
A JOURNAL OF MARXISM-LENINISM-
MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

THE
AUSTRALIAN
COMMUNIST

No. 79

PRICE

\$ 65

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Lenin On Labor Government In Australia

In 1913, Lenin made an important statement on the labor party in Australia. It is true that there have been many developments since then and on some minor details of fact Lenin was not quite correct but the principle stands. Here is the statement.

The parliamentary elections took place in Australia recently. The Labour Party, which had the majority in the Lower House, having forty-five seats out of seventy-five, suffered defeat. Now it only has thirty-six seats out of seventy-five. The majority has passed to the Liberals, but this majority is very unstable, because in the Upper House, thirty out of the thirty-six seats are occupied by Labour.

What a peculiar capitalist country is this in which Labour predominates in the Upper House and recently predominated in the Lower House and yet the capitalist system does not suffer any danger! An English correspondent of a German Labour newspaper recently explained this circumstance, which is very often misrepresented by bourgeois writers.

The Australian Labour Party does not even claim to be a Socialist Party. As a matter of fact it is a liberal-bourgeois party, and the so-called Liberals in Australia are really Conservatives.

This strange and incorrect use of terms in naming parties is not unique. In America, for example, the slave-owners of yesterday are called Democrats, and in France, the petty bourgeois anti-socialists are called "Radical Socialists." In order to understand the real significance of parties one must examine, not their labels, but their class character and the historical conditions of each separate country.

Australia is a young British colony.

Capitalism in Australia is still quite young. The country is only just beginning to take shape as an independent state. The workers, for the most part, are emigrants from England. They left England at the time when Liberal-Labour politics held almost unchallenged sway there and when the masses of the English workers were Liberals. Even up till now the majority of the skilled factory workers in England are Liberals and semi-Liberals. This is the result of the exceptionally favourable, monopolist position England occupied in the second half of the last century. Only now are the masses of the workers in England beginning (slowly) to turn toward socialism.

And while in England the so-called "Labour Party" represents an alliance between the socialist trade unions and the extreme opportunist Independent Labour Party, in Australia, the Labour Party represents purely the

non-socialist trade unionist workers.

The leaders of the Australian Labour Party are trade union officials, an element which everywhere represents a most moderate and "capital serving" element, and in Australia it is altogether peaceful, and purely liberal.

The ties between the separate states of Australia in united Australia, are still very weak. The Labour Party has to concern itself with developing and strengthening the country and with creating a central government.

In Australia the Labour Party has done what in other countries was done by the Liberals, namely, introduced a uniform customs tariff for the whole country, a uniform Education Act, a uniform Land Tax and uniform Factory Acts.

Naturally, when Australia is finally developed and consolidated as an independent capitalist state the conditions of the workers will change, as also will the liberal Labour Party which will make way for a socialist Labour Party. Australia serves to illustrate the conditions under which exceptions to the rule are possible. The rule is: a socialist Labour Party in a capitalist country. The exception is: a liberal Labour Party which arises only for a short time as a result of conditions that are abnormal for capitalism.

Those liberals in Europe and in Russia who try to "preach" to the people that class war is unnecessary by pointing to the example of Australia, only deceive themselves and others. It is ridiculous to think of applying Australian conditions (an undeveloped, young country,

populated by Liberal English workers) to countries in which a state and developed capitalism have long been established." June, 1913 ("In Australia").



A Great And Correct Communist Party

The great Communist Party of China has just celebrated the 55th anniversary of its foundation.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) sent to the Chinese Communist Party its warmest greetings on the occasion of the anniversary.

The Communist Party of China has steadfastly upheld the great revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao founder and leader of the Chinese Party has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. Undoubtedly he takes his place alongside Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Under his leadership and the leadership of the Communist Party of China the Chinese people have had world-shaking victories in the building of Communism, in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the Great Cultural Revolution, in the successful combating of the restorationist activities of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the latest activities of Teng Hsiao-ping. The enormous victories of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in foreign affairs speak for themselves.

The peoples of the world have infinite confidence in People's China and its Communist Party and leader Chairman Mao.

Australian Communists rejoice in their solidarity with the great Communist Party of China and in the glorious principles of proletarian internationalism which Marxist-Leninists the world over uphold.

We warmly salute the Communist Party of China on its 55th birthday and are absolutely certain that it will have still greater victories.

We publish here the full text of the July 1 editorial by the "People's Daily", the journal "Red Flag" and the "Liberation Army Daily", entitled "Build the Party in the Course of Struggle":

We are warmly celebrating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China today when great victories have been scored in the struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts.

Under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, our Party has led hundreds of millions of people in winning the victory of the new democratic revolution and in achieving victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have smashed the schemes of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. More united and vigorous and with greater fighting strength than ever, our Party is leading the people of

all nationalities in the country in continuing their advance along the socialist road.

We have won great victories. However, very arduous tasks still confront us. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Its basic programme is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the triumph of socialism over capitalism and the ultimate realization of Communism. The whole Party will have to wage protracted struggle in order to realize this programme. Only if we bear in mind and never lose sight of its ultimate aim can we successfully solve the question of Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is of utmost importance in the period of socialism to have clarity both in theory and practice on the question that the bourgeoisie exists "right in the Communist Party". In the current struggle against the right deviationist attempt, Chairman Mao made an incisive analysis of this question, thus developing Marxism-Leninism. In 1964 Chairman Mao pointed out in a directive concerning the socialist education movement: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." Chairman Mao further pointed out: "Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly

learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others." Chairman Mao also stated: "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit." This directive of Chairman Mao's and his important instructions during the Great Cultural Revolution, particularly those issued since the start of the struggle against the right deviationist attempt, penetratingly expose the class nature of such Party capitalist-roaders as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping and analyze the characteristics and origin of the bourgeoisie in the Party as well as the ways to defeat it. These instructions are of tremendous immediate importance and of far-reaching historic significance to our perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All comrades in the Party, especially the leading cadres, should conscientiously study and grasp them and draw profound

lessons from them. In socialist society, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist, and essentially the relations among people are still class relations. We can maintain the character of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat only when we recognize the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party, soberly understand that the capitalist-roaders are the main force endangering the Party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, and continuously carry out the revolution against the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Only thus can our Party lead the proletariat and other revolutionary masses in successfully carrying out our country's socialist revolution and construction and, together with the revolutionary people the world over, in carrying the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction through to the end and waging a common struggle for the emancipation of all mankind.

The Chinese Communist Party is a great, glorious and correct Party, a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The overwhelming majority of our Party members and cadres represented by Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great leader of our Party, persist in serving the people whole-heartedly, are one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and are resolute in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. Many outstanding Party members have played an exemplary vanguard role, advancing in the front ranks of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and leading the masses in heroic struggle. But there is no denying that

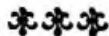
the bourgeoisie does exist inside the Party. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, among a part of the Party membership, some have already changed, some are changing, and others may change if they cease being vigilant. As for those who committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist-roaders, most of them recognized their errors with the help of the Party and the masses during the Great Cultural Revolution, learned lessons and are continuing to advance along the road of revolution. But there are also people like Teng Hsiao-ping who cling to their errors and become unrepentant capitalist-roaders. Our comrades must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They should maintain close ties with the masses, take an active part in collective productive labour, warmly support the new socialist things, and strive for new achievements in all socialist endeavours. They should keep to the style of plain living and hard struggle, resist bourgeois corrosion, and consciously restrict bourgeois right. They should, in the course of struggle, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, remould their world outlook and strive to be true Party members ideologically.

At present, we must concentrate on criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping and deepen the struggle against the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. The essential political characteristic of the capitalist-roaders is that they pursue the revisionist line. In our struggle against them, the most important question to

Solve is that of political line, i.e., to use the *two-line* line to defeat their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Communist Party members, particularly leading cadres, must take a firm and clear-cut stand, march in the van of the struggle, and go through tests and temper themselves. They must energetically lead the masses in combating Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line in connection with the concrete class struggle and two-line struggle on the various fronts. With regard to those comrades who have made mistakes, the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" should be applied. Party organizations at all levels should take the initiative to strengthen Party building ideologically and organizationally in the course of struggle.

Our Party is led by the Central Committee with our great leader Chairman Mao at its head and guided by his proletarian revolutionary line, and the masses of Party members persevere in continuing the revolution and are opposed to restoration and retrogression; it is worthy of being the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people and the mainstay of the socialist cause. The fact that we dare to expose the bourgeoisie inside the Party shows that our Party has the strength, confidence and ability to defeat it and thereby bring the entire bourgeoisie to utter defeat. The emergence of capitalist-roaders inside the Party in no way obscures our Party's radiance. Isn't it true that the Kunlun Mountains still stand and have not fallen despite the emergence of Liu Shao-chi and company? Isn't it true that Mount Lushan still stands

and has not been levelled flat despite the emergence of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique? And today, despite the emergence of Teng Hsiao-ping and the riot staged at Tienanmen Square by the handful of counter revolutionaries, Tienanmen, now that their scheme has been smashed, looks all the more magnificent. Historical experience has over and over again shown that it is not easy to crush our Party. As Chairman Mao has definitely declared, "this Party of ours has a bright future."



New Quality Of People's Movement For Independence

The Australian people's movement for independence has undergone a qualitative development; it has greatly stepped up.

The semi-fascist coup of Kerr, Barwick, Anthony, Fraser has set off a chain reaction that is developing all the time.

The essence of that reaction and the consequent development of struggle is independence of Australia. By independence we mean independence of all imperialisms. And in the end, that means people's anti-imperialist democratic independence led by the working class.

It is true that in many facets of the struggle the slogan and demand for independence do not clearly and overtly appear. Or they appear clearly and overtly mainly among the more conscious workers, working and patriotic people.

But we are concerned about TRENDS, OBJECTIVE FACTS, REAL AND ULTIMATE DIRECTION.

What is going on is a huge mass movement. Immed-

iate issues are the position of the governor-general; the effects of economic crisis. The attacks on Medibank, the wage indexation (wage freeze and cut), attacks on black people, attacks on the environment, attacks on democratic rights all cause tremendous struggle. Some of it is spontaneous reaction and protest. That is very good. Even more important is the development of class consciousness, independence consciousness.

The question of independence as the great single issue, the identification of the struggle for independence as the most important issue of politics in Australia, the politics of class struggle, arises from the blatant and obvious betrayal of Australia by the ruling circles. Fraser goes to Japan and sells out Australian interests to Japanese imperialism and monopoly capitalism. Whitlam goes to London to do obeisance to the imperial Queen. Even more important he goes to Moscow, centre of one of the two superpowers. And Fraser of course is tied also to U.S. imperialism within the orbit of which Japanese imperialism also revolves. It can be seen that the crisis of capitalism pushes the imperialist powers to grab more energetically than ever at Australia. The centre of the contention and struggle for Australia is the contention and struggle of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

At the same time, this same economic crisis pushes the Australian traitor class and its lackeys to sell Australia out more energetically. This is the explanation for the world trips of the bourgeois "leaders" of Australia.

One should never overlook the service done in betrayal of Australia by the Hawkes (regular visitor to the U.S. and Israel), the Clancys (agent of Soviet social-imperialism), the Halfpennys, Carmichaels.

It must be kept in mind that these people, Fraser, Whitlam, Hawke, Clancy, Halfpenny, Carmichael, are *class* representatives; they represent the Australian monopoly capitalists in collaboration with one or other of the superpowers.

Again it must be understood that these people do not publicly proclaim their service to imperialism; they use much more cunning methods. That service must be deduced from a study of their actions. Their actions and words must be subjected to class analysis. Every kind of thinking and every kind of political action are stamped with the brand of a class. Every class throws up its political representatives. All these people have been thrown up to represent the Australian comprador capitalists (that is, those who collaborate with one or other imperialism). Some serve in the name of the labour movement or trade union movement.

Far from slackening, people's struggle goes on. It gets more intense, more widespread.

The continuance and deepening in determination of demonstrations against Kerr, the struggles of the black people, the big strike actions over Medibank, the strikes on economic issues, the demonstrations and actions by farmers are truly Australia wide.

The ruling circles are at their wit's end to control the situation.

It is quite correct that struggle will continue to develop, will assume even more determined forms: And every effort must go into assisting the whole process and increasing its consciousness.

The people are awakening to the real service to capitalism given by parliamentary politicians, by the Labor Party, by the ACTU. But still these institutions maintain a certain hold and divert the struggle. Not yet has it become wholly clear that co-ordinated people's struggle directed against imperialist domination of Australia is the way out of and against these institutions. But it is certainly becoming clearer. The farmers raise slogans of shooting parliamentary politicians rather than their animals, want "action" and not politicians' promises, the black people rely upon their own struggle; the workers increasingly repudiate Hawke, Clancy, Halfpenny, Carmichael and Co.

Again the genuine left, the Communists, must work with immense energy, self-sacrifice, devotion, to contribute correct leadership for people's independence to the whole struggle.

The workers' struggle is the core of the whole movement. But the struggle embraces all sections of the people. The utter contempt for Egerton's knighthood ("honours" that Hawke, Halfpenny, Clancy, Carmichael would willingly get and take but for tactical reasons) affected all sections of the people. The return of "honours" by Coombs, White and Scott expresses the same thing; the Kerr demonstrations go far beyond the Labor Party despite the kept press's insistence on Labor

Party responsibility: the defence of the environment embraces wide sections of the people.

It is a truly inspiring picture.

The struggle will never again be effectively controlled by Labor leaders, Hawkes, Clancys, Halfpennys, Carmichaels. It belongs to the people: it is the people's own struggle and the Labor leaders Hawke, Clancy, Halfpenny, Carmichael, are not of the people at all.

It calls for the hardest unremitting but glorious work of the Communists to find the ways to cut through all the diversions and tricks of the ruling circles so that they can more and more effectively serve the people.



The Big Lie About Inflation

Huge efforts are being made by the monopoly capitalists to persuade people that inflation is caused by increases in wages and therefore wages must be pegged or reduced.

It cannot be emphasised too strongly that this is utter deception. It is a lie, a big lie, a very big lie. It is Hitler's technique of the big lie and its repetition.

It is necessary to arm ourselves with effective replies to this big lie.

The fact is that labour power is a commodity that is bought and sold like every other commodity. Its price is called "wages". This does not alter the fact that wages are the price of the commodity labour power.

The value of *all* commodities without exception is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour time required for their production. The one thing common to all commodities is that they, no matter how different one from the other, are the product of labour, are made by man. They exchange against each other, according to the socially necessary labour time required for their production. Money is now the intermediary of exchange. (This was not always so.) Money is a token

measure of labour power. Thus a motor car is many times the price of a pound of butter because there is far more labour time required in the production of the motor car than in the pound of butter. Still there is a definite proportion and that is expressed in definite different prices. All commodities can be tested in this way. "Socially necessary" simply means that production occurs in the average general production conditions in society. (It does not mean that if a commodity takes very much time in excess of the average, it will command a greater price or be of greater value).

The price (value) of labour power is the labour time needed to keep the worker and his family fed, clothed, housed, etc. Its value is determined just like all other commodities. It is wholly unique only in one single respect, namely that it produces value in excess of its own value. That is, for wages, the capitalist buys the capacity of the worker to work; it takes only a proportion of that capacity to realise the value of the labour power and, the rest of the time belongs to the capitalist. So Marx said: "Therefore, the value of labour-power, and the value which that labour-power creates in the labour process, are two entirely different magnitudes; and this difference of the two values was what the capitalist had in view, when he was purchasing the labour power."

It is true that for all commodities other factors operate to cause departures from this basic determinant. Such things as monopoly prices, supply and demand, struggle of the workers, affect them. But these things

are marginal; they in no way alter the fundamentals.

How then can wages be the cause of inflation? If this is true, then it is equally true of all other commodities. For example, if it is true, then the increased price of motor cars, of milk, of all food, of everything, is the cause of inflation.

This is obvious nonsense.

The fact is that all prices rise when there is inflation. This includes the price of labour power (wages) because its cost (value) is determined by the cost (labour time) of its production like all other commodities.

Inflation is the debasement of the currency caused by the bankruptcy of the capitalist state and the printing of currency to meet that bankruptcy.

This means that money as a token incorporates less and less of the labour power which it is supposed to represent (originally expressed in real gold which did incorporate a definite and ascertainable amount of labour power). Hence the more money that is printed, the less and less labour power it as a token incorporates. Thus it exchanges against commodities which have a definable amount of socially necessary labour time in their production whereas it has an ever diminishing token labour time incorporated in it. So prices rise because there is the exchange of a genuine commodity produced with genuine labour power for money with a token and diminishing labour time because of its excess printing (not exchangeable against gold or other commodities on a genuine basis of labour power). The more money that

is printed in defiance of genuine exchange or a genuine labour time basis the more prices *must* rise because money is now the universal medium of exchange.

All price rises, including wages do contribute to inflation. Why? Because price rises increase the bankruptcy of the capitalist state. (for example, it costs more for arms, for public works, etc.). Still more currency is required to bridge the gap. The currency is further debased. Prices rise again.

Again the bankruptcy is deepened. Another dose of currency is required. Prices again go up. It is a vicious circle. It is part of the capitalist crisis.

Why then do the capitalists single out the particular lie that increases in wages cause inflation? Why not say it is increase in the price of motor cars that causes inflation when that is equally logical?

There is a good reason and it rests in the nature of capitalist exploitation. The more surplus value (excess of value over its own value produced by the worker – see Marx as quoted) the capitalist can appropriate, the more profit he makes. Therefore while wages are a commodity, the value of which is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour time required for the production and maintenance of the worker, the capitalist *always* tries to keep that time down to an absolute minimum, to the barest possible subsistence level. The pressure of capitalism is *always* to keep wages down so as to keep profits up. Exploitation through surplus value is a simple proportion. In conditions of crisis as in Australia now there is even greater incentive and

pressure on the capitalist and greater opportunities (e.g. unemployment, excess supply of labour) to keep wages down to bare subsistence levels. The more the multi-nationals in Australia can push wages down to bare subsistence levels the more profits they can make (and of course send off to the USA or the Soviet Union or Japan). Of course, they say lower wages make for cheaper commodities. That is a lie too. They may force wages down but the price of commodities produced by the workers would remain the same because the socially, necessary labour time used in their production would be the same. All that would happen is that profits would rise because the surplus value would be greater.

On the other hand, the greater price they can extort (above the fundamental determinant of necessary labour time) for other commodities, the more profit they make.

Thus by singling out this lie about wages being the cause of inflation they serve the purpose of increasing the downward pressure on wages which always exists.

It is the very reason why workers should struggle all the harder to increase the price of their labour power (above its basic determinant of labour time) just as the capitalist strives to increase the price of all commodities other than labour power.

It is the very reason why the workers, and working people should struggle to throw these decisive multi-national capitalists right out of Australia.

It is the very reason why Hawke, the Labor government, Fraser, the arbitration commission must be

opposed to the end in their wage freeze and cut (wage indexation).



To Build The New We Must Break With The Old

The Communist Manifesto speaks of Communism as being the most radical rupture from old ideas. In the revisionist break from Communism the revisionists effected the most radical rupture from the ideas of Communism.

In the minds and work of the Communists there must be the most radical rupture from all old ideas and rupture from the ideas of revisionism either in its old line form or in its modern form.

One aspect of influence both of old ideas and revisionist ideas is the persistence of illusions in one or other of the institutions and ideas of capitalism. Such old or revisionist ideas do not ordinarily come under a signboard which identifies them. They come in a disguised form or are an assumption or implication in a statement or action. Communists must learn to recognise them and deal with them.

Let us take some examples. The question of the correct attitude to trade unions often arises in Australia. It is a question of great importance. In this field there dwell a lot of old line and modern revisionist illusions,

assumptions and implications. It is quite a persistent illusion that Communists in official positions in the trade unions can convert the trade unions into revolutionary organisations. To that end, this illusion goes, it is necessary for the Communist Party to spend a good deal of time in working out what precisely should be done in a trade union, what Communist should occupy what position, what he should do and so on. All this proceeds on the assumption, the illusion, that by interfering in this way in the affairs of a trade union, "good" Communist work can turn that trade union into a vehicle of revolution. On the other hand, failure to attend to this detail, "bad" Communist work, will cause the trade union to become reactionary. The fact, the reality, is that all Australian trade unions with a very, very few insignificant exceptions are registered under the Arbitration legislation. They are very carefully regulated by law and are fitted into the structure of the apparatus of the state. They are dependent upon the bourgeois state apparatus. This is so whether their leadership is Communist, Labor Party, revisionist or anything else. No leadership has ever succeeded in breaking out of this. And even if it did it would only marginally alter the character of the trade union: it would not fundamentally alter it. Yes, it is better to escape from the toils of registration because this is a step, if it is properly understood, to an independent position of the trade unions. Some time ago an article was published in the newspaper *Vanguard* about some internal changes in a trade union. The article said in effect that these changes would make the trade union more revolutionary. This was the implication of the art-

icle, its underlying assumption. Time has gone by since this article and now it is possible to sum up experience and ask the question – did these changes have this effect? And the answer must be in the negative. The changes had certain tactical effects, had a certain tactical importance, but they did not affect the fundamental character of the union as a body registered as a legal entity under the Arbitration legislation and carefully fitted into the structure of the state apparatus. Again, good young people have become trade union officials. Their underlying assumption has been to revolutionise the trade unions. They have found frustration and disappointment and disillusion. Why? Because their assumptions were wrong. The old line reformists and the modern revisionists talk continually about the trade union movement. They say the trade union movement has done this or that or will not do the other thing. But we must ask *what* is this trade union movement, what indeed is it? For far too long, such phrases by their assumptions and implications have been used to prohibit debate, to stifle initiative, to place everything in the hands of a few officials from the trade unions, and never forget these trade unions are fitted into the apparatus of the state. Hawke invariably speaks of “the trade union movement”. What he is speaking of is *his* trade union movement composed of himself and other such people. It is certainly not the workers and working people. It is always in his use of it, a bourgeois structure, bourgeois idea, to achieve bourgeois purposes. In his secret and open talks with Fraser he invariably says “the trade union movement” will do this or that if you agree to something or other. It is not only logical reasoning

that shows this is for bourgeois purposes but even more important it is the hard reality of experience. The analysis must not be confined to scoundrels like Hawke and his colleagues and the revisionists. This particular illusion embraces honest people, even Communists. It is unfortunately a weapon of the bourgeoisie.

The trade unions do in fact organise the workers. They do, in fact, perform services for the workers such as looking after, with varying degrees of efficiency, economic conditions, compensation, pensions, long service leave and so on. That is important in itself and it is important because it gathers together large numbers of workers. It does not in any way alter the character of the trade unions as structures fitted into the state apparatus. Nevertheless it is absolutely axiomatic, obligatory, for Communists to work in them. Is the purpose of this to help strengthen them as organisations fitted into the bourgeois state apparatus? No. *The sole purpose is to build up Communist organisation and influence among the workers.* It is the Communist Party in Australia that leads the struggle for socialism and as an essential step in that, the struggle for independence. It is in the process of that struggle that the bourgeois state apparatus and its hold on the trade unions as they have evolved in Australia will be broken. People get worried because they pose a question something like this – you want to smash the trade unions and we agree that they are fitted into the state structure, but what are you going to put in their place? It is not a question of smashing the trade unions. It is a question of recognizing the reality of the structure of the trade unions in Australia as being fitted into the bourgeois

state apparatus, having a mass hold, and basing Communist tactics on working within those trade unions for the sole purpose of building Communist organisation and influence irrespective of that structure. Be the given Communist a trade union official or a rank and file worker his task is to provide *Communist* organisation and influence. If he is an official he will of necessity be required to conform to many features of the bourgeois state apparatus and its ramifications in the trade unions, just as any other Communist he cannot be a "pure" Communist and abstract himself from reality. As an official he will have certain advantages to promote Communist organisation and influence; he will also have certain disadvantages, not the least of which is compliance with certain bourgeois trade union organisational requirements. As a rank and file Communist he will not have some of the advantages of the official but equally he will be free of the disadvantages of officialdom. In all cases the criterion is the use of whatever position he is in to promote appropriately Communist organisation and influence. The highest form of class organisation of the proletariat is the Communist Party. As for Hawke and Co., and the revisionist trade union movement, they must be exposed as being bourgeois impositions on the workers and working people. They form a weapon to suppress the workers. The existence of illusions among Communists only strengthens the Hawkes, the Clancys, the Carmichaels, the Halfpennys. All illusions should be ended.

Not so long ago material was submitted to *Vanguard* which spoke of the murder of some Greek parliamen-

tarians. It contained important facts. But it put the question in such a way that it implied that parliament could be a weapon of revolution, that the reason for the murder of these parliamentarians was to prevent their using parliament in favour of the working people. It is true that in some circumstances a parliamentarian can use parliament as a *forum* for exposure. But it is never true that parliament can be used as a vehicle for revolution or as a place where socialism can be legislated for. No doubt the authors of the material would repudiate this implication. Still the utmost care must be taken never by any word or action to suggest parliament can be a vehicle of revolution; it may occasionally have a tactical use and it is always useful in exposing the tactics of the bourgeoisie. If material were put so as to show that so near to collapse is parliament as an effective bourgeois weapon of deceit that it cannot even tolerate parliamentarians who even vaguely expose it, then maybe it is different. Again not so long ago Communists of quite long standing spoke of disappointment at the decline in the Labor vote at the Federal election of December 13 and on the other hand of pleasure at persuading a friend to vote "Labor" for the first time in his life. However the decline in the Labor vote was by no means a tragedy, it is perfectly explicable because the Labor Party is a party of the bourgeoisie and was exposed as that. It is true that votes for it at this stage of understanding express a certain left sentiment. But left sentiment is going through a complicated process of finding the genuine left in Communism and its road to Australian independence. As for the person who was persuaded by people he knew to be Communist,

to vote Labor, he unfortunately has now to go through an even more than usual tortuous process of experience. Would it not have been far better to have persuaded him of the bourgeois character both of parliament and of the Labor Party and positively of the struggle for independence and then let him make up his mind on whether the tactics of the situation required him to vote at all, or choose one or other of the bourgeois political parties in their struggle for the spoils of office? These very good people, though they would repudiate it, were under illusions that parliament and the Labor Party could somehow be reformed. If that were correct then it would not be capitalism.

Another example: how often do we see that some independence fighter or other oppressed person was gaoled "without trial"? There is no magic whatever in a trial. All trials of this kind (like everything else) are stamped with the brand of a class. A trial is a class trial particularly of course when there is an obvious class issue at stake. What purpose is a trial going to serve in fascism? It is often said that British justice ensures that you are hanged but it only does so after a fair trial. All this is based on the illusion of "justice", "equality before the law". That is just plain rubbish. Fascist, capitalist trials are just showpieces. Tactically it may be fair enough to call for a trial because such a trial may tactically give the victim a platform or something of that character. That is fair enough. But surely in this type of demand the condemnation is not of the absence of the "fair trial" but of the very character of the regime itself; the big thing is the struggle against the regime. In a working class state a trial is still a class

trial but there working class justice is done. If there is an excess or wrong charge it is readily revealed (for example, in China confession evidence is not admissible; compare this with the notorious verbal confessions sworn to by police in Australia). In a capitalist state this repeated comment of gaoling without trial may certainly be exposed even though it does not go to the fundamental question. It can be said that so far has fascism gone that it does not even have the confidence to stage a trial. The task is to formulate demands and criticisms that take tactical advantage of these things but keep clear the fundamental class issues.

So all-pervading is capitalist ideology that it penetrates the minds of Communists. Great care must be taken for serious errors can be made by becoming victim to this type of illusion.



Vital Lessons For Us In China's Cultural Revolution

The Chinese people have been celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which was launched under the personal direction of Chairman Mao Tsetung in May, 1966.

The bourgeois press and its hired commentators throughout the capitalist world (and this includes the revisionist-led Soviet Union) have presented and continue to present the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as a power struggle between personalities. This presentation is consistent with the desire of the bourgeoisie to avoid talking about class struggle and to preserve their class position. Particularly is this so in the Soviet Union where the Khrushchovite clique continues to spread its nonsense about "the State of the whole people" and "the Party of the whole people". These renegades have been terrified by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because it throws a powerful light on them and exposes them for what they are – capitalist-roaders.

In the process of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the names of leading capitalist-roaders like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping have

become well known throughout the world. In the capitalist countries these traitors have been lauded as "moderates", "reasonable Communists", etc. The truth is that they were not genuine Communists at all. They were the agents of the remnants of the exploiting classes in the Party. But they were only the tip of the ice-berg as it were. If we study, as we should, the excellent articles and news reports that sum up the experiences of the Cultural Revolution we will see what a vast and deep struggle it is, and why it will continue. In every facet of Chinese life there were people who followed, either consciously or unconsciously, the line of the capitalist-roaders. Everywhere there has been struggle against them, struggle that basically is between self and the collective. Speaking at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on April 28, 1969, Chairman Mao said: "Apparently we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories - I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority - leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of the workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of the Party committees and among Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth." "But there are indeed bad people in

the factories." "This shows that the revolution is unfinished."

Marxism-Leninism holds that people, and only the people, make history. Individuals, of course, can play an important role, but individuals do not and can never possess the power of the people. Correct ideas can only become a powerful material force when they are grasped by the people. It is because the correct revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tsetung has been grasped and is still being grasped and acted on by the Chinese people that their class enemies are being uncovered and the dictatorship of the proletariat is being consolidated. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has unleashed the vigorous initiatives of the people and as a result there have been all-round advances in the economy and in the fields of science and culture. A vivid picture of this is provided by the many Chinese articles already referred to. They show how capitalist-roaders resisted mobilising the workers and peasants to take a more conscious part in production. They wanted to be the experts. They tried to increase production, not through using the unlimited initiative and energies of the working people, but by material incentives. Such a method only encouraged alienating the workers from production and did not involve them in management or other planning. The struggle against this sort of thing is class struggle, the struggle between the proletarian way and the capitalist way.

We are indeed grateful to the Chinese Comrades for providing us with so much valuable material on the experiences of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. While it is true that China is an historical epoch ahead

of Australia, nevertheless the experiences of the Chinese people are extremely valuable for they show us how to approach problems in a Communist way and to have faith in the masses. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has shown us how to integrate better revolutionary truths with practice. This is very helpful because there is always a big difference between what perhaps could be described as "revolutionary intention" and actual "revolutionary practice". We can all ask ourselves (every day) whether we consider ourselves superior, more expert than those around us and whether, and how, such an attitude is holding back work, preventing the development of people and weakening the revolutionary struggle. The struggle against self takes many forms. In days gone by there were people who could be said to have made great sacrifices for the revolutionary movement. They threw themselves into the struggle. That is one thing. But having "thrown ourselves into the struggle" how do we then behave? Do we take bourgeois ideas and methods into the struggle? Of course we do. And if we do not examine them and try to eradicate them in the process of criticism and self-criticism, then all the good intentions and "sacrifice" in the world can be wasted. Our job is to help people find the revolutionary way by taking correct ideas to them. We just cannot do this if we act in a bourgeois way: that is, if we take on the airs of a know-all, of a "leader", of a "super-revolutionary". Subordinating self to the collective is a continuous struggle. It is a process, a process of life. In one situation we may have some success, in another situation fail. This is how it goes. We overcome our mistakes and incorrect outlook

through criticism and self-criticism. It is not an easy matter. At one time criticism and self-criticism were seen as a "session at the confessional". Such an attitude is useless. Criticism and self-criticism is a scientific matter. It requires investigation and must always be related to practice. Here again we have received immense help from the Chinese Comrades. In examining how good people had been fooled by the capitalist-roaders, great lessons were learned. And this in turn led to more intensified study, study linked with practice. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has led in China to enthusiastic mass study of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the works of Chairman Mao on a scale never before seen. It has also stimulated study of Marxism on a world scale. Today in Australia the revolutionary movement is quickening. It is demanding more profound leadership as the situation is not developing in a nice, easy straight-out way. There are always complications. These complications need patient explanation and before they can be explained properly they must be studied in the light of Marxism-Leninism.

Mention was made before of the Soviet revisionist clique's hatred of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The hired hacks of revisionism write reams of insults against China. They act like trapped rats. And indeed China's Great Cultural Revolution has trapped the revisionists. On a world-scale it has exposed, by positive example, what has occurred in the Soviet Union. In that once-great socialist country the capitalist-roaders seized power and restored capitalism. Chairman Mao said recently: "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as

in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has shown clearly that under the dictatorship of the proletariat classes exist and class struggle must be continued in a deep and thoroughgoing way. It has exposed the Soviet revisionist clique's nonsense about a "state and party of the whole people". These slogans were raised in an attempt to hide capitalist restoration.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has certainly lit up the path for the world revolutionary movement. We fervently wish it further great success.



A Source Of Revisionism

In recent times there has been a significant revival of interest in the book "Looking Backward, Looking Forward."

In the Australian Communist and the Vanguard and other Party publications questions about the trade unions and the Labor Party have come to be dealt with a little more than in the past period. Why is this? It is because the issues of trade unionism, trade union politics are being thrust by events into much more critical focus. Workers are raising more penetrating questions about these matters. The position of people like Hawke is coming under more and more challenge.

The position of the "lefts" Clancy, Carmichael, Halfpenny is being revealed as sham left. People ask what is the role of genuine Communists in the trade unions? It all illustrates a great process of change, of upheaval.

As to the role of Communists in the trade unions reference is sometimes made to the late Jim Healy, general-secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation

and for a long time member of the Political Committee of the old Communist Party. Jim Healy is put forward as a good Communist trade union official. The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has made an analysis of this question and has a definite political view of it. The persistence and propagation of wrong ideas about it can do great harm and perpetuate revisionist ideas.

Jim Healy is really the classic illustration of how reformist, revisionist ideas penetrate the Communist Party through trade union political influence. It is true that Healy had great mass standing, it is true that in the day to day manoeuvring between his union and the employers he was efficient, it is true that in the arbitration tribunals he was a good industrial advocate and witness, it is true that he was very popular and a "good fellow". None of that in itself made him a good Communist, scientific socialist, Marxist-Leninist.

Healy came to prominence in the thirties as a rank and file wharfies' leader. He became general secretary of the Waterside Workers' Federation. Because he was general secretary of this organisation, he was made a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In itself this is quite wrong. There is nothing whatever in an official position in a trade union that qualifies a person to be a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. That Party is the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat and its leading members must be first and last exemplary Communists. An exemplary Communist could be a trade union official but a trade union official merely by

virtue of that office is not an exemplary Communist. This is not a question of Healy personally at all but a question of profoundly important politics particularly in the Australian environment.

In fact in Healy's case (as in many others) he lived and breathed life as a trade union leader that never once stepped out of the boundaries of capitalism. It was life and breath that proceeded on the very assumption of the permanence of capitalism. To counteract the bourgeois, capitalist, reformist, revisionist influences from that, very strong Marxism-Leninism was needed. Neither in Healy nor in the Communist Party was there that strength of Marxism-Leninism that could withstand those influences. Indeed Healy in the Political Committee of the Communist Party continually brought into the Communist Party trade union politics, reformism, revisionism. There is not the slightest doubt about that. There are Marxist-Leninists who worked in those leading circles and can verify the correctness of this statement. Again the process was not confined to Healy; there were others. But Healy was very close to the top leadership Sharkey and Dixon and was himself regarded as one of the leading comrades.

Examples can readily be given. Healy was a member of the A.C.T.U. executive. The "leader" of the A.C.T.U. was the notorious Albert Monk. Healy regularly reported on the internal affairs of the A.C.T.U. and the necessity of always being "on side" with "Albert" (Monk). No one who was there could ever forget it. Everything was subordinated to "unity" with Monk. Of

course, it is possible to have unity with such people in some circumstances but there remains the essential maintenance of the independence and initiative of the Communists. No such question as maintaining the independence and initiative of the Communists was ever put forward by Healy. In effect his line and attitude subordinated the Communist Party to the trade union movement of Monk and the Labor Party. Healy repeatedly emphasised the need to have good relations with the Labor leaders, with Holt (Liberal Minister for Labor and later Prime Minister with whom he was very personally friendly), with shipowners, judges and so on. Again it is correct that tactical use can be made by the working class of such people. But the greatest care needs to be taken in doing so because such people undoubtedly made and make use of people in positions like that of Healy. In his case, they certainly did so. Healy repeatedly appeared on television and radio. It is true that tactically a person in his position occasionally serves a workingclass purpose in so appearing. But again the central purpose of the press, radio and television barons in giving time to such people as Healy is not to serve the cause of Healy but to serve the cause of those press, radio and television barons. This is a matter of plain common sense in addition to experience and logical reasoning. The whole process amounts to the use of such people by the monopoly capitalists to "adapt" Communism to capitalism.

Healy, along with others in similar positions, was a

constant source of ideas in the Communist Party alien to Communism. Healy's responsibility was greater because he was the senior Communist of them.

Within the old Communist Party and particularly within the leading circles of it, it became apparent that the issue between Communism and revisionism was being fought out. This became abundantly clear in 1959, 1960 and 1961 and of course publicly clear in 1962. Healy died before it was publicly clear but before then on the Political Committee he had made it perfectly clear that he sided with revisionism. In fact on that body he had taken a stand of hostility to the correct and key Marxist-Leninist insistence upon people's violence to combat counter-revolutionary violence. Nor was this the only critical issue upon which he had taken a positively anti-Marxist-Leninist stand and indeed a positively revisionist stand.

This was the logical projection of the trade union politics espoused by Healy and others and of which he and his colleagues were conveyors into the Communist Party.

Since the revisionists split away from Communism, they have claimed Healy as their own. In this, they are correct. He was their own. They have written books about him, articles about him. They have praised him up to the skies for the very things any genuine Marxist-Leninist should criticise. One might say that the revisionists cannot be stopped from making false claims. In this case it is not a false claim. Have the revisionists praised up Malone, O'Shea, Bull, Gallagher. On the con-

trary the revisionists have reviled them. .

Because Healy died before it was necessary to take a public stand for or against Marxism-Leninism it leaves open for some to say that he would have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism. The fact is he was never a genuine Marxist-Leninist and on the critical dispute in the late fifties and early sixties he had already taken an anti-Marxist-Leninist stand. It is very dangerous and wrong to propagate any other view in his case. This is because he did have a considerable reputation as a mass leader and a "Communist". To propagate ideas that he was and would have remained a great Communist rather than to analyse his real class position is serving the bourgeoisie and trade union politics and revisionism, is to distort the word "Communist" just as the revisionists do.

It is to serve the cause of revisionism. Because revisionist ideas persist in the minds of some Communists, it is necessary to return to analyse Healy as typical of a form of trade union leader who did great harm to the cause of Communism.



War Is The Continuation Of Politics By Other Means

In his "Report on Revising the Programme and Name of the Party, Delivered at the Seventh Congress of the R.C.P. (B)" on March 8, 1918, the great proletarian leader Lenin said:

Marxists have never forgotten that violence will be an inevitable accompaniment of the collapse of capitalism on its full scale and of the birth of a socialist society. And this violence will cover a world historical period, a whole era of wars of the most varied kinds – imperialist wars, civil wars within the country, the interweaving of the former with the latter, national wars, the emancipation of the nationalities crushed by the imperialists and by various combinations of imperialist powers which will inevitably form various alliances with each other in the era of vast state-capitalist and military trusts and syndicates. This is an era of tremendous collapse, of wholesale military decisions of a violent nature, of crises. It has already begun, we can see it clearly – it is only the beginning.

Since Lenin spoke those words the world has indeed been in constant upheaval. Since World War II there has been continuous war and violence. Today, as the Chinese say, "there is great disorder under heaven . . ." There is no stability and it is pretty clear that there will never be any more stability until imperialism is banished from earth for good.

In these days it is necessary for us to study and re-study Lenin's writings on imperialism and war. Lenin's "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism" deserves particular attention. In a country like Australia which, despite modern technology, has a certain geographical isolation, the question of war tends to recede a little into the background. The advent of the intensification of superpower contention has brought the reality of the very real threat of war into sharper focus. We have to take full account of the reality that the drive to a third world war tends to become a more powerful trend than revolution. The two superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism are on a collision course. Soviet social-imperialism is the more vigorous superpower and it is on the march. It is fairly plain to see that U.S. imperialism is on the defensive and is desperately marshalling its forces to meet the growing challenge. Despite its geographical isolation Australia is being swept into this superpower contention and it is true to say that there is a growing awareness of this by the people. Superpower contention is demonstrating to the people on a world scale that imperialism is still with us and as long as imperialism exists there will be wars and

all manner of violence.

There are many good people who resist the recognition of the realities of superpower contention and the growing danger of war. It is commonly said that the development of nuclear weapons has made the question of a world war too horrible to imagine. Then it is said that the people would never allow another world war. All this is subjectivism, springing from unfounded hope. The two superpowers have large stockpiles of nuclear weapons and they continue to build them up. They are not doing this for nothing. Then the missile systems of delivery of these weapons are being constantly tested and developed. What for? Not for fun. Let us return to Lenin. In 1915, during World War I, Lenin wrote:

Modern war is born of imperialism. Capitalism has reached this highest stage. The productive forces of society and the dimensions of capital have outgrown the narrow framework of separate national states. Hence the striving of the Great Powers to enslave other nations to seize colonies as sources of raw material and places for the export of capital. The whole world is merging into a single economic organism; the whole world is divided up among a handful of Great Powers. The objective conditions of Socialism have fully matured and the present war is a war of the capitalists for privileges and monopolies to postpone the collapse of capitalism.

Today the situation has changed in respect to the division of the world. Many former colonial peoples have won their independence but the imperialists swim around them like hungry sharks. Last November, on

November 11 to be exact, the same day as the Kerr coup in Australia. Angola declared her independence. But hardly had the declaration been made than the more aggressive superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, moved in. Today it could not be said that Angola was an independent country. Angola is a sharp lesson. Of course the people of Angola will win their genuine independence for, although the superpowers look very frightening and brandish nuclear weapons, they are really very weak. In 1939 on the eve of World War II the main source of war, Hitler Germany, looked very strong. It had a big war machine and enjoyed support from powerful reactionary circles in Britain, France and the United States. But Hitler Germany did not last long. It suffered complete defeat at the hands of the peoples. World imperialism has declined since the end of World War II. This decline is very well illustrated by the United States. After World War II it was the most powerful imperialist state. It set about trying to dominate the world but suffered one defeat after another. As we all know it tried to subjugate China through its puppet Chiang Kai-shek but failed. In this struggle the Chinese people won their liberation and China today is a mighty socialist bastion on the side of the ordinary working people of the world. U.S. imperialism tried to reverse matters by instigating an aggressive war in Korea with the strategic aim of attacking and defeating People's China. Again it failed. It then switched its attention to Vietnam and the history of its defeat there is well known. In these wars U.S. imperialism dissipated

its strength and was quickly challenged by Soviet social-imperialism. So in the space of a few years, U.S. imperialism has declined from the No. 1 imperialist power to a secondary position. Although still a superpower it is on the defensive in the face of the challenge from Soviet social-imperialism, the other superpower.

The above has been stated many times but it needs to be restated again and again because there are still some people who cannot accept that Soviet social-imperialism is as bloodthirsty an aggressor as U.S. imperialism. Some of these people say "where are the Soviet napalm bombs?" "Where is the Soviet Vietnam?" Soviet social-imperialism as yet has not the same record of U.S. imperialism or British imperialism, or German imperialism, but it is on the same path. That is the important thing to recognise. It is preparing to cut down anyone who tries to stand in its path and it has all the weapons that U.S. imperialism has used, including napalm bombs. It should be pointed out also that Hitler Germany was recognised as the main source of war long before it had an external bloodthirsty record. The Brezhnev clique is cruelly oppressing its own people and does not hesitate to shoot them down if they revolt. Hitler had the same record before he launched world aggression and butchered millions. We have learnt much since Hitler. The Brezhnev clique is the new nazi machine; and like it, it will not last long. Its record in Czechoslovakia, Bangladesh, Angola has alerted millions; its economic ruthlessness (as in India) has alerted more millions; its huge military and naval build up has

alerted even more millions. Those who doubt our estimate of Soviet social-imperialism will soon learn that it is reality, the truth. Soviet social-imperialism, like Hitler, has built a very powerful war machine. It already has to be sustained by oppression, the oppression of Eastern Europe, the oppression of India, the oppression of Angola. Imperialists must keep moving; they must gobble up more countries to sustain their expanding armed forces with which they hold their victims down. They have to finance puppets. The Cuban troops in Angola are largely supported by the Soviet social-imperialists. And the puppets become more expensive to maintain as the other superpower well knows. Where there is oppression there is resistance. The more demands that are made on imperialism the more ruthless it becomes. This is a law. It operates independently of the will of man. All imperialists would have liked to conquer people with cream puffs and to buy up the country "peacefully" with strings of beads. But things do not work out like this. Imperialism meets fierce resistance. There is world-wide resistance to imperialism and it is becoming greater every day. In these conditions the outlook for Soviet social-imperialism is very bleak indeed. It will not get very far.

As was previously said in Australia there is a growing awareness of the danger of war. Fraser, the puppet of U.S. imperialism, is well aware of the growing military strength of Soviet social-imperialism and he is doing a valuable job in alerting the people to its menace. Fraser is doing this, of course, to preserve the position

of the Australian capitalist class. He has lined up with those sections of the ruling class in the United States which see the real menace of Soviet social-imperialism. These more realistic capitalists had their counterparts in the time of Hitler. Before World War II there were those (appeasers) who said that Hitler was not a menace and that the world could co-operate with him. Others said that Hitler could not be trusted and represented the major threat. They proved correct. The appeasers of today are those who support "detente". It is the supporters of "detente" who are speeding World War III. Only by isolating Soviet social-imperialism and rousing the peoples against it can World War III be prevented. The lessons of events that led to World War II should be studied.

Australia is in a dangerous situation. That is true. But its challenge will develop the people's struggle. Australia's independence cannot be underwritten by U.S. imperialism. It is absurd to expect this. U.S. imperialism already dominates Australia economically and politically. It is in struggle against this domination that the people's movement for independence has become so very strong. The people's movement for independence is being forced to look at the question of struggling for independence in a period of war. This leads directly to questions of armed struggle and the patriotic defence of Australia. Nobody at this stage can lay down a blue print about how people's armed struggle will develop but many, many people are more conscious of it and are becoming prepared for it.

History shows that imperialist puppets are traitors. If U.S. imperialism loses its position of supremacy to Soviet social-imperialism in this region of the world, there would arise a whole crop of traitors ready and anxious to do a deal with it. The Clancy clique would be in the forefront. Patriotic Australians do not want to change masters and they will take up arms to prevent such a change. The questions mentioned here need to be thought about and the experiences of people's war in other countries studied carefully. There is now quite a large literature on the question of people's war and the most profound Marxist-Leninist writings on the subject are those of Chairman Mao Tsetung.



Political Correctness Of Party Press Is Vital

The development of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has included a marked development of the Communist press and other Communist literature as against the past. Of great importance in the development of the press and literature have been the mass contributions, the mass criticisms and the mass suggestions.

Mass participation in the production and circulation of Party material is of decisive importance. Whereas in the old Communist Party criticism of the press or other publications was deeply resented now it is warmly welcomed. Timely suggestions have been made as to topics to be dealt with, ways to deal with them, questions to be answered or posed.

The Party press too has waged a serious campaign against misprints and literal errors. This too shows a serious attitude and a respect for readers both of which were given insufficient attention in the past. The attitude of anything goes has been rejected. The highest production standards have been striven for.

The decisive question in all Party publications is their political correctness. Do they espouse in an appropriate fashion correct Marxist-Leninist politics? Here too there has been consistent development. Political errors are quickly pointed out. Moreover mass contributions assist in working out correct politics. Espousal of the classics of Marxism-Leninism has formed an important part of Party publications. Reprinting sometimes of appropriate Marxist-Leninist classics or passages from them has been of great mass importance.

Party publications are charged with the responsibility at the very least week by week to take a correct political line and advance it for the guidance of Party the members and the more class conscious sections of the working class. One can see immediately the enormous importance of correct politics and correct presentation of them. Errors are not errors which are kept to one person where they would be serious enough but not repeated or even to two persons where their harm is at least doubled but they are errors that can be repeated many times, perpetuated.

While there has been great development there are still many shortcomings, shortcomings which involve every aspect of the Party publications. This involves comparatively small things and it involves much bigger things. For instance it has happened several times that the date of publication of the Australian Communist has been omitted; it becomes difficult to know when a particular issue has been published. This is quite a serious technical error. Although it has been pointed

out, still the error continues to be made. On another plane was the erroneous publication of an article which asserted (wrongly) that Australia was part of the Third World. These two are selected not by any means because they are the only errors but as illustrating the continual battle that must be fought. More difficult to deal with are errors which perpetuate incorrect assumptions of capitalism. Commonly material proceeds on assumptions or raises implications that perpetuate very wrong ideas. Examples are given in another article in this issue of Australian Communist such as the wrong implications that arise from the uncritical publication of material that contains, for example, demands for a "fair trial" without investigating the class content of the "fair trial". This form of error is conceded, it is insidious and yet it must be combated.

Occasionally criticism comes to the Party press which when examined and thought about is revealed to be not really criticism but the advocacy of a policy different from that of the Party. Almost invariably this criticism raises the question of the Party material using too many cliches, being repetitious, boring, repeating the obvious, not containing enough stories from real life. When the Party first commenced its publications in 1963-4, there were some criticisms of this kind which attacked the use and repetition of the phrase "U.S. imperialism". It said this was a cliché and it was repeated far too much. But the question whether or not it was correct was left on one side except that the clear inflection of the criticism was that it was wrong to use the

term at all. Actually it was correct to use it and to repeat it. Events have more than adequately proved this. Another criticism of a different kind has been that when struggle against U.S. imperialism was called for in Party publications, it should always refer to armed struggle. We recognise the central part played by armed struggle in the struggle for workingclass political power. It is essential to deal with it. But arbitrarily and on all occasions just to establish our good faith as it were, to raise the question of armed struggle is wrong. Armed struggle in Australia is a complicated question of which there has been little experience. Australia has no vast peasant population; it is very largely urbanised. The question of armed struggle arises in circumstances quite different from those for example in China. The principle is the same; the circumstances are different. Certainly we must be ahead of the masses in raising this matter but mechanical repetition is not nearly enough. The phrase "workers, working and patriotic people" has been criticised. The question is — does it express correctly the politics of the united anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle? It is a political question and we adhere to the belief that it accurately represents the forces for independence. The lack of material about experiences in factories, farms other workplaces is commonly raised. However the supreme task of Party publications is to carry correct politics. Party publications are not and are not meant to be a sort of left version of the day to day "stories" of the capitalist press.

Of course cliches have to be avoided, unnecessary

repetition needs to be avoided, wrong expressions have to be avoided, stories on day to day struggles do have to be published. But one has to define what is a cliché; terms of Marxist-Leninist accuracy must be used and used frequently. Repetition is an essential part of politics; the essence of the class struggle remains. Class struggle is a recurring (repetitious) necessary theme. The Party follows the one political line which does not change in its essential direction for long periods. Its correct and continual exposition is an absolute necessity. Lively stories illustrate that political line and should certainly be published.

The authors of this type of criticism have been asked sometimes to rewrite in their own way the article or material to which they take exception. Some have done that. It is then often shown clearly that it is really the political line to which they object. Their line is a different one from that of the Party. Others when invited to rewrite have abandoned the effort because they realise they are expounding a different line.

Nonetheless we welcome this form of criticism because it assists in testing the correctness of the Party's political line. It commonly contains correct statements. When there is such criticism we must discern what is correct and what is incorrect. In this way both political content and form can be improved.

In writing material for Party publications vigilance and discernment as to correct politics and correct presentation are responsibilities of very great importance. Carelessness, irresponsibility can lead to serious errors.

Boldness is essential, initiative is essential; each of them can be exercised with vigilance and discernment.



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AUGUST, 1976