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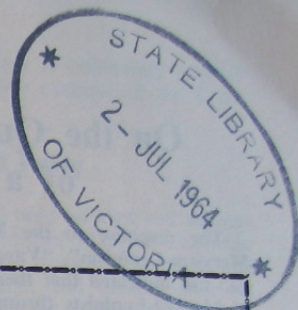
# The Australian Communist

no 2

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

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*"... Preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat not only calls for the intensification of the struggle against the reformists and centrist trends, but also for a change in character of this struggle. This struggle cannot be limited to explaining the errors of these trends; it must unwaveringly and ruthlessly expose every leading man in the working-class movement who reveals these trends, otherwise the proletariat cannot know with whom it will march to the most decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie."*

*Lenin—Thesis on Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International, Selected Works, 12 Volume Edition, Vol. 10, p.167).*

## On the Question of a Party of a New Type

The response to the Marxist-Leninist publications "Defend Marxism-Leninism", "Vanguard" and the "Australian Communist" has indicated that there is a very sound and healthy group of Marxist-Leninists throughout Australia. Scarcely a day goes by without some new expression of support.

The resolution carried by the meeting of Melbourne Communists last September spoke of putting before the people the need for the reformation of a new Party. It is very clear from the response referred to that a Party of Marxism-Leninism is demanded.

Lenin wrote extensively on the nature of the Marxist-Leninist Party. His writings "Where To Begin", "What Is To Be Done", "Two Tactics of Social Democracy", "One Step Forward Two Steps Back", "Left Wing Communism", and his writings in the formative period of the Third International contain a wealth of material.

Stalin in Chapter VIII. of the Foundations of Leninism summarised the main features of a Communist Party. The writings of Comrade Liu Shao Chi "On the Party", and "How To Be A Good Communist" added to the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory on the Party. Dimitrov in his report to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International in 1935 dealt with aspects of the functioning of the Marxist-Leninist Party. All of this material requires deep study so that in taking this big step as wide a circle of people as possible can contribute their views. This matter must be studied deeply and extensively so that mistakes are cut to a minimum.

Material has been and will be published which deals with the desertion of Marxism-Leninism by the Australian revisionists and their Party. A lot can be learned from their mistakes. It is necessary to study all the material on them and to study their own material—their Communist Review, their Tribune and their Guardian. Only by an all-round study will the truth of their absolute betrayal of all the principles of Marxism-Leninism, including the principles of the Party of the new type become clear.

As the Chinese say negative example is commonly a good teacher. Let us learn from the negative example of the Communist Party of Australia.

### Marxist-Leninist Party

In brief we aim for a Party that will hold up high and be capable of keeping held up high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. That requires hard intense work by all to study systematically and intensively Marx Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and contemporaneous Marxist-Leninist material and anti-Marxist-Leninist material.

One of Stalin's errors was that he did not develop around him sufficient Marxist-Leninists. Let us not make that mistake. Everyone is capable of developing into a Marxist-Leninist.

It is not true as the revisionists say, that the workers cannot understand Marxism-Leninism.

It is a foul slander and displays that isolation from and contempt for the masses that is characteristic of revisionists. Let them read Lenin's "What Is To Be Done" and Lenin's little lecture on "The State" on this very question. But, of course, Sharkey, Dixon, Aarons contend it is "dogmatic" ("doctrinaire", "pseudo revolutionary" and all those much worn terms beloved by revisionists) to read or quote or be guided by Lenin. Lenin to them is too advanced for the contemptible masses. No, we want none of this sort of thing but we want a solid band of well equipped Marxist-Leninists.

We have come through a period and are living in a period where we are drinking more deeply than ever before from the pure fountain of Marxism-Leninism. No matter what sneers are hurled at us, what abuse, what derision, we will continue to study ever more deeply the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We will make it a mass question for, said Marx, "theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses". (Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law).

That, then, is the first essential—Marxism-Leninism. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement". (Lenin—"What Is To Be Done").

A new Party will be modelled according to Lenin's principles confirmed and supplemented by subsequent experience.

## Democratic Centralist Party

It will be a democratic centralist Party—centralism based on democracy—democracy based on centralism. It will exclude attacks on Marxism-Leninism—it will work for the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of Australia.

It will have wide mass connections—it will lead the workers and working people in the prosecution of the class struggle to end capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It will have only active members. No one can join who is not prepared to be active in accordance with the conscious discipline of Marxism-Leninism.

Those who support it, but are not prepared or ready to be active, will remain outside the Party—recognising that it is best that they should not dilute the Party by their inactivity. Their support is important and it must be valued highly.

The Party will have a lofty and firm discipline—strong because it is all understanding. Only a highly organised disciplined Party can lead the workers and working people in all their problems.

## Everyone Is Learning

Everyone who accepts the programme and is prepared to work in the Party and pay dues may join. It cannot be demanded that everyone shall be a finished Marxist-Leninist before he joins for there is never a finished Marxist-Leninist. Everyone is learning. All help each other. "We are marching in a compact group along a preceptuous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies and are under their direct, almost constant, fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation". (Lenin: "What Is To Be Done"). How Lenin's words of over 60 years ago ring with inspiration!

**Teh Party needs a programme which integrates Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of Australia. Marx, Engels and Lenin all in their time dealt with the nature of a Marxist Party programme. Study deeply this matter, discuss it, publish a draft, examine it, re-draft it, examine it again and re-draft it.**

**The concentrated wisdom of the most advanced representatives of the working-class must be brought to bear on this problem on the basis of widespread discussion.**

And then, too, a Constitution is required which adopts for Australia all the profound experience of revolutionary Parties. There are fine examples of programmes and constitutions in the great history of the Bolshevik Party, in that of the great Chinese Party, the Party of Indonesia, of New Zealand and in days gone by, the Communist Party of Australia. All of this must be taken into account.

These few notes are only to introduce a subject of historic importance—a subject that has been discussed, but now the situation demands it be discussed with more purpose. A close-knit Marxist-Leninist organisation is required.

## Revisionism in the Communist Party of Australia

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 both declared that revisionism was the main danger in the working-class movement.

In speaking of this, much more was meant than the handful of individuals who made a big noise over the Hungarian counter-revolution of 1956, and over the so-called Stalin revelations.

Revisionism is a far deeper problem than this.

The working-class and its party are under continued pressure from the capitalists. Capitalism never loses sight of the danger to it from the revolutionary working-class and capitalism's most important weapon in combating the revolutionary working-class is political diversion—above all, adapting the demands and struggles of the workingclass to capitalism.

That has been the historic role of the Social Democratic Parties including the Australian Labor Party (which had a different history from other Social Democratic Parties). The Social Democratic Parties were subverted from their original Marxism-Leninism; their leaders bribed; top sections of the workers paid higher wages to buy them off. So the strivings of the workers for socialism were diverted into harmless channels; the working-class was adapted to capitalism.

### Rise of Marxist-Leninist Parties

Marxist-Leninist Parties arose because of this betrayal by the old Social Democratic Parties. The Communist Parties were based on Marxism-Leninism, pledged to lead the working-class to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These parties were much more dangerous to the capitalist system than the old Social Democratic Parties (including the A.L.P.). They meant what they said and so the capitalist class set out to subvert them by repressive measures, by planting agents in them, by bribery, by political diversion, above all, by getting them to adopt a policy harmless to capitalism. Today in the case of many Communist Parties they have succeeded. The Communist Party of Australia has suffered this fate.

They are opposed to partisanship. They say that partisanship is dogmatism and that the Party press should be "broad and light and readable".

The revisionists cannot see that when the interests of the Party and the masses are in unity, so is partisanship in unity with its mass character—or with its popular appeal.

We must not "popularise" the Party press at the expense of the class stand. Of course, we should not see partisanship and the mass character as one, as this indeed would be mechanical and would lead to dogmatism.

There are various strata amongst the masses—some are advanced, some are travelling a middle-of-the-road course and some are backward. Naturally, people of different levels cannot have the same outlook. But we do not lower our level of partisanship by catering for all.

If we did we would not be able to correctly analyse and lead. Partisanship is a supreme principle in building unity with the masses and without a clear-cut, pungent partisanship, a real Marxist-Leninist Party cannot be built.

The revisionists oppose both these things by concentrating opposition on one aspect, that is partisanship. Their objective position is one of satisfying the need of the bourgeoisie, not those of the working class.

The Guardian and Tribune should be studied carefully so that a lesson can be learned "by negative example".

### The Mass Line Method

It is a difficult job to combine partisanship with mass appeal. It cannot be solved through "tricks" and smart journalism in editorial offices. We have to develop correct forms of work whereby our class stand for partisanship is deepened without loss of popularisation.

What is the correct Marxist-Leninist position? Mao Tse Tung summed up the problem in a talk to the Shansi-Suiyan Daily's editorial staff before Liberation. The full talk is in Volume IV. of his collected works and should be carefully studied. He said:

"We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders . . ."

"To run a newspaper well, to make it interesting and absorbing, to give correct publicity in newspapers to the Party's general and specific policies and to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses through the newspapers—this is an important question of principle in our Party's work which is not to be taken lightly".

"You comrades are newspapermen. Your job is to educate the masses, to enable the masses to know their own interests, their own tasks and the Party's general and specific policies. Running a newspaper is like all other work, it must be done conscientiously if it is to be done well, if it is to be lively. With our newspapers, too, we must rely on everybody, on the masses of the people, on the whole Party to run them, not merely on a few persons working behind closed doors".

We are used to bourgeois methods of reporting, that is, we expect someone to visit us from the newspaper to do the job for us.

This is a conception that we must rid ourselves of from the start. We do not want such reporting, rather we want analysis by people who are engaged in a particular struggle.

This means, where possible, there should be collective discussion on the material to be sent in to the newspaper. In this way our capacity to unite what we know (our theory) with what we do (our practice) is developed and experiences of struggle are raised to the level of politics with the aim of lifting mass class consciousness.

A collective discussion on a report helps to "mobilise everybody to run a newspaper" and enables the wide and deep experience of the masses to be expressed in our press.

It is the working-class method of reporting as opposed to the bourgeois method which relies on the individual.

Already Vanguard has had some good experiences in this respect, notably, the reports on the women's movement, the wharf and the rubber dispute.

**We are making a good beginning and the future is full of promise.**

## Some Comments on Recent Issues of "The Guardian"

The Communist Party newspaper "The Guardian" of October 10th contained a speech by Mr. R. Dixon in which he claimed that the Communist Party of Australia will lead the working-class of this country to the victory of socialism.

Now, this is an important claim—it deserves very careful consideration. Dealing with the tasks confronting the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1901, Lenin concluded that in order to lead the workers to achieve a socialist victory there must be above all "a revolutionary organisation" armed with a "political paper" which would "fertilise the revolutionary movement of the proletariat". (from "Where to Begin", Vol. 2 Selected Works, 12 Volume Edition).

Does the Communist Party of Australia measure up to these requirements at the present time? How does its organ, "The Guardian", carry on the work of fertilising the revolutionary movement"? Does the paper stand out as a revolutionary paper unceasingly campaigning to raise the revolutionary understanding of its readers—or does it succumb to varying backward moods of the people? Does it continually explain the fundamental truths of Marxism, or does it make its starting point the insulting theory that the workers are only interested in their wages, houses and cars and wouldn't show the slightest interest in the inspiring ideas of Marx and Engels and Lenin—that these ideas are not for the masses—that the period of relative prosperity has dulled the edge of any revolutionary ardour?

At the risk of accusations of dogmatism we refer again to Lenin in the same article "Where to Begin?" Here he says "Work for the establishment of a fighting organisation . . . must be carried on under all circumstances, no matter how 'drab and peaceful' the times may be and no matter how low the 'depression of revolutionary spirit' has sunk. More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such periods that this work is particularly required, for it would be too late to start building such an organisation in the midst of uprising and outbreaks".

There is no better place than The Guardian's columns to see just how it goes about this work outlined by Lenin.

Take the issues between September 12th and October 10th. A somewhat arbitrary selection it must be admitted, but a fair sample. Now how is the socialist, revolutionary examination of the urgent questions of the day carried out? Take wages and profits for example.

In the issue of September 25, a lengthy article is devoted to analysing the unprecedented profits of Australian companies for the year. That, of course, is very good. But how are the figures treated—what is the conclusion drawn to fire the imagination, the will to struggle of Victorian workers?

Are they shown just how it is that by hiring out to their employer the only thing they have to hire—namely their labour power—that herein lies the source of their exploitation?

Are they told that under this capitalist system all their struggles can only just manage to keep their wages at a level which will barely provide food, clothing and shelter for themselves and their families—and that finally to overcome the injustice under which they struggle all their lives, they will need to rise and rid themselves once and for all of the whole system which allows this immoral exploitation?

No, you will not find any of these conclusions in “The Guardian” article. Their “revolutionary” measure is that the trade unions have concluded the need to organise for a bit better share of this enormous wealth or as “The Guardian” put it “to get a bigger slice of the cake”.

Marx might almost have saved himself the trouble of declaring so many years ago in *Value, Price and Profit*—“Instead of the conservative motto ‘a fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work’, they (the workers) ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword ‘Abolition of the Wages System’.” (*V.P. & Profit*, page 80.)

But perhaps this is an isolated instance and one might jump to wrong conclusions by paying too much attention to this one case.

### **On the Unmasking of Imperialism**

Well, let’s take another urgent task as outlined by the 81 Parties’ Statement, namely the continued unmasking of the character of U.S. imperialism as the most ruthless enemy of the world’s people.

In the issue of September 12 under the heading “Negro Rights—which wind will Kennedy go with?”—we are treated to a so-called analysis of the “movement towards progress” in this bastion of world capitalism, particularly as it effects the campaign against racial discrimination. It is a fact, of course that any school child could tell you that millionaire Kennedy is the chief spokesman for the policies of U.S. imperialism. It is true that he has found himself in a few dilemmas since his election to that high office—the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba—the utter impossibility of containing the revolutionary movement of South Vietnam, the tremendous mass character of the movement for racial equality sweeping the United States.

So Mr. Kennedy is somewhat wary in his public utterances, in fact he has become quite an expert at the art of double talk, at times appearing to give recognition to the great desire of the people for change. But in deeds, Mr. Kennedy remains absolutely committed to imperialism’s use of the cattle prod and the dogs, the germ warfare, the increased production and stockpiling of atomic weapons. That surely, is a statement of the facts of the situation.

But how does “The Guardian” writer see this millionaire politician—as the representative and product of his class or as someone standing above classes, someone who can be won for progress or reaction?

In the author’s own words “Kennedy has tried to introduce a ‘reform’ flavor into U.S. politics—more flexible foreign policy (in South Vietnam, for instance?), modification of Negro inferiority, and expanded social services including medical care, education and unemployment relief”. So, the wind of change is all poised ready to take Mr. Millionaire Kennedy along with it as an assistant and collaborator . . . And this just one week before the bomb outrage (an outrage for which U.S. imperialism bears direct responsibility) which killed four Negro children as they worshipped in Sunday School.

Is this arming the workers with a full knowledge and warning of the bestiality of U.S. imperialism and its leaders—arming them so that they can struggle all the better—or is it lulling them with the expectation that Kennedy is about to join their ranks and take his place in the march of progress?

Such rubbish is understandable in the capitalist press. It can only appear in the workers’ press if its editors have abandoned a position of revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Look at this from another angle in the handling of the subject of Malaysia in the issue of October 10. First, it can be asked: What are the facts on Malaysia? It is a fact as "The Guardian" says, "it is a child of British imperialism", but is this all? Is it not a fact that the U.S. has had many a finger in the unsavoury pie? It has sent negotiators into the area numbers of times. Washington has offered interest-free loans to Malayan ruling circles. The U.N. investigation team which went to Sarawak was headed by an American named Michelmore. In spite of demonstrations and actual battles with troops, a joint memorandum from 22 trade union organisations, against the Malaysian concept, this investigation team found "practically 100% support for Malaysia".

It has been a feature of the colonial movement for independence that as British imperialism has been forced under the weight of peoples' demands to vacate actual possession of dependent territories, the U.S. has lost no time endeavouring to move in and plunder rich resources, substituting U.S. control for that of the British. The same remains true for the "Malaysian" concept.

Yet why no word of this in "The Guardian" handling of the subject? The Australian people need to be told this clearly—they must know all their enemies.

Then look at the article from another angle—the heading for instance: "Malaysia, Where Are We Heading?" Doesn't "The Guardian" staff know? If they do, what is wrong with a heading which rallies the working-class to action, inspires and enthuses. "The Guardian" of the old days abounded with example after example of headlines which were calls to action—slogans with a firm working-class content—fearlessly stating its position for every passer-by to see. Any street seller or "Guardian" canvasser will tell you that the paper sells better with a good clear working-class headline, and even if he doesn't buy, the passer-by gets quite an education from a bold, fighting slogan.

But take a look at the three issues from September 25 to October 10 and what do we find? "Indonesia — Who Is Causing Strife?" "The Strikes — Here's Why?" "Malaysia, Where Are We Heading?" Even the capitalist press wouldn't stand for the complete absence of policy that these headlines would suggest.

### **Mr. Dixon and Yugoslavia**

But to return for a moment to Mr. Dixon with whose claim for leadership this article was started. The same Mr. Dixon

has had a good deal to say from time to time about democratic centralism and carrying out decisions. Well, what of the decision of the 81 Parties on the subject of Yugoslavia? The 81 Parties' Statement says: "The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle . . . Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remain an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties".

Being so firm on the subject of carrying out decisions, it can be presumed that Mr. Dixon stands foursquare behind the decision just quoted. Perhaps he has a ready explanation for an article under his name appearing in "The Guardian" of September 19 entitled "Yugoslavia Has Important Role To Play". Among other things, he has this to say: "In this struggle, Yugoslavia stands on the side of the peace forces, it is for peaceful co-existence and thus has an important role to play. The world Communist movement has ideological differences with the Yugoslav leaders, who pursue a revisionist policy. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia is a socialist country. This is something that cannot be ignored".

Does this sound like "further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionism? No, it has nothing in common with the decision of the 81 Parties, nor has it anything in common with the attitude expressed by the Indonesian Communist Party for whom the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia express profound respect. The leader of the C.P.I., D. H. Aidit, had this to say recently: "From our experience, we are clear that the Yugoslav modern revisionists are continuing in a way that was severely criticised by the 1960 Statement.

This is borne out by the fact that they have been spreading the idea of a "third road" in an attempt to lead astray the struggle of the countries now fighting imperialism and neo-colonialism . . . The Yugoslav revisionists are also painstakingly undermining



and splitting the revolutionary movement of the people of various Asian and African countries. Yugoslavia has been increasingly degenerating into a country serving the interests of the capitalist bloc". Comrade Aidit had much more to say in the same vein. But every word demanded firmly that the decision of the 81 Parties—to expose Yugoslav revisionism—be carried out.

Such are a few of the matters dealt with by "The Guardian" over a short period of five weeks. This incomplete analysis has dealt only with some sins of commission—but what about the sins of omission—the most glaring being the failure to discuss with the workers the fundamental character of the capitalist state?

Nowhere these days in the columns of the Communist press will one find continuous explanation of Marx's brilliant slogan—developed by Lenin and brought to life by the victorious Soviet revolution—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin's words on this vital subject have now become almost something shameful in the eyes and ears of many would-be leaders of the Australian working-class. "Only the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom—parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., right up to the very wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters—putting them under strict surveillance in order to combat inevitable attempts to resist and to restore capitalist slavery—only such measures can ensure the real subordination of the whole class of exploiters".

No wonder Mr. Dixon and his friends are doing their best to prevent honest Communists from reading and pondering again these historic words of Lenin. They are terribly hard to reconcile with the road of "peaceful transition to socialism". Certainly nobody is so foolish as to suggest that the working-class here is ready to act in this way tomorrow—or to suggest that the capitalist system is in such an acute state of crisis that matter is now on the agenda. But to return to the thought at the beginning of this article, it will be "too late" to start preparing in the midst of uprising and outbreaks. It is as true today as when Lenin wrote "What Is To Be Done" that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement".

**Every class conscious workers—every "Guardian" reader—every member of the working-class who thinks about these matters must demand from those who lay claims to leadership—that the fundamental ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin**

Two of its trade union official members have relations with the employers that are far too intimate.

Another member, Mortimer, has made no secret of the fact that he is not comfortable with working people, and sought a change in his work because of this.

And it would be possible to go further through this Committee, and many others in key positions.

What is the ideology that naturally emanates from such people. As Lenin pointed out it generates bourgeois ideology and unless such people take the firmest counteraction and are assisted in that then that bourgeois ideology must come to the top.

There is, of course, nothing wrong in itself in any of this if there is recognised that from such people the ideology that tends to emanate is not working-class. That fact can be offset by a good quality Party, by awareness of the facts, by vigilance. Everyone knows that Engels himself was a business man but Engels never succumbed to his business interests.

Over this present struggle, that ideology that emanates from the capitalist class has become victorious.

**Just as in the Soviet Union. Khrushchov represents that stratum of privileged persons who have arisen in Soviet society with very large incomes and privileges, who want to have nothing to do with struggle, so one can see certain parallels have arisen in the Communist Party of Australia.**

## Intelligence Services Active

Part and parcel of this whole process has been the attention given to the Communist Parties by the bourgeois intelligence services in this country, the Australian Security Organisation (the secret police). They have planted many people in the Communist Party of Australia. They have acted in close international co-ordination including with Tito. Menzies has boasted of his agents within the Communist Party including in the top circles of it and events prove that there is little doubt that he has spoken the truth.

The task of the secret police is political diversion to save the capitalist class. They have secured a great triumph (of which they speak openly in their own circles) in driving out genuine Marxist-Leninists from the Communist Party of Australia. Eternal vigilance by all Marxist-Leninists is called for against this sort of thing.

These then are some considerations of what has happened in the Communist Party of Australia. It is a serious matter, has serious lessons. Only the strengthening of Marxism-Leninism—the deepest study of State and Revolution, Imperialism, Left Wing Communism, Lenin's other works, Marx, Engels and Stalin can ensure the victory of the working-class. But circumstances determine that there will be that study and that the revolutionary struggle of the Australian workers will be crowned with the establishment of socialism.

## A Portrait of a Revisionist

The decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union marked the departure of that Party from Marxism-Leninism.

These decisions had their influence on the Australian Communist Party, Sharkey and Dixon, who previously had serious reservations on the "theories" put forward on the questions of peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition, and the unbalanced attacks of Stalin, began to vacillate. It was some time before these matters became the centre of discussion in the Australian Communist Party.

In 1960, the historical document "Long Live Leninism" was studied and accepted as correct by the members of the Central Committee. But it was also in this period that some leading Party people began to reveal their leanings towards revisionism.

This was particularly noticeable among the people who were friendly with and grouped around L. Aarons—Taft, Mortimer, Stanistreet, Bacon, Sedy, Eddie Robertson and, of course, his brother—Eric Aarons.

This was not accidental. Aarons, who had a rapid rise to a leading position in the Australian Party had been transferred to South Australia soon after the war, but after a period there, because of differences in the S.A. leadership caused by him, Aarons was removed to Newcastle, and after an unsuccessful period there, was brought back to Sydney.

It was the Blake/Henry struggle that brought his appointment to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Shortly after his promotion he went overseas, during which period his closest friends visited the Soviet Union soon after the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary 1956.

**It was at this time that the Soviet Party leaders saw him as the young and pliable person in the Australian Party who provided the possibilities for them, as an adherent to the 20th Congress line, and its Revisionism.**

The Soviet Party leaders at that time were unsure of Sharkey and Dixon's ideological position. Sharkey and Dixon seemed to be close to the Marxist-Leninist line of the Chinese Party. The Soviet estimate of Sharkey and Dixon therefore was that they "were finished".

## Weakened Old Leadership

Over the past seven years they not only developed a method of imposing their revisionist policy on to the Australian Party, but also they quietly, but determinedly, struggled to weaken the position of the old leadership by all sorts of underhand methods.

Aarons was their choice to become General Secretary. To make sure of gaining this objective, Aarons did not come into open conflict with Sharkey and Dixon, but developed friendships to win over what he termed the "young cadres".

Great emphasis was placed on this method and there developed throughout the Part a whispering campaign and a certain rubbing of the older cadre force. It was freely circulated that it was only in recent times that there had been a "cadres policy".

This one-sided and incorrect "cadres policy" was but a smoke-screen for the development of a clique around Aarons in all the States, and his place-men were put into many key positions. Robertson was brought on to the Central Committee Secretariat; Sedy took his place as Secretary of the S.A. State Committee. Taft, Mortimer and Stanistreet were his men in Victoria, Bacon in Queensland and now Jones and, of course, there is his father Sam, the Secretary of the W.A. State Committee.

In N.S.W. the Aarons group have a favoured position. Eric is now a new force in the leadership. Bill Brown, the revisionist of 1956, is now a member of the Political Committee, his wife Freda, leader of work among women and National Secretary of the U.A.W. Alec Robertson is editor of the Tribune, and his wife leads the youth.

So Aarons in fact has a very substantial hold throughout the national apparatus and can ensure, that in future, not only will the Australian Party be tied to the revisionist line of Khrushchov, but the General Secretaryship and leadership will pass into his hands and his team of revisionists.

## Violated Democratic Centralism

L. Aarons has violated all norms of democratic centralism and collective decisions. His method has been of factionalism over a number of years now. He sought people out and filled them up with his own ideas about the "bureaucracy" and "Leftism" of the Victorian State leadership and of the cult of the individual.

Promotion of his stooges has resulted in packing party committees. In the party, educational classes and schools, pamphlets by the Aarons brothers, articles by them and their revisionist friends occupied the main reading material.

Over the past years, he has not attended main international gatherings, therefore, he has not had to be a prominent spokesman in the struggle to impose revisionism on the Australian Party. It is doubtful if he could have put it over as Sharkey and Dixon have, because of their years of leadership. But behind the scenes Aarons has been a most active participant in the whole scheme, strengthening his position by the promotion of his stooges on various State organisations and his meetings outside Party Committees.

The complete betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by Sharkey and Dixon has further enhanced his opportunity to consolidate his march forward to the General Secretaryship.

One of the stumbling blocks standing in his way was the leadership in Victoria and, in particular, of Ted Hill, who was also a member of the Central Committee Secretariat. It was at this level that a clash in policy crystallised and on most occasions Aarons was in a minority of one. Ted Hill's firm stand on Marxism-Leninism and its application to the Australian Labor Movement was a stumbling block for Aarons to successfully put over his opportunism.

**The Soviet Party had ideas of both Hill and Aarons replacing Sharkey and Dixon's leadership, but they met with a reverse when Ted Hill rejected their overtures to support their revisionist policy.**

## Sharkey and Dixon Kept Silent

When a suitable opportunity arose, the Aarons' clique were rallied to a man on every leading committee, from the P.C. down. Aarons took the opportunity to bring forward his rejected views, and lied and distorted P.C. and C.C. decisions. Sharkey and Dixon, who were aware of these distortions, remained silent. In fact, they began to support Aarons.

The Victorian State leadership, with the exception of a small group of revisionists (and Aarons' supporters) were removed—the last and main barrier to Aarons' ambitions had been "liquidated". Sedy was imported to Victoria to strengthen his position.

Sharkey and Dixon had succumbed completely to revisionism and the organisational steps necessary to carry through this policy.

The Communist Party of Australia has had fine traditions which are now being trodden underfoot by the betrayal of the present leadership of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons. The intrigues of Aarons have nothing in common with the principles of the Communist Party. This pattern of cliques and intrigue has not yet run its full course, and it will do great damage to the working-class movement.

The struggle of the working-class against imperialism must also be a struggle against revisionism and opportunism. The present world ideological struggle is a "great university", as Comrade Aidit, leader of the Indonesian Party, says. Lessons are being learnt and the process is leading to a great strengthening of the revolutionary forces in every country, Australia included.

## For the Building of Party Press of a New Type

**We are living in great times. Revisionists notwithstanding, it is the epoch of the transition from Capitalism to Communism.**

The outlook is bright; people in their millions are on the move everywhere. The revisionists sneer at the saying that "90 per cent of the people want revolution" but nevertheless it is true.

The people of the socialist world, the people particularly in Africa, Latin America and in Asia stand for revolution. Imperialism is on its death bed.

The emergence of modern revisionism is, in itself, an indication of the weakness of imperialism.

So our future is indeed bright. It is with this perspective that we must turn our thoughts to building a Party press of a new type. A press that is confident of the future; a press that is not mumbling about the difficulties of social change; that doesn't retreat and shuffle in behind the Labor Party.

We have a great opportunity to build a clear-cut, revolutionary press which is firm in its Marxist-Leninist outlook and holds high, always, the banner of scientific socialism — Marxism-Leninism!

In this issue of Australian Communist some excellent analysis is made of recent issues of The Guardian. It will be seen clearly how this once, staunch and fighting working-class newspaper has lost its edge; how, being in the hands of the modern revisionists, it mumbles and mutters and has lost its working-class stand.

In the Communist Review of June this year is an article by Rex Mortimer who is now in charge of The Guardian. In this article is expressed the inner thinking of a revisionist and in the light of the present sad state of The Guardian it is well worth while reading.

A few comments. First the article is not based on the need to advance the revolutionary movement. And if that is so, on what is it based? It is based, fundamentally, on a conception that has really no confidence in the ability of the masses to change the social system.

"Objective conditions have not on the whole been favorable to revolutionary work in Australia for a considerable period" and "the great majority do not yet see the need to end the present social system".

A strange statement in view of the last central message of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Australia which correctly claimed that conditions were favorable in Australia for the building of the Party and for the development of a **revolutionary mass movement**.

Mortimer's negative theme, although it is qualified (with care), runs through the whole article. There is no historical survey of *The Guardian*. No, that would have been too dangerous. The *Guardian's* stand since the war up to 1961 was, despite its weaknesses, a correct one. It played a great and unforgettable role in the struggles of the working people in this State and its work was led for the greater part of those years by the late Ken Miller, a brilliant working-class editor and a man who had a deep and all-sided understanding of Marxism-Leninism and whose name will remain ever-green.

Throughout Australia, amongst the working-class, *The Guardian* was regarded as a fighting and courageous paper. In Party circles *The Guardian* was considered to be the best working-class paper in Australia.

Today the best tradition of *The Guardian* is carried on by *The Vanguard*. The modern revisionists claim that the old *Guardian* was narrow and sectarian and that it "drew conclusions that were too extreme". Naturally, then, they claim that *The Vanguard* is sectarian and "draws conclusions that are too extreme".

**Well, the demand for Vanguard is going up, much more rapidly than expected, so its conclusions cannot be "too extreme" for the masses.**

Soon *The Vanguard's* circulation will surpass that of *The Guardian's*. Nothing is surer.

### Tasks of the Future

So to the future: The Party press is first and foremost a weapon of the Party and of class struggle for socialism. Deep down in their thinking (and Mortimer's article is a good example of it) the revisionists deny that the Party press is a weapon of class struggle. Their talk about narrowness and the Party press being "unacceptable to the masses" in fact is the process of counter-acting its class character against the masses.

They are opposed to partisanship. They say that partisanship is dogmatism and that the Party press should be "broad and light and readable".

The revisionists cannot see that when the interests of the Party and the masses are in unity, so is partisanship in unity with its mass character—or with its popular appeal.

We must not "popularise" the Party press at the expense of the class stand. Of course, we should not see partisanship and the mass character as one, as this indeed would be mechanical and would lead to dogmatism.

There are various strata amongst the masses—some are advanced, some are travelling a middle-of-the-road course and some are backward. Naturally, people of different levels cannot have the same outlook. But we do not lower our level of partisanship by catering for all.

If we did we would not be able to correctly analyse and lead. Partisanship is a supreme principle in building unity with the masses and without a clear-cut, pungent partisanship, a real Marxist-Leninist Party cannot be built.

The revisionists oppose both these things by concentrating opposition on one aspect, that is partisanship. Their objective position is one of satisfying the need of the bourgeoisie, not those of the working class.

*The Guardian* and *Tribune* should be studied carefully so that a lesson can be learned "by negative example".

### The Mass Line Method

It is a difficult job to combine partisanship with mass appeal. It cannot be solved through "tricks" and smart journalism in editorial offices. We have to develop correct forms of work whereby our class stand for partisanship is deepened without loss of popularisation.

What is the correct Marxist-Leninist position? Mao Tse Tung summed up the problem in a talk to the Shansi-Suiyan Daily's editorial staff before Liberation. The full talk is in Volume IV. of his collected works and should be carefully studied. He said:

"We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders . . ."

"To run a newspaper well, to make it interesting and absorbing, to give correct publicity in newspapers to the Party's general and specific policies and to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses through the newspapers—this is an important question of principle in our Party's work which is not to be taken lightly".

"You comrades are newspapermen. Your job is to educate the masses, to enable the masses to know their own interests, their own tasks and the Party's general and specific policies. Running a newspaper is like all other work, it must be done conscientiously if it is to be done well, if it is to be lively. With our newspapers, too, we must rely on everybody, on the masses of the people, on the whole Party to run them, not merely on a few persons working behind closed doors".

We are used to bourgeois methods of reporting, that is, we expect someone to visit us from the newspaper to do the job for us.

This is a conception that we must rid ourselves of from the start. We do not want such reporting, rather we want analysis by people who are engaged in a particular struggle.

This means, where possible, there should be collective discussion on the material to be sent in to the newspaper. In this way our capacity to unite what we know (our theory) with what we do (our practice) is developed and experiences of struggle are raised to the level of politics with the aim of lifting mass class consciousness.

A collective discussion on a report helps to "mobilise everybody to run a newspaper" and enables the wide and deep experience of the masses to be expressed in our press.

It is the working-class method of reporting as opposed to the bourgeois method which relies on the individual.

Already Vanguard has had some good experiences in this respect, notably, the reports on the women's movement, the wharf and the rubber dispute.

**We are making a good beginning and the future is full of promise.**

## Some Comments on Recent Issues of "The Guardian"

The Communist Party newspaper "The Guardian" of October 10th contained a speech by Mr. R. Dixon in which he claimed that the Communist Party of Australia will lead the working-class of this country to the victory of socialism.

Now, this is an important claim—it deserves very careful consideration. Dealing with the tasks confronting the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1901, Lenin concluded that in order to lead the workers to achieve a socialist victory there must be above all "a revolutionary organisation" armed with a "political paper" which would "fertilise the revolutionary movement of the proletariat". (from "Where to Begin", Vol. 2 Selected Works, 12 Volume Edition).

Does the Communist Party of Australia measure up to these requirements at the present time? How does its organ, "The Guardian", carry on the work of fertilising the revolutionary movement? Does the paper stand out as a revolutionary paper unceasingly campaigning to raise the revolutionary understanding of its readers—or does it succumb to varying backward moods of the people? Does it continually explain the fundamental theory of Marxism, or does it make its starting point the insulting truth that the workers are only interested in their wages, houses and cars and wouldn't show the slightest interest in the inspiring ideas of Marx and Engels and Lenin—that these ideas are not for the masses—that the period of relative prosperity has dulled the edge of any revolutionary ardour?

At the risk of accusations of dogmatism we refer again to Lenin in the same article "Where to Begin?" Here he says "Work for the establishment of a fighting organisation . . . must be carried on under all circumstances, no matter how 'drab and peaceful' the times may be and no matter how low the 'depression of revolutionary spirit' has sunk. More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such periods that this work is particularly required, for it would be too late to start building such an organisation in the midst of uprising and outbreaks".

There is no better place than The Guardian's columns to see just how it goes about this work outlined by Lenin.

Take the issues between September 12th and October 10th. A somewhat arbitrary selection it must be admitted, but a fair sample. Now how is the socialist, revolutionary examination of the urgent questions of the day carried out? Take wages and profits for example.

In the issue of September 25, a lengthy article is devoted to analysing the unprecedented profits of Australian companies for the year. That, of course, is very good. But how are the figures treated—what is the conclusion drawn to fire the imagination, the will to struggle of Victorian workers?

Are they shown just how it is that by hiring out to their employer the only thing they have to hire—namely their labour power—that herein lies the source of their exploitation?

Are they told that under this capitalist system all their struggles can only just manage to keep their wages at a level which will barely provide food, clothing and shelter for themselves and their families—and that finally to overcome the injustice under which they struggle all their lives, they will need to rise and rid themselves once and for all of the whole system which allows this immoral exploitation?

No, you will not find any of these conclusions in "The Guardian" article. Their "revolutionary" measure is that the trade unions have concluded the need to organise for a bit better share of this enormous wealth or as "The Guardian" put it "to get a bigger slice of the cake".

Marx might almost have saved himself the trouble of declaring so many years ago in *Value, Price and Profit*—"Instead of the conservative motto 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work', they (the workers) ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword 'Abolition of the Wages System'." (*V.P. & Profit*, page 80.)

But perhaps this is an isolated instance and one might jump to wrong conclusions by paying too much attention to this one case.

### On the Unmasking of Imperialism

Well, let's take another urgent task as outlined by the 81 Parties' Statement, namely the continued unmasking of the character of U.S. imperialism as the most ruthless enemy of the world's people.

In the issue of September 12 under the heading "Negro Rights—which wind will Kennedy go with?"—we are treated to a so-called analysis of the "movement towards progress" in this bastion of world capitalism, particularly as it effects the campaign against racial discrimination. It is a fact, of course that any school child could tell you that millionaire Kennedy is the chief spokesman for the policies of U.S. imperialism. It is true that he has found himself in a few dilemmas since his election to that high office—the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba—the utter impossibility of containing the revolutionary movement of South Vietnam, the tremendous mass character of the movement for racial equality sweeping the United States.

So Mr. Kennedy is somewhat wary in his public utterances, in fact he has become quite an expert at the art of double talk, at times appearing to give recognition to the great desire of the people for change. But in deeds, Mr. Kennedy remains absolutely committed to imperialism's use of the cattle prod and the dogs, the germ warfare, the increased production and stockpiling of atomic weapons. That surely, is a statement of the facts of the situation.

But how does "The Guardian" writer see this millionaire politician—as the representative and product of his class or as someone standing above classes, someone who can be won for progress or reaction?

In the author's own words "Kennedy has tried to introduce a 'reform' flavor into U.S. politics—more flexible foreign policy (in South Vietnam, for instance?), modification of Negro inferiority, and expanded social services including medical care, education and unemployment relief". So, the wind of change is all poised ready to take Mr. Millionaire Kennedy along with it as an assistant and collaborator . . . And this just one week before the bomb outrage (an outrage for which U.S. imperialism bears direct responsibility) which killed four Negro children as they worshipped in Sunday School.

Is this arming the workers with a full knowledge and warning of the bestiality of U.S. imperialism and its leaders—arming them so that they can struggle all the better—or is it lulling them with the expectation that Kennedy is about to join their ranks and take his place in the march of progress?

Such rubbish is understandable in the capitalist press. It can only appear in the workers' press if its editors have abandoned a position of revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Look at this from another angle in the handling of the subject of Malaysia in the issue of October 10. First, it can be asked: What are the facts on Malaysia? It is a fact as "The Guardian" says, "it is a child of British imperialism", but is this all? Is it not a fact that the U.S. has had many a finger in the unsavoury pie? It has sent negotiators into the area numbers of times. Washington has offered interest-free loans to Malayan ruling circles. The U.N. investigation team which went to Sarawak was headed by an American named Michelmore. In spite of demonstrations and actual battles with troops, a joint memorandum from 22 trade union organisations, against the Malaysian concept, this investigation team found "practically 100% support for Malaysia".

It has been a feature of the colonial movement for independence that as British imperialism has been forced under the weight of peoples' demands to vacate actual possession of dependent territories, the U.S. has lost no time endeavouring to move in and plunder rich resources, substituting U.S. control for that of the British. The same remains true for the "Malaysian" concept.

Yet why no word of this in "The Guardian" handling of the subject? The Australian people need to be told this clearly—they must know all their enemies.

Then look at the article from another angle—the heading for instance: "Malaysia, Where Are We Heading?" Doesn't "The Guardian" staff know? If they do, what is wrong with a heading which rallies the working-class to action, inspires and enthuses. "The Guardian" of the old days abounded with example after example of headlines which were calls to action—slogans with a firm working-class content—fearlessly stating its position for every passer-by to see. Any street seller or "Guardian" canvasser will tell you that the paper sells better with a good clear working-class headline, and even if he doesn't buy, the passer-by gets quite an education from a bold, fighting slogan.

But take a look at the three issues from September 25 to October 10 and what do we find? "Indonesia — Who Is Causing Strife?" "The Strikes — Here's Why?" "Malaysia, Where Are We Heading?" Even the capitalist press wouldn't stand for the complete absence of policy that these headlines would suggest.

### **Mr. Dixon and Yugoslavia**

But to return for a moment to Mr. Dixon with whose claim for leadership this article was started. The same Mr. Dixon

has had a good deal to say from time to time about democratic centralism and carrying out decisions. Well, what of the decision of the 81 Parties on the subject of Yugoslavia? The 81 Parties' Statement says: "The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist 'theories' in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle . . . Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and working-class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remain an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties".

Being so firm on the subject of carrying out decisions, it can be presumed that Mr. Dixon stands foursquare behind the decision just quoted. Perhaps he has a ready explanation for an article under his name appearing in "The Guardian" of September 19 entitled "Yugoslavia Has Important Role To Play". Among other things, he has this to say: "In this struggle, Yugoslavia stands on the side of the peace forces, it is for peaceful co-existence and thus has an important role to play. The world Communist movement has ideological differences with the Yugoslav leaders, who pursue a revisionist policy. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia is a socialist country. This is something that cannot be ignored".

Does this sound like "further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionism? No, it has nothing in common with the decision of the 81 Parties, nor has it anything in common with the attitude expressed by the Indonesian Communist Party for whom the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia express profound respect. The leader of the C.P.I., D. H. Aidit, had this to say recently: "From our experience, we are clear that the Yugoslav modern revisionists are continuing in a way that was severely criticised by the 1960 Statement.

This is borne out by the fact that they have been spreading the idea of a "third road" in an attempt to lead astray the struggle of the countries now fighting imperialism and neo-colonialism . . . The Yugoslav revisionists are also painstakingly undermining



and splitting the revolutionary movement of the people of various Asian and African countries. Yugoslavia has been increasingly degenerating into a country serving the interests of the capitalist bloc". Comrade Aidit had much more to say in the same vein. But every word demanded firmly that the decision of the 81 Parties—to expose Yugoslav revisionism—be carried out.

Such are a few of the matters dealt with by "The Guardian" over a short period of five weeks. This incomplete analysis has dealt only with some sins of commission—but what about the sins of omission—the most glaring being the failure to discuss with the workers the fundamental character of the capitalist state?

Nowhere these days in the columns of the Communist press will one find continuous explanation of Marx's brilliant slogan—developed by Lenin and brought to life by the victorious Soviet revolution—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin's words on this vital subject have now become almost something shameful in the eyes and ears of many would-be leaders of the Australian working-class. "Only the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom—parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., right up to the very wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters—putting them under strict surveillance in order to combat inevitable attempts to resist and to restore capitalist slavery—only such measures can ensure the real subordination of the whole class of exploiters".

No wonder Mr. Dixon and his friends are doing their best to prevent honest Communists from reading and pondering again these historic words of Lenin. They are terribly hard to reconcile with the road of "peaceful transition to socialism". Certainly nobody is so foolish as to suggest that the working-class here is ready to act in this way tomorrow—or to suggest that the capitalist system is in such an acute state of crisis that matter is now on the agenda. But to return to the thought at the beginning of this article, it will be "too late" to start preparing in the midst of uprising and outbreaks. It is as true today as when Lenin wrote "What Is To Be Done" that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement".

**Every class conscious workers—every "Guardian" reader—every member of the working-class who thinks about these matters must demand from those who lay claims to leadership—that the fundamental ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin**

**be restored to their rightful place, that unceasing efforts be made to make these ideas the property of the masses, that they be the weapon with which we examine the reality of Australian life to successfully march on the highway to Socialism in Australia.**

## Some Aspects of Unity and Problems of The United Front

**The struggle for working class unity is a key question for Marxist-Leninists working in the Trade Union movement.**

Marx, the founder of scientific Socialism, in analysing capitalism and the role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle for power, was deeply concerned with the problem of working class unity, because he saw that the constant competition between the workers for the sale of their labor power on the labor market, provided a natural basis for division among them. Even in that period, Marx saw the need for a program around which unity could be developed and he set out such a program embracing working class demands on hours, housing, wages, etc.

Marx saw not only the need for such a program as a rallying point for unity on the economic front, but also as a means of assisting the workers to draw correct conclusions from their experiences in struggle. He raised the slogan of "The Abolition of the Wages System", as against the accepted slogan of the unions, of a "Fair Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work".

Lenin again set out this objective of unity, on a higher level. He exposed the Mensheviks who sought to confine working class struggle to every day needs. He carried out a relentless struggle against the revisionists who were upholding Marxism in words, but set out to destroy its revolutionary living soul. He did this in order to develop unity for the overthrow of the feudal capitalist autocracy of Russia, and the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class.

Again, Dimitrov developed this theory of unity, relating it to the practical problems of the united front against fascism.

**From this brief outline, we see that the struggle for unity is not new, but runs like a red thread throughout the whole history of working class struggle, as a means of driving out ideologies which divide the working class.**

We know that reformism has very strong roots in the Australian Labour Movement. It was not until 1921 that there was any scientific Marxist-Leninist approach to the problems of working class unity, and not until the thirties that this approach had much impact on the trade union movement.

## Years of Reformist Leadership

So that the background of the Australian Labor Movement is one of the long unchallenged years of reformist leadership.

However, it would be wrong to say that the working class learned nothing during this period. There is always a positive side to all problems.

The Australian working class has a tradition of militancy and although for a long period it gained only perceptual knowledge, that is superficial impressions from its experiences, this in itself is important.

In the thirties, Communists in the trade unions began to influence trade union policy. They led many important struggles, for living standards, democratic rights, against war and fascism, unemployment. They developed revolutionary working class struggle and leadership, and many were elected to leading trade union positions.

**In Victoria, under correct Marxist-Leninist leadership, a collective leadership was developed which turned its attention to the factories, built the shop committee movement and developed unity in action, which is the essence of the united front.**

Following the anti-fascist war, the contradictions between U.S. and Australian capitalist interests sharpened.

This together with the impact of revolutionary ideology as against reformist ideology on the working class, and its increased understanding gained in the many struggles over the years, resulted in a movement of the masses to the left, here, and on a world scale.

**At the same time, the policy of the Labor Party was moving to the right, demonstrated in the development of the Industrial Groups and Labor Party support for them.**

The Labor Party realised that if it continued to move to the right, while the masses moved to the left, it would lose its mass base in the working class movement and consequently its value to the capitalist class. It had to come back to its base in order to carry out its role of leading the working class away from revolution. It reverted to its traditional role described by Lenin in his thesis on the Australian Labor Party in 1913, as "the development of an independent Australian capitalism".

It supported Australian and British imperialism as against U.S. imperialism.

While Marxist-Leninists saw this basic tactic of reformism, it was recognised that the main immediate issue was to drive out the Groupers in order to solve, not so much the contradictions between the leaders, but the contradictions in the class, the working class, and bring it into opposition to the main enemy, U.S. imperialism on foreign policy, and the reactionary policy of the Groups in collusion with the Menzies' Government on wages, democratic rights, etc.

**The correct application of this policy was instrumental in driving out the Groupers and developing a Left Wing in Victoria and taking the struggle for unity to a higher level.**

### **Reformism Hasn't Changed**

Did the development of the Left Wing change the nature of reformism? No. There is no basis for change in reformism, which is the ideology of capitalism. To protect their own position they are forced to listen to the masses; to put themselves at the head of militant working class struggles. Why?

To develop these militant struggles and the revolutionary spirit of the working class?

No. There is no evidence of this.

To do so would be a contradiction to their basic ideological position. They do so to contain the working class—to settle differences organisationally by manoeuvring on top, to hold down militant struggle, direct it into legal and harmless channels, so that the masses are not involved and learn nothing from the struggle.

**Despite this we nevertheless treat the left wing leaders differently to the right wing, because their demagogy influences the masses.**

We are not concerned with the struggle between leaders, but with the masses, and the extent to which leaders reflect the position of the masses and influence them. We therefore seek to unite with the left wing leaders on specific issues, at the same time we struggle against their wrong ideas.

Unity is not something static, but a process which develops through struggle. Unity, struggle, unity, turns quantity into quality, that is lifting unity to a higher level.

Today the modern revisionists have joined forces and made common cause with the reformists.

In their efforts to serve capitalism, they make little or no distinction between left, right or centre. They support them all.

They oppose the struggle against imperialism in favor of following the line of "possible" demands, which are "acceptable" to, and can be carried out under capitalism. The line of least resistance.

This is the theory that justifies everything and conciliates everybody. This reminds us of the so-called "productive forces" theory dealt with by Stalin in his work "Foundations of Leninism".

Dealing with the theory of "Spontaneity" which Kautsky and other revisionists upheld, together with all parties of the 2nd International, Stalin gives a graphic example of the application of this theory, and its consequences.

Before the 1st World War, the 2nd International declared "War Against War". On the eve of the war, the opposite slogan of "War for the imperialist fatherland" was substituted.

The effect of this change of slogans was that millions of workers were sent to their deaths. "Who was guilty?" "Did anyone betray the working class?" No, because the "level of the productive forces prevailing at the time made it impossible to do anything else.

So, the whole blame was on the "Productive Forces".

Today the revisionists claim that nuclear weapons have changed the nature of war.

Lenin's thesis on "Just and Unjust Wars" is out of date, is no longer applicable in the face of nuclear weapons.

The national liberation movement, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries for living standards, democratic rights, and peace must be subordinated to the overall danger of nuclear war.

It is no longer the imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialism, which is the common enemy, but "nuclear weapons".

We must unite with the imperialists against the common enemy of mankind, "nuclear weapons". What utter nonsense. What treachery.

But today we see not only a growing number of rank and file members of the trade unions and the working class movement questioning the revisionists on this question of war and peace,

but a growing number of left-wing reformist trade union leaders also, many of whom have attended International Peace Conferences and visited Socialist countries.

They have seen with their own eyes and understand why and on what basis the differences in the International Communist Movement have arisen and have taken up an honest position on the question of war and peace.

On the economic front, despite the efforts of the right wing and the revisionists, the working class through their own experiences, and the impact of revolutionary theory and practice are no longer prepared to tamely follow their misleaders on many questions.

They see the role of arbitration and the capitalist state machine more clearly.

At the recent A.C.T.U. Congress it was disclosed that over the last ten years Unions have been fined hundreds of thousands of pounds by the Arbitration Commission's use of the penal provisions over strikes around legitimate demands on wages, hours, conditions, etc.

These vicious attacks on democratic rights and living standards has assisted materially in lifting the political understanding of the working class.

### **Struggle at Higher Level**

The present wave of militant struggle is at a higher level than at any previous time in the history of the Australian working class.

Our stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism has confused many workers. To help them understand our position we need to apply our ideological stand to the solving of their problems.

In Australia as in all capitalist countries, the struggle against imperialism takes the form of a struggle for living standards, democracy and peace. We take up these questions. But we do not see these struggles in isolation, but as part of the struggles of the working class in other capitalist countries: in the colonial countries and neo-colonial countries for national independence; as part of the ideological battle in the world Communist movement for a correct unified struggle against the common enemy of the international working class and the majority of the world's people, imperialism headed by U.S. imperialists.

**Unity of action by the working class on a national and international scale is a mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defence but also for successful counter-offence against imperialism.**

The united front is a key question in this struggle, to not only win immediate demands, but to end the system of exploitation and establish working class power.

As Marxist-Leninists we set out to explain this to the working class. Explain its essence, unity in action by the workers themselves, around their specific demands, for it is the masses which make history, and workshop organisation the key, to move the working class up to overcome capitalism.

To draw all honest reformist leaders, all sections of the working class, women, youth, into the stream of struggle around their pressing immediate problems which are the way to long range aims in this struggle, a relentless struggle against revisionism is one of the most important tasks in the struggle for the development of the united front.

## A Comment On "Differences in The Communist Movement"

A pamphlet was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia in August, 1963.

It begins with the statement that it rejects the criticisms made by the leaders of the Communist Party of China "of the policy and work of the majority of Communist Parties including our own" and considers that the Chinese Party has seriously departed from the 81 Parties' Statement. Let us consider the points raised.

First, the pamphlet contains what is now a commonplace usual lie that the Chinese Party does not consider that a world war can be averted. The truth is that the Chinese Party considers, as the 81 Parties' says:—

"Through an active determined struggle by the socialist and other peace loving countries, by the international working class and broad masses in all countries, it is probable to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations and FORCE the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament".

The pamphlet under consideration does not mention, let alone attempt to deal with, the Khrushchov ideas, e.g., that Eisenhower is a lover of peace, and Kennedy will listen to reason, and Khrushchov's actual endorsement of Tito's idea, viz., that there is no actual cause for disagreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. except the latter's arming; that both are moving towards the same end, Socialism.

Naturally, also, the pamphlet endorses the Tripartite Pact which Kennedy declares, to be to the advantage of the U.S.A. and not in any way interfering with the U.S. increasing its nuclear armament. In fact, he says it is to their advantage as it will aid the prevention, for example, of China's nuclear arming.

If our readers will acquaint themselves with the history of this Pact and the subsequent events, e.g., eight underground tests by the U.S.A., they will agree that this Pact was proposed by the enemy and advantages the enemy. The C.P.C. correctly calls it a dirty fraud.

## A Series of Falsehood

The next lie is about the policy of peaceful co-existence. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia does not seem to have read Khrushchov's utterances. If they had, they would not say that the idea "that imperialism will automatically collapse in course of the peaceful competition and that the only thing the oppressed peoples and nations have to do is to wait quietly for the advent of this day", has nothing in common with the theory and practice of any Communist Party in the world. Khrushchov's utterances contain this theme precisely.

The next lie is about Cuba. The stupid action of Khrushchov in installing missiles in Cuba and thereby giving Kennedy the excuse he wanted was adventurism. The next step, capitulation, was removing them, allowing Soviet ships to be searched at sea and promising international inspection, which Cuba rightly did not allow.

Kennedy on September 17th, 1963 in reply to a question, said that a military attack on Cuba would be a grave error fraught with serious consequences to the U.S.A. and he would not contemplate it. Of course, the strength of the Socialist camp, including the U.S.S.R. and China has something to do with this estimate by Kennedy, but the Cuban revolutionary people and the revolutionary crisis now existing in Latin America are certainly the greater reasons for Kennedy's fears.

We must also tell the C.C. that it is better to judge on the facts and not on the utterance of any man even if he be Castro. Castro naturally thanked the U.S.S.R. for its help and just as naturally could not utter severe criticisms except when he said he would like to punch Khrushchov on the nose.

Next of course, the well known false insinuation that the C.P.C. would welcome nuclear war. What are the facts? The atomic bomb has not been used since the end of World War 2. It was not used in the Chinese Civil War, in Korea, in Vietnam, in Algeria, in Southern Vietnam or Laos, because it would not have been of advantage to the U.S.A. The U.S.A. either waged these wars or assisted the reactionaries to the extent of billions of dollars.

It is clear that an atomic war between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. would be madness on either side; it is also clear that the thermo nuclear brand cannot be used in colonial wars. Could it be used in civil wars in the imperialist mother countries. Hardly, it would extinguish the imperialists as well as the workers.

There are therefore sound reasons for thinking that Mao Tse Tung was correct when he said in 1947 that it was probable that the atomic bomb would never be used again.

Both the Chinese and the Russians and the 81 Parties' Statement state that if the capitalists did use the bomb in a world war, capitalism would be destroyed.

The C.P.C. however, differs from Khrushchov and his clique in this, that it is not frightened by the bogey, that it considers that the world revolution will proceed and man will destroy the bomb, and not the bomb destroy man.

The next assertion is that Communists support national independence struggle. This was indeed once true but today the support of some self-styled Communists is more than doubtful, e.g., the support by Khrushchov's representatives in the U.N. Assembly of the sending of U.N. troops to the Congo when everyone knew that these troops would represent the U.S.A. and the result was the murder of Lumumba and the strangling of the Congo national independence movement.

### Why No Mention of India

Why is it that the C.C. does not mention India in this pamphlet? India is a colonial country with nominal political independence but which is exploited more fiercely today by Anglo-American imperialists than it was before its "political" independence. As Malcolm Muggeridge says brown shoulders now bear the burden once borne by white ones, i.e., Nehru & Co., now ensure the profits of the imperialists, have bravely taken the job over once held by Casey and his ilk.

In India there is a struggle for true independence led by Communists and now betrayed by Dange & Co. Nehru represents the landlords and industrial millionaires. He very naturally attacked China. The immediate objective was Tibet, the strong point of Asia, the final one the building of an Indian Empire by aggression. After doing everything possible to prevent war the Chinese finally attacked the invading Indian army, threw it back into India and threw its weapons after it.

What did the Australian Party do? Did it analyse the class position in India and China? Did it say we must support a socialist country attacked by capitalist aggression? No, it would not even publish a letter which gave Nehru's history and a class analysis of the position. It watched Menzies send one million pounds worth of arms to Nehru and did and said nothing. Khrush-

chov explained the war by saying that wars began by someone firing a shot and someone else replying and that he was sure neither his Chinese nor Indian friends desired war. Marxist, wasn't he? And then the U.S.S.R. joined America and Britain in supplying arms to Nehru. Dange was welcomed in Moscow.

You see Khrushchov believes that a socialist country can join with a capitalist country in building up the backward nations, i.e., the shepherd and the wolf can unite in rearing the lamb.

**If Nehru resumes war with China as he is expected to do by his kind helpers, what will result?**

Already the Indians are in famine and misery owing to increased taxes and increased cost of living caused by the preparation for war. The result will undoubtedly be revolution in India. The anti-Communist schemes of the imperialists bring revolution. Recall World War 2, the Americans and Chiang Kai Shek, the French and Vietnam, etc. Where will we, the Australians, stand? In 1918, Lady Buchanan, wife of the British Ambassador in Moscow in 1917, wrote in the Empire Review that it was a blessing we could always rely on a quarter of a million Australians to save India. Let us bring it up to date. Anglo-American imperialism relies on half a million Australians to save India and is busy preparing the bases to help them. On the face of things that plot does not displease the C.C. of the Australian Communist Party.

### Question of "Nationalisation"

The third point is "nationalisation". Apparently the C.C. has never heard of nationalisation as a bourgeois manoeuvre. It says "only strong proletariat mass struggle could force nationalisation of any monopoly enterprise". Yet nationalised enterprises are a common-place in State monopoly capitalism. Even the U.S.A. state produces some 10% of the industrial products and services. In Italy nearly 40%, in France more than 30%, in England the coal mines, etc. Are the above "bourgeois frauds" as the C.P.C. says, or kindly efforts to better the condition of the working class?

Next on the question of the Labor Party. The C.C. complains that the dissidents want more criticism of the Labour Party and have no faith in the leaders of the left wing of the A.L.P. The said dissidents, it says, are too impatient. The C.P.C. is also too impatient. Well, study its history. We are not impatient. No Communist should set a timetable for the revolution but

it is a Communist's duty to be ready and have the working class ready for the crisis.

**While working with the A.L.P. or anyone else for immediate objectives, our duty is to never allow the working class to forget the final objective. And today, and in the past, the Communist Party of Australia often leads the workers to confusing the A.L.P. with the Communist Party.**

The next question is the role of Parliament in the revolution.

In words the C.C. supports the stand of the C.P.C. my stating that it will work for the establishment of a People's Government which will smash monopoly power and the old State apparatus. The C.C. is apparently unaware that Khrushchov's followers, e.g. Togliatti have revived the old reformist Kautskyan idea of a revolution by a parliamentary majority. Will the C.C. give us an example of the bourgeoisie allowing a Communist Party to get a majority in Parliament—or allowing Parliament to continue if such a majority be likely? The C.C. might also give us an example of peaceful transition.

The next question is that of Stalin. There never has been a deadlier blow given to International Communism than the slandering by Khrushchov of that very great revolutionary leader, Stalin. That was a positive gift to all the enemies. Stalin certainly made mistakes but was it not Stalin who led the Soviet Union to socialist industrialisation, collectivisation of agriculture, to victory in the great anti-fascist war?

Next the argument about social classes in the U.S.S.R. Well Khrushchov has just explained (September 18th) the bad harvest there and the consequent purchase of \$500 million worth of Canadian wheat by absenteeism. What is the cause of absenteeism. The collective farm peasants, still owners of the means of production, produce capitalists in plenty. The Soviet press has reported glaring examples of that and the C.C. and Khrushchov are angry because the C.P.C. has re-printed these reports and substantiated Lenin's statement as to the origin of capitalists. It certainly shows that a great deal of work has yet to be done before Communism can come in the Soviet Union—and the C.C. well knows that the C.P.C. does not underestimate the true requirements in China. The leaders of the C.P.C. say repeatedly that it will require several decades for China to become prosperous industrially and agriculturally.

As to the "State of the Whole People" the above makes it ludicrous as it always was to Marxists. See Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Programme".

Next the C.C. regards Yugoslavia as a socialist country. After 18 years of Tito's socialism, 300,000 unemployed, inflation, growth of kulaks, dispossession of peasants, practically no collective farming and bourgeois co-operatives running an industry that in the main assembles Yankee products and hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs going to work in Germany, France, etc. A beautiful socialism! The C.C. should enquire into the kindly treatment given by Tito to the true Yugoslav Communists. Hitler was not less kind.

### A Word on the Omissions

There are also foolish statements in the pamphlet such as saying that the C.P.C. calls the majority of Communist Parties "enemies of Marxism-Leninism". This is a stupid lie. The C.P.C. very correctly designates renegades and revisionists by their true title but these are like Khrushchov for the moment, leaders of organisations whose members will certainly prove wiser than their leaders. The C.P.C. has faith in the Communist Parties (including the Soviet Communist Party).

**So much for the points raised. Now we must draw attention to the omissions.**

Why does the C.C. of the C.P.A. make no reference to the foul action of Khrushchov & Co. in 1960? They tore up hundreds of treaties, withdrew 1,300 Soviet specialists from China on a month's notice and withdrew the blue prints and specifications and stopped the supply of material. This when China was in the grip of unparalleled natural calamities.

Why no mention either of the extraordinary efforts made by Khrushchov, Novotny and Ulbricht to prevent their peoples reading the Chinese presentation of the case while the C.P.C. was printing all the Russian articles and many by Togliatti, etc., in their daily papers? And no mention either of the interference with the Chinese news service and with Chinese citizens travelling in Russia because they had Chinese pamphlets in their possession.

**These omissions can hardly be considered as tokens of honesty.**

This pamphlet is in essence a clumsy attempt to conceal the revisionist deviation that began at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Party and has now fully developed.

The C.C. of the Communist Party of Australia endeavours to shield Khrushchov and his followers, Thorez, Togliatti, Ulbricht and Novotny.

We must ask can true Marxist-Leninists, real Communists support revisionists and oppose such genuine Communists as the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party? Here, in Australia, the bourgeoisie have set up a standing army, a security policy and such fascist type legislation as the Crimes Act and the Arbitration Act. In addition, they are introducing American armed forces into the country. Can this mean anything else but an expectation of revolt by the people and the determination to repress it violently?

The bourgeoisie know very well the very frail condition of Australian capitalism and of world capitalism. They have no confidence in continual prosperity. While some alleged Communists talk of peaceful transition; the bourgeoisie get the guns ready.

The Kennedy administration incurs deficits in the last two years, totalling over twelve thousand million dollars by expenditures of 47,000 million dollars annually on "defence". Revisionists are certainly not good material for a Communist Party that has to meet critical situations at no distant date. If forming a Communist Party free from revisionists is a policy of splitting, then splitting is the correct policy—and unity howlers as Engels wrote are our worst trouble.

There is no need for dismay. The proletarian revolution will go on and capitalism will be removed. The historical forces will prevail despite the efforts of all the scheming intrigues in the world. Join the fight against revisionism!

## An Open Letter to Mr. Dixon, President of the Communist Party of Australia

Melbourne, 14/10/1963

Dear Dick,

I find myself forced into a position to write this letter as a personal friend of yours of long standing. I was, to some extent, a little surprised to read in the "Guardian", of October 10, 1963, a statement of your report to a public meeting in the Melbourne Town Hall. I say "I was a little surprised", for really I was not greatly surprised because, for many years now, I have considered you to have revisionist tendencies.

You will no doubt remember, Dick, writing to me quite regularly while I was in Bendigo during the war. and you will no doubt recall your letter to me immediately Earl Browder wrote his world-shaking statement in support of Pierpont Morgan. You might say, Dick, "that all Browder offered to do was to shake hands with this tycoon of American monopoly capital". However, in your letter, among other things, you stated that "we should study Comrade Browder's speech; there are many fine lessons that our Party can learn from it, particularly in relation to the united front tactics".

Well Dick, this is what you wrote me. However, I am not accusing you of being alone in your acceptance of Browder's revisionism. For a time the C.C. Secretariat, Political Committee and the C.C. accepted it. But I have little doubt, that you were the influencing force. True, the Party leadership changed its position after Duclos, of the French Party, exposed Browder.

But of course, Dick, your revisionist tendencies went back further than Browder.

### "Homes . . . Refrigerators . . ."

You know that you corresponded regularly with my brother, Tom, while he was in the army. You, no doubt, Dick, in all good intentions, explained to Tom, "that after victory in the war



against the German fascists, that progressive mankind will have won themselves a much better life", and went on to tell Tom, that he and others, on their return, "would get all the modern necessities of life—homes, refrigerators, etc., etc." Tom, of course, who had quite an amount of respect for your yords of "wisdom", could not get the boys rounded up quickly enough to tell them the "good news".

Tom said they were all very pleased to hear this news, with the exception of one, as Tom put it—a very inquisitive bloke. This chap asked Tom, "where are all these things coming from, surely you don't think big business is going to start handing out all this stuff to us".

Tom said, "after this war, mate, there will be no big business".

So here, Dick, Tom supplied the answer to the question that you planted in his mind. You will, of course, reject this, but let me develop this revisionist trend of yours, or I should say, let you develop it. After your "advice" to Tom, you developed your position in your letter to me regarding your stand in support of Browder, and, as I said earlier, you were a great influencing force on the secretariat, and at a later stage, also in rejecting Browder.

The secretariat brought forward "its peaceful transition theory", and as a theoretician, Dick, you must give yourself a "pat on the back" from time to time. In your report to the C.C., January, 1951, you say: "The idea of peaceful transition to Socialism is not some new position taken up by us since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. This idea has always been in our minds as the documents of the Party over the years will show, and especially the Party Programme agreed upon in 1951 after months of discussion within the Party".

### Lenin "Out the Window"

So, Dick, you can rightly claim that you and a few others developed the idea of peaceful transition before Khrushchov, and when he comes to light with the same idea, then he must be "on the line". But as you say a little further on in your report: "Lenin, whom no one will accuse, etc., etc." If you don't mind me suggesting it, Dick, I think you should have put it in this way: "Lenin, whom no one should accuse and distort," because I accuse you and all Browder revisionists of throwing Lenin and his revolutionary theory out the window.

be restored to their rightful place, that unceasing efforts be made to make these ideas the property of the masses, that they be the weapon with which we examine the reality of Australian life to successfully march on the highway to Socialism in Australia.

## Some Aspects of Unity and Problems of The United Front

**The struggle for working class unity is a key question for Marxist-Leninists working in the Trade Union movement.**

Marx, the founder of scientific Socialism, in analysing capitalism and the role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle for power, was deeply concerned with the problem of working class unity, because he saw that the constant competition between the workers for the sale of their labor power on the labor market, provided a natural basis for division among them. Even in that period, Marx saw the need for a program around which unity could be developed and he set out such a program embracing working class demands on hours, housing, wages, etc.

Marx saw not only the need for such a program as a rallying point for unity on the economic front, but also as a means of assisting the workers to draw correct conclusions from their experiences in struggle. He raised the slogan of "The Abolition of the Wages System", as against the accepted slogan of the unions, of a "Fair Day's Pay for a Fair Day's Work".

Lenin again set out this objective of unity, on a higher level. He exposed the Mensheviks who sought to confine working class struggle to every day needs. He carried out a relentless struggle against the revisionists who were upholding Marxism in words, but set out to destroy its revolutionary living soul. He did this in order to develop unity for the overthrow of the feudal capitalist autocracy of Russia, and the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class.

Again, Dimitrov developed this theory of unity, relating it to the practical problems of the united front against fascism.

**From this brief outline, we see that the struggle for unity is not new, but runs like a red thread throughout the whole history of working class struggle, as a means of driving out ideologies which divide the working class.**

We know that reformism has very strong roots in the Australian Labour Movement. It was not until 1921 that there was any scientific Marxist-Leninist approach to the problems of working class unity, and not until the thirties that this approach had much impact on the trade union movement.

## Years of Reformist Leadership

So that the background of the Australian Labor Movement is one of the long unchallenged years of reformist leadership.

However, it would be wrong to say that the working class learned nothing during this period. There is always a positive side to all problems.

The Australian working class has a tradition of militancy and although for a long period it gained only perceptual knowledge, that is superficial impressions from its experiences, this in itself is important.

In the thirties, Communists in the trade unions began to influence trade union policy. They led many important struggles, for living standards, democratic rights, against war and fascism, unemployment. They developed revolutionary working class struggle and leadership, and many were elected to leading trade union positions.

**In Victoria, under correct Marxist-Leninist leadership, a collective leadership was developed which turned its attention to the factories, built the shop committee movement and developed unity in action, which is the essence of the united front.**

Following the anti-fascist war, the contradictions between U.S. and Australian capitalist interests sharpened.

This together with the impact of revolutionary ideology as against reformist ideology on the working class, and its increased understanding gained in the many struggles over the years, resulted in a movement of the masses to the left, here, and on a world scale.

**At the same time, the policy of the Labor Party was moving to the right, demonstrated in the development of the Industrial Groups and Labor Party support for them.**

The Labor Party realised that if it continued to move to the right, while the masses moved to the left, it would lose its mass base in the working class movement and consequently its value to the capitalist class. It had to come back to its base in order to carry out its role of leading the working class away from revolution. It reverted to its traditional role described by Lenin in his thesis on the Australian Labor Party in 1913, as "the development of an independent Australian capitalism".

It supported Australian and British imperialism as against U.S. imperialism.

While Marxist-Leninists saw this basic tactic of reformism, it was recognised that the main immediate issue was to drive out the Groupers in order to solve, not so much the contradictions between the leaders, but the contradictions in the class, the working class, and bring it into opposition to the main enemy, U.S. imperialism on foreign policy, and the reactionary policy of the Groups in collusion with the Menzies' Government on wages, democratic rights, etc.

The correct application of this policy was instrumental in driving out the Groupers and developing a Left Wing in Victoria and taking the struggle for unity to a higher level.

## Reformism Hasn't Changed

Did the development of the Left Wing change the nature of reformism? No. There is no basis for change in reformism, which is the ideology of capitalism. To protect their own position they are forced to listen to the masses; to put themselves at the head of militant working class struggles. Why?

To develop these militant struggles and the revolutionary spirit of the working class?

No. There is no evidence of this.

To do so would be a contradiction to their basic ideological position. They do so to contain the working class—to settle differences organisationally by manoeuvring on top, to hold down militant struggle, direct it into legal and harmless channels, so that the masses are not involved and learn nothing from the struggle.

**Despite this we nevertheless treat the left wing leaders differently to the right wing, because their demagogy influences the masses.**

We are not concerned with the struggle between leaders, but with the masses, and the extent to which leaders reflect the position of the masses and influence them. We therefore seek to unite with the left wing leaders on specific issues, at the same time we struggle against their wrong ideas.

Unity is not something static, but a process which develops through struggle. Unity, struggle, unity, turns quantity into quality, that is lifting unity to a higher level.

Today the modern revisionists have joined forces and made common cause with the reformists.

In their efforts to serve capitalism, they make little or no distinction between left, right or centre. They support them all.

They oppose the struggle against imperialism in favor of following the line of "possible" demands, which are "acceptable" to, and can be carried out under capitalism. The line of least resistance.

This is the theory that justifies everything and conciliates everybody. This reminds us of the so-called "productive forces" theory dealt with by Stalin in his work "Foundations of Leninism".

Dealing with the theory of "Spontaneity" which Kautsky and other revisionists upheld, together with all parties of the 2nd International, Stalin gives a graphic example of the application of this theory, and its consequences.

Before the 1st World War, the 2nd International declared "War Against War". On the eve of the war, the opposite slogan of "War for the imperialist fatherland" was substituted.

The effect of this change of slogans was that millions of workers were sent to their deaths. "Who was guilty?" "Did anyone betray the working class?" No, because the "level of the productive forces prevailing at the time made it impossible to do anything else.

So, the whole blame was on the "Productive Forces".

Today the revisionists claim that nuclear weapons have changed the nature of war.

Lenin's thesis on "Just and Unjust Wars" is out of date, is no longer applicable in the face of nuclear weapons.

The national liberation movement, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries for living standards, democratic rights, and peace must be subordinated to the overall danger of nuclear war.

It is no longer the imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialism, which is the common enemy, but "nuclear weapons".

We must unite with the imperialists against the common enemy of mankind, "nuclear weapons". What utter nonsense. What treachery.

But today we see not only a growing number of rank and file members of the trade unions and the working class movement questioning the revisionists on this question of war and peace,

but a growing number of left-wing reformist trade union leaders, also, many of whom have attended International Peace Conferences and visited Socialist countries.

They have seen with their own eyes and understand why and on what basis the differences in the International Communist Movement have arisen and have taken up an honest position on the question of war and peace.

On the economic front, despite the efforts of the right wing and the revisionists, the working class through their own experiences, and the impact of revolutionary theory and practice are no longer prepared to tamely follow their misleaders on many questions.

They see the role of arbitration and the capitalist state machine more clearly.

At the recent A.C.T.U. Congress it was disclosed that over the last ten years Unions have been fined hundreds of thousands of pounds by the Arbitration Commission's use of the penal provisions over strikes around legitimate demands on wages, hours, conditions, etc.

These vicious attacks on democratic rights and living standards has assisted materially in lifting the political understanding of the working class.

### **Struggle at Higher Level**

The present wave of militant struggle is at a higher level than at any previous time in the history of the Australian working class.

Our stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism has confused many workers. To help them understand our position we need to apply our ideological stand to the solving of their problems.

In Australia as in all capitalist countries, the struggle against imperialism takes the form of a struggle for living standards, democracy and peace. We take up these questions. But we do not see these struggles in isolation, but as part of the struggles of the working class in other capitalist countries: in the colonial countries and neo-colonial countries for national independence; as part of the ideological battle in the world Communist movement for a correct unified struggle against the common enemy of the international working class and the majority of the world's people, imperialism headed by U.S. imperialists.

**Unity of action by the working class on a national and international scale is a mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defence but also for successful counter-offence against imperialism.**

The united front is a key question in this struggle, to not only win immediate demands, but to end the system of exploitation and establish working class power.

As Marxist-Leninists we set out to explain this to the working class. Explain its essence, unity in action by the workers themselves, around their specific demands, for it is the masses which make history, and workshop organisation the key, to move the working class up to overcome capitalism.

To draw all honest reformist leaders, all sections of the working class, women, youth, into the stream of struggle around their pressing immediate problems which are the way to long range aims in this struggle, a relentless struggle against revisionism is one of the most important tasks in the struggle for the development of the united front.

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First, the pamphlet contains what is now a commonplace usual lie that the Chinese Party does not consider that a world war can be averted. The truth is that the Chinese Party considers, as the 81 Parties' says:—

"Through an active determined struggle by the socialist and other peace loving countries, by the international working class and broad masses in all countries, it is probable to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations and FORCE the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament".

The pamphlet under consideration does not mention, let alone attempt to deal with, the Khrushchov ideas, e.g., that Eisenhower is a lover of peace, and Kennedy will listen to reason, and Khrushchov's actual endorsement of Tito's idea, viz., that there is no actual cause for disagreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. except the latter's arming; that both are moving towards the same end, Socialism.

Naturally, also, the pamphlet endorses the Tripartite Pact which Kennedy declares, to be to the advantage of the U.S.A. and not in any way interfering with the U.S. increasing its nuclear armament. In fact, he says it is to their advantage as it will aid the prevention, for example, of China's nuclear arming.

If our readers will acquaint themselves with the history of this Pact and the subsequent events, e.g., eight underground tests by the U.S.A., they will agree that this Pact was proposed by the enemy and advantages the enemy. The C.P.C. correctly calls it a dirty fraud.

## Abandoned Previous Position

You, yourself, have abandoned the previous position you held when you returned from China, that the Communist Party of China was for world peace and it is common knowledge that while in China you expressed the opinion that then the leading Marxist theoreticians in the world Communist movement were in China.

You will remember some months ago when I drove you to the Caulfield Station, I tried to discuss with you several aspects of the current politics, the differences, and to discuss my criticism of the 20th and 22nd Congresses. You first tried to avoid discussion and then averred that the problems were complicated. What was transparent was that either you were not prepared to discuss or could not answer my arguments.

You will remember, perhaps, that I was seeking a class explanation for the differences and put it to you that the Communist Review should carry some articles analyzing the background of the differences from a class basis which is surely the only thing a Marxist should do. I then put forward an argument based on a class position. I did not then feel sure of my argument, did not even feel sure that it was based on correct statements of fact, but I was seeking after truth, seeking your assistance but all you could say was that it was complicated. I have had similar experience with Taft and Jack Hughes and others.

**I was always, until the end of June, willing to discuss these things with you or any other member of my branch or State or Central Committee or any other responsible person in the Party.**

Jack Mitchell, was, however, the only person who appeared to be the slightest degree inclined to engage in disputation. But his view was clearly expressed when, as I understood it, he said to me that he could not see in the foreseeable future a revolutionary situation arising in Australia and that we should act accordingly, otherwise the Party would isolate itself from the masses.

My view is that this is no excuse for non-class activity and makes me think of why is it that one of the world's worst minorities—the Aborigines of Australia—is still voiceless, workless, rightless?

Even if it may not be possible to see a revolutionary situation arising in Australia within the foreseeable future the Party should be nevertheless run on the basis that it is a revolutionary Party

and I can see no logic or precedent to suggest that this would isolate the Party from the masses. If the Party does not act as a revolutionary Party it will be caught out as were the Cuban Party and the Algerian Party.

Until the end of June I was always willing to discuss these things with you and your kind but so long as you follow the example of that farcical demagogue, Khrushchov, who one day says one thing and the next day another, and this without explanation or argumentation, I see no purpose in such discussion.

You publish Comrade Hill's letter, which is to any person able to read and whether that person agrees with it or not, a letter of lucid argument. I presume Aarons wrote the answer in "The Guardian", but whoever it was who wrote it, clearly he either did not read or did not understand Comrade Hill's letter. Because, first, the article which purports to be in reply does not answer Comrade Hill's letter at all, and second, it descends to personal abuse in exactly the same way as Comrade Hill avers you do. Thereby you prove at least one of his points.

Khrushchov does not do quite the same with the Chinese correspondence. Khrushchov tears out of context the Chinese sentences, reconstructs them to an entirely different meaning, and then having thus erected a straw man, knocks it over so very easily. (The inference is at least that the Soviet leaders understood the letter, putting them in the matter of correspondence, a step in front of you and yours—otherwise they would not have first misrepresented it).

The trouble for you in this case is that Khrushchov has knocked over a straw man of his own creation; the Chinese letter remains, the ideas they express remain, the problems of the world remain, the Soviet people remain, and before long, historically speaking anyway, the Soviet people will deal with Khrushchov just as the Yugoslav people will deal with Tito.

So long as you and your kind take attitudes and behaviour from the example of Khrushchov and his kind I see no value in continuing our association.

### Trading on Members' Loyalty

And by that I do not include large numbers of honest members of your Party, who over many years learned loyalty to a Party that at one time, as you yourself described it, fought at all times on all fronts. You and your kind are now trading on that loyalty as for a while you traded on mine and that of many

others who now think as I do, but that is only a temporary advantage for you.

As your experience tells you there are many militants among the working-class whose instincts prompt them to look for a strong lead, who have developed the habit of following your Party for that lead has been strong.

**More and more as history unfolds these good people will reject you as the comrades of Milan and Brussels have already rejected their Italian and Belgian revisionist leaderships.**

They will reject you because again to sustain your position you cannot afford to look at reality. People will see that whatever you call yourselves you are not a Communist Party at all as defined in the works of Lenin, but a Party of compromise and revision, a social democratic Party.

As I have just read, history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second, as farce. The history which is repeating itself in your activities, is the Kautskyite revisionism of the Second International. That was tragedy which almost beyond doubt held back social revolution in many countries. This Khrushchovite revisionism is sheer farce, not without its very tragic side for the people of Iraq and the brave soldiers of the P.L.A. forced to a war of Nehru's making.

Tragedy arises because, for example, if Khrushchov had in the first instance taken a firm stand on the Sino-Indian border question, the Indian bourgeoisie would have been forced to seek other solutions for their problems than attacks on their neighbours, thus giving the excuse for war preparations, thus enabling them to maintain themselves out of the increasing sufferings of millions of poverty-stricken Indians.

I shall turn to your letter. You purport to charge me with violation of Party rules. I cannot violate rules which do not apply to me. You apparently think you have jurisdiction over me. Well, it is not so.

Even your behaviour in the way you have purported to charge me is in itself deplorable. It is not even up to the standard of the Victorian Police. In the case of that body, in 38 years of legal experience, I have never heard of an instance of a policeman laying any charge—even for murder—without prior inquiry from the person to be charged, unless perhaps when the person has escaped, but even then he only secures a warrant for arrest.

But so arrogant and unself-critical have you become that, although I am in the city every day, although one of your

committeemen sees me every day, prior to this charge, no inquiry, direct or indirect from me is made about what I do or why.

It is in a way, like the slanders you have been spreading about the termination of my relationship with Mortimer. The pattern of these slanders is so wide that it is clear the statements stem from your committee; even you have engaged in them. But not one of you have had the simple guts to come and ask me what my view was of Mortimer or why I so acted.

I tell you now I sacked him because amongst other things which I regarded as offensive, without discussion with me about my views and opinion and despite our long association, he did not hesitate to slander me.

This was again a minor thing; more important, he had become irresponsible, superficial, a person who deliberately misquoted his references and acted in a manner inimical to the working class.

He thus became a person with whom I had no wish for further association, so I terminated my professional relationship with him. (This in any case incurred him in no hardship. Mortimer had the choice of doing what he did—find someone else to put him on his books—or with very little trouble he could take out his own practising certificate in Victoria as he has done in New South Wales).

But you would not come to ask, you prefer the dirty weapon of slander.

Concerning my present activities, I am proud to carry forward to the best of my ability, the struggle for Marxism-Leninism. I distribute Marxist documents from wherever they flow. If these are anti your Party, I do not know to whom you may turn for help.

CEDRIC RALPH

### **Mr. Gibson's Last Note**

Mr. Gibson's short reply reads:

Mr. C. Ralph—

23rd September, 1963

Dear Mr. Ralph,

You are hereby notified that you have been expelled from membership of the Communist Party of Australia.

(Signed) R. GIBSON.

*Melbourne - December, 1963*

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