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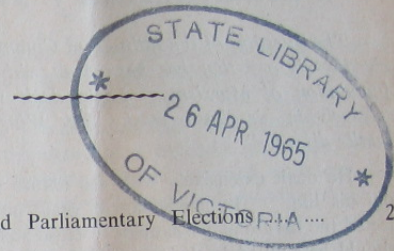
The Australian Communist

A JOURNAL OF MARXISM-LENINISM

No. 9

PRICE: 1/6

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Marxism-Leninism And Parliamentary Elections

The question of the attitude of Communists to Parliamentary elections is one that has been dealt with from the time of the foundation of Marxism. Lenin dealt with this question extensively in his classic work "Left Wing Communism—an Infantile disorder".

He dealt extensively with the nature of parliament throughout his life. In particular in *State and Revolution*, he subjected the nature of parliament to close analysis. These two works should be studied in their entirety by all Marxist-Leninists not as something academic to be studied just because Lenin wrote them, but as living reality to be integrated with Australian life.

Too commonly Lenin's works are studied in a sterile fashion as some text necessarily to be read but in reality they must be studied as a guide to action, must be studied for the specific purpose of integrating them with Australian reality.

At the present time there is an attack on Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is being rescued from the hands of those who in its very name would bury it.

And they imply that Lenin is out of date, that he wrote in the conditions of Czarist Russia and so on, and therefore has no application to present-day conditions. But no matter how much they deride us with being "doctrinaire", "dogmatic", "bookish", "abstract", "divorced from life", "sectarian", we want to repeat as loudly and as often as possible, that every Marxist-Leninist, everyone aspiring to be a Marxist-Leninist should read and re-read, study and re-study Lenin's works "State and Revolution" and "Left Wing Communism" as being directly applicable to the reality of Australian life to-day and as being a direct guide to the Australian workers. (Of course all Lenin's works should be so studied, but for the moment we are dealing with a particular question).

As to a correct Marxist-Leninist approach to parliament here in Australia, Lenin's works provide all the answers. But the old Communist Party has hopelessly bungled this question in every possible respect and we can only deal here with some aspects of this matter.

Lenin, following Marx, said that Parliament was a specific bourgeois institution, that it was a talking shop and that elections to it gave the people once every few years the opportunity to decide which member of the ruling class would misrepresent them in parliament.

Now, the first question is—are the Australian Parliaments specific bourgeois institutions? Clearly enough they are because they always serve the capitalist class. Under them capitalism has grown and developed. These parliaments are capitalist institutions. If ever they are threatened as a capitalist institution, which has not occurred in Australia, but has occurred elsewhere, the capitalists are quick to protect parliament by amending the electoral law or even abolishing parliament altogether. In no way do the Australian parliamentary institutions depart from the descriptions of parliament given by Marx, Engels and Lenin. On the contrary, they bear those descriptions. There is no Australian exceptionalism here.

Are the Australian parliaments talking shops as Marx called them? Of course they are. They provide the illusion, or are meant to provide the illusion, that the elected representatives of the people, solemnly consider all the problems of the people and decide them. But that is sheer nonsense. Parliament provides the facade behind which the real business of the country is carried on by the Australian monopoly capitalists. In parliament, representatives of the monopoly capitalists talk about public affairs, even pass laws, but all of this is designed to and does strengthen monopoly capitalism.

Do the periodical elections provide any real choice or any real chance for change? Australian history quickly answers that question. There have been innumerable different parliaments in Australia's history, but no matter what the parliament or what the government, the actual fact is that monopoly capitalism has grown and developed, and now U.S. imperialism in Australia is growing and developing.

Marx, Engels and Lenin deduced their views on parliamentarianism by a concrete study of history. They examined all the then available facts and laid bare the laws that operated in society. They did not just invent a theory and make a series of arbitrary statements. They examined practice, life. Thus they examined all the then available facts about the State and its institutions. These they generalised and the most comprehensive

explanation of them is to be found in Lenin's "State and Revolution". In examining the parliamentary institutions in Australia, in examining them correctly in life, in reality, in their day to day workings, in elections, we find that they completely accord with Lenin's generalisations. If further substantiation of them were necessary, it is brilliantly provided by the actual concrete experience of parliamentary institutions in Australia. One would think that to a Marxist-Leninist all this is self-obvious, but to-day it needs restating because the Australian modern revisionists have buried it. In fact, they have turned it on its head.

An examination of the practice and "theory" of the old Communist Party shows that as a party it has become subordinated to parliamentarism. Its members are good people, but they have been led astray by the wrong attitude of the leadership. This subservience to parliament is not a recent development, but recently it has become an article of faith. We Marxist-Leninists must state frankly that we, too, in the past, have been party to this mistake and its propagation. But it is a very serious mistake and reveals a serious weakness.

Perhaps the easiest way to deal with this error is to take the slogans advanced by the old Communist Party. "Elect Communists" was one. From time to time this slogan was altered to the more correct slogan "Vote Communist", but we maintain that the essence of the error lies in the approach to the parliamentary institution.

We may illustrate it by pointing out that in the last several years the cold facts of the matter are that no Communist would be elected to any parliament in Australia and it was known at all times that that was so; or to any concrete study of the objective situation it was obvious that no communist would be elected.

Thus, in the first place, to advance the slogan "Elect Communists" was deception. It could not have been done. In so far as it was believed it could only lead to disappointment and frustration by those who acted upon it.

But the implications of the slogans "Elect Communists" and "Vote Communist" in the context of the parliamentary road to socialism go much further. The leaders of the old Communist Party deride the Marxist-Leninist concept of the road to socialism as being essentially, in essence, a process of destroying the capitalist state and establishing the dictatorship of the working

class. They place all their reliance and emphasis on the parliamentary path backed by a big mass movement.

This idea has been advanced by all the theoreticians of reformism and revisionism. Bernstein, Kautsky, Browder, Khrushchov. An examination of all history, a concrete examination of the concrete reality of history shows that wherever it has been acted upon the Party which acted upon it became subordinated to the parliamentary institution. It became subordinate to the capitalist institution of parliament and therefore subordinate to the capitalist class itself. That is the position in which the leaders of the old Communist Party in Australia have put themselves as we will endeavour to show.

Moreover, the results of this in the working class (in addition to its being absolutely wrong from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint) are very sectarian in the true sense of that term. It converts the old Communist Party into a pure sect composed of people who spend their time in the impossible task in present circumstances, of electing Communists, and if it were or became possible to win a majority the then fallacious theory that it would be parliament that brought about the change to socialism.

This results in the fact that the decisive organisation in the old Party is commonly regarded as the locality branch, the activity of which tends to be conditioned by parliamentary elections.

Even in the trade unions, the other important field of the old Communist Party's activity, the line of the old Communist Party leaders is subordinated to the parliamentary conception and that things must be achieved through parliament.

In consequence, therefore, the whole organisation is ultimately conditioned to serve these wrong conceptions of the parliamentary transition to socialism. All other fields of work become subordinated to it. Thus the members tend to revolve in an ever-narrowing circle of themselves and close supporters the common centre being election of Communists to parliament so that there can be legislation for socialism. The old Communist Party sees its members being elected to assist the Australian Labor Party to do that job.

Therefore, it results in the old Communist Party advancing publicly as its dominant activity Communists as parliamentary candidates, its members as campaigners for the parliamentary candidates. The parliamentary struggle is its only necessary form of

activity, and like the A.L.P. its other mass work is all directed to winning parliamentary seats.

Of course that is all wrong. But in the concrete objective conditions in Australia and the present absence of mass revolutionary fervour, it is not only skipping over stages, it is rank sectarianism, for it neglects the essential mass work constructed in the proper way to develop the situation where Communists will win parliamentary seats in a period of upsurge of the revolutionary movement.

On the other hand, this approach to parliament results in the liquidation of the Communist Party as a Communist Party, as a Marxist-Leninist Party. By erecting parliament into the central place in its programme and activity it has subordinated itself to the capitalist class as we have said. A party which subordinates itself to the capitalist class is no longer a Communist Party, a Marxist-Leninist Party. It has, without any question, revised a cardinal tenet of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice on the State.

Furthermore, it has placed itself in the position where notwithstanding its obeisance and subservience to capitalism, if the capitalists wish to destroy it physically they may readily do so because as an open parliamentary party all its members and activities are readily accessible to the capitalists and their secret police, courts and so on. Its members can be put away without difficulty if the need arises.

Even though Communist Parties have taken the road to revisionism and even though they have succeeded in electing Communists to parliaments, the capitalists do not wholly trust them because "Communism", the very word, is a dangerous contagion and no matter how strong the hold of revisionism may appear to be Communism, Marxism-Leninism always springs up. Its contagion spreads.

Thus, in Italy, the ruling class is quite happy to have the Communist Party largely represented in parliament, but it does not trust it to be in the Government.

In France, similarly, and the electoral laws were amended to reduce the Communist representation. And in France (as in Italy) the ruling class had been forced by the revolutionary upsurge at the end of World War II to take Communist ministers

into the Government. There they showed themselves willing servants of the capitalist class even supporting the French imperialist policy against Algeria.

Nonetheless, the danger of the potentially revolutionary workers compelled the capitalists finally to exclude the Communists who had served the immediate purpose of misleading the then revolutionary workers. (In a similar way while Khrushchov himself was the willing servant of U.S. imperialism, he could never be wholly trusted by the imperialists because the Soviet workers are revolutionaries, and may at any time have repudiated him. Further, Khrushchov himself, to maintain his position and his deception, must sometimes have done, and in fact, did things not to the liking of the imperialists).

The True Position

It remains to restate the true position of Marxist-Leninists in Australia to the question of parliament. Marxist-Leninists must adhere to the fundamentally correct propositions that parliament is a capitalist institution, a talking shop, a place where the people have the chance every three years to choose which member of the ruling class will misrepresent them. That must be stated.

Nonetheless, there are many people who do not understand this. Many, many Australians have been deceived by the proposition that parliament is a people's institution, that it is really democratic and so on. It must be said that just because the old Communist Party has failed to analyse and reveal this in the concrete practice of Australia over the years, it has contributed to this deception. Still, the fact remains that it is not nearly enough for Marxist-Leninists merely to proclaim it and leave it at that.

The Marxist-Leninists in Australia must participate in parliamentary elections for the purpose of revealing the fraud of parliamentary elections and, where it is possible, must be elected to parliament for the very purpose of revealing to the people the real character of that institution. Most certainly they must never subordinate themselves nor their Communist Party to parliament. It is one of the very institutions of the State that the socialist revolution will put an end to.

It is a concrete fact that the ordinary regular parliamentary elections in Australia are diminishing in importance. People take much less interest in them. Every time there is an election even

the commentators of the capitalist press comment on the waning interest and on the essential unanimity of views of the contending parliamentary parties. Within the working class there is quite a deep-going cynicism towards parliament and parliamentary "politicians". That shows that the soil for correct Marxist-Leninist seed is there. It is a little ironical that in that very situation the exponents of the parliamentary road to socialism are busily hammering their parliamentarism.

Nevertheless, at election times, political questions are talked of much more. The press, radio, television, public meetings, keep them before the public and provide very important opportunities for the Marxist-Leninists to state their own viewpoint on the matters of policy and on the question of parliament itself. At a time when there was more mass interest in parliamentary elections Lenin advised the British and other Communists in this way.—

"The Communists in Western Europe and America must learn to create a new, unusual, non-opportunist, non-careerist parliamentarism; the Communist Parties must issue their slogans, real proletarians with the help of unorganised and very poorest people should scatter and distribute leaflets, canvass the workers' houses, and the cottages of the rural proletarians and peasants in the remote villages (fortunately there are not nearly so many remote villages in Europe as there are in Russia, and in England there are very few), they should go into the public houses, penetrate into the unions, societies and casual meetings where the common people gather and talk to the people, not in scientific (and not very parliamentary) language, not in the least to strive to "get seats" in parliament, but everywhere to rouse the thoughts of the masses and draw them into the struggle, to take the bourgeoisie at their word, to utilise the apparatus they have set up, the elections they have called for, the appeal to the country that they have made, and to tell the people what Bolshevism is in a way that has not been possible (under bourgeois rule) outside of election times (not counting, of course, times of the big strikes, when in Russia a similar apparatus for widespread popular agitation worked even more intensively). It is very difficult to do this in Western Europe and America—very, very difficult—but it can and must be done, because generally speaking the tasks of Communism cannot be fulfilled without effort, and every effort must be made to fulfil the practical tasks, ever more varied, ever more connected with all branches of social life, winning

branch after branch from the bourgeoisie." (Left Wing Communism).

And that applies to our own situation too. We must go to the people; go where the people are; have Marxist-Leninists where the people are. We cannot sit by and expect the people to come to us. The essential thing is to go to them. You will notice that Lenin said you will go to the public houses, to the trade unions, to casual meetings of the people not the sectarian exclusiveness of the public meetings or some factory meetings where only the Communists and their close supporters attend. Your preoccupation will not be with "getting seats" at all.

The parliamentary struggle is but one of very many struggles—one of very many and in a certain sense it is diminishing (not increasing) in importance. At the time when the working class and working people were struggling for the franchise, when women were struggling for the franchise, when parliament with a universal adult franchise was something of a novelty and when the illusions about it were deeper there was much more interest than today. Of course, too, today, some issue can arise or some parliamentary election take place where there will be aroused great public interest. Conditions are not static. And at all times, parliamentary elections and parliament itself, where it is realisable, are important forums to explain Marxist-Leninist policy.

In the same book Lenin said: "*In England the Communists should uninterruptedly, unflinching and undeviatingly utilise the parliamentary struggle and all the perturbations of the Irish, colonial and world imperialist policy of the British government and all other spheres and sides of social life and work in all of them in a new way, in a communist way.*" Parliamentary struggle therefore takes its place along with all other spheres and sides of social life. Lenin's argument was directed to correcting those Communists who said that Parliament and the parliamentary struggle should be completely ignored. His argument was directed to restoring it to its correct position, precisely because while for Marxist-Leninists it was historically obsolete, for the masses it was not yet politically obsolete. The struggle is to demonstrate politically that it is historically obsolete.

Hence the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is not subordinate to parliament and the parliamentary struggle. Rather that parliamentary struggle is subordinate to it. In times of upsurge of the working class the Marxist-Leninists will actually seek

seats in the parliament and all the time (not only in times of upsurge) it will have that perspective for the precise reason that it must participate in every form of activity, every sphere and side of social life to use Lenin's phrase. Most certainly its members in parliament will use parliament to help to promote all the struggles in all the spheres and sides of social life in order to further the struggle to end the capitalist system itself whose product parliament is.

Red Flag Editorial: Why Khrushchov Fell

"Why Khrushchov Fell" is the title of an editorial of the Red Flag, theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in its double issues (Nos. 21 and 22) published on November 21.

The editorial reads in full as follows:

Khrushchov has fallen.

This arch-schemer who usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and State, this number one representative of modern revisionism, has finally been driven off the stage of history.

This is a very good thing and is advantageous to the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

The collapse of Khrushchov is a great victory for the Marxist-Leninists of the world in their persistent struggle against revisionism. It marks the bankruptcy, the fiasco, of modern revisionism.

How was it that Khrushchov fell? Why couldn't he muddle on any longer?

This question has aroused different comments from different political groups all over the world.

The imperialists, the reactionaries, and the opportunists and revisionists of all shades, whether they sympathize with Khrushchov or have had conflicts of interests with him, have expressed varied views on the sudden collapse of this seemingly "strong man", Khrushchov.

Many Communist and Workers' Parties have also published articles or documents expressing their opinion on Khrushchov's downfall.

In the present article, we too, would like to discuss the question of Khrushchov's downfall.

For Marxist-Leninists, this downfall is not something which is hard to understand. Indeed, it may be said to have been fully expected. Marxist-Leninists had long foreseen that Khrushchov would come to such an end.

People may list hundreds or even thousands of charges against Khrushchov to account for his collapse. But the most important one of all is that he has vainly tried to obstruct the advance of history, flying in the face of the law of historical development as discovered by Marxism-Leninism and of the revolutionary will of the people of the Soviet Union and the whole world. Any obstacle on the people's road of advance must be removed.

The people were sure to reject Khrushchov, whether he and his kind liked it or not. Khrushchov's downfall is the inevitable result of the anti-revisionist struggle waged staunchly by the people of the Soviet Union and revolutionary people throughout the world.

Ours is an epoch in which world capitalism and imperialism are moving to their doom and socialism and communism are marching towards victory. The historic mission this epoch has placed on the people is to bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the exploitation of man by man through their own efforts and in the light of the concrete conditions of their respective countries.

This is the inexorable trend of historical development and the common demand of the revolutionary people of the world. This historical trend is an objective law which operates independently of man's will, and it is irresistible. But Khrushchov, this buffoon on the contemporary political stage, chose to go against this trend in the vain hope of turning the wheel of history back onto the old capitalist road and of thus prolonging the life of the moribund exploiting classes and their moribund system of exploitation.

Khrushchov collected all the anti-Marxist views of history's opportunists and revisionists and out of them knocked together a full-fledged revisionist line consisting of "peaceful co-existence", "peaceful competition", "peaceful transition", "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people". He pursued a capitulationist line towards imperialism and used the theory of class conciliation to oppose and liquidate the people's revolutionary struggles.

In the international communist movement, he enforced a divisive line, replacing proletarian internationalism with great-

power chauvinism. In the Soviet Union he worked hard to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat, attempting to replace the socialist system with the ideology, politics, economy and culture of the bourgeoisie, and to restore capitalism.

In the last 11 years, exploiting the prestige of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the first socialist country that had been built up under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, Khrushchov committed all the bad things he possibly could in contravention of the genuine will of the Soviet people. These bad things may be summed up as follows:

1. On the pretext of "combating the personality cult" and using the most scurrilous language, he railed at Stalin, the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. In opposing Stalin, he opposed Marxism-Leninism. He tried at one stroke to write off all the great achievements of the Soviet people in the entire period under Stalin's leadership in order to defame the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system, the great Soviet Communist Party, the great Soviet Union and the international communist movement. In so doing, Khrushchov provided the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries with the dirtiest of weapons for their anti-Soviet and anti-communist activities.

2. In open violation of the declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960, he sought "all-round co-operation" with U.S. imperialism and fallaciously maintained that the heads of the Soviet Union and the United States would "decide the fate of humanity", constantly praising the chieftains of U.S. imperialism as "having a sincere desire for peace." Pursuing an adventurist policy at one moment, he transported guided missiles to Cuba, and at another moment, he transported guided missiles to Cuba, and the missiles and bombers from Cuba on the order of the U.S. pursuing a capitulationist policy at another, he docilely withdrew the missiles and bombers from Cuba on the order of the U.S. He accepted inspection by the U.S. fleet and even tried to sell out Cuba's sovereignty by agreeing, behind the Cuban Government's back, to the "inspection" of Cuba by the United Nations, which is under U.S. control. In so doing, Khrushchov brought a humiliating disgrace upon the great Soviet people unheard of in the 40 years and more since the October revolution.

3. To cater to the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and prevent socialist China from building up her own nuclear strength for self-defence, he did not hesitate to damage the defence capabilities of the Soviet Union itself and concluded the

so-called Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in collusion with the two imperialist powers of the United States and Britain. Facts have shown that this treaty is a pure swindle. In signing this treaty Khrushchov perversely tried to sell out the interests of the Soviet people, the people of all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving people of the world.

4. In the name of "peaceful transition" he tried by every means to obstruct the revolutionary movements of the people in the capitalist countries, demanding that they take the so-called legal, parliamentary road. This erroneous line paralyses the revolutionary will of the proletariat and disarms the revolutionary people ideologically, causing serious setbacks to the cause of revolution in certain countries. It has made the communist parties in a number of capitalist countries lifeless social-democratic parties of a new type and caused them to degenerate into servile tools of the bourgeoisie.

5. Under the signboard of "peaceful co-existence" he did his utmost to oppose and sabotage the national liberation movement and went so far as to work hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in suppressing the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations. He instructed the Soviet delegate at the United Nations to vote for the despatch of forces of aggression to the Congo, which helped the U.S. imperialists to suppress the Congolese people, and he used Soviet transport facilities to move these co-called United Nations troops to the Congo. He actually opposed the revolutionary struggles of the Algerian people, describing the Algerian national liberation struggle as an "internal affair" of France. He had the audacity to "stand aloof" over the events in the Gulf of Bac Bo engineered by U.S. imperialism against Vietnam, and cudgelled his brains for ways to help the U.S. provocateurs get out of their predicament and to whitewash the criminal aggression of the U.S. pirates.

6. In brazen violation of the Statement of 1960, he spared no effort to reverse its verdict on the renegade Tito clique, describing Tito who had degenerated into a lackey of U.S. imperialism as a "Marxist-Leninist" and Yugoslavia which had degenerated into a capitalist country as a "socialist country". Time and again he declared that he and the Tito clique had "the same ideology" and were "guided by the same theory" and expressed his desire to learn modestly from this renegade who had betrayed the interests of the Yugoslav people and sabotaged the international communist movement.

7. He regarded Albania, a fraternal socialist country, as his sworn enemy, devising every possible means to injure and undermine it, and only wishing he could devour it in one gulp. He brazenly broke off all economic and diplomatic relations with Albania, arbitrarily deprived it of its legitimate rights as a member state in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and in the council of mutual economic assistance, and publicly called for the overthrow of its Party and state leadership.

8. He nourished an inveterate hatred for the Communist Party of China which upholds Marxism-Leninism and a revolutionary line, because the Chinese Communist Party was a great obstacle to his effort to press on with revisionism and capitulationism. He spread innumerable rumours and slanders against the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and resorted to every kind of baseness in his futile attempt to subvert socialist China. He perfidiously tore up several hundred agreements and contracts and arbitrarily withdrew more than 1,000 Soviet experts working in China. He engineered border disputes between China and the Soviet Union and even conducted large-scale subversive activities in Sinkiang. He backed the reactionaries of India in their armed attacks on socialist China and, together with the United States, incited and helped them to perpetrate armed provocations against China by giving them military aid.

9. In flagrant violation of the principles guiding relations among the fraternal countries, he encroached upon their independence and sovereignty and wilfully interfered in their internal affairs. In the name of "Mutual Economic Assistance," he opposed the independent development of the economies of fraternal countries and forced them to become a source of raw materials and an outlet for goods, thus reducing their industries to appendages. He bragged that these were all new theories and doctrines of his own invention, but in fact they were the jungle law of the capitalist world which he applied to relations among socialist countries, taking the common market of the monopoly capitalist blocs as his model.

10. In complete violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal parties, he resorted to all sorts of schemes to carry out subversive and disruptive activities against them. Not only did he use the sessions of the Central Committee and Congress of his own party as well as the congresses of some fraternal

parties to launch overt large-scale unbridled attacks on the fraternal parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism, but in the case of many fraternal parties he openly bought over political degenerates, renegades and turncoats to support his revisionist line, and attacked and even illegally expelled Marxist-Leninists from these parties, thus creating splits without considering the consequences.

11. He wantonly violated the principle of reaching unanimity through consultation among fraternal parties and, playing the "patriarchal father party" role, he wilfully decided to convene an illegal international meeting of the fraternal parties. In the notice dated July 30, 1964, he ordered that a meeting of the so-called drafting committee of the 26 fraternal parties be held on December 15 this year, so as to create an open split in the international Communist movement.

12. To cater to the needs of the imperialists and the domestic forces of capitalism, he pursued a series of revisionist policies leading back to capitalism. Under the signboard of the "State of the Whole People", he abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat; under the signboard of the "Party of the Entire People", he altered the proletarian character of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and divided the party into an "industrial" and an "agricultural" party in contravention to the Marxist-Leninist principle of party organization. Under the signboard of "Full-scale Communist Construction" he tried in a thousand and one ways to switch back to the old path of capitalism the world's first socialist state which the Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin had created by their sweat and blood. His blind direction of Soviet agriculture and industry wrought great havoc with the Soviet national economy and brought great difficulties to the life of the Soviet people.

Everything Khrushchov did over the last 11 years proves that the policy he pursued was one of alliance with imperialism against socialism, alliance with the United States against China, alliance with the reactionaries everywhere against the national liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alliance with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism. This policy of Khrushchov's has jeopardized the basic interests of the Soviet people, the people of the countries of the socialist camp and the revolutionary people all over the world.

Such are the so-called meritorious deeds of Khrushchov.

The downfall of a fellow like Khrushchov is certainly not due to old age or ill health, nor is it merely due to mistakes in his methods of work and style of leadership. Khrushchov's downfall is the result of the revisionist general line and the many erroneous policies he pursued at home and abroad.

Khrushchov considered the masses of the people as simply beneath his notice, thinking that he could manipulate the destiny of the Soviet people at his own sweet will and that the "heads" of the two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, could settle the destiny of the people of all countries.

To him, the people were nothing but fools and he alone was the "hero" making history. He vainly tried to force the Soviet people and the people of other countries to prostrate themselves under his revisionist baton. Thus he placed himself in direct opposition to the Soviet people, to the people of the countries of the socialist camp and to the proletariat and revolutionary people of the whole world, and got himself into an impasse—he was deserted by his own followers and could not extricate himself from internal and external difficulties. He put the noose around his own neck—dug his own grave.

History has witnessed many buffoons who cherished the idle hope of turning back the tide of history, but they all came to an ingnomious end. Countless instances have demonstrated that the evil-doer who goes counter to the needs of social development and the will of the people can only end up as a ridiculous good-for-nothing, no matter what kind of "hero" he may have been, and no matter how arrogant. To start with the aim of doing harm to others only to end up by ruining oneself—such is the general law governing these people.

"Personages" such as Bakunin in the period of the First International were arrogant anti-Marxist "heroes" in their day, but they were soon relegated to the garbage-heap of history. Anti-Marxist "heroes" like Bernstein and Kautsky in the period of the Second International were once "formidable giants" entrenched in leading positions, but in the end history wrote them down as notorious renegades. Trotsky, the ringleader of the opposition faction, decked himself out as a "hero" after Lenin's death, but facts confirmed an actor rather than a hero; and an actor should not be confused with a hero under any circumstances.

"But progress is the eternal law of man's world". History has taught us that whoever wants to stop the wheel of history will be ground to dust. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly pointed out, imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, and the revisionists are too.

However rampant and overbearing they may be "heroes" representing reactionary classes and reactionary forces are actually paper tigers, powerful only in appearance; they are only fleeting transients soon to be overwhelmed by the surging waves of history. Khrushchov is no exception. Just think of his inordinate arrogance in the days when he viciously attacked Stalin and Marxism-Leninism at the 20th and 22nd Congresses, and when at the Bucharest meeting he launched his surprise attack on the Chinese Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism.

But it did not take long for this anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-Chinese "hero" to meet the same fate as his revisionist predecessors. However much people reasoned with him and asked him to return to the fold, he paid not the slightest heed and finally plunged to his doom.

Khrushchov has fallen and the revisionist line he enthusiastically pursued is discredited, but Marxism-Leninism will continue to overcome the revisionist trend and forge ahead, and the revolutionary movement of the people of all countries will continue to sweep away the obstacles in its path and surge forward.

Nevertheless, the course of history will continue to be tortuous. Although Khrushchov has fallen, his supporters—the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries and the modern revisionists—will not resign themselves to this failure. These hobgoblins are continuing to pray for Khrushchov and are trying to "resurrect" him with their incantations, vociferously proclaiming his "contributions" and "meritorious deeds" in the hope that events will develop along the lines prescribed by Khrushchov, so that "Khrushchevism without Khrushchov" may prevail. It can be asserted categorically that theirs is a blind alley.

Different ideological trends and their representatives invariably strive to take the stage and perform. It is entirely up to them to decide which direction they will take. But there is one point on which we have not the slightest doubt. History will develop in accordance with the laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism; it will march forward along the road of the October Revolution.

Beyond all doubt, the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the great Soviet people, with their revolutionary traditions, are fully capable of making new contributions in safeguarding the great socialist achievements, the lofty prestige of the first socialist power founded by Lenin, the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the victorious advance of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Let the international Communist movement unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

For International Communist Unity

The following is the text of a resolution carried recently by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L).

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) fully supports all moves to restore the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) has always upheld the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow declaration and the 1960 81 Parties' statement.

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) came into being as the result of the split imposed upon the Communist movement in Australia by the modern revisionists.

It has consistently opposed the revisionism of Khrushchov and exposed it at every turn and has stood alongside all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and individual Marxist-Leninists opposed to Khrushchov's revisionism.

It therefore welcomes the recent defeat of Khrushchov.

Khrushchov's defeat reveals the crisis in revisionism and opens the way for greater victories in the struggle against revisionism.

Since the defeat of Khrushchov it must be noted that within the world Communist movement revisionist elements have found it necessary to push to the fore the worst features of Khrushchov's revisionism. Such for example, are references to 14 socialist states (i.e., acceptance of the Yugoslav revisionists into the international Communist movement); adherence to and emphasis upon the revisionist theses of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; collaboration with U.S. imperialism under the guise of peaceful co-existence, etc. These things, far from assisting the cause of unity in the international Communist movement, renew the divisions and bring joy to the imperialists and they are in direct conflict with the 1960 81 Parties' statement. They represent the desperate efforts of revisionism in crisis to maintain its position. They reveal very serious degeneration and departure from Marxism-Leninism.

They demonstrate the correctness of the 1960 81 Parties' statement which estimated the main danger as revisionism "which mirrors bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, robs it of its revolutionary spirit, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, it disarms and demobilises the workers and all working people in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism." They prove that revisionism has a definite social base—the existence of bourgeois influence and surrender to U.S. imperialism.

They prove that there must be resolute and determined insistence upon Marxism-Leninism and that the struggle for adherence to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 81 Parties' statement must be pursued to the end.

All historical experience demonstrates and recent experience emphasises that there can never in any circumstances be the slightest remission in the struggle for Marxism-Leninism.

Remission in the struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism inevitably means that alien ideas penetrate the revolutionary movement.

Today the acute crisis of U.S. imperialism and the many defeats it is suffering, drive it to more desperate measures. The crisis of revisionism has intensified the crisis of U.S. imperialism; the two go hand in hand, for revisionism serves U.S. imperialism.

Hence the struggle to restore international Communist unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism has made great progress including the defeat of Khrushchov and is dealing tremendous blows to U.S. imperialism.

The attitude of Communists to U.S. imperialism and its allies is a touchstone in modern conditions to Marxism-Leninism in its integration with world reality. Marxist-Leninist analysis shows that U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the people of the world, including the people of Australia. Such is the standpoint of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 81 Parties' statement.

Hence victory for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism means strict adherence to opposition to U.S. imperialism.

The unity of the socialist camp, of the Communists of the world, of all the working people and oppressed peoples, is essential in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Unity of the socialist camp and unity in the international Communist movement in the first place rests upon unity between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and the Communist Parties of these two great countries. This unity has been seriously disturbed by Khrushchov's revisionism.

The resolution of the differences depends upon unequivocal acceptance of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism as the common binding factor in the international Communist movement. Patience and persistence in the struggle to achieve this will be welcomed by all Marxist-Leninists. No hastily nor arbitrarily summoned meeting of Communist Parties can possibly solve the problems. Undue haste or unilateral or arbitrary action can only do great harm.

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) is in support of an international conference in which all Communist Parties throughout the world participate. But such an international conference cannot be successful until the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and of China have had adequate time to discuss and resolve differences on the basis of Marxism-Leninism; the Albanian Party of Labour and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have had time to discuss and resolve their differences on the same basis and outstanding differences between other parties and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been the subject of adequate discussion and negotiation. The differences have arisen solely because of the revisionism of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the one hand and adherence to Marxism-Leninism by the various parties concerned on the other hand.

Thus an international conference can only be successful if there is adequate preparation and a real will to abandon non-Marxist-Leninist theories and policies.

The removal of Khrushchov can ease the way if the struggle for Marxism-Leninism is pursued to the end. The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) will play its full part in assisting to resolve these differences and will participate in any necessary discussion to this end.

Uphold Marxism-Leninism!

Uphold the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and 1960 81 Parties' Statement!

Uphold the unity of the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!

The Law of Criticism And Self-Criticism

Criticism and self-criticism is the law of development of a Marxist-Leninist party. Whether criticism and self-criticism is practised in a proper scientific way, according to Marxist methods, is the test of a Marxist-Leninist party. There are no half measures about this.

In the old party the question of criticism and self-criticism became a rather hackneyed formula. It was not a part of the life of the party, consequently it had no systematic development. Generally speaking criticism and self-criticism was something that one learn about from time to time at lectures, or at schools. When practised it was in the atmosphere of a school and was done in a manner not unlike the confessional and then, after a month or two, was forgotten. Thus criticism and self-criticism hardly lost its erroneous individual character and was never related to the practice of the revolutionary movement in a systematic way.

Of course, this is not surprising because when one analyses the past there was no systematic revolutionary policy running through the work of the old party. Without knowing it, people, good people devoted to the cause of socialism, were running around in the blind alley of revisionism.

What was the main activity of the old party? It was selling the press, collecting finance, working to win position in trade unions and electioneering in the accepted bourgeois sense—all subordinated to the bourgeois concept of legislating for socialism through Parliament. The main work of the party followed a routine not unlike that of the accepted bourgeois political parties. Ideology was neglected and mistakes were "corrected" organisationally.

Therefore, in this atmosphere criticism and self-criticism could not develop, and it did not develop. This does not mean to say that there was never any criticism practised, but when it was practised it was generally in the nature of a personal attack. It was not conducted in a Marxist-Leninist way for the simple reason that a Marxist-Leninist policy was not followed.

It is important to dwell awhile on the question of personal attacks. Bourgeois life is based on the exploitation and literal destruction of human beings by human beings. No one can deny this. It is the way of life under capitalism and this "method" of human relations must inevitably find its way into the ranks of the proletarian party.

It is more or less a starting point in the mastery of criticism and self-criticism to recognise and understand the relationships between human beings in bourgeois society and to further understand that those who are aspiring to change the world, and create a better way of life, must overcome all those bourgeois characteristics.

Thus in a Party riddled with revisionism, which is bourgeois ideology, it is understandable how criticism and self-criticism became stunted and confined to the bourgeois practice of attacking people, and conspiring against them. Nearly every member who has left the old party could tell of some experience of how "criticism" was used to destroy a person, humiliate him or prevent him from advancement. The "correction" of mistakes by organisational means fosters such methods of "criticism." In a revisionist party bourgeois individualism becomes rampant. This is because, fundamentally, there are no revolutionary aims.

It is only when people cultivate themselves in the cause of revolution that they can overcome individualism and devote themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of the people.

A genuine revolutionary should have no personal aims. He should have no personal ambition. The only ambition that is permissible is an ambition which is directed at furthering the interests of the people. If a party member has the people's interests at heart and works in that spirit, and provided he studies, then his development is assured. But a Party member's development in the revolutionary movement becomes confined and stunted once it has selfish, individualistic claims. If it is identified with the interests of the people, then a person's development continues to flower.

When a Party member is devoted to the interests of the revolution and, in this process, he actively combats manifestations of individualism (which must be done) then his attitude to other members conforms to Marxist-Leninist methods.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists have a high regard for people. This flows from the true concept that the masses of the people

make history and, therefore, people are all-important. With such an understanding, proper relations between members are developed. That is, the desire to destroy people, humiliate them, to push oneself forward (which is ever present in people who live in a bourgeois society in one degree or another) is replaced by a desire to unite with them, to help them develop, to be patient with their weaknesses and to see them as true comrades.

In the present situation where a new party has emerged from the old revisionist Communist party, mutual assistance of Party members becomes a very, very important question indeed. For it cannot be denied that all of us who have stood firm on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, who have refused to go along the revisionist way, nevertheless are still heavily tainted with all the practices of the old party.

We are in the process of finding the revolutionary way forward. We are in the process of developing our understanding of Marxism-Leninism to the point where we can integrate the truths of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Australian revolutionary movement. This process will not become fully developed and will be in great danger of heading in wrong directions if the Marxist method of criticism and self-criticism is not mastered. Therefore, it behoves all who are determined to find the revolutionary way and to develop the revolutionary movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to examine the past very carefully.

Most persons who have either joined or support the new Marxist-Leninist Party were fairly prominent in the old party. They occupied important positions and played a vigorous day-to-day role in the party's affairs. Therefore, great responsibility is theirs for the way in which the old party turned out. None can escape that conclusion, which proceeds from the reality of the past period. One only has to look back over some of the old publications in the light of our knowledge today to realise how far we were from even a rudimentary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

A reluctance to examine work in the old party and to admit inadequacies in Marxist-Leninist understanding will only store up trouble for that individual and for the movement as a whole.

Let us cast our minds back over the last 25 years to see how the failure to develop criticism and self-criticism led to the present position. The outbreak of the war saw vacillations in the

leadership of the party. After the war there was the upsurge of Browderism and then wrong methods of conducting strike struggles, the loss of important positions in the trade union movement and an almost continuous confusion about the party's role in the peace movement.

None of these matters were analysed in a correct Marxist-Leninist way. Not one leader critically analysed his own part in the events enumerated. There was always a hesitancy for the leadership to admit error. It would be hard to find any public statement of error made by Sharkey or Dixon. In the recent period, with the demise of Khrushchov, do we see any criticism by Sharkey or Dixon or Aarons of themselves for upholding much of what Khrushchov stood for and which has since been criticised by the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? No, the leaders of the old Communist party are very sensitive about their position. If they lose votes at a Congress they become panic stricken. Their individualism is plain to see. They are very jealous of their positions of power and prestige.

It is a matter of fact that both Sharkey and Dixon carefully weighed up the situation in terms of their own individual gain when they made the decision to support Khrushchov's revisionist line. How then, can a party led by people heavily infected with bourgeois individualism develop criticism and self-criticism? It was, and remains, impossible.

Criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist party is a scientific process. It is a continual process, a process whereby past experiences are analysed and the part played in those experiences by committees or individuals also analysed and conclusions drawn. Criticism and self-criticism is not an emotional thing, it is a scientific process without which neither the individual nor the party as a whole can progress.

And as criticism and self-criticism was a thing never fully understood or practised properly in the old party, its processes must be studied and mastered in the new party.

Care must be exercised in its use. That is, the correct Marxist-Leninist method of criticism and self-criticism must be understood before it is used, otherwise we will revert to a situation where bourgeois methods become uppermost and members, instead of being criticised in a comradely way, can become the subject of personal attacks.

Gossip is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the Party. It is a part of the personal attack, a part of the desire to destroy or humiliate someone. In bourgeois practice, gossip is used as a weapon to further the aim of this or that person or this or that group. The secret police use the weapon of gossip, printed or otherwise.

Our aim is to develop a proletarian outlook. This means that we must develop a deep love for humanity, we must be ready to share and be deeply concerned about the sufferings of the people. If we do this, then those closest to us, in a real and communist sense, become our comrades. So if we talk about our people loosely, run them down behind their backs and so on, then this simply means that we are very far indeed from having a proletarian outlook.

Without a proletarian outlook methods of organisation become factional and, in practice if not in words, the collective method of work is rejected. If we hold that the masses make history then we must develop mass line methods and the beginning of the mass line is in the party, within a collective. Bourgeois life is full of factionalism. In any enterprise, in any organisation rages the individual struggle for supremacy which involves the destruction of opponents. A collective method is impossible in a bourgeois organisation.

Nowhere is this better demonstrated than in the process of the national liberation wars. Today the people of South Vietnam are united in the life and death struggle against U.S. imperialism. There is no room for individualism in that struggle. Everything is subordinated to the struggle against the imperialists and consequently there is unity of action. The liberation fighters move amongst the people "as a fish swims in water" as the saying goes.

The U.S. imperialists try and match this type of organisation. President Kennedy paid a lot of attention to the development of what is known as "the special corps". These special troops are supposed to be guerrillas. They boast that they study the writings of Mao Tse-tung on the art of war. They are supplied with good weapons and yet they fail.

They fail because their organisation flows from bourgeois ideology and this ideology creates individualism and with it graft, corruption and desire to let others make the sacrifices and so on. The relationship between officers and men is the relationship between overlord and chattel.

Here we see demonstrated the supremacy of proletarian ideology, the supremacy of man over weapons, the supremacy of the collective and the mass line.

Confronting genuine Marxist-Leninists in Australia is the pressing need to develop the ability of integrating theory with practice. This requires that each and every one of us develop our study and bring our study in line with the needs of the practical work so that we can carry on Marxist-Leninist teaching of the integration of theory with practice among the broad masses of the people.

The experiences of the recent past surely teach us that to avoid mistakes it is necessary, above all else, to have a network of cadres who can distinguish between right and wrong at any given moment, cadres who can sum up experience in struggle and hold fast to the truth. The choice and selection of leaders is important, but the more important thing is to develop cadres with a high level of Marxist-Leninist understanding.

Such is the responsibility which confronts everyone of us. A high-level of Marxist-Leninist understanding is impossible without ideological cultivation, the struggle against bourgeois habits and outlook. And it is quite impossible to do this without the friendly and comradely help of others. There is much truth in the old saying—"we never see ourselves as others see us."

The final test of our ability to unite theory with practice is to be able to recognise our own mistakes and TAKE STEPS TO OVERCOME THEM. Admission of mistakes is one thing, but the passing over from this point to actively combating them is another thing and requires much effort, much self-discipline and help.

Today, party members who are genuinely grappling with the problems before our people should be in a ferment. They should be literally "feeling" the contradictions within themselves if battle is being done. And such a feeling should produce humility, a humility born of the knowledge that we are all striving to be worthy of the name communist.

The Tactics Of Imperialism

Half-way through the nineteenth century the cotton-planters of the U.S.A. used to cast longing eyes upon the rich and fertile island of Cuba.

What a marvellous opportunity was offered by Cuba for the formation of yet another slave-state. After all, the climate of Cuba was similar to that of the south, and speakers and writers from the south were continually re-iterating the claim that the island ought of right to belong to the United States of America.

This idea was expressed by Stephen A. Douglas:—"it is our destiny to have Cuba, and it is folly to debate the question. It naturally belongs to the American Continent."

"But try as they would," says the historian, Leo Hubermann, "the southern plantation owners were not able to swing the United States into an invasion of Cuba".

But that attempt was to be made later on by the more powerful and more highly developed states of the north.

In the year 1913, President Woodrow Wilson wrote:—"The facts of the situation amount to this, that a comparatively small number of men, control the raw material of this country; that a comparatively small number of men control the water power; that the same number of men largely control the rail-roads; that by agreements handed around among themselves, they control prices, and that same group of men control the larger credits of the country . . . The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States."

The last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of the imperialist system which Lenin described as the last stage in the development of capitalism; and, although it was a purely economic phenomenon it was bolstered up by feelings of patriotism, morality and even of religion.

One imperialism is ever ready to step into the shoes of another; and as all imperialisms are subject to eventual decay, this is the natural course of events.

Cuba was one of the last possessions in the western world owned by the declining power of Spain; and when in the year

1895 her people revolted against Spanish rule they were most brutally treated by their Spanish overlords.

Farms and factories were burned down, and the USA lost part of her annual trade of one hundred million dollars with Cuba. Fifty million dollars worth of American property in the island was likewise destroyed. This was too much to bear for the north American capitalists and so the situation demanded immediate action.

Soon ministers of religion were preaching eloquent and heart-rending sermons about Spanish cruelties on the island of Cuba; and war-fever began to spread everywhere throughout the land.

The newspapers began to call for war against Spain, when suddenly a crisis was precipitated on the morning of the 15th February 1898, by the news that the United States battleship "Maine", while paying a visit of courtesy to the harbour of Havana, had been totally destroyed on the previous evening, by an explosion which killed 260 members of her crew.

The United States appointed a naval court of inquiry to make an investigation, as did likewise the Spanish government. The former court reported that *"the loss was not in any respect due to the fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew; that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines"*.

The Spanish naval board of inquiry reported that the explosion resulted from causes within the ship itself.

The Spanish Government then urged that the whole question should be referred to a committee of persons chosen by different nations.

The United States declined to accept this proposal. The tension between the United States and Spain now approached the breaking point. On the 11th April, 1898, President McKinley addressed a special message to Congress, setting forth the unsatisfactory results of the negotiation with Spain, and declaring *"in the name of humanity, in the name of civilisation, on behalf of the endangered American interests, which gives us the right and duty to speak and act, that the war in Cuba must stop."* The message closed with a request that the president be authorised to take means for securing a *"full and final termination of hostilities"* in the oppressed island.

On 18th April, 1898, a joint resolution was passed declaring *"that the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be free and independent."*

The resolution demanded furthermore that Spain should withdraw absolutely from Cuba, and the President was directed to use the military and naval force of the United States to make the resolution effective.

War was declared to have existed since the 21st day of April, 1898. (Historians "History of the World" published by the Times of London in the year 1908). The war thus started, lasted for only 10 weeks, with great material profit to the U.S.A., for it resulted in the conquest not only of Cuba, but of the Philippines and Puerto Rico as well.

In one sense it was the most profitable of all American wars, because it laid the firm foundation for the American conquest of the world at large. Since then, America has "cashed in" on a number of fruitful wars, including the world wars of 1914 and 1940; and at the present time she is engaged in her policy of neo-colonialism, by providing "AID" to the more backward countries while at the same time stepping into the shoes of the older imperialistic powers, in such places as Indo-China, South Korea, India, the Congo etc., etc. Today's provocations by U.S. imperialism should remind us of the affair of the blowing up of the battleship "Maine" in February 1896 and how the United States refused to accept any offer of impartial inquiry.

Which all goes to show that the nature of imperialism does not change.

On The Struggle For A Principled Marxist Stand

The struggle within ourselves to overcome opportunist views on questions of ideology and, related to this, questions of organisation, is by no means simple.

First, there must be a *desire* to achieve a Marxist understanding, that is an acceptance of the fact that Marxism is the ideology which will guide the way to a successful revolution.

Secondly, there must be a tremendous effort to grapple with this matter in such a way as to apply it to the Australian scene, to Australian conditions of social practice. In the process, a fuller understanding of Marxist ideology is reached and this in turn opens the way for a more complete practice.

It is only in recent times that the way has opened up for a proper Marxist evaluation of the Australian scene to take place.

No Marxist understanding can run ahead of objective conditions.

True, the development of capitalism in Australia together with the successful socialist revolution in the Soviet Union did result in the formation of a Communist Party in Australia in 1920 — a formal step was taken in the direction of acquiring rational knowledge (i.e., knowledge on a level higher than that which merely observes things in their isolation—a knowledge that is able to understand all the many phenomena in the surrounding world—to see their connections and reveal their inner contradictions) and the development of revolutionary activity.

However, although here and there efforts were made to break through the economism which was a feature of the Australian Labor Movement, in fact it was never achieved within the framework of this old Communist Party.

To understand fully the final abandonment of Marxism by the leadership of this Party in 1962, and their complete conversion to revisionist positions, we need to look further than the pressures and manoeuvrings of the 1960's. We need to go back over the whole period of the 40 years existence of the old C.P. of A. to appreciate that despite the desires and wishes of a big majority of its members to embrace the ideology of Marxism, it

failed to do thorough, consistent battle with the ideas of reformism.

This, no doubt, will be immediately and indignantly denied by various revisionist leaders, who will point to this statement, this Congress decision, that pamphlet or speech in which they criticised the ideas of reformism, in particular those enunciated in Australia by the Australian Labor Party.

But, in the light of what we are now beginning to appreciate as an understanding of Marxist philosophy and practice, let us take another look at some of these publications. It is a most instructive exercise.

Works which we had all hailed as classics when they appeared — Sharkey's "Trade Unions"—"The History of the Australian Labor Movement"—"Socialism in Australia"—need further study to see whether or not they bear the imprint of that approach which Lenin devoted so much of his time to combating—the imprint of economism?

For example—Sharkey wrote "Socialism in Australia" in the middle 50's. It was a reply to G. D. H. Cole's "World Socialism Restated" and Dr. Burton's "Labor in Transition". It set forth Labor's ideas of "Democratic Socialism", then declared to be the official policy and objective of the Australian Labor Party.

In this work Sharkey says "We Communists are in agreement with the immediate program of Dr. Burton and Professor Cole, just as we are with similar points adopted by the Australian Labor Party.

"On the decisive questions of the nature of present-day capitalism and the path to be taken in order to assure the transition to socialism and what is necessary to safeguard the new, socialist society, Communists profoundly disagree with them". (P. 8 "Socialism in Australia"). Sharkey takes Professor Cole to task on questions of interpretation of Marxist political economy and correctly puts the Marxist position. Ironically enough, many of these propositions of Cole are now being used by Sharkey's colleagues to justify their claims about the "exceptional" character of Australian capitalist economy—the relative "prosperity" of the Australian workers—the absence of "misery" in Australia, etc.

Sharkey then proceeds to discuss these Labor Party proposals with which he disagrees in the light of "Marxism".

On Page 46 of the same pamphlet, he says "Our Party Program commits us to the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. That is, without armed insurrection." In other words, in the name of the Communist Party, he commits the Communist Party to parliamentarism.

Does this accord with Lenin's views?

We would refer you to "Marxism and Insurrection"—a letter to the C.C. of The Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolshevik) contained in Marx-Engel's-Leninism (Lawrence & Wishart p. 162). Here Lenin says: "No Marxist will deny that it was Marx who expressed himself in the most precise and categorical manner on this question having called insurrection precisely an *art*; he declared that one must win an initial victory and then go on from success to success, without interrupting the *offensive* against the enemy, profiting by his confusion etc., etc.

"In order to be successful, insurrection must not depend on a conspiracy or on a party, but on the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must depend on the revolutionary rise of the people. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely on such a *turning point* in the history of the growing revolution, when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is greatest, and the wavering among the enemy and among the *weak and indecisive friends of the revolution is strongest*. That is the third point. . . where these conditions exist, it would be a betrayal of Marxism and of the revolution to refuse to consider insurrection as an art."

And further P.167: "All this, indeed, is by way of an example on to serve as an *ILLUSTRATION* that at the present moment, one cannot possibly remain faithful to Marxism, faithful to the revolution, *UNLESS ONE TREATS INSURRECTION AS AN ART.*"

Might we anticipate Messrs. the Revisionists who will claim that we are advocating immediate armed insurrection thus proving our "adventurism".

Any sober reading of this passage will show we advocate no such thing.

It has been included to show the all-sided thorough way in which Lenin and Marx regarded revolution. It has been included for the purpose of showing that the views of Mr. Sharkey had

nothing in common with Marx and Lenin on this question. It has been included to show that Mr. Sharkey was refuting Labor Party reformist theories in the name of Communism—of Marxism—with a statement which is non-Marxist!

Moreover, Mr. Sharkey shows in all of this concluding section of his pamphlet that this is no accidental matter—no small slip on his part. The concluding section discusses loosely a "genuine, socialist, people's government" and "in a socialist society, parliament would remain as the organ of government" . . .

Here is not the slightest attempt to examine Lenin's fundamental conditions for a successful revolution, namely, the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus, of which parliament is one aspect, and its substitution by the state apparatus of the working class.

And yet Lenin said many times that only he who was prepared to go further than acceptance of the class struggle and embrace the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat could be regarded as a Marxist.

Sharkey, in the name of Marxism, rejects the dictatorship of the proletariat but no word of protest was heard from any of us about these or any other words. All of us were prepared to accept this pamphlet as many others, as classics of Marxism applied to Australian conditions. So the criticism must be one which is not only levelled against Sharkey, but must point to a general absence of theoretical clarity in the old Communist Party.

Much has already been written in recent times about Sharkey's incorrect analysis of the A.L.P. itself—his designation of that party as a "two-class Party" instead of a party of capitalism enjoying the support of the working class. Small wonder there was such confusion on the way to fight reformism when the criticism of reformism emanated from a non-Marxist position.

Small wonder that it came almost as a physical shock when a Labor Government jailed union leaders for the crimes of leading their members in a strike for better conditions.

The belief was widely held that the A.L.P. leaders were subject to pressure from both sides—the workers and the boss. If the workers simply pushed hard enough, the A.L.P. leaders would take a firm stand upon principle!

Such was the theoretical confusion existing, in Australia, until the attack on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale made it imperative for a proper examination of our own position to be carried out.

FULL SCALE REVISIONISM

Opportunist tendencies, present for a long time, developed into full-fledged revisionism in most of the leaders of the old C.P. of A. But it also had its other side. It brought the realisation to a number of the full import and pending disaster for the Australian working class movement when opportunist tendencies were allowed to run unchecked. For the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement in Australia, the ground was set for a qualitative leap forward in the struggle to acquire rational knowledge, to understand the revolutionary import of Marx and Lenin's teachings—to integrate these with Australian conditions—to fuse socialist theory with the Australian working class movement.

It still requires much effort—possibly painful effort—to master theory more effectively and in the process of practice to examine the inroads of U.S. imperialism into Australia—to carry out the fundamental task of criticism of the ideology of reformism—the ideology which acts as a brake upon the working class movement. But unquestionably the first steps have been taken.

It follows from all this that if one wishes to avoid the mistakes of the past a FIRM Marxist ideology must at all times take up a principled revolutionary stand—it must unceasingly wage war upon opportunism—upon the ideas of the ruling class in the working class movement.

Let us look for a moment at the Senate election of December 5. It is usual for workers at election time to be more receptive—more interested in discussion of political questions. The Menzies Government had just introduced its measures for increased military expenditure and conscription for overseas service.

If we are anxious to take up a firm principled stand, it is essential to look beyond the surface—to go further than merely deciding whether there should be conscription or voluntary service—whether we simply rest upon the past traditions of the labor movement and its opposition to conscription in the 1914/18 war.

Our stand can only be based on firm principle if we examine the nature of imperialism, particularly the predatory, violent character of U.S. imperialism—if we understand that there are just and unjust wars—if we analyse the movement sweeping the hitherto dependent territories for freedom and independence—the dependence of the Australian capitalists upon their U.S. imperialist friends—Australia's role in U.S. plans to destroy the movement for national independence and socialism and so on.

It must again examine the class nature of the State and the fraud of parliament at a time when national attention is being focussed upon parliament.

The old revisionist-led C.P. gives a clear illustration of how confused policy becomes once you cease to examine the real world from a dialectical materialist viewpoint, seeing all the inter-connections and contradictions—and substitute instead, your own wishful thinking.

A statement by the Central Committee of that body printed in the "Guardian" of November 18, in connection with the Senate election, makes its starting point the extraordinary view that "world tension has eased"!

This, in face of stepped-up U.S. imperialist action in South Vietnam—U.S. threats against Laos and Cambodia—increased tension between Indonesia and neo-colonialist Malaysia—to say nothing of Menzies' bellicose threats against Indonesia—the war going on in the Congo—the proposal to issue NATO with nuclear weapons. In fact, even in their own statement they cannot avoid making some mention of these things—directly refuting their own conclusion that "world tension has eased".

But instead of a clear warning on the plans of U.S. imperialism these things are glossed over and Menzies' proposals for conscription and increased "defence" expenditure are presented rather as a stunt in connection with the Senate elections.

Mr. R. Gibson, the Victorian Communist candidate for the Senate, discusses the subject at length on the front page of the same paper devoting two lines to the "U.S. nuclear command base at our North West Cape"!

How can this be?

It stems, initially, from revisionist estimates on a world scale that U.S. imperialism in general is no longer of a militarist, vio-

lent character. There are supposedly progressive U.S. imperialists (Johnson and the late President Kennedy) and reactionary U.S. imperialists (Goldwater).

Therefore, every effort is made to overlook the facts—the acts of aggression for which this supposedly progressive section of U.S. imperialism is responsible no longer mean aggression—tension is relaxed.

The theory reaches its fulfilment with the attitude to the Labor Party. If one opposes U.S. imperialist aggression, it follows one must oppose the policy and activity of the Labor Party leaders because these leaders are fully committed to support of U.S. imperialism.

Labor Party policy will not oppose U.S. imperialism's plans as related to the Australian scene by Menzies but will content itself with criticising certain aspects such as "no conscription without a referendum", "conscript wealth as well as manpower", "no conscription for overseas service", and so on.

Crawling on their hands and knees, begging for some unity with these A.L.P. leaders (leaders who have betrayed the working class again and again), the revisionist leaders of the C.P. will not criticise from a fundamental class standpoint but will gloss over unpleasant truths and fasten upon something around which they can call for "unified action".

They fail to see, or in fact have never understood, that the masses will rise in struggle any way, against those measures which would oppress them. U.S. and Australian imperialism will see to that. Their job as leaders is certainly to participate in these movements of struggle, but above all else, it is to fuse socialist theory with that people's movement of struggle. If this means anything, it surely means to spread Marxist-Leninist ideas in that mass movement. And that certainly does not mean tagging a line on to every speech and every article calling for a socialist Australia.

It means taking a principled communist stand on every single issue of the day and discussing every single issue from this fundamental standpoint.

It does not mean pathetically trying to turn your press into a rival of the "popular" bourgeois rubbish with little anecdotes and stories and flabby political comment. It means treasuring

each page and word for the historic job it must always do of stating truth—of spreading Marxist ideas among the people.

And so, hand-in-hand with the battle for a firm Marxist ideology is the effort to build up a Marxist party of a new type.

Again here too, much of value can be learnt from the mistakes of the old party—what not to do can be seen much more clearly.

One of the most outstanding errors of the old C.P. was the separation of theory from practice. On the one hand were what was termed the "practical workers"—on the other hand "the theoreticians". The practical workers were usually lost in the mass movement because without a firm revolutionary theory they lost courage—had no idea how to participate in struggle and fuse socialist theory with this mass movement. They simply had no theory.

The "theoreticians" in the main consisted of the full-time workers who were far removed from the actual struggle—who spent most of their days and nights, too, discussing things amongst themselves or directing the mass worker on how to carry out the work of which they themselves had had no experience.

This method of work completely violates the fundamental connection between knowing and doing—the process of study—applying the limited knowledge we acquire to social practice, to the field of class struggle—returning enriched to our study again—back to social practice on a higher level and so on. Always with the final objective in mind—the creation of a revolutionary organisation to carry out its revolutionary tasks.

This in no way suggests that one must directly experience everything. That in itself is an impossibility. A great deal is also learnt from the experience of social practice of others—but it can only be properly learnt, it can only become real knowledge, if one is also participating directly in the mass struggle, if one has roots deep among the masses.

So that a really revolutionary organisation must end the separation of theory and practice. Every member must understand the unbreakable connection between knowing and doing. Only thus will the organisation consist of people of a "new mould"—people steeled in revolutionary theory and practice—putting an end to the diffuse, undisciplined groping of people who would follow their own particular bent or idea—creating an "organisation that will be ready at any moment to support every protest

and every outbreak and to utilise these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces fit for the decisive battle". Lenin: "Where to Begin" p. 18, Vol. 2. Lenin's Selected Works L. & W. Edition.

So the Marxist Party is created in life, in a struggle. Neither its formal setting-up or the building of its branches, is a matter of making a pronouncement, of declaring ourselves to be in existence. Certainly it is important to examine the form and type of organisation where a branch should be—how it should be constituted—how to supervise development of members so that gradually, progressively we can change ourselves—having in mind that organisation must serve the purpose of building up a vast network of contacts stretching into every avenue of social protest.

Already we have many things in our favor.

We have a core of enthusiastic people who have emerged from the first real battle against deep-seated opportunist ideas and organisation. (The fact that for many years, many were party to these ideas and organisation in no way alters the positive aspect—namely they finally reached a position which required that they analyse their position and having done so—made a break. The big job, now, is take the next step).

We have publications which can analyse, not only the breadth of revolutionary struggle on a world scale but can apply this to our own reality in Australia. So that, although certainly in one sense each of us has to find his own independent path, we have the assistance of publications which are striving, even though as yet inadequately, to guide the way.

Finally, we have a vast reservoir of support among the masses, who contrary to the revisionists' views, respond eagerly to the truth of Marxist-Leninist ideas.—It is our job to make this truth available.

Documents On Expulsion Of E. F. Hill From CPA

The Australian revisionists are now saying in certain circles both nationally and internationally that they did not expel E. F. Hill from their Communist Party. In order to demonstrate the falsity of their statements we reprint the documents about the matter.

They are three letters, 1—The "Charges" against Hill; 2—Hill's reply. 3—The letter of expulsion.

We also reprint the heading and introduction of a long article from "Tribune", organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Australia, of August 28, 1963.

This article, as clearly appears, dealt explicitly with the expulsions of Hill and F. Russell.

"Charges" Against Hill

Herewith is a letter, dated July 24, 1963 and signed by L. Aarons, Vice-President of the Communist Party of Australia, which prefers certain "charges" against E. F. Hill. It reads:

COMRADE E. F. HILL.

You are hereby charged, pursuant of Rule 8, that you have violated the Rules and Constitution of the Party and in particular Rules 1, 2, 3, 9 in that you:

- (a) Engaged in factional and splitting activities in breach of Rule 1 of the Constitution.
- (b) Flouted the Party Constitution and refused to observe Party decisions, breaching Rule 2 of the Constitution.
- (c) Refused to accept the decisions of the Central Committee and the 1963 Victorian State Conference, breaching Rule 9 (e).
- (d) Refused to recognise the leadership elected by the State Conference and ignored directions of the Victorian State Committee, breaching Rules 1, 3 (d) and 9 (e).

You are required to appear before the appointed Tribunal to answer these charges at 7.30 p.m. on Thursday, August 15, at the office of the Victorian State Committee, Room 35, 3rd Floor, Cromwell Building Bourke Street, Melbourne.

E. F. Hill's Letter To Communist Party

To these "charges" E. F. Hill replied. His letter to the Communist Party was printed (in very small type, not usually used in the main editorial columns) in the "Tribune" of August 28, 1963.

It reads:

I received a document from you dated July 24, 1963, in which you purport to make certain charges against me.

The document is obviously based on the assumption that my membership in the Communist Party of Australia has been renewed. I held a membership card which expired on June 30, 1963, and I have taken no steps to renew it.

When I receive an unequivocal assurance from you that you will adhere to Marxism-Leninism and the 1957 and 1960 international documents of Marxism-Leninism, I will then seek the renewal of my membership card.

I categorically deny that I have ever departed from the rules, resolutions and decisions of the Party. On the contrary, for 27 years, I have upheld them. In recent times, in defending Marxism-Leninism, I have spoken up against the majority and voted accordingly. That I was perfectly entitled to do despite your efforts to stop me.

Far from your charging me with so-called factional and splitting activities, flouting the Party constitution, rules, decisions, etc., you should charge yourselves with exactly these things and with calculated defiance of the 81 Parties' decisions, and the decisions of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of Australia. In particular, you should charge yourselves with breach of the 81 Parties' statement in the following respects:—

(1) On Yugoslav revisionism (which you now shamefacedly defend). I quote the statement:

"The Communist Parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of

the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957; they set the L.C.Y. against the international Communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called 'aid' from U.S. and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world Communist movement. Under pretext of being outside blocs, they engage in activities which prejudice the unity of all the peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the Communist movement and the working class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists, remain an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist Parties."

(2) On the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism (of both of which you are guilty) and again I quote the 81 Parties' statement:

"The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great-all-conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism, and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist 'theories.'

"The further development of the Communist and working-class movement calls, as stated in the Moscow Declaration 1957, for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

"Revisionism, right wing opportunism, which mirrors bourgeois ideology in theory and practice, distorts Marxism-Leninism, robs it of its revolutionary spirit, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working people, in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism".

(3) On the relations between Parties. In clear breach of the 81 Parties' statement on Communist unity, you have taken the initiative in publicly attacking other fraternal parties.

None of these is a passing matter, but reveal that you have deserted Marxism-Leninism. You are perverting the concept of democratic centralism to attempt to impose your desertion

on Marxist-Leninists. This desertion vitally affects the day to day practice of Communists in Australia on the crucial questions, for example, of the united front, the character of the Labor Party and your failure to draw a clear line of demarcation between the ideology and policy of Communism on the one hand and that of the Labor Party on the other; the character of the peace struggle and your attempt to strip it of its partisanship.

Even on the narrow ground of rules and constitution, you have plainly acted in violation of them, for you have branded people as "anti-party", "not in good standing", and so on and so forth, without even giving them an opportunity of being heard.

Moreover, you have lied about the position of the Communist Party of Australia prior to the 81 Parties' Conference in 1960, and the position prior to the Central Committee meeting in February 1962. In due course, amongst other things, there will be made available for all to see, copies of stenographic recordings of discussions between L. L. Sharkey, R. Dixon and Chinese Party Leaders, including Mao Tse-tung. Your members will then be better able to distinguish right from wrong, truth from falsehood. Your present position is based on falsehood, and you are conducting the most unscrupulous campaign of fabrication, vilification, political deception and attempted character assassination. Acting thus, you are helping people to appraise your real character and the real nature of the issues involved. For that, you must be thanked.

You have provided the Soviet Communist Party leaders with a lying account of the circumstances of my visit to China (a visit which in itself undoubtedly angered you and stepped up your attempts to expel me as you are not able to afford anyone the opportunity of going to such a fraternal socialist country, such is your fear of genuine political discussion). In turn, the leaders of the Soviet Party, headed by Khrushchov, whose political position you now share, have chosen to characterise me as a renegade. This I deem to be a compliment indeed. When those who betray the interests of the working people abuse one, it is proof that one is on the correct path. When the enemies of the people praise one, then it is clear enough that one is on the incorrect path. Today, the enemies of the people (including Menzies, Barwick, Kennedy, Macmillan) praise Khrushchov, whose political opinions you now share. Again, all this will help the people to assess the position correctly.

I affirm, as strongly as I can, my political dissent from your position of betrayal. In the present critical times, when the prospects before mankind were never brighter, the maintenance of the purity of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism transcends all other considerations. Marxism-Leninism alone offers emancipation to the working people; your attempted revision of it offers hope to capitalism and dooms the people to prolongation of exploitation and hardship. But rest assured that it is revisionism that is doomed just as surely as capitalism.

(Sgd.) E. F. HILL.

Letter Of Expulsion

The following letter from the Communist Party, dated August 23, 1963, clearly expels E. F. Hill from the Party. He is no longer even given the customary prefix of "Comrade".

The letter, signed by L. Aarons, reads:

E. F. HILL,

You have been expelled from membership of the Communist Party of Australia.

The Political Committee made this decision following consideration of the recommendations of the tribunal appointed to hear charges against you. The decision found proven the charges that you are guilty of:

- Conduct contrary to the rules of the Party in that you engaged in factional and splitting activities;
 - flouting the Constitution and refusing to observe Party decisions;
 - refusing to accept the decisions of the Central Committee and the 1963 Victorian State Conference;
 - refusing to recognise the leadership elected by the State Conference; and ignoring decisions of the Victorian State Committee."
- The decision was taken on August 22, 1963.

E. F. Hill And F. Russell Expelled

The following article reporting the expulsion of E. F. Hill and F. Russell appeared in the "Tribune" of August 28, 1963, under the heading "E. F. Hill and F. Russell Expelled".

It reads: Statement by Political Committee, CPA.

E. F. Hill and Mrs. F. Russell were expelled from the Communist Party of Australia on August 22, 1963.

The Political Committee unanimously took this decision after considering the recommendations of the tribunal appointed to hear the charges against them.

The tribunal found all the charges proven, and E. F. Hill and F. Russell guilty of conduct violating the rules of the Party, factional and splitting activities; flouting the constitution and refusing to observe Party decisions; refusing to accept the decisions of the Central Committee and the 1963 Victorian State Conference; refusing to recognise the leadership elected by that State Conference; and ignoring directions of the Victorian State Committee.

Mrs. Russell attended the Tribunal to defend her Party membership. Hill failed to appear. Evidence was given by witnesses and in documented form in substantiation of the charges in both cases, and all the charges were found proven.

The Tribunal reported to the Political Committee, which decided on the penalty of expulsion in both cases.

A letter was received from E. F. Hill in response to the letter from the Political Committee calling upon him to answer the detailed charges of violating the Party Constitution.

Part of Hill's letter reiterates his political views, which have been rejected by overwhelming votes of the Central Committee and the Political Committee, and by Party Committees and big meetings of Party activists unanimously in all States, except Victoria, and in Victoria by big majorities.

It is unnecessary to deal with these political questions here. A Statement on them will shortly be issued in pamphlet form by the Central Committee. The Political Committee considers that the content and tone of Hill's letter is quite sufficient to show his anti-Party attitude and "left" line on the struggle for peace and working class unity in Australia, and now makes only the following comments:

1. Hill complains that "you have branded people as 'anti-Party', 'not in good standing', and so on and so forth, without even giving them an opportunity of being heard".

Hill has had every opportunity, frequently without limit as to time, to state his views and vote against decisions of the Political Committee and the Central Committee, and previously stated that he had no complaints on this score. He refused an offer that a special National Congress be held to decide the issues, admitting that it would uphold the views of the Central Committee.

On September 20, 1962, the Political Committee carried a resolution which stated:

"Comrade Hill and the small group which supports him have continued to oppose the Central Committee line, and continually re-raise questions already decided, particularly on the struggle for peace and the character of the peace movement, the national liberation struggle and on questions of the united front.

"As a result of this continued opposition . . . to the political line of the Party, a serious state of disunity has been created in Victoria.

"The Political Committee places on record its decision that the basic cause for these serious developments is the continued opposition to the Party line by Comrade Hill and a few other comrades".

Hill was present at this meeting, and exercised his right to speak and vote against this resolution, which was carried by 10 votes to one.

On November 13, the Central Committee carried a resolution which called upon Comrade Hill to "observe democratic centralism and the Party Constitution, to cease opposition to the Central Committee line which was the objective of the series of incidents which have disrupted Party unity in Victoria, and actively fight for and apply the Central Committee decisions". The resolution went on to warn Comrade Hill that continuation of "activities against the Party line and the Central Committee will result in removal from the Central Committee".

Hill was present at this meeting and exercised his right to speak and vote against the resolution, which was carried by 39 votes to three. He continued and intensified his factional activities.

Hill did not respond to the repeated appeals made over 12 months by the Central Committee that he should abide by decisions, while remaining free to exercise the right to reserve his opinions. On November 5, 1962, he voted for a unanimous resolution of the Victorian State Committee pledging to abide by the

Constitution and fight for the carrying out of the Party's decisions. He broke this undertaking almost immediately.

At the Victorian State Conference held in April '63, Hill again expressed his views, which were rejected in the ballot by 143 votes to 16. He refused to accept this decision of the Party membership in Victoria and refused to recognize the leadership elected by the Conference.

The only times Hill was not heard were at the Central Committee of June, 1963, which decided to remove him from the Committee, and at the meeting of the body appointed by the Political Committee to hear the charges against him, which took place on Thursday, August 15.

Hill was not heard at the June Central Committee meeting only because he together with the four members of the Central Committee in his group, refused to attend, sending to the Central Committee a joint letter which was in itself further evidence of continued factional activity.

Hill was not heard on the charges against him at the meeting held for the purpose on August 15, but only because he failed to attend, apparently recognising that he had no answers to the charges.

Hill did not resign from the Party as many of his supporters did, nor did he face the charges against him as his colleague Mrs. Russell did.

He took refuge in a miserable subterfuge, attempting to slide out of his Party membership by claiming that he had not renewed his membership this year.

But, in fact, Hill's Party Branch had not lapsed him, and his membership remained under the rules.

Hill states, apparently intending it as a "threat", that he will publish, among other things, stenographic recordings he claims to have obtained of conversations between L. L. Sharkey and R. Dixon and leaders of the Communist Party of China.

The Political Committee receives these "threats" with the contempt they deserve.

Such attempts to intimidate the Party, futile though they are, are characteristic of Hill's methods, and mark his further descent into anti-Party activities typical of previous deserters from Communism.

N. Gallagher's Speech To Indonesian T.U. Congress

The following is a speech made to the Fourth Congress of S.O.B.S.I., the Trade Union Federation of Indonesia, held on September 17-25, by Mr. Norm Gallagher, general secretary of the Builders' Laborers' Federation.

Dear Comrades,

It was with great pleasure that our union received and accepted your invitation to attend this Congress, and it was indeed a great pleasure for me personally to have been given the opportunity to represent our Federation. I bring you very warm and fraternal greetings from the Australian Builders Labourers' Federation and hope that your Congress will be a great success.

Our union is doing everything possible to expose the lies of the Australian ruling class who are daily trying to whip up an anti-Indonesian atmosphere among our people. Realising our responsibility, as a working class organisation and the need for friendly and peaceful relations with our neighbours in the north and the importance of opposing any aggressive intentions by the imperialist powers against them, we have, through our journal and other publications endeavoured to bring to our members an understanding of the real role of the imperialists in setting up "Malaysia" which is aimed at keeping the people of "Malaysia" tied to the bond of neo-colonialism.

The monopolists who are exploiting the workers of "Malaysia", are the same monopolists who are exploiting the Australian working class and people.

Our previous Minister for External Affairs who was also the Attorney General, Sir Garfield Barwick, issuing a statement on behalf of the Government to the House of Representatives, on Thursday, March 28, 1963, said that the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, had described "Malaysia" as an imaginative and far-sighted concept which, if it proved practicable, could contribute significantly to stability and progress in an area in whose development and progress Australia was deeply interested.

He then went on to say, "that the Government regards Malaysia as the best solution for the future of the Borneo Territories

and Singapore. The alternative no doubt for the Singapore Government would have been to have waged an anti-colonial struggle against the British for a separate and independent Singapore, and in circumstances which might well have caused a flight of capital, leaving the island without the foundations of economic viability."

Then he got to the crux of the problem when he said: "Mr. Speaker, let me say here that Australian trade and business have important interests in Malaya and Singapore".

These interests that the Government talks about are the same interests against which the Australian working class are waging a never-ending struggle against exploitation.

The Menzies' Government is directly involving the Australian nation in an imperialist and adventurist policy which could lead to war with Indonesia. I know that Indonesia has no aggressive aim, but that it stands opposed to imperialism, and its aggressive aims, and that Indonesia supports the South-East Asian people's struggles for independence.

It is with regret that I have to say that the leader of the Australian Labour Party, Mr. Arthur Calwell, supports the Menzies Government's imperialist policy for "Malaysia". In his Federal election speech, reported in the Melbourne "Age", November 7th, 1963, Mr. Calwell said: "We welcome the creation of 'Malaysia'. We will help to defend 'Malaysia'."

Both Menzies and Calwell do not speak for the ordinary Australian. They speak for a section of Australian monopoly capitalism which has considerable financial interests in the countries of "Malaysia". They also speak for British imperialism which has hatched the plot of "Malaysia", and for U.S. imperialism which, in its support for "Malaysia", aims to oust British imperialism from its dominant position.

The Australian Baillieu family of Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria, one of the largest shareholders in Dunlop Rubber, have big interests in Malaya. Last year, workers at Dunlop's, Melbourne factory were savagely fined under the penal laws for taking action for a wage rise. Can it be imagined that the Baillieus, Menzies and Co., want to really help the workers in "Malaysia" to be independent and run their own rubber industry or tin mines for themselves?

Last year from Spotswood in Melbourne to Singapore, Australian and Malayan workers toiled to make A.C.I.'s 1963 profit an all-time record of £3,315,000.

Sir John Latham, former Liberal Attorney General and author of some Crimes Act Amendments, an Act which carries the death penalty, is a director of Humes Ltd., with pipe works in Singapore as well as in Melbourne. Humes reaped a profit of £1,010,000 in 1963. These are the people responsible for Australian troops being sent to "Malaysia".

"Malaysia" is not in the interests of the Australian people but is only in the interests of the monopolists.

The Australian workers' struggle against monopoly links up with the struggles of the colonial peoples for liberation, and with the South East Asian peoples such as Indonesia, struggling to maintain their independence in their fight against the imperialists.

The workers employed by the giant monopoly of A.C.I., in carrying out the Australian Council of Trade Unions campaign for an increase of £2/12/- in their margins, were told by the management that there would be no increase. The excuse given was that they were in a very competitive market and the industry could not afford it. They forgot to mention that last year they made an absolute profit from their 13,000 employees of £8,300,000 or £689 per employee.

The workers won an increase of 15/- per week for tradesmen, or £39 per year, and 10/- per week for semi-skilled workers, and 7/- to others, and 5/- to adult females. A.C.I. is one of the big monopolies which dominate the Australian economy. On its Board of Directors are representatives of the millionaire Smith and Grimwade families who are among the handful of rich men who control our country economically. These are the people who dictate to our governments. These are Mr. Menzies' friends. What sort of independence would the millionaires who run A.C.I., want for the people of Singapore or Malaya?

This giant monopoly has eaten up 30 subsidiary companies including the Singapore Glass Co. Ltd., Malayan Containers Ltd., Malayan Fibre Containers Ltd. Thus A.C.I. profits come from the exploitation of the Australian and Malayan workers and also the New Zealand workers.

Other monopolies who have vested interests in Australia, Malaya and Singapore have shown enormous profits in the 1963-1964 financial year.

Australian Guarantee has interests in New Guinea and Malaya, profits topping £2 million.

Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation of London and Conzinc Riotinto of Australia has formed a company in Malaya.

Dunlop Rubber, peak profit of £2,511,805.

A.R.C. Industries record profit £667,457.

Humes Ltd. £981,518.

Now we have the largest building contract outside Australia let to an Australian firm awarded to Lewis Construction Co. Ltd. in Malaya. The £6 million contract is for the construction of a teaching and training hospital and faculty for medicine building at the Malayan University in Kuala Lumpur.

Broken Hill Pty. Ltd., regarded as the biggest monopoly in Australia and has the monopoly of the manufacture of iron and steel, is vitally concerned in Malayan tin for its new electrolytic tinning plant at Port Kembla. This is the same company that has been responsible for the heavy fining of unions, the deregistration of unions during struggle against the dismissal of union shop stewards in their plants.

These are the same monopolists who, to protect their profits, will go to any lengths, including the sending of workers from Australia to war against the Malayan workers, in the name of the "free" world and for "democracy".

Why should the millionaires who speak through the editorials of the big daily newspapers and through such politicians as Menzies, and it must be said, Calwell on this issue, be so strong in support of the "independence" of the "new nation" of "Malaysia"?

Why should the same millionaires, and those who speak for them, be so ferocious in their condemnation of Indonesia which is a new nation, is independent, and is opposed to "Malaysia", an imperialist base, close to Indonesia? The Philippines, China and other nations in South East Asia are all opposed to "Malaysia."

It cannot be said that these monopoly owners of Australian industries who are also colonialists with investments abroad, have ever been champions of the rights of the oppressed peoples struggling for national independence and freedom from colonial exploitation. On the contrary, they bitterly oppose such independence, just as they bitterly oppose wage increases for the Australian workers who they also exploit in our country. This is perfectly logical because it affects their profits. They only "grant independence" and give "support" when they can no longer maintain colonial rule in the old crude way and when to try and do so would surely end in their losing everything in the face of the people's opposition.

The enormous penetration of American capital in our country, the growth of American controlled monopoly enterprises is of constant concern to the Australian working class.

Under the disguise of protecting Australia against "Communist aggression", U.S. imperialism is building a war base for the express purpose of protecting their investments, and to use the base in their aggressive plans against the people of South East Asia, who are fighting for their independence.

The Menzies' Government is placing Australia on a war footing to serve more vigorously the interests of U.S. and British imperialism in South East Asia. Our troops are now in Malaya, Borneo, Thailand and South Vietnam.

So called "defence" spending is being increased by £30 million; the Defence Act widened to allow mobilisation of the C.M.F. for overseas service. American military bases are established on Australian soil.

Our union opposes these aggressive war policies of monopoly capitalism, of imperialism. Such policies threaten our national independence, and also that of the people of South East Asia.

Geographically, Australia is part of Asia and must always be affected by what is happening in this area.

As trade unionists and members of the working class, we must set out to develop friendship with our Asian neighbors. When a crisis develops, whether economical or military, then it is the working class that has to bear the brunt of things.

And the working-class must know that we can't be free and independent ourselves if we support a policy which is against the interests of the overwhelming majority of people of Asia fighting for their independence and fighting to get rid of colonialism.

The people of Indonesia know too well that "Malaysia" is a real threat to their hard won independence. Members of the Indonesian trade union movement laid down their lives in the struggle against Dutch imperialism, to win their country's independence.

In conclusion, I again wish to thank SOBSI for extending to our union an invitation to attend your Congress.

May there be everlasting solidarity and friendship between the Indonesian working class and the Australian working class.

Long Live World Peace!

Some Effects Of The False Ideas Of Khrushchov

The removal of Khrushchov from his position of leadership in the Soviet Union by no means finishes the matter. For a number of years, Khrushchov has been the main spokesman for revisionism within the Socialist camp. The ideas he propagated have been responsible for many acts of betrayal of the fundamental interests of the proletariat.

The battle to destroy these false ideas must continue. It is valuable to reflect upon some of these false ideas.

A case in point was the deterioration in relations between Albania and the Soviet Union, one aspect of which was the withdrawal of Soviet experts from that small Socialist country of 1,700,000 people. (Experts were similarly withdrawn from China).

To understand this phenomenon of the present, it is necessary to look some time into the past.

In 1960, at the Rumanian Party Congress to which international delegates were invited, Khrushchov aimed to isolate completely China from the rest of the Socialist camp and from there hoped to continue China's isolation from the world revolutionary movement. But Khrushchov failed. Comrade Hysni Kapo, a delegate and one of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor, on behalf of that Party, refused to join such a diabolical plot and spoke against it at the Congress.

Kapo dared to defy and criticise the anti-Marxist behaviour of Khrushchov towards the Chinese Party. The Albanian Party had plenty of its own experience of Khrushchov's betrayal towards them in their struggle against Tito and his efforts to annex Albania.

And the Chinese Party, since 1956, had, in a correct Marxist-Leninist fashion, used comradely criticism towards the Soviet Party to try and help the Soviet Party leaders see that they were departing from Marxism-Leninism and that this would be dangerous, not only for the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp, but for the world Communist movement.

On December 14, 1960, despite the ideological struggle and the differences that arose at Bucharest in June of that year, a letter was sent by the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, asking for technical aid of the U.S.S.R. Government for the year 1961. This was handed to the adviser of economic affairs in the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, K.V. Artemiev.

The list specified the kind of technical experts that were needed. It specified the period of their stay in Albania, and for those already in Albania, it specified the time for the extension of their stay.

On January 20, 1961, A. Pikalov, acting adviser on economic affairs to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, had an interview with Adel Carcani, Mining and Geology Minister of the People's Republic of Albania and formally informed him that the "State Commission for the Economic Relations with Foreign Countries under the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers had decided to recall within a period of seven to 10 days the Soviet specialists working on the oil system in Albania for the reason that the November 22, 1957 Agreement had expired".

On February 24, 1961, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Albania wrote again referring to their letter of December, 1960, asking for technical aid from the Soviet Union.

Then, on April 24, two months later, a Soviet Government Note arrived claiming that the "Albanian Government had been informed in due time by the Soviet Government that despite the expiry of the terms of the Soviet oil specialists' stay in Albania, it had instructed the Soviet bodies concerned to take into consideration the demand of the Albanian side and leave the Soviet oil specialists in Albania.

"But the Albanian administration of the oil combine, on the instructions of the Mining and Geology Minister of the People's Republic of Albania, had dismissed the Soviet specialists and proposed to them that they leave the combine within three days." This claim by the Soviet Government was a direct lie.

The very next day, April 25, 1961, without waiting for a reply from the Albanian Government, 50 Soviet specialists quit their jobs and received instructions to leave Albania immediately.

Some Soviet specialists gave only two hours' notice.

The aim of Khrushchov was to damage the economy of Albania and undermine Albanian-Soviet friendship. The oil sector was an important sector of the economy. Twenty-six specialists were withdrawn from this sector alone. Of course, we hear from those who have spoken to Khrushchov that they have been shown the correspondence which passed between the respective parties. They will have been shown the letter sent by the Khrushchov clique to the Albanian Government of April 24, 1961, which claimed that it was the Albanian authorities who behaved badly and impeded the Soviet specialists in their work.

This letter claimed that the offices where the Soviet specialists worked had been opened and documents checked and that obstructions were put in the way of the specialists compiling geological maps.

Now, why would the Albanian Party and Government put obstructions in the way when the economy of the country demanded the completion of the maps at the earliest possible time? The Albanian Government was paying the salaries of the Soviet specialists—perhaps they had to supply them free with houses, cars, medical attention, vacations, as was the case in China. Surely no one would believe that they were anxious to pay these very high salaries for say, two years, when the job could have been done in one year.

There certainly would be the need for the fullest control for the preservation of secret documents. The Commission that carried out this control in Albania included Soviet specialists as well as Albanians. We can name them as—Konstantin Briantsev; Semyon Progrebinsky; Vladimir Kurochkin.

W. Gollan writing in the revisionist Communist paper, "Tribune", after his return from the Soviet Union recently, and evidently endeavouring to find some plausible excuse for the removal of the Soviet experts, speaks of the "Soviet Union facing the task of repairing its economy heavily damaged by the Nazis, and the urgent need for its experts on the home front".

But these experts were withdrawn in 1960, not 1950. At the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U., Khrushchov talked about achieving communism in 20 years. He claimed the Soviet economy was buoyant. How was it, immediately after the 2nd World War, when truly the Soviet Union faced heavy tasks in rebuilding their industry damaged by the nazis, that Stalin, who was in the leadership of the Party and State sent food and complete industries to

the Albanian people who had liberated themselves, and came to the assistance of the Chinese people in establishing 194 major industries? Stalin said to the Albanian people, "Your needs are greater than ours".

What proletarian internationalism!

Here we see the true Communist morality.

In 1957, Khrushchov wrote to the Chinese Party suggesting that after their contract was over the Soviet Government would like to suggest the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists because they lacked personnel in the Soviet Union.

A normal exchange of views took place between the Soviet and Chinese Governments, wherein the Chinese Government indicated that they would like the Soviet experts to continue their help, and they remained. But in 1957, there was the Moscow Meeting and the Declaration. Khrushchov and revisionism were not making the headway planned. By 1960, it came to a breach at Bucharest, after the Rumanian Party Congress. In July, 1960, one month later, the Soviet Government's note to China stated categorically that the experts would be withdrawn within one month. This note was entirely different in character, to the one sent in 1957.

In 1960, the note wasn't a question of an exchange of views, or of asking permission. Not even a consideration was suggested. There it was—a definite command. Yet Khrushchov claimed that it was the Chinese Government that did not respect the experts and drove them out. The experts themselves were deeply distressed.

Of course, Khrushchov could not tell the truth on this question any more than he could on any others. And a pretext is necessary for the gullible who were so ready to follow his baton.

There can be no doubt that economic pressure was being brought to bear upon China and Albania because the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labor did not agree to accept modern revisionism.

The big stick was being used in an effort to force submission. Khrushchov threatened to upset the economy of these two socialist countries. He claimed that within six months of the withdrawal of the experts and credits the economy of China and Albania would collapse.

Technical data was taken away.

Factories, designed by Soviet experts, were left unfinished. Two hundred and fifty projects in China could not continue with their original schedule. Parts were unavailable. Many factories visited by fraternal delegations to Albania revealed the same sordid story.

Is this the "aid" Khrushchov boasted about?

The salaries of Soviet experts were paid by Albania and by China. In China the average worker gets 70 yuan a month. A Soviet expert was paid 1500-2000 yuan a month, and on top of this had a house, car, medical attention and a vacation, all free of charge.

Khrushchov presented the question of "aid" in a very one-sided way. What of the aid China gave to the Soviet Union in the way of exports? What of the technical data supplied by China to the Soviet Union?

Rare metals that cannot be bought on the world market and which are indispensable for the development of the most advanced branches of science, for the manufacture of rockets and nuclear weapons were sent to the Soviet Union. Millions of tons of food-stuffs were sent by China to the Soviet-Union. Detailed figures of this are available.

Khrushchov neglected to say that China had to pay for machinery by *weight*. No details were given about the price for the component parts. One would think that when a price was fixed that would be it. But no. When the bill was sent, it showed that more was owing. Trust gave way to concern.

When finally it was demanded that prices be given for component parts, it was found that China had been overcharged. In 1963, the Soviet Union admitted this for four projects. And it wouldn't be a small amount involved with such colossal weights of machinery.

Khrushchov claimed that whole sets of equipment were *given* to China, that couldn't be purchased on the world market. This equipment was not given in the sense that it was free. The prices charged were by weight.

Yet, in spite of such anti-Communist behaviour, the economies of both Albania and China continue to surmount difficulties and build upon a firm socialist base.

Already with just a bare 15 years of socialism, starting under incredible difficulties of the need to feed and clothe 700 million people handicapped by a poor and inadequate industry, People's China has solved the immense technological problems needed to produce an atom bomb!

What started out as a bad thing—the cutting off of economic assistance—turned into its opposite. China learned to stand upon her own feet and strengthened and prospered in the process.

In the process of revolutionary practice the ideas of revisionism have suffered a defeat. Marxism-Leninism scored a further triumph. The author of the proposal to withdraw Soviet experts in the field of socialist assistance has himself been "withdrawn".

The "victims" proceed from strength to strength building a strong socialist economy.

A Contribution On Aspects Of The Peace Struggle

At the present time delegates to the Sydney Peace Congress are reporting back to their organisations and the findings of the various conferences are being studied.

This provides an excellent opportunity for discussion, debate, clarification of the issues.

At the same time world events are unfolding at tremendous speed.

In the month that has elapsed since the Congress the people's liberation forces in South Vietnam have gone from strength to strength. They continue to defeat the U.S. aggressors and draw ever nearer to driving the imperialists and their lackeys right out. The U.S. imperialists, desperate in the face of defeat after defeat, continue to lash out wildly and talk of extending the war. Even if they do this it will not save them.

However, every effort must be made by the peace forces to prevent the extension of the war in South Vietnam.

In Laos and Cambodia likewise, U.S. imperialist policy continues to meet with setback after setback as the people grow stronger in the course of their patriotic struggle for national liberation.

The struggles of the peoples of Indonesia and the territories of so-called "Malaysia" have reached new heights. The new-colonialist scheme of "Malaysia" hatched by British imperialism and supported by the U.S.A., is receiving big blows.

In all these struggles in South-East Asia, Australia is directly involved and is being more deeply involved by the Menzies Government with every passing day. Urgent, concrete tasks are posed by this situation for the Australian peace movement.

Then there is the position in the Congo where in recent weeks imperialist aggression has flared to new heights. Great suffering has been inflicted on the Congolese people. But the important thing has been the demonstration of the ability of the people of the Congo to overcome setbacks and fight back.

In other African, Asian and Latin American countries the people's anti-imperialist struggles continue to advance. This is surely the central feature in a generally favourable situation in the struggle for world peace.

The fight for peace must be waged in a concrete way in terms of this situation. This is the testing ground for policies, ideas, theories.

It is against this background of momentous events that the discussions of peace workers following the Sydney Congress, will take place.

The concrete tasks that flow from these discussions must surely be directed to coping with the reality of these current world events.

With this in mind, the activities of the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party in connection with the struggle for peace need to be constantly exposed.

Their actions at the Sydney Peace Congress demonstrated their treachery once again.

Still faithfully following the Khrushchov baton, they tried to reduce the struggle against war to a struggle against nuclear tests and to an effort to get support for the Partial Test Ban Treaty.

This suits the imperialists who would like to do the same because it would not affect in the slightest their war preparations or the wars they are currently waging.

It also suits the Menzies Government, which is a willing signatory to the Partial Test Ban Treaty.

The signing of this Treaty last year has not prevented Menzies from—

- proceeding with plans to make Australia a base for American aggression in South East Asia.
- involving Australian troops in wars of naked imperialist aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere.
- radically increasing the war budget to the detriment of Australian living standards.
- introducing conscription for overseas "service" in wars against the peoples fighting for national liberation.

- remaining tied to SEATO and ANZUS.
- selling Australia's independence down the drain by being completely subservient to the needs of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism.

As in the case of their publications and public utterances the spokesmen for revisionism at the Sydney Peace Congress steered as clear as they possibly could from the real issues of the struggle against war, that is, the struggle against imperialism generally, and U.S. imperialism particularly.

This takes the heat off the real aggressors and the chief enemy of peace, U.S. imperialism.

This was the effect of the revisionist's contribution to the Sydney Peace Congress.

Despite their reluctance in open debate (at times they seemed glued to their seats), the revisionist leaders, nevertheless, had a big influence on the Congress and the findings of its various conferences.

It is no use their trying to escape their responsibility by pleading that "they didn't want to dominate".

In fact, they did dominate by imposing their revisionist, pacifist policy on the Congress.

Marxist-Leninists do adhere to the principle of non-domination and non-exclusion in the Peace movement. At the same time they do not hide behind this principle in order to avoid responsibilities for leadership.

The revisionists also make a big song about the need for "unity of the peace forces". This unity is indeed a vital question. It will not be achieved, however, by turning away from most of the crucial issues. This, the revisionists try to do by concentrating on one aspect (atomic tests) on one issue (the struggle against nuclear war). To do this only achieves "unity" around a policy, which, by and large suits the warmongers. It is not "unity" directed to action against imperialist war policy and aggressive forces. In fact, this position creates disunity among the peace forces and serves the imperialists. We do not at all deny the central importance of the struggle against nuclear war.

This issue of nuclear war is indeed a vital issue and the struggle against tests is a part of it—but only a part. THE KEY

QUESTION IS THE TOTAL THOROUGH COMPLETE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE DESTRUCTION OF EXISTING STOCKPILES. This would eliminate the need for tests.

Obviously, a central point for discussion and campaigning is the proposal of the Chinese People's Republic for a meeting of the heads of all countries to negotiate steps to achieve this.

This proposal was all but ignored at the Sydney Congress. Instead, China's emergence as a nuclear power became one of the main issues under attack.

It was one issue on which the revisionist leaders found voice. The position was put most explicitly by P. Clancy who hailed the Partial Test Ban Treaty as a great victory and condemned China for testing.

It was echoed by others and, as could be expected, most crudely by J. J. Brown.

Of course, the revisionist leaders get very indignant when confronted with the fact that in joining the anti-China chorus, they are throwing proletarian internationalism to the winds.

They deny that they condemn a socialist country for acquiring modern weapons in the face of the most serious, direct and immediate threat of imperialist aggression. In fact, China is subject at this moment to actual aggression at the hands of the United States. But revisionists don't "condemn," they only "deplore", "regret", "disagree", "are critical of" socialist China, etc.

Another feature of this diversion from the real issues at the Congress was the identifying of Chinese tests (carried out in China) with the imperialist French tests in the Pacific. On the part of many delegates to the peace discussions such a view is understandable and is a subject for frank and friendly discussion. People honestly holding such views are not to be condemned.

But this is not the position of the leaders of the revisionist Communist Party. They do know the issues and they CAN NOT escape their responsibility. They are to be condemned for their desertion on this question of principle.

In the big struggles that are taking place and in the bigger ones that lie ahead the genuine forces for peace, the working people and their allies, can be supremely confident.

How precisely will the Australian people contribute in the most effective way to the world-wide efforts to secure a total, thorough, complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles?

What of the role of the Menzies Government? Is our country to remain a base for aggression (and consequently a nuclear target?). Will our troops continue to be used in wars of intervention against people fighting for national liberation? How is our own national independence affected by all this?

These are some of the concrete questions confronting us. We must translate our discussion to action on these issues. There will be many different ideas and approaches among peace workers on these issues. This is to be expected. It is not to be feared—certainly not glossed over.

In discussion and action, real unity will be forged and the way will be found to impose peace on the warmongers.

WE EXTEND TO OUR READERS
THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE SEASON
AND THE WISH THAT THEY ENJOY
A HAPPY, PROSPEROUS AND PEACEFUL
NEW YEAR.

Melbourne — December, 1964

Printed by Typo Art Printing Co. Pty. Ltd.
for Donald E. Scott, 19 Kerr Street, Blackburn