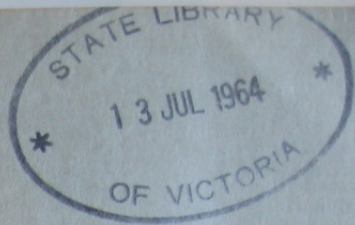


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## Continuing E. F. Hill's Report To The Historic Conference Of Australian Marxist-Leninists

*This is the second part of the political report delivered by E. F. Hill to the conference earlier this year of Marxist-Leninists which decided to repudiate the revisionist leadership of Aaron, Dixon and Sharkey and establish the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).*

**The A.L.P. leaders in all essentials have served the imperialists. Perhaps there is no single question that has been so confused and complicated by the revisionists as the question of the A.L.P. It is therefore necessary to look at it closely.**

In 1913 Lenin said that Australia was a young colony and the A.L.P. was a bourgeois liberal party which had the specific historic job of establishing Australia as a unified capitalist country. The A.L.P. has served that purpose and along with the development of Australia into an imperialist country has developed into a party which serves imperialism.

During the Federal elections and since, the A.L.P. supported Malaysia and Australian troops there: it is opposed to Indonesia even more violently, at least in words, than Menzies: it supports the U.S. base at Exmouth Gulf: it supports SEATO and ANZUS: it speaks in high praise of the U.S. alliance: it urges expansion in the war expenditure: it introduced government controlled ballots in the trade unions: it introduced telephone tapping: it set up the secret police: it has retreated from even its nominal policy of socialism and nationalisation: it has watered down its nominal policy of repeal of the Crimes Act: it has never introduced socialism nor a remotely socialist measure: under its various governments monopoly capitalism has developed and prospered.

We may say that without a shadow of doubt the character of the A.L.P., its reformist ideology — its adaptation of the workingclass to capitalism has not changed one whit. It is a bourgeois party having the name and form of a workingclass party.

Its actions in the Parliamentary political field have their counterpart in the trade unions. The main leaders of the A.C.T.U. and the trades and labour councils are reformists whose job it

is to adapt the workingclass to capitalism. That they have always done or striven to do. If we take the post World War II period we recall that in the immediate post war years there was a great upsurge of workingclass struggle. There were the steel and meat strikes, the transport strike, metal workers' strike and various others.

They resulted in victories for the workingclass and reformist efforts to sidetrack them were defeated. Then Churchill's Fulton speech was heeded — a call to the world bourgeoisie to put a stop to workingclass advance. Now the reformists acted in a much more determined way against the workingclass. The coal strike of 1949 saw the Chifley Labor Government put troops in the coal fields, pass anti-union repressive legislation and gaoled trade union leaders.

It was the Chifley Labor Government that laid the very foundation for the succeeding measures of the Menzies Government against the workingclass. On almost all the anti-workingclass measures driven home by the Menzies government the foundations had been laid by Labor governments supported by their counterparts the reformist trade union leaders.

Have the present day reformist trade union leaders changed their political character? Of course they have not. Just as imperialism has not changed its character so has reformism not changed its character and for the same reasons.

The history of the reformist trade union leaders has been to contain the workingclass, head it off from struggle. Their failure to develop united struggle against the penal powers, for an improved basic wage, against government ballots is absolutely characteristic of reformism. It is following its time-honoured role and today the workingclass is reaping the bitter fruits of this treachery.

### REVISIONISTS DESERT MARXISM-LENINISM

In the interests of so-called unity and against sectarianism the revisionists Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons have influenced their counterparts in the trade unions to fall in with the reformists. Taking Monk and not the workers and scientific socialism as the criterion of the united front they have rejoiced at every petty agreement reached with Monk (no matter what principle was sacrificed) and deplored every disagreement with Monk. Thus they have facilitated the treachery of reformism and been equally if not more guilty of treachery themselves.

Today we find more aggressive tactics by the monopoly capitalists. They are threatening to use the penal powers against even individual workers as in the airline pilots' case and that

of the Melbourne suburban guards. And why is this so? It is so because the reformist leaders have systematically retreated as is their nature, and they have been joined by the revisionist "Communists" so that today when it is more than ever necessary to struggle against the penal powers, the united trade union action which is so vital has been frittered away.

It is necessary for Marxist-Leninists to point this out to the workingclass and to begin anew to gather the forces in this campaign. But what has happened on the penal powers has happened on every other question of workingclass principle whether it be the basic wage, the shop committee movement, the struggle for peace or what have you.

Thus on all the great questions of our times the struggle for peace, the nature of the State, the nature of reformism, the united front, the revisionists have deserted the cause of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution, of socialism. They have stripped from Marxism-Leninism its revolutionary essence and its revolutionary soul. They are renegades in the true sense of the term and moreover in the cases of Dixon and Sharkey they have deserted the position of Marxism-Leninism that they held in common with the Communist Parties who upheld Marxism-Leninism at the 81 Parties' Conference and now they deny that that was their stand. Renegade is the worst word one can use in the workingclass movement: they have fully earned it.

**They have confused every single question of the Australian workingclass movement: peace and war, transition to socialism and reformism or revolution, relations between fraternal Communist Parties: whether or not the main danger is revisionism: whether or not the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism should go on: whether or not to uphold the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 81 Parties' Statement.**

It is absolutely vital that all these questions be set right because revisionism is called in aid and at the very moment of crisis for imperialism and monopoly capitalism. As has been pointed out, the State apparatus has been enormously strengthened and the war preparations have been greatly stepped up.

Those are essential steps for the monopoly capitalists to retain their rule but just as important to them is the work of misleading, disrupting and splitting the workingclass. So repression and war preparations and political diversion of the workingclass go hand in hand.

The A.L.P. leaders, because they have been so exposed are in danger of being unable to carry out their necessary traditional workingclass deception: they are doing it to the best of their ability but the gigantic victories of Communism — socialism —

create the grave danger for the capitalists that in the very crisis of capitalism, imperialism, in the very moment of its weakness the masses are turning to Communism.

Hence the diversion in our epoch — the epoch of the transition to socialism — must be in the very name of Communism; must indeed be in the very terms of Communism.

The Australian workingclass in the post war period more and more took up as mass slogans the slogans advanced by the Communists. Nineteen fifty-six — the year of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. — set off the revisionist betrayal, brought to the top the revisionist trends and now that has been consummated so that in Australia today and in the main capitalist countries the monopoly capitalists have got just what they need — a Communist Party which pursues a policy of containing the workingclass, heading it into harmless channels. Hence in our epoch of the transition to socialism they have in fact achieved a diversion of the workingclass in the very terms of Communism. The struggle against revisionism and reformism is an essential part of the struggle against imperialism.

Let us just test this in the light of what has been said:

1. Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey speak of the easing of international tension, fasten on the insignificant, fail to direct blows at the main enemy, U.S. imperialism, and carry that policy into the peace bodies, the trade unions, the women's and youth organisations. They adapt them to the needs of imperialism.

2. Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey obscure the nature of the State and put to the fore the concept of peaceful evolution through Parliament to socialism. They deny the Marxist-Leninist concept of bourgeois Parliaments as talking shops in which the workingclass has the chance every two or three years to choose which member of the ruling class will misrepresent them. Instead of participating in parliamentary elections for the revolutionary aim of revealing the real role of Parliament and rallying the masses for struggle they tie themselves to the electoral machinery of the capitalist State. They create illusions about the resistance that will be put up by the monopoly capitalists to the socialist revolution.

3. They completely misrepresent the character of the A.L.P. party and today an imperialist party. They speak through the mouth of R. Dixon of Calwell as representative of the centre of the A.L.P. when in fact he is the decisive reformist leader in whom is crystallised all the monopoly capitalist features of the A.L.P. They advance and defend the slogan "Return a Labor

Government" in the sense of supporting a Labor Government because it is progressive and will, supported by Communists, usher in Socialism in complete contradiction to all of Lenin's teachings about the nature of reformism which in all circumstances serves the needs of capitalism and today of monopoly capitalism. This has been proved time and again in the history of the Australian Labor Party and is proved up to the hilt today by the position of the A.L.P.

4. Corresponding to what has just been said they pursue an absolutely incorrect policy in the trade unions fitting into the needs of the employers and containing workingclass struggle in the interests of "unity" with the reformists — not offending them. Hence they have abrogated any claim to leadership of the united front of the workingclass.

5. They have abandoned the task of initiating, organising and leading the widest possible united front of the people opposed to U.S. imperialism and its aggressive war plans supported as they are by the Australian ruling class. Indeed they support a policy of confining the peace bodies, the broad women's movement, the broad youth movement to "leading citizens" and a non-partisan policy denying the broad masses any part in them.

6. They have departed from the Marxist-Leninist analysis contained in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and repeated in the 1960 81 Parties' Statement that the main danger to the communist movement is revisionism, right opportunism and side by side with that the characterisation of Yugoslav revisionism and the necessity for resolute struggle against it.

7. They have thrown overboard the Marxist-Leninist principles contained in the 81 Parties' Statement governing the relations between parties in that they have publicly taken the initiative in attacking the fraternal parties of China and Albania.

8. They have abandoned the Marxist-Leninist principles of organisation of the Communist Parties and used a distorted concept of democratic centralism to impose on the workingclass an anti-Marxist-Leninist policy. They have expelled and ostracised and slandered the best Australian workingclass leaders.

**The "theoretical" writings of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons are a travesty of Marxism-Leninism.**

Thereby these people have imposed a split upon the workingclass and the Communist movement. It is absolutely essential that we have nothing to do with splitting and splitters and that we draw the firmest line between ourselves, the Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand and these people — the revisionists — on the other hand, and that line must be drawn and maintained politically, ideologically and organisationally.

Hence we emphatically repudiate the leadership of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons and resolve to reconstitute the Australian Communist movement on the granite foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

That demands a party of Marxist-Leninists organised on the principles set out by Lenin — principles which the revisionists Sharkey, Aarons and Dixon have repudiated.

The first insistence must be on a party of quality — a party whose members adhere to Marxism-Leninism — strive to become better Marxist-Leninists — better able to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of Australia. Why do we emphasise the question of quality? Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons pursued a line that put quality in the background.

Many times they tried and, in particular, Aarons — to set before the workers the fulfilment of an arbitrary quota of raising membership by party organisations. That involved generating a social democratic ideology — numbers for numbers sake. Many good people joined the Communist Party but they were not Communists and no real attempt was made to make them Communists. Hence they brought into the Communist movement alien ideology which merged with other alien trends to become dominant and led to the victory of revisionism.

Standards of recruiting, apart from putting arbitrary quotas, were never given proper attention. Thus again many people who really had no place in the Communist Party were allowed to join — many good people who would have been better off as sympathisers of the Party. Of course, too, it led to the recruiting of secret police agents with which the Communist Party of Australia, including its top ranks, is riddled.

Hence in extending invitations to this Conference we have looked in the first place for quality and far from being ashamed of it, we proclaim it. Let the revisionists run around and sneer, aren't you good enough for the new party? We say most certainly we do not want revisionists in our party. There are many of our supporters whom we have not invited to this Conference because we have taken the view that there is plenty of time for them to join, because we do not believe that there is any shame in supporting our Party and not yet belonging to it, because we believe that party membership must be earned and not just acquired by signing a form and paying a small initiation fee.

In the party of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons are many ticket-holders — not active. A Marxist-Leninist party requires no such people — every person must be an activist. We do not demand that they must have mastered Marxism-Leninism before they join — on that basis we would have no party at all but we do demand that they must have a minimum knowledge of it and a determination to strive to master it.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party must have the widest possible connections with the masses. Hence our Party initially will be small but already it has wide connections and extensive influence that will grow and develop.

## PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT

We adopt the principles of Marxist-Leninist organisation — democratic centralism — the utmost democracy based on the common adherence to Marxism-Leninism and the firmest centralism based on that democracy — iron discipline based on Marxist-Leninist consciousness. We see democratic centralism and unity of the party only as expressions of Marxism-Leninism — manifestations of it. If Marxism-Leninism is repudiated as it is by Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons, democratic centralism necessarily is repudiated with it, that is, it is impossible to have democratic centralism in a non-Marxist-Leninist Party.

There is always a process of development in all Marxist-Leninist Parties. Unity is developed in struggle — in the resolution of contradictions. Various trends express themselves amongst Marxist-Leninists. Our Party must be so organised that it resolves all questions in a Marxist-Leninist way. The Party of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons is a hotbed of intrigue and antagonistic contradictions and antagonistic groups.

It could not be otherwise for it has abandoned Marxism-Leninism.

It will assuredly collapse, disintegrate and is already doing so whereas we are becoming stronger and stronger.

Our Party will have no groups and will resolutely deal with any person who seeks to create a separate group because groups contradict the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism, the very concept of iron discipline, absence of factions, the party as the organised detachment of the workingclass, the highest form of class organisation.

Lenin pointed out that the leading committee of a Party should be composed of the most authoritative, able leaders.

Our Party will set out to have those leaders. It will not have as leaders men who merely because they attain a trade union position or some other influential position, automatically become members of the leading committee. Leadership must be earned in the revolutionary struggle: it must not be imposed merely by self proclamation or proclamation by a few supporters as has happened in the past.

Our party must be strong enough to reject as leaders any who transgress this rule. Yes it is a stern picture: the class struggle is stern: it demands stern people: stern and staunch men and women. You are those people. We rejoice in struggle,

in iron discipline. It is precisely in serving mankind that we find the greatest joy.

Our Party will not have an army of functionaries divorced from life and enjoying an unwarranted position of power and influence merely because they are functionaries and excessively dependent upon the leadership for their income and privileges.

There are cases of functionaries who virtually never in their lives have worked amongst ordinary people or lived ordinary lives. They have been separated from the people: divorced from reality: developed abstract knowledge and have provided fertile soil for revisionism particularly when the top leadership embraced revisionism. They are people without real critical independence in the mastery of Marxism-Leninism.

### CRITICISM AND SELF CRITICISM

Moreover, a serious weakness in the Aarons, Sharkey, Dixon set up is the absence of criticism and self criticism. Criticism and self criticism should be as natural to a Communist Party as the drawing of breath to a human being. Yet the fact is that by the suppression of criticism and self criticism the whole history of the Communist movement in Australia has been distorted.

It became impermissible to refer to the errors of the past particularly errors committed during the leadership of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons. Thus it is well known that the whole Communist Party including many of us here were influenced by Browderism. The resolutions of at least two Communist Party Congresses show obvious traces of this. Sharkey is on record in the Communist Review as having supported it. Yet that major error was never subjected to critical analysis: it goes unchallenged today.

Many of you will remember Duclos' article against Browderism in which he said (erroneously) that the Communist Party of Australia had not been influenced by Browder. That statement was accepted by Sharkey and Dixon as excusing them from all responsibility and the blame for Browderist influences was attached to E. Thornton who undoubtedly was a Browderist but who was by no means alone in that.

Browderism is particularly important because the present position is its logical development and it shows that at all times the danger of bourgeois influence within the Communist movement is very strong and from time to time comes to the top. Had however, the errors of Browderism been properly examined, revealed, their roots uncovered and proper criticism and self criticism developed it would have made a far-reaching difference to the Australian Communist movement.

There are many other errors that have been covered up and the history of the movement distorted. One of the tasks that faces

Australian Marxist-Leninists is to re-write, in accordance with fact, the history of the Communist movement and the role of Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons.

Moreover, as part of this the atmosphere was created when it was very difficult to develop proper criticism and self criticism. Many of us have substantial responsibility for this and for failing to discern early enough where Sharkey, Dixon and Aarons were heading. We may truthfully say we had reservations and differences but we did all too little about it, failed to have sufficient Marxist-Leninist strength. This we must never let happen again.

Once more in the remoulding of individuals no real approach was made. We are all of us products of capitalism and we carry with us many many faults.

We do not urge people to psychoanalyse themselves, to become introspective, but to view themselves and see the faults that capitalism has imposed on them so that they can eliminate those faults and thus better serve the workingpeople.

Greed, arrogance, self-aggrandisement, selfishness, conceit, lack of humility, gross posing are all hallmarks of the Sharkeys, Dixons and Aarons. These too afflict us. We must really strive to change all that, to cultivate new people, to help each other so that selflessly we can effectively serve the workingpeople. We seek no reward but the emancipation of the workingclass and thereby all mankind except the handful of monopolists.

The Communist movement must create the situation, the atmosphere in which people can be remoulded and comradesly, friendly criticism and self-criticism can be fully developed. No one need talk in innuendoes or by implications. Our comrades must specify their criticism and self criticism — not talk in general so that many people do not know what is being spoken about.

Recently those of us who have convened this Conference have had a far-reaching and self-critical discussion which, for the first time for many years in the Communist movement, began to develop criticism and self-criticism. Of course, it is not easy overnight to cure all the ills of the past but it is an essential task to see that criticism and self criticism are fully developed free from emotional reactions or preoccupations.

Every one must feel free to say just what he thinks and even though it may be largely wrong those to whom it is directed must respect and listen to it. Of course, in the name of criticism and self criticism the Sharkeys, Dixons and Aarons launched an attack on the very foundations of Marxism-Leninism. That is not what we mean. Criticism and self criticism of which we speak is part of Marxism-Leninism and it is unthinkable to attack Marxism-Leninism in the name of criticism and self criticism.

(To be concluded)

## Correct Concepts Of The Party And Of Mass Work

**A**USTRALIAN Communists have the task of fundamentally altering their attitude to mass work and work in many organisations of the Australian people.

Australia is rich in organisations and movements of the people. In addition to the trade unions, which embrace the majority of workers there are many, many vitally important organisations of the people in which people pursue this or that progressive aim. These organisations are the places where people are to be found. For a Communist to separate himself off from them because he joins the Communist Party, or by raising excessive demands or demanding an adherence by all to Communism here and now, or by making an issue of his own Communism can be the height of sectarianism. To follow the practice of the old and now disintegrating Communist Party of having its members moving eternally in their own circles, with their attention almost exclusively occupied with selling the Party press, raising finance for the party, organising for a party fair, is sectarianism in the true sense of the term. It is creating and perpetuating a sect of good devoted people who never get away from that sect. Revisionism is at the same time the very height of sectarianism.

Hence Australian Marxist-Leninists must break from all that absolutely. They must be amongst the masses — working correctly and patiently to win the Australian workers and people to Communism. Mass work properly organised, properly conceived is absolutely fundamental to the success of the socialist movement. It requires infinite skill, infinite initiative, careful study of Marxism-Leninism (including Left Wing Communism on the problems of mass work), absolute devotion, determination and the capacity of the individual Communist to make appropriate decisions in carrying out his work without undue reliance upon directions from a Party centre. A Party centre decides overall problems; a good Communist armed with the general policy and direction can and must find his own way.

Correct Communist mass work can be carried on in all circumstances — even in the conditions of open terrorist dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists.

One essential factor to be considered in carrying out correct mass work and avoiding the errors of the past is to understand the character of our state apparatus which on the one hand,

opens up great possibilities because of its formal freedoms and on the other hand creates danger because of those freedoms. Correct Communist work sees all sides of the problem and moves from one form of work to another or changes the emphasis with changes in the situation. Communists are dialectical materialists — they recognise that everything is in a process of change. The forms of government change — the content of bourgeois democratic liberty changes. All that must be taken fully into account.

Hence the dominant question is always how can the Marxist-Leninists win the masses for Communism. To do that they must understand fully the nature of the State — to see that every word Lenin wrote in *State and Revolution* is applicable today — it is not academic — it is not something to be read and admired — it is living reality directly applicable to Australia. "Freedom is the recognition of necessity," said Engels, i.e., if you understand a problem and its laws you can deal with it: if you don't, you are its victim not its master. Hence to pursue mass work correctly, the Australian State and the nature of democratic rights must be fully understood.

### Real Nature of Bourgeois Democracy

In the advanced capitalist countries a common form of government is what Marxist-Leninists call bourgeois democracy. Australia is such a country. From the standpoint of bourgeois social science Australia is regarded as a self-governing dominion under the British Crown. But it is necessary for all advanced workers to understand precisely what its real character is. The fact of the matter is that in the bourgeois democracies such as Australia sections of the workingclass have been deceived into mistaking the shadow of democratic rights for the substance of them. The ruling monopoly capitalists use democratic rights to deceive the people that it is they, the people, who really decide the destiny of Australia and really have freedom — democratic liberty.

That process of deception is essential to the monopoly capitalists to maintain their rule. When the deception fails, they resort to open naked dictatorship as in Hitler Germany where Hitler openly smashed the workingclass organisations, denied the people any formal freedoms at all. The difference between that open dictatorship and the bourgeois democracy of Australia is in form only and not in substance. That is not to minimise the difference in form at all nor is it to minimise the importance of democratic rights which Australians have and about which we will say

something later. But we repeat that the difference is one of form and not of substance.

What is the importance of this?

It is vitally important to all Australian workers in considering the form and activities of their working class organisations and of their Party — the Marxist-Leninist Party. It is vitally important in understanding the part this deception has played in the evolution of modern revisionism and it is vitally important in understanding the concept of the so-called "peaceful transition to socialism."

The real nature of the Australian State is that it is the State machine of the monopoly capitalists concealed by forms of democracy such as Parliament, Parliamentary elections, freedom of the press, freedom to organise, freedom of speech and so on. The monopoly capitalists really effectively hold the state power of Australia despite all these forms. The great monopolies determine the policies of the governments be they Liberal or Labor or Country Party.

It could not be otherwise because the monopoly capitalists own the means of production. Just look at Australia: iron and steel production (the very basis of heavy industry) is completely monopolised by B.H.P., oil is completely in the hands of great monopolies; wool, sugar, newspapers, shopping, indeed everything likewise. The Government-owned railways, post office and so on are really owned by the great monopolies who put up the basic money for government loans and these enterprises are strictly services to oil the working of monopoly capitalism. It was once said that if you imagined a community where the whole water supply was in the hands of five men it wouldn't matter how many elected representative institutions there were in that community; effective power would always be in the hands of those five men.

**And so Australia is effectively in the hands of the B.H.P., C.S.R., G.M.H., the oil monopolies, etc., for if they were challenged they would close down their factories and cut off the oil and so on.**

Their control of industry is backed by powerful forces — and in the first place by a standing army. That army exists basically to meet the challenge of the workingclass should the deception of democratic liberty fail to work. Even when it partially fails to work, the monopoly capitalists resort to the standing army.

In the post World War II period in Australia, the standing army has been called on to work in the mines, the wharves and its use

has been threatened in other ways. It is always there to be used ruthlessly and in a wholesale way if the need for the ruling class arises. Its officer corps is an elite of the ruling monopoly class drawn from the sons of the big capitalists, trained first of all mainly in the exclusive private schools (sometimes misnamed public schools) and then indoctrinated with anti-workingclass sentiments in the even more exclusive and anti-workingclass military academies like Duntroon. It is almost inconceivable that any worker would ever reach Duntroon. This then is the army of the monopoly capitalists—their mailed fist—and it is the very reverse of an armed people (a people's army) which is basic to real people's democracy.

The army is supplemented by the various State and Commonwealth Police forces — again weapons of force with which every worker is familiar. The general antagonism in the community towards policemen arises because the people sense that they are an anti-popular force. In all times of crisis for capitalism, that becomes abundantly clear: in times of quiescence it is not so clear. The police force administers the law, and all law under capitalism has a capitalist content just as socialist law has a socialist content. Under capitalism the law reflects the needs of the capitalist class: it protects capitalist private property interests and exploitation just as socialist law protects the people's ownership of the means of production. To use Anatole France's famous illustration of the content of the law under capitalism — it punishes alike the rich and the poor for stealing bread and for sleeping under bridges. Anyone who doubts this should make a Monday morning visit to an inner suburban police court in a capital city and he will have his illusions rapidly shattered.

To enforce this law are the Courts whose force is expressed in the gaols. In times of emergency for the capitalists their real character is revealed: they throw workers into gaol and very quickly. Even in time of relative quiescence for capitalism, the population of the Australian gaols is overwhelmingly workingclass. Rich men are very uncommon inhabitants of gaols in capitalist society. Of course there are many tribunals in Australia which are obviously anti-workingclass such as those constituted under arbitration legislation.

### The Security Intelligence Organisation

Then there is the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation. Its job specifically is to spy on the advanced workers, their organisations and above all their Party. The A.S.I.O. again is a



highly exclusive ruling class weapon in the hands of the most trusted representatives of the ruling class. Its membership is very carefully safeguarded. No one, except the most trusted servants of the monopoly capitalists, knows who its members are. They masquerade in spurious jobs, masquerade as ordinary workers. Their whole function is to conceal their identity from the advanced workers whom they regard as the enemy. They work with long term perspectives collecting information, tabbing people, keeping dossiers for use when the occasion arises. They send their agents into the trade unions, into the Marxist-Leninist Party and keep them carefully concealed for years and years if need be.

Ostensibly such people may be good militant trade unionists: ostensibly they may be good Communists but all the time they are collecting information, betraying workers, carrying out intrigue and disruption. They photograph all workers' demonstrations: they keep people under surveillance: study their weaknesses: they plant microphones in offices, houses and cars. They may never be called on to use their information in a particular case: on the other hand, they may use it without warning and wholesale. They are carrying out the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists.

It may be that it is trite to say all this but in our opinion it needs careful repetition and careful study because these processes are at work all the time and the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists right here in Australia however much it is concealed, and just because it is concealed under the cloak of democratic rights, is eternally active, eternally vigilant.

It needs careful repetition and careful study, scientific study, in order that the workingclass can take scientific measures against it in the struggle for power. Capitalist society is a class society: there is a class war — a war by the capitalists to maintain their exploitation of the workers and the suppression of the workers and a war by the workers to wrest power from the capitalists and establish workers', people's democracy. The capitalists possess weapons of force which they carefully preserve in working order and eternally operative.

They have studied and drawn the lessons from all struggles including the victory of socialism. They are ever ready to resort to the open use of all these weapons if need be. It is perfectly true that there is no revolutionary situation in Australia today, but the workingclass must examine this matter scientifically — for there has grown up a whole heap of illusions about the nature of the capitalist state. Those illusions are very dangerous because

they inveigle the workingclass into the very trap set by the monopoly capitalists. We repeat — democratic rights are extremely important to the working class if they are properly understood: they can be very dangerous if they are not. Democratic rights had their genesis in the struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudalism: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" was the great rallying cry of the French revolution — liberty for the rising bourgeoisie against the feudal overlords.

But when the capitalists had won their victory over feudalism they denied liberty to the workingclass and it was extended and won only in bitter class battles. There has been an eternal battle by the working class in the history of capitalism for democratic rights—the workingclass to extend, the capitalist class to restrict. But the capitalists, naturally enough, when a democratic right is won from them, try to turn it to their own advantage and use it in the process of deception. And they have become very skilled at that.

Capitalist development of course had a progressive side: it called into being gigantic means of production: it overthrew the outmoded feudal system: it had to raise the slogan of certain democratic rights. It also had its reactionary side. Like everything else it had its contradictions and the reactionary side has now become dominant. It is now collapsing but in its collapse it is dangerous. The workingclass is all powerful. Supreme optimism is correct but to fail to take full account of the danger of the monopoly capitalists would be a serious error and lead to great losses.

By a skilful use of democratic rights, by skilfully turning them to its own advantage the capitalist class has used them as one of its weapons in containing (adapting to capitalism) the Communist Parties and other workingclass organisations — another factor in the development of revisionism. The Australian monopoly capitalists have used democratic rights to get the Communist Party of Australia (i.e., the Party nominally headed by Sharkey) to act as though there were real substance in democratic rights. Thus that Party has freely admitted all applicants to membership (without proper inquiry about them): it has published all sorts of details of its members: it has talked about its members: it organises its press distribution in such a way that every detail is known: it has conducted its affairs in such a way that agents can get to know all the members and affairs of the Party and can also exploit intrigue and manoeuvres within the Party, particularly when that Party is already weak in Marxism-Leninism: it has

revealed all its connections to the scrutiny of the secret police; it uses telephones with reckless abandon. In other words, while the secret police maintain their organisation and forces as a complete secret in their war against the workingclass no measures to meet this have been taken by the revisionists.

Logically, from their standpoint this is correct because they simply aim to use the ready made machinery of capitalist democracy to bring about the change to socialism. They really believe the capitalists when the capitalists say there is freedom of organisation, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, that Parliamentary elections are genuinely democratic.

Of course all this is a complete departure from Marxism-Leninism and it exposes all the forces of the workingclass to the scrutiny of the enemy. The enemy takes his photographs, fills up his dossiers, plants his agents and patiently waits till the rule of capitalism is really challenged; then he strikes and the working class is quite unprepared.

This is not merely a question of taking a few precautions against telephones, microphones and what have you (which should of course be done), but a fundamental question of principle with which Lenin dealt in "What Is To Be Done" and in "Left Wing Communism." It affects the very basis of organisation of Marxist Parties. It is a question of building a Party of an entirely new type which scientifically equips its organisation to function in all circumstances. Lenin dealt with the principles of mass work and Party organisation in "What Is To Be Done" and "Left-Wing Communism." To change the old habits and to carry out with determination the process of putting into practice the correct principles of organisation and mass work requires a protracted struggle — trial and error and ups and downs.

Of course, as we have said, bourgeois democratic rights have tremendous importance if properly used and not used as a trap to get the advanced workers hung or imprisoned when they really threaten capitalism. Freedom of the press gives the workers at least a limited chance to spread scientific ideas: freedom of speech enables the spread of scientific ideas and so on. Above all freedom of organisation means there are many vitally important mass organisations of the people where there is important work to be done.

#### Recent Lessons In Iraq, Brazil

These democratic rights must be used to the full but scientifically, and certainly so as not to convey to the enemy, material of the working class which should never get into enemy hands.

Likewise the conduct of leaders of the working class must never convey such information to the enemy nor lead to the exposure of people. Lenin dealt with these matters in "What Is To Be Done" and "Left Wing Communism." His principles of organisation have never really been operated in the Communist Party of Australia (i.e., the Party nominally headed by Sharkey) and now of course there is no chance they ever will be in that Party.

In Iraq under the advice of Khrushchov the Communist Party organised itself on principles based on acceptance of democratic rights in a capitalist society as being real rather than illusory and on principles based on peaceful transition to socialism by use of these democratic rights, and when the reaction struck against the workingclass, many, many Communists were murdered. So too, Khrushchov's Party in Brazil was beheaded because it failed to operate Lenin's principles. Such an attitude is rank treachery to the workingclass — such advice could only be given by a traitor who serves U.S. imperialism to whose interests it is to destroy in one way or another the advanced workers' organisation.

The mass struggle to defend and extend democratic rights is a vitally important part of the struggle for socialism. The capitalists attempt to use democratic rights to their own advantage but they are rights which can be most certainly used by the workingclass. By extending and developing the mass struggle for democratic rights, using those very democratic rights scientifically, great blows are struck at the capitalists.

Moreover, by acting scientifically and based on the masses — in the mass organisations of the people, Communists working correctly can set at nought all the technical devices the monopoly capitalists can invent be they microphones, photographs, tapped telephones, or what have you. But it requires not a haphazard approach but a scientific study of correct methods of organisation, leadership and mass work. As we have said and say again the freedom of organisation which exists under capitalist democracy provides great legal mass organisations in which the Communists must work in the way in which Lenin spoke in "Left Wing Communism."

Myriad links with the masses — skilful mass work is the all important task. Such mass work must be a complete departure from the extremely sectarian organisation of the Communist Party where the same people move in an eternally narrowing circle. This is not mass work at all — it is a complete departure from Lenin.

It is true of course that we are not living in the conditions of Czarist oppression of which Lenin was writing in "What Is To Be Done" but in principle similar basic considerations apply. The form of the dictatorship of the ruling class is very different but its essence is the same — class against class. The possibilities for mass work in our conditions are immeasurably greater and they must be fully used but sight must never be lost of the fundamental constancy of principle — we live in a dictatorship. Moreover the form of capitalist dictatorship can alter overnight from nominal democracy to outright terrorist dictatorship. That sort of thing is happening all the time in the world and Australia is no exception. There is no Australian exceptionalism as Australian revisionists would have you believe on all sorts of questions.

The Australian monopoly capitalists are just as anti-working-class, just as violent, just as ruthless, just as determined, as any other and they are just as capable of killing, imprisoning, beating up Communists and advanced workers as anyone else. Also they are under the domination of the most ruthless imperialism of all time — U.S. imperialism.

Already at the dictation of the U.S. imperialists with their increasing Australian investment there has been tremendous strengthening of the repressive machinery of the Australian state — the army, the Courts, the gaols, the Security Service, the penal powers, the Crimes Act Amendments. Just because in the relative prosperity of capitalism these things are not used in their entirety, their nature has not changed; nor have the monopolists ceased to gather their forces, nor seek out their potential enemies ready for the day when monopoly capitalism or some vital aspect of it is challenged.

Of course the people properly led by a properly scientifically organised detachment will defeat the monopoly capitalists and all their weapons. But it is the sacred duty of the advanced Australian workers to develop a Party which answers all the basic requirements indicated by Lenin and developed after the days of Lenin in much subsequent practice. Such a party will be so organised that its mass connections, its mass work can never be defeated nor destroyed. Capitalism and all its repressive measures are paper tigers to be scorned strategically (in the long range sense because victory over them is assured) but to be taken into full account tactically (i.e., in their particular repressive activities).

## Revisionist Writings Reveal Anti-Marxist Trend

**I**n the June issue of the Communist Review the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party of Australia continue with their wild and unsubstantiated assertions against the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). This is a good thing for the more they state their views, the more systematically is their departure from Marxism-Leninism revealed.

In this article we will deal with some, only some, of the points raised by the revisionists. We do this in order to assist individual study of Marxist-Leninism which we fervently urge everyone who has an interest in the matters under debate to do. Only by careful and independent study will the various issues now being raised combine to form one whole and then it will be easier to distinguish between what is Marxist-Leninist and what is not.

To-day we have unique opportunities for study. Before us is the target of revisionism at which we can aim our study. The more systematically the revisionists expound their views, then the more systematic our study should become. Broadly speaking this is what is meant by the statement that the polemics now being waged in the international communist movement should be viewed as a university in which we can advance our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. That is, we should try and combine what we learn with life or practice and thus avoid developing text book knowledge and a dogmatic outlook.

Now let us examine what the revisionists have to say in the Communist Review. First there is the report (abridged) made by W. J. Brown to the Sydney District Conference. It should be studied carefully for here we see quite an elaborate documentation of revisionist superficiality.

A main characteristic of revisionism is its superficiality, its incapacity to analyse deeply and therefore its tendency to string things together in a mechanical fashion in order to impress by sheer weight of numbers as it were.

Brown, according to the Review, opened his report with the enunciation of a "major task" for the Australian peace move-

ment. This major task is "the fact that American imperialism has so far got away with its plan to site a highly dangerous signalling station controlling American polaris submarines — on Australian soil." From there we go to "war by accident or insane action" and the linking of this thought with the U.S. extremists who conspired to assassinate Kennedy.

Brown quickly paints a picture of 400 million deaths in the first 24 hours of a nuclear world holocaust and this is used to swing the argument on to the coming French tests and the opportunity they give for "building the broadest and biggest peace action yet seen in this part of the world!"

And thus U.S. imperialism is by-passed.

Later on Brown sneers at the "ultra lefts" for suggesting that the concentration on the French tests "takes the heat off U.S. imperialism" and goes on to argue that this is not so for the Tribune each week is heavily weighed against U.S. imperialism and the practical movement has seen several big anti-U.S. demonstrations in Sydney.

We repeat — study W. J. Brown's report and judge for yourself whether the "heat isn't taken off U.S. imperialism." The opening remarks quoted above is all that Brown says about U.S. imperialism's activity in Australia. The Communist Party of Australia (M.L.) is now campaigning consistently and in great detail against the economic and political domination of Australia by U.S. imperialism. This campaign, at once, is also a rallying call for the preservation of Australia's independence and sovereignty and the C.P.A. (M.L.) will continue to wage this campaign until Australia is free of U.S. economic and military dominance.

Ever-widening sections of the Australian people, including large numbers of capitalists, are in active opposition against U.S. policies so objective conditions favor the building of a united front against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs here, which includes the Menzies Government. It is in this struggle that the forces will emerge that will topple the Menzies Government.

No, Mr. Brown, you will not find such "weighty material" in the Tribune or the Guardian. You may from time to time see a superficial article or two directed against the U.S. monopolists, but not a consistent systematic and meaningful campaign which sets out to lift mass consciousness to an awareness of the dangers confronting Australia. It will avail you nothing, Mr. Brown, to string together your superficialities and pose as a great humanist.

The essence of humanism today is to get right into the struggle against U.S. imperialism and weaken it on all fronts so that we can take the heat off those valiant people in South Vietnam who are being burnt, buried alive, tortured — whose food is being poisoned and crops destroyed by chemical warfare. That's the test of humanism, Mr. Brown.

We Marxist-Leninists are not "inhuman individuals." We are perfectly well aware of the dangers of radiation and we direct our energies to the main source of it — U.S. imperialism. We are not scattering our humanism about for that is not Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is human because it acts scientifically and directs the energies of the people at the main target. It is precisely because we are not indifferent to human suffering that we set our course against U.S. imperialism — it is you Mr. Brown who is the deserter, who is turning your back on humanity midst the welter of sickening sentimentality and sneers.

● Not once did you dwell on the origins of war as should be consistently done now.

● Not once did you attempt to analyse the reformist policies of the A.L.P. leaders, so very important in the political climate of N.S.W.

● Not once did you analyse U.S. economic penetration of Australia and the political domination that ensues.

### STRINGING TOGETHER OF EVENTS

So what did your report boil down to — a stringing together of events into which were woven larikin sneers at the genuine Marxist-Leninists of Australia. Yes, we call for the deeper study of your report. As the Chinese say so correctly, much can be learnt by negative example.

For the same reasons the speech of J. R. Hughes to the Seventh National Congress of the Ceylon Communist Party should be studied. It is reprinted in the Review. His speech is marked by an unprincipled and degenerate attack on the Communist Party of China. In 1960 before the 81 Party Conference, J. R. Hughes, the political chameleon, said to an Australian C.P. delegation visiting Peking — "In the years to come we will understand and appreciate the great contribution the Communist Party of China is now making in the struggle against modern revisionism. Revisionism is the product of capitalism and in Australia we have had our struggles against the modern revisionists. Our struggles are not over yet. Revisionism constantly seeps into the

Party from the capitalist environment. It is the main danger to the Communist movement and needs a constant struggle to combat it."

Fine words indeed — but now the Communist Party of China "is the purveyor of lies, it is un-Marxist, it is a splitting force and takes under its wing deserters and renegades."

This degenerate in his speech to the Ceylon Congress says: "I am reminded of a visit to China in happier times when the Chinese leaders pointed out a new and important contribution they had made to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. The forceful seizure of power in 1949 that ushered in the People's Republic of China was not a socialist revolution. That had yet to come. This, they proclaimed, was achieved peacefully. Capitalists were bought out with government bonds. No violence was used. Indeed a feature of the socialist revolution was the celebrations, the beating of drums as the capitalists hailed the handing over of their industries and the advent of socialism. This, they claimed, was the Chinese contribution to history. To-day, they reject their own experience."

It is perfectly true that China was able to proceed with its socialist construction immediately after 1949 liberation for the very good reason that the armed forces — that is in essence the State — were in the hands of the people and their Party, the Communist Party.

When Chiang Kai Shek and his American advisers were driven out of China, State power passed into the hands of the people. The capitalists who were left, that is patriotic elements in the main who stood for the independence of China and who had a contribution to make in the task of rehabilitation, were divorced from State power. Under these circumstances it was possible to buy them out and give them a measure of independence. The ideological struggle was kept up and many disciplinary actions had to be taken — but there was no nation-wide struggle against the State power of the capitalists because it simply did not exist. State power was in the hands of the people led by the Communist Party.

In his political report to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China Liu Shao-Chi deals with this precise question. He says:—

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the working class has won the power to rule throughout the country in conditions of a firm alliance with several hundred

millions of peasants; the party of the working class — the Chinese Communist Party — has become the party that leads the state power of the whole country; therefore, the people's democratic dictatorship has in essence become a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, it has become possible for the bourgeois-democratic revolution in our country to be directly transformed, by peaceful means, into a proletarian-socialist revolution. The establishment of the People's Republic of China signifies the virtual completion of the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution in our country and the beginning of the stage of proletarian-socialist revolution: the beginning of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

J. R. Hughes is perfectly well aware of the situation that existed in China in 1949 — but deliberately lies about it in an attempt to lend substance to the revisionist policies he now conveniently pursues. And the substance of revisionism is to ignore the question of State power and substitute endless TALK about peaceful transition to socialism for real revolutionary work in preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat which is the only way forward to socialism.

Such is one measure of Hughes' degeneracy. It is Hughes who has rejected his own experience and who has rejected Marxism-Leninism.

Finally a word on the article based on a report made to the South Australian State Conference of the Communist Party of Australia by Elliott Johnston.

Johnston in a "learned" manner pronounces "on the position of the Hill Group" — and, of course the Communist Party of China. He produces an a priori argument, that is he selects a few quotes from past speeches and from the 81 Parties' Statement to prove that the Hill group and the C.P.C. have changed and not the revisionists. But this will never do.

**Marxism-Leninism proceeds and develops from an examination of all the facts, their interconnection and their change. It is not an easy thing to keep pace with changes and generally speaking it is recognised that the subjective lags behind the objective and that it requires hard work and struggle to make the subjective, that is our ideas, correspond with the objective situation.**

### SINISTER INTRIGUE OR ERROR?

And so the development of revisionism in the world Communist movement, particularly in the Soviet Union, was not easy to detect in the early stages. Khrushchov had been most

vocal in his condemnation of Tito and praised the role of China in its consistent warnings of the danger of revisionism. There had been disagreements after the 20th Congress but these had been treated in a comradely way by the Chinese. Concessions were made by the Chinese at the 1957 and 1960 World Parties' meetings in Moscow in the hope that the errors would be corrected. The Chinese admit this and accept the criticism that they should have been firmer.

In the Australian party a struggle against revisionism was going on and it is a matter of record that E. F. Hill was the most vigilant and outspoken in this regard.

**But who could follow all the intrigue of the revisionists? Who, at that time, could distinguish sinister intrigue from genuine error? It is only in the conditions of full-scale attack on Marxism-Leninism that the ramifications of revisionism and its historical processes stand fully revealed.**

E. F. Hill and his fellow Marxist-Leninists recognise, and have openly stated that they were in one way and another party to the development of revisionism within the old Australian party. They have called for a most intensive examination of the past; they have indicated that past habits and errors will be hard to shed, that the process of remoulding will be difficult and protracted. But it must be faced.

We are not ashamed that we have changed — indeed we rejoice and we hope we continue to change in the sense of developing into better all-round Marxists-Leninists. E. F. Hill, along with other comrades, has made a frank and full self-criticism of his errors and shortcomings in the past. This is the test of a good communist and let us be frank, criticism and self-criticism is something that was almost completely lacking in the C.P.A. And if Hill in 1958 did not make a correct estimate of the 20th Congress, his error lay in his trust in the leadership of the Party of Lenin. How could Hill or anyone else know all about the internal affairs of the C.P.S.U.? The inner struggles of the C.P.S.U. will be written one day and when it is, Stalin will be restored to his rightful place and Khrushchov will be but an unfortunate episode.

There are now a mass of facts which reveal Khrushchov as a traitor to the working class movement. Why doesn't Johnston discuss these — for instance the Khrushchov clique's arming of India against China; Khrushchov's fond embracing of Tito; the disgrace of demanding payments for arms supplied to resist

U.S. aggression in Korea; the reason for the massacre of communists in Iraq; the failure of the Cuban Communist Party to lead the revolution. These are the matters that need discussion in the light of Marxism-Leninism. They are surely new manifestations of error and treachery that need discussion and to ignore them, as the revisionists do, is sheer dogmatism and sectarianism.

Johnston is critical of the Marxist-Leninist newspaper Vanguard and the space it devotes to exposing reformism. He says "The fact of the matter is that on every main issue on which Vanguard in November criticised the Labor Party, our Party sharply distinguished its position from that of the A.L.P. We opposed the Exmouth Base outright, etc., etc. . . ."

How unfortunate Johnston threw in the Exmouth Base. Does he not know that Ralph Gibson, a political committee member of the Communist Party, has declared his Party's support for the A.L.P. proposition that the Base represents no danger provided guarantees are given by the Americans and that control is shared!!

This highly important issue and the C.P.A.'s attitude to it confirms to the hilt what Vanguard said in November as quoted by Johnston, namely "as for the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia, they consistently took a position identical with that of the Labor Party Leaders."

It is fundamental to Marxism-Leninism that reformism must be combatted. It is in the struggle largely against reformism that a revolutionary Party and movement is built. This is how Lenin put it long ago in an article entitled "Reformism In the Russian Social Democratic Party":—

The tremendous progress which capitalism has made in recent decades and the rapid growth of the working-class movement in all the civilised countries have brought about a big change in the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Instead of fighting openly, plainly and in principle against all the fundamental tenets of Socialism and in defence of the complete inviolability of private property and free competition, the bourgeoisie of Europe and America — as represented by its ideologists and political leaders — is more and more coming out in defence of so-called social reforms as opposed to the idea of social revolution. Not liberalism versus Socialism, but reformism versus socialist revolution — that is the formula of the modern, "advanced," educated bourgeoisie. And the

higher the development of capitalism in a given country, the more unadulterated the rule of the bourgeoisie, and the greater the political liberty, the wider is the field of application of the "most up-to-date" bourgeois slogan: reform **versus** revolution; partial patching up of the doomed regime, with the object of dividing and weakening the working class and of maintaining the rule of bourgeoisie, **versus** the revolutionary overthrowal of that rule.

From the standpoint of the worldwide development of Socialism the mentioned change cannot but be regarded as a big step forward. At first Socialism fought for its existence, and it was confronted by a bourgeoisie confident of its strength and boldly and consistently advocating liberalism as an integral system of economic and political views. Now Socialism has grown into a force and throughout the civilised world has already upheld its right existence; it is now fighting **for power**; and the bourgeoisie, disintegrating as it is, and seeing the inevitability of its doom, is exerting every effort to defer the day of doom and to maintain its rule under the new conditions at the cost of partial and spurious concessions.

The intensification of the struggle of reformism against revolutionary Social-Democracy **within** the working-class movement is an absolutely inevitable result of the mentioned changes in the entire economic and political situation in all the civilised countries of the world.

Johnston cannot conceal his own revisionism by quoting excerpts from the Vanguard out of context, or exploring back numbers of the Communist Review. He would be better advised to investigate reality with the guiding help of the Marxist-Leninist classics.

## Australian Economy Reflects Imperialist Rivalries

**"The enormous growth of industry and the remarkably rapid process of concentration of production in ever larger enterprises, represent one of the most characteristic features of capitalism."**

**"Concentration of production however is much more intense than the concentration of workers, since labor in the large enterprises is much more productive."—Lenin's "Imperialism".**

The concentration of production leads to monopoly capitalism — and the sharpening of antagonisms which can only be resolved by smashing the capitalist relations of production and substituting for them Socialist production relations which, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unleash an unimagined new upsurge of production — providing the material base for the future development of Communist society.

As Lenin said "monopoly is the transition from capitalism to a higher system" — a transition which takes the form of ever more acute class struggle ending in the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class.

In Australia we can see this process of concentration taking place rapidly and with it the overall impoverishment of the working class, as a condition for the enrichment of the monopolies.

The characteristic of its development in Australia is the dominant role of foreign capital. In this the process of monopolisation of our economy is a process by which Australia is being robbed of her sovereignty.

Imperialism is the era in which the whole world has been divided up between the most powerful imperialist countries and is therefore a period in which it is extremely difficult or impossible for a very small capitalist country to develop its independent imperialist aims. Similarly it is difficult or impossible for the newly emerging colonial countries to fully develop their independence, except by taking the socialist path.

Therefore, the capitalist development of our economy is largely the reflection of the struggle between the already existing world imperialist powers.

This doesn't take place without protest and struggle from the monopolists of Australia who have their own expansionist aims, and this opposition expresses itself quite strongly in many ways.

The consequence of the domination of foreign capital in our economy is serious for Australia, as it intensifies the exploitation of the Australian working class and increases the severity of the dictatorship of the ruling class.

If it is remembered that Parliament is the talking shop behind which power is exercised by those who own and control industry and land, and that the government governs on behalf of the dominant economic force in the country then we see that the influence of the Australian people over the government is slight in fact, and will become even less significant in the conditions which are developing in Australia.

The foreign and home policy of the governments in the past generally met the requirements of the British ruling class, while in more recent times the needs of the American imperialists have in general, though not always, received top priority from the Australian Government.

Our participation in SEATO and ANZUS is a one-sided, unequal partnership, in which the Australian people and soil are used to serve the interests of the American ruling class. Australian troops are in Viet Nam to bolster up the American dollar, American bases are in Australia to protect the dollar.

The interests of the Australian capitalists run counter to that of the American imperialists. For instance, trade with and recognition of China, trade and friendship with Indonesia, would benefit the Australian capitalist much more than support for Malaysia which is part of the conflict between British and American imperialists. The road to American domination here will be strewn with sharp and growing conflicts with the Australian monopolists. It will also very likely meet some stiff opposition from the expanding Japanese monopolists.

### POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF U.S. DOMINATION

The domestic policy of the government while serving the interests of capitalism generally tends to favor the American monopolists. There is no question that the extension of the penal clauses against the trade unions, the widening the scope of the Crimes Act is all designed to silence the working class, to make this country "safe" for capitalism.

Lenin in *Imperialism* said that "politically imperialism is in general a striving towards violence and reaction."

An actual examination of the conditions in Australia refutes completely the revisionist stand that peaceful transition, i.e., class collaboration, is possible because the capitalist class is

becoming more interested in democracy and the welfare of the people.

It is useful to recall the time when the oil companies decided to raise the price of petrol in Queensland. The Queensland Government refused to agree to this — and the whole of Queensland industry, transport, power was held to ransom by the oil companies until they got their rise. The government capitulated. This is a clear, though relatively small example of who the real rulers are in capitalist society. In socialist society the working class, because of their ownership of the means of production, is able to exert the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So that it is a matter of very considerable concern that a large number of the heavier industries in Australia are totally foreign owned or have over 50% foreign capital in the major firms in the industry.

Some of these industries according to the Department of Trade are . . . Petroleum, minerals, synthetic rubber, rubber products, aluminium, steel sheets, power transformers, industrial chemicals, explosives, motor vehicles, earthmoving and excavation equipment, steam raising and steam heating equipment oil, uranium, and many others.

Four-fifths of the oil industry is in foreign hands, mostly American. America controls the uranium production in Australia, and gets 18/- profit in every £1 of uranium sold.

One third of Australian manufacturing industry is owned abroad. One quarter of all company assets is owned abroad.

America has become the most active and influential foreign investor in Australia and the most rapacious.

In 1961, the Department of Trade indicated that new United States capital invested in Australia exceeded British investment.

In July, 1963, American new investment was 38% of all new foreign investment.

"The Sun" (30.3.63) said that the investment in Australia from Britain fell almost by half in 1962 and America and Canada took over her traditional position as the biggest investor in Australia.

American capital brings with it American methods of exploitation, the squeezing of the last ounce from the working class, opposition to trade unionism, the encouragement of company unions, victimisation and all kinds of penalties against "their" workers, and various forms of strike breaking. The American *attache* is always at A.C.T.U. Congresses, and engages



in lobbying and various other nefarious tactics. American dollars are available to the right kind of union "leaders".

American exploitation (and profits) are looked on with envious eyes by the Australian capitalist class. Take the typical example of G.M.H. . . . In the four years 1950-53 the number of workers employed increased by less than 1,000 to 11,000 but the number of cars produced more than doubled. Since then this process has accelerated. In 1950 each worker produced two cars per year. That number has increased through automation, intensification of the production line method to seven cars per worker per year, while the annual wages of the worker have been around about the price of one car.

The Australian people are told by various government and capitalist spokesmen that the investment of foreign capital is good for Australia and that we mustn't frighten it away by high wages or industrial unrest.

The restrictive legislation and wage pegging by the Government is carried out in order to encourage the investment of foreign capital.

#### **This is also the Labor Party point of view.**

Calwell went to America before the last Federal elections to re-assure the American investor that the Labor Party position was no different from that of the Liberal Party. Calwell has defended the huge profits of G.M.H. and other big monopolies. Although since its inception the record of the A.L.P. has been one of service to the Australian capitalist class it was a party whose chief role was to champion the interests of Australian capitalism.

The A.L.P. leaders have found no difficulty in accommodating themselves to the changes in capital investment.

The ideology of reformism stems from the super profits of imperialism. The crisis of imperialism brings with it a crisis in reformism, and the support of ones "own" capitalist class. So if that capitalist class is being subjugated by another reformism adopts itself to that but in turn, that intensifies the crises of reformism, and opens the way for revolutionary ideas. In Australia, as in a number of other capitalist countries, the capitalist class is losing out in the battle against American imperialism, and the reformist parties are turning towards support for American imperialism.

This is true in Australia of the Labor Party. It is also true in Australia, and on a world scale of the revisionist parties. The

Labor Party and the Communist Party of Australia compete in their defence of American imperialism. One may take the C.P. of A. attitude to the Test Ban Treaty, to the late President Kennedy, to Eisenhower, in the peace movement, on the national liberation question and so on.

#### **U.S. CAPITAL DOESN'T BRING PROSPERITY**

Whether or not foreign investments are good for Australia is revealed by a look at the facts. Foreign capital is not bringing prosperity to Australia — in fact it is threatening Australia with bankruptcy. Some sections of the ruling class are concerned about this and have issued warnings.

According to Government statistics there are already over £2,000,000,000 of overseas investment here.

Within three years it will total over £3,000,000,000 (without taking into account loans). This will mean that £300,000,000 will be sent overseas in dividends, £100,000,000 will go abroad to meet interest, repay capital on more than £100,000,000 loans that have been borrowed overseas, and £100,000,000 in freight, insurance and other charges on exports and imports. All this will be met from £900,000,000 annual income from exports.

In 1960 the Department of Trade warned that one year's total of new American money invested here may be exceeded by the total outward flow of dollar dividends to American investors.

Of G.M.H. profit of £15½ mill. last year, 86% was sent to the U.S.A.

In practice, relatively small amounts of foreign capital are needed to establish a monopoly grip on a particular industry.

If we take G.M.H. again, the original American investment was £1,750,000. Last year the profit was £15½ mill.

In the four years 1950-1953 G.M.H. made a total profit of £17,706,652 and in each succeeding year its profits have increased. In the same four years G.M.H. assets, which were originally, a little over £2 mill., increased from £35,118,752, to £57,670,118, and in the same period reserves rose from £4,056,127 to £17,287,940.

In the last 10 years these amounts have increased astronomically. The capitalists plough back part of their profit for expansion, and in Australia, G.M.H. is a classic example of this practice — which means that Australian money and manpower

is being used to enrich American monopolists and to tighten the grip of American and other foreign monopolists over Australia, economically and politically, while at the same time pouring the main bulk of profit out of this country.

The American monopolists have an iron grip on oil in Australia, and they will need very little of their own money to exploit it — it is estimated that an investment of £3 million will bring an annual return of £7-£10 million.

Dr. Cairns in 1963 said that in the past 12 years the outflow from Australia has risen from 45% of capital inflow to 60%.

The Herald economist John Eddy in April, 1964, said: "The inflow of overseas capital to Australia was a record £273 million in the last financial year."

For every £1 invested by foreign monopolists in Australia many more £1's will flow out. Continued foreign investment without control is by no means a "good thing for Australia."

Foreign investment is the process of impoverishment of the people, the process of colonisation.

Many Australian capitalists are opposed to the inroads of American monopoly on different grounds from us. The U.S. monopolists won't let them share in the profits, and they are also taking over already well established Australian concerns. The Australian Financial Review and other spokesmen of important sections of the Australian Capitalists are demanding legislation to direct, control and restrict American capital in order to share some of the profits with them.

Some of them are concerned that the same fate awaits Australia as Canada, where recently in an American recession, the Americans closed down their Canadian factories first and more drastically in order to "diminish" the effects of the crises at home . . . Canada was to bear the main burden of the drastic economic crises and unemployment in order to ease the home pressure on the American monopolies. Through United States domination of Canadian economy, Canada has become nothing more than a colony.

The concentration of production is also taking place through mergers and takeovers. There are many examples of these, the following are some . . .

Peters Ice Cream take over of Edgells Canneries, Holdenson and Neilson, Four and 20 pies, Hargreaves and Sons.

National Dairy Co. of U.S. has taken over the balance of the shares on Krafts, along with Greens Canneries.

National Biscuit Co. of U.S. has taken over the Purma Cereal group including Vita Brits, Weeties, Crispies, Turban Coffee, and McLintocks Jellies.

Campbells, U.S., took over Kia Ora industries.

Unilever has taken over Rosella, McNivens Ice Cream, Streets Ice Cream, Sennitts Ice Cream and Frozen Foods.

Coles took over Dickens.

Woolworths took over Rockmans.

J. Darling and Spillers, U.K., merged.

J. Darling took over Home Pride Bakeries and so on.

This merging of capital is meeting with some opposition from smaller capitalists and one man businesses.

The fighting mood among small shop keepers against fines for trading after hours is an example of this. It is only by excessively long hours that these small businesses can hope to compete with the chain stores.

Although the economy is "prosperous" the contradictions dealt with by Lenin in Imperialism are all evident, and the conclusions drawn by Lenin are fully valid for us.

Is the working class sharing the benefits of our "properous" society?

Marx said that an expanding economy was the most favorable for the working class, and even then the conditions of the working class deteriorates absolutely and relatively.

Facts show that labor in the large enterprise is much more productive, and as monopoly concentrates workers in bigger and bigger factories the value of the output has increased.

According to the Bureau of Statistics:

1948 value of output per worker was £1,555.

1958 value of output per worker was £3,979.

1944 value of production per head of population was £87.2.

1958 value of production per head of population was £284.6.

In these years the actual value of machinery, etc., has increased 400%.

Although these figures are unsatisfactory, they give some indication of the tremendous increase of production per worker that is taking place through monopoly concentration of production, also the rapid accumulation of capital.

If we consider that the real basic wage has hardly risen since its inception and although many workers get more than the basic wage, the tendency is for the percentage of skilled and therefore higher paid workers to decline in relation to the unskilled and semi-skilled workers who constitute the main workforce in monopoly capitalism, and that the size of the workforce is growing while the size of the capitalist class is declining then it is clear that the conditions of the working class in Australia in the post war expansion have declined overall.

The position of the working class cannot be measured in statistics alone. It is a social question, Marx said "A house may be large or small, as long as the neighbouring houses are likewise small, it satisfies all social requirements for a residence. But let there arise next to the little house a palace, and the little house shrinks into a hut. The little house now makes it clear that its inmate has no social position at all to maintain, or but a very insignificant one and however it may shoot up in the course of civilisation if the neighboring palace rises in equal or even in greater measure the occupant of the relatively little house will always find himself more uncomfortable, more dissatisfied, more cramped within his four walls.

"An appreciable rise in wages presupposes a rapid growth of productive capital. Rapid growth of productive capital calls forth just as rapid a growth of wealth, luxury, of social needs and social pleasures. Therefore although the pleasures of the laborer have increased, the social gratification which they afford has fallen in comparison with the increased pleasures of the capitalist which are inaccessible to the worker, in comparison with the state of development of society in general. Our wants and pleasures have their origin in society, we therefore measure them in relation to society, we do not measure them in relation to the objects which serve for their gratification. Since they are of a social nature they are of a relative nature."

—Wage Labor and Capital.

Monopoly is the period of violent struggle, of insoluble and sharpening contradictions, the period of transition to a new stage of society, the eve of the socialist revolution. It is the period when the ideas of Marxism-Leninism taken to the masses, become material force in bringing about this transition.

## High Prices And Inflation

**IT** would be useful to enumerate the causes of an increase in prices for this century is a century of increasing prices in the capitalist world.

First it is necessary to say exactly what is meant by an increase in prices. What is meant is an increase in the amount of the local currency required to buy commodities.

As the currencies everywhere are now paper, metal being only used for small denominations and the value of the metal having nothing to do with the purchasing power of the cent, centime, penny, etc. We must definitely state that we are not meeting an increase in prices measured in gold in the years after the World War I. What then are the causes of an increase in paper money prices of goods?

1. An increase in taxes, especially in indirect taxes by which is meant sales taxes, excise and customs duties. This is of course linked with the increasing expenditure on war and preparation for war, the growing state bureaucracy and an expenditure on social services — pensions, unemployment dole, health departments, education, railways, roads, aerodromes, etc. In passing, in Australia the only department which shows a profit is the Postal Department.
  2. A boom which of course regularly recurs in capitalism causes an increase in prices by increasing the demand for all commodities.
  3. The prices may be increased by a devaluation of the currency by the Government, e.g., Roosevelt in the Nineties devalued the dollar by decreasing the purchase price of an ounce of gold to 35 dollars instead of 19 dollars. This was done in order to meet the increased competition of the U.K. which had gone off the gold standard and allowed the currency to depreciate.
- Note:**—Being on the gold standard means that the Government or the Treasury or the State Bank guarantees to supply gold at a fixed price to the holders of a certain number of notes. Before England left the gold standard, the Bank of England was bound to supply gold at £3/17/10½ per oz. to any demander who had 200 pound notes.
4. Prices may increase or perhaps it would be better to say may not decrease so much if in the crisis when a country finds great difficulty in selling its products abroad, and there-

fore its currency is not wanted abroad, the exchange value of the currency falls as that of Australia did so markedly in the thirties.

- Prices will increase if inflation occurs. Here it is necessary to be specific. By inflation we mean increasing the note issue to an extent greater than would be needed if the coinage was in gold. For example if the number of sovereigns required in Australia was say, forty million and the sovereigns were replaced by forty million pound notes, then the pound note would purchase, other things being equal, the same quantity of goods as a sovereign. If the sovereigns were replaced by 80 million pound notes then each pound note would purchase a half sovereign's worth, and if 160 million notes were issued, it would take two notes to purchase a half sovereign worth and so on.

This and this only is inflation if we want to avoid confusion. This inflation is one of the constant features of capitalism in this period. Australia, e.g., had a note issue of about 40 millions in 1939, of 197 millions in 1946 and recently 427 millions.

In the course of this period production has about doubled in Australia. It would not be correct however to say that the note issue should also have doubled. The amount required depends on two factors, the amount of production and the rate at which it is bought and sold.

So that a doubled production does not require a double supply of pound notes, any more than a doubled Mallee wheat harvest requires a double number of railway trucks. It would require perhaps a small increase in numbers of the trucks, but it would mainly need a more frequent train service.

A reference to the Commonwealth year book will show that in 1926 with a production 30% greater than in 1932 the same amount of currency sufficed.

What is the cause of the recent inflation? There is only one answer "bankruptcy" of the State, expenditure greater than its income and its capacity to borrow. In State circles it is called deficit financing. It is done with the help of the Commonwealth Bank. For Government decides to spend say ten millions. It notifies the bank and the bank lends ten millions for which the Government supplies bonds. The bonds are then repurchased from the bank by newly printed money — and the trick is done. The government as you see has supplied itself with ten million by printing same.

#### **SYMPTOM OF DYING CAPITALISM**

This phenomenon is a symptom of dying capitalism. It is really a malady of age. In order to carry out the necessarily aggressive

predatory policy of the monopoly capitalists and to rob the workers, farmers and middle class, inflation is essential. The huge arms expenditure and the huge profits made by heavy industry could thus be met. The working class is soothed by increased wages (which buy less) and the farmers and middle classes get seemingly higher prices for grain, etc., and seemingly higher fees. Inflation in short is a very effective system of taxation in the interests of the millionaires.

The fact that it is inevitable is exceedingly well shown by the history of the Menzies Government. Menzies acceded to power with the currency at about 200 millions, the war had been won, good seasons reigned for years, the rabbit was exterminated, world prices for primary commodities were high. Menzies promised to put value back in the pound, and yet with all the above favourable circumstances, the currency is now over 400 millions and value is so far back in the pound that it is difficult to find it.

In previous epochs there have been periods of rising prices, e.g., after the discovery of America and the wholesale robbery of the Indians by the Spaniards, gold sank in value because of the greatly lessened labour time necessary to win it and prices increased in Europe. Similarly between 1897 and 1915 a great improvement in gold winning technique was responsible for an increase in prices.

It is noteworthy that on neither of these occasions were the working class blamed. In the early part of the century the bourgeois economists magnanimously agreed that wages lagged behind prices and the efforts of the workers to increase wages were in no way the cause of the rising prices.

This is also true of the present period. Examination of the statistics clearly show that again wages are lagging behind prices. At this moment the discontent of the workers in Australia and elsewhere is manifest. Yet the ruling class have been successful to a certain extent in their continuous campaign to place the blame for inflation on the workers. Their faithful servants, their lackeys the bourgeois economists have obligingly invented false terms such as "wage price spiral" and literally the slaves are widely blamed for the results of their master's misdeeds.

It is therefore important to place the real facts before the workers continually. The repetition of lies can best be defeated by the repetition of truth.

There is yet one more cause of high prices, viz., the devaluation of a currency at the order of a foreign power. The U.S.A.

is doing this repeatedly, in Southern Korea, South Vietnam and Latin America by forcing the local governments to increase the amount of the local currency exchanged for the U.S. dollar. This enables U.S. monopolists to buy coffee, minerals, etc., cheaply. It also must be noted that the present rate of exchange 2.2 dollars to the Australian pound is grossly unjust. The Australian pound in Australia can buy what it takes 5 dollars to purchase in the U.S.A. So the U.S.A. gets our products unduly cheaply, our wool, our minerals, our fish, our beef.

Inflation is then a means of robbing the middle and working classes at home and the whole nation abroad. It is therefore undoubtedly a device of the monopolists and particularly of the American monopolists.

During this period of inflation, i.e., after World War I, the technique of industry and agriculture has been rapidly advancing. The socially necessary labour time consumed in producing primary and secondary commodities has been diminishing rapidly. Without inflation everything would be very much cheaper. Things have become cheaper in world money, i.e., in gold. In a word inflation greatly aided the monopolists to rob the worker and the middle class of the benefits of improved technique.

To-day a motor car can be bought for £1000 that is much superior to those sold at £500 25 years ago. As gold in Australia has risen in price per ounce from £3/17/10½ to £15/15/-, £500 25 years ago would have purchased about 128 oz. of gold — £1000 to-day equals about 64 oz. of gold. So the gold price has fallen by 50% and the currency price doubled. This neglecting the fact that the gold is easily sold outside Australia for far more than £15/15/- Aust. per oz., which means that the real value of the car has fallen much more than 50%.

The Australian worker has not succeeded in raising wages sufficiently to meet the rising costs caused by inflation. As there has been an accidental boom in Australia since the war, he has been able by working overtime, by his wife working and other members of the family being employed, to live at a higher standard than usual.

### SEVERE INFLATION IS DEVELOPING

Crises follow booms and it is certain that a severe cyclical crisis will occur in the capitalist world at no distant date. Even such a big capitalist as the President of the International Fund says this year closely resembles 1929.

Crises all have their distinctive features. It would seem certain that the next severe crisis will be marked by severe inflation. Consider the Australian Government with its big debt, its big military expenditure, its big bureaucracy, its social services, etc., etc. What could it do if a severe crisis came and cut its revenue by 25% or 30% or 40% as it might easily do. It is certain that it would use "deficit financing" and prices would soar. How they can soar in such conditions was revealed in Germany in 1923.

The worker ran to spend his wages immediately for fear they would not buy half as much to-morrow. This would mean intolerable conditions for the majority of the people and a marked reaction on their part.

The only system that keeps new currencies on a stable keel is socialism. There is no cure for inflation except the liquidation of capitalism.

The above will probably elicit from the revisionists a sneer, such as "they expect cataclysms." Well we do expect cataclysms. Consider this century with its two World Wars, the Soviet Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the severest economic crisis in history, the Korean War, the Vietnamese revolution, the Algerian revolution, etc. Is it not a century of cataclysms? Do not the causes of more cataclysms still exist? Those who say they expect peaceful evolution over a great many years or centuries are either blind or wont see.

The A.L.P. has no anti-inflationary policy. It demands more military expenditure and a greater use of credit, i.e., more inflation. It is also worth noting that Douglas Credit simply means inflation. The A.L.P. can therefore be trusted by the monopolists to continue their policy.

Effective action against high prices would need the abolition of indirect taxes and heavier taxation on the rich, great reduction of military expenditure; that is the direct negation of the policy of the monopolists. It would also need ownership of a large part of the land and other means of production by the State and the sale of the commodities so produced at a low price when necessary to effect adequate control of prices — the only way experience has proved that prices can be controlled.

No one except a utopian dreamer could imagine that such measures could be achieved by bourgeois democracy controlling a bourgeois state.

The words of Marx (Capital Vol. 1, P. 829) sum it up. "Over-taxation is not an incident but rather a principle. In Holland where this system was first inaugurated, the great patriot, De Witt, has in his Maxims extolled it as the best system for making the wage-labourer submissive, frugal, industrious and overburdened with labor — the forcible appropriation resulting from it of peasants, artisans, and in a word all elements of lower middle class."

They can only be put into action by a Workers' State such as we find in China. In the meantime workers must fight vigorously for increased wages and shorter hours and the middle class must recognise that it is only with the workers that they can defeat the monopolists and stop the robbery of which more and more of them like the workers are the victims.

Inflation, high taxes on the workers and high prices, with insolvency of their State are to the profit of the monopolists. In a socialist State, inflation, high taxes, insolvency of the State and high prices, are directly contrary to the interests of the working class whose committee the State is.

If you are against high prices, high taxes, inflation and want decreasing prices, no taxes and a stable currency, support the Australian Communist Party (M. L.) and prepare to fight for socialism.

## The Lessons Of The Intrigues Of L. Aarons And His Group

THE reactionary press has more than once spoken of the "Aarons dynasty" in the Communist Party of Australia and L. Aarons as the "Crown Prince". Naturally enough the Aarons family has objected to this and we do not subscribe to the terminology nor to the approach of the gentlemen who have written this material.

It is done to harm the cause of Communism, to foment the divisions within the working class movement in the hope that the contending parties will destroy each other.

Moreover, L. Aarons has used the revelation of his family's position in the Communist Party and the attack upon it by the most rabid reactionaries as a means of silencing people who are genuinely and correctly disturbed by the situation. Plausibly enough, he replies to his critics: "Oh, that's just what the Bulletin, News Weekly, Short, Dougherty and Co. say."

But the mere fact that such people assert a truth (and then use it for their own ends) does not make it any the less a truth, nor render it any the less necessary to subject it to analysis. And precisely because Mr. Aarons has so far effectively silenced proper examination of his position we propose to examine some aspects of it.

Marxism-Leninism permits of no factionalism nor groups. There is only one Marxism-Leninism.

Naturally, people may differ as to the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism in a given situation but Marxism-Leninism and the true solution of a problem according to Marxist-Leninist principles, will remain. If Marxism-Leninism is strong in a Communist Party there will in fact be no groupings — no rivalries — no factions — because everyone will be concerned to find the correct Marxist-Leninist solution and in that solution personal position, groups, factions have no place whatever.

On the other hand, if Marxism-Leninism is weak there will be groups, factionalism and struggles for power. From the very beginning of the current differences in the world communist movement we have asserted that Mr. L. Aarons had a position different from any of the other top leaders of the Communist Party of Australia because, although he nominally concealed it, he has always been an ideological and political revisionist.

Precisely because of this, precisely because he was always innately opposed to Marxism-Leninism, he used his family connections to prosecute anti-Marxism-Leninism and to promote a group, intrigue and a struggle for personal power within the Communist Party of Australia.

This was facilitated by the fact that his brother, Mr. Eric Aarons, was also of the same ideological and political outlook, derived no doubt from his Trotskyist associations of the thirties. Mr. Eric Aarons has never made any secret of his own reluctance and indeed, contempt for manual labour nor has he outwardly objected to Sharkey's characterisation of him as an academic pure and simple and good for nothing else.

For our part we object to any gratuitous abuse of people whether they be Communists or anything else just because of family relationships or for any other reason but on the other hand within a Communist Party when the members of a close-knit family do not in fact adopt Marxism-Leninism (and indeed oppose it) that family position can be a very dangerous thing. And so it has proved.

## METHODS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

We commenced by the assertion that Mr. L. Aarons, who without question is the ideological leader of the Communist Party of Australia today, was never a Marxist-Leninist. Because of this he brought into the Communist Party the methods of social democracy — intrigue, factionalism, nepotism. The beginning of his interest in the labour movement was marked by his leaving home to live and work with L. Short, well-known present-day leader of the Ironworkers' Union. Mr. Short's record is well known.

The association of Mr. L. Aarons and Mr. L. Short is a cold hard fact and no one can deny it. On its own, one would say it was just an error of youth on the part of Mr. L. Aarons but all history has proved that it is vitally important to look at the whole life and background of anyone who puts himself forward as a leader of the working class. In almost all cases, an examination of his past reveals some evidence of what he ultimately becomes. We maintain that Mr. L. Aarons' close association with Short was no accident: it was simply an expression of Mr. L. Aarons' ideology which operates to the present time.

Mr. Aarons is a bootmaker by trade and he had every opportunity to work among his fellow Australian workers. But he bitterly resisted this and participated in a petty individual boot

repairing shop. Again this is of no necessary significance but in one who puts himself forward as a devoted self-sacrificing revolutionary, it is not at all without significance and on all fours with his previous association with Short and also with Trotskyism.

Furthermore, he made no secret of his abhorrence of associating or working with other workers in a factory — an outlook he maintained in his military service, from which he moved heaven and earth to escape.

Lenin, of course, wrote a great deal of the ideology arising from small production "which engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale." (Left Wing Communism). Again it is a cold hard fact that that was the ideology of Mr. L. Aarons. In its essence that ideology in him has not changed.

## "A REMARKABLE CAREER . . ."

In his history in the Communist Party, Mr. L. Aarons has had a remarkable career. In the very bootshop of which we have spoken he contested the character of the 1939 war with a well-known Communist. Mr. L. Aarons persisted in the opportunist characterisation of the war and sulked and sulked (again illustrative of the character of the petty bourgeoisie of which Lenin said it was typical to find inconsistency, alternate moods of exaltation and despair) in face of the correct characterisation ultimately made by the Communist Party.

He worked as a party functionary in South Australia and there got into intrigue and factionalism with E. Robertson directed against A. Watt. As the result of this Mr. L. Aarons was transferred to Newcastle, being condemned by Sharkey for his factional activities in South Australia. Incidentally he showed no loyalty to Mr. Sendy, an individual of similar character to Mr. Aarons, but among such people, loyalty to each other is quite alien.

In Newcastle, Mr. Aarons, always personally ambitious, continued his intriguing and factionalism. At that time, the internal Communist Party struggle associated with J. D. Blake and J. C. Henry was going on. Mr. Aarons said of this period that he kept out of Sydney because of the foul atmosphere that was created by this struggle but when the struggle reached its climax and it was clear that Blake and Henry were going to be defeated and that Sharkey was going to be victorious, Mr. Aarons blandly declared that he had known nothing whatever about what was going on — typical of his capacity to lie in his own interests.

Now it was to his interests to come to terms with Sharkey and Dixon, to crawl to them, to lie about his previous position. So

he became overnight a member of the Central Committee Secretariat.

Then he went to China and studied there. But he became so despairing — again so characteristic of those with petty bourgeois ideology — at what he regarded as the difficulties of revolution as revealed by Chinese experience that he more than once broke down and on return to Australia gave way to utter despair and refused to do any work for many weeks.

On finally taking up some work he found difficulty in working in the leadership but then set out to organise his own faction to wrest the leadership from Sharkey and Dixon. He gathered around himself a group of equally petty-bourgeois and unscrupulous people either then in key positions or whom he placed in key positions. (Previously he had used E. Campbell whom in 1961 he contemptuously threw on the scrap heap.)

He used E. Robertson, then secretary of the Party organisation in South Australia, E. Bacon, secretary of the Party organisation in Queensland, his brother Eric in the leading position in the Newcastle party organisation and his father Sam, Secretary of the party organisation in West Australia. He set out to win Claude Jones — himself worthy of digression for a moment (and dealt with in more detail in another article). Mr. Jones is a person utterly without principle.

He was the closest friend and associate of J. C. Henry and was transferred to Sydney in the late forties to carry out work for Henry. Jones resorted to slander, character assassination, intrigue, ballot fixing and so on inside the Communist Party to do the job and when the whole scheme exploded, left Henry carrying the baby. His conduct was despicable and contemptible beyond description.

Having accepted Henry's patronage, he did not hesitate to kick him when he was down and finally Jones was transferred to Queensland to complete the destruction of Henry which he undertook with enthusiasm. Truly Mr. Jones is a revolting person — a fact he attempts to conceal under a hail-fellow-well-met exterior. This two-faced individual then climbed back into favour by flattering Sharkey and then when he saw which way the wind was blowing joined up with Mr. L. Aarons and finally found himself a member of the Central Committee Secretariat because of his "loyalty" to Mr. Aarons.

That loyalty Jones demonstrated in spectacular fashion by the foul and lying reports about the Congresses of the Parties of Hungary, Italy, Czechoslovakia and East Germany when the Chinese Communist Party was attacked.

Jones up to the time of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. was one of the most vocal supporters of the line of the Chinese Communists and one of the most vocal denouncers of Khrushchov and his policies. Overnight he found as little difficulty in changing his position on this matter as he did in deserting Henry. So he is a fitting companion for Mr. L. Aarons.

And to return to the latter — we have dealt with his men in South Australia, Queensland, Newcastle, West Australia.

In New South Wales, he assiduously cultivated the openly declared revisionist W. Brown and saw that after his dismissal from editorship of the Tribune because of revisionism, he became a leader of the Sydney Party organisation.

Within the peace movement he cultivated A. Robertson and W. Gollan. In Victoria, he organised a group headed by B. Taft, himself a person with a background similar to Mr. L. Aarons — i.e., early association with Trotskyism and more latterly with Titoism; H. Stanistreet an obvious careerist (both Taft and Stanistreet opposed the expulsion from the Communist Party of the notorious revisionist I. Turner) and R. Mortimer, again a person who has made no secret of his contempt for the working-class ("I never feel comfortable with workers") and who twice in the course of the Petrov Commission at critical stages actually deserted the field of battle in that Commission in Sydney ("because I want to go home").

Again all fitting companions for Mr. L. Aarons!

## ASSAULT ON SHARKEY, DIXON

Now the stage was set for an assault on the top leadership of the Communist Party — Sharkey and Dixon. Mr. Aarons organised his group against them. Within the group, the most adverse estimates particularly of Sharkey were made and are to this day made.

These gentlemen spoke of what they said was Sharkey's anti-semitism, his inability to speak, his dogmatism, his laziness and so on. They still do. Politically, they increasingly put forward their own programme — revisionism (some in disguised form at that time — but today without apology).

They wrote their own versions of Marxist-Leninist classical propositions — Mr. L. Aarons on the Party and Mr. E. Aarons on Economics. They demanded that Sharkey revise his book on Trade Unions — rewrite it.

This booklet actually is, by and large a Marxist-Leninist booklet, but the demand of Aarons was that it be entirely rewritten. He was defeated but only to return again.

He set the new "textbooks" for Party study and threw out the Marxist-Leninist classics. He put forward alien conceptions of Party membership including the filling of arbitrary quotas of membership. He alternately flattered Sharkey and threatened



him with the strength of the Aarons group. When Sharkey proved a little recalcitrant at the 81 Parties Conference and showed tendencies of adhering to Marxism-Leninism, Aarons entered into a conspiracy with Soviet representatives in Australia to subvert Sharkey and Dixon. Later when the Soviet Communist Party made extraordinary arrangements to "supervise" the Communist Party of Australia it was Aarons and his closest associates who had special arrangements to accept the "supervision." Finally, as is well known, Sharkey came to heel and Dixon threw in his lot with them. Hence the Communist Party of Australia became violently revisionist. Mr. L. Aarons became the dominant figure.

Today he is vice-President of the Party, the acknowledged real leader; his friend C. Jones, possessed of no Marxist-Leninist equipment, but a great capacity for intrigue, a member of the four-man Secretariat, his brother Mr. E. Aarons, secretary to that Secretariat and Messrs. Sharkey and Dixon to make up the numbers.

Revisionism is what holds these people together but revisionism is no consistent doctrine. It makes do from situation to situation and it adapts the workingclass to capitalism: it serves U.S. imperialism. Moreover, the personal character of revisionists corresponds with their political position. They are individual careerists, self seekers, owing no loyalty to the workingclass nor even to each other.

In putting revisionism forward the Communist Party of Australia has had particular difficulties because it had to reverse its previous position but simultaneously deny that it had ever done so.

Even in this, Mr. L. Aarons made sure that as far as possible the odium would not attach to him (and in truth it shouldn't because he always was a revisionist although he denied it). He made sure that the brunt of the fight was borne by Sharkey and Dixon. This had two sides to it — Aarons' own mass position is very weak because workers sense his contempt for them and secondly Aarons himself wanted to undermine Sharkey.

Hence Sharkey was put on the A.B.C. television show, Four Corners — a job that everyone knows he is temperamentally incapable of doing and he made a complete fool of himself and of the Communist Party of Australia much to the joy of Aarons and his group. Mr. Aarons pushed (by flattery, semi-intimidation and other unscrupulous means) Sharkey into all the dirty situations that the political switch of the Communist Party of Australia dictated. And to a lesser extent pushed Dixon also but he how-ever had the ability to handle the situation more efficiently. The inevitable result was just as Mr. Aarons estimated — the discrediting of Sharkey and Dixon and the emergence of Mr. Aarons.

Hence Mr. Aarons having used his very extensive family connections and his methods of intrigue has emerged as the dominant figure in the revisionist party. A family of Marxist-Leninists is indeed a power for good: a family of revisionists is indeed a power for evil.

The lessons of this are many. The weakness of Marxism-Leninism in the Communist Party of Australia permitted such a situation to arise. Lack of systematic attention to theory, lack of consistent struggle for Marxism-Leninism, lack of struggle against groups, intrigues and personal careerists opened the way for such a position.

An unscrupulous individual with powerful family connections can take advantage of this very weakness and promote individual personal and family interests. All the members of Mr. Aarons' family have been rewarded and promoted: those whom Mr. Aarons used and for whom he no longer has any use (e.g., Campbell, Miles) are kicked aside or bribed out of the way (e.g., Watt). The revolutionary movement must learn from all this above all to strengthen its Marxism-Leninism so that no person, no family, no group can pursue an anti-Marxist-Leninist course.

# The Economism And Falsehoods Of R. Gibson

Just over 60 years ago, V. I. Lenin wrote an historical pamphlet entitled "What is to be Done." The pamphlet set out to dispose of the confusion existing in the early Russian social-democratic movement on the difference between trade union politics and social-democratic politics.

It clarified the difference between primitive methods of organisation and revolutionary methods of organisation. It laid the basis for setting-up a militant all-Russian political organisation.

Lenin examined the two tendencies in Russian social democracy — that expressed by the economists and that expressed by the consistent revolutionaries.

His brilliant pamphlet settled the theoretical debate then raging in favor of the consistent revolutionaries and disposed of the vacillating economists.

Within that setting, he showed the ideology of the economists to be bourgeois ideology. "Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement **the only choice is:** either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a "third" ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle socialist ideology **in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree** means strengthening bourgeois ideology." (Lenin, "What is to be Done", Vol. 2, L & W Edition, p. 62).

Each new historical situation brings forth new expressions of bourgeois theory within the working class movement. The battle for the purity of revolutionary ideas must begin anew. It is undoubtedly clear to all that such a battle is proceeding at the present time.

Judging by a report appearing in the newspaper "The Guardian" of May 14th, 1964, Mr. R. Gibson, secretary of the Victorian section of the revisionist led Communist Party, attempts to enter this debating arena.

The mere fact that any effort is made to debate these important questions at all, is, of course, to be welcomed. However, the matter goes further than that. As Lenin pointed out many years

ago, it is obligatory fearlessly to think out what one says "to its logical conclusion, as everyone who enters the arena of literary and public activity should do." (Ibid. P. 63.)

We seriously doubt that Mr. Gibson has done just this. According to the Guardian, Mr. Gibson "dealt comprehensively with the international situation, national politics and the work of the Communist Party in Victoria."

It is, therefore, a pity that the Guardian saw fit to publish only that part dealing with the industrial struggle and "the Communist Party's activity to develop a stronger united front of the working class." This, in itself, is very instructive. Elsewhere in the same paper, there are a few short references to "Foreign policy and developments in South-East Asia."

But except for these terse comments, the breath-taking victories now being scored-up by the colonial peoples, amidst untold human sacrifice and suffering are virtually left untouched. One cannot avoid concluding that these matters are considered "too advanced" or "too far removed" for "backward" (in revisionist eyes) Victorian workers to understand.

Evidently the masses can only (again in revisionist eyes) be enthused on bread and butter matters. The gentlemen grouped around Messrs. Aarons, Sharkey and Dixon would certainly not agree with Lenin, when in this very controversy with the economists, he declared: "Social democrats must not confine themselves entirely to the economic struggle; they must not even allow the organisation of economic exposures to become the predominant part of their activities. We must actively take up the political education of the working class and the development of its political consciousness." (Ibid. p. 78).

Lenin further illustrates the profound respect he has for the capacity of workers to understand and be moved by things far removed from their own immediate experience in the following words: "The workers themselves wish to read and do read all that is written for the intelligentsia and it is only a few (bad) intellectuals who believe that it is sufficient for the workers, to tell them a few things about factory conditions and to repeat over and over again what has long been known." (Ibid. p. 62).

Mr. Gibson and his colleagues would do well to ponder deeply those words.

## LIMITS OF THE INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

But to proceed with our examination of the above-mentioned report. We have already said that the section dealing with the industrial struggle has been separated from and highlighted at

the expense of the rest of the report. This itself gives plenty of basis for believing that the tendencies Lenin examined in the economists some 60 years ago, are present in the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party today.

But much more so than this — a close examination of the section which has been reproduced in this way, provides conclusive proof that this tendency is all-powerful in the leadership of the party of Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey.

To make any thorough examination, it is necessary to quote from the report at length.

"The high level of struggle . . . has resulted in general gains in annual leave and margins, as well as particular gains in a large number of workplaces. More important still, the working class has gained increased confidence and will to struggle.

"The wave of struggle has involved a very wide range of workers — wharfies, rubber workers, ironworkers, vehicle builders, transport workers, postal workers, clothing trade workers and bank officials, among other sections. Workers in State instrumentalities have played an important part, especially transport workers and workers in the power industry. Perhaps the main centre of the struggle has been the metal trades.

"Summing up, there has been MORE rather than LESS struggle, and our Party has had a BIGGER not a SMALLER influence in it.

"That is the answer to those who accuse us of carrying out a 'soft line' against the monopolies. Those who raise this charge have in fact no similar record to show. It is being proved in real life WHICH is the party of struggle against monopoly capital."

Leaving aside for a moment the last paragraph, which we shall examine later, what can we conclude from R. Gibson's examination of this industrial struggle which so dazzles him? Is he saying that this in fact is all due to the presence of his Party — that this justifies its existence?

But Lenin pointed out, and in fact, it is common knowledge that the economic struggle is a trade union struggle — that big strike struggles took place long before Communist Parties ever saw the light of day. And even Mr. Gibson himself, after basking in the sunlight of the mass movements he describes — takes sudden fright at his own audacity, rushes for shelter and assures Mr. Bolte "that strikes are not due to the Communist Party" (as he, Mr. B., seems to think) "but to the workers'

revolt against low wages and bad conditions for which the monopolies and their governments are responsible!"

So why all the self-glorification?

But perhaps Mr. Gibson is really only trying to tell us that members and supporters of his party were also involved in these struggles. ". . . we DO play a big part in supporting and leading the workers' militant actions."

Very well, we accept that. But then so were members and supporters of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) involved — so were members of the A.L.P. — so were members and supporters of the D.L.P. involved. Mere physical presence proves nothing.

Surely a communist party can only justify its existence if such struggles are utilised to bring the workers closer to the fundamental ideas of communism.

"The tasks of the social democrats, however, are not exhausted by political agitation in the economic field; their task is to convert trade union politics into the social democratic political struggle, to **utilise** the flashes of political consciousness which gleam in the minds of the workers during their economic struggles for the purpose of **raising** them to the level of **social-democratic** political consciousness." (Lenin Footnote P. 92 Ibid).

Now, if Mr. Gibson was to deliver a report which seriously examined the tasks of the Communist Party in the industrial struggle from this viewpoint, he might get a big shock and find himself thinking like a Marxist-Leninist for a change. Alas! such is not to be.

How and where were communist ideas circulated among the masses? Were they raised in the struggles of the rubber workers, waterfront workers — in fact in all those different sections which Mr. Gibson was so careful to mention? Was the opportunity taken to take workers' understanding past the simple economic matters, or the penal clauses, to win a better understanding of the basic economic laws of capitalism — or the class nature of the state — or some of the fundamental tasks to be tackled to win socialism?

Yes, it was, as we shall endeavour to show, but certainly not by Mr. Gibson's party — not, we are sure, because of refusal to do such work by rank and file members of that party — but solely due to the calibre of the leadership of Mr. Gibson and his friends.

It is no accident that Gibson's report contains no mention of this aspect — the only aspect which can justify the existence of a revolutionary party.

You will not only search for it in vain in this present report. You will search in vain through current and back issues of the Guardian, The Communist Review, Communist Party bulletins for any continuous explanation of these matters. Nay, even more, you will see glaring examples of abandonment of principle on these very same economic and political issues for which Mr. Gibson so proudly takes the credit. To remind our readers of a few — the abandonment of the railway guards over the issue of special observation windows — the abandonment of wharfie job delegate Lew Hillier when he was victimised by the bosses from the waterfront — the hailing of the postal workers sell-out as a great victory!

But the task of developing socialist consciousness was attempted in no small way in the very same struggles by the Marxist-Leninist newspaper Vanguard and this journal, The Australian Communist. In the struggles of the rubber workers, waterfront, etc., in spite of Mr. Gibson's cheap lie about "no similar record" (of struggle) "to show," there was not only physical presence, not only maximum support and good leadership on the particular trade union questions occupying the front at the moment, but persistent and consistent fundamental explanation of the broader all-embracing ideas of socialism.

See issue No. 3 of Vanguard where the fundamental conclusions from the rubber dispute are drawn — or issue No. 9 where the basic wage case is analysed not merely to assist in winning an increase within the confines of this present system of exploitation, but to assist the workers in understanding there can never be wage "justice" under this capitalist system.

**And, by the way, Mr. Gibson, you'll be interested to know workers don't shie away from such stirring and thought-provoking ideas. In fact, they're eager for more.**

In the words of Lenin "the spontaneous labour movement" (of which Mr. Gibson spoke at such length) "is pure and simple trade unionism and trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers to the bourgeoisie."

### RESORTS TO SHEER DISHONESTY

So that Mr. Gibson, even with his complete lack of training in and very primitive knowledge of, the Australian trade union movement, nevertheless provides conclusive evidence that he is nothing more nor less than an exponent of trade union politics . . .

The same method of examination is carried into another field . . . Mr. Gibson claims to make an examination of the problems of the united front (in this method of examination, it appears to be quite separate and apart from the industrial struggles previously examined) and here he sets out to discuss his differences with the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

He claims that in an article in the Australian Communist "just before Christmas," the following statement appears: "The starting point" (note those words R.G.) "the starting point of a revolutionary party must be to see, and expose in active struggle, before, during and after the elections, the fraud of reformism."

This is a precise quote of the Guardian reporting of Gibson's speech. It has not been corrected by Mr. Gibson. We presume it to be a correct report.

We are entitled then to ask, is Mr. Gibson merely confused or plain dishonest? This "quote" is used for the purpose of building a whole case showing the "flexible" approach of the revisionists to the building of the united front, as against, we would presume, the dogmatic approach.

Let's examine both the "quote" and the context from which it comes a little more closely. Search as you will any copy of the Australian Communist "before Christmas," you will find no such statement. Perhaps Mr. Gibson never intended that you should. If he had acknowledged the correct issue, not only would you have read the correct statement, but even more "dangerous" perhaps re-read the whole article from which the statement was misquoted.

In the January, 1964, edition of the Australian Communist a thorough examination of the last Federal elections under the title of the "Federal Elections in the Light of Marxism-Leninism" is made.

Incidentally, on the face of it, this would appear another most glaring omission from Gibson's report. It claims to deal with "the whole question of our stand on the united front," refers in passing to working class influences over Labor parliamentarians, the need to develop mass struggle alongside Labor Party members, etc., and is a general hotch-potch of unrelated, unsubstantiated statements, but nowhere could we find even passing reference, let alone a complete examination of the last Federal elections. But to proceed—

On page 14 of the afore-mentioned Australian Communist, is the following statement "The starting point of a revolutionary party must be to see, expose in active struggle before, during and after elections, the fraud of Parliamentary elections, the fraud of reformism."

**Yes, we could say that Mr. Gibson was being plain dishonest.**

In the first place, what was being discussed here, was a particular question — the election results in New South Wales where the A.L.P. suffered its most serious reverses. Here where the Labor Government had been in office for 20 years and where a weak D.L.P. existed — the people decisively rejected the

Labor Party. To quote the whole relevant section from *The Australian Communist*: "The results in New South Wales show a disillusionment with the A.L.P. but with no other alternative open to the workers for the hard reality is that the Communist Party offered no alternative and shared in the A.L.P. decline precisely because it put itself forward only as a **parliamentary** (our emphasis) party and at that as a parliamentary party which supported the A.L.P."

"The starting point of a **revolutionary** (our emphasis) party must be to see, expose in active struggle before, during and after elections, the fraud of Parliamentary elections, the fraud of reformism.

"Active struggle for peace . . . active struggle for economic demands . . . active struggle for education . . . active struggle for democratic rights . . . active struggle on all issues and use of Parliament to further the struggle, that is the only approach."

We are grateful to Mr. Gibson for the opportunity to quote the full passage again.

**It is certainly clear from Mr. Gibson's statements that he completely disagrees with such an approach. He finds it impossible to understand the concept of unity-struggle-unity.**

Gibson claims "we can then criticise any harmful views and actions of Labor leaders as they affect the struggle — we can do this concretely, constructively, on the basis of the workers' own actual experience.

"We criticise their basic theories also, but in a way that will build the common struggle, and that is where our main emphasis must go."

Fine words, indeed! But just where does this criticism take place? Examine the *Guardian* in these very same struggles. You will examine in vain.

Examine Mr. Gibson's report for an examination of fundamental reformist theories at the present time. You will examine in vain.

In fact, not only was the whole of the revisionist propaganda during the last Federal elections noteworthy for its failure to utter criticism of A.L.P. policies, but in this pathetic search for "starting points" which can get wholehearted approval from the Labor Party leaders, the revisionist leaders are prepared to throw overboard more and more vital matters of principle. Such betrayal reached an all-time low in R. Gibson's recent under-Cape base under some future Labor Government. The same slavish cringing explains the concentration week after week on the front-page of the *Guardian* on the subject of the Ustashi.

Yes, truly it must be said that if this excerpt from Gibson's report was in any way indicative of the whole report then it must have been a very sad document indeed — putting one's name to it was like "issuing oneself a certificate of mental poverty."

For if there is one fact emerging above all others in this "certificate," it is that those who are falling over themselves now to be "creative Marxists" to "bring Lenin up to date" — in fact have never taken the trouble to understand even the most elementary works of Marx or Lenin. They never test these truths in the light of revolutionary practice.

In the words of Lenin, it is not sufficient to stick the label "vanguard on rearward theory and practice." Every worker who seriously considers the nature of the leadership of the revolutionary movement is urged to set out not only to read but to **master** these problems of theory and practice.

"What is to be Done" is one invaluable guide in the battle for supremacy of socialist ideology over bourgeois ideology.

# The Promotion Of Claude Jones To The C.P.A. Secretariat

**In their effort to sustain a consistent argument to cover up their distortion of Marxism-Leninism the revisionists go from bad to worse.**

Reported proceedings of the Central Committee and their various articles reveal a total personal and political degeneration.

The recent effort of Dixon, in which he attempts to turn upside down the 1919 Hungarian revolution to "prove" the revisionist "theory" of peaceful transition, is a typical example of the bankruptcy of revisionism.

The history of the Hungarian people is an outstanding example of self-sacrificing, revolutionary struggle over many years and, on the other hand, a vivid lesson in the violent suppression by the capitalist class of the revolutionary workers.

The history of the Hungarian working class shows that it won power in the face of bloody struggle immediately after World War I. (The power of the working class was drowned in blood). Then in consequence of the defeat of the Nazis and the Horthy fascists in World War II again retained power only after a desperate and violent counter revolution in 1956.

**Dixon conveniently glosses over Khrushchov's capitulation when he bowed before imperialist pressure, withdrew the Soviet forces from Hungary, and thus objectively encouraged and assisted the counter-revolution.**

Nor did he tell us that it was only on the insistence of the genuine Marxist-Leninists that the Soviet forces returned to resist the counter-revolution, inspired by American imperialism and the Yugoslav revisionists, together with the reactionary forces at home. Not to have done so would have allowed fascism to take over in this centre of world socialism.

Dixon says nothing about the role of Tito and how Yugoslavia, the country which he now praises as a socialist country, assisted the imperialist counter-revolution in their plan to overthrow socialist Hungary.

The history of Hungary unquestionably proves that the transition to socialism is anything but peaceful. It exposes very effectively the violence of the capitalist class and the aggressive nature of imperialism, and imperialism's ultimate objective and aim to attack the countries of socialism.

Dixon's article on Hungary is little short of pathetic. It has, of course, a positive side, because many honest communists and supporters are able to reason for themselves the correct Marxist-Leninist policy on the question of transition to socialism.

One of the notables missing as a contributor to the debate is Claude Jones. Jones has recently been upgraded to the central secretariat and it would be very appropriate for him to figure as a protagonist of the revisionists.

Jones's strength is not in political debate but lies in another direction.

Basically, he is a political opportunist and careerist and is a ready-made tool to do the axe work for this or that group which may be in the saddle.

Being an opportunist and careerist he has a well-developed ego and is ambitious. These traits far outweigh his political ability.

With the leadership having openly declared their support for revisionism, it is only natural that people like Jones find their way right into the top leadership.

His move into the top circles was governed by only one consideration — whether he could be accepted in N.S.W. because of his past record of slandering lies against the leadership of Sharkey and Dixon when he was the henchman of Henry who was aspiring to the leadership.

## Supporter of Henry and Blake

Jones, during this period, was the ardent supporter of the right opportunist and left sectarian lines of Henry and Blake. He was transferred from Queensland, where he had proved himself the faithful lieutenant of Henry.

Jones, a "hail fellow, well met" back-slapping type, apparently oozing confidence makes a special feature of moving among the membership.

Herein lies his value as a whispering slanderer and disruptor, and being an opportunist with personal ambitions he is ready-made material for any group aspiring to power.

This was well illustrated when the Blake-Henry faction aimed to oust Sharkey and Dixon from the leadership.

Jones, well protected by Blake and Henry, was given the task of bringing the N.S.W. organisation into line against the Sharkey-Dixon leadership.

In the situation that existed Jones was in his element. As secretary of the Communist Party organisation in Sydney he had full freedom to slander, lie and disrupt — all necessary when swinging the axe.

He carried out his great "political task" with vigour, and ably earned the title of "Henry's axe man".

However, events did not turn out very satisfactorily for the ambitious Jones.

A campaign based on an incorrect policy, garnished with personal slander, turned into its opposite and ended with the defeat of the Blake-Henry line and, for the time being, the opportunist ambitions of Jones.

Jones was one of the most prominent and active supporters of the Blake-Henry line. He engaged in the most vicious slanders, pushed people around and acted like a little dictator.

**He made no self criticism as did Blake and Henry. Jones, without any difficulties, changed overnight his allegiance and decided to serve another master.**

It would be erroneous to say that he changed politically, as a principled political stand means nothing to Jones when his ambitions are at stake.

Following this disgraceful exhibition, Jones, although remaining on the Political Committee, slipped into the background and later transferred back to Queensland where he became Chairman of the Queensland State organisation.

The character of Jones as a political opportunist is well mirrored by these events. Estimating that Henry was finished, he quickly made a turn-about and became an apostle of the Sharkey-Dixon leadership.

Back in Queensland he was given the task of destroying Henry's influence.

Who better to do this job than Jones?

After having proved his great ability to slander Sharkey and Dixon, he now showed he could do just as well in their interests and destroy Henry's influence in Queensland under the political cloak of the Central Committee. Once more the main emphasis was on slander followed by the axe.

Ambitious Jones realised that this was the road back.

He fulfilled this task with great energy and enthusiasm. Jones, having changed his political position overnight, and having carried out a slander campaign against his previous hero, began climbing back on to the political pedestal.

Jones' political judgement in backing Henry nearly led to disaster for him, so he took great care not to back any more wrong horses.

Moreover, others aspiring to leadership saw Jones as a person without political principle and willing to do any dirty work necessary.

During the years following Blake and Henry's decline, there arose another group aspiring to leadership — the Aarons group.

This group, politically, had all the earmarks of right opportunism. It became very active in a careful way and, looking for supporters, it was logical that Jones should be recruited.

L. Aarons made special efforts and became very close to Jones.

With the rise of revisionism and the betrayal of Sharkey, Dixon and Co., Jones fitted easily in to the picture.

It was no accident that Jones, the personal opportunist and careerist, and Brown the revisionist, were selected to attend the five fraternal party congresses which had as their special objective slanderous attacks on the Communist Party of China.

### Struggle For Leadership Continues

The report back by Jones and Brown who were at one politically with revisionism, was aimed to strengthen the campaign for the further imposition of revisionism on the Australian Party.

It would, of course, be wrong to think that because the present leadership of Sharkey and Dixon are at one ideologically with the Aarons group, the struggle for leadership has subsided.

On the contrary, it still continues, and Jones' promotion to the secretariat and his proposed transfer to Sydney is not unconnected with the continuing struggle for leadership.

Aarons estimates that his forces need a little strengthening in N.S.W. Sharkey and Dixon, although old and sick, are still a formidable force, not to forget Jack Hughes and his supporters. He estimates Victoria is a safe Aarons sphere with Sedy, Taft, Mortimer, and Stanistreet, and that Queensland is safe with Bacon and Jones building up the Aarons group there.

In his slander campaign, Jones is not neglecting Sharkey. It would be naive to think that Jones, after the humiliation of the Blake-Henry affair, does not continue his whispering campaign against Sharkey.

Jones, now lieutenant of the Aarons group, sees the fulfilment of his ambitions. Distrusted by many honest Communists, he has a unique record in the Party. An ambitious political opportunist (as proved in every crisis), possessing an unparalleled record as a whisperer and a slanderer, he now fits very well into the top leadership of the revisionist clique at the head of the disintegrating Communist Party.

# Kremlin Kulak Wrecks Soviet Agriculture

*Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by the great Marxist-Leninist J. V. Stalin, collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union was achieved.*

*Soviet agriculture developed to unprecedented heights. Despite weaknesses in continuing to wage a consistent ideological and political struggle against the remnants of capitalism, no one could deny the great victory that was won.*

*Under the leadership of Stalin the Soviet Union had grain reserves to last many years. Under the leadership of Khrushchov it has none.*

*The revisionist Khrushchov has encouraged the resurgence of capitalist elements: wealthy elements within the system of collectivization have been allowed to grow up. Many rank and file of the peasants have become disillusioned.*

*Khrushchov's policy has wrecked Soviet agriculture and yet he has the cheek to blame Stalin.*

*Unquestionably the Soviet people will overthrow Khrushchov and restore the principles and practice of socialism which he has abandoned.*

*The following article has been contributed by a friend of the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.).*

**ON** the eve of World War II the Soviet Union was planning free distribution of bread, one of the early steps to Communism. In 1964 bread in the Soviet Union was rationed and wheat was being imported from abroad.

To find out "Why?" it is not necessary to go beyond the policies of Khrushchov and his revisionist cohorts.

Revisionism and its handmaidens—graft, corruption and bureaucracy—have brought agriculture in the Soviet Union to its knees and it will take decades of work to repair the damage.

Khrushchov, the Kremlin Kulak, has revealed an amazing facility for bungling every aspect of agriculture he has touched. His Virgin Lands scheme has now been written off at a cost of billions of rubles.

Agricultural costs are rapidly rising while production is falling. The collective farm programme is heading for disaster as more and more peasants do less and less work.

Hard words, maybe, but words which can be fully substantiated from official Soviet sources.

On February 6, 1962, TASS, the Soviet Government news-agency, published the results of a stocktaking of collective farms. It was extracted from the official publication Statistical News.

The figures published showed that by January 1, 1962, the "basic funds" of collective farms amounted to 24.2 thousand rubles; agriculture accounted for 13.5 per cent of the total sum of "basic funds" in the total economy of the U.S.S.R.

The figures are doubtless correct but they by no means give a true picture as far as new assets are concerned. The increase in "basic funds" claimed actually came from the government's abandonment of its machine and tractor stations which were "sold" to collective farms. If the farms had not bought them they would not have had essential machinery.

Another significant feature revealed in the TASS summary was that the share of "basic funds" concretized in plant, machinery and means of transportation and hauling was 44.5 per cent lower in collective farms than in state farms.

The significance of these figures lies in what is so far spoken about quietly—the gradual abandonment of the collective farm system and the rise of completely owned state farms with the surplus labour—the alleged lazy, the inefficient and the unwilling—forced or starved off their lands into industry.

Collective farming has never been fully accepted by Soviet peasants. This is shown by the large scale absenteeism on the farms where the general rule is to work the absolute minimum of time and spend the maximum time working individually-owned plots, then hawking the produce in the open markets.

## Story Of Official Statistics

Soviet agricultural economist A. Glukhov, M.Sc. (Econ.), assistant professor in the Department of Political Economy at Voronezh University, has produced a number of statistics on collective farming and the growing state farms.

In 1959, no less than 799,000 peasants did not do one single day's work on their collective farms. In 1960 the average number of man-days worked per adult was only 196, or 64 per cent of the available year-round working time. Glukhov complained that this was a waste of 2,000 million man-hours in the year.

The magazine Questions of Economics (No. 11, 1961) gave some illuminating data on individually-owned farm plots within the collective farm system.

In total, an article in the magazine said, the individual plots amount to 4.5 million hectares of crop area and their total planting of potatoes, melons, fruit and vegetables amounted to 27 per cent of the total harvested.



The magazine said that peasants privately owned 10.4 million cows (30 per cent of all the cows in the U.S.S.R.), 17.7 per cent of all the pigs and 14.6 of all the sheep (peasants owned 10.3 million pigs and 19.5 million sheep).

In 1960 this private production marketed 15 per cent of all the meat, lard, milk and wool sold in the U.S.S.R.

In his speech last year foreshadowing a big increase in chemical industry production, Khrushchov admitted that peasant-owned plots sold to the state 14 per cent of all the wheat sold, 30 per cent of all the eggs and 65 per cent of all the cabbages and potatoes.

**This, in spite of the fact that the private plots comprised less than 1 per cent of all the arable land in the Soviet Union.**

Side by side with private production increasing, so, too, are costs of collective farm production rising.

In a memo to the C.P.S.U. Central Committee Presidium on March 16, 1963 (published in Pravda), Khrushchov disclosed that the production cost of a ton of grain (excluding maize) for the whole of the U.S.S.R. was 35 rubles in 1961. In 1962 it was 48 rubles. He broke down the figures to give a republic picture. In Byelorussia, one of the country's granaries, the 1961 cost was 102 rubles and the 1962 cost was 140 rubles.

And there is no better source than Khrushchov to illustrate the depth bureaucracy is reaching. In the same memo to the Presidium he referred to having seen manure spread "peasant fashion", in small heaps which got snow covered and leached out in winter.

With all the solemn pomposity for which he is famous, Khrushchov said in his memo: "Of course manure has to be put in piles. But what size these piles should be and in what order placed in the fields, **THE PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT BOARDS HAVE TO GIVE RECOMMENDATIONS ON THIS QUESTION. IT WOULD BE A GOOD THING TO DRAW UP RECOMMENDATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS ON ACCUMULATING, STORING AND USING MANURE**" (our emphasis).

This would be uproariously funny if it was not so tragic.

Khrushchov and other party spokesmen—and their stooges in some capitalist countries—are fond of boasting in huge figures of Soviet agricultural achievements, conveniently neglecting to provide any sort of critical, comparative figures.

For example, in the TASS article referred to at the beginning of this article, it was said that "mechanical movers" in agriculture account for 97 per cent of the total power capacity and draught animals only 3 per cent. Compared with 1953, the article said, electric power consumption grew 5.3 times in 1962. It said the "Tractor park" total increased between 1953 and 1962 from 744,000 to 1,212,000.

These figures sound awfully impressive. They give a picture of well-equipped farms, strings of machines moving over the fields, electric power available everywhere. But what do they really mean in relation to the number of farms and the total basic equipment needed?

That's a picture Khrushchov and his heelers like to ignore, concentrating on propaganda for the gullible.

The real picture of Soviet agriculture today is one which qualifies the U.S.S.R. for aid as an under-developed country.

Hard words? Not a bit of it.

Every month the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. publish a Party journal called Questions of Economy. In Vol. 6, 1962, one M. Lemeshev contributed an article quaintly titled "Accelerated Development of Agriculture".

Specifically, Lemeshev was giving a propaganda boost to one of the endless streams of directives aimed by the Party and the Government at the Soviet people. Issued on June 1, 1961, this particular directive was titled "Message to all people engaged in Agriculture" and of it, Lemeshev said, "The C.P.S.U. Central Committee and the Government spoke frankly" of agricultural problems.

Lemeshev was mainly concerned with the lop-sided development of the economy, with agriculture lagging farther and farther behind. He admits this despite an abstract declaration that "under the socialist mode of production the proportion in the development of the various branches (of the economy. Author) is established as required by the law of planned, proportionate development in agriculture".

Lemeshev repeats the three main reasons for the lag in agriculture, mentioned in the Central Committee message referred to above. They are: (1) the unsatisfactory supply to agriculture of industrial goods for production purposes; (2) the imperfect system of delivery prices of animal products and selling prices of industrial goods to the farm sector; and (3) the incomplete use of the Leninist principle of stimulating the collective farmers' interest in the results of social production.

This latter point is another way of saying that collective farmers don't like collectivization.

**The net result of the shortcomings, Lemeshev admits, was that in 1959-61 (the first three years of the 7-Year Plan) agricultural output rose by only 5.2 per cent instead of the planned 25 per cent.**

This state of affairs, of course, had agricultural side effects. Notably, there was less fodder for cattle and, consequently, there was a fall in the planned production in the cattle sector leading to a spiral in prices to consumers—and less meat on the table.

Lemeshev flogs his readers with a series of demands, including the extraordinary one (considering the plight of agriculture) that in the next 20 years farm production must rise by 350 per cent without engaging any extra workers! "On the contrary," he says, "it is planned to reduce the number of workers by 40 per cent."

How they are going to do this remains one of the great unsolved mysteries of the modern world—but you can safely wager the problem will be solved propaganda-wise.

Every available figure points to a steady decline, rather than a rise. Here are some figures quoted by Lemeshev from official sources:

#### Annual Average Rate of Growth (in %)

Period	Power capacity	Power capacity per worker	Mineral fert. supplies
1954-57	10.3	12.1	12.3
1958-61	5.9	8.1	3.7

It will be seen that the fall is staggering, and no wonder, in the light of more official statistics Lemeshev quotes: statistics which lend weight to the suggestion that the Soviet Union under Khrushchov warrants aid as an under-developed country.

- In 1961 maize harvesting was only 33 per cent mechanized; potato harvesting 24 per cent and "other cereal crops less (mechanized)".
- On stock breeding farms "hard labour predominates".
- Water delivery to collective farms breeding horned cattle is done 69 per cent by hand.
- Only 29 per cent of collective farms of all types have internal transport facilities, i.e. cars and trucks, bikes, etc. (They are hired in the cities at extortionate prices when needed.)
- Only 6 per cent of all milking is done by machinery.

Lemeshev got his figures from official sources, including official Soviet statistics, the magazine U.S.S.R. Agriculture and the review U.S.S.R. Economy in the post-war Period.

Lemeshev notes that collective farm orders for cars, lorries, trucks, tractor combines, trailers, farm implements and other equipment "remain unfulfilled year after year."

This is starkly emphasised by a comparison between what the farms have and what it is estimated they need, and again Lemeshev's figures are quoted:—

Farms have only 43% of the tractors they need, 60% of the grain combines, 34% of the maize combine harvesters, 14% of the beet lifting machinery and only 48% of the lorries needed.

Spare parts are another boøbear. "Spare parts for tractors and farm implements are manufactured in much smaller amounts

than required and the available output decreases each year," Lemeshev says.

Lemeshev reveals that the annual overhaul and repair of a DT-54A tractor is 35.5% of its initial price. He advances three reasons for this: Unreliability of the tractor, high wear and tear and the high price of spares.

He also notes that a new set of tyres for a Byelorussian tractor costs one fourth of the total price of a new machine.

Anyone who believes profiteering is a by-product of capitalism would do well to ponder these figures: A set of tyres for a ZIL-164 lorry costs 399 rubles 49 kopecks to produce but the set is sold to the farms for 812.70.

The Sibelmash plant in Novosibirsk produces a tractor-drawn disc which costs 270.14 to produce but is sold for 625 rubles, a price endorsed by the Local Economic Council.

The Dnepropetrovsk Plant puts out a beet puller which costs it 27 rubles. Buying price for the farmer is 60 rubles.

The list is endless.

Recall the earlier TASS comment that electric power consumption on farms grew 5.3 times in 1962. Lemeshev has something to say which puts that airy chit-chat in its proper perspective. "Agricultural production uses less than 3% of the total power produced," he says. So the 5.3 times increase means practically nothing.

But since we are quoting official and semi-official statistics, let us quote some official figures from the Central Statistical Board of the U.S.S.R. — "98% of state farms and 71% of collective farms are electrified."

A contradiction? Or is it possible both Lemeshev and the Statistical Board are telling the truth?

They are. Both are correct. But here's the rub: Electric power available is chiefly used for lighting, but not everywhere.

"Extremely little electric power is used for production purposes," says Lemeshev, "especially for mechanisation."

In 1960 there were only 15 electric motors on average on each collective farm. Some of the more advanced had over 100, but some had none.

Furthermore, thousands of collective farms receive their power from small-capacity rural powerhouses and it costs them between 10 and 20 kopecks to generate one kwh of power as against the 1 or 2 kopecks — or less — it costs from a huge state-owned power station.

Breakdowns of these small power-stations are so frequent and replacement parts so difficult to obtain that they are not regarded as a reliable source of either power or mechanisation.

It is generally recognised that a modern chemical industry is an essential if there is to be large scale agriculture and this has now been recognised in the U.S.S.R. — by another shift in policy, a shift announced by Khrushchov last year when he demanded a huge increase in chemical production.

On figures, the U.S.S.R. used today three times less fertiliser to the acre than does the U.S.A., 8 times less than France, 13 times less than Britain and 20 times less than the German Federal Republic.

Stalin is a convenient scapegoat for Khrushchov to blame for Soviet shortcomings in the U.S.S.R. Convenient because he's dead. Stalin is blamed for the policy of leaving ground fallow. What else could be done when there was nothing with which to enrich the soil, no equipment or personnel? The grasslands policy in the U.S.S.R. was actually the effect, not the cause.

Khrushchov's own "baby" the Virgin Lands policy, has been a fiasco of far greater magnitude than any previous "grasslands" failures but it is being hushed up under a paen of praise for "Khrushchov the Great," "Khrushchov the Wise."

Kazakhstan Virgin Lands area delivered in 1962 only 8.2 million tons of grain instead of the planned 14.1 million tons. In the next year they produced less than 500,000 tons. The fall was put down to weather conditions but a more real appraisal would reveal that 1962's yield was from rich unploughed soil and since then the soil fertility has weakened to the point where today virtually no grain is being produced.

The main virgin lands are in Tselliny Region and in February, 1963, Frol Kozlov, then a member of the C.C. Presidium and a Secretary of the C.C., was sent to the region to see what was happening there. Upshot was that he sacked the party secretary, Tikhon Sokolov, and replaced him with Fyodor Kolomiets, secretary of the C.C. of the Kazakhstan Party. (Kozlov, once tipped as the successor to Khrushchov, has since disappeared from public life, ostensibly through illness.)

At this meeting it was revealed that no less than 16,139 region officials had been sacked in the last twelve months, mostly for inefficiency, but including 2,340 for theft and embezzlement.

The chemicals and fertiliser shortage plus bureaucracy, inefficiency, ignorance, graft, superstition and apathy are turning vast areas of the U.S.S.R. into barren wastelands.

Enormous areas are being planted with chemically untreated seeds with the result that in the past few years up to 15 per cent of crops sown have been blighted.

In 1962 only 53 per cent of the chemical fertilisers and disease preventatives needed were available. Tens of thousands of Kazakhstan's virgin lands are to-day covered with wild oat, regarded in the U.S.S.R. as the most virulent of all weeds and which can only be combatted by chemicals.

In 1962, too, agriculture g  
were needed.

The magnitude of this pro  
if all the herbicides needed  
acres of land could have been  
acres will virtually go out of

Will the new "crash" chem  
only note the fact that in the  
done 7-Year Plan building  
was only 44% fulfilled. The  
toxic chemical and herbicide

It also needs to be noted t  
diminishing share of the total  
agriculture's share was 9.5%  
share fell to 9.1%

The epitaph to Khrushchov  
in the Sydney Daily Telegrap  
Agriculture Minister Volove  
should study farming method  
to end a five-year stagnation ;

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Melbourne — June, 1964

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