

Australian Marxist Review

**Theoretical journal of the
Socialist Party of Australia**

- ★ *26th Congress of the CPSU*
- ★ *Fourth Congress of the SPA*
- ★ *Unions in struggle for peace*
- ★ *Politics of the struggle for peace
and disarmament*
- ★ *Party press in struggle for scientific
socialism*
- ★ *Marxism — and Australian
history*

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Australian MARXIST Review

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26th Congress of CPSU

— its significance for the
Socialist Party of Australia

by P. Symon and P. Clancy

(SPA delegation members to the 26th Congress)

There are three main aspects of the work of the 26th Congress of the CPSU which are of great importance for the Socialist Party of Australia and the Australian labour movement.

Firstly, the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the new initiatives contained in the report of Comrade Brezhnev which are of universal application and in the interests of all people.

Secondly, the progress made in the construction of developed socialism and the dramatic contrast with the crisis conditions in capitalist countries.

Thirdly, the reaffirmation of the vanguard role of the Communist Party or as the reporter said quoting Lenin, the Party as the “intellect, honour and conscience of our epoch.”

While the international peace movement is made up of a diversity of elements and there are a number of local and regional issues there is one common and over-riding question — the prevention of the outbreak of a world-wide holocaust, mutual disarmament and the elimination of war from human affairs.

The new proposals advanced at the 26th Congress, which have to be added to previous Soviet initiatives, are concerned with this fundamental issue as well as paying attention to the most important trouble spots. The proposals are, therefore, relevant to every single person in every country.

The proposals will help the peace forces in Australia bring about a much needed change in direction of the foreign policy line pursued by successive Australian governments. They will help to build and strengthen the peace forces.

Following the Second World War the Australian government entered into the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, US) Treaty and if, at the time, it may have appeared to have some defensive characteristics following the Japanese aggression in the Pacific, it is now an aggressive alliance directed against the socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

Australia and New Zealand were among the very few countries to send military forces to assist the US in its dirty war against Vietnam. Australia has become a main US strategic base with some of the most important surveillance and operational signal stations outside the territory of the US itself. B52 nuclear bomber landing facilities are being provided. US naval vessels are frequently using some Australian ports and "home porting" facilities for these ships are being considered. The Australian economy is being militarised with massive increases in military expenditure.

The Fraser Liberal government's foreign policy is marked by bellicose anti-Sovietism. The Prime Minister has gone so far as to name the day for the outbreak of world war. Everything is being done to seize on the anti-Sovietism of the Chinese leaders and strengthen Australia-China relations, push ASEAN into a militarist position and keep up tension between the ASEAN nations and Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Japan is also a part of this aggressive scheme.

The Australian government's policies represent the second of the "two lines" which Comrade Brezhnev referred to as "disrupting detente, escalating the arms race, of threats and interference in other countries' affairs, and of suppressing the liberation struggle."

This line has nothing to offer the people of Australia, only hardship, deprivation, and if it were to succeed, destruction.

For a long time the peace forces in Australia have called for the removal of the US bases, the scaling down of the arms drive, the adoption of an independent, anti-imperialist foreign policy and the ending of the aggressive US alliance.

The Socialist Party and the broad peace movement supports the call for the Indian and Pacific Oceans to be zones of peace. There are accumulating signs that there is a growing awareness and resistance to the aggressive policies of the government, and concern for Australia's sovereignty. There has been a ready response to the UN disarmament petition.

These policies represent the first line in world affairs and to use Comrade Brezhnev's words again, "the line of bridling the arms race, strengthening peace and detente, and defending the sovereign rights and freedom on nations."

The new Soviet proposals are a continuation and further elaboration of this line. We welcome and support them.

There is now an increasingly vivid contrast between the steady development of the planned socialist economy of the Soviet Union and the crisis of the anarchistic system of capitalism.

In the 1950s, politicians promised a new "golden age" for capitalism. It had become a "peoples' capitalism", we were told. All this vanished in the slump which struck the capitalist world in the mid-1970s.

In Australia there are half a million workers unemployed and tens of thousands more of "hidden" unemployed, that is, workers who for one reason or another do not officially register as unemployed. Young people between the ages of 16-20 years are the hardest hit being the largest single unemployed group.

Social welfare organisations estimate that almost two million people have earnings below an established "poverty line". Wages, social welfare payments, education, hospital and housing expenditures are all being cut back.

Some new forms of employment are being pushed which not only reduce living standards overall, but have the effect of spreading bourgeois ideological concepts among the working class. For example, owner-driving is widespread in the transport industry. Sub-contracting of jobs in the building industry whereby each operation in the course of building construction is contracted out to an individual worker or small group of workers is being pushed. In the food, liquor and retail trading services part-time work is replacing weekly hire. All these methods not only break down established working conditions won by the struggles of the labour movement, they also tend to disintegrate trade union organisation and have the effect of "de-classing" the workers spreading the concept of "each worker being his own boss."

Monopolisation of the economy has proceeded steadily and the main branches of industry are controlled by a small number of monopolies, in some cases, a single monopoly.

Foreign capital has also found Australia a happy hunting ground for super-profits. Foreign investments, mainly from Britain, the US and Japan now total over \$20 billion. Much of it is concentrated in key

industries and in those where the profits are highest. Technological change is also mainly in the hands of foreign capital as Australia imports most of the new computer technology, telephonic, communications and other equipment and industrial patents.

National capital, by-and-large, plays a subservient role and is content to go into partnership with foreign capital. This is to be seen in oil production, mining and bauxite processing which are all important industries.

After Canada, Australia has a higher percentage of foreign capital ownership than any other developed capitalist country. 55 per cent of the profits earned by capital in Australia are payable overseas. Australian capitalists also have their own investments in neighbouring countries in particular, in Papua-New Guinea, New Zealand, Malayasia, Indonesia, Singapore and some of the nearby Pacific Islands. However, at \$1 billion these investments are only 5 per cent of the investments of foreign capital in Australia.

Capitalism has therefore, not only brought crisis economic conditions to the working people but also undermines Australia's national independence with foreign capital having considerable economic control and political influence.

Naturally enough the working class and progressive people are fighting back on a number of fronts and issues and these can be expected to grow. The SPA calls for building an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly front of struggle.

A planned socialist economy, on the other hand, in which industry, resources and the land are publicly owned eliminates exploitation and the inevitable periodical crises of capitalism. The main reports to the 26th Congress confidently put before the Soviet people far-reaching plans of economic and social development under the slogan of "Everything for the good of man." The Soviet people can be sure that there will be a steady growth of the economy and that it will lead to an improvement of living standards.

Comrade Tikhonov reported that wages and salaries are to rise by 13-16 per cent and the incomes of collective farmers by 20-22 per cent.

What is the future for Australian workers in this respect? Real wages have already fallen by 4 per cent in the years since 1977 and there is an incessant campaign by the government and employers to reduce them still further. There are attempts being made at the moment to end the present system whereby workers have received at least a partial wage adjustment for the price rises constantly occurring.

So, there are two lines in economic policy too. The first line is the socialist line in which the economy, being publicly owned, can be planned with the benefits from the developments taking place being returned to the working people by all-round improvements in living standards, educational and cultural opportunities and in which the working people are drawn into the democratic processes of management and the formulation of plans.

The second line is the capitalist line in which the economy, being privately owned, is anarchistic with the results of production in the first place going to swell the profits of the owners. The capitalist owners supported by the state constantly attack living standards and exclude the workers entirely from the processes of management. The capitalist line inevitably creates instability, crisis economic conditions and a society rent by class conflict.

There can be no argument that the socialist line is better in every respect for the people.

The third feature of the Congress of main significance is the reaffirmation of the concepts of the leadership role of the Communist Party which does not decrease in time but actually increases as the all-round tasks of social development become more complex.

The CPSU gives political leadership to the people and is responsible for every aspect of social life. It is the Party which has elaborated the theory and practice of socialist construction of society, and draws up, in the first instance, the draft 5 year plans for example. It is the Party which has charted the policy of peace which has kept blue skies over the Soviet people for the last 36 years and one can assuredly add, kept the peace of the world too.

The Party carries on its work in a thoroughly democratic manner both internally and in its relations with the people. The popular discussion of the draft Congress documents cannot be matched by an capitalist country — even in those where bourgeois parliamentary democracy is held up as the pinnacle of political achievement.

The capitalist class does not and dare not call upon the people to participate in discussion of real social issues or participate in the management of the state or the economy. In Australia, the actual ownership of the economy is in the hands of about 5-10 per cent of the people. They dare not extend real democratic rights to the remaining 90 per cent.

In capitalist countries the communist parties have to wage a constant struggle on the ideological front and are attacked physically in some countries by reactionary governments. In addition, in some countries, of which Australia is one, the concept of the vanguard role of communist parties is questioned by some who regard themselves as communists. They actually follow a course of liquidating the Party into the mass movement. They make

cheap propaganda asserting that the concept of the leading role is "elitist" or a manifestation of arrogance. Such an approach, which shows a theoretical bankruptcy, is disproved by the experience of the CPSU.

The CPSU has demonstrated in countless ways the vanguard role of the Party, acting always in the interests of the people.

The report to Congress by Comrade Brezhnev dealt with questions of improving the methods of Party leadership, the links between the Party as a whole and the masses. The report also presented as a task the improvement of ideological and political work.

In circumstances where imperialist propaganda, misinformation and ideological subversion are becoming more widespread, intense and refined, the task of combatting it is a major one. How much more important, then, for communists in a capitalist environment who are surrounded and subjected every day to the pressures of capitalist ideological and political propaganda.

The SPA has to effectively substantiate and win acceptance of the concept of the leading role of a Marxist-Leninist Party and win the support of the masses for its policies. There is a great deal to be done both to extend knowledge of scientific socialist theory and the Party's day to day interpretation of events. On this question too, the work of the 26th Congress is most important for us.

There is much more that could be said on these and other questions. The experience and example of the CPSU remains of first rate importance for communists everywhere, for us to use and apply in our struggle for socialist transformation.

Some new proposals before the 4th Party Congress

by P. Symon

The draft documents for the Party's 4th Congress have to be seen in the context of two aspects.

Firstly, the draft Political Resolution must be added to a number of basic policy statements already adopted at previous Congresses. The present resolution does not replace the Party Program which remains our most fundamental statement of aims. Nor does it supersede the Women's Program, the National Question in Australia or Migrants and Working Class Unity, all adopted by the last Congress.

The current Political Resolution does supersede a similar resolution adopted by the 3rd Congress. The new resolution is designed to carry the Party through until the next Party Congress in three years — not that its perspectives are limited to three years. But, it does give emphasis to those issues which demand immediate attention.

Secondly, both the Political Resolution and the redrafted Constitution have to be seen in the context of the tasks the Party has to perform, the Party's role. The Preamble to the redrafted Constitution says of this, "The Socialist Party of Australia is a political organisation established for the purpose of developing the necessary actions to change the order of society in Australia from capitalism to socialism."

We have to assess in the pre-Congress discussion whether the policies put forward and the Constitution and Rules meet this criterion. Do our policies, our strategy and tactics take us in the direction of socialist transformation of society? Will the proposed Constitution strengthen the Party organisationally, build it into a steeled and disciplined organi-

sation capable of carrying on the arduous struggle to overcome the entrenched and powerful ruling capitalist class?

Of course our Party has to be built to meet the demands of the class struggle in Australia and in this respect we sometimes hear arguments to the effect that things in Australia are different. But there are no grounds for believing that the Australian ruling class is going to act any differently to that of any other capitalist country.

An important feature of the preparations for the 4th Congress is the extended discussion period and the specific involvement of the Party Branches and higher organisations in the discussions and in the processing of amendments to the drafts. By all accounts this procedure is being taken full advantage of by Party members.

Part I of the Political Resolution raises the urgent demand for the maintenance of peace. This has been placed first in the resolution because peace and disarmament has emerged in recent years as the number one question demanding resolution and upon which all other issues have become dependent. World nuclear war threatens all life. For the first time in human history long range nuclear missiles have created the possibility of mutual mass annihilation. If such a war were to eventuate other issues would become meaningless. This situation demands that all possibility of war must be ruled out and eliminated before one starts. This can only be done and the world made safe again by mutual disarmament.

The Political Resolution identifies the enemy of peace as being world imperialism, particularly US imperialism, which is introducing more and more new weapons systems. The US leaders are attempting to force all other governments into supporting its aggressive policies which are directed in the first place against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as the national liberation movements of all the continents.

In this plot against the world the Australian Liberal government has become something of a front runner, not only going all the way with the USA in its aggressive preparations but is to be seen as one of the relatively few governments which urges on the most war-mongering circles. The Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, is the most vitriolic spokesman in this regard.

Part I puts forward a number of key policy points and calls for an intensified Party effort for peace as well as the need to build to much higher levels the broad peace movement. The peace organisations need to and can be built into real mass organisations given the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people are in favour of peace.

Part II of the Political Resolution makes a socio-economic analysis of Australia. This is the first time that this method of approach has been used so extensively in a Party policy document. It is a method which is fundamental to historical materialism and should be adopted as the normal method of analysis in all our activities. Only by thoroughly knowing the real situation in which we are working is it possible to work out the correct policies and find the correct strategy and tactics. A great deal of communist work proceeds on the basis of subjective wishes and feelings rather than on concrete analysis and because of this, policies stand a likelihood of being either inadequate or wrong.

Undoubtedly the present material in the part of the resolution is only a start in our research but if it leads to a wider adoption of this approach and involves more members in research and study of the objective realities of the society around us it will have served a good purpose.

Of course, our study is not for some academic purpose. It is designed to equip us with the facts and the starting points from which we can set about changing society in the interests of the working people.

Part III deals with the decisive role of the Socialist Party of Australia more extensively than in the 3rd Congress Political Resolution. It is clear from our experiences that this question needs a lot of emphasis and is by no means fully understood.

The leading role of the Party is often relegated in practice when Party policies and decisions are ignored or when activity proceeds without collective discussion in the appropriate Party organisations. Activities will be much more effective and decisions are more likely to be the correct ones if the Party collectives are made to work. If, on the other hand, they are by-passed the Party organisations become stultified and decisions taken may be inadequate, the collective wisdom of the Party organisation is ignored.

The draft restates democratic centralism as the organisational principles on which the Party is built. In the history of the communist parties of many countries it is found that democratic centralism has often been attacked. If a Party can be diverted from these principles and formal democracy made to prevail the Party will be effectively destroyed as a revolutionary vanguard. One form of this attack on democratic centralism is to present it as two poles of a contradiction rather than as a single unity having a number of principles inherent in it.

If it becomes possible to separate it into two parts — democracy and centralism — it then becomes possible to pose one against the other, to talk in terms of, say, the “democracy” of the rank and file and the “centralism” of the leadership which is then branded as being

bureaucratic. This was the course followed by the revisionists who gained the ascendancy in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for a time in 1968.

In his report to the 14th Congress of the CPC in 1971, G Husak, First Secretary of the CPC said, "We have convinced ourselves that democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy cannot be separated and set one against the other."

The section of the Political Resolution dealing with the Party also underlines the great importance of the ideological work of the Party both among Party members and more widely among the working class. The domination of bourgeois ideology over the minds of the people must be broken and this can only be achieved by a prolonged and thorough-going struggle in the realm of ideas.

The draft raises several important issues for attention in this respect. For example, the influence of right and "left" opportunism, economism and spontaneity, an existing under-estimation of the role of the Party, problems of reformism, Maoism and Trotskyism.

Part IV calls for the building of anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly unity for peace, national independence, a new democratic economic system and secure living standards.

This broadens out the previous call for an anti-monopoly front. There is growing evidence that more and more of our resources, industries and financial institutions are being taken over by foreign capital. Both its political and economic influence is growing. In these circumstances it is necessary that our Party and the working class takes up the struggle against imperialism, for our national independence and sovereignty.

Sections of the Australian capitalist class also have investments overseas and the bourgeoisie closely allies itself with the international class interests of imperialism everywhere. The added emphasis given to the struggle against imperialism which is being taken up on a world-wide scale by all the communist parties and national liberation movements places our party in unity with these forces. It strengthens proletarian internationalism.

The term "new democratic economic system" is new although the objectives it relates to are not. We are attempting here to give a name and substance to the first stage of the two stage process of transition to socialism. This process is set down in our Party program but is not elaborated there.

Although the current Political Resolution is designed to direct the Party's work over the next three years to the next Congress it is necessary to give perspective to our work beyond the immediate demands for reforms which are also included.

The section dealing with the new democratic economic system sets out demands for extensive nationalisation, and strict control over money supply, interest rates, profits and prices. It calls for the beginnings of economic planning and taxes to be levied on the profits of public and private enterprise and from personal incomes in accordance with the ability to pay. The representative and democratic organisations of the workers and professional circles will be included on the planning bodies and in management.

The draft says that these economic and social measures would enable the people of Australia to bring the national and foreign monopoly corporations under popular democratic ownership and control and bring under democratic direction the economy of the country.

These measures represent a far-reaching change in the private enterprise system of capitalism and to achieve them, would demand the development of powerful working class action, the establishment of a government fully prepared and capable enough to carry through such a program and, in time, move forward to socialism.

Space does not allow anything more than a listing of some other points in the draft which are new.

There is a section on the environment and the ecology movements. In connection with the united front the point is made that in essence it is a political concept and that relations of a party to party nature must be built.

There is a section dealing with the Young Socialist League and the proposal is put that organisations of the YSL have the right to nominate members of the YSL to be members of the SPA.

There is also a new section on migrant communists and the SPA which makes the point that there is only one working class made up of all those who are employed whether they be native born or migrants. Consequently there should be only one communist party which includes all communists irrespective of national origin.

The pre-Congress discussion has now been in progress for over two months and it is clear that the Party membership has responded very well to the appeal to give a thorough study to the drafts and to hold extended discussion of them in all Party organisations. In this way the pre-Congress discussions are turning into a political school which will lift the political understanding and consciousness of many members.

Unions in the struggle for peace

by Pat Clancy

The Pacific Trade Union Peace Conference held in Port Vila, Vanuatu, in May, 1981 was an inspiring example of the deep concern of the Australian trade union movement for the preservation of world peace.

The particular focus of the conference was opposition to nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific, opposition to the dumping of nuclear waste and a firm declaration that the Pacific Ocean must be a Zone of Peace.

This was a trade union peace conference at a very high level.

The central trade union organisations, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the New Zealand Federation of Labour and the Japanese Central Trade Union organisation Sohyo were sponsors of the conference.

They were joined by trade union centres from Papua New Guinea, Fiji, New Caledonia and all of the union centres from the newly independent island States of the Pacific Region.

While concentration was upon the peace task in the Pacific region this was clearly seen as part of the global peace struggle of the broad peace forces.

Australian unions provided the biggest delegation, 38 delegates coming from 20 unions and four Labour Councils.

Basic decisions of the conference were a unanimously decided upon declaration calling for the Pacific Ocean to be a Zone of Peace, complete opposition to nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons testing, full support for the U.N. disarmament programme and agreement on a 23 point course of action.

The Pacific Peace Conference is a very important development. It threw together unions of diverse opinions and showed the possibility of still further strengthening the movement for peace in Australian unionism.

The slogan "Peace is Union Business" has a long and honourable history in Australian unionism.

It developed out of the intense activity in the 1950's when the world peace movement began to expand and the exponents of the Cold War tried to prevent union activists from being concerned with the peace movement.

At that time, in the early 50's, the then Menzie's Government tried to prevent Australian unionists attending International peace conferences.

The then extreme right wing leaders of sections of the Labour Party actually expelled Labor Party members for taking part in peace conferences.

These right wing elements propagated the cry that the unions should only be concerned with the economic questions, that peace was political and unions should not engage in political activities.

This period required a vigorous ideological struggle within the trade union movement, to convince unionists that their interests could only be advanced if peace was preserved, and that unions must take part in all struggles affecting the welfare of the people.

The fierce struggle of ideas culminated in a very successful peace conference in 1959, attending by over 350 representatives which strikingly demonstrated the powerful influence of the ideas of peace and peaceful co-existence.

The 1959 Australian Council of Trade Unions Congress gave its official seal with the now historic declaration that Trade Unions must defend to the utmost to the ideals of peace, that without peace no question, whether social, economic or political is capable of a solution.

Since that time, the Australian Trade Union Movement has been active in many different activities for peace, both national and international

In the Vietnam war period when the great mass movement developed in opposition to involvement in the Vietnam war the trade unions were most active.

In particular the Seamen's union and a number of the branches of the Waterside Workers Federation, particularly the Sydney Branch, took strong and militant action against the Vietnam war.

The Seamen's Union banned the ships of war supplies and refused to man ships carrying war supplies for Vietnam.

These experiences are worthwhile recalling today, when the danger of war is very great and proliferation of nuclear weapons threatens the whole of humanity.

The principle lesson of the 1950's was the necessity to involve wider and wider sections of the trade union movement in activities for peace.

Action by the advanced sections alone was insufficient to change the then prevailing cold war atmosphere.

The very circumstances compelled the break with narrow sectarian practices and required approaches to be made to the broadest possible forces in the Australian labour movement.

It was the involvement of these broader forces, including right wing union leaders which enabled the change to take place and the firm peace declaration of the ACTU Congress to be made.

Today's circumstances require essentially the same approach.

If humanity is to be saved, the horror of nuclear war must never occur.

The Pacific Peace Conference showed that there would be no limit to the trade union forces who can be involved in some form of peace action.

In the delegations from 20 unions there were some who came from unions that would be labelled right of centre or even extreme right wing.

Yet these unions were represented at the conference and the declaration for the Pacific to be a Zone of Peace was carried enthusiastically and unanimously.

In NSW a United Nations Association representative has already addressed the Labor Council of NSW and that Labor Council has unanimously endorsed the disarmament petition.

With official ACTU involvement in the Pacific Peace Conference it seems that there is a strong possibility that the 1981 ACTU Congress can once more firmly declare for peace and start an onward movement against nuclear war and total and complete disarmament.

Now is the time for the United Nations Disarmament Petition to be taken out onto the jobs, in the work places, factories and offices and every available place where unionist meet.

Now is the time for the Australian trade union movement to be involved in the International union movement for peace and disarmament

and to join in the disarmament conference on the consequences of the armament programme which will be held in Europe later this year.

The essential thing is to completely discard any narrow sectarian concepts, to realise that the climate is very different today to those of the cold war years.

Unionists are concerned about nuclear war and are willing to take action to win international agreement on the need to outlaw nuclear war and to destroy existing stock piles.

Let us properly estimate the mood of our times. Let us properly estimate the urgency of the situation and do our utmost to involve all forces in the struggle for peace, and to ensure that the three million strong trade union movement in Australia throws its impressive strength into this vital task.

Communists and the trade unions, by Jack McPhillips
Available all New Era Bookshops — price \$1.50

Politics of the struggle for peace and disarmament

by W.J. Brown

What are the basic politics of the struggle to prevent nuclear holocaust and to establish peaceful co-existence as the sane alternative?

Clearly, the urgent requirement of the nuclear age is to build the broadest and biggest people's mass movement in history to prevent thermo-nuclear destruction of the planet and preserve the future of humanity.

The politics of peace and disarmament demand priority attention by the people of all walks of life, of all classes, of all beliefs in all lands.

Peace and human survival is the broad issue around which a mass movement of millions can and must be mounted.

Side by side with helping build such a mass movement, all serious socialist forces need to help reject the war-inciting myth of the "Soviet threat." It is necessary to expose this Hitler-invented lie and to bring out the fact that it is the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist world which are consistently advancing the need for dialogue with the capitalist world on ending the arms race and preserving world peace.

At the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President Brezhnev proposed summit meetings between the US and the USSR.

President Brezhnev's sober statement on this crucial question should be made widely known. After pointing to the Soviet Union's consistent advocacy of peace-preserving measures, he said:

...It is universally recognised that in many ways the international situation depends on the policy of both the USSR and the USA. As we see it, the state of relations between them at present and the acuteness of the international problems requiring a solution necessitate a dialogue, and an active dialogue, at all levels. We are prepared to have such a dialogue.

Experience shows that the crucial factor here is meetings at summit level. This was true yesterday, and is still true today.

The Soviet stand for peace dates back to the first decree of the new Soviet State, the Peace Decree signed by Lenin. Soviet peace policy is embodied in the peace programs developed by the 24th, 25th and 26th Congresses of the CPSU.

The latest Soviet initiative at this writing is a call by Soviet Foreign Minister Mr A. Gromyko on June 17 for an international dialogue.

In contrast, the line of the US, to which Australia has been fully committed by the Fraser Government, is to intensify the arms race, to take the world ever closer to the nuclear brink and to even undertake the final, fatal adventure of nuclear war itself.

The positive role of the Soviet Union and the socialist world in regard to preventing nuclear war, stopping the arms race and eliminating war from the affairs of man is the great factual reality of our epoch.

The truth of the Soviet Union's consistent stand for peace is buried in the capitalist world behind a skilfully woven web of lies and distortion.

The big lie of the "Soviet threat" remains the main prop used by politicians and the media of capitalist countries to sustain their world-endangering policies. But the signs are growing that more and more people are coming to see through this lie and recognise that the real threat comes from US imperialism and those countries still foolish enough to bow to the Washington diktat.

An important trend of recent times is the growing level of consciousness of the grave peril of nuclear extinction now facing the world. This trend includes a new questioning of the "Russian bogey" and the emergence of a new readiness to seek and support common sense alternatives. These signs are manifest in the US and Europe and are also emergent in Australia.

The basic politics of the peace movement must take full account of this rising potential for broad united action. It is a potential that must in no way be limited by left-sectarian attitudes.

At the Alice Springs seminar against foreign bases in Australia last April it was clear that new readiness was present in the peace movement (and among left forces within that movement) to come together on the peace and disarmament issue.

The need is to build a movement for peace which encompasses those forces which are emerging in all lands among all classes and among people of all beliefs and standpoints around the conviction that prevention of nuclear holocaust is the task of every person regardless of political or religious positions.

This places a special responsibility on the Marxist-Leninist Parties in the capitalist countries. The Parties of each country will of course need to develop their own tactics in approaching this question.

The politics of the peace movement demand an all-sided approach free of all sectarian tendencies. This should be the approach of all parties of the left.

The Socialist Party of Australia, discussing this question in preparation for its Fourth Congress has recognised that while it is essential to bring out the independent role of the SPA on the peace issue, it is of fundamental importance to help build the broadest peace movement yet seen in Australia around this cardinal question of contemporary politics.

The SPA has the key task referred to above of combatting and overcoming the lies, distortion and confusion around the positive, peace supporting position of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries. The SPA's many-sided role includes the bringing out of the consistent stand of the Soviet Union for peace, the exposure and rejection of the "Soviet threat" lie, the need to show the benefits for Australian national security and national gain that reside in common sense policies of peaceful co-existence and peaceful co-operation with the Soviet Union and socialist world countries generally.

The SPA has also the task of developing and winning support for an independent Australian foreign policy and showing how Australia's alignment with US policies for using Australia as a forward-base for the US nuclear war machine spells national disaster not national security for our nation.

At the same time, the SPA has a most fundamental responsibility along with all sections of the labor movement and all progressive forces to do everything to help build the broad movement for peace.

Victory in the complex universal task of achieving peace and disarmament will not and cannot be achieved by the forces of the left alone. Victory for peace and disarmament requires the building of a great people's movement in which there is room and a role for all forces seriously concerned with the common objective of preventing nuclear catastrophe and finding a common path to durable peace.

Any attempt to impose the leadership of this or that section of the labor movement on the peace movement will create nothing but division. It would mean weakening and dividing the peace movement and therefore contracting the potential of building the broad people's movement that is essential to impose policies of peace on such governments as the Reagan, Thatcher and Fraser administrations.

As the documents for the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Party of Australia correctly declare the "building of the broadest and strongest peace movement in our history in support of policies of peaceful coexistence, detente and disarmament is the most urgent task before everyone."

The resolution adds: "The Socialist Party has an important leading role both in making its own independent contribution to the struggle for peace while giving every possible assistance to help build and strengthen the broad peace movement...while not neglecting other important issues and areas of mass struggle it is essential that SPA members in unity with all other progressive forces act to give the struggle for peace the foremost priority."

For socialists, prevention of nuclear holocaust is a many sided question. It is a struggle demanding support on the basis of Communist humanism. While it is a struggle to ensure the preservation of human life on planet earth, it is a struggle to ensure an ongoing future for human society in which the great socio-economic and political question of our time can be solved along the path of peaceful co-existence. Socialism by its very nature needs peace to realise its objective of human advance to a higher socio-economic formation which will guarantee a better life for all free from unemployment, economic crisis and exploitation.

At the same time, Marxist-Leninist forces do not confuse the struggle for socialism with the struggle for peace. Clarity on this is basic to understanding the all-sided nature of the politics of the peace movement.

The three basic forces for **peace and social advance** are the Soviet Union and the socialist community of nations; the working class

forces in the capitalist nations and their allies and the forces for national liberation. As the decisive forces for **social** change, all these forces are vitally interested in preserving peace.

The peace movement, by its very character has the potential for still wider mobilisation of forces to achieve the common specific objectives of the movement. The movement for world peace and disarmament has the potential of bringing into united purpose a strata of forces that can reach out to and include non-socialist forces including some sections of the capitalist class itself.

In 1935, Georgi Dimitrov delivered his famous report to the 7th Congress of the Communist International calling for a united front of the working class against the rising threat of war and fascism.

Today, with the rising threat of nuclear war and the danger of extinction of all human life, there is need for a still wider and stronger people's movement to defend and preserve world peace.

As the draft political resolution under discussion for the Fourth Congress of the SPA states: "It should be noted that the Australian capitalist class, as with the capitalist class internationally, is not monolithic in its support for the nuclear war preparations. Some support detente, peaceful co-existence, disarmament and development and every effort should be made to develop these positive trends."

But can the national and international forces for peace prevail over those forces pressing on with the madness of the arms race and the ultimate insanity of nuclear war itself?

A global assessment provides a decisive yes.

Nuclear holocaust can be prevented and world peace can be won and held by the truly massive forces for peace which exist in the Socialist world, the capitalist world and the countries struggling for national liberation.

There is a role for everyone.

The overall peace movement is a movement for achieving the sane objective of world peace and disarmament. It holds tremendous potential to develop into the broadest people's movement in history. Regardless of differing viewpoints on other issues, nothing should stand in the way of helping realise this potential. It is a movement that can decide the basic question of human survival. There is a place for everyone among the decision-makers...and it is a movement on the rise.

The party press — its role in the struggle for scientific socialism

by Alan Miller

The Socialist has a lineage of which we can all be proud. It carries forward the traditions and the basic political approach of the communist press in an earlier period in this country's history.

When the Communist Party of Australia was formed October 30, 1920, its paper *The Communist* was established. Later the *Workers' Weekly* was born and, during the Great Depression of the thirties, its circulation increased many times over. On September 4, 1939, *Tribune* replaced the *Workers' Weekly*.

In the early forties, the Communist Party and its press were banned under the Menzies' Government. Workers were gaoled for distributing the illegal *Tribune* or being in possession of it. However, this did not deter the workers. Police searched for the secret printeries, but never found them. In the period of the ban, the circulation of the *Tribune* doubled. Later, under the Labor Government, the *Communist Party and Tribune* regained legality and the party and its press were able openly to contribute to the anti-fascist war effort.

The *Tribune* and the CPA papers produced on a state basis played a big role in the post-war working class struggles.

In the early seventies, the Socialist Party of Australia was formed. CPA leaders had turned that party away from communist principles

and there was need for the SPA to uphold those fundamental ideas and advance them among the workers. The newspaper *SPA* became the voice of the Socialist Party, and later the paper's name was changed to *the Socialist*.

So the history of our paper is one of leadership and service in the struggle for peace, progress and socialism and today the paper continues this role with honour.

When carrying out my responsibilities recently as Socialist Party delegate to the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and, along with Comrade Brian Rooney, taking part in the SPA delegation to the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, I was told by representatives of overseas parties that they highly estimated our party paper.

Of course, views which are raised by the editorial collective and by comrades generally need close examination in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. We always need to seek ways of improving our paper. However, we can, with justification, say that in *the Socialist* we have a positive weapon for our cause and struggle.

The draft political resolution for the forthcoming Fourth Congress of our party emphasises the "decisive role" of the party and makes a call to build the SPA in every way. This correct estimation and call immediately raises the question of the party newspaper, its role, the progress it has made and how to improve its all round quality and the quantity sold.

Lenin regarded the newspaper as a key factor in party building and, when one puts that view to the test of practice today, one can see that it still holds good.

The paper helps to consolidate the existing party membership both ideologically and organisationally. When the paper is sold to a non-party person it paves the way for the party's development. It begins the process of ideological work by presenting the party's ideas and, simultaneously, it begins the organisational process. Contact is made with someone who could become a money-donor and, indeed, a party member and who could have other contacts.

The *Australian Marxist Review* has the task of developing the party's theoretical work. Hence it contributes to strengthening the party and its influence in the area of ideology. However, it would be wrong to build a wall between the theoretical journal and the paper and suggest that *the Socialist* does not also serve an ideological purpose. Part of the paper's role is precisely to present a system of ideas

based on a Marxist-Leninist outlook and method and, indeed, sometimes this is done in articles which deal specifically with ideological matters.

The paper's role, of course, goes further than party building. It assists the party to develop socialist consciousness among the working people and, above all, the industrial working class. Therefore, in dealing with the many aspects of life in Australia and throughout the world, including the economic and political situation and the activity and struggles which are taking place, those matters need to be selected, reported upon and analysed which will contribute to the socialist political understanding of the working class in its struggle for power and bring the middle classes and intellectual strata closer to a working class socialist position.

An important part of this process is played by offering material which gives practical help and leadership in tackling the many problems which beset the masses. This, of course, is associated with the party's overall task of providing effective leadership. So the role of the paper does far beyond merely reporting what is going on.

The problem we are faced with is not just how to improve our reporting of events, but how to improve our coverage as part of our improved ability to write with greater Marxist-Leninist capacity. This applies to all matters affecting the working class, not just those which affect the class directly such as those which occur within the trade union movement, but also the problems of the workers' allies such as the working farmers and intellectuals, and also questions which affect the workers' class enemies — the capitalist class — and this includes divisions which develop within the enemy camp. Our increased capacity needs to be applied to the all important struggle for peace, the struggles for living standards, democracy, national independence, struggles in the trade union movement, the youth movement, the women's movement, the Aboriginal movement and those activities concerned with migrant problems.

This is certainly a big task for the editorial collective. We need to enlarge our collective as soon as possible and assist in its ideological development. We also need to see that the party as a whole lifts its Marxist-Leninist capacity, including a greater consciousness concerning the role of the paper. We are yet to take full advantage of the fact that we have party activists who are engaged in important work among the masses and are in a good position to offer valuable material for our paper.

It is sometimes suggested that the paper should change its character and, instead of being a paper designed to assist party members to

influence the more developed sections of the working people so that they, in turn, can influence the less developed, the paper should try and reach the masses as a whole, including the most backward sections. It is then suggested that in this way our paper can become a "popular" paper with a mass circulation.

I do not subscribe to this view. *Pravda* is a mass circulation paper not because it lowered its ideological standards, but because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union lifted the ideological level of the Soviet masses. It seems to me that if we were to alter the character of *the Socialist* as suggested, the circulation would not alter basically but simply the quality of the paper would be lowered.

Certainly we want to have a paper which has wide appeal but in no way should this mean a departure from the basic role of the paper which I have described above.

Evidence shows that where we plan and carry out all round sales activity we can increase the circulation and where we give attention to the press fund, we can get money for the paper. Of course, strengthening the paper's position cannot be separated from the overall tasks of party building, including the collection of money.

While in no way 'posing one form of selling against another, from the angle of concrete party building, nothing can place the development of regular rounds in the workplace and locality. In view of our emphasis on building workplace organisation, there should not only be special attention to workplace paper rounds but even the locality rounds should be checked for workplace contact.

As we approach the Fourth Congress, it is a serious matter that we are still some distance from a weekly paper. This does not mean our present approach to the role of the paper is wrong, but that a greater party consciousness needs to be cultivated resulting in a more sustained effort to strengthen the editorial collective and involve the party as a whole in the work of lifting the paper's quality and circulation. This is the way to establish the basis for a weekly paper.

Marxism — and Australian history

— a new study class

by Ray Clarke

Basic reading:

Lenin...Three Sources and three components of Marxism W.J. Brown. *Communist Science...and Australia.* Optional and supplementary reading may be recommended.

One criticism of the SPA printed Study Syllabus was that it contained nothing directly related to the study of Australian labor history.

With the publication of “Communist Science...and Australia,” by W.J. Brown, this gap can now be filled. A study course using this pamphlet as the basic text is now available from SPA offices.

Bill Brown’s approach is rather unusual. He takes Lenin’s basic proposition of the three components of Marxism...Marxist Philosophy...Political Economy...and scientific socialism...and seeks to examine their validity in a study of Australian history from our early beginnings to the present period.

Lenin wrote the article, “The Three Sources and the Three Components of Marxism” in 1913 and it was published in one of the legal theoretical journals of the Bolsheviks in a special edition dedicated to the 30th Anniversary of Marx’s death. It is printed in full in this pamphlet so that the student can clearly understand the principles Brown uses in his examination of our history.

The study course suggested falls easily into three classes and follows the division of the material in the pamphlet....Lenin’s article..section 1

and Chapter 1...The first component..Marxist Philosophy comprise the reading for the first class.

“Historical materialism is the component of Marxist philosophy which studies the general laws of social development and the form in which they are realised in history”. **(Page 17)**

Brown argues that any serious study of the history of Australia must begin with the history of the Aboriginal people and he summarises the reasons for the level of their social development at the time of the arrival of the first settlers of 1788. **(Page 23-28)**

He then argues that “with the arrival of Governor Phillips first fleet in 1788 the state apparatus of British capitalism supplanted the stateless society of the Aboriginal peoples primitive communal society on the Australian continent” **(Page 29)** He then shows how the ruling class have been using the state apparatus and trying to perfect it ever since.

Included is a brief listing of precisely how the state has been used against the Australian people over 200 years since foundation which clearly demonstrates the class character of the capitalist state apparatus.

Section 2 of Lenin’s article and chapter 2...The second component... Marxist Political Economy are the basic reading for the second class. This chapter discusses the confirmation of objective laws of political economy in Australian history.

It traces Marx on “Capital, land and labor”, capitalist exploitation and recurrent crises, Australian imperialism in the 19th and 20th century, capitalism, computers and Communist Science. The latter brings the study of scientific socialism in Australia right up to the present time.

The book quotes Marx’s statement that “Capital comes into the world dripping from head and foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt” and comments that “Capitalism made precisely such an entrance on Australia’s historical stage.” **(Page 44)**

A harsh judgement? The historical facts as set out over several pages provides an argument in justification.

Writing about the situation in the 1880’s Brown says: “Learning from and co-operating with the empire builders of imperial England, Australia’s emergent capitalists were quick to acquire imperialist ambitions of their own, even before they had achieved co-ordination of all the states into a capitalist nation. “In fact, a basic socio-economic factor in the emergence of Federation of the six Australian colonies

into a Commonwealth of sovereign states in 1901 was the development of Australian imperialist tendencies.” (Page 52)

“Federation, in fact not only opened a new century for Australia in 1901, it opened a new era of advance into the monopoly stage of Australian capital”. (Page 53)

An interesting section in this chapter is information provided by the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, on the current high level of Australian capital invested overseas. Information from several other sources on the role of monopoly, the multi-nationals and the extent of Australian imperialist expansion provide for stimulating discussion on the current situation in the light of Marxist political economy.

Material for the 3rd class will be section 3 of Lenin’s Article and chapter 3 of the book, *The Third component...Scientific socialism*.

Socialist theories came fairly early to the Australian labor movement — in the form of the Utopian socialism of William Lane, not the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels. Brown makes an interesting comment on Lane leading his supporters to far off Paraguay and some latter day utopians seeking a solution at Nimbin or some other utopian retreat not so far away.

He examines “Scientific Socialism..its living proof” by looking at the reality of the developed socialist societies in the USSR and the rest of the Socialist world and uses this brief but basic reference to justify the correctness of Lenin’s assessment of the absolute necessity for revolutionary theory and a revolutionary party to lead a successful socialist revolution.

Since the history of the struggle for scientific socialist party in Australia is dealt with in brief outline in Chapter 3, additional reading will be recommended to amplify this section.

L.L. Sharkey, who was General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia from 1949 to 1965 is quoted for his biting but basic observation that “The Australian Labor movement is a movement with contempt for theory.” (Page 86) This situation is changing today but not necessarily for the better. The proliferation of left political groups all advancing their own variations of Marxism mixed up with anti-communist and anti-Soviet attitudes tend to add chaos to confusion in the theoretical field. Ironically all claim to have studied Lenin. History is demonstrating again and again that only the understanding and application of Marxist-Leninist science is capable of leading the masses to a successful socialist revolution.

This introductory study illustrating how to apply the scientific principles of Marxism to the Australian reality will serve a useful purpose. In addition to the organised study of the material in this pamphlet "Communist Science...and Australia" it should be widely read as background information for all comrades and non-party activists studying the resolutions for the 4th SPA Congress. This is what the Congress documents should be all about...applying the three components of Marxism to an analysis of the contemporary situation and the way forward for Australia.

Communist science and Australia, by W.J. Brown
Available all New Era Bookshops — price \$1.50