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- FOR THE APPLICATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY TO THE CONDITIONS OF AUSTRALIA.

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Contents . . .

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CALL No. _____

INTRODUCTION

Page 1

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM
AND REVISIONISM

By E. F. Hill

Page 4

PREPARE FOR THE WORST
TO WIN THE BEST

By Duncan Clarke

Page 11

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
PENAL LEGISLATION

By Frank Johnson

Page 17

THE TRI-PARTITE PACT
AND AUSTRALIA

By G. P. O'Day

Page 25

THE PEACE MOVEMENT
AND IMPERIALISM

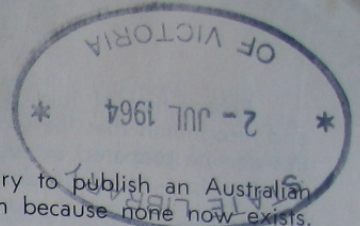
By Vida Little

Page 33

SOME COMMENTS ON THE
REVISIONIST JOURNAL "ARENA"

By Observer

Page 40



INTRODUCTION . . .

It has become necessary to publish an Australian journal of Marxism-Leninism because none now exists.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Australia have deserted Marxism-Leninism, and embarked upon the path of revisionism. Revisionism is a concept well known to Marxism-Leninism.

Revisionism means adapting the working class to the needs of capitalism, abandoning the path of class struggle, abandoning the task of prosecuting the class struggle to the overthrow of capitalism, and to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It involves stripping Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary essence and heart.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Australia have done just that, and are attempting to carry their ideas forward. They use their publications to propagate the treacherous ideas of revisionism, to divert the struggle and consciousness of Australian workers from the revolutionary path.

The central illustration of this is their undue emphasis on the peaceful transition to socialism about which they write whole articles, make many speeches and denounce those who warn against the one sided presentation of this idea as "dogmatists" "adventurists," "pseudo-revolutionaries" etc.

No Marxist-Leninist welcomes violence, but every Marxist-Leninist worthy of the name, recognises that class society is based upon violence, is based upon the forcible suppression of the exploited class by the exploiting class, and recognises that the exploiting class uses its force to resist all challenges to it, and, in particular, the final challenge to it, when the working class is ready to advance to socialism.

Recognition of this, is basic to Marxism-Leninism, and recognition that the working class must understand this and be prepared in every way to establish its own dictatorship — the most democratic society — is equally basic. This is a central part of Marxism-Leninism.

But the Australian revisionists have not only revised and confused this basic idea. They have revised and confused every other basic idea of Marxism-Leninism — on just and unjust wars, peaceful co-existence, the peace struggle, the nature of imperialism, the nature of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the nature of the Australian Labor Party, the nature of the Australian state machine and the united front of the working class.

Marxism-Leninism historically has developed and grown strong, in the struggle against alien trends, and particularly against revisionism, right opportunism. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fought an unremitting struggle against revisionism. In their great polemics against alien trends, and particularly in Lenin's great polemics against Kautsky and the theoreticians of the Second International, Marxism-Leninism was developed and grew strong.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, each in their time, was the subject of the most foul political and indeed, personal abuse. Each was accused of being a dictator, cultivating his own personality, being corrupt, in the case of Lenin, being a German spy. And who made the accusations — the then "revisionists."

Today the conduct of the Australian present day revisionists, parallels their historical counterparts. But no amount of abuse can hold back the development and strengthening of Marxism-Leninism.

We who have played our part within the ranks of the Communist Party of Australia when it was still a Marxist-Leninist Party, against all deviations — left, right, Trotskyist, adventurist, now bring to you a journal

directed to the integration of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of Australia.

We will seek to eliminate the confusion introduced by the revisionists into Marxism-Leninism.

We seek articles from all Marxist-Leninists so that Marxism-Leninism can be used as the sharp weapon that it must be, in the struggle of the Australian working people for the establishment of socialism.

Our journal will hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Democratic Centralism and Revisionism

By E. F. HILL.

Many good Australian Communists have been very worried about by what have been presented as breaches of democratic centralism and unity of the party.

It is necessary, therefore, to examine these matters.

In the struggle in the Communist Party of Australia, the revisionists headed by L. L. Sharkey, R. Dixon and L. Aarons, continually resorted to what they called democratic centralism and unity of the party, to crush those who upheld Marxist-Leninism and ultimately used these very concepts to drive Marxist-Leninists out of the Party.

They claimed that discussion had run its course in the Communist Party, a decision had been reached by a majority, and that that decision was binding on all. When issues arose such, for example, as the Indian aggression against China, or the Cuban affair, these individuals referred back to the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia in February 1962, and said that the Party had made its decision on these matters, and it was not open to anyone to raise a different view even on contemporaneous issues as they arose.

How they justified the proposition that these February decisions had made decisions that would be operative on then unknown future events, they did not bother to explain. Those who ventured a different opinion from their own, were denounced as "disruptors," as "re-raising questions," "leftism," "adventurism," "dogmatism."

The particular magic they apparently saw in the February 1962 decisions, was that these decisions lined up the Communist Party of Australia with the Soviet Party in its renunciation of the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, its renunciation of the 81 Parties statement that revisionism was the main danger in the working class movement, and its renunciation of the principles governing the relations with fraternal parties which preclude public attacks on parties.

In other words, in February 1962, these Australian Party leaders departed from their previous upholding of the 81 Parties statement and Marxism-Leninism, and openly embarked on revisionism. They attempted to use the concepts of democratic centralism and unity of the Party, in their effort to impose their revisionism on the Australian working class.

Hence, they joined the international revisionists, who have attacked the whole range of Marxism-Leninism including the principles, and practice of the organisation of the Communist Parties. It is with this latter matter that we are for the time being concerned.

General Principles

Lenin hammered out the general principles of organisation of the Communist Party. Experience since his great teachings, has further elaborated and clarified these principles.

The Communist Parties contemplated by Lenin, are Marxist-Leninist Parties, and Marxism-Leninism is composed of objective laws derived from an examination of all natural and social phenomena. Those laws exist independently of the will of man.

If, in the name of so called creative Marxism-Leninism, these laws are attacked then necessarily the attack includes the organisation, and operation, of the Parties of Marxism-Leninism. If these Parties fundamentally depart from the laws of Marxism-Leninism, they cease to be Communist Parties.

Lenin insisted on the purity of theory, and on no compromise on principle. He relentlessly opposed all compromises of principle. He ridiculed the concept of a Party that any high school student or professor or striker, as he put it, could join just because such a person proclaimed a vague belief in Communism.

He pointed out that a Marxist was not only one who accepted the class struggle but one who recognises that the class struggle must be carried through to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In its struggle for power, he said, the working class has but one weapon—that of organisation. The Marxist-Leninist Party is the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat. It has an iron discipline founded on clear consciousness of Marxism-Leninism; iron—because it is conscious discipline; majority decisions are binding on minority, higher committee decisions on lower.

But if the Marxist-Leninist Party departs from Marxism-Leninism, then, of course, none of this is applicable, and it is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to wage relentless war against the departure from Marxism-Leninism.

Objective Truth

In the course of the present differences of opinion in the revolutionary movement, the Australian modern revisionists headed by Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons, have shouted loudly about majority decisions, about democratic centralism and about unity of the party. They have invoked all these concepts to try to impose on the Party members, and on the working people, their own departure from Marxism-Leninism and to try to stifle all opposition to it. But this will not do.

Nothing can destroy the objective truth of Marxism-Leninism, nothing can prevent people from defending and upholding that objective truth. It is not the defenders of Marxism-Leninism who attack the principles of party organisation, who attack democratic centralism, the unity of the Party, and majority decisions, but precisely the Sharkeys, Dixons and Aarons, because they have thrown overboard the fundamental basis, (the very elements), of the views upon which Marxism-Leninism rests.

Without Marxism-Leninism, there can be no democratic centralism, no binding majority decisions, no unity.

Lenin fought a long and sustained battle for the victory of Marxism-Leninism, and for a Party organised and equipped to uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism. From the victory of his ideas, emerged the Party of a new type. The struggle went through many vicissitudes, from the earliest Marxist circles at the close of the 19th century, until the formation of the Third International. Since then much more experience has accumulated. Lenin fought (more often than not, in a minority) for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and the purity of an organisation to uphold it. Such an organisation is not a static thing but one capable of leading the working class in all the complexity of its struggles.

Democratic centralism has two sides — (1) democracy and (2) centralism. Democracy guarantees to Marxist-Leninists the right to discuss all questions.

But it guarantees that right only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

It is not democracy on some basis other than Marxism-Leninism but only democracy, freedom to discuss, within the limits of Marxism-Leninism.

It is not democracy, nor freedom to attack, and destroy Marxism-Leninism. Once it is invoked to attack Marxism-Leninism, naturally it is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to call a halt to the attack.

Marxist-Leninists base themselves on the proposition that amongst themselves there is the utmost freedom, democracy, in seeking to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of their own country. But those universal truths have an existence independent of man's will, and there can be no freedom or democracy to attack them.

Such an idea is just nonsensical because how can such an attack alter the truth. Yet it is precisely such an attack that the Australian revisionists are making. They allow themselves complete "democracy," "freedom", to attack the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and attempt to deny to Marxist-Leninists, democracy, or freedom to defend those truths.

Operation of Freedom

The operation of freedom, democracy, amongst Marxist-Leninists is fundamentally important. No single man, and no group of men, ever attains absolute knowledge. There are limits on each man's knowledge. Each Marxist-Leninist, and each Marxist-Leninist Party, strives to obtain the best possible Marxist-Leninist understanding, and the best possible integration of that with concrete practice. To attain that, the freest possible study of practice, exchange of ideas, discussion and pooling of ideas, taking advantage of the superior understanding of some, eliminating the weaknesses of others, generalising concrete practice, listening to the masses, are all required — all form an essential part of Marxism-Leninism.

Armed with the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist-Leninist Party in Australia has the task of examining all practice, seeking the way ahead, guiding its action and developing those principles.

It never throws overboard those principles, because to do so, would be to attempt the impossible, would be to attempt to overthrow the truth.

The Marxist-Leninist Party itself, is part of that truth — part of objective reality. The development of society has dictated, com-

pelled, that there come into existence, a democratic centralist Party composed of people, who will uphold and apply the universal laws of Marxist-Leninism. So it is equally impossible to destroy the Marxist-Leninist Party because it is part of that same objective truth.

Once a Marxist-Leninist Party deserts Marxism-Leninism, it is doomed; it will wither away, disintegrate.

Serious Examination

Centralism is the other side of this concept. After the discussion amongst Marxist-Leninists on the integration of Marxism-Leninism with concrete reality has run its course, a decision is reached and action is decided upon. This discussion is not just a pleasant debate, but a serious examination, to decide on action.

Man's will is part of objective reality, and in turn influences objective reality. Marxist-Leninist Parties are based upon recognition of the universal laws revealed by Marxism-Leninism and the recognition of the fact that man himself, as a conscious being, is capable of influencing the operation of those laws.

Knowledge of those laws, gives him freedom to act within them. Ignorance, or denial of them, makes his actions blind and irrational. Hence the Party of Marxism-Leninism must act in accordance with those laws. Centralism gives it that capacity to act. Marx said: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it." (Marx: Thesis on Feurbach XI).

The Marxist-Leninist Parties acknowledge this. Centralism, based on democracy, means that the Party is a weapon to change the world, to lead the workers to victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Centralism provides for effective actions, effective machinery, to carry into life the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. It determines that the whole Marxist-Leninist Party will act as one, in carrying out Marxism-Leninism.

Like all revisionists, the Australian revisionists do not want to have anything to do with Marxism-Leninism. They invoke the name of Marxism-Leninism to attack Marxism-Leninism. Hence they violate the very purpose of centralism in the Marxist-Leninist Parties. They insist on centralism to impose their own revisionist ideas on the Party and the Australian working people.

They invoke the binding effect of majority decisions, of higher Party decisions, in order to attack Marxism-Leninism and Marxist-Leninists, and to deny Marxist-Leninists the right to reply.

They say that they have allowed democratic discussion throughout the Party, including the Central Committee and that when they have decided on their revisionist policy, then that policy becomes binding on all Party members, and there can be no further discussion of it. All further contributions to discussion of Marxist-Leninists are condemned as "re-raising" decided questions, "turning the Party into a debating society," "disruption," "splitting," and so on.

The views of Marxist-Leninists are branded as "dogmatic," "adventurist," "left doctrinaire," "warmongering," "turning the Party into a narrow sect," and Marxist-Leninists are, in the name of democratic centralism, majority decisions, and unity of the Party, denied the right of reply to these statements.

Moreover, a thoroughly lying and distorted account of the Marxist-Leninist views has been and is spread by the Sharkeys, the Dixons and the Aaronses. Then they invoke democratic centralism, majority decision and unity of the Party, to deny any right of reply inside the Party to these lies and distortions.

As we have pointed out, even on contemporaneous questions as they have arisen, the Sharkeys, the Dixons and the Aaronses have denied Marxist-Leninists the right to express an opinion. And they do so because they know there is no answer whatever to the Marxist-Leninist case. It must be stifled.

Treacherous Aims.

Thus Lenin's conception of the Party is perverted to serve the treacherous aims of the modern revisionists. Indeed Lenin's great conception of the Party is used by these individuals to perpetuate a modern dogmatic revisionist view. Having forsaken the path of Marxism-Leninism, and having taken the path of revisionism, these individuals now seek to impose it dogmatically in all circumstances on the Party and the working class.

In their view, it brooks no contradiction, no discussion; in short, it is a new dogma. Hence in the name of creative Marxism-Leninism, by embracing revisionism, Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons

have spawned a new and monstrous dogma which is attempting to doom the working class, and working people, to passivity and to submission to imperialist exploitation.

No Marxist-Leninist worthy of the name is going to permit Lenin's great concepts of the Party to be perverted in this way. Every Marxist-Leninist will strive to re-establish these concepts to secure a party based on Marxism-Leninism with complete freedom to discuss the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Australia and based on centralism, to give effect to the decisions reached in that democratic way.

The struggle for Marxism-Leninism involves a struggle to establish a Marxist-Leninist Party for now there is none in Australia. Marxist-Leninists will join together to fight to establish such a Party.

Upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism involves upholding the Leninist principle of the party and its organisation.

Prepare for the Worst to Win the Best

By DUNCAN CLARKE

In the Melbourne Guardian of July 11, the revisionist B. Taft, of the Victorian State Committee of the Communist Party, wrote an article entitled "On Peaceful Co-existence" in which he expounded his views on what peaceful co-existence was all about.

"The policy of peaceful co-existence is a policy of fighting out the world historic battle between capitalism and socialism by all means and with all weapons excepting one — world war," wrote Taft. He then followed this statement with a lengthy quote from the 81 Parties' statement on the favorable opportunities created by the policy of peaceful co-existence for the prosecution of the national liberation struggle in the colonies and the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries.

All genuine Marxist-Leninists want peace and they strive to settle questions both internationally and nationally in a principled and peaceful way, but at the same time they make it clear they will never bow the knee to the imperialists and capitulate to nuclear blackmail or any other threat.

Serious revolutionaries always prepare for two eventualities.

To prepare people ideologically for the worst is precisely what is required to win the best.

B. Taft's statement is capitulationist. We will fight with every weapon except one — world war.

The imperialists should say "thank you" to B. Taft for letting them know that all they have to do to win victory is to threaten to launch world war. But this question won't be decided by Taft or his ilk.

The revisionists do not want to prepare for the worst eventuality. To do so is "left sectarian" and "dogmatic." Preparing for the worst is revolutionary and involves the struggle against the State and the exposure of the class nature of the State.

In Taft's article the question of the State is not mentioned once and this is so very typical of the vagueness of modern revisionism.

The "New" Conditions

Today the revisionists place great emphasis on the favorable conditions created by peaceful co-existence for the waging of the national liberation movement and the class struggle. The emphasis leads to the acceptance of the idea that there are "new" conditions in which the old methods of class struggle are no longer necessary.

But contrary to what revisionists say, class struggle does not depend on peaceful co-existence for its success; rather peaceful co-existence depends on how vigorously the national liberation struggle is prosecuted against the imperialists, and how vigorously the **revolutionary** movement is stepped up in the capitalist countries.

The Yugoslav modern revisionists, whom B. Taft echoes and has supported for some considerable time, have given capitulationism a theory, and its development into a comprehensive and systematic form is made by Jozef Smole, the editor of *Borba*, in his book "Yugoslav Views on Co-Existence." This book was first published in 1961 and it certainly makes interesting reading in the light of today's events.

The one-sided exclusion of the danger of imperialist war leads, as Smole vividly illustrates, to the condemnation of both the socialist and imperialist blocs as being responsible for tension in international affairs. Thus he puts socialism and imperialism on an equal footing. The Tito clique are today the loudest in falsely accusing China of aggression against India. So here is the logical extension of this theory — imperialism is no longer responsible for aggression!! Its character has changed and socialism has become "aggressive"!!

The book proceeds to elevate "active and all-round international co-operation" above class struggle as the **ONLY** means of preserving peaceful co-existence. From this conception flows the need for broadness and active co-operation and for child-like trust in the imperialists.

No wonder the American leaders say Titoism furthers their interests.

Smole in his book comes out fiercely against the correct idea that peaceful co-existence is merely temporary and goes on to say that "the role of contradictions of the imperialist character between big capitalist countries has also changed."

So dialectics are overboard and the class struggle is over!

Struggle Is Absolute

Marxist-Leninists see peaceful co-existence as temporary, as something to be improved on. That is, genuine revolutionaries strive to defeat the system of imperialism from which wars originate. Peaceful co-existence is a stage in this struggle and a "stage" cannot be permanent. Either we go forward or go back; either we prosecute the struggle against capitalism or we don't. We cannot pull up half way.

If we are to hold to the theoretical foundation of the Communist movement, that is dialectical materialism, we cannot but see that peaceful co-existence is transitory, temporary and relative and that struggle is absolute. The final outcome of the struggle against imperialism must go one way or the other. There are possibilities of preventing war as the 81 Party statement says, but this relies on a number of struggles, not the least being the struggle by the working class in the imperialist countries.

It is precisely here that there should be no lowering of revolutionary standards, no confusing of the struggle for peace and the basic struggle, the struggle for working class State power, the only sure guarantee of peace. The 81 Party statement sees the complete victory of socialism as the final guarantee of peace. This is our goal and such a victory can only be achieved under the leadership of the Communist Parties fully conscious of their independence and leading position of rallying the broadest masses of the people behind the banner of peace and socialism and thus raising the consciousness of the great majority of the people. To do this there cannot be any departure from the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle waged by the oppressed people in the capitalist countries and the struggle of the oppressed nations are helpful to the strivings for world peace and for peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems. The attempt of the modern revisionists to restrict, weaken and even negate the revolutionary struggles of the colonial people and oppressed nations by hypocritical appeals for "peace" and "peaceful co-existence" directly aids the imperialists and weakens the struggle for peace.

Today we are in conditions of world revolution and the colonial peoples are in the front line. Our duty is to support them to the full, with everything we have got. That is the direction we must face. It is sheer betrayal to turn our backs on them and say that their struggle is "not important," that it is "immature" and "secondary" to the struggle for peace.

Another Wrong Emphasis

The revisionists' emphasis on "international co-operation" and the replacement of the colonial people's struggle by what Kardelj (quoted in Smole's book) describes as a "systematic and broadly organised international action for the financing of the development of productive forces in underdeveloped countries" leads to another policy emphasis — the emphasis now being placed on peaceful transition to socialism in the capitalist countries.

Step by step the proposition is being advanced that if a broad mass movement is developed on peace, democratic rights and other "uniting" issues, then the monopolists will be isolated and unable to use force to maintain their rule.

Let us return to B. Taft. In the same article quoted above he wrote: "But when communists talk about striving for a peaceful transition to socialism they have no illusions about the monopolists. What we have in mind is that the working class, uniting the great majority of the people behind it, aims to so isolate the big monopolists that they will be unable to use force to frustrate the will of the people."

Here the essential question, the question of the State is left out. The monopolists have state power and they use this power (and are using it today) to disrupt and intimidate the working class movement. They do not stand idly by and wait to be "isolated."

Earlier we spoke of the correctness of the working class to prepare for the worst eventuality to win the best.

The monopolists always prepare for the worst eventuality.

How do they prepare for the worst?

By strengthening their organ of violence and suppression, the State. Hence we see the expansion of the secret police, the creation of an officer corps with an active, anti-working class ideology; the strengthening of the armed forces (a standing army of 30,000 is

now a part of our scene) and the erection of a large network of repressive legislation of which the penal powers of the Arbitration system are only a part.

Why is all this being done? Because from a long range point of view, the monopolist class does not "trust" **ONLY** parliament to continue its class rule. The monopolies rule by deception and they know that nothing that is false is lasting. As the class struggle sharpens, because of the operation of the laws of capitalism, then the agents of the capitalist class within the ranks of the labor movement become exposed.

The revisionists are the last of these agents. They dress themselves up in Marxist clothes, but preach class peace. Like the revisionists of old they praise bourgeois parliamentarism and emphasise the possibility of advancing to socialism through the "parliamentary road."

Democratic rights, under the parliamentary system of capitalism, are, as Marx put it long ago, merely the rights to decide once in every three or six years who of the ruling class should represent the people in parliament to oppress them. Lenin described bourgeois democracy as narrow, emasculated, false and deceptive democracy.

It is basic for all Communist Parties to recognise the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to struggle for its realisation and this means the adoption of all forms of struggle. In the final analysis the process of the revolutionary movement is that of making preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat **BEFORE** the winning of power.

The revisionists of today are now elevating the struggle for peace above the class struggle. They are forgetting the main standpoint for the immediate and strive for success of the moment without consideration for the later consequences. This sacrifice of the future of the movement for the present may be "honestly" meant by some, but it is and remains opportunism and "honest" opportunism is perhaps the most dangerous of all.

In their emphasis on broad movements and structural reform, the revisionists conveniently forget one of the cardinal points of Marxism, that is, that the State is the product and the manifestation of the **IRRECONCILABILITY** of class antagonisms. That is why the struggle against revisionism is so important: it is a necessary phase of the struggle to prepare the working class ideologically to recognise the necessity of it taking state power.

For too long in Australia the question of the State has been glossed over. Genuine Marxist-Leninists must work to raise the consciousness of the people on the class character of the State and its role as an instrument of suppression of the working people.

No struggle against the monopolists can be effective without the State being made the central question, for it is **only when the monopolists are isolated from their State machine, and (that machine is dismantled and replaced by a State apparatus organised under working class leadership — only then can we talk of victory,**

All else is illusion.

Broad movements, not orientated against the State and not conscious of the State's role, are of no danger to the monopolists.

Marxism cannot be confined to the doctrine of the class struggle. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the need for a working class State.

It is this question which the opportunists of yesterday and today dodge.

Lenin (who is now claimed to be out of date) wrote long ago: "When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget a feature that is characteristic of present-day opportunism in every sphere, namely its vagueness, diffuseness, elusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and decisively, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree with both and to reduce his difference of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, good and pious suggestions, and so on and so forth."

After reading Mr. B. Taft and Mr. Jozef Smole, Lenin is still right on the ball.

The Struggle Against The Penal Legislation

By FRANK JOHNSON.

The trade unions have a special importance for the revolutionising of the working class. Trade unions are the most important mass organisation of the working class.

Marx, as did Lenin, directed considerable attention to the trade unions, from the point of view of their task not only in the economic struggle, but also to their political significance in the revolutionary struggle.

Marx said: "If trade unions have been indispensable for the guerrilla fight between capital and labour, they are even more important as organised bodies to promote the abolition of the very system of wage labour."

Lenin also pointed out: "Without the trade unions, a revolution is impossible."

The Australian trade union movement has developed an outstanding tradition throughout its many decades of struggle, and has been responsible for all improvements in the living standards and working conditions of the workers. The trade unions have participated in every major political struggle in our country, and have been a decisive factor in the fighting against political oppression and anti-union legislation.

However, history reveals that the trade union movement has been dominated by the ideas and influences of reformism. In simple words, the trade union movement has, in the main, been adapted to the ideas of not fighting to put an end to the wages system, but of struggling for reforms within the system of capitalism.

It was not until the early thirties that a change occurred. In those years Communist members of unions began to influence trade union policies, and they helped to develop an understanding of the revolutionary role of the trade unions. They struggled against the ideology of reformism to develop revolutionary working class action and leadership.

This has greatly enriched the history of the trade union movement. Despite the ebb and flow of the class struggle, the main stream has been a continuous development of the consciousness of the working class, and today, contrary to what some "Communist" leaders say about the reformist illusions in the ranks of the working class movement, the spirit of struggle and determination of unity against monopoly capital is at a higher level than ever before.

The history of the early struggles has important lessons for today's trade union leadership. The early thirties saw the organised development of the struggle against the domination of reformism in the Australian trade union movement. Australia was beginning to emerge from the economic crisis of 1928-29. The working class had learnt from bitter experience of the absolute ruthless violence of capital, and how Labour governments administered the Capitalist State in the interests of the capitalist class. In the minds of many workers there was a big question mark because of the betrayals of reformist leaders.

It was in this period that the Communists turned their main attention to the mass base of the trade unions, that is, the factories. The result then was a development of workshop committees, rank and file organisation of all kinds. Every Communist was member of his union, and was active on the jobs and in his union.

Struggle Developed

This upsurge of activity developed much militant struggle and active participation of the rank and file, and over the period up to the outbreak of World War II, many unions elected to their leadership, Communists and militants, thus recording a very decisive victory against the domination of reformism. Revolutionary ideas took root among increasing numbers of workers.

This activity flowed into the political wing of the A.L.P., and among the politicians there arose a left-wing. In the sphere of the peace struggle, there arose the Movement Against War and Fascism. This was based firmly on the trade union movement, and led a magnificent struggle against the evils of fascism.

And because it was based firmly on the working class, it withstood the attacks of reaction without and within the Labour Movement, right up to the time when the anti-fascist struggle became a national struggle.

Many Communists today, who are following a path of right-opportunism, scoff at and refer to this period as the time of sectarian mistakes. This is done to justify their present right-opportunist policy.

It would be as well for these self-styled Marxists, who lay claim to leadership of the working class, to study this period of great working-class action.

In that period the classical theoretical principles of working class leadership and forms of organisation were put into practice with much success and, because of this, today the working class and its trade union movement is strong and is able to register the important gains in the political and economic spheres. It is true that sectarian mistakes were made, but would anyone who had an elementary knowledge of Marxism, expect perfection? The struggle of those days led to a great advance ideologically of the trade union movement and the working class. What of the question of the struggle for correct revolutionary leadership and organisation today?

Exploitation Worse

Has the nature of capitalism changed? No—the exploitation of the workers continues with greater intensity. Monopoly capital has become more concentrated and more powerful. The monopoly capitalist state has been greatly strengthened. The danger of war is most acute.

Have the right wing reformists in the trade unions given up their struggle to adapt the working class movement to Capitalism? Is the right wing less concerned with the future of capitalism? The answer is again no.

Today we have a big influx of foreign capital, particularly U.S. capital, into Australia. With the investments comes interference in the political, economic and military affairs of our country. Foreign capital concerned with making super profits, has taken a hand in the moulding of labour laws here. The final legislation introduced by the Chifley Labor Government, and progressively strengthened by Menzies, now hamstring the trade union movement.

So it can be seen that there has been no change in the capitalist offensive against the working class.

Nor has there been in the forces directly and indirectly engaged in this offensive, except to say, that in all spheres it has

been developed with greater intensity and with planned perspectives.

What has changed is the tactical development of these attacks.

There has been a period of relative prosperity, but at the same time, absolute impoverishment of the working class continued.

In this time, have the principles of the struggles of the workers changed? NO. But there have been substantial advances in the mass strength and class ideology of the rank and file. The experiences of the depression and its aftermath; the anti-fascist war; the many economic and political struggles waged; the great impact of the countries of socialism; the struggle against war and the active support for the colonial peoples struggles — all these things have helped to expand and to consolidate the unity of the trade union movement.

But with all this development of strength, the principled methods of leadership of working class struggle against capital have in no way altered except that the struggle must be intensified.

Conditions today are more favorable than in the early and late thirties. In the post-war period there has been a great expansion of capitalism in Australia. Right up to the early fifties, a condition of full employment existed. Since then, with varying degrees, there have been unemployed workers and tens of thousands of migrant workers have entered Australian industry. Many tens of thousands of women have also entered industry.

Whilst this has added greatly to the work force and numerical trade union strength, it tends to water down the consciousness of the workers in mass. The legal superstructure of the trade union movement has been broadened, and generally speaking, capitalist pressure on the working class movement as a whole has been strengthened.

Even the ranks of the Communist Party, which does not exist in a vacuum, have been affected by these pressures. And herein is the base reason for the incorrect estimation "that sectarianism is the main danger." It is this estimation that gives rise to right-opportunist policy, expressed particularly in the leadership of the Trade Unions.

This right opportunism is camouflaged with the emphasis placed on the preservation of trade union unity. Unity is not an abstract

question, but must be based on some aim or object of policy, and must be directly related to the fight for working class principle.

Trade union unity, from a working class viewpoint, can only be based on a struggle against all forms of reformist class collaboration. In the struggle for trade union unity, Communists have an implacable principled class stand and while being flexible in tactics, must not give away on that principle, even if it means a temporary division on an issue. If the struggle is conducted around principle, unity will be finally won on a higher level.

Perhaps an illustration of the struggle for principled unity, is the struggle against the Industrial Groups in Victoria. This was conducted under the leadership of the then State Committee of the Communist Party, most of the members of which are now called sectarians, dogmatists and so on. This campaign was waged in an all-sided way over a period of years and had many twists and turns.

There was much propaganda and agitation, intense job activity, and a lot of work was done among the rank and file of the trade unions. At times, during this struggle, deep temporary divisions developed in the trade union movement, but finally, the grouper policy was discredited and Santamaria and his supporters were isolated.

A new unity was brought about after these years of struggle. Today, the unity in the trade union movement in Victoria is at its highest level and this unity has its base in that struggle. The now-labelled sectarians and particularly Comrade Hill, whose pamphlets were a feature of that struggle, are singled out for abuse. Dixon in a recent article published in the Tribune and Guardian, traced some events in the struggle against the Industrial Groups, but what he omitted to do was to criticise his own right-opportunist ideas of the time which were directed at "trying to find a basis of unity with the industrial groups, because they were the Labor Party organisation in the factories."

The Other Side

Let us now look at another side of the struggle for unity. The recent struggle of the wharfies for improved wages and conditions saw the savage imposition of fines under the penal section of the Arbitration Act. This led to a meeting of the A.C.T.U. executive with representatives of the W.W.F. At this meeting a resolution calling for the active support of the trade union move-

ment under the leadership of the A.C.T.U. was counterposed by a proposition by the right-wing A.C.T.U. leaders which emasculated the action call of the original resolution. The counter proposition of the right-wing was carried by a majority of the meeting. It led to a conference between the employers and government, which in turn has led to the establishment of a peace committee to settle disputes on the waterfront.

Struggle Side-Tracked

This action completely side-traced the rising struggle against the vicious use of the penal legislation.

Little or nothing has been said publicly about this deliberate side-tracking manoeuvre by the right-wing and their policy of class collaboration.

The Communist Party press has remained silent.

No propaganda or agitation has been given public airing as to the effects of this right wing policy. There has been no indication of how those A.C.T.U. executive members who are also members of the Communist Party stood or voted. So here we see how a most important contribution to the struggle against the penal clauses was side-tracked, which cannot do anything else but weaken the entire struggle. Is this the kind of unity that takes the trade union movement forward?

No, this is unity which compromises principle and leaves the working class with little knowledge of the policy of class collaboration of the A.C.T.U. right wing leaders. This is unity for unity's sake, and strengthens the right wing and reformism.

It may have been necessary for these members of the A.C.T.U. executive to accept the decision, but no such decision should bind the Communist Party, nor the militant working class.

The struggle, in face of the decision, could not be carried on in the same form, but allowed to subside (as it was) it left the wharfies in particular, and the working class in general, high and dry.

Where did the responsibility lie for directing the struggle into harmless channels. Had the right wing leaders of the A.C.T.U. supported the wharfies' resolution and called on the whole trade union movement to unite and wage battle to defeat the actions of the shipowners and the Menzies government, a severe blow could have been dealt to the penal legislation, and the position of

the Menzies government would have been further weakened. But to allow the right wing to get away with such a betrayal, without full blooded criticism and under the pretext of trade union unity, is tailism of the worst kind and sheer political opportunism.

It is a direct outcome of the estimates that "sectarianism is the main danger." Under this banner, the struggle against right opportunism is thrown into discard. This is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that the right-wing leaders of the A.C.T.U. have side-tracked the rising struggle against the penal legislation. And if we are to "have unity", at the expense of failing to fight the policy of class collaboration of the right wing, then such a policy has nothing in common with real working class unity, but is unity at any price and therefore unprincipled.

One of the most important immediate issues facing the trade union movement is the penal clauses legislation. The penal sections of the Arbitration Act virtually take away the right to strike, and combined with the ballot legislation, ties the trade union movement of this country closely to the capitalist state, giving the state far-reaching powers to interfere in the trade unions.

Only Lip Service

The right wing reformists, whilst they hold some fears of this legislation have greater fears of united working class struggle. These reformists give lip service in their opposition and hide behind the legislation which closes off struggle before it develops.

And when it develops, an order which bars further struggle for a period of months is a very convenient umbrella for the right wing, as they no longer have to take on the role of ending struggle or "ordering back to work."

The court carries the baby for them.

Hence the struggle against this legislation becomes a struggle against the state machine and right wing supporters in the labour movement, and must be waged in an all-sided way.

It calls not only for the use of old forms, but demands new forms of tactics, which will bring the working class more directly, into the struggle on the basis of their immediate demands.

Union Democracy

The success of the struggle is bound up closely with the need to develop greater trade union democracy. Old habits, existing among many trade union leaders, of developing campaigns from top levels, must be given serious attention. The practice of giving "pep" talks on the job could be given less attention and greater efforts made to let the workers express their own ideas about the forms of struggle that could be developed at job level.

The drawing in of the rank and file in this way may present difficulties, but perseverance will undoubtedly get results, particularly in expansion of job organisation and of rank and file consciousness. This sort of mass participation in the campaigns for trade union demands, in turn, will assist militant trade union leaders to understand better new forms of leadership now demanded to meet the highly organised offensive of monopoly capital and its state.

The task of defeating the penal legislation calls for great determination and high-level unity of the class. It will not be finally defeated by any one union or section. Only when the trade union movement unites will this repressive legislation become inoperative.

However, because of the vicious attacks on trade union rights, wider masses of workers are entering the struggle, and among that section of workers in the forefront of the wages battle, feeling against the penal clauses runs high, and strong demands exist for a showdown.

This spirit will continue to become more embracing and conditions are rapidly maturing for waging a united struggle to defeat this anti-working class legislation. Nothing should be done to confine this movement. It should be developed to the full.

The Tri-Partite Pact and Australia

By G. P. O'DAY

The Tri-Partite Pact is a treaty between the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and the U.S.A., in which they bind themselves to conduct no atom bomb tests in outer space, the atmosphere or under water and any one of them can break the agreement if satisfied that something has happened that renders the breaking of the treaty essential to national security.

The Treaty favours the U.S.A. for it does not abolish or restrain underground testing which the U.S.A. has conducted on a large scale for a long time, does not abolish or limit the construction of bombs or hinder their transport or location in any site or their bestowal on any country. In fact the pact was proposed first by Eisenhower in 1959, by Britain in 1962 and on both occasions rejected by the U.S.S.R. as a low manoeuvre.

It is in fact a concession to American imperialism and has therefore been welcomed by Sir Robert Menzies, the Jordan and Greek governments, etc, etc.

It may be used to prevent China from becoming a nuclear power. It is used to deceive people about the nature of American imperialism. They are told that it is a first step towards the total banning of nuclear weapons and disarmament, which, of course, it is not, as is obvious from its contents, listed above. It does not prevent the pollution of the air, for France has refused to sign it and is now preparing by tests to pollute the Australian air.

The object of American imperialism is to dominate the world, to eradicate Communism, to succeed to the old British Empire and to implant the glorious American way of life on the whole world. This objective the U.S.A. monopolists do not conceal. They proudly boast of it.

If you support the Tri-Partite Pact, the above is what you are supporting. You must not forget that they hope to achieve their objects by force of arms, viz., by thermo nuclear bombs. Is their project feasible?

Century of Revolution

This century is the century of proletarian revolution, of the movement of humanity from capitalism to socialism. This is due to the contradictions inside capitalism, the contradictions between the forces of production and the relations of production (e.g., look at American forces of production and the five million unemployed, the slums, the crime, prostitution and insanity), between the capitalists and the proletariat, between the capitalists themselves, between the monopolist states and the colonial peoples.

In 1914 the contradictions between the monopolists gave rise to World War I which intensified the contradictions between the capitalists and the working people of Russia and caused the October Revolution. Again in 1939 the same kind of contradiction caused World War II which turned against the U.S.S.R. and the result was that half Europe and half Asia left capitalism — so that now one-third of mankind lives in socialist states.

Now the main contradiction in capitalism is between the monopoly states, principally the U.S.A., and the colonial peoples.

Where is war raging and threatening? South Vietnam, Laos, India, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America and it is there that you find American forces in action.

If the colonial peoples are successful, as they will be, the result will be a revolutionary crisis in the imperialist states who will no longer be able to bribe their people with a share of the profits from the exploitation of the colonial peoples.

Notice that the atomic and thermo-nuclear bombs have not been used against the Chinese people, the Algerians, the Vietnamese, the Laotians, the Cubans. After the Japanese were defeated was the only time the bombs were used with the only purpose of establishing a bogey.

And when the revolution breaks out in the U.S.A. will they use them? Scarcely, for the bombs would not distinguish between the millionaires and working men.

In the imperialist States, U.S.A., England and France the manufacture of the bombs bring huge profits to the millionaires. That is their *raison d'être*. Profit and bullying by waving the bogey.

There is one certainty, no socialist state will use atom or T.N. bombs except in defence. Therefore the arming of China with bombs would be a great stroke for peace and against nuclear war.

Besides, the vast expenditure in the U.S.A. on these bombs is bankrupting the State, causing inflation and inflicting hardships on the people. It therefore helps to bring to pass the very thing it is meant to suppress.

We, therefore regard the project of the U.S.A. as not feasible. What Churchill's 14 armies, Hitler's unparalleled military forces, France's military might and American dollars in China could not do, that is suppression of the revolution of this century, the U.S.A.'s nuclear bombs cannot do.

We also consider their use largely impracticable, as we have explained above. Therefore, we consider that what risk there is of their use by the desperate monopolists can be ended by vigorous opposition everywhere to the monopolists and by the aiding of the colonial peoples.

Therefore, we regard the concessions made by the U.S.S.R. as a foolish error and we will do our utmost through the international communist movement to get that error corrected. We will support our Chinese comrades.

We say to the Australian people, why should you support with your goods and your lives a worthless cause that is destined to fail? The U.S.A. monopolists are already robbing you and now they propose to use you in their wretched schemes. Australia in their minds is destined to be an American base and your sons cannon fodder in South East Asia, India, Indonesia and Malaysia.

The true interest of the Australian people are to support the Indian people against Nehru and his crew of landlords and millionaire industrialists, to support the Indonesian people against the Yanks. To support the Vietnamese, Laotians and Malays in their struggle for national independence.

Note well, we do not say in their struggle for Communism. We believe and our belief is founded on science that all these people, once independent, will sooner or later turn to socialism. But that is up to them, we have no plan to force it on them.

That again is why our plans are feasible and the American plans are not.

In every country today where there are American forces, either they are being fought by the people or a strong movement of the people is opposing them and are determined to drive them out.

Communism means the ownership of the means of production by the workers (industrial and rural) of the country. Therefore national independence.

No U.S. Bases

The American plan leads to such a state as Canada is with 75 per cent. of her productive forces controlled by U.S.A. monopolists and as Australia is rapidly moving towards, to the wretched state of the Latin American people, to the misery of South Vietnam and South Korea.

We therefore, demand — no American or any other foreign bases in Australia — no arms or men or money to aid Nehru, Ngo Dinh Diem, Savannaphouma, Tunku Abul Rohman or Macapagal.

Let us look after our own country, trade with the socialist countries and the colonial countries, aiding their movements for independence with goods and support against the imperialists in the United Nations in our diplomatic actions.

We must consider the national security of Australia. Does this Pact strengthen that? The answer is in the negative for this Pact does strengthen imperialist America who is in fact the only real danger to Australian independence. Are they not erecting a base here, have they not air stations here, do they not own a large part of our industry?

Is it not very likely that if the ruling Australian monopolists thought that the Australian people might shake them off, they would hand the place over to the Yanks?

Better play second fiddle than none at all: history is full of such cases. Indonesia does not threaten us. The guarantee is the strong Indonesian Communist Party whose policy is against aggressive war. China does not threaten us for China is a socialist country and there is no class in her that would benefit by aggressive war — no financiers, armament makers or industrialists.

Besides, let me state something that is never stated by our patriotic financiers and politicians, viz., that Australia is impregnable to attack. She has a courageous people and ample food, minerals and heavy industry. If the Algerians and Vietnamese can regain their country, if Cuba can defy the U.S.A., why not have faith in Australia? No people can be conquered if they are re-

solute. We do not need the support of the kindly U.S.A. bandits; we know that they will relieve us as the bushranger does the traveller.

Confirmed By Dialectics.

What we have already stated is confirmed by dialectics. The main dialectical proposition is that things develop and change, not from external influences but from internal contradictions. Do not take this too absolutely. You may say that water changes into steam because of heat from external sources. You are correct, but it is also correct to say that the heat produces internal contradictions that result in steam. Of course, we know that external conditions may favour or deter changes as for example in plants. Frost, or drought, or too much heat may prevent the evolution of the seed. But without the internal contradictions in the seed, no growth would ever occur.

In this century as we have already said internal contradictions have generated socialism in over a third of the world. This means that we have now in the world two entities—Socialism and Capitalism. These do not form together one entity as e.g., capitalists and proletarians, although in the last analysis absolutely opposed, do for example in a capitalist state or in a factory. The existence of the one is not essential to the existence of the other. If the capitalist world were to disappear, say by flood or earthquake, the Socialist world would continue and the reverse is also true.

Dialectics teaches us that although separate entities have influence on each other, that influence is relatively minor compared to the influence of the internal contradictions in each entity. In the case we are considering, those contradictions in the case of Socialism are driving it to Communism; in the case of capitalism, are driving it to revolution and socialism. The main contradiction at this moment in capitalism is that of the monopolists versus the colonial and ex-colonial peoples, that is all the people who are still being exploited in the colonial way.

That is why as we said above the Yanks are busy on that front — that is their vital front. And on it they do not employ the bomb for it would destroy the asset they are seeking to save.

There is no doubt, of course, that the imperialists would still like to devour the Socialist world but that cannot be tackled till they have made their colonial exploitation secure. So it is not

realistic to consider that the Socialist world is immediately in danger of nuclear war. We must infer that China, for example, will undoubtedly have time to arm herself with nuclear weapons. What the capitalists can do, the Communists will certainly have no difficulty in doing.

For the above reasons we consider the attitude of Khrushchov and his supporters foolish. We consider it just as foolish as the so well-remembered policy of Chamberlain who kow-towed to Hitler to avert war, while in reality there were forces strong enough in the world to bar the road to Hitler.

Fortunately Khrushchov's nonsense is not so dangerous as that of Chamberlain for the revolutionary forces are today a hundred times more powerful than in the thirties and Kennedy in reality weaker and more embarrassed by internal trouble than Hitler.

Opposition to the Tri-Partite Pact, a thorough discussion of it and the political forces and class interests that lie behind it, gives us an excellent opportunity to reveal the actuality to the Australian people, who have been led blindfold into so many misfortunes.

Consider the Boer War, a noble sacrifice of our lives for British millionaires; also World War I when our boys died at Gallipoli because the British millionaires had promised the Czar territory there, and we fought them to save the world from German tyranny with the aid of the Czar and what resulted.

The October revolution and great profits to American financiers. Dr. Mannix was quite correct when he labelled it a trade war. Then World War II, into which our boys were hauled unprepared, and which could have been prevented so easily.

And then Korea, a war in which outsiders had no right to be present. How would we feel if New South Wales and Victoria were to go to war and Japanese, Americans and French came in to help, say New South Wales and the Victorians, perish the thought, had to get the help of the Chinese?

All these unrelated errors were possible because the Australian people had no knowledge of scientific politics. As the now much maligned Stalin, who did lead his people to victory, said, "If you do not go with history, it doesn't matter how able you are, you will achieve nothing."

Now the world is full of the evidence of the success of the scientific politics of Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Min etc.

etc. and of the failures of the unscientific politics of Chamberlain, Churchill, Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo etc. etc. We brand Khrushchov as unscientific and that is what we also term Kennedy, Menzies, McEwan and Calwell.

We appeal to you to study the position carefully and save our native land from further disastrous and stupid mistakes.

In Australian terms we ask "Why back dead horses?" "Back the winner," the international revolutionary movements for peace, national independence and Socialism. Support the correct declaration of the Chinese Party, which follows:



The Chinese Government issued on July 31, 1963, a statement proposing a conference of the government heads of all countries of the world to discuss the question of complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. The text of the proposal reads as follows:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China hereby proposes the following:

(1) All countries in the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear, solemnly declare that they will prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely. Concretely speaking, they will not use nuclear weapons, nor export, nor import, nor manufacture, nor test, nor stockpile them; and they will destroy all the existing nuclear weapons and their means of delivery in the world, and disband all the existing establishments for the research, testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons in the world.

(2) In order to fulfil the above undertakings step by step, the following measures shall be adopted first:

a. Dismantle all military bases, including nuclear bases, on foreign soil, and withdraw from abroad all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

b. Establish a nuclear weapon-free zone of the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Central Europe; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Africa; and a nuclear weapon-free zone of Latin America. The countries possessing nuclear weapons shall undertake due obligations with regard to each of the nuclear weapon-free zones.

c. Refrain from exporting and importing in any form nuclear weapons and technical data for their manufacture.

d. Cease all nuclear tests, including underground nuclear tests.

(3) A conference of the government heads of all the countries of the world shall be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the question of taking the above-mentioned four measures in order to realize step by step the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons."

In view of the urgent desire of the people of the world for the removal of the threat of nuclear war and for the safeguarding of the peace and security of the world, the Chinese Government earnestly hopes that its proposal will receive the favourable consideration and positive response of the Government of your country.

CHOU EN-LAI

Premier of the State Council of
the People's Republic of China.

The Peace Movement and Imperialism

By **VIDA LITTLE**

Although it is accepted generally that peace has been maintained in the period since the end of World War II, it is a fact that there has been scarcely a day of peace in that time.

The common concept of "peace" is to avoid a third World War. So-called small wars are accepted as part of everyday life — as the "norm" of "peaceful" existence, as indeed they are in the capitalist world.

Let us look at the facts — the Chinese people carried on their armed struggle against Chiang-Kai-Shek and his imperialist bosses right up to 1949 — in 1950 the U.S.A. launched war on Korea, and there have been wars and armed struggle in Algeria, Angola, Congo, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Goa, Vietnam, Laos, Kuwait, Yemen, Chinese border, and Hungary to name but a few of those in Africa, Latin America, Asia, Middle East and Europe.

What is the cause of these wars?

In all cases, it has been the attempts of imperialism — more often than not, U.S. imperialism — to increase exploitation, to hold down a national liberation movement, to re-divide the colonial spoils among themselves — generally American imperialism, under the guise of opposing the colonialism of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland or some other imperialist power, sets out to impose their own colonial rule — or to restore capitalism to a socialist country.

Such wars are an inevitable consequence of imperialism, and arise from the acute, insoluble contradictions of a society based on exploitation of man by man. Although wars arise as a consequence of imperialism, Marxists do not oppose all wars. The Marxist attitude was stated by Lenin: "Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all wars. In the first place, socialists have never been, nor can they be, opposed to revolutionary wars."

Our attitude to wars is determined by the class character of that war. Each war must be examined separately.

Will the war strengthen imperialism, increase militarisation, oppression, poverty and exploitation? If so will it not add to the forces of war and intensify the contradictions existing within capitalist society?

Is the war aimed at throwing overboard foreign oppression, for a better utilisation and fairer distribution of the wealth of the country, either to ease the burden of exploitation or to end it?

Success in such a struggle, either partially alleviates or totally resolves the contradictions which caused it, weakens imperialism economically, politically and militarily, and consequently strengthens the forces for peace.

Marxists recognise the justice of, and necessity for such wars and support them.

The post-war period has been rich in such struggles carried through to victory, such as Cuba, Algeria and China, each one has added to the strength of the world peace movement, until today they constitute an important influence in the world, provided they are united, conscious of their friends and enemies and engage in active struggle.

The 1917 Revolution in Czarist Russia was one of the decisive influences bringing about an early end to World War I and sparked off a world movement against war and capitalism.

The Liberation of China in 1949 added great strength to this movement, and brought a new quality into it, so that it became the decisive factor in the world.

Inspired by the example of China, and driven by the sharpening contradictions within the capitalist world, the people of Latin America, Africa and Asia are, by armed and other forms of struggle fighting to throw out their foreign oppressors. This first step to end exploitation, poverty, illiteracy and disease has led in some cases to socialism, and a total overall gain for world peace; in some other cases there remains strong foreign economic domination, as for example, particularly in India, and to a lesser extent in Indonesia.

While economic interests of the imperialists remain, their political influence will endeavour to exert itself — typical of this is India — and can be minimised only by the vigilance, activity and consciousness of the mass movement, and totally eliminated through the economic independence of each country.

In the course of these national liberation struggles, civil wars and wars, the truth of the conclusions drawn by Lenin in "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" is becoming clearer.

Imperialism created the condition which gave rise to the natural liberation struggles, and will continue to aggravate it, but cannot solve it. The solution lies in the hands of the people of these countries, and the degree of scientific understanding which guides them.

The successes (and the degree of those successes) which have been gained by the peace movement, stem from its ability to recognise from where the danger of war comes, and the support it has given those whose cause has been just.

One of the ideas, being sponsored inside the peace movement by the revisionists, is the equal responsibility for war, or the threat of war, of capitalism and socialism.

This idea is totally rejected by Marxists.

Imperialism is the cause of war. This outmoded social system regularly develops a crisis of overproduction, the final solution of which the imperialists seek in the redivision of the world amongst themselves. Twice this has led to world wars and innumerable times to armed disputes over the right to exploit this or that territory. It is happening today in many parts of the world. It is not possible to equate arms in the hands of imperialists with arms in the hands of socialists.

Cannot Be Equated

A socialist society (and here it is necessary to exclude the type of so-called "socialist" society like Yugoslavia) is not based on exploitation but social ownership of the means of production, and so has no problem of over-production, no overriding necessity for foreign markets, it produces for home consumption, its problems of production are chiefly how to meet the constantly rising requirements of its own people.

Whereas war is the frequently required, but only temporary, solution to the permanent contradictions of capitalist society — peace is the permanent need of a socialist society if it is to fulfil the purpose for which its people engaged in revolution.

Therefore Marxists cannot accept the pacifist and revisionist stand of equal responsibility or war, which confuses and disintegrates the peace movement, because it treats as a potential

enemy, the socialist countries which are in fact the strongest friends of peace, and tends to cloak the activities of the imperialists, thus allowing them to prepare for war virtually unrestricted.

Such a so-called "peace movement" becomes the screen behind which wars are prepared.

An example of this unreal approach is the test ban treaty signed by America, Britain and the Soviet Union. This treaty comes into operation in a world in which the arms race is a predominant feature. It holds back the development of nuclear arms among socialist countries, while allowing the imperialists, in particular the U.S.A. not only to maintain unrestricted its huge stockpile of these weapons, but to carry on those very tests which it requires to further develop its nuclear weapons. The test ban treaty was immediately followed by an announcement from the American Government that it intended to radically step up its underground tests to further develop its "tactical" nuclear weapons, i.e., those to be used in "small wars" against the national liberation struggles, and for some partial redivision of the world.

The signing of the treaty legalises these tests. It lulls the people working for peace in all capitalist countries of the world, into a false sense of achievement, thus allowing the forces for war to gather strength.

The only satisfactory demand is to totally destroy all stockpiles, total prohibition of further manufacture and tests.

Pending this, the proposition put forward by the Chinese Government for nuclear free zones, is the most immediate practical demand for the peace movement and one which holds wide appeal for the Australian people and our neighbours.

Such a zone in the Pacific would include America and would obviously place important restrictions on this most aggressive and war-like of all the countries.

It will be understood that while Communists join the people throughout the world in their proposal for a complete end to the arms race, our belief that the basically aggressive nature of imperialism, that is a society based on exploitation and monopoly capital, will make this impossible except in a socialist world.

We are not insincere in joining such a movement, we believe that it can restrict the arms race.

Increased taxation, reduction of already inadequate social services, education, health, pensions, increased exploitation of the

workers, restricted democratic rights etc., are a feature of all capitalist countries and stem from the arms race.

Demands of the people for better education, higher pensions, free health services, reduced taxation, better working conditions, greater democratic rights can only be met at the expense of the arms race, and hence are an important factor in the peace movement.

Experience in such activities also helps to make clearer to people the direction in which blows for peace should be struck. Marxists join in such movements wholeheartedly.

Our participation in the peace movement comes from our belief that this movement, united and conscious can prevent a particular war (and it has) but is unable to free the world from the constant danger of war or to free the world of all wars, and the truth of this is demonstrated by looking at the world today.

Of course, Marxists do not expect the peace movement to adopt our outlook, but we do believe that a serious and sincere peace movement must include those who have this point of view, particularly as the working class hold this view in varying degrees and their participation is vital to the success of the struggle for peace.

Lenin put the view of Marxists when he said: "We understand the inseparable connection between wars on the one hand and class struggle inside a country on the other; we understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating socialism, and in that we fully recognise the justice, the progressiveness and the necessity of civil wars, i.e., wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor, of slaves against the slave owner, of serfs against the land owners, of wage workers against the bourgeoisie. We Marxists differ both from pacifists and anarchists in that we recognise the necessity of an historical study of each war individually from the point of view of Marx's materialism."

The Decisive Factor

Has the discovery of nuclear weapons transformed the nature of war? Must all wars now be opposed irrespective of the justice of the cause? Is it no longer possible for people taking up arms in a just cause to win victory? In other words, must the whole world bow down to the aggressive militaristic neo-fascist United States imperialists?

What IS the decisive factor in war?

Lenin said: "He wins in war who has the greater reserves, the greater sources of strength, the greater endurance in the mass of the people.

"We can draw on, and go on drawing on for a long time more and more deeply from among the workers and labouring peasants, from among those classes which were oppressed by capitalism, and which everywhere comprise the overwhelming majority of the population. We can draw on this most extensive of reserves because it gives us its leaders who are the most sincere, the most steeled in the hardships of life, the closest to the workers and peasants in the cause of building socialism.

"Our enemies — have nothing even remotely like this reservoir, the ground beneath their feet is quaking more and more."

The atom bomb was dropped on Horoshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

The imperialists have not dared to use it since — although they have been engaged since then in wars of decisive importance to them, such as the French in Algeria and Indo-China, the Americans in Korea and Vietnam and Cuba, to name only a few examples.

In other words, the development of atomic warfare, while making war more brutal and barbarous than ever before, has not changed the nature of war.

All the experience since the first use of the atomic bomb shows that people, armed with inferior weapons, but unshakable belief in the justice of their cause are far more powerful than the most powerfully armed imperialist country. Korea was a classical demonstration of this. But the imperialists don't behave like sensible men, and draw the correct conclusions, they go on with absurd and discredited belief in the invincibility of their superior weapons. Repeatedly they inflict war on the world in the already lost cause of capitalism.

Another idea being introduced into the peace movement by the revisionists is that the leaders of the capitalist world are men of good will and peaceful intentions and therefore we can leave the problem of safeguarding peace in the hands of such leaders.

But they are representatives of a society based on two antagonistic classes, exploiter and exploited; they represent the ruling class, dedicated to maintain their privileged position in society.

Their position depends on their ability to keep capitalism as a going concern — wars, poverty, illiteracy, oppression and privilege. They are not individuals, they are representative of their class, and of their society. Their theoreticians and their propagandists are kept busy falsifying and glossing over the barbarism of capitalism. Can such men be trusted? Can you leave the future of world peace in their hands?

Let us look at their record:

They have broken every agreement for peace that they have made. The Potsdam Agreement to see that Nazi ideology and organisation was destroyed forever — has been blatantly disregarded. Their agreements in Vietnam and Laos also arrogantly broken, their agreement in Korea treated with the same disdain for honour, truth and justice, and the will of the people.

Kennedy, Adenauer, McMillan, Menzies, DeGaulle are men who only under the greatest pressure act in the interests of the people because such action is against their own class interests. They can only be made to keep their agreements under the most vigilant eye of the organised, active and conscious people.

A peace movement which bases itself on the goodness of these people and gives them the power of attorney to act for them, is a peace movement which will no longer be able to fulfil the great responsibilities placed upon it.

However, the will of the people for peace is greater than the weaknesses of such a movement, and will assert itself.

The Australian people will act in their own interests, and in doing so will act in the interests of all oppressed people throughout the world.

There is no question that there is an understanding in Australia about the need to act in support of the people in Vietnam, just as they acted over Indonesia and China in the past.

There is already a strong opposition to American bases in this country, and a dislike of the Menzies Government participation in S.E.A.T.O.

There exists a strong friendship with the people of China, and belief in the peacefulness of its Government.

The growing mass movements for better education, municipal services, and other vital needs of the people, is a guarantee that the people of Australia will maintain and increase their reputation as upholders of peace and justice, and of course this will find its ultimate expression in Socialism.

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SOME COMMENTS ON THE REVISIONIST JOURNAL "ARENA"

By OBSERVER

In 1908, Lenin wrote:

"A number of writers, would-be Marxists, have this year undertaken a veritable campaign against the philosophy of Marxism. In the course of less than half a year four books devoted mainly and almost exclusively to attacks on dialectical materialism have made their appearance . . . all these people, who despite the sharp divergence of their political views, are united in their hostility towards dialectical materialism, at the same time claim that in philosophy they are Marxists." (Lenin—Preface to Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.)

Why do we quote Lenin? Because, he was dealing with a phenomenon very similar to that with which we are about to deal. Lenin had to deal with the petty bourgeois intellectuals and the decadence that had set in amongst them in the quiescence of the Russian revolutionary movement following the Revolution in 1905.

Now, in the period of quiescence in the revolutionary movement in Australia, decadence, despair, degeneration sets in amongst the petty bourgeois intellectuals.

It is marked by the appearance of a journal called "Arena." This journal would be laughable if it were not for the serious situation it reveals. It has the distinction of being underwritten financially and organisationally by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia.

It has one connection with Marxism and that is that that word is used on the cover and a few times in the text.

It is necessary to ask who are the people who have organised this journal. We are told it has an editorial board (provisional) consisting of John M. Legge, Rex Mortimer, Geoff Sharp and Henry Zimmerman. With the exception of Mortimer (who then concealed his real position) each one of these was a vociferous revisionist in 1956 — the year when Khrushchov's actions released all the latent anti-Communism within the Communist movement.

Yes, you may say that is easy to say but it proves nothing. Yes, it proves that these people are revisionists and an examination of their journal proves it beyond any doubt.

Turn to the Editorial—"Why Arena." We must weary you with a quotation:

"Arena's function, as we see it, is to reassert the claims of Marxism, as a relevant meaningful guide to social comment and analysis, and, therefore, also to purposive social activity."

"Meaningful Guide"

Marxism has become in the eyes of these geniuses "a relevant meaningful guide to social comment and analysis, and, therefore, also to purposive social activity." Lenin would have strung together a good deal of purposive language to describe this piece of prize nonsense but, of course, we are not Lenin.

Marxism-Leninism (a term which our gentle editors carefully avoid, because it painfully reminds them of revolutionary struggle) is a world outlook which deduces from an examination of all phenomena, objective laws which prove (on the social plane) that the workingclass must overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is clear and unequivocal, scarcely "a relevant and meaningful guide" in the pompous language of these patronising gentlemen.

Even then in their eyes it is limited to being only a relevant and meaningful guide to "social comment and analysis and therefore, also to purposive social activity."

Utter rubbish, word spinning, designed to obscure what Marxism-Leninism is: to attack Marxism-Leninism in the very name of Marxism.

And if these gentlemen want to know something of the Marxist-Leninist attitude to these questions why don't they read a little bit about it. Why don't they read what Marx himself had to say if they want to confine themselves to Marxism.

Imagine Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse tung (who on any view knew a little more about it than our editors) conceiving of their great revolutionary and scientific liberating theory being seen "as a relevant meaningful guide to social comment and analysis, and, therefore, also to purposive social activity." You will pardon us for repeating this gem so often but its utter abjectness

and at the same time insolence, is so eloquent in itself and so typical of the petty-bourgeois intellectual.

"Social comment and analysis" — meaningful guide" — "purposive social activity!" Let us pause.

Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out that the workingclass had the task of waging the class struggle to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That no doubt is "purposive social activity." It happens to be the only way to the victory of the Socialist revolution.

Would the readers of "Arena" gather that from this magnificent phrase "purposive social activity" or from anything else in "Arena"? And if it doesn't mean this, will they tell us what it does mean. We are sure they do not mean revolutionary struggle for they are desperately afraid of that, but "purposive social activity" means nothing or it means any one of a host of things. Fascists no doubt were engaged in purposive social activity — so are a lot of other reactionary people including our revisionists. Marxists-Leninists however are engaged in the serious business of the class struggle to win the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why don't these gentlemen say that? And if they are talking for the middle class why don't they show its class relationship?

Objective Laws

Marxism, according to 'Arena's' editors must be reasserted as a "relevant and meaningful guide." Perhaps they would kindly tell us what they mean by this piece of erudition. Marxism-Leninism is a set of objective laws and these laws exist and will continue to exist irrespective of what "Arena's" editors would wish or like.

What is Marxism relevant to — do they tell us? In what way is it meaningful — do they tell us? No. Why do they use this idiotic, meaningless language?

Because like all petty bourgeois intellectuals they must be "objective," "fair," "take into account all points of view." And to them Marxism is relevant just as a host of other social "theories" are relevant and it must be weighed carefully along with these.

Again that is utter unadulterated nonsense. It is a brazen attempt to say that Marxism is neutral, it is non-partisan (it is only a "relevant meaningful guide" along with a few others).

Marxism-Leninism is an all embracing science which covers every phenomenon and it dictates a given course of action. Every other social theory must be criticised and attacked from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint. It demonstrates the workingclass as the liberator of society; it has no rivals; it is THE ONLY scientific social analysis: its objectivity is self-demonstrable but to our editors it is only "meaningful" relevant to "purposive social activity."

In case you think we have misquoted or fastened on a single sentence we wholeheartedly urge you to read the whole of this journal. It must be read to see the depths to which revisionism has sunk.

These learned gentlemen go on and they say (let us give you a couple of quotations).

"The Marxists seemed to have the best explanations for the state that the world had arrived at, and the best alternatives." p.4. (Do not apologise too much gentlemen!)

"Whatever the faults in much of Marxist economic analysis in recent years, we believe that its emphasis on the class basis of society is fundamental and that, if combined (as it has been, brilliantly in many periods, not excluding recent times) with specific study of actual situations and movements, it provides an invaluable guide to social understanding and activity." (p.5)

How kind of you gentlemen! How very nice! "An invaluable guide" — a gracious concession!

There follow after this editorial, several articles. A good deal of the material in these is actually and really incomprehensible. We defy anyone to tell us what Mr. Sharp means when he says: 'Peculiarly enough the distinction between mass and class is inherent in the materialist distinction between a class in itself and a class for itself, the differentiation proceeding in terms of the evolution of superstructures.'

And this is characteristic of all the articles — not one of them has a Marxist-Leninist purpose and for our part that is the only purpose in which we are interested. Even the article entitled "Bishop to Move" which contains a few facts of interest starts nowhere, gets nowhere and ends nowhere — scarcely "purposive activity" to borrow 'Arena's' own phrase.

The only "purposive activity" of each of these articles is against Marxism-Leninism, against the workingclass.

Despite our exhortations to read it, we are sure this remarkable journal will not be read for it is far too difficult and tedious to read.

It would not be worth even commenting on, if it were not for the fact that it is still another attack on Marxism-Leninism this time by an array of intellectual dilettantes who parade under the name of Marxists and have the backing of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Its main interest is as a commentary on the utter degeneration of the latter that it could lend itself to such an enterprise.