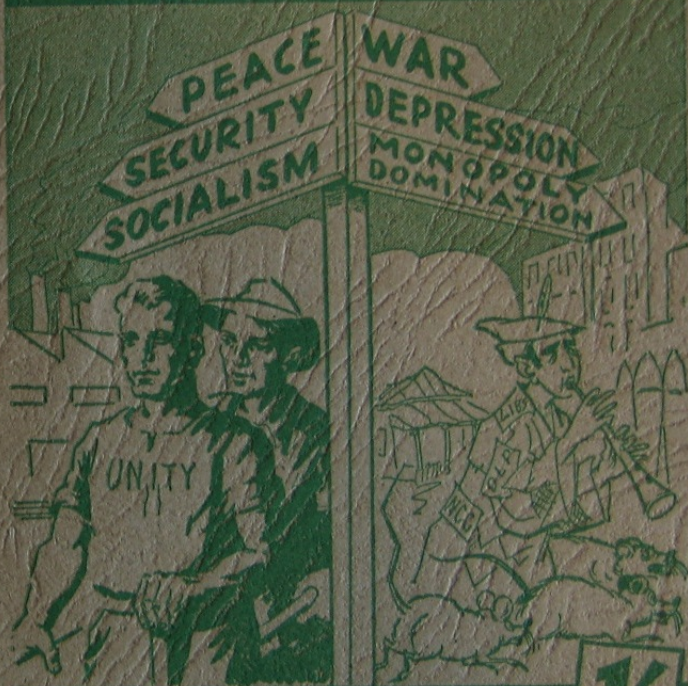


LABOR MOVEMENT *AT THE* **CROSS-ROADS**



THE WAY FORWARD **1!**
AFTER THE 1963 ELECTIONS

**LABOUR MOVEMENT AT
THE CROSSROADS**

**'LABOUR MOVEMENT at
THE CROSS ROADS'**

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A number of abbreviations are used in this booklet to describe various organisations of the labour movement, monopoly concerns and other bodies.

They may not be known to all readers, so a list is given below.

- A.C.T.U. Australian Council of Trade Unions.
A.C.I. Australian Consolidated Industries.
A.C.S.P.A. Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations.
A.L.P. Australian Labor Party.
A.W.U. Australian Workers' Union.
B.H.P. Broken Hill Pty. Ltd.
C.P.A. Communist Party of Australia.
D.L.P. Democratic Labor Party.
N.C.C. National Civic Council.

ERRATA: Page 36, second last paragraph, the last sentence should read:

Anti-Communism first, second and third—trade unionism nowhere; this is the Santamaria slogan which the "Sydney Morning Herald" and other rightwing forces want the Labor Party to act upon in their union splitting campaign.

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FOREWORD

This booklet was written in February 1964 as a contribution to the keen discussion which has arisen following the 1963 Federal Elections, on the way forward for the labour movement.

Very fundamental issues are involved in this discussion. Long-range aims and the political theories of all classes, parties and groups in Australia are under discussion.

The main theme of this booklet, as of Communist policy, is unity of the working class. This means united action of members and supporters of the Communist Party, Labor Party, and workers who belong to no party, to achieve commonly-held objectives. Despite all obstacles, this unity is constantly developing, especially in the trade union movement.

Unity is assisted by discussing theoretical and policy differences in a calm, reasoned way, without descending to abuse, and examining the practical experience of our great labour movement.

There are many quotations in this booklet, particularly from "Labor's Role in Modern Society", a book by Federal Labor leader Mr. Calwell, published in 1963.

This book has been selected as an authoritative statement of what Mr. Calwell himself calls "the reformist and redistributive aims of the Labor Party".

There are good aspects of Mr. Calwell's book, which opposes the rightwing pressure to get the A.L.P. to reject the socialisation objective and ridicules those who say that the A.L.P. should cease to be "sectional" by retaining its close links with the trade union movement.

Mr. Calwell clearly recognises that these courses would destroy the A.L.P. He rejects the Santamaria line

which would make the A.L.P. a party of the extreme reactionary section of the Catholic Church and says that the A.L.P. should not demand complete subservience of the trade union movement to the political requirements of the A.L.P.

Mr. Calwell shows the hypocrisy of the Menzies Government's claims to stand for "free enterprise" while in fact it assists monopoly to grow richer and more powerful by government intervention and its financial policy.

These good features of the book make it all the more suitable for examination as an outline of Australian reformist outlook.

Mr. Calwell is neither of the extreme right, nor the left, of the Labor Party. He is openly and proudly a reformist. He outlines lucidly and persuasively the philosophy and policy of Australian reformism.

It is a theory and policy with which we do not agree. Therefore it is criticised, we hope constructively, in order to set out the basic issues.

It is our hope that this booklet will assist the important discussion going on, and will contribute to better understanding and unity in the labour movement, the sole force which can assure that Australia's future is one of freedom, independence and socialism.

SIREN SONG OR WITCHES' CHORUS?

Return of the Liberal-Country Party coalition Government on November 30 has brought to the forefront of Australian political life the vital question: WHAT IS THE WAY FORWARD FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT?

After the elections, a whole host of "friends of the workers" have rushed into print to give their analyses of and reasons for the election result, and to give their "disinterested advice" on the policies the labour movement should adopt.

These "sincere friends" of the labour movement are a motley assortment. They include Mr. Warwick Fairfax and other multimillionaire owners of press, radio and TV, who did their level worst to get Menzies back into office.

They include Mr. Santamaria of the National Civic Council and his puppets of the so-called "Democratic Labor Party", who are so brazen that they give the Labor Party advice while proudly boasting that they alone were responsible for its defeat.

The D.L.P. election propaganda was designed for one purpose only—to deliver enough preferences to put back the Tory candidates in enough borderline electorates to ensure that Menzies was returned to power. They succeeded once again, boasting about their success in at least 13 key electorates.

This propaganda was described by Mr. Calwell in these words, echoed by many other prominent Labor men: "There is no room for those who broke away in 1955 in the light of their conduct since. They took money from the Liberal Party. They conducted themselves in a most vicious way against us.

"The Liberal Party paid for their advertisements,—shocking, filthy, scandalous advertisements depicting skulls

—and T.V. programmes of the same sort. It was a disgrace to journalism and television.

“It is useless for people who did that sort of thing to expect they will be allowed back. They will never get back with my vote.” (S.M.H.—3/12/63).

The “sincere friends” also include some in the labour movement—certain A.L.P. rightwing elements, particularly in N.S.W. These soulmates of Santamaria did not have the courage of their convictions to openly proclaim their anti-working class stand and policies, or were told to stay in and white-ant the labour movement by retaining the A.L.P. label.

They are now joining in the capitalist chorus of “advisers”. This ill-assorted chorus shouts many and varied verses, but all sing the same refrain.

Their verses include: Change the name of the A.L.P.—abolish the socialisation objective—get away from the “outdated philosophy of the class struggle”—get rid of “trade union domination”—don’t campaign for peace or a nuclear free Southern Hemisphere, but spend more on armaments—down with “unity tickets”—the white collar workers are growing and they are rightwing in politics—the migrants won’t vote for a militant policy. The chorus runs: Oppose unity, action and struggle; Communism is the main enemy; the only way for the A.L.P. to win is to become “respectable” like the Liberal Party and the D.L.P. and so on. Boiled down, it is the hackneyed old chant:
SHIFT THE LABOUR MOVEMENT TO THE RIGHT.

All this motley crew, bitter and inveterate opponents of the labour movement, concentrate their immediate propaganda on changing the policy of the Australian Labor Party. However, this is not their main aim, which is much greater and more dangerous. This is: to destroy the militant fighting soul of the labour movement, to transform Australian politics from its traditional pattern

into the even more sordid American pattern of the Ins versus the Outs, to make Australian trade unionism a tame-cat body which never campaigns or strikes or opposes injustice but co-operates with the employers and kowtows to Arbitration.

The Australian labour movement is much more than the Australian Labor Party. It is also the Australian trade union movement, which unites workers of all political and religious beliefs to advance their individual interest against their employers, as well as the Communist Party of Australia which advocates united action of all workers to achieve their immediate aims and to change Australian society from monopoly capitalism to socialism.

The monopolists, D.L.P. and A.L.P. rightwing say that if the Labor Party is to win a Federal Election it is not enough to change its whole policy. It is also necessary for the A.L.P. to purge its policy and ranks of everything and everybody differentiating it from the Liberal Party and D.L.P., and elect leaders suitable to monopoly and Santamaria. Then it must intervene actively to impose a rightwing policy on the trade unions, stop them from fighting for union demands or intervening in politics. It is the aim against which J. B. Chifley warned the A.L.P. concerning the Groupers’ machinations in the last days of his life. He called for resistance to the Menzies Government’s penal legislation, saying “the present government wants tame-cat unions, not fighting unions.” He went on to make this very topical statement: “I can only hope . . . that you will be inspired by the same things which inspired the pioneers of this movement and that you will not be frightened and made to get over to the Right because of the whispered word ‘Communist.’” (Speech to the 1951 A.L.P. Conference in N.S.W.).

**DID MENZIES WIN BECAUSE THE A.L.P. WAS
“TOO LEFT AND PRO-COMMUNIST”?**

This is the main argument of the monopolists, D.L.P. and A.L.P. extreme right. They use this as their main argument for an attack on what they call "the leftwing leadership" in Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia.

The "Sydney Morning Herald" calls upon the N.S.W. Executive to spearhead a drive throughout Australia to "clean up" the Labor Party and create the conditions for a rapprochement with the D.L.P.

The implication is that the Labor Party made great advances in N.S.W., only to be defeated by the "leftwing" in other states.

N.S.W. is the oldest, most industrialised and traditional Labor-voting State. It has had an impeccable rightwing State Labor Government for 22 years, and the rightwing has been in control of the party machine for a long time.

Yet *seven* Labor seats were lost in N.S.W. out of the 10 national losses. Three were lost in Queensland, but no fewer than seven had been won there in 1961. None were lost in Victoria, while A.L.P. votes rose in W.A., S.A. and Tasmania.

Special attention of a most unscrupulous kind was given by the press and the rightwing to the defeat of Leslie Haylen in Parkes. This was said to be the result of his "leftwing" views and outspoken advocacy of peace, friendship with Asia and recognition of People's China. As is well-known, Mr. W. C. Wentworth, the Australian pygmy version of Senator McCarthy, campaigned viciously against Mr. Haylen, as did the D.L.P.

Therefore, if it is true that a "left" policy accounts for the defeats, one would expect Mr. Haylen to have lost many more votes than most other A.L.P. politicians, especially those who follow a rightwing line. Yet in the next-door and much more solid Labor electorate, Lang, Mr. F. E. Stewart, who has quite opposite views to Mr. Haylen,

suffered a swing of 6.7 per cent against him, while the swing against Haylen was 6.3 per cent.

Dr. J. F. Cairns increased his vote by 2.1 per cent in *Yarra*, where he is always the target of extreme Liberal and D.L.P. attacks. In *Melbourne*, Mr. Calwell's vote declined by 6.1 per cent and in *Werriwa* Mr. Whitlam's declined by 7 per cent. It would be foolish to draw general conclusions from this, as the rightwing try to do in the case of Parkes.

However, while there was a general swing against Labor, it was more marked in the electorates held by more rightwing politicians, and *it was much more marked in N.S.W. than anywhere else.*

DOES INDUSTRIAL ACTION CAUSE THE A.L.P. TO LOSE VOTES?

This is one of the arguments near and dear to the monopoly press, D.L.P. and the rightwing. They ceaselessly beat the drum to proclaim that the trade union should never go on strike at all, but even more so when an election is near.

One can only imagine how horrified the rightwingers must have been when the workers of W.A. called a general strike to protest against the introduction of anti-union penal legislation. Such a strike **MUST** result in a catastrophic loss of votes! But things turned out quite differently. In *Kalgoorlie* the vote swung to the A.L.P. by 5.6 per cent, in *Swan* by 4.8, and it also rose in *Perth* (4.1) and *Stirling* (2.8). In N.S.W., where a special call went out to take no strike action whatsoever, the votes fell by an average of 6 per cent. Another favourite furbury of the D.L.P. and rightwing was exploded, and that in a State where a general strike has never happened before. And this was a *political strike*, directed against repressive legislation like that enacted by the *Menzies* and N.S.W. Labor Governments.

The W.A. general strike, and the election vote which followed it within ten days, are proof positive that *united working class action which challenge monopoly capitalism and its Tory Governments wins electoral support to the working class.*

NO NEED FOR POLICIES OF DESPAIR

The capitalist press, Government leaders and the D.L.P. shouted during the elections—and even louder afterwards—that the cause of A.L.P. defeat was that the Australian people uphold “free enterprise” and reject A.L.P. socialisation or even control of monopolies, that they believe in the “alliance with our powerful friends”, U.S. bases without even any Australian say in their use, reject the idea of keeping the Southern Hemisphere free of nuclear weapons, and so on.

If the anti-labor propagandists are correct, then no fewer than 45 out of every 100 Australians are against monopoly, believe in socialisation, a nuclear free Southern Hemisphere, recognition of People’s China and many other progressive policies.

For the parties of the labour movement secured 45 per cent of the votes, as many as the Liberals and Country Party put together.

The following facts show how majority will is thwarted:

	Percentage of Votes	Percentage of Seats
A.L.P.	45	41
LIBERAL	35	43
COUNTRY PARTY	10	16

This happens because of D.L.P. support for the Government of Monopoly and the undemocratic nature of the electoral system.

It will be seen that it is only necessary for four per cent of the Australian people to change their minds and the Liberal-Country Party will be defeated, and a Labor

Government elected. This will certainly not mean socialism, nor even any substantial interference with monopoly, nor any basic change in foreign policy.

Yet, election of a Labor Government is a *necessary step* to introduce much needed reforms in response to the demands of the working people; it is an *essential step* to enable the working class to test out which outlook and policy is correct, that of *reformism* advocated by the A.L.P. leaders or that of *scientific socialism* advocated by the C.P.A.

It is a step—but only the first step—to reverse the trend towards increasing political dependence upon and subservience to U.S. policies and ever-increasing economic and financial control by U.S. monopolies.

These are the reasons why the Communist Party has always been uncompromising and fearless in its exposure and opposition to the Menzies Government, has always worked for its defeat, and supported the return of a Labor Government in the 1963 elections.

We still regard united campaigning and action against monopoly and the Liberal-Country coalition Government as the most vital immediate need to defend the economic and political interests of industrial and white collar workers, farmers and middle-class against monopoly profiteering, reaction at home and support for U.S. aggression abroad.

HOW TO WIN SWINGING VOTE

The false friends of the labour movement say: become more like the Liberal Party, even exceed them in anti-communism, opposition to China, Indonesia and all Asia; don’t threaten to nationalise monopolies or curb their rapacity.

This is how to win over the swinging voter they say.

This is just simply *not true*. Why should the swinging voter change from an open, unashamed and even boastful upholder of monopoly like Menzies to a Calwell who has always laid claim to a quite different philosophy? Why would people accept a pale copy when they can have the real thing?

In fact, history proves this to be so. The long chapter of Tory Governments began in 1949. In that year, the extreme rightwing Industrial Groups were on top; they controlled the A.L.P. Federal machine as well as N.S.W., Victoria and Queensland.

The policy of the Labor Government in rejecting workers' claims and open A.L.P. intervention in the union movement to uphold this was carried to the extreme point of rushing through special laws to freeze union funds, jail union leaders and use of troops as strike-breakers and an unparalleled campaign of hysteria.

A Liberal Government could have done no more in breaking the Miners' strike. Did this save the Chifley Government? History records that it did not. Menzies was returned with a landslide majority.

This was when the A.L.P. machine was under Grouper control, which continued till 1955. During that time the Menzies Government won elections, despite revulsion against its "horror budget" and its crushing defeat in the anti-communist Referendum in 1951. A vital lesson of this defeat for Menzies was that the labour movement was united in defence of democratic liberty.

Under Grouper control, A.L.P. policy could not have been more rightwing, its anti-communism more frantic, its hostility to united action more marked, its foreign policy more pro-American. Yet Menzies kept on going back.

The real cause of Menzies getting the "swinging vote" is the disunity created by such a policy. The "swinging

voter" comes from a well-defined group in the community.

By and large, Australia's 1,900,000 industrial workers are solid, thick-and-thin voters for the Labor Party. The Communist Party draws its vote mainly from industrial workers and directs its preferences to Labor candidates. This is not to say some industrial workers may not vote Liberal or D.L.P., but this is a small minority. Most of the 170,000 rural workers, and many of the 1,100,000 white-collar workers vote Labor, as do a not insignificant number of battling farmers and some small businessmen.

The 60 monopoly families who control Australia, the rich capitalists, the well-to-do and aspiring executives and ambitious social climbing or just plain hopeful higher paid white-collar workers, top bureaucrats, businessmen and other elements who regard themselves as a "cut above" the workers, vote Liberal.

Squatters and rich farmers vote Country Party, which also wins votes from other country people influenced by its claims to represent rural interests.

The swinging vote can be won when the labour movement is united actively and vigorously campaigning on a policy which constitutes a clear challenge to the Liberals.

The Communist Party believes this to be the way—and the only way—to take even the small step forward of beating the Liberal-Country coalition government.

IT'S NO USE COMPLAINING "THEY TOOK OUR POLICY"

In 1961, the Menzies Government came within a hair's-breadth of defeat. WHY? Because there was an economic crisis, 130,000 were unemployed, business suffered. In these conditions, the Labor Party put forward a clear alternative to the Liberal financial policy, which people thought had caused the economic crisis.

When elected, the Government operated some points in this A.L.P. policy, and waited for an economic recovery. Then, after Mr. Calwell outlined a programme of limited reforms, Menzies countered with carefully selected promises and got back again.

Mr. Calwell and many A.L.P. spokesmen complain piteously about this "filching". Yet why is Menzies able to do it?

In this lies the trouble for the reformist A.L.P. leaders. *Their policy accepts too many fundamentals as being held in common with the Liberals.* Those things which mark off Labor Party policy from the Liberals are rarely mentioned.

Thus Mr. Calwell soft-pedalled on monopoly excesses, though he states his views on monopoly are clear: ". . . the forces of production and distribution are passing into fewer and fewer hands, and monopolies continue to increase their control of how we live" ("Labor's Role in Modern Society", P. 119)

He made a specific pledge that a Labor Government if elected would neither nationalise nor seek constitutional power to nationalise any monopoly enterprise. Nor would it interfere with foreign capital investment.

There was very little appeal to the wide sections of the people who resent the constant encroachments on civil liberties—the Crimes Act, telephone tapping and other snooping, attacks on academic freedom as well as the blatant attack in the Arbitration Act on the right to strike and interference in union affairs utilised so freely by the National Civic Council.

On the burning issues of peace and foreign policy, Mr. Calwell and most Labor Party leaders evaded making a real challenge to the Menzies line.

Thus, instead of taking the offensive for the Nuclear Free Southern Hemisphere and against complete U.S. domination of the North West Cape base, instead of condemning colonialism and advocating withdrawal of Australian troops from South East Asia and a pact of friendship with Indonesia, Mr. Calwell agreed in most essentials with the Menzies foreign policy.

Even when stating proposals for the Nuclear Free Southern Hemisphere and recognition of People's China, Mr. Calwell was apologetic, defensive and hedged his stand with many conditions. On other issues, such as increased war expenditure, Mr. Calwell exceeded the Menzies proposal by advocating *doubling* the £250 million already wasted, while his anti-Indonesian attitude, influenced by the "Sydney Morning Herald" was even more extreme than Menzies'.

This effort to win votes by adopting a more reactionary line than Menzies on war preparations also met with failure.

Most Labor Party leaders will not come out boldly and campaign for their own Party platform. Thus, they get the worst of both worlds. The Liberals and D.L.P. accuse them of being socialists, but they are so timid that they miss out on exposing monopoly plundering which is resented by all sections of the people, although aided and abetted by the Menzies Government, and do not even campaign for curbing monopoly excesses, let alone nationalisation.

"POLITICAL EXPEDIENCE" PROVES INEXPEDIENT

The reformist A.L.P. leaders justify this sort of policy by saying they must win votes, that a socialist policy, even a vigorous anti-monopoly programme including nationalisation of some enterprises, would lose votes.

Thus, Mr. Calwell writes of the reformist dilemma: Govern or change. He means that, while the A.L.P. is

pledged to socialism (to *change society by ending monopoly capitalism*) it also wants to get into office and *administer* monopoly capitalism.

This clearly explains the reason why the Labor Party does not win elections. It is paralysed by this indecision, and by invariable choice of the line of trying to get into office by promising not to make any basic change in society.

Such a policy neither gets the Labor Party into office, nor prepares the forces for a basic, decisive change in society.

The A.L.P. leaders are prepared to sacrifice everything in order to get into office—not only the socialist objective, but even trade union action and struggle to win wage rises, shorter hours and union rights.

Yet the labour movement *wants* change. It wants action. The working class is exploited by capitalism; monopoly capitalism continually breeds the danger of war and perpetuates unemployment, oppression and poverty.

The A.L.P. has as its objective:

“The Democratic Socialisation of Industry, Production, Distribution and Exchange—to the extent necessary to eliminate exploitation and other anti-social features in those fields—in accordance with the Principles of Action, methods and Progressive Reforms set out in this platform”.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions, the national trade union body, has as its objective the following:

“The socialisation of industry, i.e., production, distribution and exchange. The utilisation of the resources of Australia for the benefit of the people—insuring full employment with rising standards of living, real security and full cultural opportunities for all.”

The Communist Party states:

“The aim of the Communist Party of Australia is socialism, i.e. ownership by the people of Australia’s natural resources and the means of production—the basic industries, financial institutions, transport facilities, and the large landed estates controlled by the monopolists and big landowners.”

HOW TO MAKE A START ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The Communist Party does not suggest that the majority of Australians are at this moment ready to take the necessary action to overthrow capitalism and proclaim Socialist Australia. Yet only when the majority *are* prepared to do so will Australia become socialist, for this social revolution can never be won by a minority or even by a passive majority content only to vote. For the entrenched forces of monopoly, wealth and privilege, will not be content to hand over without a struggle, even when a majority votes against them.

That is why the Communist Party believes it necessary for all genuine supporters of socialism, whether A.L.P.’ers, Communists or non-party unionists and others to work constantly to prepare the people’s forces for this change. For the interests of the vast majority of Australians are quite opposed to monopoly and will be served by socialism.

One important way to prepare these forces is constant political education uniting the labour movement for a great campaign of unremitting exposure of monopoly capitalism and presenting Socialist Australia as the solution.

The Communist Party would welcome such activity by the Labor Party even though there are big differences between our respective views of what Socialism is and how it is to be achieved.

An even more urgent and vital way to build up the forces of socialism is to unite the forces of the working people for action in defence of immediate economic and political interests.

These economic and political interests, manifold and varied as they are, can only be advanced by united action of the whole labour movement against the entrenched forces of wealth and privilege. The Communist views on some of the most important issues are set out below.

FOR AN AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

The Menzies Government is most vulnerable upon the issues of world peace and foreign policy, especially in relation to South East Asia and support for racial oppression in South Africa and colonialism generally.

Most Labor Party leaders failed to make effective use of their own policy in the elections, let alone the officially-endorsed policy of the trade union movement.

They went on the defensive in front of the Menzies-D.L.P. attacks on these issues and many tried to evade foreign policy altogether.

There is no need for this! Properly handled, taking the campaign to the enemy camp, foreign policy can be a winner.

Why did this happen? Because most Labor leaders and politicians have never thought out and do not adopt a working class standpoint on foreign policy.

The labor movement needs to agree upon a clear-cut and unequivocal foreign policy and fight for it—standing up to the outdated gunboat diplomacy outlook of Menzies and Barwick.

Let us declare unequivocally:

The labor movement stands for peace, for co-existence of countries with different social systems.

It stands for general disarmament, banning of all nuclear weapons and testing.

It supports the concept of nuclear-free zones, and the implementation of the proposed Nuclear-Free Southern Hemisphere.

It opposes any power establishing bases on foreign territory, and rejects the North West Cape base as the fore-

runner of bringing nuclear weapons and therefore the threat of nuclear war to Australia.

It supports national independence and opposes colonialism, whether old or new.

It stands for friendship, trade and cultural exchange with its neighbours in South-East Asia.

These propositions are anathema to monopoly, Menzies and Santamaria.

That is one good reason for upholding them; a still better one is that they are profoundly in the interests of the Australian people and can win enthusiastic support from the majority of people.

Australia's relations with Asia are vital. The Menzies Government is hostile to the independent Asian nations.

As long ago as 1947, Menzies made his position clear. Speaking of Australian policy towards the struggle of the Indonesian people for independence, he said:

"This (Chifley) Government has accepted a policy in relation to the Netherland East Indies formulated by the Australian Communists, which is a policy of driving the white man out of the N.E.I. just as their policy is to be pliant and complaisant in respect of elements which would drive the white man out of South-East Asia and, indeed, out of the whole Asian continent. If that is our policy, then it represents what a great commentator once described as the very ecstasy of suicide—that we, a country isolated in the world, with a handful of people, a white man's country with all the traditions of our race, should want to set ourselves apart by saying to our friends here and there, as in the case of the Dutch, who have been great colonialists and our friends 'Out with you, we cannot support you.' The moment there is any trouble we automatically say we are in favour of the rebels. If that is to be our policy, then we shall be a very lonely country."

This quotation does not just reveal that Menzies keeps a book of wellworn oratorical platitudes like "ecstasy of suicide", which he dusted off for use 17 year later in the debate on the U.S. base at North West Cape.

It reveals how desperately and dangerously out of date is the Liberal foreign policy. For the maintenance of "Western control in Asia" is still Menzies' aim—that is why he supports U.S. policy in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and the U.S. Seventh Fleet's intervention in the Indian Ocean; why the Australian Government supports British policy on Malaysia and why they tried to get the Dutch to remain in Indonesia's West Irian.

Barwick endorsed this in arrogant and stupid words:

"... while it is handsome for someone to talk about Asia having its future determined by Asians, it must be remembered we have an interest as well as other Western countries in this area, and our interest in maintaining peace and stability will not be served by the withdrawal of military forces . . ." (S.M.H. 4/2/64)

What Menzies, Barwick and some A.L.P. politicians have to learn, and learn quickly, is: *The day of "Western control" in Asia, or white supremacy anywhere, is over and done with forever.*

This is clear enough by what happened in China in 1949, the fate of Diem in Vietnam, Rhee in Korea, and all the defeats suffered by U.S. policy despite prodigal expenditure and armed intervention by U.S. troops and equipment.

There is some precedent for such understanding in the Labor Party. Mr. Calwell has written "... The establishing of cordial relations with our Asian neighbours was commenced in earnest by the Chifley Government, which heartily approved of the British withdrawal from India, opposed anything smacking of colonialism or imperialism in Asia and Africa, demonstrated its goodwill towards the Indonesians in their revolution, and advocated in the

United Nations the rights of the small nations."

Indeed, in 1946 the Australian working class movement covered itself in glory by demonstrating its support for the Indonesian revolution.

Not even all the anti-Indonesian efforts of Australian monopoly and anti-Labor governments have yet been able to dissipate the store of goodwill won for Australia there, not only in Indonesia but all over Asia.

The labour movement should reject the anti-Indonesian policy of the "Sydney Morning Herald" and Mr. Santamaria. Instead, we should fight for friendship and close relations with Indonesia, and all-out support for the aspirations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for complete and genuine national independence free of colonialism or neo-colonialism.

This is an issue of supreme principle, which affects the whole future of our nation. It must never be sacrificed to political expediency or abandoned in face of chauvinist campaigns by the monopoly press about the "peril from the North."

There remains one further vital issue: What is the cause of war?

In the declaration made by the trade union section of the 1959 Australia and New Zealand Congress for Peace, the answer is given:

"EXPERIENCE shows that wars arise from conditions created by the profit-making system. Armament manufacturers, internationally linked and others, notoriously make huge profits from war and preparations for war."

This Congress was supported by many prominent A.L.P. members, including A. E. Monk and J. D. Kenny, President and Vice-President of the A.C.T.U.

Mr. Calwell seems to be of the same mind when he says that "war . . . will never be abolished while capitalism lasts." (p. 33 "Labor's Role in Modern Society").

The Communist Party certainly agrees that monopoly capitalism—imperialism—is the cause of war.

However, Mr. Calwell says elsewhere "If, however, war should be forced upon the free world, Australia, whether we wish it or not, will be involved . . . we, who belong to the free world will stand with the free world . . . (page 175).

Wherever else this "free world" may be (and it apparently includes Franco, Salazar, Verwoerd and Governor Wallace as well as Sir Robert Menzies, President Johnson and Sir Alec Douglas-Home), it is clearly and above all else a world dominated by monopoly capitalism and especially U.S. monopoly.

The labor movement's policy should surely be constant struggle for peaceful co-existence along with unremitting effort to *end the cause of war—monopoly capitalism.*

UNITY IS STRENGTH

The Australian labour movement, like the British and most others, began with the trade unions. Long before any workers' political parties were formed, the trade unions united workers of all beliefs in their common struggle against capital, for higher wages, shorter hours and human rights.

This struggle was a hard and bitter one, and included the fight against capitalist efforts to suppress the unions by legalised violence. In his book "Labor's Role in Modern Society", Mr. Calwell writes of the strikes of the 1890's:

"The use by governments of the police to break strikes seemed to show that the state was not only on the side of the wealthy, but was in fact, an instrument of oppression against the workers." (p. 24).

The trade unions were and are strong because they unite the workers of all beliefs for the class struggle against capital. That is why all efforts to destroy the unions have always failed, why even the modern use of savage penalties cannot stop strikes and industrial action. That is why Grouper leaders like L. Short and H. Hurrell of the Ironworkers' Union and others who oppose strikes and believe in class collaboration can never end the workers' struggle, no matter how often they say "Go back to work and take your case to Arbitration".

Unity of the trade unions is a very great strength of the working class. That is why it is under constant attack by the capitalist class. They would dearly love to see repeated in Australia the existence of several types of unions covering the same workers, and two or more trade union centres, such as unions based on religious beliefs in countries like Holland, Belgium, or unions based on political affiliations, or breakaways from the broad united movements like the Force Ouvriere in France.

In Australia, such moves have always been defeated. The latest was in 1961, when a group of rightwing leaders

of some unions (Short of the Ironworkers, Riordan of the Clerks, and others), threatened to break away from the Australian Council of Trade Unions. This move failed. However, the country's biggest union, the Australian Workers' Union, has always remained aloof from and hostile to the A.C.T.U.

It is noteworthy that Short and other leaders of the breakaway plot, and the A.W.U. leaders, are zealous exponents of the new attack upon trade union unity, the call for A.L.P. interference in the trade unions which copies the policy urged day in and day out by Santamaria.

The Communist Party is opposed to political interference in the trade union movement, is opposed to making political allegiance the issue in union elections. Communists are active unionists, and they naturally put forward their views on how to build up the union and use its strength to advance the interests of members and the workers as a class. *Communist union officials are elected because unionists consider their policy and record in fighting for the union and their consistent work for unity fits them for the posts.*

The Communist Party advocates *representative leadership* in all unions, including Communist, A.L.P. and non-party unionists. The test is not political affiliation, but which is the best policy to unite the whole union, and who are the best men to carry it out. It is quite possible for Communist and A.L.P. unionists to agree on most issues of policy, and to cooperate in carrying out the wishes of the union members.

Indeed, wherever the unions have representative leadership the unions are stronger, more militant and united, and get better results for their members. Representative leadership makes sure that all viewpoints existing among the membership are expressed, a correct policy is worked out by discussion of all viewpoints and the resulting decision is able to unite the whole union.

Communists in the trade unions have their own views on some important questions, which are diametrically opposed to those of rightwing A.L.P. union officials. They may even differ from those of A.L.P. unionists who are not rightwingers. Yet the Communists always seek to unite with all unionists, right, left or centre, in the fight to win the workers' demands.

The anti-union forces recognise the important role of trade union unity. That is why this present conspiracy centres upon trying to split the unions by using anti-Communism and the so called "Unity Tickets" issue.

All differences can be resolved only by discussion, debate and testing them in practice; they must be decided by majority decision of unionists on the job and in the union meeting, or by the elected bodies of the union movement, and not by any political party.

TAME CAT UNIONS OR FIGHTING UNIONS?

Perhaps the most important question is the very concept of unionism. Should the unions be organisations of members who pay dues, periodically elect officials and nothing more, should those officials be left to decide everything, conduct negotiations with the bosses, arguing before the Arbitration Court, and running the unions as though they are managers of a big business (with commensurate salaries)? Or are the unions militant, democratic bodies, whose members decide on policy at union, job and stopwork meetings, whose officials are not managers but leaders who express the workers' interests, who carry out union policy and lead fighting workers' organisations, which actively campaign and take action to force concessions from the employers and Arbitration?

The rightwing answer Yes to the first; the Communists answer Yes to the second--and they are not alone in this, for many A.L.P. and non-party unionists and union leaders also agree with this standpoint. It is constantly shown by

experience that only this policy can win results for the workers. This is the concept on which trade unionism was built.

Recent experience emphasises this. In 1962, the A.C.T.U. Executive (composed of A.L.P. and Communist Party members) decided upon a mass campaign for three weeks annual leave and increases in margins. This plan was also agreed upon by the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations and the High Council of Public Service Unions. This campaigning was endorsed by the State Labor Councils, and took varied forms—job meetings, public meetings, leaflets, demonstrations and industrial action, and included the great Sydney Town Hall Conference of over 3,000 union executives, union stewards and delegates from jobs, and a similar gathering in Melbourne, each called by the State Branch of the A.C.T.U.

And within seven months the Arbitration Court decided that three weeks leave should be granted—although it had been rejected not long before. At the same time, margins were increased generally by 10 per cent.

Similarly, the Waterside Workers' Federation in 1962 and 1963 waged a vigorous campaign against the unjust special penalties on their members under the Stevedoring Industry Act.

There are A.L.P. and Communist officials nationally and in branches of this union, who doubtless have different views on a number of questions. Yet they were able to unite and to thrash out policy in frank discussion, developing vigorous action by the membership, which won a wage rise of 15/- a week and partial suspension of the penal clauses in a struggle with the Menzies Government as well as with the shipowners.

Communist and other militant unionists are very often accused of being interested only in strikes, always attacking the arbitration system and invariably opposing negotiations with the employers.

This is quite untrue. Communist unionists do oppose the whole Arbitration system because the statute under which it is established is loaded heavily against the trade unions and in favour of the employers. This is evidenced in the vicious penal clauses which are so often invoked against the unions in their struggles to improve wages and conditions.

However, so long as the arbitration system continues, it is necessary for all union officials, including Communists, to conduct cases, master the procedure and become good Court advocates. Where they differ from the rightwing is that they recognise that the best arguments in the world, presented in the most persuasive manner, will have no influence on Courts unless backed up by mass campaigning and action outside the Courts. This is admitted, privately at least, by most union advocates.

Militant unionists do not see strikes as the *only* form of action to defend workers' interests. They *do* regard strike action as the workers' tried and tested weapon of expressing determination to win their demands and bringing pressure to bear upon employers and authorities who invariably oppose and reject workers' claims.

The workers' right to strike was won in long and bitter struggle. It will always be defended and exercised, no matter what legal action is taken to outlaw strikes.

IS JOB ORGANISATION A DANGER TO THE UNIONS?

An important issue in this general discussion of unionism is the role of job organisation—shop committees, area committees, mass meetings to decide on industrial action, and other similar matters.

Some trade union leaders, including some A.C.T.U. officials and other A.L.P. members, have fallen in behind Santamaria's National Civic Council on this issue. They repeat "News-Weekly" stories in attacking the shop com-

mittee movement, and make all sorts of efforts to restrict job organisation. The pretext for this is that job organisation takes authority away from the union officials.

Communist unionists believe in strong trade unions and the authority of the union over the job organisation. This strength and authority will come by encouraging job organisation, not suppressing it. Union officials should get out to the jobs, learn what the members want done, and act upon this, and give leadership to the job organisation.

Of course, unions are strong and virile when there is democratic organisation on the jobs, when policy and activity are discussed and decided by the workers.

HAS THE UNION MOVEMENT RUN OUT OF ISSUES TO FIGHT FOR?

An often-heard argument in the debate on the labour movement's future is that there are no longer any issues to fight for. It is said that because of advances in capitalism, the struggle of the unions, or reforms made by Labor Governments, wages and conditions are now so good that there is nothing to fight for.

This doesn't cut much ice among workers who know very well that wages are too low, that they have to work overtime to get by, and who see that the relentless advance of mechanisation and automation is posing very sharply the question of unemployment and the urgent need of the 35 hour week. Yet it does have some influence among people who are interested in politics but are not directly concerned with industrial issues.

Workers' wages are steadily *dropping* as a percentage of the new value which is created solely by their labour. While there are more workers than ever before, and the number of capitalist concerns is fewer than ever because of monopoly growth, official statistics show that *wages in 1962-63 were only 51 per cent of new value.* In 1951-52

wages were 60 per cent. In nine years, the employers' profit has risen from 40 per cent to 49 per cent of new value. *In money terms, fewer capitalists whack up between them £762 million more than 11 years ago.* And in fact the statistics considerably understate the employers profits.

This is the background to the basic wage case. The trade unions asked for a £2/12/- increase in the basic wage. This would have meant a total of £105 million more for the workers in Australian factories, still leaving the capitalists with £1,070 million in profits. But the employers offered only 5/- to 8/- a week, and this conditional upon destroying the whole wage structure to their advantage.

There is no shortage of industrial issues—wages, hours, conditions, union rights,—to inspire the union movement in its long and constant struggle against capital.

Mr. Santamaria, of the National Civic Council, has another variant of the "no more issues" argument. His idea, which his N.C.C. and its D.L.P. front constantly plugs, was stated by him as follows:

"... whatever might be the side issues, whatever might be the evils, the dangers and abuses, there was one issue facing Australia and it was the issue of Communism."

This clear statement has been translated into practical action by the N.C.C. in both political and industrial fields. Industrially, it means that there should be no action, no struggle, no campaigning to win union demands for correction of the evils or abuses of the capitalist system, because this would only help the Communists. *Anti-Communism first, second and third—trade unionism* Morning Herald" and other rightwing forces want the Labor Party to act upon in their union splitting campaign.

Politically, Santamaria's men in the D.L.P. have once again carried out their master's idea on November 30,

1963. By putting Menzies back for the sixth time, they showed that to them the fact that Menzies represents monopoly capitalism is a "side issue". They falsely condemn the Labor Party leaders as "pro-Communist" and therefore they will continue to overlook the evils and abuses of the Menzies regime—unless . . .

Unless the Labor Party adopts their policy lock, stock and barrel. What is the starting point they demand? An all-out attack upon trade union unity, a campaign of splitting and weakening the unions.

After an election in which the D.L.P. put Menzies back, the "good friends of the Labor Party" propose an all-out campaign . . . but not against the D.L.P. or Menzies or monopoly. Instead, a pro-D.L.P., pro-Menzies, pro-monopoly campaign against trade union unity, against the Communists who have proved themselves staunch, active and capable fighters for trade union unity against the D.L.P., Menzies and monopoly.

THIS IS A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE LABOUR MOVEMENT. IT IS A NEW MOVE IN THE LONG-HATCHED PLOT TO BRING ABOUT A RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE D.L.P. AND THE A.L.P.—ON SANTAMARIA'S TERMS.

This plot must, can and will be defeated. It *must* be, because its success would split the unions, strengthen the capitalists and worsen workers' conditions; it would condemn the Labor Party to perpetual opposition and splits.

It *can* be defeated, because the working class and activists in the A.L.P. and unions have already learnt the lesson of what Santamaria control leads to—an attack first on the Communists and then on every genuine unionist and A.L.P. member. They know that Santamaria wants absolute control and domination—and this leads to tame-cat unionism, splits, reactionary policy and a Liberal Government.

It *will* be defeated, providing the cunning attempts of monopoly's agents to use their poisoned weapon of anti-Communism are recognised for what they are, and rejected in favour of unity.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICAL ACTION

The criticism is often made of the Communist Party that, while opposing the A.L.P. entering the industrial movement, it is itself active in the unions. Further, it is said that the Communists are only interested in the unions and industrial action for political purposes.

The real Communist position is this: Every Party member who works should be an active unionist who helps strengthen the union for its task of improving the workers' conditions. The Communists prove in practice that they are militant and skilful fighters for unionism in action against the employers. They believe that, besides industrial issues, the unions have to concern themselves with broader political questions—the fight to prevent war and safeguard peace; opposition to monopoly domination; united action with other sections of the community for common objectives; defence of democratic rights as they affect unionism and as they affect all citizens.

These needs are self-evident. As Albert Monk said in his presidential address to the 1963 A.C.T.U. Congress:

"There is no hope for the achievement of full rights for all the people of the world until the threat of war and the arms burden is lifted.

"Without this, how can we really think about wages, hours and other economic demands?"

Similarly, the trade unions agree on the necessity for active campaigning to defeat anti-Labor governments. This means not only financial and other support for working class parties, but also independent campaigning by the unions. Many trade unions are affiliated to the Labor Party; this is a form of political action.

These political issues do not exhaust trade union political action. In struggling for its industrial program, political action is also necessary. For example, the 40 hour week was first won by a mass industrial-political campaign which finally influenced the N.S.W. Labor Government to introduce the 40 hour week, and then to its acceptance by the Arbitration Court. Similarly with three weeks annual leave and Long Service Leave.

Penal clauses, state and federal, can only be defeated by combined industrial and political action. In N.S.W., union delegates at State A.L.P. Conferences have repeatedly moved and seen carried decisions to delete the penal clauses from the State Arbitration Act, only to see these ignored by the State Labor Government. This is political action, and still more is obviously needed.

Railworkers in N.S.W., watersiders all over Australia, in their fight against special industry clauses, public servants and teachers in the 1963 Federal Elections, and 50,000 West Australian workers in their general strike—all engaged in various forms of trade union political action. This is vastly different from the Santamaria-A.L.P. Right brand of political action—which is to *introduce party-political divisions in the unions while opposing their uniting in political action to advance workers' interests.*

Something further needs to be said about the trade unions and politics.

It is a fact that there are different ideas on the role of the trade unions, their methods of action and their organisation. Communists have one set of ideas, many of which are shared by militant unionists, Labor or non-party. The rightwing have another set of ideas and the "middle of the road" have still another.

These differing ideas can and should be debated and tested out in the union movement. This debate should

be frank and comradely, and should proceed from the starting point of agreement on the fundamental need—*unity of the unions to advance the workers' interests*. The practical work and action of the unions, and the results gained, will test out the correctness of different policies.

Communists are quite prepared for debate and practical testing on our policies and views. It is only the N.C.C. and the extreme right who want to impose their views and get a monopoly of leading positions, thus excluding all other views and leaders.

This would be disastrous for the wages and conditions of the workers, and also for the labour movement as a whole, because it would condemn the mighty trade union movement to passivity industrially and isolation from working class political action.

UNITE TO CHALLENGE MONOPOLY DOMINATION

The most significant fact about modern Australian society is the great and ever-growing dominance established by a handful of giant monopolies over the economy and therefore over governments and their policies.

This economic power is generally recognised by all. It is supported, praised and defended by some—the anti-Labor forces in general and Menzies in particular.

The N.C.C.-D.L.P. pretends to criticise monopoly and to uphold the social policy of the Roman Catholic Church which makes a mild criticism of monopoly excesses. In fact, the D.L.P. supports monopoly to the hilt by returning the Menzies Government and by splitting the labour movement. This insincerity can be understood in their own terms of condoning all evils and abuses of monopoly because there is only one real political issue—anti-communism.

However, the Liberal and Country Party leaders and Mr. Santamaria are completely out of step with the majority of the Australian people who are increasingly aware of and opposed to monopoly. Not only the industrial and white collar workers, but also farmers, small businessmen and shop-keepers—together over 80 per cent of the people—are becoming concerned about and can be won for action against monopoly.

Mr. Calwell speaks the truth when he says in his book:

“. . . many non-parliamentary sources of power, economic power especially, have grown up.” (p. 107)

“. . . the forces of production and distribution are passing into fewer and fewer hands, and monopolies continue to increase their control of . . . how we live.” (pp. 119-20)

The extent of monopoly power, sitting astride the whole economy, is revealed in the following facts:

- The 100 biggest companies, with total shareholders' funds of £1,969 million, and a total capital of £1,091 million, made net profits of £155 million in 1961-62. The total profit after taxes of all Australian companies was £423 million. Therefore, the 100 biggest companies made more than 1/3rd of all profits made by the thousands of companies operating in Australia. Sixty-three giant companies own 54 per cent of the total assets of the biggest 800 companies.

Foreign capital is increasing its investments in Australia, particularly British, U.S., Japanese and Dutch. This leads to increasing foreign control of the economy and influences government policy.

The relative and ever-increasing weight and power of U.S. monopoly in Australia is shown by these facts:

- In the 100 biggest companies, 15 are U.S. including General Motors Holden, the second biggest company and the biggest profit maker.
- U.S. capital dominates the vital automobile and oil industries and is getting a bigger hold in mining, food and other industries.
- Ten U.S. companies, owning 3.7 per cent of the capital of the top 100 companies, make 12 per cent of net profits, emphasising the exceptionally high rate of profit on U.S. capital invested in Australia. Actual U.S. capital investment has been small and is constantly diminishing as compared with reinvested profits from their plundering activities in Australia.

U.S. monopoly investment is constantly taking over Australian industries and is a growing drain on foreign exchange reserves. U.S. monopoly obstructs Australian export trade by refusing to allow its Australian branches to enter most world markets, at the same time hindering Australian exports to the U.S.A. and trying to stop trade with socialist countries.

Australian governments directly assist U.S. monopoly penetration by shamelessly hawking and handing over to them priceless natural resources, such as oil, aluminium and coal, conceding special taxation rates to U.S. concerns while spending taxpayers' money like water to help them.

DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FROM MONOPOLY ATTACKS

In its 14 years of office, the Menzies Government has not neglected to arm itself with wide and sweeping powers against the labour movement. Civil liberties have been whittled away constantly.

The Crimes Act was amended in 1960 to provide wide dragnet powers against the labour movement. Phone-tapping has been legalised.

Penal legislation has been used against unions in an effort to outlaw strikes and other industrial action, federally and in all States (including N.S.W. which has a Labor Government).

The secret political police, misnamed the "Security Service" is continually expanded. It interferes in the labour movement, compiles and circulates dossiers on people in all spheres and keeps an elaborate blacklist of Communists and Labor men, unionists and academic people, clergymen and scientists.

Academic freedom is under constant attack.

Apart from the clear attacks on political and industrial thought and action, there is widespread mounting concern among citizens at growing state control and police officiousness and even brutality.

All this is the typical accompaniment of monopoly growth, for the interests of the majority are more and more opposed to those of the 60 families.

The labour movement should vigorously fight for democratic rights. It should speak up and defend the rights

of all citizens as well as its own rights which are first and most heavily attacked.

The labour movement in N.S.W. has the special responsibility of ending the disgraceful exhibition given by the Heffron Government in cutting right across the movement's struggle against Menzies by retaining equally severe penal clauses in its Arbitration Act.

A united labour movement will win wide support when it campaigns for democratic rights. This will expose and help build up the forces to defeat the Liberal-Country coalition.

FIGHT MONOPOLY NOW

Electoral support can be won if the labour movement campaigns vigorously against monopoly plundering, trade practices, and advances a vigorous policy to curb, restrict and nationalise the monopolies.

That is where most Labor Party leaders fail. While there are some honourable exceptions, most are indecisive, and even praise monopolies like B.H.P. N.S.W. Premier Heffron even boasts of encouraging and assisting foreign and Australian monopolies to come to N.S.W. in preference to Victoria or elsewhere.

Mr. Calwell himself has written, in the same book in which he condemns monopoly and especially foreign monopoly-capitalists,

" . . . my earlier strictures against foreign monopoly capitalists do not mean that I do not recognise that overseas investment has played, and will continue to play for many years to come, an important part in all aspects of national development." (p. 97)

He goes on to describe his view of "economic planning" which "requires the cooperation of Commonwealth and State Governments, of semi-government authorities, and of private business. Primary and secondary industries will

have much to gain from consultation with governments in the formulation of growth targets." (p. 97).

So along with condemnation goes a willingness to accept "private business" and "foreign investment". In the very nature of things, this can only be *monopoly* business and investment. And not only accept, but to adopt policies which will "gain" monopoly more profit!

This is indeed the Liberal policy with a vengeance, and it is pointless to argue who stole whose policy.

Instead of challenging Menzies with an anti-monopoly Labor policy, Mr. Calwell vainly tries to get enough monopolist votes to get into office. But this is a vain hope. First, there aren't enough big business votes to count; secondly, these votes will never be won by Labor.

Mr. Calwell tries to win them by describing as "socialist" at least some of the economic and financial policies of the Menzies Government. Mr. Calwell says: (p. 75)

" . . . Laissez-faire has not been applied in all its wonderful simplicity, because the conservatives knew that they would never be permitted to apply it, even if they wanted to.

" . . . In some ways this composite system had its notable successes. *Sir Robert was enough of a realist to be a socialist when necessary.*"

The obvious truth is that Sir Robert has never been, is not and never will be even a bit of a socialist. He is a monopolist politician whose "planning" and "government interference" is designed not to curb and restrict monopoly but to enrich it, using taxpayers' money, government orders, financial policies (like the "credit squeeze"), and all legislation to help monopoly grow stronger, richer and all-powerful.

It is incorrect and self-deception to think that a Labor Government can curb and get rid of monopoly by applying policies like those of Menzies—even if these are a little

more far-reaching and more consistently applied.

What is needed is a firm anti-monopoly policy, consistently explained, proved and publicised. To the objection: the voters won't support it, the answer is: they will if monopoly is exposed and the alternative explained.

The Communist Party supports any anti-monopoly measure, including such proposals as starting government enterprises in competition with existing monopolies. However, this does not replace the need to campaign for nationalisation of key monopolies.

Mr. Calwell says in his book:

"Indeed, it is our belief in the economic and social desirability of more and better public ownership which gives Labor policies their distinctive character."
(p. 126)

Nationalisation of monopolies means that huge enterprises (controlling vital resources, industries and financial institutions) will cease to be controlled by small groups of wealthy capitalists, seeking only their personal profit. Instead, these will be converted to public ownership, with profits going to governments.

A wide expansion of public enterprises will open the way for working class pressure to force use of profits from public enterprises for national development, to raise living standards and reduce taxation upon lower income earners.

Conversion of such giant enterprises as General Motors-Holden, B.H.P., A.C.I., and the banks, into public enterprises, would not of itself be socialism. So long as capitalism continues, and state power is in the hands of servants of the capitalist class, public enterprises will not change the nature of capitalism.

Even in Australia, such big and profitable enterprises as government banks, T.A.A. and QANTAS, insurance offices and the post office are publicly owned. Sometimes, nationalisation is used to prop up weaker or inefficient

capitalist enterprises, or to run some unprofitable service vital to monopoly capitalism (e.g. expenditure of £30 million on the Mt. Isa railway to help the U.S. monopoly and millions on Pt. Kembla harbour for B.H.P.).

In general, however, the capitalist class fights tooth and nail against nationalisation. The Chifley Government's move to nationalise the banks in 1947 is a case in point.

Since the Menzies Government got into power 14 years ago, it has handed over to monopoly capitalists many very big and profitable public enterprises, and a sustained campaign has been waged to turn the people against public ownership.

It remains the declared policy of the labour movement and is the most important measure under capitalism to curb monopoly power. Nationalisation of key monopolies can only be won by mass struggle against monopoly capital and its governments, and such struggle plays an essential part in preparing the forces which will end monopoly rule forever.

IS THERE POWER TO NATIONALISE?

The reformists object that the Commonwealth Constitution, particularly Section 92, deprives the Commonwealth Government of the power to take such decisive action. This was reinforced by the Privy Council decision on Bank Nationalisation.

In his book, Mr. Calwell says that Section 92 was never intended by the founders of the Constitution to debar nationalisation. He states that he favours amendments of the Constitution, but then specifically repeats his guarantee that a Labor Government would not even seek constitutional power to nationalise.

The Communist Party recognises that the Constitution as it stands is a real barrier to effective action by a Labor

Government, and that it is a big mental hurdle in the thinking of the many sincere socialists in the A.L.P. However, we do not accept the reformist view that it is insuperable, which is used to make nationalisation a "never-never" piece of window dressing to satisfy the militant workers and sincere socialists.

There are some legal opinions that the decision on Bank Nationalisation applied only to that piece of legislation. Be that as it may, it is our view that there is a way to deal with this real problem.

We take as an example the very illustration Mr. Calwell analyses in his book: the defeat of the Chifley legislation to nationalise private trading banks. This is not a socialist measure, as Mr. Calwell says: "Mr. Chifley had tried to nationalise the banks, with compensation . . . Sir Robert Menzies successfully shackled the banks without compensation."

The Communist Party supported the Chifley legislation to the hilt, while explaining that it was a measure designed to make capitalism work more efficiently.

We made one important criticism, that the legislation was announced without preparation of public opinion or any steps to mobilise mass support among the working class, farmers and middle class. In such circumstances, the outcome was entirely predictable. The bankers and the whole capitalist class mounted an unprecedented campaign of opposition, money was poured out, the press never let up, and the initiative passed to the bankers.

The Courts thus had a favourable political climate in which to carry out their classical role of upholding monopoly.

The only way to bring about what Mr. Calwell claims A.L.P. policy to be, "radical reform", is to carry out continually persistent mass propaganda in favour of nationalisation and other radical measures, and to draw

upon the power of the people to force through such measures.

This is unacceptable to Mr. Calwell and other reformist leaders, who are committed only to "constitutional means".

In the trade union struggle, the reformists try to head off industrial action with the plea "take it to Arbitration". Yet all trade union experience shows that concessions can be won only if arbitration advocates are backed up by militant industrial action outside the Courts.

If this is true, when the issues are ones of increased wages, shorter hours and union rights, which certainly affect capitalists' profits but leave untouched the basic "rights" of monopolies to make profits, how much more necessary is it when the issues go to measures which take over an individual monopoly? Still more, how is it possible to change the whole social system, socialising production, distribution and exchange, without a great political struggle in which the interests and will of the majority are forced upon the monopolists as a class?

If there is to be a real change in society, the will of the people must over-ride all privilege.

Monopoly capitalism has developed industry into huge-scale industry; it has developed the productive forces until they are social in character. Yet their ownership is "private"—so much so, that real ownership is concentrated in fewer hands than ever before.

There is no way back to small industry and small ownership. This is the D.L.P. "utopia", but it is impossible and they know it; they use it only to deceive. The only way forward is social ownership by the whole people of the productive forces socialised by capitalism but owned by the 60 families.

UNITE TO CAMPAIGN FOR SOCIALIST AUSTRALIA

Monopoly forces bitterly attack the objective of the working class—socialism. This applies not only to the clear statement made by the Communist Party, but also to the present conditional and watered-down socialisation objective in the A.L.P. platform.

Mr. Santamaria and his N.C.C. viciously oppose the socialisation objective of the Labor Party. If there is a "rapprochement" with them, it will disappear from the A.L.P. platform.

Some rightwing A.L.P. politicians and leading figures also speak scornfully of the socialisation objective. The Sydney "Daily Telegraph", for example, ran this report on 23/1/63:

"... Mr. J. J. Maloney (N.S.W. Minister for Labor) said yesterday that, despite his long experience in Labor politics, he knew nobody who knew the meaning of Labor's objective of socialisation of industry.

"... Mr. R. Marsh (Assistant-Secretary of the N.S.W. Labor Council) said he did not believe that anybody within his lifetime would work out the meaning of the objective."

Yet more farseeing Labor leaders recognise that far from the objective being meaningless, the Labor Party itself would lose its meaning if it discarded the objective.

Mr. Calwell himself recognises this. In his book he says, in reply to the "well-wishers" after the 1961 elections:

"We will never change our name, nor break with the trade union movement. Nor will we abandon our socialist objective, because, to us, it represents the hope of mankind." (p. 58)

He underlines this in writing:

"... war, destitution, social inequalities, social injustice and an unfair distribution of the wealth

produced by the community will never be abolished while capitalism lasts. . . ." (p. 33)

This then is the decisive importance of socialism. No matter what definitions are given, the economic basis of socialism can only be stated as ownership of the basic means of production by the people as a whole, and their use to meet the ever-growing economic, cultural and moral needs of the people. By removing private ownership and the profit motive, the basis is also laid to end all class inequality and oppression, to develop human personality to the full, and to develop science, art and culture.

To achieve such great aims as abolition of war and all forms of social injustice requires a *social revolution*. Only by taking over the great monopolies and breaking their entrenched power and privilege can the working class create a socialist Australia.

HOW IS SOCIALISM TO BE ACHIEVED ?

This is the greatest single problem which causes differences between many sincere A.L.P. socialists and the Communist Party.

Mr. Calwell advances the following argument:

"To recognise the existence of classes . . . and to desire the elimination of existing class barriers, is not to accept the communist philosophy of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . the Labor Party rejects revolution and totalitarianism." (p. 59)

It is fair to say that reformism boggles at social revolution, seeing in it only violence, terror and totalitarianism.

The socialist revolution need not mean civil war and bloodshed. This question is not determined by the working class but by the capitalists.

It may be recalled that in Australia all the violence ever used in the class struggle has been started by the capitalist class. Reference has already been made to Mr.

Calwell's statement on the use of police to break strikes during the 1890s.

In the 1930s, the capitalist class used the police against the unemployed. This was not enough, so the New Guard and similar fascist organisations were established to use violence against the labor movement.

Legal violence is used today against the working class struggle, notoriously under the penal clauses of Arbitration Acts, while still greater powers are held in reserve (Crimes Act and other repressive laws).

During the campaign against the Chifley banking legislation, force was threatened. The late Sir Earle Page said:

"Australia was gradually approaching the stage when blood would flow. . . . Australians did not want the dictatorial policy of the Prime Minister and his proposed nationalised banks. The latter fitted in with the overall pattern of totalitarian dictatorship. All free men must be prepared to fight the issue." (Sydney "Sun" 8/9/47)

It would, of course, be very nice if the capitalist class would stick to the democratic rules and play the game as Mr. Calwell wants to play it.

The question is: what is the working class to do if they won't stick to the rules? The only answer is to answer force by force.

However, the aim of the working class should be to create such an overwhelming force of mass opinion and determination to bring about the socialist revolution that the inevitable monopolist opposition will be powerless to resort to civil war.

This is by no means impossible. Industrial and white collar workers, and their families, make up more than half the Australian people. Monopolies exploit and push around the working farmers and threaten the position of small businessmen. At least 80 per cent of the people

have no real interests in common with the monopolists, but rather their interests lie in ending monopoly rule.

A genuine socialist policy would set out to organise this 80 per cent into an irresistible force to carry through socialist transformation, peacefully if at all possible, with a minimum of violence if the monopolists resort to force.

The first dictatorship of the proletariat arose 47 years ago in old Tsarist Russia, ruled by feudal autocracy. The socialist country was assailed by the armed forces of 14 different countries. When this failed, they tried to starve Socialist Russia with the "Cordon Sanitaire". Spies and saboteurs have been sent into the Soviet Union right up to recent times, including Eisenhower's illfated U2 spying.

Opponents of socialism today try to frighten people with the story that Australian Communists want to follow slavishly the Russian experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat as it had to be exercised in Russian conditions and in face of military intervention and savage hostility.

World conditions have greatly changed today. It is much more difficult for imperialism to wage war to crush socialist countries. This change is most dramatically illustrated by the continued existence of Socialist Cuba, only 90 miles from the inveterate hostility of U.S. imperialism which is continually trying to overthrow the people's government.

Australian Communists have worked out their own programme for Socialist Australia, which arises from the national tradition and the balance of class forces.

This programme, "Australia's Path to Socialism", says:

"If the working class is firmly united under the leadership of a Marxist party, stands at the head of a mass people's movement and rebuffs all opportunist elements incapable of abandoning the policy of compromise with capitalism, it has the opportunity of winning state power without civil war and of

transferring the basic means of production to the hands of the people.

"Under these circumstances the working class can defeat the reactionary anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the capitalists into an instrument serving the working people and on the basis of the mass movement, smash resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution.

"All this will be possible only on the basis of broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle against monopoly capitalism.

"If the ruling class resorts to violence against the people this will have to be countered by superior force.

"Historical experience shows that the ruling class never gives up power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and forms of class struggle depend not so much on the desire of the working class as on the resistance put up by reactionary circles to the will of the majority of the people."

All the great democratic traditions and gains made by the Australian labour movement will be incorporated in socialist democracy.

The People's Government will dictate only to the monopoly capitalists, who will try desperately to restore their rule, which the labour movement is united in solemn pledges to end.

Mr. Calwell speaks with repugnance of the concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", but he forgets that the dictatorship of monopoly capital already exists in Australia. Mr. Calwell himself speaks of "non-parlia-

mentary sources of power", and the ever-increasing dictation by monopoly.

This dictatorship can cloak itself in a democratic garb (as in Australia) or drop the cloak (as in Nazi Germany, France, Spain, South Vietnam or Verwoerd's South Africa). Cloaked or naked, its character is the same: the rule of a tiny minority of monopolists over the majority.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is still the rule of a class, but is qualitatively different. It is the rule of the majority over the minority of monopolists, the rule of the working class, working farmers and other formerly exploited people. As such, it is one hundred times more democratic than the dictatorship of monopoly. It further has this feature, that it is a temporary and passing class rule which will end when class differences have been ended.

The Communist Party believes this is the *only way* to Socialist Australia. Despite all good intentions and fair words about Socialism, we fear that Mr. Calwell's way can only end in still another failure by a Labor Government to carry out decisive social changes, still another disappointment for the working class and the hopes of socialists.

At all events, whatever differences exist on how to achieve Socialist Australia, there is no reason why the whole labour movement should not unite in a great campaign to expose monopoly capitalism and spread the ideas of Socialism. This should be done all the time, along with the practical activity of fighting against monopoly and Menzies for the economic and social needs of the working people and for democratic rights.

It is in the practical experience of joint activity, education and campaigning that the working class will decide what ideology, what policy and what methods of struggle it must follow to bring Socialist Australia into being.

FOR POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

In whatever way the people's struggle achieves Socialist Australia, the essential pre-condition is *unity of the working class*. The working class is the decisive class in numbers, organisation and opposition to monopoly capitalism. When firmly united it attracts other classes and people to its side and can gain its objective.

This political unity may be built in many different ways. The Communist Party believes that the best way would be *one party of the working class based on socialist principles*.

We recognise there are many obstacles to overcome before such a party can be formed. It is necessary to accumulate much more experience in the struggle against monopoly capitalism and for all sections of the labour movement to study, discuss and debate the lessons of such experience.

The Communist Party's policy remains as stated by Lance Sharkey 12 years ago:

"The Communist Party stands for the broadest united front with the A.L.P. rank and file, and also with those A.L.P. leaders who fight for a progressive policy for the labour movement. In existing conditions, the most favourable starting point for united activity is the defeat of the Menzies Government and putting an end to its disastrous policies.

"Our aim is not the 'smashing' or 'disruption' of the A.L.P. according to the crude ideas of the Leftists, the old-time anarcho-syndicalists and the like. Nor, like the sectarians, do we regard the A.L.P. as a single reactionary mass. Our aim is unity with the A.L.P. membership in the struggle on the broad base of the interests of the masses; of a progressive policy.

"Our aim is a united front leading up to a united workers' party based on socialist principles.

"The ultimate aim of the Communist Party, in regard to the A.L.P., is to form a united workers' party, on the basis of the defeat of the rightwing and its class-collaboration policy, and the adoption of Marxist scientific socialist principles."

In putting forward its views on working class unity, the Communist Party by no means claims to have been correct always and in everything. It has made mistakes, including impatience and sectarianism, which has sometimes hindered the Communist Party playing its full part in the labour movement.

The latest example of these errors is the policy of the "Hill group", a tiny faction which split away from the Communist Party of Australia, refusing to accept the views of the majority after a thorough discussion of the issues they raised.

The main issue on which they split away was the rejection of their conspiratorial effort to force upon the C.P.A. the views of the leaders of the Communist Party of China. Insofar as any important Australian issue is involved in the Hill group's factional activity, it is their difference with the Communist Party over working class unity.

While still in the Party, they said that the Party's work for unity was "not revolutionary enough"; that it was "soft on reformism" in seeking to unite the maximum forces against monopoly, Menzies and Santamaria, and that calling for election of a Labor Government instead of the openly pro-monopoly Menzies Government is "creating illusions in reformism". These views were rejected, and the Party went ahead with its work of building unity in action.

Once outside the Party, the group dropped their mask altogether. Pretending to criticise from the "left", they direct their main fire at, first, the Communist Party, and then at the Labor Party. Their journals devote 75 per

cent of the space given to Australian affairs to attacking the Communist Party, 20 per cent to attacking the Labor Party, and hardly anything to Menzies, monopoly or the D.L.P.

Indeed, their priorities in attack are similar to the D.L.P., which they also resemble in intemperance of language and disregard for truth, and in refusing to accept the will of the majority of their former parties. While calling for "revolutionary struggle" and "militant action", their journals have never mentioned the West Australian general strike or many other vital strike struggles of recent months. Nor do they even try to come to grips with the real problems of unity, the struggle against monopoly and the fight for socialism.

This group is another enemy of unity of the labour movement, under a "left" guise. They reject the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Labor Party as a two-class party, and instead declare it to be merely "another capitalist party". All its leaders are equally bad, whether left, centre or rightwing. Their theory and practice can be summed up as: the only thing necessary to achieve working class unity is to "expose reformism", abuse and smash the A.L.P.

The Communist Party rejects the Hill group, as the vast majority of A.L.P. members reject the D.L.P. Their extreme "right" and "left" attacks merge together; the main difference is that the Hill group has neither mass base nor influence in the C.P.A. and never will have, while Santamaria has some base and has powerful agents within the A.L.P.

Nonetheless, all attacks upon unity will fail because they run counter to workers' experience and needs. Unity will triumph.

TWO ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF ONE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

While the nature of one party would of course be decided

by those amalgamating to form it, and influenced by the times and conditions, the Communist opinion is that two things are necessary.

1. *Unity of Views and Ideology.*

The Labor Party suffers from the grave disability that it tries to unite opposite ideologies, policies, outlooks and aims in the one party. *It lacks scientific theory and a common outlook which unites all its members for Socialism.*

Thus Mr. Calwell can say:

"I have no time for the spurious distinctions drawn between so-called rightwingers and leftwingers."
(page 190)

Yet these differences do exist, they are sharp, and they are about real and urgent issues. How can there be unity of outlook between genuine socialists and militant unionists and those like Mr. Maloney who oppose socialism and insist on retaining penal clauses to prevent strikes, in defiance of N.S.W. A.L.P. Conferences? Or between those upholding the socialisation objective and those like Hefron who set themselves the main objective of outdoing the Liberal Bolte in selling their State to monopoly?

How can there be unity between genuine Labor men and those who are secretly working for agreement with, and return of, Santamaria's men?

Mr. Calwell delicately explains the dilemma that arises because of the great difference in outlook:

"The fact of our being at the same time a propagandist movement and a party which seeks power raises recurring difficulties, for in such a party there will always be some members who will wish to place greater emphasis on one or another of these responsibilities . . . we suffer more than any other from the inevitable conflict between principle and the needs of practical politics." (p. 52, "Labor's Role in Modern Society").

And he spells it out more clearly still:

"On other occasions, changes which the Labor Party, or a section of it, would like to bring about, were not even attempted because it was known, or believed, that the time was not opportune."

In fact, this basic division is between the working class base of the Labor Party and its reformist outlook which is an adaptation of capitalist ideology. This is the underlying cause of all the splits which have continued since the very formation of the A.L.P. 70 years ago.

The Communists believe that a genuine working class party must have a genuine working class ideology. It should not be governed by political expediency or rule of thumb methods, but have a scientific understanding of society and politics, which includes an understanding of the demands of "practical politics".

The Communists are supremely confident that scientific socialism—Marxism-Leninism—is such a guide. They by no means try to force it down the throats of Labor Party members but are always willing and eager to discuss and debate Marxism-Leninism and reformism, both in theory and practice.

The aim of such a debate is to decide what is the correct ideology to guide the struggle for socialism and the other aims of the working class movement.

Acceptance of the basic principles of this ideology ensures firm unity on aims and the basic method of realising those aims.

This unity of the basic aims and outlook does not mean stifling of discussion and dull orthodoxy. On the contrary, debate and new ideas are freer and more welcome in the Communist Party than in the Labor Party.

2. An Active, Disciplined and Organised Party.

A working class party needs organisation and discipline to reinforce its unity of outlook.

This discipline will be firm and comradely precisely because it springs from the voluntary union of like-minded people, who are prepared to sink their differences for the common cause and accept the rules and constitution of their party.

The Communist Party, encouraging debate and discussion in its ranks, believes that such democratic life encourages activity of its members. That is another essential for a genuine socialist party—activity in the constant struggle of the working people.

This type of working class party would not tolerate those features of A.L.P. organisation which weaken it so seriously. These include open flouting of A.L.P. policy and Conference decision, especially in N.S.W., and actions of A.L.P. members in cooperating with the N.C.C. in the trade unions (as recently in the case of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council), along with which go draconic measures against A.L.P. members who want to build unity to carry out A.L.P. policy.

While there are many hurdles to jump before a united party can become a question of practical politics, these Communist Party views on the requirements of a united workers' party are put forward for discussion.

We recall that the Communist Party was in fact affiliated with the Australian Labor Party for a short time in the early 1920's. In 1943 the N.S.W. Labor Council carried a resolution favouring Communist affiliation to the A.L.P. There are other precedents, Australian and overseas, for unity and cooperation between the two parties, which could lead to one united workers' party.

Many other forms of cooperation and unity can be adopted. The Communist Party lays down no hard-and-fast theories or pre-conditions of united action.

This is because we know, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that only political unity of the working class can achieve

its great goal of abolishing forever monopoly capitalism, war, poverty and injustice, the goal of Socialist Australia.

That is why we present our views on the great issue before the labour movement today—to take the road to the Left or the Right.

The answer is crucial for the working class and the nation. The Communist Party's answer is:

Reject those in the labour movement who would follow Fairfax and Santamaria onto the rightist road of monopoly and disunity!

Take the road to the left, to united struggle against monopoly, for Peace, Democracy and Socialism!

If you would like to keep abreast of political events in Australia and abroad

**READ "TRIBUNE";
VICTORIAN "GUARDIAN";
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If you want to know more about Communist Party policy, ask questions, arrange a meeting or discussion group, or would like to join the Communist Party to work for unity in the fight for Peace, democracy and socialism, call in, phone or write to:

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