
ETERNAL GLORY
TO THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER,
CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

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CHAIRMAN MAO'S DEATH

Premier Hua Kuo-feng's Speech At Mass Memorial Meeting In Peking

Peking, September 18, 1976 (Hsinhua) – Following is the full text of the memorial speech by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, at the mass memorial meeting held here this afternoon for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung:

Comrades and friends:

Today, representatives of the Party, government and army organizations, workers, peasants, soldiers and other circles in the capital are here at Tienanmen Square holding a solemn mass memorial meeting and, along with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, mourning with the most profound sorrow Chairman Mao Tsetung, our esteemed and beloved great leader and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

Over the last few days, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been immersed in the boundless sorrow at the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung. The cause that our great leader Chairman Mao devoted his whole life to is linked by flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people. It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the Chinese people who had long suffered from oppression and exploitation won emancipation and became masters of the country. It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the disaster-plagued Chinese nation rose to its feet. The Chinese people love, trust and esteem Chairman Mao from the bottom of their hearts. The international proletariat and progressive mankind all deeply mourn the death of Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China.

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our party in the struggles it carried out under his leadership against class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the Party, in hard, long, acute and complex class struggle and two-line struggles. The history of the Chinese Communist Party is a history of struggles between Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line and the right and "left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party defeated the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang-jao, Shu-Shih and Peng Teh-Huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution,

triumphed over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Guided by Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line, our Party has steadily grown in strength; it has developed from small groups of a few dozen Communists into a Party with a membership of over 30 million which now leads the People's Republic of China, into a disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses of the people, and into a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party.

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our army in protracted revolutionary wars. He long ago put forward the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". He led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, founded the first worker-peasant Red Army and set up the first rural revolutionary base area in the Chingkung Mountains. In the last 50 years, Chairman Mao led our army in smashing the counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the Kuomintang against the revolutionary base areas, in successfully completing the world-renowned 25,000-li Long March, in defeating Japanese imperialism, in wiping out eight million troops of the Chiang Kai-shek gang armed by U.S. imperialism and, after the founding of New China, in victoriously waging the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, triumphantly repulsing the armed provocations against our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and reaction, and defending the security of the motherland.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our army followed Chairman Mao's teachings and

supported industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the left, exercised military control and gave political and military training, thereby making new contributions to the people. Chairman Mao formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our army on army building and the strategy and tactics of people's war, and this is the fundamental reason why our army was able to grow from small to big, from weak to strong, develop into powerful armed forces combining field armies, local armies and a vast militia and become the solid pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Against the people's armed forces armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, any enemy that dares to intrude will certainly be drowned in the vast ocean of people's war.

Basing himself on the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrating it with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution, Chairman Mao Tsetung correctly solved the series of fundamental problems concerning the seizure of political power by armed force, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration in China.

During the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao analysed Chinese history and existing conditions and the principal contradiction in Chinese society, correctly answered the question of the targets, tasks, motive forces, character, perspectives and transformation of the new-democratic revolution in China, and laid down the general line and general policy of our Party for that historical period, that is, the new-democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses

of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road.

Summing up the historical experience of our Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that the three principal magic weapons for the Chinese Communist Party to defeat the enemy in the Chinese Revolution were a Communist Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, an army under the leadership of such a Party, and a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party. Chairman Mao led our Party in using these three weapons to win the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and found the People's Republic of China. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation in the East and in the world, blazing a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

In the new historical period of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, Chairman Mao summed up both the positive and the negative experience of the international Communist movement, made a penetrating analysis of the class relations in socialist society by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the unity of opposites, and pointed out that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. For the first time in the history of the development of

Marxism, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, put forward the thesis that in socialist society there are two different types of contradictions – those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, and advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao time and again admonished the people of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, “never forget class struggle”; he pointed out that socialist society covers a considerably long historical period and that, throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, and established the Party’s basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. In view of the changes in class relations and the characteristics of the class struggle in the period of socialism, Chairman Mao drew the scientific conclusion: “You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don’t know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party – those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.” Representing the aspirations and interests of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants to continue the revolution, Chairman Mao himself initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which smashed

the schemes of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping for restoration, criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enabled us to seize back that portion of leading power in the Party and state they had usurped, thus ensuring China's victorious advance along the Marxist-Leninist road. The constant defeat of subversion and reaction, the upholding of socialism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, a populous country with a vast territory — this is a great contribution of world historic significance made by Chairman Mao Tsetung to the present era and has at the same time provided the international Communist movement with new experience in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he launched the great struggle in the international Communist movement to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, brought about the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward. Basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of domestic and international revolutionary struggles, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in all respects and enriched the treasurehouse of Marxist theory. Mao

Tsetung Thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and for opposing imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. All victories won by the Chinese people are great victories of Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought will always illuminate the Chinese people's road of advance.

Chairman Mao Tsetung is a brilliant example of whole-hearted devotion to the interests of the people of China and the world. Chairman Mao dedicated all his energies throughout his life till his last breath to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of Communism. A great proletarian revolutionary like Chairman Mao, who weathers all kinds of revolutionary storms, overcomes every difficulty and hardship, and always identifies himself with the workers, peasants and other labouring people and stands in the van of the revolutionary movement to guide it forward, is rare indeed in the annals of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The magnificent contributions Chairman Mao made in revolutionary theory and practice are immortal. Chairman Mao has passed away. This is a loss beyond measure to our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international Communist movement.

The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must respond

to the call of the Party Central Committee actively, turn grief into strength, carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, "practise Marxism, not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above board, and don't intrigue and conspire" and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered.

Internally, we must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the basic line and the policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts, work to build our country into a powerful socialist state, and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity. We are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying our motherland.

Externally, we must continue to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, uphold proletarian internationalism, and never seek hegemony. We must

strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, strengthen our unity with the people of the Third World countries, and strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations in the world and wage a common struggle for the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man and the realization of Communism on earth, for the liberation of all mankind!

Chairman Mao Tsetung will live forever in our hearts!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Eternal glory to the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung!

CABLE OF CONDOLENCE
FROM
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA
(M-L)

The following cable of condolence was sent on Friday September 10, 1976 by the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Peking.

In deep grief we extend to you and through you to all the Chinese people our deepest sympathy on the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung. Chairman Mao was the very embodiment of the profound truths of Marxism-Leninism which he inherited, defended and developed. His name is correctly ranked with the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The science of scientific socialism is accurately described as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao was a beacon light to all oppressed and working people. All revolutionary people drew deep inspiration from his writings, his work and his example. He was the greatest man of our time and amongst the greatest men

of all time. All honest people felt the great strength of his personality and those who had met him knew his great human warmth born of his love for the people. From the foundation of the Communist Party of China in 1921 Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in the struggle for liberation and after liberation in 1949, led the struggle to build socialism in China. Chairman Mao took up the struggle against revisionism which strips from Communism its revolutionary heart. In good time he analysed the betrayal of Communism by the Soviet revisionist clique and showed the development and menace to the world of Soviet social-imperialism. He initiated, inspired and led the Chinese people in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to repudiate revisionism in China and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. He initiated and led the struggle to repudiate and criticise Lin Biao and Confucius and against the restorationist activities of Teng Hsiao-ping. His insistence upon class struggle as the key link is of enormous importance. His work as the greatest proletarian internationalist will never die. In our deep grief we know that Chairman Mao's work, example and contribution to Marxism-Leninism are immortal. They will continue forever to inspire and guide the people in the struggle for liberation of mankind and the victory of socialism and Communism throughout the world.

*E.F.Hill, Chairman,
C.L. O'Shea and A.E.Bull, Vice-Chairmen,
Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)*

Speech By E.F. Hill To Melbourne Memorial Meeting

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by E.F. Hill at the memorial service for Chairman Mao Tsetung, held at the Dallas Brooks Hall, Sunday, 19th September, 1976.

Our meeting takes place in a spirit of great respect, humility and deep grief on the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung. All over the world, the common people mourn the passing of Chairman Mao and at the same time, draw immense strength from his teaching, from his life and work. It is a case where words are not really adequate to describe his stature. But we must make do with words.

Chairman Mao has physically left us but he has by no means left us in his inspiration, support and guidance. Chairman Mao was the greatest man of our time and most certainly among the greatest men of all time. In what did this greatness lie? It lay in the title to one of

his own speeches. "Serve The People" — a speech made on the death of an ordinary working man.

How did Chairman Mao serve the people? This can only be effectively answered by analysing the essence of Communism. You must permit me to speak as one who strives to understand and work according to the essence of Communism. Wide sections of Australian people and people throughout the world deeply respect Chairman Mao. That is very good. It occurs because in our opinion and in the words of Lenin, Communism is the mind, the heart, the conscience of our era. Chairman Mao was the supreme expression of that mind, heart and conscience.

Even the opponents of Communism have that uneasy feeling that Communism *does* indeed represent the true interests of the people. People from many walks of life pay great respect to Chairman Mao. In our turn, we respect and appreciate that. Of course there are a rabid few who really are devoted to the idea that the mind, the heart, the conscience of our era lies in fascist suppression of the working people. That is their position. Chairman Mao at least would have understood their position while struggling might and main to defeat it. Such fascists cannot turn history back. It is the people and the people alone who make history, Chairman Mao asserted. Nothing can stop the onward march of the people. They are bound to triumph no matter what setbacks they suffer, what twists or turns they go through.

Chairman Mao was a great man, the greatest of men, precisely because he was so identified with the

common people and their onward march and understood the science of that movement.

There are, of course, those who disagree with our Communist position, with the Communist position of Chairman Mao Tsetung. But it is impossible to understand the position of Chairman Mao Tsetung without understanding something of Communism, something of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism. Though some may and do disagree, still the understanding of this matter is fundamental to society.

Since Chairman Mao died, all sorts of comments, speculation, theories, have been advanced. Commentators have pronounced with great authority on Chairman Mao, on Communism, on struggle, on succession and a host of other subjects. Many of them know nothing of Communism, of scientific socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, yet they put themselves forward as "great authorities". These gentlemen should at least have the humility and decency to learn something of that about which they write.

The working people, common people, know and sense what a tremendous loss they have suffered at the death of Chairman Mao. They know or sense the great truth of Communism, of Marxism-Leninism, of scientific socialism. It is precisely that which Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed. It is precisely that that Chairman Mao strove all his life to make a mass question, to teach and guide the common people in their struggle against oppression, in their struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the very basis of this lay what we call materialist dialectics, the world outlook of Communism. Chairman Mao understood this philosophy better than anyone else. There is a book called "Four Essays On Philosophy". It is a collection of four writings of Chairman Mao, namely "On Contradiction", "On Practice", "On The Correct Handling Of Contradictions Among The People", "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From". In these writings, are the best single exposition of the world outlook of Communism. Here Chairman Mao drew together the teachings of the great revolutionaries Marx, Engels, and Lenin. He showed that one must start from facts, from the facts of science, of history and society. If those facts are examined free from preconceived ideas, they show a pattern of development. That pattern of development establishes itself by the resolution of contradictions within the essence of things. Thus, for example, he said "The true, the good, and the beautiful always exist by contrast with the false, the evil and the ugly, and grow in struggle with the latter. As soon as a wrong thing is rejected and a particular truth accepted by mankind, new truths begin their struggle with new errors. Such struggles will never end. This is the law of development of truth and, naturally, of Marxism as well." Materialist dialectics shows us the fact of the socialised process of production in our society where each man's work in a factory is dependent upon another man's work and yet the appropriation by a handful of multi-nationals of the product of that socialised labour. It is the resolution of this

contradiction, the extension of socialised production into socialised appropriation, with the driving out of the multi-nationals, that is the basis of socialism. In China, the contradiction expressed itself in the exploitation and oppression by the imperialists, comprador capitalists and landlords, of the Chinese peasants and working people. It was the struggle for liberation of the Chinese workers and peasants that Chairman Mao so clearly understood and led. Central to it was the clear identification of enemies and friends. Only by that clear identification could the struggle go forward.

Central to it also is the recognition of the leadership of the working class. Chairman Mao said "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them."

It is not given to any man to be a so-called "genius", given some special inexplicable qualities and able to wave a wand to solve all problems. Chairman Mao scientifically repudiated the so-called theory of genius. He showed that it is only actual participation in struggle, in struggle for liberation, in struggle for socialism that the truth emerges, that correct guidance can be given. It is only by profound study of revolutionary truth that one can participate effectively in struggle. This is the process of the people making history. This is the process of great teachers like Chairman Mao correctly

interpreting that history and showing the way forward.

Products of this great struggle were the Long March 1934-5, the victory over the Japanese aggressors, the liberation struggle with its victory in 1949, the building of socialism, the Great Leap Forward, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the movement to criticise and repudiate Lin Biao and Confucius and the present movement to criticise and repudiate the restorationist activities of Teng Hsiao-ping. All this was the product of acute class struggle. It was not the product of academic, arm-chair theorising. It arose from the struggle of the people, from what the people were impelled to do and from the correct interpretation of the direction of that movement. Chairman Mao at all stages epitomised the people, correctly interpreted the direction of struggle, gave it consciousness.

The speculators and commentators wonder at the immense stature of Chairman Mao. They cannot deny his gigantic standing in China and the world. They cannot adequately explain it. To us there is no such difficulty. Chairman Mao understood reality, understood the world and society as they are and the direction of their movement. He led people's struggle in accordance with that direction of movement, in accordance with history.

Chairman Mao understood very well that society had developed through successive changes from primitive Communism where men were so much at the mercy of nature they were compelled to live in a primitive form of Communism to eke out an existence. Through

that, they had evolved into slavery — a great step forward, then to feudalism and then to capitalism. In the China of his earlier days, feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capitalism held sway. He understood that force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new. The old ruling classes would never leave the stage of history voluntarily. They had to be knocked off that stage. They resisted it with arms. The people must have arms to throw them off.

The world today is a picture of that truth. The black people of Rhodesia and South Africa do not need Kissinger or Soviet social-imperialism, they need their own arms and their own scientific theory. So too the Australian black people. Just so Chairman Mao understood this truth for the Chinese people. Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, he said. No nice-sounding phrase at all but a recognition of historical social truth to be acted upon. Acting thus, Chairman Mao developed outstanding military strategy and tactics, a great liberation army of the people guided by correct politics and constituting the force to overthrow the old feudal comprador capitalist imperialist armies — the chief component of the state power of the feudal lords, the imperialists and the comprador capitalists.

The People's Liberation Army is the chief component of the state power of the Chinese workers and peasants. It is an army of a new type, flesh and blood with the people. That army stands on guard for the people's gains. In the actual conflict, military conflict,

produced by the class struggle of China and the world, Chairman Mao was a foremost figure. His military writings are classics that will stand for all time.

The question of state power is a central question of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tsetung Thought. Which class owns state power? This is the supreme political question. It is the real question of politics. Chairman Mao said that the so-called two party system with one party in office and the other out of office "is nothing but a device for maintaining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; it can never guarantee freedom to the working people." In Australia, there is this so-called two party system with its parliament, all of which is really a device for maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, the multi-nationals and their collaborators and now the rising Soviet imperialists.

It is necessary to dwell for a moment on this matter of the state. The Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communists led by Chairman Mao, overthrew the old state of the exploiters. They established the new state, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under this state socialism was built up. But did the mere victory of liberation, the mere establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, fundamental though they were, guarantee the victory of socialism? By no means. Chairman Mao on this question as on all others, inherited the ideas of Marx and Lenin, defended them and developed them greatly from acute observation of the facts of the Soviet Union and of China. He deduced from an obser-

vation of those facts that class struggle continued under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that though its form was different from that in the old society, it was nonetheless desperate.

This is the origin of the great struggles within the Chinese Communist Party and within the international Communist movement. Within China in recent years, there has been the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This was an assault, a great mass movement of the people led by Chairman Mao against the seizure of sections of the Chinese state power by the bourgeoisie led by Liu Shao-chi. The personalities concerned represented definite classes. Chairman Mao represented the proletariat and working people, Liu Shao-chi the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. It was a desperate struggle as to who would win — the proletariat or capitalist, socialism or capitalism. And the same underlying basis can be seen in the struggle to repudiate and criticise Lin Piao and Confucius and again in the present struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping had personal significance but their significance really lay in the fact that they represented the bourgeoisie.

What then is the basis for this? When there is the victory of anti-imperialist liberation and socialism, it is a simple fact that strong elements both material and ideological of capitalism remain in the new society. Socialism and Communism cannot be built overnight. Moreover within the new socialism, new capitalist elements regenerate and strengthen the old. In

addition, international capitalism continually promotes and encourages capitalism in the new socialist country. Unless these restorationist influences and activities are fully understood and unremittingly combated by mass activity, there will be restoration of capitalism. This too Chairman Mao fully understood. He understood that people like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping were representatives of that capitalist class right in the Communist Party. The only way to combat this was to mobilise the people, arm them with a scientific socialist understanding so that theory gripped them and became a material force in combating restorationist activities. This is no question of a struggle for the spoils of parliamentary office but a desperate life and death struggle for state power either by the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Class struggle is the key link. Chairman Mao affirmed class struggle of the proletariat and working people against the restoration of capitalism.

The speculators speculate. They canvass this one or that one. They speak of "moderates" and "radicals" and of this or that leader as a moderate or a radical. When they say moderate they mean they hope that moderate wants the restoration of capitalism and when they say radical, they mean that radical wants the victory of socialism. They hope and pray for the victory of the moderates.

We recognise as Chairman Mao taught us, that class struggle goes on under socialism and will continue. It went on in his lifetime. He above all, recognised it,

interpreted it, developed Marxist-Leninist truth about it and acted upon it. It will go on after his death. The victory of the workers and oppressed people is not only certain but it is guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought. It is just this man who has shown more clearly than any other that despite twists and turns, seeming defeats, ebbs and flows, the people will be victorious. Certainly, there are fine representatives of the proletariat, of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in China today. Indeed there are millions of Chinese people who have grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, who are alert to any departure from it, who stand on guard for its purity and whose leaders represent the genuine interests of the proletariat and working people. At the same time there are bourgeois representatives and influences. The class struggle continues.

Chairman Mao learned much from the Khrushchov betrayal of socialism. This had its origin in the social factors I have mentioned. Khrushchov represented the capitalist restorationist elements in the Soviet Union. They won temporary victory and seized state power. Khrushchov and his heirs turned the previously great socialist Soviet Union into a fascist imperialist power. Today it and US imperialism contend with each other for world domination. No part of the world escapes this contention and struggle. It acutely affects Australia. It underlies every political move in Australia. The US overlords are desperately striving to hang on and extend their position in countries like Australia while the Soviet

imperialists are desperately trying to oust them. US imperialism declines, Soviet social-imperialism advances. The people must unite as never before against both of them. But it would be quite wrong to drive out US imperialism only to let in Soviet social-imperialism. In our midst have emerged appeasers of the Soviet Union or those who still insist on a one-sided emphasis against US imperialism. To overlook for one minute the greater menace of Soviet social-imperialism is to do a grave disservice to the people. Chairman Mao's proletarian line in foreign policy recognises this intense contention and struggle and recognises the two trends, one to war, the other to revolution. He said "With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: One is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."

He expressed infinite confidence in the ordinary Soviet people when he said "The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."

He showed the inevitable victory of the people. But that victory will not come of itself. It requires consciousness, action, struggle. Victory lies in uniting all sections of the people who can be united against the

superpowers and particularly against Soviet social-imperialism. The superpowers in essence are weak — they tremble at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind to use Chairman Mao's expression, while the people are strong, are invincible.

Chairman Mao's identification with the people of China and the world is the source of his gigantic stature. Already I have referred to his talk on the death of a working man "Serve The People". In it he said "All men must die, but death can vary in its significance." Chairman Mao's death is an inestimable loss to the Chinese people and oppressed people throughout the world. "Serve The People" is one of what are called his three famous articles. The second of them is "In Memory Of Norman Bethune". In it he said of Dr. Bethune "We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people." Chairman Mao was a man of great ability and had these most noble revolutionary features.

And the third is "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed The Mountains." In it, he used the story of the old man who set out to dig up two huge mountains and despite criticism and derision, persisted in digging them up. God finally sent two angels to remove the mountains. Chairman Mao said just so must the Chinese people persist in struggle against imperialism and feuda-

lism. "Our God' he said "is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?" We learn from Chairman Mao — if the masses of the people of the world, if the people of the Third World, if the people in Australia stand up and fight together, what can withstand them? They can clear away the obstacle of superpower contention, of imperialist exploitation and oppression.

Chairman Mao was a great poet of the people. His poems captured the spirit of the people, the struggle of the people. At the beginning of this year two poems he wrote in 1965 were published. They are filled with the spirit of confidence in the people. the first concludes with the magnificent words —

"Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights."

The second expressed profound confidence in victory over revisionism. Chairman Mao was no empty romanticist, no writer of abstract rubbish. His poetry is that of a great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people and the people of the world. His analysis of art and literature and its class basis will stand for ever. "Talks At The Yen'an Forum On Literature And Art" is a classical exposition of a correct attitude and stand on these matters.

It is almost presumption to speak of such a great man and it is peculiarly the Chinese Communists and people who can speak of him with authority. We speak of him because he was an outstanding teacher of the

working class, working and oppressed people — a great proletarian internationalist just as he was a great patriot of China.

I presume maybe a little more than I should, because of several meetings and discussions with him going back to 1956 and extending through the sixties. I have said and say again his conversation was full of wisdom, inspiration, modesty, warmth, understanding, humour, support and encouragement. He was the master of Marxism-Leninism. His infinite confidence in the common people exuded from him. His writings breathe that confidence. His analysis of the development of the seemingly weak but true and collapse of the seemingly strong but false was a brilliant analysis of the truth of Marxism-Leninism against the falsity of revisionism which strips the revolutionary heart from Communism. Chairman Mao's initiative, staunchness, courage, purified the international Communist movement in an unprecedented way. Today the radiance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought illuminates the path of struggle for the people of the whole world in contrast to the decadence, decay and degeneration of revisionism.

Chairman Mao's teachings have gripped millions in China and in the world. Nothing can ever erase that. Chairman Mao left us a legacy more valuable than any monument. It is a legacy of Marxist-Leninist classics, of revolutionary devotion, integrity and struggle.

Our Party's message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China said:

"In deep grief we extend to you and through you

ping. His insistence upon class struggle as the key link is of enormous importance. His work as the greatest proletarian internationalist will never die. In our deep grief we know that Chairman Mao's work, example and contribution to Marxism-Leninism are immortal. They will continue forever to inspire and guide the people in the struggle for the liberation of mankind and the victory of socialism and Communism throughout the world."

Chairman Mao Tsetung has departed from us. We are profoundly grieved. We extend our deepest sympathy to his wife Comrade Chiang Ching, herself a distinguished member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China, his family and to the Chinese people. Chairman Mao on all occasions of death urged us to turn grief into strength. His loss is a tremendous blow but he would urge us to turn grief into strength, into people's struggle for liberation. He stood for that finest of all causes, the liberation of mankind. There is no doubt that there will indeed be eternal glory to the great leader and teacher of the Chinese people and of the people of the world, Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Workers' Struggle In The Car Industry

The change in government late last year from Australian Labor Party to Liberal-National Country Party has resulted in intensified exploitation of workers by the U.S. Chrysler car giant. Chryslers this year have continued a clean-up campaign amongst the workers, a campaign which began under the Whitlam "labor" government, which continues under the so-called "progressive" Dunstan state ALP government. In the last year of the Whitlam government, Chryslers, faced with declining sales and fierce competition from other car monopolies, decided to try to "tame" the workers by sacking individual progressive workers. The most ruthless of these sackings was that of trimline worker, Will Heidt. .

Now that the U.S. monopolies have a "safer" administrator in Canberra in Fraser, Chryslers have broadened their attack on the workers. In an attempt to recapture lost markets in Australia, Chryslers have stepped up production drastically this year. The increased production has been accompanied by grinding

speed-up as Chryslers squeeze more surplus value from the labour power of the workers. The speed-up has been accompanied by a very high turn-over of workers, despite growing unemployment, and many sections in the factory considered to be "danger spots" by the company now have the highest turnover of labour of all. Despite the bosses' moves to break up militant sections of workers, struggle goes on. Recently, there has been publicity given to the car union's fight for the new log of claims. Out of the struggle around the new award, car workers are learning valuable lessons.

THE NEW AWARD – LAYING DOWN THE CONDITIONS FOR WAGE SLAVERY OR AN EXPRESSION OF STRUGGLE?

There are two aspects to the official award in the car industry. On the one hand, each new award is an agreement between the monopolies and the orthodox trade union leaders of the terms under which the monopolies will extract surplus value from the workers for a given period of time. In the car industry, this closed award or agreement operates on both a yearly and two year basis. The whole business is given the seal of approval by the "graveyard of workers' disputes", Arbitration, part of the U.S. monopolies' state apparatus.

But the award is also an expression, however small, of the class struggle between the workers on the factory floor and the imperialists who own and control the

means of production and who hold state power. The small reforms arising from each new award are not due to "top level talks" between company and union officials, but are due to the struggle by the workers, or due to the bosses' fear of workers' struggle.

START THE FIGHT EARLY

This year at Chryslers, the progressive workers pointed out to union officials that the unions should force the monopolies to reply to the new award well before the old award expired on June 30th. The union officials, Vehicle Builders' Union and Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, were warned that workers were sick and tired of the usual sell-out tactics adopted by them year after year. But despite promises of "speedy settlements" and "successful negotiations", the union leaders have once again tried their utmost to "keep workers calm" and have preached the same lies as Chryslers — leave everything to the "independent" court, and do not damage negotiations by taking action in the factories. In this way the VBU and AMWU officials follow the treacherous path of the Hawkes, even though some of them call themselves "Socialists". These "socialists" are aligned with the "Communist" (without Communism) Party of Australia, and their attitude in the car industry of "don't rock the boat" is an example of how the revisionists are being used as the last line of defence against the workers by the U.S. imperialists. Even worse, the "S"PA operates as a Russian fifth column in Australia.

How the orthodox union leaders in the car industry have let Chrysler call the tune over the log of claims was explained in a recent edition of the Vehicle Industry Rank and File News. "After two months of company stalling tactics, union deadlines and top level talks between federal union officials and the car companies, our 1976 log of claims has been put in the graveyard of workers' disputes, the Arbitration Commission. For Chrysler workers our log of claims has been lumped before Arbitration without a single mass meeting being held."

UNION BUREAUCRATS GIVE CHRYSLERS THE GREEN LIGHT

The top union "leaders" have been frantic in their attempts to stop workers holding mass meetings and organising action. They have acted in this way at a time when car production and sales for Chryslers, GMH and Ford have increased. Workers know that the best time to take action against the monopolies is when they still want to produce cars, not when there are large stock-piles of vehicles. But the union officials think differently if one judges them by their actions. They have given Chryslers the green light to push the workers even harder. They are following the same lines taken by their fellow servants of U.S. imperialism in the USA, the United Auto Workers executives. The UAW's line is that while car sales are up, there are plenty of jobs, so there is no point in pressing the bosses too hard because it will threaten workers' jobs. What these traitors never tell the

workers is what workers, both in the U.S. and Australia know already: that increased production means greater speed-up and exploitation now, and sackings in the future when production decreases.

A few examples illustrate how the VBU and AMWU "leaders" are carrying out the line of "increased production for Chryslers is good for car workers".

- On May 10, a mass stopwork meeting was planned by the VBU shop steward committee for workers to discuss the log of claims before they were served on Chryslers. But the union officials, led by the federal executive, Townsend, cancelled the meeting.
- At the end of May, Chryslers and the union executives again collaborated. This time Chryslers said that they would not give an answer to workers' demands until after the national wage cut (wage indexation) decision was handed down by their arbitration system. Again the federal executive of the VBU accepted the bosses' lies.
- On Wednesday, June 30, Chrysler workers showed their support for Ford workers who had banned overtime despite the rulings of the "independent" arbitration court. A motion of support was passed by the shop steward committee at Chryslers.

The following Thursday morning, the assistant secretary of the VBU (South Australia), J. Bennett,

came down to the plant and told shop stewards to “keep quiet” and “not to take action”.

WORKERS RESIST THE SELL-OUT

Chrysler workers are not taking this call for “calm” by the so-called “leaders” lying down. They are part of the movement of the Australian workers which is sweeping the official union leaders and their structure, the ACTU, aside. The workers at Chryslers want to build organisations which fight the imperialist monopolies. In the last few months, car workers at Chryslers have taken matters into their own hands in many different ways.

When the union executives refused to call mass meetings, workers forced the shop stewards to call lunchtime meetings. At these meetings the head shop stewards tried to tie workers to the official trade union structure by bleating that they did not have the authority to call mass meetings, that only the executive could do that. Workers answered this weak excuse for doing nothing by placing an immediate ban on overtime, to force Chrysler to reply to their demands.

A few days later Chryslers called in their union leaders and told them that they would not negotiate until the overtime ban was lifted. The union officials tricked workers into lifting the bans by saying that they were setting Chryslers a deadline to give a reply to the claims. Chrysler’s “reply” turned out to be another round of talks between themselves, their arbitration set-up and their last line of defence against the workers, the union officials. The social democrat leaders of the VBU

regarded the talks with the bosses in the courts as a "victory", and "celebrated" their "victory" by agreeing with the imperialists that workers must not hinder "top level talks" by taking any action in the factory.

Of course Chryslers continued to take action against workers. In an effort to extract maximum surplus value from the workers' labour power, the Yankee car giant speeded up the line, pushing workers so hard that even some foremen started complaining.

Fed up with the sell-out "leadership" of the union officials, workers have organised their own resistance to increased exploitation. In different sections, work to rule and go-slows have been successfully implemented. Absenteeism has remained high despite low wages and high unemployment.

COURTS AND UNION BOSSES CANNOT CONTAIN WORKERS STRUGGLE

The anger and impatience of the workers with Chryslers, the courts, union "leaders" and parliamentarians — all of whom call for "restraint" by workers — reached a peak when the VBU executives decided that they would have to at last front up to the workers and call a mass meeting. The meeting, held on Wednesday, 28 July, was an attempt by the VBU executives to force workers to accept a few crumbs from the Yankee bosses' table. These crumbs, minute even by bourgeois trade union standards, were meant to serve as the new 1976 award for VBU workers at Chryslers. The workers overwhelmingly rejected these crumbs and showed their

“appreciation” of the VBU executive’s sell-out by pelting them with apple cores and bits of cabbage. The VBU state president, “Shady” Lane, tried to stop workers from rejecting the federal executive’s recommendation by preventing workers from speaking at the meeting. The federal recommendation was to accept the company and court’s “offer” and to negotiate for the major claims, such as a pay increase, long service leave, in the bosses’ courts again. Workers swept Lane and his fellow servants of the imperialists aside and put an immediate ban on all overtime and demanded that the VBU officials close the union books at Chryslers. They gave Chryslers 7 days to reply to the workers’ demands in the log of claims. To guard against any sabotage of their demands by the corrupt union officials, the workers made it clear that bans could only be lifted by a decision of a mass stop work meeting.

But even this safeguard was not enough to prevent the VBU officials from trying to sabotage the bans imposed by workers. The day after the mass meeting, a handful of shop stewards and a union organiser, in collaboration with the Chrysler bosses, plotted against the progressive workers who proposed the motion to reject arbitration and to ban overtime. These VBU bureaucrats tried to force maintenance workers to refuse to turn on the power in preparation for the normal starting time on the following Monday morning. This despicable scheme was designed to give Chryslers the excuse to use the stand down clause and force a lock-out. Then the VBU officials planned to call a mass

meeting and blame the progressive workers for putting Chrysler workers out of a job.

However, unlike the bourgeois union officials who cut each others throats in their race to serve their Yankee bosses, the maintenance workers united with production workers and refused to be a part of any treacherous schemes.

WORKERS ARE SEEING PAST BOURGEOIS SACRED COWS

An important aspect of the present struggle at Chryslers is that workers are taking action without the authority of the sacred cows of arbitration, the "labor" party and trade union politics. In his speech to workers at the mass meeting, VBU federal secretary, Townsend, said that due to the "unfavourable economic climate", and because of "wage guidelines" (i.e. wage freeze) workers should be satisfied with what the Chrysler bosses and arbitration had "generously" given them. He pleaded with workers to keep calm and to help union bureaucrats like himself "return a Labor government" and create a "favourable economic climate" for workers. Townsend was trying to rally workers behind ALP policies, maintaining the illusion that the ALP is a party of the workers and that if it regained office in Canberra, institutions of the bourgeois state, such as arbitration, would give workers a better deal.

But Townsend's attempt to confine struggle to parliamentary and trade union politics failed miserably. Workers were quick to point out to the union "leaders"

that under the last ALP government their living standards had continued to decline and that arbitration had continued to carry out its role as the "graveyard of workers disputes".

CAR WORKERS ARE PART OF MOVEMENT FOR AUSTRALIAN INDEPENDENCE

At Chryslers the VBU executives, in selling out the workers over the new award, are not doing a very good job for the U.S. imperialists. Owing to workers' militancy they are failing to keep workers' struggles "within their law". But this does not mean that revolutionaries and progressive workers can sit back and relax for one minute. The exposure of trade unions and trade union politics must be seen, not as a thing in itself, but as part of the complete struggle for Australian independence from imperialism, including Soviet social-imperialism. Experience at Chryslers this year shows that failure to see the fight against trade unionism as one part of a bigger struggle, is to tail behind the workers.

This year has seen an intensified awareness among Chrysler workers for the need to kick the imperialists right out of our country. The demonstrations against the traitor Cur, against Rockefeller, July 4 activities, and the campaign to defend and extend Medibank have met with tremendous support from Chrysler workers. It is the task of revolutionaries to learn from the workers in *all* their struggles, to win their respect and provide correct ideological, political and organisational leadership. This can only be done by hard work.

Rich Lessons In Medibank Mass Struggle

The nationwide 24 hour strike on the issue of Medibank calls for some analysis. It contained very rich lessons in the contrast between the will and desire of the workers to struggle and on the other hand the will and desire of the Labor leaders and the ACTU to sabotage and obstruct struggle. It revealed vividly the real hopes and aspirations of the workers to struggle independently of the bourgeoisie and on the other hand, the desperate efforts of the multi-nationals and their collaborators acting through the Labor leaders and ACTU headed by Hawke to prevent struggle.

In the semi-fascist coup of October, November, December 1975, the Labor leaders and Hawke's ACTU, supported by the revisionists, sabotaged the struggle of the workers, working and patriotic people. Despite all this, the central feature of the semi-fascist coup was precisely the struggle of the workers, working and patriotic people for independence and against the effects of superpower contention and struggle. The struggle against the attack upon Medibank was a manifestation

and continuation of the same struggle. And the central feature of it was the mass action, mass struggle of workers, working and patriotic people.

It is precisely that mass struggle that alarms the bourgeoisie so much. It is precisely that that forces the bourgeoisie to rely so heavily upon the Labor leaders and particularly upon Hawke and his ACTU coterie.

Each side learned from previous experience. The advanced workers, working and patriotic people learned from the sabotage of Hawke, his ACTU and fellow labor leaders. In turn, Hawke, his ACTU and fellow labor leaders learned from the struggle of the workers, working and patriotic people. The workers, working and patriotic people learned from the semi-fascist coup that it is necessary to take full account of the sabotage tactics of Hawke, his ACTU and fellow labor leaders. On the other hand, Hawke, his ACTU and fellow labor leaders learned that they must seek better tactics to obstruct, sabotage and divert struggle.

When Fraser's attack upon Medibank began, counter-attack immediately commenced. The counter-attack rapidly gained way. The slogans put forward by the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) and other advanced workers, working and patriotic people rapidly became mass slogans. Strike action, demonstrations, protests of many kinds, embraced wide sections of the people. Absolutely splendid initiative developed. There was a veritable sea of opposition. It was certain to win victory on the immediate issues involved unless the multi-nationals and their collaborators could head it

off. This was the specific job assigned particularly to Hawke and his ACTU coterie.

The demand among the workers rapidly took shape that there be a nationwide 24 hour strike. Hawke grimly resisted this. He used all sorts of "arguments". He wanted it all left to his "negotiations" with Fraser, to a "package deal" and so on. It is all so familiar. But Hawke was unable to hold back the struggle.

Thus to carry out his sabotage on behalf of the multi-nationals and their collaborators, he "agreed" to the 24 hour strike. Having "agreed" to it, he did absolutely nothing to organise it nor to organise other sections of the population around it. Here was this immense struggle simply crying out for enthusiastic leadership. Yet this "leader" apologised for it, grovelled on his hands and knees to the bourgeoisie. On the actual day of the strike, he appeared in a front page newspaper picture playing tennis on the tennis court in the garden of his home!

What did Hawke present as the issue? He accepted the proposition that Medibank must be financed by a levy which of course falls most heavily on the working people. Hawke proposed a 1.6 to 1.8% levy. The fact that he didn't say 1.7% indicates his determined sabotage — 1.6 to 1.8 is a more complicated way of saying 1.7%. This is by the way. The critical thing is that any genuine working class demand must be for an ENTIRELY FREE, NON-CONTRIBUTORY, ALL EMBRACING HEALTH SCHEME. A child can understand that. Hawke is not a child and he is not stupid. A

levy of any sort serves the multi-nationals and their collaborators. Due to an accident of the parliamentary struggle for the spoils of office and contrary to the desire of Hawke or the Labor leaders, Medibank in its original form had been non-contributory (but not free — there was a margin of medical fees left for the people to pay). Hawke moved rapidly to correct the results of this accident; hence his 1.6 to 1.8% levy proposal. His “competitor”, Fraser, proposed a 2.5% levy. Thus Hawke reduced the dispute to how much taxation the working people were to pay for a non-free and non-all-embracing medical scheme. Such a position was utterly impossible from a workingclass standpoint. The revisionists, the Soviet social-imperialist agent Clancy, and Carmichael and Halfpenny supported Hawke up to the hilt. In short, these people set out to hand the struggle to Fraser on a platter.

Their efforts could not prevent struggle nor its development. Certainly they confused and misled many people. Their efforts managed sufficiently to confuse and divert struggle. Their tactics prevented it from the complete victory that it must have won but for this sabotage. There is not the slightest basis for any mistake or illusion about Hawke, Clancy or Halfpenny, the ACTU or Labor leaders. Had they not behaved in this way, they would not have been Hawke, Clancy, Halfpenny, the ACTU or Labor leaders. They carried out their assigned role to sabotage the struggle of the working people.

Side by side with their efforts went the efforts of

the open and therefore far less dangerous enemies of the people, Fraser, Anthony, Lynch and Co., the multi-nationals, their collaborators and press. These people kept up a barrage of leading articles, feature articles, press statements, radio and television broadcasts that only a minority wanted strike action, the strike was a failure, it was supported by only 15% etc. Their public opinion polls all showed little support for strike action. Public opinion polls are frauds to the nth degree, the ultimate refinement of the fraud and lies of the press. The significant thing is that in this particular sea of reaction, still the multi-nationals and their collaborators WERE FORCED TO RELY UPON HAWKE IN PARTICULAR TO CARRY OUT THEIR DIRTY WORK. Their open efforts were not nearly sufficient. This is because the illusions in the press, in the Liberal and National Party politicians have been wrecked on the rock of experience while not yet entirely have the illusions in Hawke and Co. been wrecked on that rock.

But the rapidity of exposure of these Labor leaders is a significant feature of the class struggle in Australia. Dr. Cairns was a great safety valve for the multi-nationals and their collaborators. Yet he lasted but a few minutes in the historical sense. Likewise the "lefts" Cameron and Uren are well on the way out. The multi-nationals and their collaborators are compelled by the depth of their crisis to push these lefts up into the forefront. The more they do this, the more rapidly these "lefts" are exposed as frauds. Illusions are shattered. The masses turn increasingly to the genuine left, to the

Communists. This is the process through which Hawke is going now. The deepening of crisis which includes the deepening of superpower contention and struggle, compels the multi-nationals to push Hawke into action. We should thank them very much. Hawke in the historical sense is being VERY RAPIDLY exposed. It will not be long before he is relegated to the scrapheap of history. This too is the process that is going on with the revisionists. In the whole spectrum of the phoney left, Cairns, Cameron, Uren, Aarons, have come and very rapidly gone. The reserves of Hawke, Clancy, Carmichael, Halfpenny are now being even more rapidly exposed. Meanwhile the Communists (Marxist-Leninists) grow in stature, their slogans become mass slogans, their leadership of struggle sought after.

The whole past and continuing struggle over Medibank is simply a phase in the struggle for independence for Australia. It would be entirely wrong to see it as a thing in itself. It is simplification to expect this or that struggle to be crowned by victory which consists of winning all the immediate demands of the struggle. This very seldom happens. Victory lies in what immediate gains are made but far more important, lies in the experience of struggle, in the advance of that experience in exposure of the misleaders, in experience of genuine workingclass leadership. The struggle is a step by step process marked by partial victories, partial "defeats", ebbs and flows, twists and turns. The absolutely central feature is the ascending spiral of struggle, its growing consciousness, development of clarity about who are

friends and who are enemies. The TREND is decisively to revolutionary struggle for independence.

Teachers by negative example are tremendously important. Hawke is an excellent teacher by negative example. His use of the term "the trade union movement" can be clearly seen as a bludgeon used to attack the struggle of the workers, working and patriotic people. It has nothing whatever to do with developing that struggle but everything to do with sabotaging it. It is entirely wrong to expect that the ACTU will lead struggle. It won't. Demands that the ACTU do this or that of a progressive character only feed the illusion that there is something genuinely workingclass in this body. There is not, not a skerrick of it. The workers and working people are increasingly INITIATING and developing action right outside the ACTU and Hawke's "trade union movement". This is the only way ahead. This is the trend that requires nurturing, fostering, developing. Every ounce of experience must simply be treasured, dissected, examined, summed up. The whole mass Medibank campaign is rich indeed in such initiative and struggle. To allow Hawke, his ACTU and "trade union movement" to get into any prominent position in these struggles is to hand the struggle over to the multinationals. Australian workers, working and patriotic people have accumulated tremendously rich experience in their own initiative and struggle through the penal powers struggle (O'Shea), the Ford struggle, the semi-fascist coup, Medibank and others. Proof of this is provided by Hawke himself. He literally screamed (a radio

recording revealed his screaming) abuse at some Brisbane workers because Fraser was able to say to him "Hawke you cannot control the trade union movement so what is the good of negotiating with you". "Fancy" said Hawke, "placing your trade union leader in that position". This is splendid for the workers. It means that the hold of Hawke is being broken. No matter how carefully Hawke cultivates a "proletarian accent", and no genuine proletarian uses in public the language Hawke uses, he is being very rapidly exposed.

Hawke and others say the 24 hour stoppage was a failure. There must be no more, they say. This is the voice of the multi-nationals. There not only must be more, there will be more and bigger. Moreover to centre the struggle solely on the 24 hour stoppage is itself a tactic of sabotage. It is to say, as Hawke says, there has been a 24 hour stoppage; it did not achieve the 1.6 to 1.8% levy, therefore the campaign is over, therefore it failed. Rubbish! It was a very important step in a continuing struggle which had many sides; is still proceeding and will develop as part of the whole ferment of struggle for national independence.

Bankruptcy And Danger Of Pacifist Ideas

“The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution” is a criticism by Lenin of the opportunists who were advocating disarmament during World War I and were pushing ideas of pacifism, co-operation with bourgeois governments ‘defence of the fatherland’ etc. In criticising the opportunists Lenin advances the concepts which are basic to Marxist-Leninist military science.

The concept of ‘just’ and ‘unjust’ wars. Lenin points out that “Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be Socialists be opposed to all war.” He points to examples of colonial wars and civil wars in support of this concept.

This point highlights the bankruptcy and danger of pacifist ideas. Pacifism is a form of subjective thinking. It would be all very nice if we could attain socialism and

peace without the need for war, but the realities of a class society and a world with two superpowers determine that we will have to fight for socialism. Notions such as “peaceful transition”, “peaceful co-existence”, “disarmament” in part stem from pacifism. There can be no room for pacifist ideas in Marxist-Leninist organisations.

The concept of “Socialism in One Country”. Due to the uneven development of capitalism, socialism will be victorious in different countries at different times. Lenin points out that this uneven development presupposes wars, as the bourgeoisie seek to crush the socialist state. We see the truth of this in the imperialist intervention in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. invasions of Korea, Vietnam and many other countries.

Wars will only become impossible when socialism is triumphant throughout the whole world. Obviously this will be some time in the future. We cannot fail to arm ourselves nor can those with arms lay them down.

Lenin comments on the “social” parsons and opportunists who dream about future peaceful socialism but “they refuse to think about and reflect on the fierce class struggle and class wars that are necessary for the achievement of this beautiful future”. The revisionists with their books on “Socialist Melbourne” and “Socialist Australia” fit this category exactly.

Lenin goes on to point out “An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves.” There is no way out of a class society except by class struggle.

In every class society, the ruling class is armed against the oppressed classes. In Australia, as in any capitalist country, the army, navy, airforce, police, "armed escort" agencies are all examples of the bourgeoisie arming itself, ready to deal with the people. When we consider this reality it is easy to see that anyone who urges "peaceful roads to socialism", "disarmament" etc. is guilty of utmost treachery to the Australian people.

As Lenin urges: "Our slogan must be: the arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie."

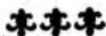
Lenin recognises that the militarization of the people by the capitalists will only hasten the overthrow of capitalism. He comments at length on the role of women in the class struggles, such as the Paris Commune. "The proletarian women will not look on passively while the well-armed bourgeoisie shoot down the poorly armed or unarmed workers. They will take to arms as they did in 1871 . . ."

Lenin points out that the struggle against imperialism must be linked with the struggle against opportunism. This is as true today in Australia as it was in 1916 when Lenin wrote this article. Revisionism, ALPism, Trotskyism, 'S'PAism, all seek to disarm the people. They are opposed to armed struggle and ridicule these ideas, and push fallacies such as "peaceful transition." Only by crushing all of these counter-revolutionary trends in all fields — economic, political, trade union, cultural, military, can we hope to defeat imperialism and domest-

ic capitalism.

Lenin points out in discussing the war waged by the imperialist powers that "The proletariat must not only oppose all such wars, but it must also wish for the defeat of its own government in such wars and utilize it for revolutionary insurrection; if an insurrection to prevent the war proves unsuccessful." He raised the ideas of what a people's militia should be like.

I commend this article by Lenin to all comrades. Much of it is applicable to Australia in our present conditions. Study of it will help in the development of comprehensive Marxist-Leninist military theories for Australia.



Widening Struggle Demands More Initiative

A comparatively good start has been made in initiating Marxist-Leninist solutions to the problems of Australia and Australian people and in integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions in Australia.

It must be emphasised that it is only a start. It is a constant task to initiate policies and to integrate those universal truths with the actual conditions. Problems may be big or small. They may involve the whole character of the revolution in Australia or they may involve the question of what campaign is appropriate and how to implement it. On this latter, for example, the struggle to defend and extend Medibank arose from the actual situation. But the mind of man, Communist man, was required to interpret those conditions and what to do about them. It won't happen just of itself. So out of the actual conditions, the Communist mind, initiative, formulated mass slogans, tested them among the masses, modified them, published a widely accepted pamphlet, leaflets, initiated and participated in struggle. It all just hit the appropriate spot. Certainly it had shortcomings,

was affected to a degree by the passivity and sabotage of Hawke and Co. But *initiative* was there.

In the theoretical elucidation of problems, a good deal has been done. Again it will not be done without man's conscious will. Very good material has been published. For example, a very good analysis was made of Paterson's Waltzing Matilda. It was published in Australian Communist. A very good analysis was made of the Ford strike. It is possible to name a great number. These will do. It took a Communist initiative to do it, a man's thought and action.

It is necessary to do far more, to take much more initiative, to open up still more questions, to re-examine still further matters taken over from the past, to involve more people in the process. It can most certainly be done. There is boundless initiative in the Party and among the working and other patriotic people. The thing is to realise it, to release it, to initiate it.

Why is the scope of this whole matter continually widening? It is widening because of the intensification of struggle. In days gone by, Marxist-Leninists were content with simple characterisations, for example, about the nature of the Labor Party. The struggle has revealed the inadequacy of these characterisations. They must be enriched, modified and where shown to be wrong, discarded. The Labor Party is by no means the only example.

It is new to the Marxist-Leninists to recognise anything at all positive in the stand of diehards like Fraser. The arriving at a correct appraisal of him and his policies

requires initiative, summing up, participation in struggle.

One may apply a similar approach to every question. Our organisation must systematically organise and release initiative.

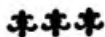
Along with this is the disease which might be called "just going along". This means accepting as gospel what some Party leader or "authority" says. By and large it is to be hoped the Party is correct. There is no point in viewing every Party activity with suspicion or to be challenged or as a carping critic. That is not our argument. That is one thing to be put aside. But it is an entirely different question that one masters for oneself a given policy or tactic, makes it one's own. It was well put once in this way — if you accept what I say as correct and act on it and it turns out to be correct, you get the credit, the responsibility is yours. If it turns out to be incorrect and errors are made, it is still your responsibility. Thus when after reflection, after understanding a given policy or tactic, a comrade thinks it wrong, it is his duty in the spirit of ease of mind and liveliness to point out its incorrectness appropriately. Resort to bluster is sometimes found. This will never do. Only facts and reasoned argument are permissible; bluster is never a substitute. There is also the well-known resort to some authority or other to silence or intimidate the propounder of a contrary argument. This too will never do. Certainly one may quote an authority to support an argument but not in the sense of silencing an opponent.

There are important lessons from the history of the

struggle against revisionism in Australia. Some went along with revisionism wholly or partly. They ended up enmeshed in it.

“Going along” just for the sake of a quiet life or for “unity” is no good.

Comrade Chou En-lai’s report to the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China deals with the question of one tendency covering another. We too should study and think about this matter.



Essence Of Anti-Kerr Campaign Is People's Struggle For Independence

The only way to combat the danger to Australia's independence of the contention and struggle of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is by people's struggle. The cause of Australian independence and democracy belongs to the people. It is only the people who can uphold them to the end.

Out of the effect of the contention and struggle between the superpowers came the events of October, November, December 1975 and the Fraser government. A central figure in those events was Governor-General Kerr. Kerr is permanently tainted by the events and Fraser is tainted along with Kerr.

What is the essence of this taint? It is precisely because their actions were an attack upon the independence struggle of the Australian people. What was at stake in these events and still is, is the struggle against the superpowers for independence. Whitlam did not

(and could not) mobilise the people for independence struggle against U.S. imperialism and was prepared to let Soviet social-imperialism interfere further with Australia's independence as U.S. imperialism declined. Fraser handed over Australia's independence aspirations to U.S. imperialism. The line of each of them was bourgeois through and through, Whitlam's even more dangerous than Fraser.

The whole thing was personified in Kerr, typified in him. He concentrated in himself through his actions all that the Australian traitor class really stands for, namely the subordination of Australia to one or other of the great imperialisms.

The significance of the matter goes far beyond the mere dismissal of Whitlam and the mere installation of Fraser, far beyond the manipulation of parliament. If that were all there were about this, then there would be nothing to it — it would all have died down long ago. But far from dying down, the movement against Kerr gets more extensive. That is precisely because the struggle for independence is getting more extensive and more conscious.

Kerr's very position is in itself a colonial relic. It is itself an affront to the independence sentiments of the Australian people. That was bad enough even when the governor's powers were not used. When these powers were used, it at once dramatically revealed Australia's dependence upon U.S. imperialism and also thereby demonstrated how it could easily be dependent upon a new imperialism.

The vigour of the demonstrations against Kerr is not lessening at all. On the contrary. Nine months after the events, Kerr is not safe anywhere in Australia. His pathetic attempt to seize upon a slogan painted on a church to break from his traditional silence is only an indication of how deeply the movement has struck. The failure of Fraser and his government to try to do much to counteract the movement shows the same thing; it also shows that having used the lackey Kerr, these gentlemen treat Kerr with the special contempt reserved for all lackeys. All Kerr's advertising of how many letters he has received in support and how few against, convinces no one. It is whistling in the dark. All the elaborate undertakings as to tenure of office, pension, etc. Kerr got when Whitlam made him governor, look very sick.

The inspired article in the London Times which suggested Kerr resign and be replaced by Prince Charles shows that the ruling circles view the situation with alarm. And they are alarmed over the vigour of the movement for independence in Australia. Actually the proposal in itself only underlines Australia's dependent position. It should give impetus to the independence movement.

No solution lies within parliament or through the parliamentary parties. By accepting the fact of the office and powers of governor-general and by appointing Kerr, Whitlam accepted the dependent position of Australia; by making use of Kerr as he did, Fraser accepted the dependent position of Australia. Each of them

proceeded and proceeds on that basis. The identity of the main master to whom each gives allegiance may change a little or its emphasis may change. This is what has happened.

The demonstrations and actions against Kerr are splendid indeed. They should not for one minute be abandoned or be like the well known dinner party. The act of trying to suppress Australian independence struggle is an act of violence. It can only be countered by violence. No piecemeal solution, no solution within the present framework is possible. The whole struggle against Kerr is still another component in the anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle in Australia.



On The Question Of Illusions In The Labor Party

Why do Marxist-Leninists pay so much attention to the Australian Labor Party? Why is it such a continual problem? This is a vital question in the whole struggle for independence of Australia from imperialism. It can be answered only by a close examination of the history, the present position and the mass standing of the Labor Party.

The nature of the Labor Party has been examined many times. The Labor Party is a party of capitalism. Lenin called it a liberal bourgeois party. It arose as a parliamentary political party in the 1890's (before that there were individual Labor parliamentarians) and was born of the trade union strikes of those times. The "theory" was that the workers must attain in parliament, by parliamentary means, those demands that they could not achieve in strike struggle. The Labor Party developed as a party of the liberal bourgeoisie. It favoured protection of Australian industries, "soft" tactics in dealing with Australian workers, a certain hesitant vacillating Australian nationalism in service to the Australian bourgeoisie even though that

bourgeoisie was very weak as compared with the British and other foreign monopolists in Australia. It was fundamentally the British imperialists — the dominant capitalists in Australia, that the Labor Party served. Lenin correctly called the “Labor” of Labor Party a misnomer. He said that the position of a political party must be judged from a class standpoint — what class does the given party serve? It can be said without doubt that the Australian Labor Party served and serves the capitalist class. In 1921 it adopted what is known as the socialist objective. This declared its aim to be socialism (in a wholly ill-defined sense). The socialist objective resulted from the general radicalisation of the working class at the end of World War I and in particular, from the October 1917 socialist revolution in Russia. Commonly the present leaders of the Australian Labor Party refer to it as a social-democratic party. Such a claim is really false. The classic social-democratic parties arose as parties pledged to socialism. They degenerated and were adapted to capitalism. They became converted from parties of socialism, parties of the working class, into parties of capitalism. The Australian Labor Party emerged as a party of capitalism but in 1921 grafted on to its programme one feature of social-democracy, namely socialism. This did not alter its character. It remained a liberal bourgeois party. The deception that it was a genuine party of the working class, a genuine party of labour, took rather a deep hold in the working class itself and among the working people generally and among other sections of the people. Experience since the adoption of the socialist objective in 1921 has confirmed the liberal bourgeois character of the Labor

Party. In short, its history is that of emergence as a party of capitalism but making the pretence of serving the working people; when that pretence was wearing thin, the additional pretence of being "socialist". This latter was its first social democratic feature. Over the years in its competition for government office with the openly-proclaimed capitalist political parties, it has emphasised one or the other aspect of its programme according to the "electoral climate". According as the given situation demanded it, the Labor Party emphasised at one and the same time its service to the capitalists and to the working class.

It must be recognised that the emphasis on socialism, on the workingclass character of the Labor Party deceived a lot of people that this really was a working class party. Certainly the fact that this emphasis occurred with a Party which really had nothing to do with the working class is very strong proof of the real desire of the working class for socialism. Without understanding the genuine desire of the Australian working class, working people, for independence and socialism, it is impossible to understand the position of the Labor Party. The real hopes and aspirations of the Australian workers, working and patriotic people are for independence and socialism. If their sentiments for independence and socialism were left to develop to the full under the leadership of a Party or leaders genuinely determined to win Australian independence and socialism, then they would be a virtually irresistible force. Such a force would be a grave danger to the multi-nationals and imperialists which sit astride Australia. How then to contain it, control it, divert it?

This is where the Labor Party fits in. It is presented by the ruling circles as a Party of the working and patriotic people aiming at independence and socialism whereas in truth and in fact it is a party which serves these very multi-nationals. All history of the Labor Party proves the truth of this statement. Experience of the Whitlam government proves it. Thus the great source of weakness in the Australian Labor Party is the pretence that it serves the working and patriotic people while in reality it fundamentally serves the multi-nationals and that imperialism which is for the time being dominant in Australia. There are further aspects of its deception. Among these is the deception that the Labor Party serves the national bourgeoisie. The truth is that it promotes this pretence and does what little it can to serve the national bourgeoisie. As to its service to the multi-nationals, the Labor Party really has no alternative. It is bound to capitalism, proceeds in all its policies and programmes on the assumption of the permanence of capitalism. That being so, it **MUST BE, CAN ONLY BE,** the tool of the multi-nationals and imperialism. Imperialism and its multi-nationals in Australia constitute the decisive structure and force of capitalism. This then is the crux of the continuing crisis of the Labor Party in Australia. The crisis is made a hundredfold more intense by the contention and struggle between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Here the Labor Party, because it senses the decline of U.S. imperialism and for various other reasons, responds to the blandishments of Soviet social-imperialism.

In the respect that the Labor Party has standing as a "workingclass party" in Australia but yet is truly a

party of the multi-nationals and capitalism, it serves a very useful purpose for those multi-nationals. It can divert, confuse and divide the working and patriotic people in their struggle against those multi-nationals. This is a very good thing for the multi-nationals. It saves them from otherwise being overwhelmed by that very struggle. The Labor Party and its "industrial" arm did just that in the struggles of October, November, December 1975 in relation to the Kerr, Barwick, Fraser, Anthony conspiracy. The Labor Party and ACTU set out to control, divide and confuse the struggle against the semi-fascist coup. This is their actual historical role. What occurred showed the power of their deception but also showed the much greater power of the mass movement for independence. Nor was the Labor Party's deception sufficient because already the working and patriotic people were not satisfied to confine their struggle within the limits that the Labor Party and ACTU "permitted". The main feature of the whole of the events of October, November, December 1975 was the mass struggle for independence.

By relying on the Labor Party in the way outlined, there is also grave danger for the multi-nationals and imperialists. In order to maintain its deception that it is a party of independence and socialism, the Labor Party must appear to do at least a minimum in that direction even if it is only the use of words. In the present circumstances of a new awakening of working and patriotic people, even those words act as an exciting factor in developing the whole movement. Thus the very fact of the promotion (however deceitful it may be) of

progressive causes by the Labor Party does in the present volatile political circumstances promote the reality of progressive struggle. This is precisely what happened with the Whitlam government. It promoted what were objectively progressive causes even though its motives were capitalist and though it tried to limit and control the extent of struggle and confine it to parliament. Thereby it developed mass action in which many believed the Labor government was genuine. In this way, it increased the expectation of working and patriotic people that the Labor Party would act in a genuinely progressive way. In fact it did not. Thus the effect was to build up the mass movement and then to try to limit it, cut it off, suppress it.

When Kerr sacked Whitlam, the sacking opened the way to the Labor Party to fasten on its own deceit, present that deceit as the reality of policy and say it was Kerr that prevented our going ahead. What prevented the Labor Party from going ahead was precisely this process of which we have spoken, namely the revelation of its deceit. Kerr's action prevented that from coming right to the fore and enabled the deception of the Labor Party to be kept still yet in reserve. Moreover, the Labor Party had paved the way for attacks upon the conditions and rights of the working people. Recall "dole bludgers", wage freeze, proclamation of service to the private sector, etc.

In making use of the deceit of the Labor Party and mass illusions about its character, there is tremendous danger for imperialism, its multi-nationals and their collaborators. This danger does not in any sense arise from the Labor Party as such. It arises from the masses

who have been aroused by the radical slogans compelled on the Labor Party in order that the Labor Party can carry out its deception and serve the multi-nationals. It is this that explains the frantic attacks upon the Labor Party by the press. These attacks have the character of at once falsely building up the radical image of the Labor Party but at the same time, warning it of the danger of its rousing the masses and therefore the need to be very careful. In the case of Whitlam's government too, they got very alarmed at its accommodation of Soviet social-imperialism. Added to the other issues, was the overshadowing contention and struggle between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and its effect on Australia.

The multi-nationals and their collaborators have their own profound problems in their attitude to the Labor Party. Parliament still retains a certain deceptive hold on the people and can still be used to cover up the reality of bourgeois dictatorship.

While that continues to be so the multi-nationals and their collaborators cannot afford to allow the Labor Party to die or be completely destroyed. On the other hand, if the Labor Party is to be useful to them it must raise radical or semi-radical slogans. This carries with it that greatest danger of all which is to rouse the masses. Hence they attack the Labor Party (in itself this feeds the deception that it is a workers' party) and really mean the attack and yet on the other hand they exhort the Labor Party and work to make it an "effective opposition", to "get new leaders" (e.g. Hawke), get rid of the "left" etc.

It is scarcely surprising that in this situation, many working and patriotic people are genuinely deceived and confused by the Labor Party. There are many who are deceived or confused by it. The fact that they support it and vote for it demonstrates their essential radicalism, genuine desire for independence and socialism but when the Labor Party does not deliver anything really radical in the struggle for independence and socialism, then these people have seemingly nowhere to turn. They end up confused and divided and frustrated. While having no confidence in the Labor Party, they continue a frustrated vote for that Party. Not yet have they turned decisively away from parliamentarism and the Labor Party. Most certainly there is a far deeper understanding and turning away from the ALP to genuine radicalism than ever before in Australian history.

The deception is based upon a series of illusions which include the illusion of the democracy of parliament and parliamentary elections contrary to the fact that parliament and parliamentary elections are weapons of deceit. These include the illusion that the Labor Party in that parliament is a party of the working class and a party for independence and socialism, contrary to the fact that the Labor Party is a party of capitalism and as such, serves the multi-nationals and imperialism.

Some very genuine working people hope against hope that the Labor Party will somehow "come good". These people broadly speaking accept that one after another Labor leaders are proving bankrupt. Labor "idols" have come and then gone. Cairns is the classic illustration. Hawke is going bankrupt. Still these genuine

people hope against hope that an honest, capable person will emerge and save the Labor Party for them. All this is illusion. The Hawkes, Whitlams, Cairnses, Camerons are as they are because of the bourgeois nature of the Labor Party. They can be nothing else. Any new leader who emerges will have the same essential characteristics. The Labor Party is not and never will be a socialist party. And this is what must be explained to those who believe that a new and better Cairns or Hawke or Whitlam will arise. No such person will or can arise. The people must turn to scientific socialism.

It would be quite wrong to fail to take account of these illusions. Lenin pointed out that it was experience that in the first place exposed the reality of parties like the Labor Party. The masses learn by experience. Propaganda and agitation are effective when they are properly based on experience but alone they convince only a few, whereas experience convinces many. Much experience of the bourgeois imperialist character of the Labor Party has awakened or semi-awakened many people. Propaganda and agitation have helped the process along. Still there are considerable illusions. A GREAT DEAL OF WORK BY THE COMMUNISTS ON THIS MATTER REMAINS FUNDAMENTAL. The problem cannot be skipped over, ignored or false conclusions drawn. Hopes and wishes are good if they are properly disciplined by full recognition of facts. The illusion that the Labor Party and trade union structure serve the working class is still the greatest single problem that must be overcome in the struggle for independence and socialism. To overlook this, to fail to face it frankly, to

fail to deal with it properly, would be to fail to reap the full harvest from the very process of rapid disillusionment that is going on at the present time. There must be still more experience of the Labor Party and based on that experience, still more effective propaganda and agitation. Decisive in the whole process and critical to it is winning the supremacy of Marxist-Leninist ideology, politics and organisation among the working people.

It is correct that there is widespread disillusionment with the Labor Party. The bourgeoisie knows and senses this. This is clearly enough shown by what has happened in recent times.

R. J. Hawke, over a long time, was built up by the spokesmen for the multi-nationals and their collaborators as a left and a militant. It was quite contrary to the fact. Hawke is a thoroughgoing bourgeois in ideology and politics and in his adherence to the Labor Party and the trade union structure (both bourgeois organisations). But the ruling circles had some success in building up his left image. In the crisis of the semi-fascist coup, they turned much more openly to Hawke and relied upon him heavily. This can be seen in all important Australian political events; to mention a few – the semi-fascist coup itself, the wages question, the Medibank question. Some say that Hawke is now thoroughly discredited. It is true that amongst the advanced workers, and in a sense they are decisive, Hawke IS discredited but his capital for mass deceit has not yet been destroyed. It is good to write against him, to expose him, it is essential, but in itself it does not destroy him. There must be still more written and written better, but in addition, very close attention indeed must be paid to

actual experience of Hawke. He is doing a splendid job of bringing himself undone and exposed but it takes time. It is good to be impatient, even to be very impatient, but it is not good to let impatience adversely affect political judgment. Hawke was built up by the ruling circles as a reserve WITHIN the Labor Party. The crisis of the Labor Party is such that he is being used up at this very moment. Events move so rapidly nowadays that historically only a short time is needed to expose this reserve.

The multi-national dominated ruling circles however believe in being shod on all four feet. Therefore they produce revisionists who bear the very name "Communist" and who these ruling circles build up as militants. Again the most significant feature of this is its recognition of the growing appeal to the masses of Communism and militancy. Therefore people particularly like Halfpenny, are kept in the public eye. He has organisational attachment to a group of revisionist "Communists". Their hallmark is in the name of Communism to strip from Communism every vestige of Communism, of scientific socialism. Again it serves the ruling circles very well. They present Mr. Halfpenny as Communist. They know he is their man and is perfectly safe (other than that this tactic increases interest in Communism and rouses genuine Communist sentiments). His "Communism" as put over in THEIR press, radio and television, deceives some people into believing it is real communism; it confuses and divides. It gives a certain basis for selling out struggle and it carries with it the advantage to the multi-nationals of the masses

turning away from Communism in disgust. It is all a many sided process.

We may briefly look at what has happened in a whole process. The multi-nationals, knowing the sentiments for independence and socialism among the Australian people, brought the Labor Party to office by using the deception that the Labor Party would do something genuine about it all (the fact that it did take certain progressive actions we put on one side for the moment). In the term of office of the Labor government, the ruling circles had WITHIN the Labor government a "left" reserve, namely people like Cairns (in particular) and Cameron. Cairns and Cameron were spent. The ruling circles turned particularly to Hawke. Now he is being spent. So the ruling circles turn to people like Halfpenny. The rapidity with which these "lefts" have been expended shows just how rapid is the awakening of the masses. Other names can be mentioned as included in the process, such as Munday and Carmichael. The ruling circles use all these people simultaneously and successively — one succeeding the other in prominence as crisis intensifies.

A particular case is that of Clancy. Clancy is a revisionist no less than Halfpenny. But Clancy serves Soviet social-imperialism. He poses as "Communist" and militant. But he does not receive from the ruling circles the same prominence as, for example, Halfpenny. This is because of the contention and struggle between Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism. Clancy's particular deceptive use of Communism and militancy is to bring the working people within the influence of

Soviet social-imperialism. Again, it is a despicable role. It serves many purposes.

In the tactics of political struggle in Australia, it is absolutely vital for all Communists to have no illusions whatever about the Labor Party or revisionism. They are bourgeois from beginning to end. There is no hope of a correct Communist political line unless this is kept steadily in mind. Our approach to the Labor Party, to revisionism, is that they are first and last bourgeois ideology and organisation. That being so, when there is joint action with them on any question, it is joint action on some limited question between the working people and the bourgeoisie. Nor is the Labor Party the only bourgeois trend or organisation with which the working class may unite to achieve a particular objective. There is no difference in principle, in essence, between the Labor Party and the National Country Parties. There are however, extremely important tactical differences which dictate different approaches.

It is necessary to return again and again to this question of the Labor Party. In the past, there was a quest for some all embracing formula that would dispose of the question of the Labor Party. We can say however that it is a liberal bourgeois party with many unusual features. The most important factor in the need to return to the question again and again is because of the persistence of illusions about it. Sometimes illusions exist unrecognised, even in experienced Communists, that there is something of working class ideology in the Labor Party or in revisionism. This type of illusion is not broadly speaking found in younger Communists. But it is a very dangerous illusion. The wonderful exper-

ience the working people are undergoing with the Labor Party and revisionism can only be turned to full revolutionary advantage if the Communists get rid of all illusions on this matter.

Optimism is the order of the day. The TREND is to revolution. It has been said that it is wrong for us to speak of workers, working and other patriotic people because not all the workers and working people have the type of patriotism of our phrase. The decisive question in all revolutionary struggle is what the objective conditions compel the class forces to do. Consciousness necessarily begins with a minority. It is the work and activity of this minority which wins in struggle the majority (not a formal poll or canvas of individuals). Lenin pointed out that when he spoke of workers in this type of context he was talking of advanced workers. It is that minority that is growing and the growth and consciousness of which are being enhanced so rapidly today.



Conditions Favor Revolutionary Advance Everywhere

An excellent situation prevails at the present time. Internationally the two superpowers are becoming more and more isolated. Social-imperialism, in particular, is running into tremendous difficulties. Its aggressive ambitions are being frustrated at every turn. The revolutionary tide in which "countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution" has fast become a raging torrent which neither superpower can stem.

At home, conditions are exceptionally favourable for a revolutionary advance. Everywhere people's action is taking place — some of it on a mighty scale — and leaving the Frasers, Hawkes and Halfpennys behind. The magnificent response to the campaign to defend and extend Medibank is an example. Arbitration, Prices Justification Tribunal, wage indexation ("wage freeze") — all are under attack. Thousands of people take to the streets to demonstrate against Rockefeller, Kerr. Public opposition to Soviet social-imperialism is becoming common.

All of this is cause for rejoicing. We welcome it all. But at the same time, we make a rather sober assessment of it. We remain dialectical in our approach. A dialectical approach is one that is aware of the transformation of things into their opposites. When the revolutionary situation is going well, we must be aware that it may soon go bad, and be prepared to act accordingly. Thus, we study hard, throw ourselves into struggle, and jealously guard the security of the Party. When the revolutionary situation is not so good, we remain aware that it will soon change for the better, and again we prepare ourselves to act accordingly. Hence, we persevere in struggle, keep the revolutionary objective well in sight, and share our optimism with the people. Even relatively new cadres are capable of grasping this, and have grasped it; their own relatively short experience has been rich in many ways.

At the present time, the revolutionary style of work of our Party and our cadres is very good. But there are also some weaknesses. If there were no bad aspects, there could not be good aspects. Dialectics tells us this. We are materialists and are not afraid to say it. Precisely because we are both materialist and dialectical, we can look upon weaknesses and shortcomings as a source of strength, provided only that we can change them into their opposites. For example, a comrade whose weakness is his mass work, can become a real asset to the Party, provided that he is helped to see the weakness, and that correct methods of work are adopted by his comrades in helping him to develop his mass work to a higher level. This is an example of how we approach the question of weaknesses in a comrade.

More concretely, there are certain weaknesses apparent at the present time. Some comrades (a very few, let it be said) tend to appear to others as “unapproachable” and “beyond the reach of criticism”. This is completely unacceptable, because it is destructive of a comradely atmosphere in the Party. The training of young proletarian cadres of good quality is very much dependent on there being an atmosphere of personal ease of mind and of encouragement and sympathy. How to overcome a weakness depends to some degree on the person it affects — every problem has its individuality as well as its similarity. The strength that takes the place of this particular weakness is the development of the Communist characteristic of being an approachable and sympathetic person; that is, of being a person who is strong enough to learn from others, and to seek criticism from comrades regardless of “rank”.

A second weakness is evident in a certain “arbitrariness” that infects some comrades. Again, it is only a handful that we are talking about. This weakness too can be turned into a strength that is, a comrade with a weakness can become a comrade with a strength. Consultation is an important factor here. To consult with those comrades with whom one has a working relationship — on a Party basis, and as often, and only as often, as is necessary — is an important means of building the collective life of the Party. It is only natural that resentment will be bred by arbitrary behaviour, and hence again, be destructive of the Party’s revolutionary style of work.

Communist modesty is a precious quality that the Party strives to develop. This certainly does not mean that we should be weak and timid like mice, but it does mean that Communists should not develop inflated ideas about themselves. They remain modest and seek only to work without reward for the revolution: for independence and socialism. If that patient and unremitting work does not lead them into the limelight, then that is fine. If it does, then that is also fine, provided that they do not succumb to the various flatteries of the bourgeoisie. Big shots do not last very long. People who can be flattered can be trapped. They are more likely to commit mistakes than those who cannot be flattered.

Do Communists concern themselves with setting an example of modest, simple and socialist behaviour? Of course they do! The history of our Party is that its members do consciously strive to do this, and not only that, but they are good at it and are getting even better! The weaknesses of our Party, and the weaknesses in the revolutionary style of work of some comrades, are only very small things in context. We can never be entirely rid of them. Old weaknesses can be changed into strengths, but new weaknesses will appear (and some old ones may reappear!). This is a law of dialectics, of one dividing into two. The important thing is that the process of transforming weaknesses into their opposites goes on, is intensified and not slackened. The consequence of doing otherwise is an inevitable return to revisionism. As E.F. Hill has said on this point: ". . . the danger of return to revisionism . . . will never pass. It

continually asserts itself both in big things and small things. Communists get sucked into the old. Some do not persistently, consciously fight the pressures that all around push towards revisionism". (Australia's Revolution, p. 172).

The following lines from the writings of the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times, Chairman Mao Tsetung, have a great bearing on this discussion:

"A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

An approachable and sympathetic person eager for the criticism of the people around him; a revolutionary who sets an inspiring example of Communist modesty and resoluteness; one who loves the country, serves the people and practises Marxism-Leninism — such a person is an asset to the Party and a contributor to its revolutionary style of work.

A Correct Line Wins Mass Support

In the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) very rich experience has accumulated to prove the truth that a correct line always attracts mass support. In the days since its foundation, the Party has fought to find a correct line. This has been both in the search for a correct line in the character of the revolution and in the search for the solution of particular problems.

In days gone by, the desire for a solution in one single blow was common. Experience however showed the impossibility of this. It showed a correct line arose only from actual struggle and correct summing up. It was and is a mass question, a process. No one can evolve the correct solution by sitting in a room divorced from struggle. Even after a correct line is found, it requires modification, development in the process of struggle. Moreover it takes time for it to grip the Party and the masses. Time was when some believed that merely writing an article or making a speech meant that the correct line had been grasped by the readers or listeners. But grasping the correct line is itself a process. That has come to be understood in a much better way.

Sometimes it is assumed that comrades have grasped or developed a correct line because they can utter the words and phrases of the correct line. But then

they are confronted with a situation that demands their independent attention and solution. Whether or not they have grasped the correct line is then put to the test. Experience has been very good in this. Sometimes it happens that a comrade is shown not to have grasped the correct line. He falls back on some "authority" in the Party or backs away or "justifies" himself. This is no good. Complete honesty is demanded in Marxist-Leninists. Part of that lies in earnest endeavour independently to grasp the correct line and to struggle honestly to overcome shortcomings.

Some people feel self-important by what they see as advance in the Party or they are not happy unless they feel their importance is properly recognised. This is the penetration of the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie. Communists are correct to be self-confident. Marxism-Leninism gives us self-confidence. But that is different from self-satisfaction and giving oneself airs. Communist self-confidence and modesty are not mutually exclusive. Nor are there "authorities" in the Party. Party wisdom is collective. Individuals express that collective wisdom to a greater or lesser degree. We must constantly remind ourselves of Comrade Chou En-lai's words based upon the teachings of Chairman Mao: "All cadres, veteran and new alike, must maintain close ties with the masses, be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, go to any post as required by the Party and the people and firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies under every circumstance." (10th National Congress.)

Struggle In One's Own Country Is Decisive

In the Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx said: "It is altogether self evident that, to be able to fight at all, the working class must organise itself at home AS A CLASS and that its own country is the immediate arena of its struggle." Chairman Mao in his profoundly important writings "Reform Our Study", "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing" integrated this idea with the actual conditions in China. What he did has tremendous lessons for us. "Reform Our Study" says: "The twenty years of the Communist Party of China have been twenty years in which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has become more and more integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution."

The Chinese Communists through practice, through experience and through the unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice came to understand that

the immediate arena of the Chinese revolution was China itself. By persisting in integrating this truth with Chinese conditions, they led the Chinese people to the victory of liberation and then the tremendous task of building socialism.

The idea that the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union had somehow solved the problem of socialist revolution in other countries gained quite a hold. Certainly it gained a hold in Australia in the years following the October Revolution in 1917. Such an idea was naive in the extreme. It overlooked Marx's ideas. Moreover, although the Russian proletariat and peasants overthrew the Russian bourgeoisie and landlords, the bourgeoisie and landlords in other countries remained entrenched in power.

Within the Soviet Union, capitalism was restored. This bitter experience demonstrates the danger of the naive idea that somehow the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union had solved the problems of socialist revolution in other countries. It was certainly of inestimable importance to the proletariat of the world that the socialist revolution had been won in the Soviet Union. It showed what the proletariat could do when guided by Marxism-Leninism. It paved the way. It blazed the trail. It carried on where the Paris Commune left off. Though the Paris Commune was suppressed and the socialist revolution betrayed in the Soviet Union, still the arena of the struggle by the proletariat of other countries for socialism remained those countries themselves. What was positive and negative in both the

Paris Commune and the Russian revolution required and requires very careful summing up. The purpose of that summing up is to further the struggle in the arena of one's own country. It is in this way that proletarian internationalism is expressed and served and world revolution promoted. The fate of the revolution in one country affects but does not determine the fate of the revolution in another country. The defeat of the Paris Commune and betrayal of the Soviet revolution were a blow to the revolution in those countries and to the world revolution but they could not prevent the ultimate success of revolution in France or Russia or in China where it was victorious or other countries. The socialist revolution is a continuing revolution by stages. It has ebbs and flows, victories and defeats, it develops unevenly.

The struggle for revolution in each country is a complicated process. The struggle after the victory of revolution is a complicated process. Lenin said:

“In these circumstances, to assume that in a revolution that is at all profound and serious the issue is decided simply by the relation between the majority and the minority is the acme of stupidity, the stupid prejudice of a common or garden liberal, the **DECEPTION OF THE MASSES**, the concealing from them a well-established historical truth. This historical truth is that in every profound revolution, the **PROLONGED, STUBBORN, DESPERATE** resistance of the exploiters, who for a number of years enjoy important practical advantages over the exploited, is the **RULE**. Never, ex-

cept in the sentimental phantasies of the sentimental simpleton Kautsky, will the exploiters submit to the decision of the exploited majority without making use of their advantages in a last desperate battle, or series of battles.

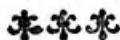
“The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters will inevitably cherish hope of restoration, and this HOPE will be converted into ATTEMPTS at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters — who had not expected their overthrow, who never believed it possible, who would not permit the thought of it — will throw themselves with ten fold energy, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold into the battle for the recovery of their lost ‘paradise’, on behalf of their families who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the ‘common herd’ is condemning to ruin and destitution or to ‘common’ work . . . In the wake of the capitalist exploiters will be found the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie, to whose vacillation and hesitation the historical experience of every country for decades bears witness; one day they march behind the proletariat, the next day they will take fright at the difficulties of the revolution, become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers; they become irritable, they run about, snivel and rush from one camp to the other — just like our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries!”

Chairman Mao has summed up the experience of

Soviet revisionism. The lessons of it have been integrated into the actual and differing conditions of the Chinese revolution. China remains the arena of the Chinese revolution. The issue has not yet been decided. Tremendous class struggle goes on in China daily, hourly. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie headed successively by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping in the last decade were great proletarian victories. But the struggle goes on. It does not and cannot determine the outcome of the struggle in Australia. The victory of socialism in both China and Australia (as elsewhere) is assured but neither the victory or setback to socialism in China can determine the victory or setback to the struggle for socialism in Australia. The arena of that struggle is Australia. It is the duty of Australian Communists to fight to rouse and lead the Australian workers, working and patriotic people to struggle for socialism through anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution.

On a world scale all Communists are united by common adherence to Marxism-Leninism, by common striving to overthrow the bourgeoisie of their own country. They support and encourage each other. Australians can make revolution only in Australia. In struggling for that, they are assisting all other Communists. Likewise they are greatly encouraged and supported by the struggle of Chinese Communists, Russian Communists, French Communists, New Zealand Communists and so on.

Given countries have their own peculiarities, particularities. Communists adhere to and uphold the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. In Australia they must integrate those general principles with the actual conditions and struggle in Australia. Much progress has been made. But still more decisive and qualitatively higher progress must be made.



The Key Link Is Always Class Struggle

In the long and persisting campaign against trade union politics, the Communists are sometimes asked “what will you replace the trade unions with?”

This really completely misconceives the whole question. Lenin even posed the question – should revolutionaries work in reactionary trade unions? To which he gave an unequivocal “Yes, they should!” In “What Is To Be Done?” Lenin discussed the question of trade union politics at length. He showed that trade union politics are bourgeois politics and adapt the workingclass to capitalism. In “‘Leftwing’ Communism – An Infantile Disorder” he said “. . . . the development of the proletariat did not, and could not, anywhere in the world, proceed otherwise than through the trade unions” and once again in “What Is To Be Done?” he showed the development of the consciousness that led to the trade unions. In the evolution of capitalism trade unions have undergone changes from being rebellious organisations (but still within the bounds of capitalism, that is,

trade union politics) to organisations carefully fitted into the structure of the state as in Australia. In this latter case they constitute one aspect of the main prop of capitalism.

Hence to pose the question what would you put in place of the trade unions is to see the whole question as static, to see the trade unions as things themselves. In fact they are not things in themselves, are not static, are changing and are certainly not homogeneous throughout the capitalist world.

The main central decisive organisation of the working class is the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist Party. Again Lenin in "What Is To Be Done?" spoke of the fact that certain intellectuals revered the trade union leader, saw him as a "tribune of the people" whereas in fact this was not so, the only true tribune of the people was the revolutionary social-democrat (Communist). Still the reverence and awe of the trade union leader as such, as a thing in himself, persists in its influence, among sections particularly of the intellectuals. They cannot get out of their minds that somehow or other in a way never defined the trade unions are vehicles of revolution. This is notwithstanding vast experience to the contrary. None of the real proletarian revolutionary leaders ever had a trade union background; they all had a proletarian background in the sense of identification with the interests of the proletariat. This is profoundly different from trade unionism. Of course it is true that many trade unionists and trade union leaders are proletarian revolutionaries.

It is imperative to have Communists work in all mass organisations including the trade unions. This is in order to build up revolutionary consciousness among the working people and revolutionary organisation.

In fact in Australia reliance upon the trade union structure for struggle is a very dangerous thing. Time and again that reliance has led to a blind alley. It cannot do otherwise. The "trade union movement" is used as a bludgeon against the workers to beat them into submission to the multi-nationals. Monsters like Hawke are the logical product of trade unionism.

It is true that the trade unions cannot be smashed but it is even more true that in their present form they can never be the vehicles of revolution. What is certain to happen and is happening is that there will be, and is, a great revolt of the workers against this trade union structure. In the course of that revolt organisations of the workers will step by step, through twists and turns, advances and retreats, come into existence in repudiation of this trade union structure. This is all part of the struggle for Australian independence. It is schematic, subjective, philosophical idealism, to try to lay down some new trade union scheme.

We may ask the question was the Dorsetshire agricultural labourers organisation of Tolpuddle Martyr fame of the same character as Hawke's "trade union movement"? Of course not. Or we may ask the question are rebellious trade union organisations in colonial countries of the same order as Hawke's "trade union movement"? Of course not.

But in all cases, the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organisation is supreme, the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat.

It is imperative and correct to have Communists working within unions even though they form part of Hawke's "trade union movement". This is so even though these Communists are compelled to conform to certain (to what from a "pure" standpoint are very obnoxious) features of trade union organisation. This is for the very purpose of undermining and destroying that "trade union movement" so beloved of Hawke and ultimately building up a genuine trade union movement but above all, winning the workers for Communism. It can never be from the standpoint "what are you going to put in place of the trade unions?" This question implies the very dangerous proposition that these trade unions serve the workers. They don't, except in a very limited way which in itself serves the bourgeoisie. It implies that all that is needed is a few Communists in leading positions and these very trade unions will be transformed. That this is entirely wrong has been demonstrated a million times. Communists serve in such positions for reasons entirely different from this. At best it is only a part of Communist activity.

The supreme question is the mobilisation of the workers, working and patriotic people for independence and socialism and as part of that to combat the trade union structure and Hawke's "trade union movement."

Bring Into Play People's Initiative

How can we bring into full play the initiatives of the people at present and in future struggles ahead of us?

We are looking here into two problems:

1. Criticism and comradely supervision of leading bodies of the Party by rank and file members — are they necessary?
2. Leading the mass organisation within the United Front — by arbitrary decisions or through a democratic process?

These two problems are not academic. Having a correct attitude towards each one of them in daily practice can decide the course and results of the struggle itself.

Any Party member who is not consulted on major issues beforehand and is not given the opportunity to voice his opinion when required to implement Party policy — which it is his duty to do — cannot perform his duties as should be expected from a Communist. We must learn from the lessons of the revolutions in Russia and China as summed up by the great leaders of the two great revolutions. If rank and file members — all of them

— are required to follow blindly and carry out dumbly any decision of leading cadres or even bodies, then iron discipline is bound to rust and rank and file enthusiasm will be suppressed. “The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a Party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and iron discipline. *But iron discipline in the Party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete and absolute unity of action on the part of all members.*” (J. V. Stalin, “The Foundations of Leninism”, page 113. Emphasis added). “... iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism within the Party” says Stalin, “for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline.”

Mao Tsetung, too, stressed the importance of democracy within the Party even during war time: “The extension of democracy in the Party should be seen as an essential step in its consolidation and development and as an important weapon enabling it to be most active in the great struggle, to prove equal to its task, create fresh strength and surmount the difficulties of the war.” (“The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”; see also “Win the Masses in their Millions”).

And if this important principle of democracy is to be more than an occasionally-paid lip service, ways and means *must* be found so that *all* Party members will be encouraged to take an *active* part in the discussion, formulation and implementation of Party politics.

Led by a patriotic united front the people of Australia are now in the midst of a struggle for independence. Democracy within the united front is needed

to cement unity and increase mass participation. Genuine revolutionary leadership cannot be effectively achieved without the active participation of the people involved. "The duty of every Communist is to rid himself of aloofness and arrogance and to work well with non-Party cadres, give them sincere help, have a warm, comradely attitude towards them and enlist their initiative . . ." says Chairman Mao ("Role of the Chinese Communist Party"), and elsewhere (same article) he repeats: "Whenever there are democratic parties or individuals willing to co-operate with us, the proper attitude for Communists is to talk things over with them and work together with them. *It is wrong to indulge in arbitrary decisions and pre-emptory actions and to ignore our allies.*" (Emphasis added).

The conclusion must be then, that within the united front too it is good and necessary to level criticism openly and in a comradely manner. Such criticism can only enhance the trust and unity amongst the people involved.

What has been said here does not suggest, of course, that we let up our guard or reduce our vigilance against traitors and enemy agents. As rank and file members who have personally experienced the depressing and demoralising effects of the arbitrary process, we hope to draw Comrades' attention so that some shortcomings can be overcome. Ours is a kind of "big character poster" for Comrades to read and discuss.

We reprint this article which appeared in No. 79 of Australian Communist because of mistakes not corrected. This was due to carelessness for which we apologise. The words corrected altered substantially the meaning of the sentences in which they were contained.

Political Correctness Of Party Press Is Vital

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

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

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

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

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

While there has been great development there are still many shortcomings, shortcomings which involve

every aspect of the Party publications. This involves comparatively small things and it involves much bigger things. For instance it has happened several times that the date of publication of the Australian Communist has been omitted; it becomes difficult to know when a particular issue has been published. This is quite a serious technical error. Although it has been pointed out, still the error continues to be made. On another plane was the erroneous publication of an article which asserted (wrongly) that Australia was part of the Third World. These two are selected not by any means because they are the only errors but as illustrating the continual battle that must be fought. More difficult to deal with are errors which perpetuate incorrect assumptions of capitalism. Commonly material proceeds on assumptions or raises implications that perpetuate very wrong ideas. Examples are given in another article in this issue of Australian Communist such as the wrong implications that arise from the uncritical publication of material that contains, for example, demands for a "fair trial" without investigating the class content of the "fair trial". This form of error is concealed, it is insidious and yet it must be combated.

Occasionally criticism comes to the Party press which when examined and thought about is revealed to be not really criticism but the advocacy of a policy different from that of the Party. Almost invariably this criticism raises the question of the Party material using too many cliches, being repetitious, boring, repeating the obvious, not containing enough stories from real

life. When the Party first commenced its publications in 1963-4, there were some criticisms of this kind which attacked the use and repetition of the phrase "U.S. imperialism". It said this was a cliché and it was repeated far too much. But the question whether or not it was correct was left on one side except that the clear implication of the criticism was that it was wrong to use the term at all. Actually it was correct to use it and to repeat it. Events have more than adequately proved this. Another criticism of a different kind has been that when struggle against U.S. imperialism was called for in Party publications, it should always refer to armed struggle. We recognise the central part played by armed struggle in the struggle for workingclass political power. It is essential to deal with it. But arbitrarily and on all occasions just to establish our good faith as it were, to raise the question of armed struggle is wrong. Armed struggle in Australia is a complicated question of which there has been little experience. Australia has no vast peasant population; it is very largely urbanised. The question of armed struggle arises in circumstances quite different from those for example in China. The principle is the same; the circumstances are different. Certainly we must be ahead of the masses in raising this matter but mechanical repetition is not nearly enough. The phrase "workers, working and patriotic people" has been criticised. The question is — does it express correctly the politics of the united anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle? It is a political question and we adhere to the belief that it accurately represents

the forces for independence. The lack of material about experiences in factories, farms other workplaces is commonly raised. However the supreme task of Party publications is to carry correct politics. Party publications are not and are not meant to be a sort of left version of the day to day "stories" of the capitalist press.

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

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

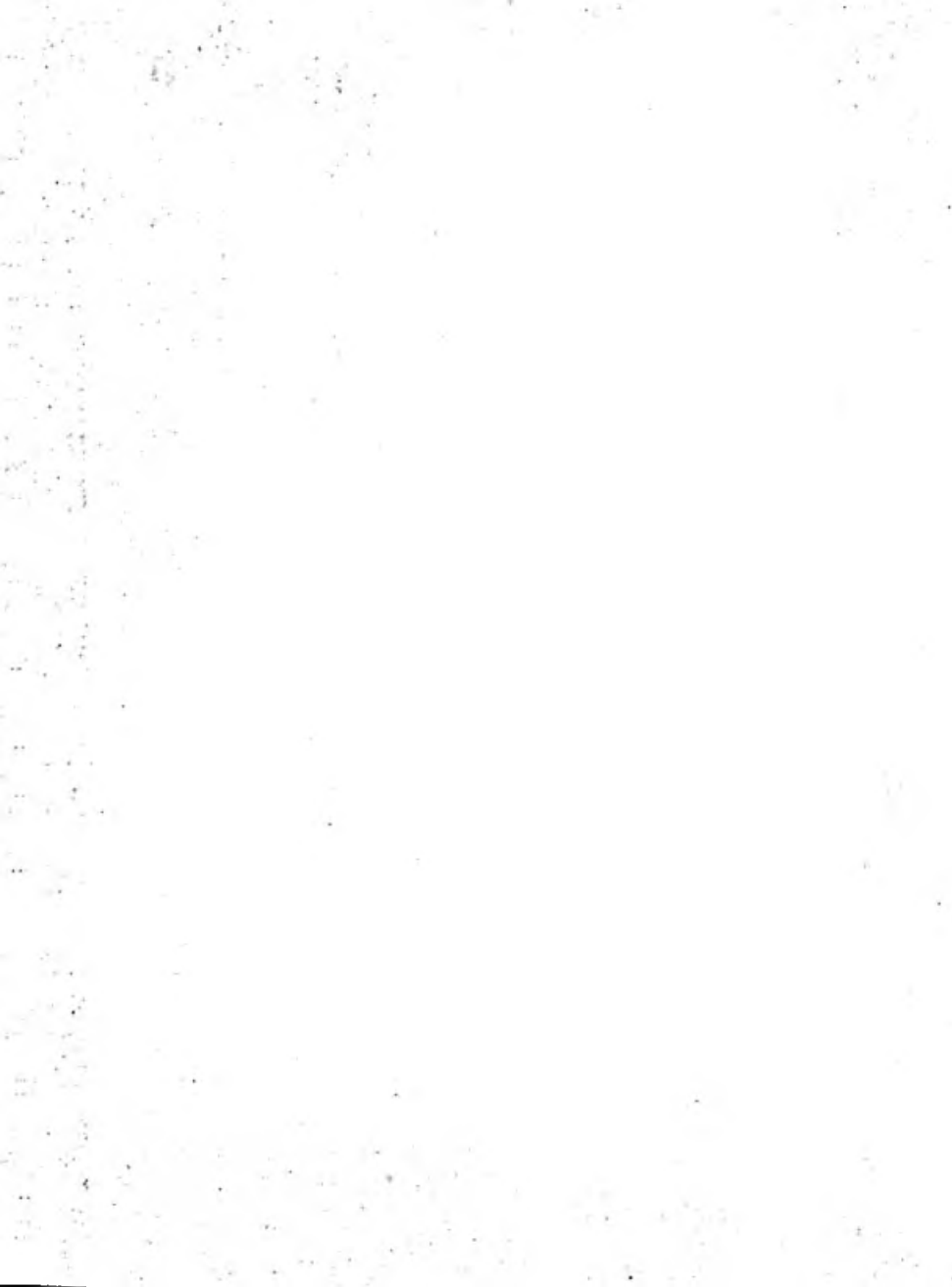
Nonetheless we welcome this form of criticism because it assists in testing the correctness of the Party's political line. It commonly contains correct statements.

When there is such criticism we must discern what is correct and what is incorrect. In this way both political content and form can be improved.

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

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





SEPTEMBER, 1976

MELBOURNE