

# australian marxist review

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

- *Monopoly Growth*
- *Petty Bourgeois Ideology*
- *Role of Fraser Government*
- *Letter from Philippines*
- *The Ethnic Australian*

---

QUARTERLY. VOLUME 6 No. 1 MARCH 1977—PRICE 30c

---

# Australian MARXIST Review

EDITOR: W.J.Brown  
EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS  
G.Curthoys  
W.Gould  
E.V.Elliott

## CONTENTS

<b>Editorial</b>	.....	1
<b>Root Problems In Monopoly Growth</b>	by G. Burns. ....	3
<b>Petty Bourgeois Ideology</b>	by A. Miller. ....	9
<b>Petty Bourgeois Ideology— and Its Advocates</b>	by R. Pointer. ....	14
<b>Role of Fraser Government</b>	by J. Cooper. ....	17
<b>Talks with Phillipines Party</b>	by R. clarka. ....	22
<b>The Ethnic Australian</b>	by S. Mavratonis. ....	25

## Editorial

# 60th Year of world's first Socialist land

November 7th, 1977 marks the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist revolution which for the first time in human history established socialist power and opened a new chapter in the long struggle of progressive people for peace, democracy, security, the highest cultural achievements and socialism.

In its early years the young Soviet state had to confront enormous difficulties; the wars of intervention by 14 imperialist powers, a rundown industry mostly destroyed by years of war, starvation and poverty in the cities and in the countryside.

Sabotage and disruption were instigated by counter-revolutionary groups within the country aided by imperialist powers from outside. The imperialist powers did not relent for one day in their efforts to overthrow the new worker's and peasant's power.

By the mid-1930's, however, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was able to declare the successful establishment of a socialist economic and political system.

Under the leadership of the CPSU the once down-trodden and exploited people of the old Czarist empire were liberated to form a union of free and equal nations, transformed economically, socially and culturally.

In the 1940's the Soviet people were called upon to make supreme sacrifices in the world-wide struggle to defeat the nazi war machine. More than 20 million Soviet people lost their lives as the Soviet people took the brunt of this struggle.

The Great October socialist resolution inspired the working people throughout the world and led to an upsurge of revolutionary movements on the five continents. A group of socialist nations emerged in Europe, Asia and in Latin America and, in turn, gave fresh impetus to the world-wide march of the revolutionary movement.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made rapid progress in building their economies on the basis of public ownership and planning. Exploitation of man by man for profit and the anarchy of capitalist production have been abolished. Living standards are rising steadily, prices are stable, unemployment is unknown, education and health services are free.

The socialist community of nations and the Soviet Union in the first place has given inestimable economic and political aid to the national liberation movements. They have helped the people of many emerging nations break from colonial and imperialist bondage.

The Great October Revolution was born with the militant demand for peace on its lip. From the very first declarations for peace by the new Soviet Government in 1917, a policy of peace between nations has been undeviatingly pursued.

Many peace proposals have been made such as the call for a world disarmament conference, the proposal for a 10% cut in the arms budgets of the major countries with the money saved going to under-developed nations, the call for a pact outlawing the use or threat of force between nations, and an Indian Ocean Peace Zone.

Now for the first time in human history, the possibility of outlawing war has become a reality, providing the people of all lands develop a mass movement to ensure that humanity can decide its destiny along the path of detente and peaceful co-existence.

.....

# Root problems in monopoly growth

by G. BURNS

Towards the end of 1975 a Green Paper was tabled in the Federal Parliament. It was the report of the committee to advise policies for the manufacturing industry. Its findings were inevitable. Its recommendations did not, and could not, advance solutions to the problems that beset Australian industry.

From a manufacturer's point of view the report was uninspiring. It reflected a capitalism with insoluble problems—inflation, mounting costs, lack of productivity, uncompetitiveness, the malaise of industry. To its credit, it emphasised the stranglehold that monopoly companies have upon manufacture, without however understanding monopoly or what to do about it. We shall come back to this monopoly problem. But first it may be necessary to broaden our perspective with some historical observations relating to the problem of the manufacturing industry.

The history of modern industry is everywhere related to the nineteenth century. It originated in England when that country was already an OLD country; when its land had already been alienated to an aristocracy and when feudal usages still persisted.

This was not the situation in the United States of America, an economically new country which had ensured itself a fresh start by a political revolution. The land had been appropriated by the new American states and their central government. A constitution was finalised, corresponding to the interests of a national bourgeoisie, with a liberal democracy and a system of "free enterprise". These things gave much weight to the development of the new manufacture in the USA.

Australia was also privileged to develop a new country. However it did not take the "American road". It started its history as a "colony" with a British tradition and an ideology encouraged to favour this. Its industry from the first was agrarian, a provider of wool, wheat, meat and

sugar for the "mother country". Its economy was structured with this in view. It was only at the dawn of the twentieth century that manufacture was seriously considered and even at this late stage to provide only the needs of the home market.

The weakness of Australian capitalist development was that its manufacturing industry arrived too late for it to become a large industrial power. Its junior, and often subservient role in imperialist politics, arises from this.

After the Second World War the Australian manufacturing industry was stimulated by the post war boom and by a massive population increase from migration. Within a short time its productive capacity reached saturation point. Australia had a new problem: finding export markets for manufactured goods.

The Green Paper stated:

*"The trend to deterioration of competitiveness has been rapid notwithstanding some significant exceptions. The 20 per cent exports which are manufactures consist in the main of processed commodities of rural and mineral origin."*

Australian manufacture was unsuited to take up the challenge of a new post war world. To make matters more difficult new forms of monopoly capital began to appear on the scene. The Paper spells out the problem when it states:

*"Half of manufacture is carried out by 30,000 medium and small firms. The other half by 200 large firms. The trend is towards further centralisation of activity in large firms. However, few of the larger firms in Australia are sizeable enough by international standards. A quarter of Australian manufacturing output comes from 87 large foreign firms. The concentration of manufacturing activity in large foreign firms is higher in Australia than in most O.E.C.D. countries."*

These figures revealed movement, so we sought verification and went to the Australian Bureau of Statistics. In 1973 there were 36,437 manufacturing establishments operating in Australia. Of this number 2,222 were under foreign control. In terms of the number of workers employed this is only 6 per cent of 1,297,583 employed in manufacture. This of course excludes mining. But the productivity in foreign establishments was much higher. It represented 32.6 per cent of the total turnover. From the foregoing we can make some conclusions:

**FIRST: The concentration and centralisation of capital, which is a basic law of the development of capitalism, is proceeding rapidly in Australia. The rich get richer at the expense of the poorer.**

**SECOND: The growth of monopoly capital compels an ever-widening differentiation in the ranks of the capitalist class. Small capitalists feel the pressure of monopoly. There is evidence of protest.**

**THIRD: The growth of multi-national corporations, together with technical development, is increasing the level of SOCIALISED PRODUCTION. This intensifies class antagonisms. An example, the Ford Motor company has just announced the spending of \$26.3 million to "upgrade" its operations in Australia.**

The law of the concentration and centralisation of capital sets the trend and forms of development in every capitalist economy. What is new about the impact of this law is that its operation is no longer proscribed by national boundaries. It has become international and its main product is the multinational corporation, that is, companies that are foreign-based and have investments in several countries. The multinational is not inhibited by national boundaries. It seeks a whole world to exploit.

Australian capitalism generated its own monopolies long before the advent of the multi-national corporations and they have their own history of domination over the economic and financial life of Australia. They also have their own financial oligarchy. A few families own Australia. The invasion of the multi-nationals does not threaten these families. They have to be content with a division of the loot. The multi-nationals re-inforce and intensify the whole process of monopolisation.

Considering that the development of multi-national corporations only became significant during the 1960s, it must be acknowledged that their advance in Australia has been spectacular.

A telling point is worth repeating.

Multi-nationals in Australia represent 6% of the workforce, with a 32% of the total production turnover — a remarkable incursion! When Mr Snedden recently stated that "Australian manufacture is efficient, it can compete with any country in the world," he was speaking for the multi-national corporations, and mouthing the usual liberal platitudes.

Theoretically, the law of concentration and centralisation means that the 30,000 smaller establishments could be reduced to 20 or 10 thousand, or even cease to exist altogether. That is the direction of the trend. Or maybe it is possible that three American multi-national companies which dominate the car industry could enter into mortal combat until only the strongest one survives. That would happen except it comes up against the opposition of the people.

The reality is that small in terms of population, countries like Australia are becoming completely dependent of multi-national corporations, and the consequences will be more than economic. Economic domination will be accompanied with Watergate politics, the corruption of governments, the restriction of liberties, the poison of anti-communism.

The I.T.T. corporation destroyed the Allende Government in Chile. The Lockheed mass bribery scandals of recent date. These are the conspicuous examples, but it is the nature of multi-national corporations to stop at nothing in their bid for maximum profit. Australia can expect its share of impact from the multi-national corporations. The beginnings are evident. They influence elections. It would be difficult to understand the reactionary developments in Queensland outside of the fact that multi-national corporations are beginning to decisively influence the economy of that state.

The main contradiction in the capitalist system, stated long ago by Marx and Engels, cannot be accepted by official economists — **THE MODE OF PRODUCTION IS SOCIAL. THE MODE OF APPROPRIATION IS PRIVATE.**

Production under capitalism is social. Unlike the shoes, coats and tables produced in pre-capitalist society by independent artisans who possessed their own tools and could say "this is mine, I produced it," the products of labor today, teeming out of modern industrial establishments, are the combined work of hundreds and thousands of workers. The whole of the working population.

The whole of the working population cooperates to produce things which are privately appropriated. This is the main contradiction under capitalism, and as Engels says, it "contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today."

This contradiction grows increasingly more acute the more that the capitalist system develops. It does this because capitalists are capitalists and are motivated by social forces beyond their control. They produce for profit, and the highest possible profit. Profit is the driving force of the whole capitalist system. One only needs to example the policy of the Fraser Government to realise this. Thus, to state the basic contradiction of capitalism is also to state the cause of the class struggle.

*"The contradictions between socialised production and capitalist appropriation manifested itself as the antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie."* (Engels).

That is what the class struggle is about. The worker is separated from the means of production. The bosses who own the means of



production are separated from production. With their millions they sit in the background. Their supervisor and accountants manage the business side of their lives; they have the media and politicians to handle the politics.

The amount of wealth appropriated for the private use of capitalists in Australia can be researched and proven at any given time. The manner in which this surplus value is distributed is also interesting. It has recently been shown that 4% of shareholders receive 54% of dividends distributed by "public" companies. These big shareholders operate in many companies, hiding behind the names of nominees. The majority of companies are not listed on the stock exchange, but the story is the same. A tiny group of people control the bulk of wealth produced in Australia, and a growing portion of this is destined for capitalists overseas.

The distribution of national wealth in a capitalist society always entails great waste. It flows from the class nature of society, the combination of Government, Big Business and Bureaucracy. Armament expenditure, the result of inertia, more than the needs of defence, costs Australians \$6½ million daily. Interest payments on the national debt to capitalists at home and abroad accounts for nearly \$1000 million annually. Industry runs below capacity.

The class character of Fraser's wealth distribution is also seen in Gough Whitlam's answer to an interviewer's question on the Whitlam Labour Government's money spending policies. The programmes, he said, which we had for welfare services in kind and our urban and regional development programme "cost less in the budget than some of the expenditures and concessions which the Fraser Government introduced, such as the super — phosphate bounty, the investment allowances, the mining concessions." Fraser's programmes benefit only the rich.

Economic, political and social struggles are now common place in Australia and are invariably directed against monopoly power, even though the participants are not always aware of this. The task of the Marxist-Leninist party is not to create this movement, monopoly capital does that, but to give it conscious direction.

The concentration and centralisation of capital proceeds apace regardless of the phases of the economic cycle, with the consequent increase in monopolisation and submergence of small employers. "Thousands of small businesses are folding up," said one of its victims the other day. It is estimated that 12,000 farmers have lost their farms in the past 10 years.

In this anti-monopoly movement the working class will be compelled

to take a leading and unifying role. It would not be fanciful to predict that the anti-monopoly movement will grow and develop into a national movement, a coalition, aiming for the power of government, which would take economic and political measures to disarm the monopolies. If this concept appears to be vague this is because its necessity is not understood. It is a development that springs from the inner processes of modern capitalism.

The anti-monopoly struggle cannot divert from the genuine struggle for socialism. On the contrary it is the most important preparation for that struggle. Socialism in Australia will be impossible unless the obstacle of monopoly is removed.

.....

# Petty bourgeois ideology

by **ALAN MILLER**

*(From the State Committee report to the Third South Australian Conference of the Socialist Party of Australia, November 1976).*

Comrades, the outgoing State Committee wishes to draw the attention of the State Conference to the question of petty bourgeois ideology, its effects and how our Party handles this question.

One cannot read Lenin and the history of the Bolsheviks without being impressed by the unflagging attention given to this question. The problem remains with us today. Think of the service rendered to imperialism by the anti-Soviet, anti-Communist activities of the petty bourgeois Maoists of China who have done so much harm to the Chinese people and progressive forces right throughout the world. In Australia, we strike petty bourgeois ideology all along the line. Our Party was born in the struggle against such ideology. The very fact that petty bourgeois elements could take over a Communist Party and change its very character testifies to the strength of middle class ideas.

Then just what is this petty bourgeois ideology? Ideology is the system of ideas expressed in such areas as philosophy, political economy, politics, ethics and culture, and in the world today there are two contending ideologies, capitalist and working class, reflecting the struggle between these two main classes. The first ideology is represented by the imperialists and the second by the international Communist movement. There is no third ideology. What is known as petty bourgeois ideology is a mixture of capitalist and working class ideas.

As Comrade Leibzon said in the excellent publication "Anarchism, Trotskyism, Maoism"

*"...the petty bourgeoisie produces a fancy quilt of ideological conceptions, eclectically borrowing various ideas taken at random from various bourgeois doctrines, and also from the Marxist ideology of the proletariat..."*

In the class structure of capitalist society, the petty bourgeoisie occupies a middle position associated with small scale production in the primary and secondary areas. Therefore it is not surprising that in the field of ideas it borrows from the two main contending classes--the capitalist class and the working class. The petty bourgeoisie is buffeted around in the struggle between the two main classes, and so it is not surprising that it expresses itself in a moody fashion going from one extreme to the other. On the one hand it produces a faint hearted reformism and on the other a terribly noisy but empty revolutionism.

Therefore when reformism or revolution has a hold on the working class it means that capitalist ideas penetrate the working class because capitalist ideas form part of that petty bourgeois fancy quilt of ideas. This, of course, undermines the working class and holds it back from socialism .

It is important, however, to see that while petty bourgeois ideology has a strong influence in the working class and the broad masses generally, nevertheless on a world scale there are already extensive and significant left-wing and progressive forces which have absorbed many of the ideas of the working class under the impact of the Marxist-Leninist movement and the socialist world system, both of which have grown enormously, and the effects of the general crisis of capitalism. This whole process is speeding up. In Australian conditions, the situation applies particularly to the leftwing of the Labor Party. But I will deal more with these matters later. For the moment I will return to petty bourgeois ideology as such.

Essentially, petty bourgeois ideology is a yearning for the past, for the heyday of the petty bourgeoisie with its small scale production. Therefore its opposition to monopoly has this backward looking element to it as distinct from the working class Marxist-Leninist ideological position which opposes monopoly from a forward looking socialist position.

This does not mean that petty bourgeois revolutionaries are incapable of progressive action. Comrade Leibzon points out that where there is no working class, the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie has succeeded in taking some states along the non-capitalist path. But again success here is due very much to the influence and help of the socialist countries, expressing the leading role of the working class.

Even when the social base for petty bourgeois ideas is reduced, those ideas can continue to be a force as shown by the experiences in socialist Czechoslovakia. Imagine then the position when the social base remains considerable. The peasantry of China is a powerful factor in Maoism, for example. Monopoly capitalist development

has tended to reduce the traditional base for middle class ideas—the farmers, shop-keepers and small business people. On the other hand, the intellectual strata could be seen at the turn of the century with the development of the world imperialist system. Although they are paid employees, this strata still occupies a middle position between the capitalist class social base for petty bourgeois ideology.

This particular social base is quite a factor in Australian conditions. This is the social base which puts “new blood” into both reformism and revolutionism. Not only do we have the traditionally strong reformism here expressed through the ALP, but also the various Maoist-Trotskyist ultra left trends including the CPA and what we find is that one feeds the other. Reformism gives rise to an ultra left reaction and the excesses of the ultra left tends to strengthen the hand of reformism. Then there is the common ground which rightwing reformism and hard-core ultra-leftism share, particularly that of vigorous anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

What is happening now in the ALP is that ultra left inspired elements are moving into that Party consolidating this reformist-ultra left relationship in the Party itself and trying to undermine the genuine leftwing *i.e.* those forces which represent a more working class approach.

Petty bourgeois ideology can be seen in action in the trade unions with examples of class collaboration on the one hand and elitist, super militant activity on the other. It can be seen in the women’s movement with its feminism, amongst the youth with its youth versus age approach and in the Aboriginal movement with its black power concepts — all divisive, all anti-worker and useful to the ruling class.

Petty bourgeois ideology can be seen at work in the peace movement with its anti-Sovietism and super militancy, again so divisive. It can be seen in the struggle for democracy with its anarchistic ultra democratic attitude so destructive of the genuine struggle for democracy. It can be seen in the struggle for national independence where the working class struggle against Australian monopoly capitalism and the monopolists’ sell out of real national interests is replaced by bourgeois nationalism. In the case of the Maoists this becomes anti-Soviet, the USSR supposedly undermining Australian independence.

Petty bourgeois ideology can be seen in connection with the uranium issue. Let us be quite clear about nuclear technology. Scientists in the socialist world including the Soviet Union, renowned for its scientific level, are quite categorical in what they say. Nuclear technology is a revolutionary development and a boon to mankind. Already ways have been found to handle such technology safely. They say that if there was the slightest doubt about safety, then nuclear technology would not be used. Does anyone suggest that the socialist countries are going to risk their Communist future by using an unsafe technology? In the capitalist world, scientists who actually deal with atomic energy, bear out the estimation of their counterparts in

the socialist world. The plain facts are that nuclear energy is being developed in both the socialist and capitalist countries through the International Atomic Energy Agency and the World Health Organisation. As Marxist-Leninists we are not against technological development. We are against imperialism. Technological development stresses the urgency of changing relations to the means of production from capitalist to socialist relations. We are opposed to the prostitution of nuclear energy through the nuclear arms race caused by the imperialist system. The anti-nuclear energy lobby is essentially a petty bourgeois movement which takes fright at technological progress, looking backwards once again. Such a movement blunts the struggle against nuclear arms and for socialism. Such a movement does not hesitate to distort science and develop the most irresponsible emotionalism.

It is important to be uncompromising in the struggle against petty bourgeois ideology. In carrying out this struggle, we are acting in the best interests of the working class. We are also acting in the best interests of the middle classes whose real liberation lies in throwing its lot in with the working class and the socialist solution.

The struggle against petty bourgeois ideology in no way means we do not work with those who are affected by such ideology. If we did this, we would have few to work with for the masses at large are affected by such ideas.

We are out to build the united front of the working class and the broad people's movement. This means we must struggle against sectarianism, and work with people who do not as yet accept our ideology. It is precisely in struggle, and through our Party's influence, that workers will come to accept our socialist position and the middle classes come to accept that of the working class.

It is extremely important that in the struggle, our Party takes the initiative, promotes well based campaigns and actions that advance the anti-monopoly movement. Too often initiatives are taken by petty bourgeois forces who steal a march on us and make the working class struggle more difficult.

Of course, in our united front work and work for broad anti-monopoly activity we are going to come up against both rightwing and hard-core ultra left forces, including those within the ALP. These people are conscious opponents of the united front and people's front. However, the united front can be built despite such opposition for the basic sections of the workers, including large sections of the ALP cadre force, want to see unity against the boss. We can build successful people's movement too, based on this united front despite such opposition because the masses generally are looking for leadership against the effects of monopoly capitalism. We have every reason to be confident that we can win the masses, at present influenced particularly by reformism but also by ultra leftism. It is important to see that the very development of state monopoly capitalism which creates a situation of "monopoly versus the rest" acts in favour of our Party's

position and assists the process of winning the middle classes and intellectual strata. Those technical cadres more directly associated with large scale production and therefore with the basic sections of the working class are open to a relatively early influence by working class ideology.

In handling this whole question of petty bourgeois ideology, we must not oversimplify matters. True, workers are more likely to absorb working class ideology than middle class people. It is natural we concentrate on workers in building our Party. But there are workers who have a petty bourgeois outlook and middle class people who have a working class outlook. Therefore, while concentrating our work on the industrial working class, we should not adopt sectarian attitudes towards middle class people.

.....

# Petty bourgeois ideology and its advocates

*(Contribution to the State Conference of the SPA in South Australia  
— November, 1976)*

**by R. POINTER**

Marxism/Leninism, the theory and practice of the world communist movement, alone provides the key to ending the system of exploitation and its replacement by a socialist system operating for the benefit of man.

But petty bourgeois ideology offers other alternatives and those who propagate them are assisted by the ruling class to do so whenever it seems expedient.

These alternatives come in two main varieties: Right wing reformism which talks of socialism when it has to, but which pretends this can be achieved without abolishing capitalism and without struggle.

The other variety is petty bourgeois radicalism (anarchism, Trotskyism and Maoism) in all its forms and subdivisions. These also talk of socialism, but offer false short cut solutions to complex problems which are not solutions at all, but blind alleys which result in those led up them becoming frustrated and cynical.



The report to conference spent some time on the subject of petty bourgeois ideology and this attention was well justified by our experience during the period since the last conference.

There is a great need for the continued study of theory on this matter because it is so much a practical question we run into every day in our work.

The ruling class devotes considerable resources to the propagation of bourgeois ideas. Had they not done so over the years through the education system, the Church and on a daily basis through the information media, books, magazines, etc. they would have been unable to conceal the anti-human nature of the capitalist system from so many people.

Millions upon millions of dollars are spent today in this massive exercise in deception, but in spite of it, increasing numbers of people are questioning the very basis of capitalist society and searching for an alternative.

Although clear lines cannot be drawn, this is the moment when petty bourgeois ideology is called upon to fulfill its role of continuing to develop confusion in the people's minds by other means.

How can we do other than regard the influence of petty bourgeois ideology as a serious problem. If it were not for the confusion caused in the minds of millions, capitalism would have already been eliminated from this earth.

We have grappled with direct bourgeois propaganda and the influence of bourgeois ideology on the minds of workers expressed in the form of right wing reformism all of our active lives.

Now, when the socio-political base for right wing reformism is being undermined by history, by the worsening general crisis of capitalism, the other arm of reformism comes into play—the petty bourgeois radical branch.

Certainly no member of the SPA should underestimate the problem. Many of them were people who were proud to call themselves members of the Communist Party of Australia when it succumbed to petty bourgeois ideology and those who propagated it. It penetrated the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and came within a hairsbreadth of destroying socialism in that country. It was so all pervasive in China that Marxism, Leninism and proletarian internationalism were completely ousted from that country's Communist Party.

***IN AUSTRALIA WE SHOULD NOT IMAGINE THAT HAVING INFILTRATED AND DESTROYED THE CPA AS A MARXIST /***

***LENINIST PARTY THEY WILL STOP AT THAT. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE TROTSKYIST POLICY OF ENTRISM IS CURRENTLY BEING PRACTISED ON THE LABOR PARTY.***

In these circumstances how should we deal with the problem. In practice the most effective weapon is Marxism-Leninism and its use to work out correct policies. This task and the task of implementing and advocating of these policies are the work of the SPA, the only Marxist/Leninist Party in Australia.

It was as a consequence of it becoming impossible to do this in the CPA that the SPA was formed.

We fought against attempts to turn the youth and women's organisations into narrow radical organisations. We fight for a correct line in the Trade Union movement against right and left reformism.

There are no rules other than the rule of the need to advance the interests of the working class. There is no question of saying we do not work with other people occupying different ideological positions.

The approach to each situation requires careful examination and the circumstances can be very complex. We must learn to handle these positions in the correct way that will further the interests of the working class and its allies and the advance of socialism.

.....

# Role of Fraser Government

by Jim Cooper

For an understanding of the basic trends guiding the Fraser Government it is necessary to examine the history and outlook of the people he represents. These are the multinational exploiters of the country; those interests connected with exports and imports, in short the class seeking to turn Australia into a quarry out of which they gain lush profits and be damned to Australia and Australians.

It began with the plantation complex of the early exploiters — Macarthur the A.A. Company and others. Their perspective was the Latin American model where the land is held by the big landowning class — the latifundia — and their direction of the economy is to exports and imports. They sought to turn Australia into a huge sheep and cattle run to provide the raw materials for British manufacturers. This was the outlook which gave birth to the Free-trade Party of the 19th century.

The party of conservatives has been known as Free-trade, Liberal, Conservative, Fusionist, Nationalist, United Australia, and again Liberal. More correctly it should be known as the Alias Party.

Before the formation of the Labor Party there was a Protectionist Party which reflected the interests of the national bourgeoisie. Unfortunately for them and for Australia they were never able to breach the capital-labor contradiction despite the open hostility of the Free-traders. What was in the minds of the exporters was the balance of trade.

Exports have to be balanced by imports of a similar value. Their concentration on the policy of free-trade was designed to hinder the development of industry as infant industries need protection in their development stage.

The finding of gold, particularly alluvial gold was a body blow to the free-traders as this returned considerable capital to the diggers who sought to invest it in Australia, and in the development of industry in Australia. Large numbers of miners had some training and experience in industry and naturally wished to apply their new capital in the area in which they had some expertise.

With the experience of the American independence struggle coupled with Eureka here in their minds, the British Government was wary of using the big-stick in the interests of the export-import group no matter how much they agreed with them.

An early Labor politician paraphrasing this outlook said that "We were to be the wood and water joeys of the British manufacturers."

The formation of the Australian Labor Party in the early 90's was an indication of the growth of the working class both in numbers and sophistication and this called for active participation in the political sphere. It didn't mean that there was a clear recognition of the class struggle or of the parliamentary machine as an instrument of domination by the ruling class.

"The Australian Labor Party did not even claim to be a socialist party. In actual fact it is a liberal-bourgeois party and the so-called Australian Liberals are really conservatives....in Australia the Labor Party is purely representative of the non-socialist workers of the trade unions" (V.I. Lenin, *In Australia*).

The task, as Lenin further stated, carried out, by the Labor Party, in Australia was the development and consolidation of an independent capitalist state. In this they were the only consistent political force. At times they had the tacit, never open support of the national bourgeoisie. But their most important steps in national independence — the Commonwealth Bank and the Note Issue, the building of the East-West railway and the establishment of the Australian defence forces and the Navy were carried out in the face of intense opposition from the combined capitalist-then Fusionists-parties. It was a Labor Government which ratified the Statute of Westminster giving official recognition of independence.

At all times the Free-trade gang retained their viewpoint though at times they had to give way to the pressure of the national bourgeoisie. The Tariff Act formed in 1901 was recast in 1921 and again in 1966 the national capitalists for a short period were practically able to write their own ticket.

The rebound was fierce. The export demand for Australian minerals — largely iron ore changed the balance of forces in the Liberal Party. The then Prime Minister was forced to resign and the men of Free-trade took command but the internal dissension forced an election at which the Liberals were defeated. The Labor Party was returned but their concentration on nationalisation and conservation of Australian resources did not suit the capitalist class which was prepared to join with all and sundry in the grab for profits from the exploitation of Australian

natural resources. So a most bitter and unprincipled campaign was conducted to defeat the Labor Party and regain the Treasury benches.

The Monopoly press reached an unprecedented low which, with the other media, created a situation where the enemies of Australia were again able to assume the control of the country. Four of the top members of the inner Cabinet are squatters who by birth and tradition are backers of the export group. Their first twelve months in Government has resulted in stagnation and growing unemployment and worsening inflation. Their efforts to destroy Australia's industrial base is seen in shipbuilding. They, as did their forefathers, claim that it is not economic to build ships in Australia. If they get away with this they will add many other industries to the list. Textiles is already in difficulties.

The growth of mineral exports had an unsettling effect on the Australian based monopolies. There was a rush to join the multinationals in quarrying Australia. BHP joined with the US monopoly Esso in exploiting the Bass Strait oilfield. It is also mining coal, bauxite, iron ore, and other minerals. Its paid capital rose from \$34 million in 1940 to \$416.5 million in 1977. Formerly one of the leaders of the national bourgeoisie they are the front of the export group.

The next biggest Australian company is a multinational — Conzinc-Riotinto. Their paid capital is \$160 million and their subsidiary Bougainville Copper has a capital of \$133 million, an aggregate of \$290 million. Their present expansion plans will reduce the foreign content by 7%. From 83% to 76%. As their capital investment is all in mining they are only interested in export.

A former leader of Australian manufacturing capital, now known as CSR Ltd previously Colonial Sugar Refining Co. Which, in 1940, had a paid capital of \$11.7 million now has a capital of \$121 million. Among its directors is T.J.N. Foley of Amatil the Tobacco monopoly, Aust. United Corporation the front for the giant US banking trust, and Courage Breweries and G.B. Kater who also directs Vickers Aust. Ltd.

CSR is now in mining-Pilbar and Mt. Newman. It has a majority holding in Gove Alumina Ltd. and it also mines copper and coal. Joining, as it has, the export group it weakens the front of the national capital group.

One of the first moves of the Fraser Government was to destroy the tariff structure using the Trade Protection Act but they ran into fierce opposition from the manufacturers which meant a round-turn in relation to tariffs. While the manufacturers may be down, they are far from out.

While they have had to make concessions to local capital the main aim is

of altering the whole infrastructure to suit the interests of the exporters despite the fact that exports are only 18% of the Gross Domestic Product. The wage standards of the Australian workers are to be reduced so that this, in fact minor, group can amass super profits.

The Government proposes massive cuts in wages, telling the lie that wages are the cause of inflation. This is a monstrous lie and one which would be disastrous for Australia's economy.

The reality of Fraser is that he is interested in monopoly profits first and foremost and not the future of the Australian people.

The real interests of Australia and its people is to be found in a very different direction. The reason for the unemployment is the poverty of the Australian market. This is objectively recognised by the Australian manufacturers in withholding investment during last year.

As the wage packets are the main factor in the market place, it surely is evident that a wage cut can only depress the market. What is needed is a substantial rise in wages.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics the employed workers total 4,789,300. A rise of only \$1. in wage levels, minimal in today's climate, would lift the market potential by \$4.7 million weekly or \$234 million in the year. Given a prospect such as this there would be no hesitation in capital investment. Of course it will be alleged that Australian industry will not be able to compete. This lie has always been hurled at Australian workers by the exporters. If we are not able to compete, and there is no substantial evidence to support this assertion it merely means that the capitalists have not geared their production units to competitive levels.

Too, in answer to the croakers of the capitalist media which will deplore any rise in wages it will be essential to direct their attention to the rise of the United States of America, in the 19th century, as a great industrial nation. During the whole of this period they paid the highest wages in the world and competed on the markets of the world. Their success was based firmly on a sound home market. The dividends from exports were in addition.

While Fraser and his inner cabinet squatter friends pretend they are handling the Australian economy in the interests of recovery, it is evident that their approach to the question is based only on the export industries — in particular the giant iron ore multinational companies and their Australian compradore friends. A positive approach to recovery would require a policy the inverse to that generated.

**Competent capitalist economists such as Helmut Schmidt, the West German Chancellor indicate that any possibility of recovery would necessarily be on a lower level than experienced in the past. Possibly Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP of USA. Indicates the truth: "In a nutshell the economic, political and military edifice of the post-war capitalist world is crumbling. It can never be built on the old basis. The old basis relationships cannot be reconstructed along past patterns."**

As inflation arises directly from unproductive production the greater part of which is military outlays it is manifest that a continuation of Fraser in office can only result in higher and higher inflation. Twenty years ago Australia was spending about \$150 million on military outlays this financial year it is \$2,178 million and by the noises made by the Minister it will be expanded in the next budget astronomically. This growth of expenditure will tend to ease unemployment in the US rather than in Australia.

.....

# Talks with Phillipines Party

*from Ray Clarke, who recently visited the Phillipines.*

The genuine party of Marxist Leninist science in the Phillipines is the Communist Party of Phillipines, formed on November 7, 1930.

There is another party purporting to be a Communist Party. It is the "Communist Party of the Phillipines (Mao Tse Tung Thought). That is the full official title. It was set up in 1967, based mainly on students and some initial support among the peasants.

The PKP attended the 24th Congress of the CPSU. It was invited to the 25th but under Martial Law were not granted passports. There are fundamental differences between the two parties.

Both are illegal. Until recently both had their armed sections carrying on guerilla war. The Maoists formed the "New Peoples Army." The PKP continued the organisation known as the "HUKS", formed to fight the Japanese imperialists in the 2nd world war and later known as the "Army for National liberation," after it had been re-organised in the early fifties.

The Maoists "New Peoples Army" carries on guerilla war in a very restricted area.

The "Army for National Liberation" laid down their arms following a decision of the 6th Congress of the PKP held, illegally, of course, in 1973.

WHY?...this was the question we asked Comrade Magapagal, general Secretary of the PKP when we met him recently in Manila. The essence of what he said was;

The PKP is not without experience in organising armed uprisings and guerilla warfare. The PKP inspired and organised armed resistance to the Japanese...established the fighting organisation known as the "HUKS" ...won the support of 80% of the Phillipino masses.

After the wholesale use of fraud, terror and corruption in the 1949 election campaign, taking place as it did in a period of developing



economic crisis and estimating that a revolutionary situation was maturing the Party openly called for the armed overthrow of the Liberal Party, puppets of American imperialism who had "won" the elections. All the top leaders of the Party were sent to the field to direct the armed struggle.

The masses didn't see the necessity to fight to expel the American imperialists as they had seen the need to fight the Japanese. On the contrary, the masses saw the Americans as liberators and the multi nationals as helping the economic recovery. The uprising failed.

With the introduction of Martial Law in 1972...suppression of all democratic rights...outlawing and destruction of the mass organisations ...intensified attacks on the Party and militant workers...the first reaction was to give priority to armed struggle and step up guerilla warfare. This was done. But life goes on.

When the 6th PKP Congress met in 1973, only 12 months after the introduction of Martial Law, a proposal from President Marcos for an Amnesty was put to delegates:

The terms were:

- 1. Give up the Armed struggle.**
- 2. Lay down arms.**
- 3. Only Philipinos to be members of the Party**
- 4. Amnesty for all political prisoners.**
- 5. Legalisation of the PKP at an appropriate time and under certain conditions.**

After thoroughly discussing the situation, both nationally and internationally, the delegates decided unanimously to accept the Amnesty offer. The only form of struggle that has any hope of success is that which is supported and participated in by the broad masses, above all the workers and peasants. This was the reason for the Congress decision.

The Maoists screamed... "Traitor"... "The PKP has surrendered to Marcos" "The PKP has betrayed the Revolution" "The New Peoples Army will continue to fight." This view was taken up and propagated widely in the Maoist and Trotskyist press internationally.

But what is the position today...December 1976.

While the PKP is still illegal, on October 21st this year, in the name of the Party, signed by the General Secretary, an open letter was sent to President Marcos, which he acknowledged, in which the Party expressed support for certain social, economic and foreign policy reforms introduced since Martial Law. These were of a progressive character and of benefit

to the people. The letter criticised many aspects of the policy, particularly the favourable treatment afforded the multi-nationals and made several specific proposals to improve political and democratic rights of the people and called for an end to Martial Law.

This "Open Letter" was published and distributed through the mass organisations, released to the media. It suffered the same fate as a similar letter sent by the SPA to the ALP when they were in power — it was completely ignored.

.....

# **The ethnic Australian—**

## **A vital component of Australia's Revolutionary force**

**by Steve Mavrantonis**

The purpose of this article is to analyse some new phenomena and changes which have gradually occurred in the structure, the composition, attitudes and outlooks of the ethnic groups in Australia and to advance some concepts as to the role, the contribution and impact, the Ethnic Australian can have upon the Australian labour and revolutionary movement, in today's conditions.

It is neither my purpose nor the intention to attempt a complete historical analysis of the formation, the make-up, contribution, achievements, short comings and particular social and other problems associated with the life and social being of Australia's ethnic groups. After all the limited space of an article would not permit such an analysis.

What is important to establish here is the fact that the ethnic groups in Australia, irrespective of subjective or personal feelings of individuals, constitute a vital component of Australia's working class and the revolutionary movement of this country.

It is therefore necessary for the political Party of the working class and other working class organisations to both understand correctly the position of ethnic groups in Australia (assess objectively their place in the Australian Society), and adopt the right attitude and tactics designed to bring the progressive, militant sections of the ethnic Australians closer to the local movement for social change.

What this means in fact is to find means and ways of drawing the ethnic Australian into purposeful social and political activity and in the process of doing so bring about a healthy integration into the Australian social fabric,

which can no doubt give a tremendous impetus to the Australian working class movement, expand its scope and strengthen its effectiveness.

This is no doubt a very difficult and complicated question that even some leading cadres of the left are afraid to touch upon or from time to time attempt a superficial and narrow minded analysis which usually ends up with the same old cliché that all ethnic Australians should learn how to be "fair dinkum" Australians. There usually follows an endless list of dictums of what the new Australian should or should not do in order to be accepted into the Australian nation.

This type of approach, which is typical of the mentality prevailing in Australia some 30 or 20 years ago, fails to take into consideration the fact that life is not static, everything changes and new situations develop which need constant attention and study if one is not to be caught in the whirlpool of social change completely unprepared, ideologically, politically and organisationally, to meet the challenge every new situation presents.

To begin with, post war developments, the influx of large numbers of migrants from many non-English speaking countries, the result of mass migration, have brought radical changes in the structure and composition of the old, more or less homogeneous, Anglo-Saxon Australian society.

Today we can no longer speak in terms of the Australian nation as being the same lot of people, from the point of view of racial characteristics, cultural attributes and outlooks as in the pre-war era.

A definite differentiation has taken place during the last 25 years.

The Socialist Party of Australia realising the importance of migrant workers as a dynamic component of the Australian working class, declares in its Programme that:

"The Socialist Party of Australia regards it as an important responsibility of the working class to ensure that all migrant workers, are successfully united in the Trade Unions involving them in the struggles for better conditions, democratic rights, for peace and for the particular problems and needs of migrants themselves. This can be facilitated by improving communications and practices, whether deliberate or unintentional, that erect artificial barriers between workers and only benefit the capitalist class" (1).

Correct as the above statement may be as a declaration of general policy and intentions, it can be purposeful—and not just dead paper work that nobody ever refers to—only if interpreted as a guide for specific action in this direction.

By this I mean that first of all the organised revolutionary movement

of Australia and above all the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class (SPA) should make it an urgent priority to study seriously and objectively the current composition and structure, ethnic and linguistic, of the country's working class and work out a comprehensive programme of action towards an effective unity of the various components of the working class on the basis of the findings of such a study.

No serious revolutionary party can ever lead the working class in effective battle against the class enemy unless, it knows thoroughly the working class and has extensive communication links with it, spreading working class propaganda and policies among them in every possible way.

### **“MULTI-LINGUAL SOCIETY”**

Briefly, some facts and figures from available statistical data and demographic social studies, which illustrate the point mentioned above that a drastic change has taken place in the social character of the post-war Australian society.

According to the figures of the 1971 census published by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics out of a total population of 12,755,638 persons, 2,579,318 persons were listed as born overseas.

If to this figure we add the estimated figure of 1 million children born in Australia by post-war migrant parents since 1946, we arrive at an approximate figure of 3.5 million people being a direct result of post-war immigration, or 26 per cent of the total Australian population.

This is neither an arbitrary conclusion nor an exaggerated calculation at all and can be further substantiated by other relevant studies.

A similar view is expressed by the current demographic analysis “National Population Inquiry”:

“The direct net gain of immigration from July 1947 to June 1973 is estimated at 2,316,000 and with their Australian born children this immigration has been responsible for an increase of approximately 3.3 million people in a total growth of 5.6 millions over the whole period. In other words, directly and indirectly, immigration since 1947 has been responsible for about 59 per cent of the nation's growth”  
(2)

The impact of the post war immigration on the children and the youth sections of the population is much more dramatic than generally anticipated.

According to the first Annual report of the Commissioner for Community Relations:

*"...From figures produced by the New South Wales Government 1/3 of all school children in N.S.W. are children of migrant parents.*

*In the school scene it is not uncommon to find classes where 70% of the children were born outside Australia and in a few schools the figure rises to 99%. One inner city school reported one Australian born child among 400 students. This was duplicated in one country school where there was one child of Anglo-Saxon origin in the entire primary school."*

*"A dramatic indication of the change at city level," the report continues, "can be seen in the fact that Melbourne emerges as the third largest Greek-speaking city in the world, after Athens and Salonica. While New York has long been considered the most cosmopolitan City on earth, today only 10% of its people were born outside the United States, compared with more than 25% in Sydney and 30% in Melbourne." (3)*

Much more profound in my view and more important from the point of view of the working class is the impact of migrant workers upon the make-up of the modern Australian work force.

The figures contained in the table entitled "Occupation of Major Birthplace Groups; per cent distribution and total numbers of employed persons aged 15 years and over, Census 1971," published by the Bureau of Census and Statistics, which for lack of space is not reproduced in the article, require close attention and study.

Perhaps the most significant feature of these figures is the fact that they reveal a heavy concentration of male migrant workers in the manufacturing and construction industries (Tradesmen, production — process workers, labourers, etc), which in some cases reaches the extremely high percentage of 73.6% (Yugoslavs) and 61.3% (Greeks). (4)

It is interesting to note here the comment of the National Population Inquiry regarding this feature.

According to this inquiry the first striking feature revealed by these figures "is the continued and heavy concentration of immigrants in occupations classified as tradesmen, production-process workers, labourers, in which categories 52.2% of overseas born males were enumerated at the census of 1971, compared with the corresponding figure of Australian born of only 36.3%" (5)

These figures also reveal another important aspect.

Of the total Australian-born female work force of 1229.5 thousand,

only 9.3% or 114.4 thousand are classified as process workers etc. At the same time of the total overseas-born female work force of 424.4 thousand, 25.9% or 109 thousand fall in the same category, which means that almost 50% of the female industrial work force is comprised of migrant women, 60% of which are of non-english origin. In the male section the corresponding proportion is approximately 40%.

If however these figures are adjusted to allow for the working age Australian born children of migrant parents, we arrive at the conclusion that approximately 50% of Australia's male and over 55% of female industrial proletariat are the direct result of post war immigration.

This view is also supported by information contained in the mentioned above 1976 Report of the Commissioner for Community Relations which states:

*"the influx (of migrants) has led to Australia having the largest overseas — born work force in the world outside of Israel.*

*It is estimated that 52% of all blue collar workers were born outside the country and 27% of all working age Australians come from somewhere else" (6).*

Next to the aboriginals, who as an oppressed National Minority occupy the lowest strata of the Australian Society, migrant workers are generally the lowest paid, most exploited discriminated against and alienated section of the Australian working class, consequently potential fighters for a progressive social change.

From what has already been said, it emerges the undisputable fact that the modern Australian working class being heterogeneous in its origin, with its various components possessing different traditions of class struggle and cultural background is multilingual and multicultural and all indications are that it will continue to be so for many generations yet, even if migration was to cease altogether this minute.

This fact is recognised even by official publications of government departments such as the report of the Commissioner for Community Relations which describes the current situation thus:

*"The reality of present day Australian society is that, notwithstanding a carry-over of policies of the past, Australia is a "multicultural society," a society made up of diverse components each of which feels a particular identity and distinctiveness in customs and habits born out of a common heritage" (7)*

## UNITY IN COMMON STRUGGLE

Despite all the differences however of origin, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, traditions and levels of political consciousness, there is a fundamental, common feature which objectively provides strong bonds of fraternity among the various sections of the Australian working class.

This common feature is none other than the fact that all working people of Australia irrespective of birthplace or origin, are similarly subjected to exploitation by the same ruling class. The social labour of all Australians alike, old and new, coloured and white, is the source of all material wealth produced and the source of all profits gained by the capitalist exploiters, the big multinationals and local monopolies.

They are all members of one and the same working class. They belong to the ONE fraternity of working people facing the same ruthless enemy and sharing common interests, aspirations and goals for the elimination of social injustice and a better future for the people of Australia.

Objectively therefore there exists a strong uniting force but subjectively people on all sides tend to, at times, erect all sorts of artificial barriers which often affect negatively the common struggle and the political and social harmony of the various components of the Australian working class.

As far as the ruling class is concerned this attitude is understandable, because the vested interests of the exploiters are best served by dividing the workers and infusing the labour movement with all types of harmful separatist concepts based mainly on nationalism and racism.

The question that must be raised here is to what degree is the working class and the revolutionary forces aware of the urgent need for forging a strong unity in action among all the sections of the work force, irrespective of birthplace, as the only alternative that serves the best interests of the people and the nation?

Further to what degree is the political leadership of the working class movement and the Party in particular, aware of the objective necessity for bold initiatives towards breaking down all communication barriers and establishing fraternal and dynamic ties with all sections of the working class.

Some wrong concepts and attitudes on both sides tend to inhibit development of fruitful work in this direction.

For a rather long period of time two extreme attitudes have caused considerable harm in the working class movement.

The attitude of some leading sections of the political and trade union



movement, which is witnessed even in the ranks of our own Party, tends to consider every non-Australian born or non-English speaking member of the work force as not worth paying attention to unless he or she can manage to speak English fluently and be one of "US."

This attitude is responsible for resisting strongly any moves to establish close working relations with the ethnic sections of the labour force through communication links provided by the use of languages other than English (publications in foreign languages, meetings, forums and other activities for non-English speaking audiences etc).

Yet the need to provide information and propaganda and to convey political and other ideas to the non-English speaking section of the Australian Society, in the various ethnic languages, is recognised fully by the bourgeoisie. The ruling class does not wait for the migrants to first learn English and then give them their political message. On the contrary it has established an extensive network of newspapers and other publications in a great number of ethnic languages.

Some of these enterprises publishing foreign language newspapers are directly or indirectly connected with the big mass media barons, an inseparable part of the Capitalist establishment.

According to the Review '76 by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs "*More than 60 newspapers and periodicals appear in languages other than English from three times a week to once a fortnight in Australia*" (8)

Of this large number of foreign publications 59 would be outright reactionary and one or two pursuing petty bourgeois, social democratic policies.

How can the working class movement counter all this barrage of bourgeois propaganda being fed into the ethnic communities? There is only one way. To establish and distribute as widely as possible publications, carrying working class policies, in the languages people can read. Failure to understand this fundamental issue can only cause harm and disruption in the ranks of the working class and breed mistrust and exclusiveness.

## **AT THE CROSSROADS**

A similar attitude has been held by sections of the Ethnic groups which tend to isolate them and keep them separate and apart from the rest of the Australian Society.

This attitude is usually expressed by concepts such as "*I am a Greek*

*or Italian or Yugoslav or whatever and I don't really care about what goes on in Australia. I am only interested in politics or news from my country."*

Some progressive community organisations have been doing some useful work in getting the migrants to abandon these separatist attitudes and establishing contacts with their Australian-born counterparts. However much more essential work is needed yet in this field.

A third tendency appears among sections of migrants who are organised in the Australian labour movement, who participate in the various political activities in Australia but who at all times place the emphasis on types of work associated with their countries of origin, i.e. Solidarity movements, financial assistance etc.

Australia and the need for the development of the movement here seems to occupy second place in the minds of these people some of whom constitute the most politically advanced section of the ethnic progressive movement.

This attitude has its roots in the strength of the cultural and other attachments of migrants with the countries of their origins and has been fed by a constant stream of new arrivals who always carry with them new ideas and the spirit associated with the upsurge of the popular, democratic movements in their homeland. The new migrants seem to always act in the capacity of the generator of new interest for the old land. They renew the numerous ties and urge to maintain the attachment with the country of origin.

Despite all these negative aspects however and the difficulties, migrant workers have made an undeniable impact upon the Australian labour movement and have demonstrated their militancy and their political conscience on many occasions and in many splendid struggles, such as the historic strike in the car industry in Melbourne, where migrant workers were at the forefront of the long and difficult struggle made even more difficult by the conservative union leadership.

Today however certain readjustments are needed on behalf of the organised migrant movement and new attitudes and tactics to meet the new situation.

With the curtailment of the migration program and the steady decrease of the migrant intake, the influence and the attraction of the attachments to the old land will also decrease considerably.

Thus fewer and fewer people will be directly interested or inspired by activities and campaigns associated with the country of birth, which

has, until now, predominated the thinking and the action programme of the migrant movement.

Due to the objective changes in the conditions of society the progressive migrant movement has now reached the crossroads whereby hard and long term decisions are needed if this movement is to survive.

A gradual shift of emphasis is needed towards activities associated with the Australian reality and aimed at building the Australian working class movement.

This is imperative to provide the sort of stimulus required by all those people who have been in Australia for a long period of time, or were born here or came at a very young age and who feel more attached to Australia than the country of origin.

All these people being a dynamic component of Australian society have much to offer the Australian working class movement.

They carry a common heritage, rich cultural life and traditions and valuable political experience. If properly infused into the local revolutionary movement, these qualities can be a great asset to the movement and can at the same time, if coupled by a genuine desire of participation in the Australian struggles, help to overcome most prejudices and achieve a desired level of cooperation and unity among all sections of the work force.

This identity however of principal aims and goals can only be achieved if, on the one hand the leadership of the various communities and migrant groups recognise the new realities and take concrete steps to channel the activities and thinking towards Australia and the problems of the Australian progressive movement, and on the other hand if the political leadership of the movement takes note of the situation brought by the changes in population, abandons the hangovers from the past and seriously sets itself the task of communicating freely and winning over the ethnic Australian.

Neither process can be successful, however, unless the most advanced section of the working class, the SPA, takes bold initiatives in this direction and shows the way to a united struggle to make Australia a better place to live in, achieved through the combined efforts of all the diverse components of the Australian working class.

\*\*\*\*\*

(1) "Program of the Socialist Party of Australia" Sydney. 1975 Page 41

*(2) First report of the National Population Inquiry. Australian Government Publishing Service. Canberra 1975. Vol. 1 page 101-102.*

*(3) Commissioner for Community Relations first annual report 1976 Australian Government Publishing Service Canberra 1976. page 12*

*(4) Census 1971 Bulletin 4/9 Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Canberra, 1972 page 7*

*(5) First report of the National Population Inquiry page 128*

*(6) Commissioner for Community Relations First Annual Report 1976 page 12*

*(7) Commissioner for Community Relations First Annual report 1976 page 7*

*(8) Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs - review '76 Australian Government Publishing Service. Canberra, 1976 page 28*

.....

Subscribe to

# ***THE SOCIALIST***

...Fortnightly newspaper of national and international events from a socialist viewpoint.

News stories, politics, economics, peace, democracy, for unity against monopoly and reaction.

6 issues.....	\$2.00
12 issues.....	\$4.00
24 issues.....	\$7.50

*Send cheque or money order to:*

**Socialist Party of Australia, 111 Sussex St, Sydney 2000**

**NAME.....**  
**ADDRESS.....**  
**..... P'CODE.....**

**BE INFORMED—FOR UP-TO-DATE VIEWS AND INFORMATION FROM THE MARXIST VIEWPOINT**

*Subscribe to...*

<b>Socialism Theory and Practice</b>	
<i>12 issues per year.</i> .....	\$3.00
<b>Social Sciences</b>	
<i>4 issues per year.</i> .....	\$5.40
<b>International Affairs</b>	
<i>12 issues per year.</i> .....	\$2.40
<b>Far Eastern Affairs</b>	
<i>4 issues per year.</i> .....	\$4.80
<b>New Times</b>	
<i>52 issues per year.</i> .....	\$2.40

Available from all **New Era Bookshops**

531 George St Sydney, Phone 26 5016  
36 Wentworth St Port Kembla  
469 Elizabeth St Melbourne, Phone 329 5369  
95 Goodwood Rd Goodwood South Australia, Phone 71 0417

*We offer a 10 percent discount to all students*

---

Subscribe to...

***World Marxist Review***

...the most authoritative journal of the world Communist movement. WMR is a monthly publication containing articles by communist leaders and theoreticians from all over the globe. It is published in handy paperback, pocket size. Cost 75c (Postage 25c Extra).

**Socialist Party of Australia 111 Sussex St., Sydney, 2000**