, national democratic stage which involves the unity in struggle of all Australian anti-imperialists led by the workers and aimed at expelling the imperialists, defeating the local collaborators with the imperialists, socialising their factories, mines, etc. taking over

other key sections of the economy, establishing democracy with real content. This is the stage of people's democratic dictatorship. Through it, the struggle for complete socialism goes on and through that, the struggle for communism goes on. This is the broad picture of continuing revolution by stages. It is impossible to impose schemes upon events (they have a nasty habit of rejecting schemes) or to impose fixed, arbitrarily created ideas. We are dealing with class struggle against a definite enemy, aimed at seizing state political power from that enemy and establishing people's power. There is no doubt that this will almost certainly be resisted with force and violence (qualitatively more force and violence than the ordinary force and violence by which the ruling class now rules) and that the people led by the workers will seize power by their own force and violence, chief weapon of which is a people's army. This struggle arises from objective conditions which are in a continuing process of change and development. The process can be forecast in general because there has been enough experience to show the general laws of its development but its precise form and circumstances cannot be forecast.

Through a process of ever deepening study and making many errors, Communists in Australia have come to understand something of the principles of continuing revolution by stages. One such error was the skipping or slurring over the stage of national democratic revolution, and the view that the content of the Australian revolution was proletarian socialist with the immediate transition to socialism. The correction of

this error is very important in understanding the strategy and tactics of revolution in Australia.

The Australian workers and working people have a "potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism." For decades, the advanced workers in Australia have been interested in socialism. This goes back to the last century. This sentiment for socialism has been so great that the bourgeois-liberal Labor Party inserted the socialist plank in its objective in 1921. Today the sentiment amongst the workers for socialism, far from having diminished, has greatly increased. It is a very precious thing, a thing to be proud of, a thing to learn from and a thing to nurture.

The basis of this sentiment lies in the development of the capitalist mode of production. Engels said: "The spinning wheel, the handloom, the blacksmith's hammer were replaced by the spinning machine, the powerloom, the steam hammer; the individual workshop by the factory implying the co-operation of hundreds and thousands of workmen. In like manner, production itself changed from a series of individual into a series of social acts, and the products from individual to social products. The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now come out of the factory were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them 'I made that; this is my product'."

"Then came the concentration of the means of

production and of the producers in large workshops and manufactories, their transformation into actual socialised means of production and socialised producers. But the socialised producers and means of production and their products were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, i.e. as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hitherto, the owner of the instruments of labor had himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labor always appropriated to himself the product, although it was no longer his product but exclusively the product of the labor of others. Thus, the products now produced socially were not appropriated by those who had actually set in motion the means of production and actually produced the commodities, but by the capitalists. The means of production, and production itself, had become in essence socialised. But they were subjected to a form of appropriation which presupposes the private production of individuals under which, therefore, every one owns his own product and brings it to market. The mode of production is subjected to this form of appropriation, although it abolishes the conditions upon which the latter rests." (Socialism Utopian and Scientific)

It is the understanding of this process and the conclusion which it compels i.e. for the socialised workers to establish socialised ownership, that continually generates socialist ideas. The workers see at first

hand the parasitical character of capitalism. In Australia, socialised production and individual (monopolistic) appropriation (ownership), are far advanced. They are becoming all the time more and more advanced. Hence the material basis for socialist ideas is continually expanding in Australia. Communists most certainly realise this and propagate the ideas of socialism.

The decisive form of the individual (monopolist) appropriation of the products of socialised labor in Australia, is appropriation by the foreign giant monopolies and local "partners" of these foreign giants. This brings the workers, other working people, intermediate sections of the people and native capitalists into conflict with the imperialist giants which directly exploit the workers and crush them. It is the expulsion and expropriation of these monopolies that is the basis of the first stage of continuous revolution and the basis for uniting broad sections of the people against imperialist domination. The workers engaged in socialised production are the leaders of the united forces.

Thus the enthusiasm for socialism needs a scientific analysis to carry that enthusiasm into realisation. Some say it is wrong to talk about socialism because we are only concerned with a people's anti-imperialist democratic revolution. Or they say if there is talk about socialism, it frightens off the capitalists who might otherwise join the anti-imperialist united front. But of course, it is correct to talk about socialism and to point out to the socialist workers that the way to achieve it is through

uniting all the anti-imperialists in the struggle to expropriate the imperialists. This is a stage that must be gone through. At all stages of the anti-imperialist struggle there is class struggle as to which class will lead but it is subordinate to the central theme of struggle, anti-imperialism. After the expropriation of the imperialists, this class struggle continues. It is a matter as yet of generality and a certain speculation as to the form it takes or as to the form the thoroughgoing transformation to socialism will take. There is no set path or scheme. Events and struggle determine it. Certainly the capitalists will struggle; certainly the workers will struggle. The laws of history, of social development, determine that the Australian workers will succeed in establishing socialism.

The conditions in Australia are vastly different from those in China and China's revolution of necessity followed and follows a different course from that in Australia. Nonetheless, it is a process of continuing revolution by stages and we can learn an immense amount from China's revolution and appropriate what is applicable to the conditions in Australia. Chairman Mao said:

"Taken as a whole, the Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Communist Party embraces the two stages, i.e. the democratic and the socialist revolutions, which are two essentially different revolutionary processes, and the second process can be carried through only after the first has been completed. The democratic

revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society."

And he said:

"We Communists never conceal our political views. Definitely and beyond all doubt, our future or maximum programme is to carry China forward to socialism and communism. Both the name of our Party and our Marxist world outlook unequivocally point to this supreme ideal of the future, a future of incomparable brightness and splendour."

In Australia our problem has similarities. Thus it is wrong to try to suppress or discourage socialist sentiment in the interests of building up a broad united front of Australian people. Socialist ideas are splendid ideas that arise from Australian and world reality. Marxism-Leninism reveals their basis and their direction. We encourage them but we concentrate our work and attention on the anti-imperialist democratic stage of continuing revolution for that is the immediate reality of Australia in the march to thoroughgoing socialism and communism.

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