

A Guide To People's Struggle For An Independent Australia

The following articles reprinted from the newspaper Vanguard Nos. 1, 3 and 6 – 1974, respectively, are produced here in pamphlet form so that they can be studied together. They should be studied in relation to the problems that arise in the struggle to build a people's united front against imperialist domination and for a really independent Australia under a truly people's democratic government.

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1974 Will See More Big Advances Of People's Struggle

1973 completed 12 months of the Labor Party in office.

The Labor Party government made a dramatic break from the foreign policy of its predecessors. To a considerable degree it entered into the world-wide struggle of developing countries and countries of the Third World for independence against oppression and racism. This is a big step forward. All sensible people welcome and support it.

Whitlam's stand against the U.S. bombing of Vietnam showed a substantial degree of independence. Publication of the cables of the time can do nothing but good. There should be no retreat from their contents nor clouding of the issue by a witch-hunt over their "leakage". Indeed the government would have done well to have taken the initiative in publishing them.

This trend in foreign policy is undoubtedly progressive. It is in the interests of Australian workers, working people and other sections of the people. Its

objective effect is within the mainstream of progress in the world. This is not to overlook serious negative features in foreign policy.

The danger to the world arises from the striving to world domination of the superpowers — the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

The trend of Australia's policy objectively runs counter to the superpowers.

There is, of course, a very serious subordination to U.S. imperialism and a reluctance for outright, consistent opposition to the superpowers. All people will combat this. What is required is a thoroughgoing policy of independence and opposition to the superpowers.

Within Australia the Labor government has taken a number of progressive steps. Its policy to strengthen the central government is objectively progressive. Our view is that Australia must be developed as one country and not as six separate "kingdoms". The correctness of this is demonstrated by the ultra-reactionary regrouping that is going on such as the DLP-Country Party amalgamation, the stand of Bjelke-Petersen to protect "state rights". These people are the quintessence of diehard reaction in Australian politics.

We fully approve the Labor government's efforts to develop Australia as one nation. Its

objective effect is to assist the working class struggle. This objective effect is not altered by the capitalist motives of the Labor Party leaders.

On various other issues such as health, education, the Labor government has a far better policy than its rivals.

Of course there is another side to all this.

On no single issue does the Labor government have an unequivocal attitude. It compromises on almost everything. When it proposes something progressive it then begins to retreat in the face of opposition. It fears the masses and does not seek to rely on them. It does some very bad things. Its words are by no means matched by its deeds. Such, for example, is its policy towards Australian black people. But there are other examples.

The most critical internal question which faces Australian people is the question of inflation. It will never be solved while capitalism lasts. This is a world-wide problem. But within Australia a great deal could be done even within capitalism by making the rich pay, by reducing or abolishing indirect taxation, by nationalisation. The Labor government will not do these things because it administers capitalism.

The root of the internal problem (and the explanation of vacillation in foreign policy) lies in the degree to which Australia is dominated by U.S.,

British and Japanese imperialism. Key sectors of Australia's economy are completely in their hands or dominated by them. Real independence involves expulsion of these imperialists from Australia.

In short, Australia's Labor government has a dual character. Insofar as it pursues an international policy of independence and lines up with developing and Third World countries, it is progressive. As a government which favors central national development in Australia it is progressive. On certain internal social issues its policy is certainly more progressive than that of its opponents. On the other hand, its essential capitalist and imperialist-dependent position leads to anti-working class stands on a great number of issues.

Its social theory of social democracy is anti-working class. It espouses parliamentarism. Its essential purpose is to maintain, administer and strengthen capitalism in Australia. Social democracy has been rightly described as the main prop of capitalism.

Hence Communists support the objectively progressive policies and actions of the Labor government and oppose its reactionary policies and actions. At the same time Communists must carefully explain the essential nature of social democracy. This is a question of great importance and requires great skill. There are stages in the political development of people and these stages must be gone through before the people fully understand the nature of the Labor

Party in Australia. Events will undoubtedly assist greatly that understanding. For example there is no doubt that in the near future economic crisis will deepen. The Labor Party in that crisis will act for the imperialists and the big monopolists and against the working people. There will be mass disillusionment with it. Many will turn away from it.

The most important aspect of their turning away, and indeed the most important aspect of the whole situation, is people's struggle. Australian people must rely upon themselves. Many struggles are being waged now. Many more will be waged. Growing inflation and economic crisis will widen the scope of struggle.

The leading force in those struggles is the Australian working class. Around it are other broad sections of the people.

The direction of these struggles is to real independence and people's democracy.

In those struggles and their direction a critical position is occupied by Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of Australia (M-L). Amid all the seeming chaos the position of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is perfectly clear — for a people's democratic, independent Australia.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L), in contrast to the ever-growing disintegration of revisionism and its "parties", grows strong. It must grow stronger — ideologically, politically and organisationally.

Combat Resurgence Of Left Blocism, Bourgeois Liberalism

The history of revisionism in Australia was characterised by formation of what has been called the left bloc and by extreme liberalism. An essential part of the struggle against revisionism in Australia was the struggle against the left bloc and against liberalism.

By left bloc we mean the coming together of Communists in self-contained groups who simply talk about Communism and do little else. Such groups are characterised by gossip and chit chat. They may take the form of social parties where the participants are old friends or new found friends or eternal discussion with the same friends or circulation only in left circles. Liberalism is manifested in these circumstances by open discussion of internal Party matters, of who is and who is not a party member, by use of the telephone, discussion in places where there should be no discussion. It manifests itself in the emergence of "headquarters" where a person assumes the leading position in such a left circle.

Some party groups demand of their members, that each member behave in his mass work in a way identical with his fellow members thus denying the mass character of the Party and leading to easy identification of party organisation and membership.

These practices are quite wrong. They show a tendency to arise again. And the question must be asked why they show this tendency to resurgence.

Communism in a country like Australia, while nominally legal, is in essence illegal. But the ruling class uses wide-scale deception. It uses freedom to talk, freedom of the press, (there is Vanguard and the Australian Communist), freedom of organisation and assembly. There are innumerable other freedoms. These "freedoms" deceive people that they are the reality and not, as the truth is, the shadow. To accept them as real and not as the shadow is a serious weakness in theoretical and practical understanding of Communism. Those guilty of it show that they have a weakness on the most critical question of revolutionary politics, namely, the question of state power and the struggle by the working class to seize state power.

The present tendency for the left bloc and liberalism to re-emerge is influenced by so-called international detente and by the existence of a Labor government in Australia. The so-called international detente is promoted by U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as a smokescreen under cover of

which to pursue their collusion and struggle for world domination. It is aimed at creating an atmosphere of "peace". It is Khrushchov's peaceful co-existence under which all struggle of the peoples against imperialism and social-imperialism is given away. This, too, is in keeping with the revisionist theory of peaceful transition. If these concepts are correct, then of course one may have a public, open Communist Party because there is no class enemy, no real dictatorship by the imperialist bourgeoisie. As for the Labor government in Australia, its existence fits into this pattern. Within the working class as a whole there are in fact illusions about this Labor government. Some believe it is a government of socialism and at least a government of liberalism. Some believe it curbs the police forces and the ASIO. Some have greater illusions than others but it cannot be denied that there are widespread illusions of one degree or another about it. All this without doubt influences Communists so those with theoretical deficiencies get their left friends together in a nice, comfortable gossip session or go to visit their left friends or talk "confidentially" (in great confidence) about the latest gossip or who is and who is not a Party member. All this is a serious disease and it reflects very adversely on those who indulge in it, particularly those with experience of the past.

The reality must be fully and deeply understood. International "detente" really conceals desperate imperialist manoeuvring by the big imperialist powers,

particularly U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against the people of the world. They manoeuvre to exploit and dominate the people in the most vicious way possible. They trade on deception of the people and on the very deception that is called "international detente". It is vital to their plans that there be this deception and acceptance of it. Any Communist who does not realise this or acts as though it is real detente does not discharge his elementary Communist duty. His elementary Communist duty is to tear the mask from it and see that others are helped, step by step, to tear the mask from it. It can be assumed that all Communists in Australia, at least in words, do understand this; hence there is no need for the left bloc to get together to convince each Communist about it. Acceptance in words is one thing; doing something about it in action is quite another thing. The job of the Communists is to be with the non Communists, the backward, the medium and not so much advanced, to win them to understanding. How on earth that can be done by talk in the left bloc is very difficult to understand.

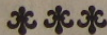
The Whitlam government is a bourgeois, a capitalist government. It is a better bourgeois government for the time being than a Liberal-Country government. But the essence of its position is that it administers in Australia the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie and their collaboration. It maintains and operates the state apparatus of that dictatorship — its army, police, courts, gaols, its ASIO. There is no

doubt of that, no doubt whatsoever. We can recognise (and indeed should and must recognise its progressive measures) but we should never forget that it administers the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which is a special apparatus for suppressing the workers and other toiling people. Its army functions, its ASIO and police function, telephones are tapped, mail is tampered with and so on, every single day without let-up. The bourgeoisie never lets-up. For a Communist to behave on any basis other than this is to reveal grave weakness in his Communist theory and practice. The left bloc, gossip, telephone talking, keeping within left circles, are above all a denial of mass work and most certainly a serious error on this most critical political question of state power. Never forget class struggle.

The bourgeois conventional handling of such events as birthdays, funerals, Christmas, illnesses, etc., penetrate the left. Some people simply cannot resist a nice party or a gathering of the left clan (even at a funeral commonly followed by a decent sort of wake). A little thought would show just how wrong a lot of this rubbish is — politically wrong from a revolutionary standpoint!

It is a fact that there are a few outstanding offenders in all this. They do the movement very great harm. They may do these things with good intentions. Lenin said that when what one does adversely affects the movement it does not matter how good one's intentions are; the damage is done.

All this conduct is really in itself revisionist; it takes the revolutionary essence out of Communism. Our job is to build up a Communist Party embedded in the masses, protected from the class enemy and firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. All these things are mass questions in the revolutionary movement; no one can wash their hands of them. To combat liberalism is the task of all Communists. Nor is it a mechanical thing; it can only be effectively done by devoted adherence to Communism.



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Struggle For Reforms Necessary In Building Revolutionary Consciousness

The campaign centred around the demand to make the rich pay, the demand for Australia for the workers, working and other patriotic people, the demand for all destruction of the environment to cease, the demand that the Indian and Pacific Oceans be zones of peace, are very important components of the struggle for Australia's independence and for people's democracy.

The struggle for reforms is always extremely important. Marx long ago pointed out that if the workers did not struggle to make "the best of their occasional chances for their temporary improvement," (in wages) they would be degraded to "one level mass of broken wretches past solution . . ." (Wages Price & Profit).

But, he said, they ought not to exaggerate this type of struggle for the ultimate struggle was: "Abolition of the wages system . . ."

The campaign to make the rich pay, to make Australia for the Australian black and white people, to protect the environment, for zones of peace, is not a thing in itself. It is part of the continuing struggle for independence and people's democracy and ultimately for all-round socialism.

The opponents of the aims of this campaign are the same opponents of independence and people's democracy, mainly the U.S. and British imperialists and their collaborators.

ARISES FROM STRUGGLE

It is their activities in pushing the burden of crisis on the poor, on seizing Australia and ruining the environment and threatening peace in the Indian and Pacific Oceans that has given rise to rebellion by the people.

"Make the rich pay" arises from the actual conditions of struggle. It extends and develops the struggle. It can lead to victories in particular cases and on particular issues but, more important, it arouses, mobilises and prepares the people in anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle. Similarly the demand for Australia for Australian black and white people and the demand to protect the environment and the demand for peace zones. They cover a wide field of struggle, struggle which will continue and find new demands.

Yes there is danger of getting bogged down in petty economic demands but not if these overall demands are seen in their movement and struggle. It would be entirely wrong for Communists to fail to seize upon the main links in struggle, to fail to participate in waging all appropriate struggles.

Stalin, in summarising the teachings of Lenin, said: *"To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that regime, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution.*

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are by-products of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the bourgeois regime, reforms are naturally transformed into instruments for disintegrating this regime, into instruments for strengthening the revolution, into a base for the further development of the revolutionary movement."

Lenin utterly rejected the idea that the Communists are opposed to reforms and compromises.

In the revolutionary struggle the struggle for reforms is essential, compromises are necessary.

Our objective for an independent people's democratic Australia remains crystal clear.



Our adherence to a big campaign to make the rich pay, to make Australia a country for the people, to protect the environment, for zones of peace, fits in with the desires and aims of wide sections of the people. It is directed at the people's enemies who are also the barrier to independence and people's democracy.



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