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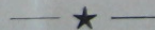
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Concluding E. F. Hill's Report To Historic Congress of Marxist-Leninists

This is the concluding section of the report made by E. F. Hill to the historic conference of Marxist-Leninists which established the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) earlier this year.

In our Marxist-Leninist Party there must be cultivated the close study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism — the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung and Liu Shao Chi.

Only the independent all round mastery of these classics can give the Communists the necessary independence of thought and action to integrate the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of Australia. Another feature of the Sharkeys, the Dixons and Aarons was that they substituted for the Marxist-Leninist classics their own writings and particularly the rubbish that the two Aaronsons wrote on various questions.

You will find that is a characteristic of the Communist Party study, particularly in the years following 1956. Gradually the Marxist classics were relegated to the background and revisionism was smuggled in. Now these gentlemen put great emphasis on Left Wing Communism because they say it proves their case.

They do not study this great classic of Lenin in an all-sided way at all — they attempt to say that the substance of Left Wing Communism is not the burning revolutionary principles it expounds, and the warning against left errors in applying those revolutionary principles, but those very warnings. Such is the dishonesty of revisionism.

As a matter of fact we have urged and urge now a study and acceptance of every principle and word of Left Wing Communism — a thing which our revisionists systematically avoid.

Again we must avoid this error of the revisionists and seek constant refreshment from the great storehouse of revolutionary principles bequeathed to us by these mighty men.

There is no substitute for them.

The revisionists Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons in line with their master Khrushchov sneer at the quotation of Lenin. They cannot afford really to have Lenin quoted because it is a painful reminder of their renegacy.

Sharkey now and again pathetically quotes Lenin but always out of context and always dishonestly but mainly he avoids it altogether — Lenin is outmoded he says frankly enough in his World Marxist Review article.

But we believe that Lenin forty years after his death speaks just as eloquently and just as correctly as he did in his lifetime and that far from being outmoded his writings are being brilliantly substantiated every day.

Therefore, in our present conditions we must turn to Lenin on the Party — “What is to be Done,” “One Step Forward,” “Two Tactics”; on the formation of the Communist International (Volume 10 of the 12 Volume Edition of his selected works); on Philosophy — “The Three Component Sources of Marxism,” “Materialism and Empirio Criticism”; on the agrarian problem — “Draft Thesis on the Agrarian Question” (Volume 10); on reformism — “The State and Revolution,” “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky”; on the State — the same; on Imperialism and so on. And likewise to Marx, Engels, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung and the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 81 Parties’ Statement. These dossiers are our fundamental starting point.

There is demanded above all the independent individual study of all these classics by each single Communist. Classes have their place but there is no substitute for this individual study and mastery.

Still further there must be an all-round study of the enemy material including that of the revisionists, that of the A.L.P., that of the Menzies Government, of the D.L.P., of the bourgeoisie in general. Marxism-Leninism fears no debate. Its adherents must have the widest possible knowledge and must eschew exclusiveness, for exclusiveness is a manifestation of lack of confidence — sectarianism. Liu Shao Chi was absolutely correct when he urged on the North Vietnamese Party School students the study of all material in the current debate. We must do the same starting from that fundamental equipment of Marxism-Leninism.

Organisation In The Factories

Our Party must above all be based on the workingpeople and in particular, of course, the workingclass. Our primary organisations must be of the workingclass — based in the factories where the real struggle goes on. Again the revisionists have systematically strangled workingclass organisation and have built their organisation according to the dictates of their own revisionism geared to Parliamentary elections and, in the factories, geared to trade union elections to ensure the return of revisionist trade union officials. But this is not revolutionary at all. The degeneration of Aarons.

Dixon and Sharkey is paralleled in the revisionist trade union officials who are little different in a number of cases from the reformists — solely concerned with their job and, as Lenin said, everywhere a time serving element. A Communist trade union official must first of all be a Communist but that can be said only of the tiniest minority. Lenin really meant that when he said it but it is almost heresy in revisionist circles to refer to it.

Hence we see trade union positions in an entirely different light. In themselves they are not important — a trade union leader to warrant a position in a leading Communist committee must qualify on his ability as a Communist and not on his ability as a trade union leader who subordinates Communist activity and organisation to holding his union position.

Then our organisation must reach out to the toiling farmers. Here the revisionism of Sharkey, Aarons and Dixon is fully revealed for just like the reformist parties they have failed to develop Marxist-Leninist theory and practice on the agrarian question. Lenin’s Agrarian Thesis is practically unknown in the Communist movement and it is too little known amongst us.

It is to be found in Volume 10 of Lenin’s 12 Volume Edition of the Selected Works and in the Foreign Language Publishing House 2 Volume Edition. We must reprint it and intensify very deeply the concrete study of this matter in Australia. Our organisation must cater for this.

Our Party is a Party of a new type. It exists in conditions of bourgeois democracy where the illusions of freedom and liberty go very deep. But we know the reality of our society is bourgeois dictatorship which can very rapidly pass to fascist dictatorship with its murder, gaoling, persecution of its most energetic foes, the Communists.

It has all the weapons at hand to do this — the standing army, police, gaol, secret police. Hence our Party must be so organised to meet this even now in the conditions of liberal bourgeois democracy.

Liberalism goes very deep — our members are exposed to the scrutiny of the secret police all the time — they are readily tabulated and overnight could be collected. There is loose talk, loose use of telephones, the mail. This is entirely wrong and must be ended.

We are fighting a war and that the most difficult of wars, and we must act accordingly no matter how difficult it is.

We must learn as Lenin said to elude the secret police — it is an art — a skill long neglected by the revisionists Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey. We must remould ourselves too in this direction.

No one should be admitted to our Party until he has been thoroughly scrutinised for it is certain that the secret police are far more concerned about us than about the revisionists. And I mean thoroughly scrutinised. Looseness, carelessness cannot be excused. Our basic organisations must be self-contained — we do not want any one person except perhaps the topmost leadership knowing all the Party members or knowing the Party members outside his sphere.

Of course, we do not want to develop suspicion and distrust. On the contrary. We have and are entitled to have the utmost confidence in each other and in all our Party members but in the interests of the workingpeople we are not entitled to be liberal in any degree.

We need the utmost skill to use the legal opportunities to the full and at the same time see that our organisation is fully protected.

We do not have all the people we could have here precisely because our work takes many forms. We have tried to organise this conference in a particular way precisely because we are a revolutionary party and we do not propose to put all our forces on the potential block.

There is a good deal of resistance to some of these concepts because the bad habits of the past are so deeply ingrained and just how deep they are can be seen if you read the Bulletin, News Weekly and the so-called Rank and File circulars. All that we want eliminated.

It is reasonably easy to locate enemies if there is a good political and theoretical level, good activity, good criticism and self criticism: it is difficult if these things are absent or if there are groups of people banded around some individual other than the Central Committee which we will elect.

Thus we must build afresh — a Party steeled in struggle — capable of dealing with any situation — with self contained self acting members and organisations. Our Central Committee will supervise this.

There are many more aspects to our Party organisation that I cannot now develop. But it will be an organisation that will carry through revolutionary activity, provide Marxist-Leninist leadership to the Australian workingclass and defeat revisionism and reformism.

Why is it demanded at this moment that we must reconstitute the Communist movement in Australia?

Revisionists Suffer Severe Blows

The struggle against revisionism has gained tremendous momentum internationally and in our country. Internationally the heroic stand of the Chinese and Albanian Communists has rallied the

world's Marxist-Leninists. We are Marxist-Leninists and we salute our great comrades who have upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism so nobly.

Nothing can tarnish their glory: upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism the great Communist Parties of Indonesia, New Zealand, Japan, Vietnam, Korea, Malaya, Belgium, Burma, Thailand, Ceylon, Peru, Brazil, Laos have our warmest support. We in turn have their warmest support.

Throughout the world, Marxist-Leninists have come to the fore in every country. On their shoulders falls the honor of leading the revolutionary workingclass.

On the other hand the revisionists have suffered severe blows. Khrushchov is revealed to millions of people as the collaborator of U.S. imperialism, the friend of Tito. He has resorted to the foulest of means to subvert, split and damage the Communist movement at the behest of U.S. imperialism. His actions could help only the U.S. imperialists.

He has been revealed as the enemy of peace recklessly bragging about nuclear weapons and then equally recklessly capitulating before the threats of the imperialists. He has bribed, flattered and cajoled Communist "leaders." He has advanced "theories" which run completely counter to Marxism-Leninism such as his "theories" on the transition to socialism, his "theories" on war and peace; his "theory" about the relations of the Communists to Social Democrats; his "theories" about the State and Party of the whole people. He has called for the ending of polemics in the international movement — the very man who started them and then squeals when he is stripped of his veneer as a Communist and cries out for mercy.

No it is a bad thing and yet it is a good thing for never before in history have so many studied the basic works of Marxism-Leninism and never before have those basic works gripped so many people.

"Theory," said Marx, "becomes a material force as soon as it grips the masses." It is far better that revisionism be revealed and defeated now than later. Marxism-Leninism emerges stronger. In speaking of Khrushchov we reject with utter contempt the charge that we are anti-Soviet. Just because we treasure the great Soviet Union, just because we have the utmost confidence in the great Soviet people, just because Khrushchov is anti-Soviet, we are opposed to Khrushchov and his theories.

Within our country the struggle against revisionism has followed a pattern reflecting the mighty international developments. From one person in the Political Committee at the outset of the struggle and four in the Central Committee we have this splendid conference and very much support outside. Of course, we must not

overestimate it and we must not think that Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey will collapse overnight. They will not do that but they will collapse and their organisation despite all their brave words is in fact slowly disintegrating.

Our Vanguard and Australian Communist have met with an astounding response. There is a great thirst indeed for Marxism-Leninism amongst the Australian workingpeople.

Although we visualised earlier a slower approach to the problem of reconstituting the Communist movement events have moved so fast that its reconstitution is imperatively and urgently demanded. So we enthusiastically meet here to do just that job, to intensify the organised struggle for Communism and against revisionism.

The revisionist Aarons has gone to great pains to criticise the way in which the Communist movements of Belgium, Ceylon and Peru were reconstituted. Mr. Aarons cannot see the wood for the trees, he reasons like a bourgeois legalist but we are not concerned with him except to thank him very much for helping the masses to appraise this debate.

We are concerned with the substance of upholding Marxism-Leninism. Our comrades in Peru, Belgium, Ceylon have without question correctly upheld the form and the substance of Marxism-Leninism. They will live and grow: their revisionist opponents will wither and die. That is our position too. Just as we have grown over the two odd years of debate in the Australian movement so we will continue to grow.

At this critical political juncture a Communist Party constituted on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is urgently demanded.

The tasks of our reconstituted movement are implicit in what I have said but I should like to conclude by saying something about some of them again.

The defence of peace imperatively demands our attention. Malaysia is an immediate threat and the Australian workingclass is misled by the line of the A.L.P. and the revisionists. Similarly Vietnam. The whole aggressive plans of the U.S. imperialists demand our attention.

It must be said that so far we have not found effective ways of mobilising that widest united front against imperialism that the 81 Parties' Statement speaks of and that is taken up in the 19th Congress Resolution of the Communist Party of Australia.

The peace bodies headed by revisionists — no less revisionists because some of them wear a clerical collar — are paralysing the peace forces and confusing the people.

Singling out the French tests, divorced from the banning and destruction of nuclear weapons, refusing to identify the enemies of peace, refusing to take up the defence of peace against the imperialist threats in Malaysia and Vietnam they are abrogating the struggle. All genuine peacelovers will raise up their voices against this betrayal and put forward publicly their own views of the correct peace policy. Peace activists must find the way to publicise their views now, not next week, but now.

That is an urgent necessity and will rally the broadest possible united front against U.S. imperialism.

The trade unions must make the struggle for peace against imperialism much more a mass question.

The struggle demands now urgent attention to the democratic rights of the people — a question almost completely neglected by the revisionists. The struggle for democratic rights is integrally connected with the revolutionary struggle. The Crimes Act is to stay the revolution, to stay the struggle for peace, to stay the struggle for improved living standards. Reformism, revisionism see only the immediate demands — we see them as steps in gathering the revolutionary forces. Hence the Crimes Act must be defeated, the oppressive measures of the Arbitration Act, the activities of the secret police, the tapping of telephones. The enemies of democracy prate about democracy: we on behalf of the Australian people demand democratic rights to prosecute our struggle.

Living standards are constantly under attack by the monopoly capitalists. Once again they are not ends in themselves: they are essentially steps in awakening the people, gathering their forces. So every single wage question, hours question, question of conditions, housing, education, pensions and myriad other questions demand our urgent attention.

We stand for the united front of the workingclass and a united front extending beyond the workingclass.

In the united front our Communist Party is the leader, initiator, organiser. The united front demands the revelation of the bankruptcy of reformism — the A.L.P. — and of revisionism — Messrs. Sharkey, Aarons and Dixon. We believe of course in unity with the A.L.P. influenced workers, recognising that the A.L.P. enjoys majority electoral support amongst the workingclass.

That requires sympathetic and careful explanation to those workers of the real character of the A.L.P. Nothing can excuse failure to do that or to sow illusions about the A.L.P. The A.L.P. leadership is a splitting, dividing force amongst the workingclass and serves the capitalist class and this must be said. In order to

maintain their deception the A.L.P. leaders must adopt nominally at least some of the demands of the workingclass. We unite with them.

When they betray those demands and fail to take up other demands we struggle against them. We know the nature of reformism: it is service to capitalism. We struggle against capitalism hence against reformism. Hence tactically when the A.L.P. leaders appear to take up an anti-capitalist demand we unite with them to struggle against them and unite again and struggle again. Acting thus we assist the workers to understand the nature of reformism. Moreover there are many divisions in the A.L.P. — some, including some leaders, turn away from reformism towards revolution. That we welcome. Others go more than ever to the right. The ranks of the A.L.P. are more than ever open to being won to scientific socialism. We have the same attitude to revisionism and we must recognise that there are many honest people in the Party of Sharkey, Aarons, Dixon and influenced by it but are misled by these men who must sympathetically be helped to understand this treachery of their leaders. Patience, persistence, firm adherence to principle are essential. On all the key questions in the workingclass movement — peace, the basic wage, margins, penal powers — united action by the workingclass is called for — unity and struggle.

To succeed in all these great tasks our Party must strengthen itself in every way; never being content — always in action. Marxism-Leninism guarantees our success: we are its banner bearers. Unite the workingclass! Workers of all lands unite!

Opening Discussion For A Program For The Communist Party of Australia (M-L)

The following is a draft of material for a program for the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). It is in no sense a final program.

Much of it needs a lot of consideration and the thought and comment of all interested in Marxism-Leninism and its integration with Australian reality.

For example much more attention needs to be given to the position of Australia as a satellite of U.S. imperialism and, correspondingly, to the urgent need to develop a broad, united front of Australian people championing the cause of Australian national independence. Australia is being increasingly dominated by U.S. imperialism and the rate of U.S. investment is developing rapidly. Its independence is a matter of concern to all Australians.

Again the nature of the Australian state and the influence of U.S. monopoly capitalism on it requires much consideration.

The agrarian problem also calls for careful consideration and comment.

There are many other such matters.

A program is a matter for prolonged consideration: revolutionary work can and must go on because the task of integrating Marxism-Leninism with Australian reality is perfectly clear. Discussion over an extended period will provide a programme which will tell people our aims in a concise way.

CAPITALISM

Australia has developed into a monopoly capitalist imperialist country. At the same time its character is that of a satellite imperialism subject to the dictates of U.S. imperialism and to a lesser extent British imperialism. Australian and foreign mono-

poly capitalists ruthlessly exploit the Australian workers, aborigines and the indigenous peoples of its colonies. They have a tight grip over all the toiling people including the small farmers and middle class.

The monopoly capitalists have seized all Australia's main resources. They are the owners of all its mineral resources, steel and coal production, sugar production, oil production, in short of every aspect of production.

The countryside is also within their grip through monopoly possession of the land, gigantic pastoral companies, machinery companies, the banks, mortgage companies, food processing companies and so on.

Added to the Australian monopoly capitalist exploiters are the U.S. imperialists who have ousted Australian capitalists in many cases to set up their gigantic enterprises. British monopoly capital is still in a powerful position in Australia. Japanese monopoly capital seeks a place in Australia. Contradictions amongst these groups grow.

Monopoly capitalism has socialised the process of production but the products so socially produced are appropriated by these monopoly concerns.

Crises of overproduction occur at ever more frequent intervals.

Gigantic forces of production have arisen but all strata of working people, small farmers, etc. are unable to buy the enormous number of commodities coming on to the market. Anarchy of production reigns — overproduction occurs — mergers of huge companies take place — other huge companies go bankrupt bringing ruin to many small business people. "One capitalist always kills many", said Marx. Australia today presents a vivid picture of the truth of this.

Simultaneously, Australian imperialism and its partners plunder the people of New Guinea and other neighboring colonies. They build up their armed forces for internal suppression of the Australian people and for the maintenance and extension of imperialist exploitation.

The State apparatus is strengthened more and more — attacks on democratic rights are developed — repressive legislation of every kind is enacted. All this has the purpose of holding back the working people and allowing monopoly exploitation and policies to proceed to peace.

Australia today is a clear example of State monopoly capitalism spectacularly demonstrating the state apparatus as the repressive weapon of the monopoly capitalists.

More and more Australian monopoly capitalism demonstrates its viciousness and at the same time its weakness — its insoluble contradictions.

Working Class Will Establish Socialism

It has centralised as never before the means of production. Thereby it has gathered together increasing numbers of workers.

It has thus, as with all capitalist societies, created its own gravedigger — the working class.

The working class in the leadership of all the toiling people (the small farmers, the middle class) and the liberation movement of the peoples oppressed by Australian imperialism will assuredly put an end to Australian monopoly capitalism.

These forces will establish socialism and end the exploitation of man by man.

Socialism will end the anarchy of production under capitalism. It will mean the ownership of Australia's resources by the working people and complete independence for subject peoples.

The barrier on the productive forces constituted by capitalist social relations will be removed, production will rise, the satisfaction of human needs, material and spiritual will be achieved.

The free development of each individual will be a condition of the free development of all. The dictatorship of the Australian monopoly capitalists will be replaced by the dictatorship of the Australian working class — the rule of the vast majority over an insignificant minority.

The inspiring maxim of socialism "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" will create the conditions for the realisation of the great goal of Communism "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

The state apparatus will wither away and the government of people will be replaced by the administration of things.

Australian workers in the leadership of all toiling people guided by Marxism-Leninism will take Australia to socialism and join the international brotherhood of socialism.

World socialism will abolish completely the causes of war.

World communism will be achieved after socialism has lifted the productive capacity so that all human needs can be satisfied, when it has eliminated all the evil influences of capitalism, when it has developed men and women in all their splendour free from the warping effects of capitalism. The abnormal separation of

mental and manual labour, the unequal development of town and country, will all be ended.

Socialism and communism are inevitable.

Capitalism is doomed. It cannot be remedied or renovated.

The Australian working class and working people have a proud record of independent struggle directed against oppression. Eureka is a great landmark in the Australian workers' tradition. Through the great struggles of the 1890's, anti-conscription, the so-called anti-Communist referendum of 1951 the banner of independence has been kept aloft.

Socialist consciousness has increased.

Guiding Star of Marxism-Leninism

The great guiding star today is Marxism-Leninism — the invincible world outlook of scientific socialism.

Guiding the working class through all its struggles towards the victory of socialism, Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma. It is a living reality — a guide to action.

Marxism-Leninism integrated with Australian reality guarantees the victory of socialism.

Marxism-Leninism is the possession of the international working class of the great army of which the Australian working class is a proud contingent.

The monopoly capitalists will never yield their positions of power and privilege voluntarily.

The irreconcilability of classes is expressed in the state machine — a weapon of the monopolists for the suppression of the working class and working people.

Monopoly capitalism uses the facade of democracy — the deception of Parliament. Universal suffrage provides only the opportunity of choice between representatives of the ruling class. Parliamentarism is a particular historical product — it is an instrument today of the monopoly capitalist state aimed at deceiving the people that they have democracy, freedom, the right to choose their representatives. The working class makes use of it to reveal its real character.

But it in no way ever interferes with the positions of the decisive monopoly capitalists and imperialists. On the contrary, in every situation it serves them.

The ruling class has always resorted to deception, deceit, force, violence to meet the challenge of the working class and working people.

The working class understands full well that the forms and intensity of class struggle vary at different stages of the class struggle — the struggle for socialism.

The working class at all times seeks peaceful change to socialism — a peaceful revolution in accordance with the desires and aspirations of all toiling people.

At the same time it prepares itself and all toiling people to understand the ruthless resort to force of the monopoly of capitalists. If they resist the will of the workers and the people for socialism the people must be ready to reply to the violence of the monopoly capitalists.

The actual course of revolution cannot be predetermined. The working class and toiling people must be fully prepared for all eventualities.

The Working Class State

The working class and toiling people will entirely destroy the state machine of monopoly capitalism and establish its own state. The thorough-going destruction of the old state machine is a necessary condition of the advance of socialism.

The dictatorship of the Australian working class and the working people will establish democracy for all the toiling people — the vast majority of Australians — and thorough suppression of any attempts to restore capitalism.

Representative institutions at one and the same time legislative and executive, will be established.

The workers' state will carry out the socialist transformation of Australia, free the people, end the class domination of the monopoly capitalists.

To achieve these great objectives the working class must have its Marxist-Leninist Party — the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

Such a party is founded on the science of Marxism-Leninism. It is a vanguard party organising the most conscious workers and working people to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the reality of Australia.

It is a party of democratic centralism integrating democracy with centralism. It is a party of proletarian internationalism. It joins hands with workers of the world, the working people of the

world. It represents the best aspirations, strivings and hopes of the Australian people. It is a party bound to the workers and working people. It supports and participates in all the struggles of the people, for their daily needs, for peace against the danger of aggressive war, for the defence and extension of democratic liberties, in the struggle for all progressive reforms, for international solidarity. It participates in every such struggle as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. In participating in them it gathers, prepares, enhances the revolutionary energy of the workers and working people.

The Communist Party is the highest form of class organisation of the workers. It is a party with voluntarily observed iron discipline — iron because it is fully conscious discipline.

It must constantly refer and re-refer all questions to the people — constantly increase its own mass connections, constantly raise its scientific understanding of the masses.

Its members must practise criticism and self-criticism as an essential living process in their development, in their remoulding, education and the education of the people. Its ranks must be kept pure — raising ever higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism and striving more and more effectively to integrate Marxism-Leninism with Australian reality.

It rejects all alien trends — reformism, revisionism, right and left opportunism, dogmatism. It does not allow groups or factionalists within the Party.

It takes its place alongside the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world united by a common ideology and struggle.

It is independent of and equal with all other parties. It is responsible to the Australian workers and at the same time to the international working class and Communist movement.

It practises mutual aid and support with all Marxist-Leninist Parties.

The Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) inherits all that is best in the Australian communist movement.

It proudly upholds the purity of the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

It views with pride the record of its members in all the great Australian working class struggles. It rejects with utter contempt the revisionist betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by some self-styled Communists.

In South East Asia it stands alongside the great Communist Parties of New Zealand, Indonesia, Japan, Malay, Burma, China, Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Ceylon, Korea and others.

The Era in Which We Live

The main content of our era is the passage of capitalism to socialism inaugurated by the great October revolution.

Our epoch is the struggle of two opposite social systems, of socialist revolution, of national liberation, of the collapse of imperialism, the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism throughout the world.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution has changed the balance of forces in favour of socialism.

The Soviet Union had set before it the objective of creating the material and technical basis for communism. The development of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union has been seriously hindered by the revisionism of Khrushchov whose policy enables the regrowth of capitalist elements. But the Soviet people will overcome this.

Still other countries and their people are building socialism.

The socialist camp is immensely strong. The success of socialism guarantees the development of the forces of world revolution.

The socialist countries must exercise between them mutual solidarity and mutual aid on a basis of equality according to the principle of proletarian internationalism. Again the revisionism of Khrushchov has damaged the operation of these principles, but it cannot hold them back for long.

The socialist countries struggle for peace, for peaceful co-existence between countries of different social systems.

They struggle resolutely against the export of counter revolution, against aggression. All Marxist-Leninists denounce the slanders of the imperialists and the revisionists that the Communists must have war between states and export of revolution to obtain the victory of socialism.

The existence and strength of the socialist camp, the great growth of the struggle for national liberation, the growth of the militancy of the working class in the capitalist countries have created a new relation of forces guaranteeing the victory of the workers in daily and partial struggles and for the final fight to end capitalism.

World war is not inevitable. The forces for peace constituted by the socialist camp, the national liberation movement and the international working class are superior to the forces for war. World war can be prevented but repressive wars against subject peoples are on the order of the day.

U.S. imperialism — the most aggressive imperialist power — proves that imperialism engenders war. Its striving for world domination threatens the peace of the world.

It savagely intensifies its exploitation and suppression in Asia, Africa and Latin America and strives to extend its domination in Australia, Europe, Canada. Ultimately it threatens the socialist countries.

Contradictions amongst the imperialists grow. The interests of U.S. imperialism come into conflict with those of British, French, German, Japanese imperialists, and all others. Intense rivalry occurs as to the control of dependent countries, sources of raw materials.

For the Defence of Peace

Australia's involvement with U.S. imperialism and its preparations for war puts an enormous burden on to the workers and working people, endangers the peace of our country and threatens its very existence.

Peace is not inevitable while imperialism exists.

It demands vigilance, identification of the imperialist enemy, denunciation of policies of imperialism, organisation of the broadest united front of the people against imperialism, against the aggressive war expenditure, against militarism and the the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons. It means emphasizing the possibilities of preventing world war, ensuring the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, solidarity with all people fighting imperialism, it means to be ready to struggle against every act of aggression by the imperialists until the imperialist system is completely eliminated from the world.

Solidarity of the working class in the imperialist countries, with the national liberation movement is absolutely fundamental and essential. Australian Communists accept their particular responsibility in developing the solidarity of the Australian people with the peoples of New Guinea in their fight for independence and with the Australian Aborigines in their fight for equal rights and against all forms of racial discrimination. The struggle of the New Guinea people and the Australian Aborigines is an important part of the whole liberation struggle of the South East-Asian and Pacific people — one of the most decisive struggles of our times.

Great responsibilities exist for conducting struggles for the immediate political and economic demands of the Australian working class and toiling people, by uniting the working class, by realising the widest alliance for bringing about effective action and directing the main blow against the monopoly capitalists and their State power.

Struggle on every front is essential. Each struggle supports and is integrated with every other struggle and all go to make a whole struggle aimed against monopoly capitalism.

All struggles guided by Marxism-Leninism heighten the revolutionary consciousness of the working class, enable it to gather its strength and experience and prepare it for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) disdains to conceal its aims. It proudly proclaims its aim — a socialist revolution in Australia — for socialism. The Australian workers will establish socialism.

Workers of all countries unite!

Modern Revisionism Is The Ally Of U.S. Imperialism

Modern revisionism has come into existence in the crisis of imperialism in order to serve imperialism — to save it. The imperialists today operate in an ever-shrinking world. The socialist system has deprived them of big sources of raw materials and markets and the national liberation struggle is striking tremendous blows at them. Their whole system is threatened with collapse.

But the imperialists have never given up the struggle to maintain their system and they never will. They have used force and violence, bribery, corruption, diversion, against the working class and against the forces of national liberation. They have had successes and they have had failures in their never-ending war against the workers and against the national liberation movement.

However, strive as they might the tide is running against them. Socialism from being confined to one country for almost three decades is now a world system. The history of the Chinese revolution in 1949 delivered a shattering blow to the imperialists. Not only was China a country of vast area and population but it was a pilot light for all the oppressed peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa. This has a particular importance in the current world situation to which we will return.

But from the very inception of capitalism the capitalists have sought to divert, contain, adapt the working class — to prevent it at all costs from taking revolutionary action. It has perceived that the Labor or Socialist Parties which have been generated by trade union politics serve its purpose very well. By bribing, either directly or indirectly, sections of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries the capitalists have made use of "socialist", "labor" parties and those parties have misled the workers. They have taken up workers' demands (small demands), even used the slogan of socialism but all within the framework of capitalism — based on capitalism and on capitalist institutions such as Parliament, arbitration, etc.

As time has progressed the old Labor Parties such as the A.L.P. have become discredited with greater and greater sections of workers and hence are in danger of losing their capacity to deceive the workers. That is a world-wide phenomenon.

On the other hand the crisis of imperialism poses more sharply before the workers the radical solution of Communism. Communism in our epoch makes more and more advances. Hence the diverting of the working class from Communism is vital to the imperialists. Anti-communism becomes one of the chief political activities of the imperialists — direct onslaught on the ideas of Communism, direct action (murder and goading) against Communists, and myriad other forms.

The most valuable of all forms is political diversion in the name of Communism — to have people who proclaim themselves and are even accepted as Communists but who in fact pursue a capitalist policy — a policy of deceiving the workers in the very name of Communism.

In the Soviet Union — creation of Russian people led by the great Lenin — just that has happened and there has come to the top a revisionist — a person known as a Communist-head of a Communist Party with a great revolutionary tradition — and yet who serves the capitalist class — a traitor to the working class — namely Khrushchov.

Khrushchov's basis is the highly paid technical, artistic, educational circles in the Soviet Union. He is despised by the Soviet masses as witness the innumerable jokes that circulate in the Soviet Union and throughout the world about him. But he has been exceedingly cunning in his seizure of power in the Soviet Union not even hesitating to use the Soviet Army in his struggle. That he is on the way out is clear but he will not collapse automatically.

He has, however, rendered immense service to the imperialists in the very name of Communism.

Let us take some examples.

The Attack on Stalin

Khrushchov commenced his career in the leadership of the Soviet Party after Stalin's death by denouncing Stalin. Stalin was in fact the symbol of Communism — of liberation from imperialism — to all the oppressed people. The imperialists had attacked him with everything they knew but never had any success.

Stalin was impregnable because he was identified in the minds of the people with all their dearest hopes and aspirations. Khrushchov, however, from within attempted to do just what the imperialists from without had failed to do. He attacked Stalin and

created the utmost confusion in the ranks of the Communist Parties.

It must be said at once that those ranks had already been weakened by the corruption of capitalism, by failure to adhere to principles of Marxist-Leninist organisation in quality of party membership, by penetration by intelligence agents and various other factors.

Khrushchov's treachery was a rallying cry to all the anti-Communist elements within the world Communist movement. It sowed confusion, dismay, disruption and it led to the consolidation of revisionist leadership in a whole number of Communist Parties.

Hence, imperialism had had apparently a big victory — it had achieved diversion of Communism in the very name of Communism and in the very Party of Lenin, respected and revered by all revolutionaries.

That was the immediate effect.

In fact, of course, in passing we must say that its real ultimate effect is to strengthen and steel the Communists — to make them better Communists so while the imperialists had temporary success this success inevitably turned into its opposite.

In the actual concrete world situation what of Khrushchov? A few examples. In the Congo the Congolese people succeeded in winning their liberation. At their head was Lumumba, representative of the Congolese national bourgeoisie which had a progressive side and a non-progressive side. The imperialists set out to undermine Lumumba and the independence of the Congo. Armed conflict occurred. Lumumba sought the advice of Khrushchov. Khrushchov advised that the intervention of the United Nations was justified.

The United Nations Organisations in this type of situation had shown itself to be peculiarly a weapon of U.S. imperialism.

In Korea the U.S. imperialists fought under the flag of the U.N. Khrushchov when criticised for the Soviet Union's vote in support of U.N. intervention in the Congo has replied that is was requested by Lumumba. And that is true — it was.

But since when has a Marxist-Leninist — a revolutionary — determined the interests of the working class by passively acceding to a request by a misled bourgeois-nationalist and moreover, contributed to misleading him. It was plain simple treachery. It led to the then defeat of the Congolese national liberation movement and to the murder of Lumumba. It served the U.S. imperialists.

Without Khrushchov's support the U.S. imperialist could not have done what they did in the Congo under the flag of the U.N. Khrushchov, because he was a Communist — was head of the Soviet Union — was head of the Party of Lenin — was trusted and accepted. He could do in the name of Communism the filthy imperialist work of the U.S. imperialists that they in the name of anti-Communism could never do. But again out of this very bad thing good is coming because the Congolese people have had a bitter lesson from which they have learned valuable lessons and now they are putting those lessons into effect.

Let us look at Cuba. Everyone knows that Khrushchov installed nuclear missiles on Cuban soil and stood over Castro to do it. This was at a time when Khrushchov was loudly boasting (and in our opinion it was a shameful thing to do) that his missiles could, from the soil of the Soviet Union, hit targets with pinpoint accuracy in any part of the world and if that were so, Khrushchov had no need whatever for rockets in Cuba.

Having taken this highly provocative action this "champion of peace" then falsely denied that he had done so — even his foreign Minister Gromyko only heard of it at the last minute and the Soviet U.N. representative loudly denied it because he was never informed.

Khrushchov, when the whole scheme provoked U.S. resistance then appeared on the scene as the great saviour of peace. Having created the situation he then presented himself as the man who saved the world from the very danger he himself had created.

But what of the background?

From the moment of Castro's victory U.S. imperialism had been trying to destroy Castro. It had utterly failed. Its only hope lay in getting assistance in its schemes of destruction in the very name of Communism. And who better than Khrushchov?

In the Cuban "crisis" Khrushchov agreed to U.N. intervention in Cuba without even consulting Castro. United Nations intervention in Cuba meant U.S. imperialism in Cuba, i.e., realisation of the aims of U.S. imperialism.

Who did it? — Khrushchov. Fortunately for the world and for Cuba, Castro rejected the proposition. He saved his own country's independence and himself from the fate of that which overtook the Congo and Lumumba.

The Cuban affair was a Khrushchov — U.S. imperialist conspiracy against Cuba and Cuban socialism by two enemies of socialism, U.S. imperialism and the individual Khrushchov who masquerades as a Communist.

Then let us turn to Iraq. Khrushchov had advised all the Communists that the road to socialism is through peaceful means — the peaceful transition to socialism. If that is correct then Communists will operate all the time within the forms of capitalism and on the capitalists' own grounds — a somewhat extraordinary proposition.

But there it is.

The Iraqi Communists took Mr. Khrushchov's advice and when in Iraq the weakness of General Kassem led to a revolutionary situation, when the Iraqi Communists could without difficulty have led the people in socialist revolution, Khrushchov advised them against it and said they must rely on the peaceful transition to socialism.

Hence they abrogated the leadership of the revolutionary masses.

The Iraqi reaction on the other hand seized power and killed Kassem. The Iraqi Communists were shot down in peaceful demonstrations — they were hunted and murdered and tortured. Two thousand Communists died. Khrushchov had achieved for the imperialists physical destruction of the Communists.

Again out of this bad thing comes good for now the Iraqi Communists have learned a bitter lesson and they will organise and work in a new way.

A similar situation arose in Brazil where the so-called peaceful transition aims were shown to be so much rubbish on the bayonets of the reaction. Khrushchov's revisionist party accepted peaceful transition and were hunted down while Brazilian Marxist-Leninists having learned lessons from the Congo, Iraq, Cuba, took appropriate measures to safeguard the organisation of the working class.

The last example is China to which we referred earlier. The Chinese People's Republic is a great bastion of socialism — majestic, granite-like in its championing of Marxism-Leninism and its opposition to imperialism — a splendid beacon for all the oppressed peoples. To discredit it, to destroy it, is the dearest wish of the U.S. imperialists. They have done everything they could to destroy it including their intervention in the Chinese civil war, their attack on North Korea aimed at China within a mere year of China's liberation, their promoting and fomenting Kai Shek and a thousand and one other things.

The magnificent Chinese people have repulsed all attacks, upheld the banner of Marxism-Leninism and anti-imperialism.

They have championed the cause of peace by actively campaigning against and repulsing the main enemy of peace — U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists carefully nurtured Indian aggressive circles to attack China with the aim of destroying it. It was crystal clear that this was the aim. Who was the ally of U.S. imperialism and the Indian reaction? — Khrushchov.

In the name of Communism he joined in an attack on the great socialist People's Republic of China — his crowning and clearest act of treachery as the servant of U.S. imperialism. It was direct open military and political attack on socialism aimed at discrediting Communism and dealing a blow at the firmest adherent of Marxism-Leninism — the Chinese Communist Party in the leadership of the Chinese People's Republic.

What greater service to imperialism would there be? And at this very moment Khrushchov is pursuing exactly that policy against China — his actions merge with and are the counterpart of those of U.S. imperialism. He sows confusion in the ranks of the oppressed peoples — uses all sorts of specious arguments to justify himself but nothing can conceal the hard reality of U.S.-Soviet alliance against the socialist People's Republic of China. Out of this bad thing good is coming because more and more people can see the foul role of Khrushchov, traitor to the working class and more and more people rally to the proud banner of Marxism-Leninism upheld by the Communist Party of China.

These things must be said because they demonstrate in facts the role of modern revisionism as the servant of U.S. imperialism. Nothing can save U. S. imperialism: nothing can save its agents, the modern revisionists. There are emerging great new forces of Marxism-Leninism — they are certain of victory.

Role of Vanguard In The Present Situation

U.S. imperialism's latest military aggression is yet another warning of the urgency of the task of building a broad, united front against American monopoly capitalism's economic take-over of Australian industry and its consequent political domination of the country.

The Menzies Government's support for the action against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was immediate. There was no discussion in Parliament or elsewhere. Calwell, leader of the Labor Opposition, was not consulted.

Of course, the truth of the matter is that both the Menzies Government and certain members of the A.L.P. leadership knew that the attack had been long-planned. Menzies' moves to widen Australia's involvement in aggression in South-East Asia, the increased war expenditure and the establishment of U.S. military bases on Australian soil are not unconnected with all the re-shuffling that is going on inside the A.L.P. and the trade union movement. Fellow conspirators need hardly consult one another, but for the sake of public appearances something had to be said. Calwell said it and everyone agreed, including the daily press, that he had backed the U.S. action against North Vietnam.

In practice — and it is useless for them to deny it — the modern revisionists have thrown in their lot with the Labor Party so it remains for the genuine Marxist-Leninists to take up the struggle with more fervour than before. History is moving fast.

Our international proletarian duty demands that we work might and main without respite to build the broad, united front against U.S. imperialism here in Australia so that this country is no firm base from which it can launch fresh aggression against those peoples in South-East Asia, who, with their blood, are defending peace.

Our main instrument with which we can do this is Vanguard, which celebrated its first birthday this month.

Vanguard's role is to tear the mask off U.S. imperialism, to reveal it for what it is — the Australian people's worst enemy.

And in doing this it must also reveal U.S. imperialism's lackeys here — right down the line, from the Menzies to the Calwells and to the Sharkeys, Dixons and Aaronses.

No effective struggle against U.S. imperialism can be prosecuted unless the most fundamental and ruthless struggle is waged against the revisionists in the Communist movement and the reformists generally in the labor movement as a whole.

Let us all be quite clear about the task before us. Everything must be subordinated to the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys here.

It will be in this struggle that Marxist-Leninists will build their revolutionary party which will give proper leadership to the revolutionary movement — to prosecute this struggle successfully there is great need to constantly and profoundly study the errors of the past so that old styles, old approaches and old methods are overcome. They can't be dropped, they must be overcome.

The newspaper Vanguard has grown out of the revolutionary movement. It is fulfilling an urgent need. The old Party press, Guardian and Tribune, were once papers in which the striving towards a revolutionary approach to reality could be seen. They were once sharp, particularly The Guardian. They attempted to draw a line between reformism and revolution.

And this was a struggle. In the editorial conferences endless discussion took place on the problem of making the paper more attractive, more appealing to the masses, while at the same time not losing its working class stand.

The problem was never solved because the Communist Party itself had not clearly and decisively broken with reformism.

The Communist Party did not tackle properly the job of organising a revolution. Of course, it spoke of revolution and supported revolution but it did not concentrate on the central question of revolution, state power. There are two aspects to the revolutionary struggle — one is the utilisation of all legal methods of struggle, such as elections, participation in the broad democratic movement and in the trade union movement and the other is the preparation of the people to take state power from the hands of the exploiters, regardless of elections.

The second aspect demands that the party should keep a firm class line, that is it should adhere to Marxism-Leninism, that it should hold high the banner of revolution and prepare for revolution.

The emphasis must always be on the development of revolutionary ideology because without revolutionary theory their cannot be a revolutionary movement. If the emphasis is placed on the former, i.e. participation in the legal processes, the Party will gradually adapt itself to the bourgeois democracy and will finally reject revolution.

This, briefly, was the process that took place in the old Communist Party. Look at its press today! Look at the Guardian! As an old comrade remarked recently, "the Guardian, once a fighting paper, has now become a frivolous paper."

What has happened is that all the emphasis has been placed on "appealing" to the masses, becoming more "attractive" and those who are running it cannot see that it is rapidly losing its "appeal" that it is merging with the sort of "appeal" that is quite well done by more powerful bourgeois organs so, naturally, it will lose the support of the working class for it no longer represents them.

No doubt, despite its lack of "appeal", it will be kept going because of its Communist banner, but it will have no substance, it will be merely performing the task of sowing confusion in the ranks of the people for the bourgeoisie and this will be a temporary one at that.

Comrades would be well advised to look over back numbers of The Guardian. Even in its best days it did not grapple sufficiently with theory. It did not make the ideas of Marx and Lenin live in the reality of the Australian revolutionary movement. Revolution became a vague thing and the paper became submerged with the events of the day. It recorded those events; it gave the other side of the picture, as opposed to the capitalist press, but it did not gather up events in a revolutionary way and draw revolutionary lessons for the working class. At times there were some penetrating analyses in its columns, particularly during specific campaigns, but no consistent explanation of Australian reality in the light of revolutionary theory.

Hence, to repeat, it was only natural that the non-revolutionary approach prevailed. Bourgeois style, bourgeois methods of reporting flourished with the result that is before all to see today.

Vanguard will not become submerged in the petty and the inconsequential. It cannot report every resolution carried at every job meeting. It cannot comment on everything. To do so would be repeating the mistakes of the past. However, it is always glad to hear of workers' experiences because such experiences when worked into articles can make the general position clearer.

Vanguard will attempt to examine the essence of matters and point the revolutionary way forward. To do this it must do battle with those who are throwing doubts and confusion into the revolutionary movement, who want to drag everyone into the marsh. Vanguard will go back to Lenin; it will quote at length from Lenin, Marx, Engels, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung and other leading Marxists including our own E. F. Hill, so that the masses of the people become better acquainted with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. What is wrong with campaigning for an understanding of Marxism-Leninism? For this we will be called narrow, dogmatic, left, sectarian and a thousand other things, but that is a good thing. To be abused by one's enemies, by people who dare not mention U.S. imperialism for instance, is indeed a proof that we are on the right track.

We must bring to life the Marxist classics; they have lain buried too long. We must develop our sense of proletarian internationalism and at the same time learn to hate the monopolist warmongers, headed by the U.S. imperialists. We stand directly and resolutely opposed to them. Our love for our class brothers throughout the world cannot be separated from hatred of the imperialists. To fawn on the imperialists, to treat them as "reasonable" people, to welcome them in any way and sing their praises, must mean at the same time a weakening of our love for our class brothers and the commencement of the desertion of them. All the Marxist classics, scientific to the last word, are marked by a great and all-embracing love of the world's ordinary people and a burning, fierce hatred of the ruling classes.

We Marxist-Leninists are not out to just understand the world — we are setting about the enormous task of changing the world and such a task needs revolutionary verve. Without revolutionary verve, without the urgent desire to remould the world, Marxism-Leninism cannot be understood, no matter how many books are read. The revolutionary movement throughout the world is at a high level; it is, as one writer put it, thundering down the corridors of time. Vanguard is bringing news of this vast movement and its boundless prospects to the movement here.

The high tide of revolution is in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and so Vanguard will urge full support for the people of these countries who are face to face with U.S. imperialism with arms in hand. We will make known our support, small as it may be. We certainly will not urge "caution" or back away from the struggles in those countries for fear of a "wider conflagration".

Lenin urged full support for the colonial and suppressed peoples as they are a component part of the world revolution. He said:— "The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would indeed be a mere deception if complete and class unity did not exist between the workers fighting against capital in Europe and America and the hundreds and hundreds of millions of 'colonial' slaves who are pressed by that capital". (The Second Congress of the Communist International).

Lenin predicted:

"In the impending decisive battles in the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, which at first is directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary part than we expect". (The tactics of the R.C.P. Report Delivered at the Third Congress of the Communist International, July 5, 1921).

Our support for our class brothers who are laying down their lives in the front line of the battle against U.S. imperialism will not just take the form of lofty words.

It comes back to where we started — the building of a broad, united front here against U.S. imperialism. We, too, have commenced the fight for our country's independence from U.S. monopoly and this will be the banner that the Vanguard will hold high.

The U.S. strike at the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the blatant lying of the U.S. leaders, Johnson, Rush and McNamara, which has been well exposed, has caused much hesitation in wide circles in Australia. U.S. economic penetration is meeting with wider resistance here and demands are being made on the Government for action. Trade unions struggles in U.S.-owned plants take on a bitter character as was seen at the N.W. Cape base. The workers there walked out and left their mark on the walls of various buildings — "Yank, Get out!"

Here is the way forward. The whole art of politics lies in finding the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is the most important, the one that guarantees the command of the whole chain, and having found it, in clinging to that link as tightly as possible.

The struggle for our independence will develop quickly. The tempo of events is rising and Australia is part of the revolutionary ferment of Asia. U.S. imperialism realises this and it is taking measures to strengthen its grip here.

Menzies, Calwell and the revisionist leaders are behind U.S. imperialism, and this has been organised. It is not an "accident" or a "mistake". But within this political line up there are extreme contradictions. The Liberal Country Party alliance is deeply split on fundamental issues. McEwan, the leader of the Country Party, is anti-American as he represents interests now suffering at the hands of U.S. monopoly.

Within the Liberal Party itself there are divisions, and the Labor Party is certainly not united behind Calwell's pro-American line and within the Communist Party there are increasing doubts.

Only misplaced Party loyalties are holding it together and as soon as it is realised that the Sharkeys, Dixons and Aaronses have been trading on these loyalties, the revisionists will be a spent force. Already the explanations for Khrushchov's behaviour are wearing thin and new ones have to be found almost every week. All this is quite foreign to Marxism-Leninism. A principled line does not need a fresh explanation every week or so for it is not something that is changed to meet this or that tactical situation. There is an uncomfortable feeling about all this in the ranks of the Communist Party here represented by Sharkey.

U.S. imperialism and imperialism generally is in a very deep crisis. For them the situation is becoming desperate.

In this situation it is necessary **NOW** to hold high the banner of National Independence in all sections of society. Now is the time to lay firm foundations for the struggle. It is the central question and one which could, in terms of history, quickly bring us face to face with the State forces which U.S. imperialism, through its lackeys here, is trying to secure for its own use and, no doubt, as elsewhere, would quickly reinforce with its "advisers" if the need arose.

These are the perspectives Vanguard will raise and place before the working class for its guidance. It is its proletarian duty to do so.

Vanguard is one year old. Its circulation has increased steadily and will continue to increase, for it is revolutionary and therefore meets the fundamental needs of the proletariat.

Revolution Was Forgotten In Sharkey's Congress Report

"Confident, analytical and fully united," says Tribune headlines, reporting the 20th Congress of the Sharkey party. This is a little emotional; how can there be unity around a policy which has departed from the principles of Marxism Leninism. Today many honest communists still retain their membership but have very grave doubts and these doubts increase daily. However they still remain in silent opposition to the opportunist policy of the present leadership.

The Congress was opened with a great fanfare of publicity — radio, press, and television. In the Tribune it was reported that security police were snooping around gathering information. But such "outside" activity could only be a diversion as the more important activities of security were well catered for by the open invitation issued to all and sundry by the Congress organisers.

Sharkey's report was uninspiring; it lacked any central theme, jumped from one thing to another without any fundamental analysis. It was a report lacking firmness or confidence and mirrored the mind of an individual who had deserted the path of working class struggle.

The report followed closely the main decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and, in essence, fully supported its policies of peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition, peaceful competition and the concentration on the parliamentary struggle.

Sharkey opened his report by reaffirming "that the fight of the people against monopoly is crucial for Australia".

This statement lacks a class approach to the struggle against monopoly capitalism. In his book "Imperialism" Lenin said: "If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly state of capitalism". And again: "True competition which is fundamental to capitalism and commodity production in general has been replaced by the rule of finance capital; banks merged with capital of a few monopolists the superstructure of which is the state of monopoly capitalism".

To call just for a struggle against monopoly is limited; many sections of the labor movement put forward the same call —

even Santamaria is opposed to monopoly and Senator Goldwater opposes monopoly. Monopoly is the stage of capitalism that has replaced the earlier period of free competition. Under monopoly capitalism, the exploitation of the working people is increased and class contradictions are intensified. In the final development of capitalism — now prevailing here — monopoly tightens its control of the State and uses it against the people. So therefore a truly revolutionary struggle against monopoly must be directed at this development and the role of the State must be exposed. Marxists make this their main consideration in fighting for the leadership of the working class in the political, ideological, peace and economic struggles. Unless the class issues are kept to the fore, the public do not become aware of this, and these movements lose their revolutionary content.

The slogan "The People Against Monopoly" lacks this content therefore the struggle hinges on bourgeois nationalisation not socialist nationalisation. Sharkey attacks the Communist Party of China because of the material it has produced criticising the Italian Communist Party's program of nationalisation and structural reforms in the period of state monopoly capitalism. To ignore the State and the need to replace it with working class state power and pose the question of socialism as something that can be won through reforms is pure fraud.

We have many nationalised sections of the Australian economy but who benefits? — The monopoly capitalists. This country could not have expanded without State assistance. These sections of nationalised economy provide great services, in most cases at very low cost, to the monopoly capitalists. Interest on original loans to finance State services are still costing the taxpayers plenty.

The State hands out plums to big financial interests in the form of contracts. In this way many millions flow into the pockets of monopoly capitalists. On the other hand, where the monopoly capitalists are in difficulties the State comes to their assistance with huge grants, road or harbour construction and even with housing schemes and tax and other concessions. The capitalist State assists further by offering favourable conditions for the investments of foreign monopoly capital. The assistance given G.M.H. is notorious. Guarantees are given U.S. capital and this, in turn, paves the way for the loss of national independence. Unless socialist nationalisation is firmly developed in our propaganda the working people are being deceived and diverted from the revolutionary path.

Monopoly capital constantly strives to dominate completely and therefore the struggle against it requires correct revolutionary struggle amongst all sections of the people under the hegemony of the working class as its core.

Today, activity of the people at all levels must be directed at the policies of imperialism in general and in particular of U.S. imperialism. The latter is of vital importance to the Australian people. Already there is substantial and growing opposition to U.S. imperialist economic penetration here. This domination of our country by U.S. imperialism will increase; resistance will likewise increase. As the 81 Parties' Statement points out, U.S. imperialism is the gendarme of world reaction. It is the enemy of freedom and progress. To say "the way forward is the struggle against monopoly" is completely inadequate and, of course, is opportunist. It is not an oversight that Sharkey's report "forgot" the role of State monopoly capitalism and dwelt on the parliamentary struggle. He talked about the Menzies Govt. as though Menzies was the State apparatus instead of an administrator. He left the illusion that a Labour Government would be different: this is the basis for the slogan "Return a Labour Govt".

To justify the opportunist line, great argument is developed on the two class nature of the Labor Party with undue emphasis on its composition. Most are well aware of the composition of the Labor Party and the importance of this in the tactical sense in developing unity, but the primary question of the Labor Party is the principle question of policy. For any Marxist this is overriding.

The policy of the Labor Party is, as Lenin said, a liberal bourgeois policy and on all the fundamental issues it comes down in support of monopoly capitalism and its State. No amount of argument can deny this fact.

History at every turn and twist fully bears this out. Social democracy the world over has placed this on record. Opportunism finds it very convenient to confuse the fundamental issue with the secondary question — the composition of the Labor Party.

The Labor Party's main objective is to deceive the workers; therefore, its composition must be mainly workers. If not, it would be of no service to capitalism. So the main purpose of a revolutionary leadership in the building of working class unity, and not unity for unity's sake, is to constantly and perseveringly reveal to the working class the class deception of Labor Party policy. This is brushed aside by the revisionists because they elevate the

composition of the Labor Party to a principled, primary position and relegate to a secondary position the bourgeois character of the A.L.P. For instance Sharkey, in referring to the policy of the Labor leaders on the concept of the nuclear-free zone in the Southern Hemisphere says: "The Labor leaders took fright".

What nonsense!

The Labor leaders did what any Marxist expected they would do and will continue to do in the future "when the chips are down" on fundamental questions that affect imperialism. Instead of exposing of this **betrayal** to suit the needs of U.S. imperialism, Sharkey soft peddles and spreads the illusion that they merely "took fright".

This sort of thing is typical of revisionism. The Tribune repeatedly plays up the statements of Calwell which appear progressive, but when it comes to his deeds on foreign policy, where he fits in with U.S. imperialism or Australian monopoly capitalism, the Tribune remains almost silent. This is no oversight on the part of the Tribune, but a decided policy of the revisionist leadership. To quote Queensland CPA Secretary Bacon at the last State conference in Brisbane: "We must bend over backwards to get unity with the Labor Party"; or Gibson in The Guardian: "We don't agree with the Labor Party but we will support it".

Principle goes overboard, unity for unity's sake. The revisionists get very heated when they are charged with being soft on reformism or imperialism, or for tailing in behind the Labor Party. But facts are facts and the unity built on revisionist policy is not lead by the militant working class but is under the leadership of the reformists.

The reformist trade union leaders and their counterparts in the parliamentary field have very cleverly adjusted their tactics to meet the present developments of the class struggle. The reformists have always been opposed to struggle. Their policy of "containment" today is very well developed, and their success in this direction has been very ably assisted by the policy of right opportunism in "building unity", that is, building a united front the leadership of which is in the hands of the reformists.

On questions of war and peace, Sharkey repeated Khrushchov's revisionist policy of peaceful co-existence of the socialist countries as the general line of foreign policy for the Socialist countries. It is, of course, a good thing to practise peaceful co-existence between States of different social systems and this was

ably set out by Lenin and demonstrated over a long period between two world wars by Stalin's leadership of the Soviet Union.

It is, however, anti-Leninist to extend this to capitalist countries where exploited face exploiters or to colonial countries where the people are facing their oppressors. Lenin's policy of peaceful co-existence by socialist countries develops the power of these countries, helps them to expose the imperialist policies of war and oppression; helps to unite the people in the capitalist countries in an anti-imperialist front. At the same time the blows struck by these anti-imperialist forces assists the socialist countries, helps the cause of peace and strengthens the struggle for peaceful co-existence. The struggle for peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems cannot do away with the people's struggle in the various capitalist countries against the monopolists nor with the colonial people's revolutionary struggles for liberation.

The line of foreign policy of the socialist countries must be based on proletarian internationalism.

Lenin said on this question: "Alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all oppressed peoples against any and all imperialists — such is the external policy of the proletariat."

Sharkey "calls" for a struggle against U.S. imperialism but we will see how this works in practice during the proposed peace Congress in October. On past form this Congress will reflect the depth to which the peace movement in Australia has degenerated in the interests of "broadness".

The class issues of the struggle for peace will be relegated into the background. It will be interesting to see the performances of Communists like Gollan and others. The main content of their remarks (if any,) will not be directed against USA imperialism as the main source of war, or at imperialism in general. This could destroy "unity". The real class issues of war and peace will be upheld by those who still remain true peace fighters.

Sharkey, in response to the "baton", called for Congress support for an international gathering of Communist Parties as proposed by the CPSU. Attacking the May 7 letter of the Communist Party of China he calls for an early meeting. Sharkey knows quite well that the international differences are of a fundamental character and cannot possibly be resolved in any hurried meeting. If Sharkey was really interested in an honest attempt to resolve the differences and restore unity, he would not spell out so firmly his support for this line of splitting.

Some parties which have supported the line of the 20th Congress are opposed to this hurried meeting. Sharkey ignores this and goes all out for a meeting that will do untold damage to the international communist movement and give great heart to the imperialists. The responsibility for this splitting falls fully on the shoulders of the revisionist leaders of the various Communist Parties.

No report of Sharkey's would be complete without the solemn declaration of support for the 81 Parties' statement and condemnation of others who, he claims, have departed from the Statement. The content of his report is a classical example of how far the opportunists, led by Sharkey, have departed from the revolutionary essence of the 81 Parties' Statement. Sharkey does not explain why the leadership has thrown overboard the Statement's characterisation of modern revisionism which says: "the Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist theories in concentrated form" and "further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionism and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working class from anti-Leninist ideas of Yugoslav revisionists remain an essential task of Marxist-Leninist Parties."

This means nothing to the Sharkeys and Dixons. "Sectarianism is the main danger", according to them.

Apparently Sharkey imagines that if he repeats in words often enough support for the 81 Parties' Statement that is sufficient. But real support can only be judged by practice. Sharkey towards the end of his report speaks about the wages of the functionaries. What is he trying to prove? That the party is not being corrupted by highly paid functionaries or are there too many questions being asked about the sudden large expenditure on new headquarters and printeries.

The 20th Congress of the CPA is now history and it will be recorded as a further landmark of the degeneration of the leadership and their departure from Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninists will do well to study all the speeches made at this Congress to learn by negative example.

Religion In Australia And Its Connection With Politics

In this article the position of the communists with regard to religion will be stated and some observations made as to religion in Australia and its connection with politics.

The communist philosophy, dialectical materialism is opposed to religion. In the words of Marx it holds that God did not make man but man made God. Like Lavoisier, the famous French Scientist, it says that the hypothesis of the existence of God does not in any way aid in the explanation and understanding of man and the universe, and is of no use in science.

Atheism is a product of the 18th century. It was the bourgeoisie when fighting feudalism and developing science who generated atheism. Science has dislodged religion from one position after another in the last two hundred years.

To-day we do not pray to God for safety on a journey, we trust to modern mechanics and meteorology; we do not get a minister of religion to bless our ground so that the crop may be good or the beasts flourish, we consult an agronomist and use, say superphosphate. If we fall ill, we call in a graduate of medical science and only the minority begin also to pray and call a minister. Sunday has become an ordinary holiday for the great majority of people. Education in religion is held unnecessary by most. In fact, it may be said that we only think of the church as a place to get married in and of the parson as a part of the rite of burial or cremation.

We therefore rely on work, travel, amusement, health, etc. on the results of scientific investigation and not on the bible. Even the most religious medicos do not keep the bible in their surgeries as a book of reference.

We hold that this dying out of religion is destined to continue and become complete when the final stage of communism becomes world wide and mankind has no longer to face, helplessly, unemployment, bankruptcy and war. Note that we do not plan a systematic anti-religion campaign or systematic anti-religious education. We are content to leave the matter to the care of history.

The main duty of the Communist Party is to convey the teachings of scientific political economy and of historical materialism to the working people. We do not want or try to get emotional converts in the manner of religious missionaries. We have no message of immediate salvation. We hold that just as disease has been overcome, travel made speedy and safe, radio, T.V. and telephone established by persistent work following scientific methods, so a form of politics and economy is historically due to be established which will end poverty, slums, unemployment, crises, famines and crime. For this science and work are necessary.

By the way brain washing is not our method. We leave that to people such as John Wesley and the revivalists. You can no more wash Communism into people's brains than you can wash mathematics, astronomy, anatomy, pathology, biochemistry, etc. into them.

It must be plain that we do not insult people because they are religious, nor do we insist that they must abandon religion before supporting or joining us. We are not concerned with the next world, we are concerned with this world, the one we live in — and we know that many religious people are anxious not only for Heaven but also to abolish evil and unnecessary suffering, to give all mankind a decent life.

So you will find in those countries now ruled by communists, the Soviet Union, China, Korea, Poland, etc., that people are going to church, that ministers and priests are functioning and are being paid, that churches are being repaired and built and seminaries working.

We do not slander the clergy. If we find an immoral parson or priest we do not publish it widely for in fact that would be stupid. We leave that to the nazis and other reactionaries. As Lenin says, the good priest is the really dangerous one from our point of view. We find too that among the clergy, as among the religious people there are honest and able men who endorse our politics if not our philosophy, e.g., the Rev. Hewlett Johnson the French worker priests, and many more like them; and these are not confined to one church or totally excluded from any. We have political allies even among the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church.

MORALITY: We say that man as a social being must have a moral code; that this code varies according to the economy. It differs in economies founded on slaves, or on serfs, or on wage slaves or on collective owners. All have some common features.

e.g., an opposition to falsehood, a reverence for parents, honesty between equals, temperance, continence and so on. In our age the social circumstances demand that we should adhere to science and do nothing against the interests of the great majority of the people, therefore truth, honesty, temperance, love for parents, spouse and children are demanded.

You see, we do not say that morality is a gift from God, we say it is of an earthly origin springing from the actual circumstances of human life. That communists have given hundreds of thousands of examples of self-sacrifice, of temperance, loyalty, courage is known to everyone.

The experience of the socialist countries, in every one of which crime has diminished astonishingly, gambling and prostitution disappeared, alcoholism become rare, and venereal diseases abolished, has confirmed us in our opinion drawn from observations of various capitalist zones and of the effects of crises and booms, of the various behaviour of people in circumstances unaffected or affected by the jungle war of capitalism, that humanity if in an environment that gives no rewards to dishonesty, greed and vice, would find no difficulty in living a moral and decent life. In a word, we disbelieve in original sin. We hold that sin is a natural product of certain circumstances and the removal of those circumstances will remove sin. The causes are earthly and the cure earthly.

The member of a communist party should therefore be atheist — or at least not introduce religion into party life. As for those not members, religion is their private concern. We consider that they should be left to believe and practise any religion so long as it is not harmful to themselves, e.g. the Jehovah's witnesses forbiddance of blood transfusion is certainly not to be tolerated and we endorse a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, compelling an expectant mother's consent to a life-saving blood transfusion.

We do not regard religion as the cause of reaction and oppression, of the evils of the capitalist system. We regard religion as a secondary not a primary thing. It is a product in the first place of the ignorance of ancient man and in the second place of the systems of exploitation — slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

It is not a planned deceit. It is a natural product. To understand its history must be studied by the method of historical materialism, that is, in connection with the history of the development of the means of production, and of the accompanying devel-

opment of the intellectual superstructure and the accompanying reactions.

Thus the survival of the practically sole religious power and authority of the Roman church in Europe for twelve hundred years is explained to a considerable extent by the fact that it was the biggest land owner in Europe for all those centuries, and perhaps the most considerable attacks upon it were Henry VIII's forfeiture of most of the Church land, the French revolution's similar action, the German Prince's imitation of the action of the French peasants and the Italian government's like action between 1850 and 1870. That story is not yet concluded. It is an interesting and important fact that the Catholic Church is to-day the biggest landowner in Victoria.

We do consider religion to be in the main an influence favouring reaction as it does divert the attention of people from realities to imaginary things and therefore a good deal of energy which might be put to good use is wasted.

In communist meetings, in communist committees and branches, religion is rarely discussed, for our consideration as I have said above is directed to earthly things.

There are certain things that must be borne in mind in Australia. Why is the Catholic Church so active and successful? This is to be explained principally by national considerations. The well known hostility between the English and the Irish was, and is, of great assistance to the Church. The people of Irish decent meet at the Church. The Irish doctor, lawyer, tradesman, union politician, municipal, state and commonwealth aspirant, all find the Church a useful field for organising aid to themselves. And now the growing Italian population finds the Church a help against prejudice. In the towns all Churches form centres for social intercourse, in the country this function is still more important.

Politics Dominated by Class Interest

But does this really make the churches extremely important politically in Australia? The answer is in the negative. Politics here as everywhere is dominated by class interests, and the churches and the clergy are capitalist institutions but do not really rank as big political forces as if compared with the B.H.P., the Colonial Sugar Refining Co., the banks, the monopoly press and

so on. It is also doubtful whether their charitable institutions do really mitigate class hatred to any extent. The influence of the church on the proletariat is exceedingly slight. Their domain really is among the petty bourgeoisie which is, after all, not a decisive element in politics.

When you concede the backwardness of Italy, Spain, Ireland and Latin America and the influence of the Catholic Church in those countries, it is hardly possible to reckon the church as an important factor in assuring the well-being of the people.

There are some important facts about the churches and politics that should be made widely known.

The fact that the Vatican was an ally of William of Orange against James II of England and Louis XIV of France and that the bells rang in the Vatican for William's victory at the Boyne is still not known to many Irish Catholics. The history of the Papal States and the unfortunate effect of their policy and the policy of the Popes on the development of the Italian nation is also important. The history of the Reformation, and the formation of the Anglican Church are very pertinent to present day events such as the present position of Catholics in China, Poland, etc. The story of the relation of Hitler and Mussolini with the Vatican hierarchy is also important. History does show very clearly that the political policies of churches depend very largely on non-religious considerations.

The Catholic Church shows also very clearly the effect of the last stage of capitalism, viz., imperialism. The Vatican has become a very considerable figure in monopoly capitalism with extraordinary gold reserves, three banks, more than 200 real estate agencies, large holdings in big monopolies, and its own mercantile marine while the parochial clergy are certainly poorer. The Church of England, the Presbyterian and other Protestant churches have also been greatly affected by the accumulation of property the effects of inflation and other economic changes.

The relative impoverishment of the clergy in conjunction with other influences has led to a great diminution in the number of clerical vocations. This is shown, e.g. in the growth of some cities and the failure of church building to grow equally, and the diminution of the ratio of clergy to the population, sometimes extraordinarily marked as in Latin America.

The question of religious schools, that is schools run and controlled by the churches is not so important as is often believed.

After all, the State school or any school in Australia is a capitalist school and certainly the pupils are carefully safeguarded from getting any perception of the fact that capitalism is in its final stages and its end must be prepared for. The religious schools are handicapped by the relative shortage of money and their resulting relative inefficiency. The course of things, in a word, is against them, despite the very clear perception of the ruling class that religion is an aid to its survival. But scientific training, engineers, medical men, etc. are necessary in the pursuit of profit. Piety is not a sufficient substitute, so the secular school is winning. The present proposition to give aid to all schools for scientific instruction is not as reactionary as some good rationalists believe. Science and religion are incompatible.

Finally, let us not overlook the international aspect. The Roman Catholic hierarchy favoured Germany in both wars, and Italy and Japan also in the Second World War. Japan probably was favoured as an ally of Germany and Italy whose victory the Vatican hoped might lead to the re-establishment of a Holy Roman Empire in Europe.

To-day with de Gaulle in France, Adenauer in Germany and Seguid in Italy, the dream may not seem to them the impossible thing that it is. This also leads to the support of American imperialism despite the horror that the Vatican has of America ruling the world and perhaps Protestantising Europe. Really it is in a dilemma, the Communists on the one hand and the American Protestants on the other.

However, it is a false dilemma, the American reactionaries will not, nor will the Communist states dominate the world. There is a movement among the peoples of the world that will determine the course of events and this movement cannot be stopped nor does it depend on the countries that have already changed.

The movement is generated and originated by the contradictions prevailing inside each country. The U.S.A. by its ill-considered efforts is intensifying those contradictions and may be said in a certain sense, to be the biggest stimulant of revolution in the world.

There is a movement to-day to unite all the Christian churches. This is a sign of weakness, not of strength. It is the result of the realisation of the destiny of religion. There is already a catchery namely, that unless this is done, atheism and communism will triumph throughout the world. The big monopolists

will not believe it, they will stick to guns and bombs which though ineffective do, of course, bring in immense profits. They will continue, of course, to support the churches but that has proved insufficient to arrest their decay.

We have to suffer some extraordinary abuse and equally extraordinary slanders from some "devout" people. We must not allow ourselves to be provoked and imitate those foolish persons by hurling insults at them.

The issue of an anti-semitic publication in the Ukraine, the boeing of a religious procession in Moscow by some hundreds of Soviet youths are signs of Khrushchov's revisionism. He is a ward politician, stoops to pandering to popular prejudices and emotions. His "peace" policy is a fine example of this. Instead of showing the Soviet people the correct path to the peace that their terrific experiences make them desire so keenly, he uses their craving to lead them on a policy favourable to the enemies of peace, the imperialists.

We must carefully study the churches, their various political policies, their material position, their charities and lurking abuses such as sweating therein, and let us give them credit when they deserve it. Our duty is to preserve towards them the scientific attitude that we should take to everything and use the truths we discover in the interests of the revolution.

The Mass of Confusion Labelled "Arena"

The revisionists term their magazine *Arena* a Marxist journal — an organ of criticism and discussion. In the first article, Geoffrey Sharp in this sentence — "If in the longer run the material issues are moving to the side lines, the possibility increases of lifting back into the political arena the whole quality of life under capitalism" — really gives the key note.

You see things have changed — the working class has become fewer, more educated and better paid — and the white collared workers more numerous. The latter join with the others to form what is really an expanded middle-class. If we stick to the old conception of the working class we restrict the development of the Socialist movement.

Evidently "Comrade" Sharp is unaware of the full treatment that Engels gave to the bourgeoisie, i.e., action of the English working class in the last third of the 19th century nor of the full consideration of the increase of the white collared workers and the changes in the middle class by the Leninists.

Brian Fitzpatrick takes up the tune in the next article, beginning by informing us that he belongs to the able but declining army of Marxists. The Marxist (!) begins by saying that neither Marx nor Engels nor Lenin anticipated fascism.

As fascism came into power in Italy during Lenin's life what does the noble Marxist (!) mean? Nor does he seem to be aware of the Marxist doctrine of the State. If he were, he would not be able to find in fascism any thing that Marx, Engels or Lenin did not see or did not expect.

Fitzpatrick goes on to say that Keynes injected resiliency and consequent increased life expectation into capitalism. Really, Sir, Marxist, Hitler and Co. welcomed Keynes as the economist of all time and with their resiliency they carried out a campaign which resulted eventually in the addition of 700 million people to the Socialist States, making their number 1,000 million people. One third of capitalism perished owing probably to too much confidence in its expectation of life.

Nor, says our Marxist, did Marx, Engels and Lenin anticipate the Welfare State and the Affluent Society. We would be pleased

to hear from these two wonderful things. Where are they? In the U.S.A. with its huge unemployment and its starving millions, or is it in Britain or France or Italy? It is certainly not in Ireland and as for Australia, we have had a boom since the war and also recessions, and still 60,000 unemployed.

Nor did they expect automation, says Fitzpatrick.

Dear B, do read Capital, which we suspect you have not read or have forgotten and then tell us in which respect automation differs from the development of machinery in industry, in the 19th century.

Nor did they expect de-colonisation as carried on by Britain — again let us ask B. F. to read Lenin's Imperialism and realise that there are more ways of controlling and exploiting a people than one.

"The semi-colonial states provide an example of the transitional forms which are to be found in all spheres of nature and society. Finance capital is such a great, it may be said, such a decisive force in all economic and international relations that it is capable of subordinating to itself, and actually does subordinate to itself even states enjoying complete political independence." (Lenin's Imperialism.) As Malcom Muggeridge put in in regard to India, brown hands now do what white ones used to do. The British and American monopolists are doing better than ever in India, according to the late Nehru.

Then Fitzpatrick eulogises what Aarons and Cairns have written. So this 'Marxist' praises both revisionist and reformist. A highly original Marxist you will agree.

An Indian adds to the chorus. He says, in sum, that there are too many kulaks in India for a socialist revolution. There was no shortage of kulaks in Russia and China either. However, the socialist revolution is the product of the contradictions of capitalism and the excess or deficiency of one contradiction will not prevent the inevitable revolution.

Then comes an old friend, Ian Turner with an article entitled "Art and Necessity" which deals with "The necessity of Art" a book by Ernest Fischer, first published in 1959. Turner writes that the question, why did this particular man, i.e. any artist, choose to give his experience artistic expression and, why is one expression more or less compelling than that of another, cannot be answered in social terms but only in terms of individual psychology.

To which we must reply that individual psychology cannot be explained without social terms.

Man is both individual and social, that means that his individual qualities, possessions, mentality, emotions, will, food, clothing, and housing all come from social things, what the many individuals in various social communities have experienced and achieved in past and present ages. Quite as one would expect, Turner goes on to say that socialism or what has been justified as necessary to socialism, has appeared as authoritarian and inhuman, and that confidence and hope do not come easily to the world to-day.

In the middle of the gigantic battle between the old and the new, between the bourgeois and the workers that marks this century, poor Turner finds socialism authoritarian and inhuman.

Evidently he thinks we should not be authoritarian and to such gentlemen as Johnson and Home, who carry on such sweet humane enterprises as the foul war in South Vietnam, the suppression of the Congolese people the suppressing of the Arabs, the bombing of villages and monasteries. It is not surprising that he has a few kind words for existentialism, the philosophy of the Nazis. Still, Turner cannot quite swallow Khrushchov, whom he does not understand. Turner takes seriously Khrushchov's demand that every artist should follow the party line, i.e. the revisionist line that varies every day, but cannot help seeing that Khrushchov is lacking in culture.

Both the article and Fischer's book contain no mention of China. In China the Communist Party led by a great poet, philosopher, politician, communist and general, Mao Tse-tung, has dealt very seriously with the question of art. The Chinese Party recognises that the class struggle will continue for many years in China. Therefore, bourgeois art forms and traditions will appear and be used in the interests of the restoration of capitalism. In view of that it has fought constantly against the appearance of a stratum much more prosperous than the workers, such as has appeared in the Soviet Union.

It continually combats the springing up of capitalists among the peasants. In short, the Chinese are all going up to better times together, not separately. Generals have to serve as privates for one month each year, civil functionaries have to work as peasants for similar periods, directors and managers have to serve at the work bench for a definite period each year.

The children and the people are continually reminded of the history of China and a Marxist-Leninist education is continually carried on. The actual and coming artists are therefore closely united to the people. Their psychology, Mr. Turner, is inevitably socialist, the world they see both human and extra human is seen in a socialist context and their works therefore are infused with socialism.

Those who fall for the bourgeois, revisionist outlook are criticised, not ailed or fined, and thus subjected to the powerful public spirit and opinion of China. The stage, cinema, television, radio and book publishing do not disseminate capitalist filth as unfortunately is done in the Soviet Union.

The above does not mean that the artist in China writes, composes, draws, paints and sculpts to order — nor that the artist does not portray contradictions. Mr. Turner should read Mao Tse-tung on "Contradictions". It does not mean that a great struggle is waged for the victory of socialism, for the death of capitalism and artists are inspired by the tremendous battle that is not merely in China but covers the whole world.

In essence then, Turner would divorce the artist from the revolutionary struggle. He takes the point of view that there is some good in everything, that is, goes back from Marxism to Humanism, to the bourgeois attitude that the revisionists adopt but try to conceal.

There is also an article on Economic Growth and Planning Undeveloped Countries by Bruce MacFarlane, a pedantic fellow from that nest of philistines the Australian National University at Canberra. He finds Marx writing 'scholastic passages' in Capital Vol. 1, so MacFarlane mistakes Hegelian dialectics for scholastics and when he thinks he has found certain economists using both Ricardian and Marxian ideas, he terms this "Ricardo-Marx Schizophrenic". Schizophrenia is a form of insanity peculiar to young people, by derivation it may be interpreted as split personality but surely MacFarlane's use of it is mere affected pedantry, a piece of intellectual snobbery.

In his article, though it is concealed by his pedantry, he recognises that the development of former colonies does not require an agrarian revolution (but do not think that he says it plainly like that). Here perhaps it would be well to describe briefly the necessary agrarian revolution. This entails the forfeiture of the estates of the big landowners and foreign monopolies, the

application of some of this land to State farms — the distribution of the greater part of it to the poor and landless peasants together with seed, livestock, manure and tools.

Then the encouragement of co-operatives, collective farms and communes. The effects are an immediate rise in the standard of living of the great majority of the people, to wit the poor and landless peasants, the increase of production of food, and industrial raw materials by the farmers. The establishment of a rapidly growing home market for manufactured goods, both means of production and consumer goods. The rapid rise of industrial production is thus assured.

The agrarian revolution is one of the main reasons why China, the Democratic Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam progress and its absence causes India to undergo increasing economic hardships despite five billion U.S. dollars. MacFarlane, therefore, in fact endorses the Chinese Party's policy as just described of agriculture first and heavy industry along with it. Of course, China is not mentioned in his article, and MacFarlane does his duty by a sly depreciation of Marx and an erroneous exaltation of Ricardo, leaving indeed an impression that Soviet economy is now guided by Ricardo and not by Marx, which is hardly surprising.

At the end of the magazine the Diamonds make some amends refuting Taft's slanders of the Big Leaps and of communes in China.

We have given a fairly complete account of this mass of confusion that is labelled "Arena". It must surely delight the monopoly capitalists to see their supposed enemies without a clear understanding and a clear line of action. They will say, with a grin we know these kind of people, they are always a great help to us, in all the phases of counter-revolution.

Abolish The Wages System

Mr. E. H. Cox a bourgeois financial commentator employed by the Melbourne "Herald" in an article 13.5.64 spoke of "Australian's average pay record £26.17.0 per week". Mr. Cox based his article on figures produced by the Bureau of Statistics.

It was no accident that Mr. Cox selected that particular time to produce his article for the Arbitration Judges had retired to "consider" their judgment on the basic wage case. Judges, particularly Arbitration Judges, are supposed to be impartial, that is above, or apart from, workers and capitalists. But they are no more apart from the capitalists than the capitalists are apart from their own State. In fact the Arbitration system is a part of the capitalist State and this state is dominated by monopoly capital of which the Melbourne Herald is part.

Judges have many times stated that they are not influenced by strike struggles, stop work meetings, telegrams and workers' demonstrations at wage hearings. But facts show quite the opposite. It is only mass action by workers which brings results. In fact if there were no wage campaigns there would never be any wage hearings. Mr. Cox through monopoly's mouthpiece, sought to influence the Judge's decision and certainly tried to cause divisions amongst the working people. Commonwealth statistics always loaded and inadequate nevertheless serve to show that despite increases in workers' wages the real wages and living standards of the workers decrease absolutely and relatively. Overtime, family jobs and the boom have hidden this. The living standards of the vast majority of farmers and small and middle business people have also declined. We will deal with the last-mentioned first and take the period after 1953 when workers' wages were pegged. Bankruptcies for 1953-54 numbered 806 with total liabilities of £2,912,466; for 1961-62 the total number was 2,660 with liabilities amounting to £10,220, 950 and there is not the slightest doubt that the increase will continue in 1963-64.

Since the war there has been a consistent drift from the country to the city; rural population in 1956 was 21% of the total; in 1961 it was 17.82%. People who have come to the cities in search of work place their labor power on the labor market.

The commodity **LABOUR POWER** has the peculiar property not possessed by other commodities, that in its very process of being used it **CREATES A VALUE** greater than its **OWN VALUE**.

First, we shall determine what the value of labour power is. This is determined by the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the production of its worker. In other words — food, clothing, shelter and enough to reproduce himself. This is expressed in our **BASIC WAGE** which we know averages in the six States at £14.8.6 and with its increase of 20/- making a total of £15.8.0. This is of course 32/- per week under the demand of the A.C.T.U. The workers' demand was for a basic wage of £17. Now had the workers been granted this amount it would have restored their purchasing power to the level of the real basic wage in 1950. In those days the position looked like this — 40 hour week approximately 20 hours went for wages and salaries. For the means of subsistence let us look at its picture after wage pegging 1954-55. The gross national product was valued at £4,836 million. Wages and salaries £2,294 millions. Leaving £2,542 million to the capitalists, mainly the monopolies. Their share was greater than the amount paid in wages and salaries — approximately 19 hours for the means of subsistence and 21 hours of surplus value appropriated by the Monopoly Capitalist. Keep in mind their profits — surplus value 1954-55 and look at it in 1961-62:—

National product	£7,327 million
Wages and salaries	£3,646 million
Monopolists share, surplus value	£3,681 million

Approximately two-thirds of the gross national product in 1944-5. So from the gross national product in 61-62 the amount taken by the exploiting classes increased markedly. Now let us look at it for the three quarters 1963. To March of 1964 gross national product amounts to £6,582 million and if we take the last quarter figures of 1962-63 of £1,028 million this gives a further growth to £7,610,000 an increase of £283,000 over last year.

As we showed above surplus value is created by the working class and is appropriated by the exploiting classes. To repeat again the workers **SELL THEIR LABOUR POWER** to the capitalists for say eight hours per day or 40 hours per week. It is true that the worker sells his power at its value. This value is expressed in the basic wage, but the commodity, labour power, differs from most other commodities which sell sometimes above and sometimes below their value. But with **LABOUR POWER** the employers all the time do their best to pay less than its **VALUE**. Above we showed that in 1950 the 40 hours week was approximately divided so: 20 hours for food clothing, shelter, etc. leaving 20 hours surplus, appropriated in **PROFITS**. In other

words the national product was 100 and it was divided between
EXPLOITED AND EXPLOITERS 50-50.

But if we look at the position from 1950-1964 the 40 hours looks like this — 15 hours food, clothing, shelter, etc. (basic wage) 25 hours — surplus product, surplus value. Marx said: "The value of labour power and the value which that labour power creates in its Labour process are two entirely different magnitudes".

In our example we estimate that the value of a week's labour power, representing food, clothing, shelter, etc. was 15 hours, but the value created in a week's labour was 40 hours. The portion of the gross national product allocated to wages, salaries, and supplements by the Bureau of Statistics is lumped together to confuse the issue. For example SALARIES paid to managing directors would amount to ten times or more than the basic wage. A similar position would apply to Arbitration judges and other highly paid officials. It is their high salaries which Mr. Cox included to bring his figure to £26.17.0.

But what are supplements? They are, according to the Statist Bureau "employers' contributions to pensions and superannuation funds, direct payments of pensions and retiring allowances and amounts paid on workers' compensation for injuries". These things are not "gifts" by the capitalists to the workers. They amount to a very small portion of the total surplus value appropriated by the capitalists.

Monopoly capital is appropriating more and more surplus value — as a result of its exploitation of the working class.

To get some good idea of the rate of EXPLOITATION let us take a look at the DECLARED PROFITS of G.M.H. — £19,200,000 as shown in the Herald of 19/6/64, "Before company taxes which are NOT DECLARED profit would be more than £30 million." We consider this to be an underestimate of the gross profits of G.M.H.

Its gross profit last year was £31,000,000. G.M.H. employs 21,000 workers. In our example we will average their weekly wage at £25.0.0 per week. Among the 21,000 are office girls, etc. £25 a week. Nevertheless we will grant this concession. Therefore, their yearly wage would total £17,600,000 so it is quite clear that the workers' share of the gross product is shrinking. In our example 17½ million in wages and salaries for the workers share

and £30 million for G.M.H. monopoly. This position confirms our estimation quoted above. For a 40-hour week, we estimate that the socially necessary labor time, for food, clothing, shelter, that is necessities for the worker to reproduce himself, requires 15 hours; the other 25 hours is appropriated by the monopoly capitalists in — **SURPLUS VALUE.** Australia's two big monopolies, B.H.P., G.M.H. employ a total of 64,607 people and last year made a gross profit of £85,800,000.

The G.M.H. profits of at least £30 million could more than meet the demands for a 52/- increase in the basic wage. We will increase it to a £3.0.0 increase for £21,000 workers to see how it looks. In one example £30 million profit and wages £17,600,000 total, £47,600,000. The £3 rise would take away from £30 million £3,024,000 and the £17,600,000 we have already estimated in wages and salaries then would total £20,624,000, thus still leaving a total profit to G.M.H. of £27 million. Even if we take their **DECLARED** profits of £19,200,000 as true and give the 21,000 workers the A.C.T.U. demands of £2.12.0, the rate of exploitation would be still very high.

This example of G.M.H. shows how the working class is exploited. Naturally there is resistance to exploitation, but as yet it is mainly spontaneous resistance, a resistance limited by the confines of capitalism. In other words, while the working people want a change for the better as yet they are not fully conscious of the reason for their position or the need to abolish the capitalist system altogether and replace it with socialism.

The monopolists, however, are quite conscious of their class position and they take steps **long before** the class struggle fully matures to protect their privileged position and continue the system of exploitation. They do this through their control of the apparatus of the State.

They introduce repressive laws, jail union leaders, freeze union funds, control union ballots, finance reactionary groups, pay police agents to work among the workers and in the unions, impose penal clauses on the trade union through the Arbitration awards. These penalties have cost the trade union movement over £1½ million. The aim of the monopolists is to abolish the right to strike and intimidate militant leaders.

Meanwhile the exploitation continues to intensify. Let us look at the question in another way to see if the living standards are as high as they were a few years ago. We direct your

attention to the following table showing the decline in the consumption of basic foodstuffs per head of the population.

	1938-9	1961
BEEF AND VEAL	144.1 lb.	85.3 lb.
MUTTON AND LAMB	74.8 lb.	101.4 lb.
PORK	10.4 lb.	11.5 lb.
BACON AND HAM	10.2 lb.	6.8 lb.
EGGS	243. lb.	210. lb.
BUTTER	32.9 lb.	25.1 lb.
MARGARINE	4.9 lb.	9.3 lb.
FRUIT	125.9 lb.	121.6 lb.
TEA	6.9 lb.	5.9 lb.
POTATOES	103.8 lb.	86.6 lb.
VEGETABLES (1949)	160.2 lb.	136.4 lb.

This shows that seven basic items are down on pre-war figures, while only two are slightly up. Consumption of margarine is up to over 100%, while butter is down to 7.8 lb. per head of population.

The Federal Budget has made another all-round increase in taxation. Direct taxes — that is taxes on wages, plus the innumerable indirect taxes, now add up to £150 per head of the population. Add to this inflation, the printing of bank notes to cover Government debts which devalues money constantly and sends prices up, and it can be seen that the wage-earner is slugged right and left. The wage earner cannot accumulate capital and therefore to establish a home and furnish it in line with modern standards, he must become involved with hire purchase. Therefore he has to pay heavy additional costs to meet interest payments on money borrowed. The high purchase system is modern usury.

As we said before "to keep up" more than one member of the family has to work. There are now 963,500 women working in industry. A large proportion of these are married.

When all these things are considered it is quite obvious that labor power is selling under value and even the 20/- and 15/- male and female increases will not bring it to its value.

On present conditions it would require £2.12.0 and the 35 hour week. If the workers, through their united struggle achieve these necessary things, that is a 35 hour week and further increase in wages, then they would be quite near to receiving REAL WAGES. The picture would look like this — 17½ hours socially necessary Labour time 17½ hours surplus value for the capitalists. But even this position would be only temporary, while capitalism

remains intact. The Australian people in their own interest, workers, farmers, middle class and national business people must unite in a struggle to end the monopoly CAPITALIST SYSTEM which is a DICTATORSHIP of a few national and international monopolists. This dictatorship must be replaced by a dictatorship of the workers and farmers, that is the vast majority of the Australian people. Such is the essence of socialism. This will require a most determined struggle, a united struggle of the mass of the Australian people. The few monopolists will not PEACEFULLY give up their domination and they will resort to the use of FORCE. They do this continually. Under these circumstances the masses must DISARM these EXPLOITERS. The factories, ships, land must be taken over by a working class state so that production is geared to the needs of the people and exploitation of man by man is ended.

"The Guardian" Reveals Its Revisionism Again

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles", wrote Marx in the Communist Manifesto.

Ever since this truth has been accepted by Marxist-Leninists as the fundamental law applied to achieve an understanding of the world in which we live, to understand its past and to struggle for its future.

When the so-called Communist newspaper "The Guardian" sets out to review an essay entitled "The Chinese View of their Place in the World" by Professor C. P. Fitzgerald, one would expect then, that this Marxist scientific truth would be the yardstick for their criticism.

But, after assuring us of Professor Fitzgerald's "authority" for handling such a vast subject, the Guardian informs us that it is "very keen-eyed indeed" — "something for married people rather than young lovers".

Well! that's certainly a good start!

What manner of bilge is this? Is it to demonstrate how sophisticated "The Guardian" has become?? Smart double-talk smacking of bourgeois after-dinner chatter. Smart double-talk can never cover-up empty heads or philistine bourgeois reviews.

The science of Marxism-Leninism is a serious, exact, class science. It is concerned with the supreme contribution one can make to the supreme cause — that of leading the working class to a socialist victory. Those who are only concerned with smart phrases to cover up reactionary propositions should stay where they belong — in the after-dinner atmosphere of the bourgeoisie.

In so far as this particular reactionary rubbish is dished up under the guise of Marxism-Leninism, it is necessary to seriously examine this so-called review.

The purpose of this article is not so much concerned with the essay of Professor Fitzgerald, as such. This article is primarily concerned with reviewer's attitude to the essay as it shows the extent and depth of the betrayal of the fundamental doctrines of Marxism to which the revisionist writers of The Guardian have descended.

The essay, according to The Guardian, is "animated by love for China". One would have expected that this concept would have been developed a little further. Which China is it that Fitzgerald is said to love? Was it ancient China . . . the China built upon a class society in which millions suffered untold agonies? Is love as we understand it an emotion that transcends classes and embraces whole countries?

The love of which Communists speak is emotion based upon a class position. We can and do love the Australian working class dearly. Does this extend to a puerile love that includes the Australian ruling class, scooping up Menzies, the B.H.P., G.M.H. and a few others on the way?

Just which China did Professor Fitzgerald have in mind? Would it not have been pertinent to a Marxist Review of an essay to particularise — was it the China which was Chiang-Kai-Shek's with all its old class rottenness? Or was it Socialist China, which is heroically struggling to eliminate class differences, poverty and misery, which has set its face towards the great, bright light of Communism.

The concept of a Chinese nation standing above classes rejects a fundamental Marxist truth.

The review goes on to discuss the impartiality of the essay. It says — "Concerning the present divisions in the world communist movement, Professor Fitzgerald expresses no partisan position . . ." . . . But, as befits a work sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs (a body by terms of its Royal Charter from 'expressing any opinion on any aspect of international affairs,' existing solely 'to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions') it does provide a wealth of substantiated background material on the basis of which people will form opinions anyway".

One would have thought the Guardian should be interested not merely in the forming of opinions but in arriving at the truth based upon a Marxist analysis of some particular problem!!

But let's look at this question of "impartiality" lack of partisanship. Can there be such a condition in capitalist society? It is necessary to quote at some length what Lenin had to say in the "Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" to be found in Vol. 11 of the Selected Works. L. & W. Edition p.33).

"Throughout the civilised world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of 'per-

nicious sect'. And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no 'impartial' social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, **all** official and liberal science **defends** wage-slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on wage-slavery."

The same estimate must be extended to include essayists and educationalists in a bourgeois society. Unless they have been able to rise above their environment and embrace the doctrine of Marxism even the most "liberal" of them remains a bourgeois essayist. He is certainly not impartial.

The reviewer goes on to say: "It is of extraordinary interest and value for communists and progressive people everywhere who have felt dismay and anguish at the apparent readiness with which the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have reached the conclusion that they, above all are the true upholders of Marxism-Leninism in the modern world, and who are seeking their bearing in the new situation which has arisen as a consequence."

Well, if the reviewer is describing his own "dismay and anguish" he would be better met spending his time familiarising himself with the basic works of Marx and Lenin before affording himself the luxury of such upsetting emotions. Unless he masters these invaluable guides better than this review would indicate he's done up to date, he is in for a lot more dismay and anguish as the world revolutionary pattern and in particular as applied in Australia — unfolds.

It should be said, at this stage, that the Chinese Communist Party leaders have never claimed to be "the true upholders of Marxism-Leninism in the modern world". With correct Communist modesty they have insisted on the need to appreciate the contribution which every Marxist-Leninist Party, however small and inexperienced, can make to the general theoretical treasury of Marxism. It is true that hundreds of thousands of Communists outside China have paid tribute to the invaluable contribution of the Chinese Communists, both in re-stating fundamental truths which the Khrushchov clique were busy revising and applying these concepts to modern society.

But to look back for a moment to the paragraph previously quoted, what is meant by this "seeking their bearing in the new situation which has arisen as a consequence."

Is the writer meaning he is trying to seek his bearing in the situation where the Chinese Party and many other Parties for that

matter have drawn attention once more to the fundamental laws underlying the apparently chaotic state of the world? Is he finding trouble reconciling his revisionist position with these laws? Or does he mean that the Chinese, by their writings have created a "new situation?" Can the Chinese Party do this?

Whence arise ideas? "Marx's historical materialism was one of the greatest achievements of scientific thought. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in the views on history and politics gave way to strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops — how capitalism for instance grows out of feudalism. . . . Man's social knowledge (i.e. the various views and doctrines — philosophical, religious, political, and so forth) reflects the economic system of society." (Lenin Vol. 11., page 5).

So that if we accept this proposition of Lenin's the Chinese views far from "creating a new situation" in this world, arise as a result of the situation already existing and helps to explain that situation.

If one's ideas do not correspond with the existing objective situation, if there is not harmony between the two, if one is not following a path designed to help the revolutionary liberation objectively existing, forward, certainly one will feel "dismay and anguish."

Before we go on to read precisely what, according to the Guardian, Professor Fitzgerald had to say about China it might be as well to pause a moment and consider something Karl Marx had to say in his preface to his "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy." We would ask the reader to bear with us for it is a somewhat lengthy quotation. But in view of what Professor Fitzgerald has to say it is well worth the repetition.

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society — the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determine the social, political and intellectual life processes in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their

consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed."

Well, now with this fundamental proposition in mind let us return to Professor Fitzgerald's views. The Guardian says Professor Fitzgerald's argument speaks of the "traditional Chinese view of the world, which sees China as the centre, the sole upholder of true civilisation, the law-giver to the barbarians". (A fine "impartial" opinion).

Fitzgerald goes on to say: "the Chinese view of the world has not fundamentally changed; it has been adjusted to take account of the modern world, but only so far as to permit China to occupy still, the central place in the picture . . . Mao Tse-tung had to 'enrich the treasury of Marxist-Leninist thought so that the contents of that treasury could become current coin in China: it was inevitable that Mao should be hailed as the greater prophet, and that 'some people' should be shown to be in error. There cannot be two suns in one sky."

The Guardian then adds something of its own saying "he contends that nothing in the thousand years of Chinese history since the T'ang period, not even the long years of imperialist mauling of the body of China in the 19th and 20th centuries and the socialist revolution of our own times, has fundamentally shaken the Chinese view of their place in the world which found its richest vindication in the days of the T'ang".

So there we have it. Professor Fitzgerald with the assistance of the revisionist Guardian reviewer has completely "refuted" Marx. The proposition that the "sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society — the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness" has no validity whatsoever. According to Prof. Fitzgerald and "The Guardian", the same consciousness (peculiarly Chinese) has existed and persisted irrespective of the social conditions which determine social consciousness.

This, then, is a diametrically different view to that propounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. As Mao-tse-tung

put in in his work "On Contradiction" P. 2. ". . . there have always existed two views concerning the laws of development of the world: the metaphysical view and the dialectical view, which form two mutually opposed world outlooks."

Lenin said: "The two basic (or two possible? or historically observable?) conceptions of development (evolution) are: development as decrease and increase, as repetition, and development as a unity of opposites the division of the one into mutually exclusive opposites and their reciprocal relation" (Lenin On Dialectics Selected Works, English Edition Vol. XI. p.62 International Publishers New York, 1943).

And further Mao-tse-tung says "The so-called metaphysical world outlook or the world outlook of vulgar evolutionism means looking at the world from an isolated, static and one-sided viewpoint. It regards all things in the world, their forms and their species, as for ever isolated from one another and forever changeless . . . Moreover, the cause of such an increase or decrease or transplacement does not lie inside things, but outside them, that is, through propulsion by external forces".

Is not this the approach of Professor Fitzgerald, as reported by "The Guardian"? Is not this approach metaphysical? Can anyone who professes to be a Marxist seriously offer this essay, with its basically un-Marxist content as worthy of serious consideration? Nay, more than this — can it be hailed as "The Guardian" does as providing the answer to the so-called riddle of China?

Rather does not this approach and this article take its place in the whole stream of anti-Chinese propaganda — which objectively has the aim of whipping up support for the imperialists war aims against this Socialist country.

So long as one approaches the matter from the standpoint of the class struggle and the fact that China is a great socialist country there is no riddle and no mystery.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese masses, with untold sacrifice, carried through a victorious socialist revolution. They are daily carrying through this revolution in the complete re-organisation of their economic life, rejecting for alltime the exploitation of man by man. They are embracing and applying Marxism, i.e. the world outlook of Marx, on a mass scale. This they will continue to do and extend in spite of all the "dismay and anguish" it may cause.

"The Guardian" will probably object to this article and this magazine, asserting that the Australian Communist claims to be the only true upholder of Marxism in Australia.

But then you can't have it two ways. Either you accept the truth of Marxist doctrines, or you don't. If you do accept Marxist doctrines you can't accept the bourgeois unscientific proposition of Prof. Fitzgerald. The lesson is surely clear.

The Communist press inevitably must reflect the difference of views within the international Communist movement today. It must either uphold the truth of Marxist views on the class struggle — the path to socialism — the class character of the state — the revolutionary conception of war and peace — or it must reflect the attempts to revise these fundamental doctrines preaching the possibility of collaboration between the ruling and working class — concentrating on the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism — rejecting the necessity for smashing the state apparatus — preaching ideas of bourgeois pacifism, which really means war.

If you wish to be considered an upholder of Marxism-Leninism, then surely the views you circulate in your press must be based on a foundation of Marxism-Leninism.

We have already dealt with the anti-Marxist handling of the essay of Professor Fitzgerald. Examine further the same issue of "The Guardian" namely July 23. There is further abundant proof of the abandonment of Marxist-Leninist concept of a revolutionary newspaper. There is an exposure story of Kings' Bridge — its content no more revolutionary than one would expect to find in the "Truth".

B. Taft contributes an article on the A.L.P. conference in which not the slightest attempt is made to give a fundamental explanation of the position of reformism giving flesh and blood, in an up-to-date setting, to Lenin's classic description of the A.L.P. as a bourgeois liberal Labor Party. Instead the plea is made to "please be a bit more progressive."

There is a story about Ansett's which is not used to rouse the readers against the system as a whole but rather to win support for some estimate of some Labor Party leaders.

Then throwing aside class morality altogether, there is an unbridled attack on Ted Bull, the newly-elected assistant secretary of the Melbourne branch of W.W.F. (It seems "The Guardian" finds it hard to look facts in the face. The wharfies had just given Bull the highest vote recorded by every candidate in the

present elections, in spite of or because of, vicious attacks by these same revisionist leaders. Within less than a week, they are at it again.

Now, if that isn't a hotch-potch from people who want to be regarded as upholders of Marxism-Leninism!

Discussing some ideological problems in the field of natural science in 1922, Lenin said "it must be realised that unless it stands on a solid philosophical ground, no natural science and no materialism can hold its own in the struggle against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas and the restoration of the bourgeois world outlook. In order to hold its own in this struggle and to carry it to a victorious finish, the natural scientist must be a modern materialist, a conscious adherent of the materialism which is represented by Marx, i.e. he must be a dialectical materialist. In order to attain this aim, the contributors to the Magazine 'Under the Banner of Marxism' * must arrange for the systematic study of Hegelian dialectics from a materialist standpoint, i.e. the dialectics which Marx applied practically in his Capital and in his historical and political works, Of course this study, this interpretation, this propaganda of Hegelian dialectics is extremely difficult, and the first experiments in this direction will undoubtedly be accompanied by errors. But only he who never does anything never commits errors". (Significance of Militant Materialism, Vol 11. Selected Works p.77).

If only the writers on "The Guardian" weren't so soaked in modern revisionist ideas we might commend this passage for their serious consideration — judging by their present standards, they have not read it to date. Provided we are sincere Marxist-Leninists, we will have the incentive to try and analyse the world from a dialectical-materialist viewpoint. All of us make some mistakes. But each time we will emerge a little better equipped than before.

We will be setting out to master revolutionary theory without which there can be no revolutionary movement.

* A magazine devoted to defending materialism and Marxism.

Indonesia, Merdeka!

On August 17th, Indonesia celebrated the 19th anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence made by President Sukarno in 1945.

At that period the Indonesian people were conducting a struggle against Dutch and British Imperialism, and it is relevant to-day when the Indonesian people are struggling against neo-colonialism in the shape of "Malaysia" to look back on the struggles of the Indonesian people against colonial exploitation of Dutch, Portuguese, British, French and U.S. imperialists in the past.

The Indonesian people have a very bitter memory of colonialism and imperialism.

The history of Indonesia has been written in the blood of its heroes who have struggled against brutal colonialism and imperialism. In less than four years of war against Japanese fascism five million Indonesians were killed.

The revolution of August, 17, 1945, brought death to thousands of Indonesian patriots. Many, too, were killed in November, 1945, when the British and Dutch troops attacked Indonesian villages and cities to try and re-impose Dutch colonialism once more on the people.

The U.S. and British imperialists today are engaged in a bitter struggle to try and dominate the economic life of Indonesia where they still have very big capital investments. What must be remembered is that the Indonesian revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution and President Sukarno is a bourgeois democratic leader — and while much has been done in fields of education, health and democratic rights compared with the situation under the rule of Dutch colonialism, the economic structure is still hampered by foreign capital investments as well as survivals of feudalism and semi-feudalism. While a formal declaration of a land reform programme was announced by President Sukarno some years ago, the programme has lagged very badly. The Communist Party of Indonesia is supporting the peasants' movement for land.

The Proclamation of Indonesian Independence was read out by President Sukarno on August 17th. It read:— Proclamation — "We the people of Indonesia hereby proclaim the independence of Indonesia. Procedures pertaining to the transfer of power and

other such matters will be undertaken efficiently at the shortest possible time." DJAKARTA. August, 17th, 1945.

On behalf of the people of Indonesia,

SUKARNO — HATTA.

The proclamation was the rallying call to the masses of the Indonesian people to seize power in the name of the Indonesian Republic — which they did. From its inception in August, 1945, when Japan was defeated, the young Republic had to withstand attack after attack.

The first attack came from the British forces under the command of General Mountbatten which attempted to drive the Indonesians out of key areas to make way for return of Dutch imperialism. British planes attacked and burned Indonesian villages and British troops launched a fierce attack on Souray. The British, at one critical period, re-armed the demobilised, defeated Japanese troops to try and hold back the Indonesian attempts to set up wide-spread local governments.

Next came the Dutch armed with U.S. Lend-Lease weapons from which all the U.S. insignia had been removed so that the Indonesians would not recognise they were being killed by U.S. arms. Three times the Dutch landed their offensive and each time were brought to a standstill. The war of independence against the Dutch lasted from 1946 to 1948.

In 1948 the Americans, with British assistance tried to smash the Republic by encouraging the Right Wing Hatta Government which they had earlier helped to power, to destroy the Indonesian Communist Party. Although many of its leaders were murdered and jailed, the Indonesian Communist Party refused to be crushed. It heroically led the guerillas against the third and last Dutch military offensive and by correct leadership it won recognition as the leading Party of the Indonesian workers and peasants.

At the end of the Round Table Conference with Holland in December, 1949, following which Indonesia's independence was officially recognised by the world, the Republic of Indonesia headed by Dr. Sukarno became the Republic of the United States of Indonesia.

The United States were a compromise between the Republic of Indonesia and the so-called "Federal States" created by the Dutch Lieut.-General H. J. Van Mook at the heels of the Dutch Army.

From the very beginning of Indonesia's national movement Indonesian nationalists had always aimed at the creation of a unitary State. A year later the United States of Indonesia was changed to a unitary State again as originally proclaimed in 1945.

Over a period of many years beginning about 1949 a series of disruptive attacks by Dar-ul-Islam terrorists armed by imperialist nations have created many problems for the new Republic — scattered as it is over 2000 islands. Several "so-called" rebel headquarters — and "Governments" have been set up in outer islands — but have been militarily crushed by the Indonesian armed forces. These same forces have been assisted by foreign imperialist agents who have flown from Formosa and the Clark (U.S.) airfield in the Philippines.

WEST IRIAN STRUGGLE TESTING POINT

The issue of West Irian was yet another testing point for the New Republic — and a struggle against the Dutch who had gone back on their solemn promise under the Linggardjati Agreement (1946) that all territory which had formerly been part of the Netherlands East Indies should become independent. The struggle took many forms, negotiation, and armed struggle till victory was achieved in December 1962.

Life was indeed very hard under Dutch rule. A Dutch Commissioner in 1933 found that the average income of an Indonesian was 1d. a day. In 1937 one in eleven children attended school and up to 1940 — 90% of the Indonesian people were illiterate. Fascist-like laws stifled free speech and strikers were sent to the hell hole of malaria-infested Dingul River in New Guinea to rot for years. Medical attention was hardly known for the Indonesian people under Dutch rule.

After 350 years of Dutch rule, in 1940 30 million Indonesians had malaria and 25 million had chronic eye diseases. Only since independence have any of these social problems begun to be tackled. Since independence Indonesia has devoted a great deal of attention to education and to-day only 30 per cent remain illiterate.

In the 19 years since the proclamation was made eleven universities have been built including one in West Irian. On the health field malaria has been eliminated from many of the largest cities which were plagued by it in the colonial days.

Indonesia is potentially a very rich country. The rich tropical soil is highly productive, and produces important raw materials.

Minerals including oil, tin, iron ore of high quality and gold, diamonds and emeralds have been a source of wealth in the past to the Dutch imperialists and others.

To-day Indonesia's economy is still profoundly influenced by imperialist nations who are using Indonesia as previously for—

- A field of investment
- A market for their industrial exports
- A source of cheap raw materials
- Cheap Labour.

Although the Dutch enterprises were taken over by the State there is still much Dutch capital intermingled with U.S. and British capital and other foreign countries.

Indonesia's economy has run into a number of crises since 1945. One of the major factors for this is that its economy, not being properly balanced depends too heavily on the production of raw materials for sale on world markets and has, therefore, been seriously affected by crises in capitalist countries and consequently depressed world prices. The many attacks by reactionaries internally and externally too, have not allowed the Indonesian revolution — a bourgeois national revolution — to make the kind of dramatic lead forward that China has been able to achieve as a socialist country in 15 years.

The Indonesian people nevertheless, in 19 short years, have become a nation to be reckoned with, a people who will in time complete the bourgeois revolution then march forward to its socialist revolution. This is inevitable as night follows day, and a socialist Indonesia would quickly transform it in giant strides.

This is the significance of August 17, 1945, when the words "Indonesia, Merdeka! (Freedom)" were taken up by tens of millions of our nearest neighbours.

At that period a friendship was built between the Indonesian people and Australia — not because of our Government's actions but because of sympathy and support from the Australian wharfies and seamen who refused to load or sail ships taking arms and ammunition to the Dutch as well as encouragement and support for Independence from Australian soldiers in Indonesia. We greet the heroic Indonesian people on the occasion of their independence anniversary.

"INDONESIA, MERDEKA!"

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