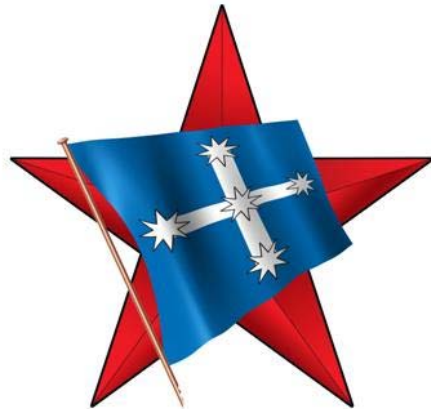


The Labor Party?

**Dr EVATT - THE PETROV AFFAIR -
THE WHITLAM GOVERNMENT**



E. F. Hill

CONTENTS

Chap.	Contents	Page
1.	<i>The function of political parties; parliamentary politics and the politics of class struggle; the role of the ALP.</i>	3
2.	<i>Evatt as an exponent of A.L.P. policy; his stand on the attempt to ban the communist party and on other questions.</i>	7
3	<i>The Petrov Affair; an anti-working class provocation and incidentally an election gimmick; the labor party's dilemma; revelations of the Petrov royal commission; Evatt's part in the commission.</i>	17
4	<i>Divisions in the A.L.P.; the split of 1955; The Hobart Conference</i>	25
5	<i>Splits are characteristic of the ALP; fundamental causes; the conscription of World War I and the split over the premier's plan of the depression; effects of splits.</i>	33
6	<i>Growth of Australia during World War II and changes in imperialist domination; the Statute of Westminster Adoption Act 1942; the dream of an independent capitalist Australia.</i>	37
7	<i>A people's democratic dictatorship is the only way to independence; the need for a united front and the correct approach to it.</i>	42
8	<i>The A.L.P. —a party of capitalism; its attitude to the capitalist state apparatus; objectively progressive aspects of the Labor government's internal policy and international relations; a comment on its health and compensation schemes; the Labor government's attempts to counter economic depression with capitalist measures; intensification of class struggle the result; the crisis of capitalism deepens; Labor Party faces collapse; working class turns towards communism as the way out</i>	47
9	<i>A closer analysis of the nature of the A.L.P. as a party of capitalism.</i>	61
10	<i>The fundamental difference between A.L.P. policy and communism</i>	65
11	<i>The workers' need of a revolutionary party; A.L.P. ideology politics and organisation do not meet this need; its service to capitalism breaking down; the revisionist "communist" party being used to prop it up; the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) leads the fight for national independence and a people's democratic dictatorship.</i>	72
	Appendix 1: The Question of Independence and Initiative Within the United Front	78
	Appendix 2: Transcript of Evidence of W. Bird at Petrov Royal Commission	81
	Appendix 3: Newspaper Vanguard Comment on Article by Dr. J.F. Cairns and Dr. Cairns' Article	90

FOREWORD

Since this booklet was written certain developments which call for short comment have occurred.

The Labor Party, both at its 1975 Terrigal conference and in its Cabinet, made a number of decisions which openly took it far more to the right than its previous public position during the period of Mr. Whitlam's government. This bears out the analysis of the booklet. At the time of these decisions, Mr. Whitlam said:

"We are not going into reverse . . . we shall go from this conference (Terrigal) with our program refreshed and, I think with our determination refreshed." Dr. Cairns said: "We cannot have a socialist society until we have a society of socialists." The Labor Party's words and deeds have thus accorded more openly with its essential bourgeois character which constitutes the theme of this booklet.

The draft provisional general programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) has been amended from that published in the last chapter of the booklet. It was too late to include the draft provisional general programme as endorsed by the Party's 3rd Congress, the discussion of which concluded in March 1975. But in essence the two draft provisional general programmes are very similar.

March, 1975.

E. F. Hill

FOREWORD TO THE 2023 EDITION

Like a wine of exceptional quality, this book, now nearly fifty years old, has aged very well. Its analysis of the Labor Party shows its fundamental character as a party of capitalism. It explores its contradictions as a party alternating between service to imperialism, on one hand, and to Australian capitalists sometimes seeking greater capitalist independence from imperialism, on the other. It explains how internal Labor Party division is fuelled by its fundamental service to capitalism and its need to maintain the deception that it serves its electoral base in the working class and other progressive people.

The author, E F (Ted) Hill was the founding Chairperson of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), established in 1964. Ted was a prominent and outstanding Communist leader, activist and lawyer who dedicated his life and work to working people in Australia. His other works can be found on E F HILL website ([E F HILL](#)) .

Since this book was written, additional experience has arisen of Labor in office, including its attacks on the workers through the Accord, its pioneering of neo-liberalism under Hawke and Keating, its keeping the unions under control through Fair Work Australia, its further opening of Australian territory to the US military under Gillard, and the continuation of that treachery via AUKUS under Albanese, Wong and Marles. All these later phenomena can be best understood by learning from the example set by Hill in his analysis of the Labor Party.

A young comrade offered to retype this book, long out of print, so that it can be made available to a new generation of Australian Communists. We thank him for his enthusiasm and hard work.

CHAPTER ONE

The function of political parties; parliamentary politics and the politics of class struggle; the role of the ALP.

Political parties arise to serve the interests of the classes in society. Under the capitalist social system the class divisions centre around the division between capitalists and workers. There are intermediate sections of the population but the broad division is that between capitalists and in particular, monopoly capitalists on the one hand, and workers and in particular, industrial workers on the other hand. In Australia the monopoly capitalists are predominantly foreign. Key sections of the economy are dominated by multi-national corporations with their centres in the U.S.A. or Britain or Japan. They employ and exploit Australian workers in the oil, motor vehicle, food, chemical, rubber and other industries.

These monopolies and those Australian monopolies that collaborate with them are substantially the rulers of Australia. They rule seemingly through parliament. In Australia, there are parliaments for the separate States and for Australia itself. The parliaments are really deception, "talking shops" to conceal the reality of rule by force by monopoly capitalism. The ruling circles essentially rely upon force to ensure the maintenance of capitalism with its exploitation and subjection of the workers and working people. But they conceal this force under the cover of democracy. That is, there are elected parliaments, for the membership of which the people supposedly have a choice by voting in elections. This choice is really quite illusory and amounts as Marx and Lenin said, once every 3 years or so to no more than the right to choose which member of the ruling circles will misrepresent the people in parliament. Parliament creates the illusion that the business of Australia is being done in that parliament whereas the reality is that the business of Australia is done by these great monopolies and by the chiefs of the Army.

To serve parliamentary politics are parliamentary political parties. Here, the illusion is created that there is a political party to serve private property (capitalism) and a political party to serve the workers in the struggle against the employers. At election times there is presented a picture of a struggle between these two political parties as to which will have power, the labor party commonly being referred to as socialist. Essentially, which political party constitutes the government does not in any way affect the question of which class in society rules. The main parliamentary political parties in Australia are the Liberal Party and the Labor Party. There is the Country Party¹ which has close relations with the Liberal Party and basically serves the same interests but puts more emphasis on rural interests. The essence of the question is that each of these parties, the Liberal Party, the Country Party and the Labor Party, operates within Parliament and Parliament is itself an institution of capitalism.

¹¹ The Country Party changed its name to the National Country Party in 1975, and to its current name, The Nationals, in 1982.

The name of a political party does not necessarily throw any light on the real character of that party. The real character of a political party can only be gathered by an examination of which class interests that party serves and the historical conditions of Australia. The so-called Liberals in Australia are really conservatives: indeed, their leadership is diehard reactionary. The so-called Labor Party is not a party of labor at all but a bourgeois liberal party; it is a party of capitalism. The most significant thing about each of these parties is the fact of its service to the parliamentary institution which is the characteristic form of capitalist rule in so-called Western Democracies.

It is also characteristic of capitalism in countries like Australia, that it creates the impression that the only politics are parliamentary politics. Day in and day out it promotes the impression that all important questions are determined in parliament. At election times this process is carried to the utmost extreme. However all this is illusion and not reality. Reality is that politics are the politics of class struggle. This was well put by Mao Tse-tung when he said: "Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class, not the activity of a few individuals." (Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, Selected Works Vol. 3 86-7). In Australia politics are the politics of the class struggle which centres around the workers against the monopoly capitalists. The direction of that struggle is struggle by the workers, working and other patriotic people against primarily the foreign based monopoly capitalists and their Australian collaborators. This is the struggle for a people's democratic anti-imperialist government as a stage in the struggle for socialism. Parliament is one of the weapons of the monopoly capitalists in that struggle against the people. The parliamentary political parties are an essential ingredient in this weapon of struggle of the monopoly capitalists against the people.

This does not mean that parliament and parliamentary parties and parliamentary proceedings ought not be subject to close analysis. They should be subjected to close analysis if for no other reason than that, in order to carry out working class struggle, the people must understand as well as possible who are their enemies and who are their friends. Parliamentary politics reveal a good deal about the monopoly capitalists and what they are doing and thinking. Moreover, contradictions between the political parties are very important for the whole struggle. Commonly parliamentary proceedings are very revealing in these respects.

The most important party of capitalism for us to analyse in this way in Australia is the Australian Labor Party. For present purposes detailed analysis of the Liberal Party or the Liberal-Country Party alliance can be put on one side. Historically the Liberal Party has had various names including "Conservative", "Nationalist", "United Australia", and now "Liberal", but it has never made any real secret of its championship of private property, of capitalism and of its adherence to monopoly capitalism. The Australian Labor Party since its foundation in the 1890's has never changed its name, has always said that it serves the workers and even in 1921 inserted into its platform the objective of socialisation. Thus it has publicly represented that it is a working class party which serves the interests of the workers and working people.

The most simple test in Australia of whether or not the Labor Party is a working class party or a party of capitalism is the performance of the Labor Party when it has constituted the government. There have been Labor governments in all States of Australia

and in the central government. No questions of inadequacy of constitutional legal power could arise because between Australia and the States all the constitutional legal power to legislate whatever the Labor Party wanted, existed. Yet under the Labor Party capitalism has been greatly developed. When it had the power, according to its own conceptions of power, it used that power to build up and protect capitalism. In reality what it did was to wield orthodox state power for the capitalist class. It demonstrated it accepted capitalism and administered the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

Before 1921 the Labor Party made no claim of any kind to be a socialist party. It was born simply as a party to win parliamentary seats and use those parliamentary seats when it won them to try to gain reforms within capitalism. No idea whatever of the overthrow of capitalism arose.

The Labor Party parliamentary leader Andrew Fisher at the outbreak of the imperialist war of 1914 pledged the Labor Party "to the last man and the last shilling" in support of the imperialist war. In the depression of the thirties the Labor Party largely adopted the proposals of Sir Otto Niemeyer, spokesman for the Bank of England, to impose the burden of the economic crisis on the working people. In World War II it was the Labor Prime Minister Curtin who turned, as he put it, without qualification, to U.S. imperialism for support. After World War II, it was the Labor Prime Minister Chifley who encouraged in every way, including the spending of government money, the development of U.S. monopoly capitalist industry in Australia.

The Whitlam government became the government of Australia in 1972. Under it, capitalism has remained intact. Its most authoritative spokesmen Whitlam and Cairns have publicly and openly repudiated any idea that the Labor Party would interfere in any fundamental way with capitalism. On the contrary, they have proclaimed their belief that the Labor Party can administer it satisfactorily.

In 1921 the Labor Party did introduce into its programme what has been called the socialisation plank. This was really an act of deception. At that time radical sentiments swept the working class of the world. This occurred under the influence of the socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917 and the economic depression of capitalism. Even then influential Labor Party leaders opposed "socialisation"; others "explained" it away. In any event, the cold hard facts remain that after the Labor Party adopted the socialisation plank it has constituted the government both centrally and in the States, and yet capitalism has greatly developed.

The Labor Party represented the more radical or more enlightened bourgeoisie in Australia. It was much less directly tied to particular capitalist sectional interests. Its leaders had the vision of developing Australia as an independent capitalist country and of developing Australia as one nation.

It arose in the particular historical conditions of Australia where the young colonies in which capitalism was developing had by no means established even nominal independence from England. During the birth phases of the Labor Party an "independence" from Britain was granted in 1900 but real ties with Britain remained strong; Australian capitalists were seeking greater independence. The historic task to unify Australia fell upon the Australian Labor Party.

The Labor Party as a party of capitalism was the victim of tremendous internal strife. This arose not only because it reflected contradictions among the capitalists but also because as a party of capitalism that looked to the working class for electoral support, its actual capitalist conduct brought it into conflict with the real interests and aspirations of the working class. Hence the desertion from the Labor Party of well entrenched Labor leaders like W. M. Hughes and W. Holman and their expulsion from the Labor Party when these two leaders supported conscription of Australians for overseas service in the imperialist world war of 1914-1918. Subsequently, splits in the Labor Party occurred in the depression of the thirties, over the industrial groups in the mid-fifties, and threaten in the seventies over economic crisis and the measures to combat it. Instability is a characteristic of the Labor Party. Its instability is born of the instability of capitalism and its institutions and born of the conflict between the bourgeoisie whom it really serves and the working class whom it pretends to serve.

The Labor Party has relied upon and still relies on bourgeois intellectuals and on the higher paid sections of the workers and upon sections of the native Australian capitalist class. These sections of the population are content with capitalism. They do well enough so as not to entertain any desire to rebel against it. But they want certain changes and reforms within capitalism.

It is critical for the Australian workers, working and other patriotic people to understand clearly the position of the Labor Party.

These are general remarks. Through some analysis of Dr. H. V. Evatt as one of the foremost Labor leaders in Australian history and through some analysis of other Labor leaders and Labor decisions, an attempt will be made to develop these general remarks and to show the position in Australia of the Labor Party.

CHAPTER TWO

Evatt as an exponent of A.L.P. policy; his stand on the attempt to ban the communist party and on other questions

Mr. Allan Dalziel was for many years private secretary to Dr. H. V. Evatt. After the death of Evatt (he died on November 2, 1965 having been born on April 30, 1894) Mr. Dalziel wrote a book which he entitled "Evatt the Enigma". In truth, Evatt was not at all an enigma. He was a bourgeois liberal and a characteristic product of the bourgeois liberal Australian Labor Party of which he was a prominent member for many years and its Australian Parliamentary leader between 1951 and 1960.

Evatt's position illustrates very well the role of the Labor Party in Australia. In him all features of the Labor Party were concentrated. He emerged as typical of that Party. There are many illusions about Evatt. They extend to the illusion that he was a socialist, even a Communist. To an extent this is explained by the fury of the attack upon Evatt by some of the diehard reactionaries. On the other hand, Evatt has been roundly condemned as a traitor to the working class and oppressed people of Australia. The fact is that Evatt was never a socialist (we use the term as synonymous with scientific socialist), he was not a Communist and he was not a traitor to the working class, because he never served the working class. That in certain important respects he was anti-working class is another matter. The descriptions of him as socialist, Communist, traitor to the working class are based upon misconceptions, misconceptions that arise from the pretence that the Labor Party serves the working class, when the reality is that it serves the capitalist class. Evatt at no time espoused any cause whatever that stepped beyond the bounds of capitalism; he was no menace to the diehard reactionaries except that at various stages he believed their tactics were wrong. It must be repeated that he was not a socialist let alone a Communist. A most ardent admirer of Evatt, Kylie Tenant, in her book "Evatt Politics and Justice", said of Evatt's challenge to the view expressed by Evatt's close friend Gordon Childe, that Labor in office must be defeated by the parliamentary system:

Why couldn't you legally and constitutionally introduce socialism into Australia under the present rules and forms? He was against anything that was unconstitutional or illegal. He detested violence and was not out to suppress anyone. His professor, John Peden, for whom he had a great regard, taught that British law was based on the common man, that it grew organically and changed slowly by trial and error . . . if laws were inequitable, he argued, they could be changed. (p.22)

Evatt was elected an A.L.P. member of the N.S.W. parliament in 1925. He was expelled from the Labor Party in 1927 after a clash with J. T. Lang, then and later N.S.W. Premier. After his expulsion, Evatt contested the N.S.W. Balmain electorate in the State Parliament without Labor Party endorsement and was re-elected. He was a practising barrister and in 1929 he became a King's Counsel (one of His Majesty's Counsel, to use the full term. Any barrister of 10 years' standing and with sufficient practice can apply to the Chief Justice to be made a King's Counsel, the meaning of which is that in theory the Crown, which appoints King's Counsel, has first call on the services of the barrister in question, but in practice means entry into an even more exclusive club than barristers at large. It means higher fees and the obligation always to appear with a junior who generally speaking is paid a fee additional to that of his "leader", calculated as two-thirds of the King's (or Queen's) Counsel's fees.) In 1930, Evatt was appointed a judge of the High Court. He served on the High Court till 1940 when he resigned to stand for election and then was elected to the Australian parliament. In October 1941 he became a Minister in Curtin's Labor government. He remained a senior Minister until the defeat of Chifley's Labor government in 1949. On the death of Chifley in June 1951, he became Australian parliamentary leader of the Labor Party (June 13, 1951) and remained leader until he was appointed Chief Justice of New South Wales in 1960. In 1948, in his capacity as Foreign Affairs Minister in the Chifley Labor government, he was President of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He wrote a number of books, the main ones being *The King and His Dominion Governors* (1935), *Injustice Within the Law* (1937), *Rum Rebellion* (1938) and *Australian Labor Leader* (1940).

From this career alone it is possible to draw some conclusions as to the character of Evatt and the very important light it throws on the Labor Party. There was no difficulty in his passing into the exclusive club of senior barristers (K.C's), of passing from the parliament of capitalism to service as a judge in the law courts of capitalism, from service as a judge back to service in parliament and back again to the courts. In all these capacities (including in the United Nations) Evatt was consistent in his bourgeois outlook, and, despite the "left" outlook ascribed to him, he did not ever step beyond bourgeois liberalism, albeit he in many respects was an enlightened bourgeois or if you like, a "left" bourgeois liberal. His writings confirm this estimate.

The term "Left" itself requires explanation. The present booklet attempts to make its analysis from the standpoint of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. The true left embraces scientific socialists and those in the working class and amongst its allies whose real hopes and aspirations Marxism-Leninism represents, that is to say, the vast majority of workers and working and patriotic Australians. The right describes the diehard reactionaries and those forces whose real hopes and aspirations the diehard reactionaries represent. That is, these terms have precise class meanings — the revolutionary class interests are left and the counter revolutionary class interests are right. But left and right and centre have come to be loosely descriptive — the "left" as the more radical section in any political organisation and the "right" as the conservative section. This leads to a good deal of confusion. As an example of the confusion is the Australian capitalist press description of people like Hawke, revisionists like the trade unionists Munday, Halfpenny and Carmichael, the Labor Party leader Cairns, as "left". From the standpoint of Marxism-

pg. 8 E.F. Hill, *The Labor Party?* ((October 1974)

Leninism they do not in any true sense represent the left at all. They represent trends that are anti-working class and right, or at best, centre. To call them "left" is part of the tactics of capitalism. The capitalists create false leaders in the name of the left for the precise purpose of persuading the workers that these leaders are genuine working class leaders whereas they are the servants of this very capitalist class. In short, to see whether or not a person genuinely belongs to the left, that person must answer in the affirmative, not only by his words but by his actions, the question "Does he genuinely serve the working class and working people?" If that question can be answered in the affirmative, then he genuinely belongs to the left.²

The Labor Party itself is said to be of the left. When it wins victory in an election it is commonly said to be a victory of the left and its opponents are described as of the right. Again this is really a misuse of terms. The Labor Party is a party of capitalism; it serves and develops capitalism. It can only be described as left (in contrast to the Liberal-Country Party) in that its programme is seemingly more radical and in certain respects is more radical. This loose use of the terms left and right (and centre) needs constantly to be borne in mind. One must always approach this matter from the position of the working-class. From that standpoint the Labor Party, such people as Hawke, Munday, Halfpenny, Carmichael, Cairns, Evatt, serve the capitalist class. They are of the right. We spoke of revisionists. Revisionism embraces those who call themselves "Communists" but strip Communism of its revolutionary essence and soul. Again there is deliberate bourgeois policy in handling this. To present revisionism as "Communism" is a definite tactic of the bourgeoisie. This is because the workers are attracted to Communism and the presentation of revisionism as Communism when it really serves capitalism means that the workers are misled into support for capitalism. Revisionism in truth serves the bourgeoisie. When the term "left" is used in its scientific sense in this booklet, it is not placed in inverted commas; when it is used in its loose sense as a rough description of the more radical element within a given movement but not genuine left, inverted commas will be used for it. Thus the great Russian revolutionary Lenin, when speaking of certain alien "left" trends in the world Communist movement, entitled his book "'Leftwing' Communism; an Infantile Disorder"; he put the word "leftwing" in inverted commas because it could not be a genuine left.

When analysing the Labor Party and Dr. Evatt as a typical representative of the Labor Party, it is necessary to keep this distinction steadily in mind. In saying this, it does not follow that some of the things such "left" people do are not in the interests of the working class. They are. But this is a different question. The stand of such "left" people is a bourgeois stand but sometimes what is done by the bourgeoisie or sections of the bourgeoisie does objectively serve the working class and its interests.

Then arises the question who is to lead Australia — the bourgeoisie or the working class? There is constant struggle for leadership, constant struggle as to which class will

² Please note that at the time of writing this book, Hill and other Party leaders had not subjected the question of gender neutral pronouns to serious analysis. It would have been better, for example, for the passage above to read: "...not only in words, but by actions, the question 'Do they genuinely serve the working class and working people?' If that question can be answered in the affirmative, then they genuinely belong to the left." Where other examples arise throughout this text, we will attempt to change them editorially – eds.

hold state power. That struggle has greatly intensified in the present era. It gives rise to continual need for the working class to define its tactics and for the capitalists to define their tactics. The life and work of Dr. Evatt throw considerable light on the tactics of the bourgeoisie and the tactics of the working class in the prosecution of class struggle in Australia.

By way of preliminary too, we must say something of the history of Australia. The British imperialist seizure of Australia from the black people, the colonisation of Australia by the British imperialists, the movement for independence of Australia from British imperialism, are all of the most extreme importance in understanding the class struggle in Australia. The Labor Party itself was born when Australia as a separate single nation was un-known; it was born when Australia was six separate British colonies. In each of those colonies before 1900 (the date of passing of the British imperialist statute "Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act") there had arisen separate 'Labor' parties. In the 1890's they began to get together to form an Australia wide body but still in embryo. The Labor Party to this day bears organisational and political marks of this origin and of "loyalty" to the British 'Crown'. Dr. Evatt's writings too are quite revealing upon this.

His "Injustice Within the Law" is a study of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, a case of Dorsetshire labourers who were sentenced to transportation to Australia for organising an agricultural labourers' union in Dorsetshire; "The King and his Dominion Governors" examines the legal relations between the British Crown and the Governors of these ex-British colonies which became British Dominions; "Rum Rebellion" examines the governorship of the Australian colony of New South Wales by the British naval officer Bligh. All of them show the striving of the bourgeoisie for a measure of independence from the British Crown but the "independence" sought is a circumscribed independence, a qualified or conditional independence which pays due respect to the Crown. It is by no means all out unqualified struggle for anti-imperialist independence pursued by the working class and its allies. Nonetheless it is an important movement. Dr. Evatt's writings reveal the Labor Party's position on these and many other questions. Throughout these writings which reflect Labor Party politics, there is revealed vacillation and hesitation on critical questions. This is because the native bourgeoisie which evolved in Australia and whose dreams and aspirations Dr. Evatt classically represented, is vacillating and hesitant. It leans sometimes to the working class but it is afraid of the working class. It is more afraid of the working class than it is of the great imperialist powers in Australia against whom it struggles for independence. This is a struggle that it cannot lead to final victory because of the immense power as imperialists that these countries have and because it is afraid to throw in its lot with a movement for anti-imperialist independence led by the Australian working class. It is prepared to use the working class insofar as it can, as it estimates, maintain leadership and control of the working class but it is not prepared to participate in a thoroughgoing anti-imperialist people's democratic movement, nor is it prepared to submit to the leadership of the working class. It stops less than half way because it aims at an "independent" capitalist Australia. The dream of an independent capitalist Australia is a dream impossible of achievement in a world dominated by imperialism. No new independent capitalism can arise in the world because the world has already been fully

carved up by the imperialists. The law of the uneven development of capitalism shows that there will be changes in the position of the respective imperialist powers of which the decline and fall of British imperialism is a vivid example. The law of uneven development of capitalism is a question different from the emergence of a new independent capitalist power.

Evatt as indicated earlier became a Labor member of the New South Wales parliament in 1925. He there championed along with Lang what at that time seemed to be radical reforms. No one of those reforms went beyond bourgeois liberalism. They had certain advantages for the workers within capitalism. But in no way did they challenge capitalism.

For example, the 1926 amendments to the N.S.W. Workers' Compensation Acts, in which Evatt played a considerable part, were condemned by diehards as revolutionary and threatening the social fabric. However, they were merely a measure promoted and supported by the more far-sighted and enlightened section of the bourgeoisie. The workers' compensation legislation at its very birth arose because of struggle by the workers in English industry, particularly over the hardships caused by the doctrine of what was called "common employment". This doctrine operated to deprive of damages from the employer a worker who had been injured because of the carelessness of a fellow worker. The doctrine of common employment worked out by English judges said that the injured worker could not recover damages because when he accepted employment he accepted as one of the risks of his employment that his fellow workers would or could be careless. Therefore he could not be heard to complain to his employer of that negligence. The 1897 Workers' Compensation Act in England gave limited compensation to workers in specified industries for incapacity caused by injuries by accident which arose out of and in the course of the workers employment. It made a limited exception from the doctrine of common employment. From the very beginning, attempts were made to limit the meaning of this intrusion on the doctrine of common employment and to write it down to the narrowest possible meaning. The liberal bourgeoisie and the more reactionary bourgeoisie saw such remedial measures in different ways. The liberal bourgeoisie saw discontent in industry as adversely affecting profits; they were also conscious of the inhumane effects of the doctrine of common employment. The liberal bourgeoisie contended that it was better to have a liberal workers' compensation system in order to get the best out of the workers. On the other hand, the diehards believed in no concession of any kind to the workers. This was an important difference of approach.

Lord Macnaghten, hailed by the bourgeoisie as perhaps the greatest of English judges, in a judgment which took a liberal view of the workers' compensation legislation, said as early as 1903:

One other remark I should like to make. It does seem to me extraordinary that anybody should suppose that when the advantage of insurance against accident at their employers' expense was being conferred on workmen, Parliament could have intended to exclude from the benefit of the Act some injuries ordinarily described as 'accidents' which beyond all others merit favourable consideration in the interest of workmen and employers alike. A man injures himself by doing some stupid thing, and it is called an accident, and he

gets the benefit of the insurance. It may even be his own fault, and yet compensation is not to be disallowed unless the injury is attributable to 'serious and wilful misconduct' on his part. A man injures himself suddenly and unexpectedly by throwing all his might and all his strength and all his energy into his work by doing his very best and utmost for his employer, not sparing himself or taking thought of what may come upon him, and then he is to be told that his case is outside the Act because he exerted himself deliberately, and there was an entire lack of the fortuitous element! I cannot think that this is right. I do think that if such were held to be the true construction of the Act, the result would not be for the good of the men, nor for the good of the employers either, in the long run. Certainly it would not conduce to honesty or thoroughness in work. It would lead men to shirk and hang back, and try to shift a burden which might possibly prove too heavy for them on to the shoulders of their comrades. (Fenton v. Thorley 1903 Appeal Cases 443).

This is the classical liberal bourgeois approach on all such questions. It can be seen clearly in the position of Evatt both in parliament and more particularly in his judgments as a judge of the High Court and as Chief Justice of New South Wales, except perhaps in his closing months. Our point is that there is nothing whatever in workers' compensation legislation or workers' compensation cases or cases on social legislation decided in the courts, and no matter how liberal, that in any way steps beyond capitalism. Indeed, the history of this type of legislation shows graphically how it meets the needs of capitalism in the various phases through which capitalism goes. At their very best, the workers' compensation schemes (and historically they went through a series of remedial amendments in every country where they existed) were quite arbitrary; they allowed compensation in certain cases but in other essentially similar cases disallowed it. One had to bring the case within certain arbitrary tests to qualify.

Gradually as capitalism developed, the capitalists believed that the burden of insurance for work accidents on the individual capitalist was too great. In consequence the idea of putting the burden on the "community at large" arose. Thus in England in the late forties, workers' compensation was replaced and incorporated in a national scheme for sickness and injury financed by taxation, the burden of which falls heavily on the working people. In Australia (1974) similar measures promoted by the Labor Party are the subject of an official report which recommends the abolition not only of workers' compensation but of nearly all law suits for accidents, and recommends their incorporation in a universal injury and sickness scheme financed from general taxation and revenue. This too is a measure of the liberal bourgeoisie, the aim of which is to make capitalism work better and more humanely. It in no way touches the basic existence of capitalism nor calls it in question. Throughout his career in parliament and in the courts, Evatt adhered to this bourgeois liberalism on this type of social question. Underlying this approach to such questions is the problem how best to make capitalism work and endure; should the approach be hard or soft?

The very institution of parliament is a capitalist institution as we have previously discussed. Service in parliament is service to capitalism. It could not be otherwise. It may

[pg. 12 E.F. Hill, The Labor Party? \(\(October 1974\)](#)

be that in certain circumstances parliament can be used in the struggle against parliament and capitalism; they are rare circumstances and could only arise as the merest incident of class struggle right outside parliament. Evatt however really believed that parliament was a key institution. To the bourgeoisie it is indeed a key institution, a critical weapon in deceiving the people that they have democracy. By standing for, being elected to parliament for the Labor Party, Evatt showed perfectly clearly his conformism to capitalism. It showed his acceptance of it and his desire to administer capitalism. He was the servant of the bourgeoisie.

It is not at all completely a matter of indifference to the workers whether or not the bourgeoisie use hard or soft tactics. In struggle, the workers can wrest certain concessions from the bourgeoisie. It is correct to do this provided the workers do not see these concessions as things in themselves but as part of a wider struggle to end the social system. But the liberal bourgeoisie, and its representatives such as Evatt, see reforms as things in themselves. The critical thing for them is the maintenance of capitalism, but in as humane a way as possible. When crisis emphatically demonstrates the essential inhumanity of capitalism, the Labor Party and its Evatts still administer it in all its inhumanity. Evatt had a burning ambition to be Prime Minister of Australia. From the bourgeois liberal approach this was quite correct. As he believed in capitalism, it was but a small step for him to believe in his own capacity to be the chief public administrator of capitalism.

Along with other Labor politicians, Evatt indulged in intrigue and backstabbing. Because the Labor Party is a party of capitalism, it necessarily reflects the conflicts of capitalism and the survival of the fittest doctrine of capitalism. The Labor Party is a hotbed of intrigue, personal ambitions, etc. As it has no consistent political philosophy and nothing but service to capitalism, it follows that its members are greatly affected by the ups and downs of capitalism. Evatt, as a Labor parliamentarian, entered into and broke agreements with people like Santamaria (head of the fascist National Civic Council and its predecessors) and with Communists and all shades of opinion in between. He did this as the situation in capitalism changed from time to time. This is characteristic of the career of a Labor Party parliamentarian.

It is possible, indeed important, to point to a large number of quite progressive stands that Evatt took. Generally speaking, he took such stands both in the parliament and the courts on all such social questions as workers' compensation, damages in industrial or other personal accidents, pensions, the administration of the criminal law (except perhaps towards the close of his life in the N.S.W. Criminal Appeals Court). In the parliamentary sphere he took up the cause of extensive Commonwealth social legislation and sought increased powers to that end for the Commonwealth. In the main his attempts for greater Commonwealth powers were defeated. He was the force behind lifting the ban on the then Communist Party in 1942 (and completed as a matter of law in 1943).

In 1950 and 1951 he emerged as the chief Labor Party spokesman opposed to the Communist Party Dissolution Act. He was certainly the chief Labor Party campaigner for a No vote when the then Menzies government sought to secure by referendum constitutional amendments to give the Commonwealth legal power to ban the Communist Party. Before

that, he had appeared as a barrister in the High Court to attack (successfully) the constitutional validity of the Communist Party Dissolution Act.

His appearance in the High Court against the Communist Party Dissolution Act, and his campaign for a No vote in the referendum about it, led to many illusions about Dr. Evatt's having genuine left views. But his attitude on these matters was again perfectly orthodox bourgeois liberalism. In these quite good stands, he in no way departed from his basic support for capitalism nor his belief in it. The very facts of his membership of parliament and his activities in the courts showed his belief in and service to the institutions of capitalism.

The Communist Party Dissolution Act was an act of parliament that attempted to ban the Communist Party and to secure a trade union movement even more closely integrated than it was with the capitalist state. The ruling circles in Australia were divided as to the best way to handle the workers in the period after World War 2. Those who believed in hard tactics sought to use the big stick. They supported banning the Communist Party and the measures against the trade unions. On the other hand, the liberal or more enlightened bourgeoisie could see grave danger in such tactics. The liberal bourgeoisie thought that a ban on the Communist Party and head-on attack on the trade unions gave the appearance of fascism and contained the grave danger that it would expose the essential force and violence of capitalism much more rapidly than if the facade of democracy and liberalism were maintained. Their view was that capitalism had greater hope of survival by maintaining a liberal approach than by fascist measures.

An aspect of this too was the view held by sections of the capitalists that it was far more advantageous to have a legal Communist Party than an illegal Communist Party. If the Communist Party were legal, then its membership could be kept under better surveillance than if it were illegal, and in addition, its leadership could be more easily adapted to capitalism than if it were illegal. Further, there is a widely held view by the liberal bourgeoisie that a person should not be penalised for holding particular views; he should be penalised only for an actual breach of an existing law. Thus, if because a Communist, by reason of his Communism, committed the crime of sedition, then he should not be prosecuted for his Communism but should be prosecuted for seditious words. This is a familiar tactic. People are charged not with what is really the class political content of their offence but breach of some police or summary offence provision such as using insulting words, offensive behaviour or something of that character. When it is answered that the real question is political, it is said by courts "we are not concerned with politics but we are concerned with whether or not insulting words were uttered or there was offensive behaviour". Thus in his position as Attorney-General in the Chifley government, Evatt acquiesced in prosecutions of Communists for sedition. One can see that this is a question of tactics for the bourgeoisie. In his book "Rum Rebellion" Evatt argues strongly that McArthur (squatter) was guilty of sedition, if not treason, in organising rebellion against Governor Bligh.

His stand however, both in the Courts and in the referendum on the Communist Party Dissolution Bill, was objectively progressive. It accorded with the aims of the working class even though Evatt's approach was not that of the working class but of the liberal

bourgeoisie. It was in the interests of the working class to defend the democratic right to maintain the legality of the Communist Party and to resist attacks upon the trade unions.

Evatt within his liberal bourgeois approach adopted in some ways more radical tactics than others. He knew the working class better than some others. He was prepared to rouse it and rely upon it for bourgeois reforms. His rousing of it and reliance upon it were strictly within legal limits. For example, in the campaign for a No vote in the referendum on the Communist Party Dissolution Act, he went among the workers and the people generally and showed a capacity to mix with them, rouse them, that marked him off from many of his colleagues. Equally he did not mind deriding and treating with contempt those of the ruling circles who adopted a diehard stand. Unlike many of his Labor Party colleagues who bow and scrape before their "betters", Evatt had no such outlook. Indeed he earned the undying hatred of some of them because of his unconcealed contempt for them. This sort of thing contributed to Evatt's reputation among some workers and working people for being of the genuine left. But this was the appearance, the illusion and not the reality. In some respects, he was of the "left" of the radical and enlightened bourgeoisie.

It is not fundamentally inconsistent with this standpoint that Evatt took up the most reactionary stand on some critical questions. Reference has already been made to the apparent contradictions between his liberal stand in the Communist Party Dissolution Act and its referendum, and on the other hand, his authorisation of prosecutions for sedition where the victims were gaoled and his close relations with diehard Labor Party elements.

In 1947 Evatt pioneered the Approved Defence Projects Protection Act, a measure which is still law. This measure was aimed against the workers and sought to protect with severe penalties "approved defence projects". This really means military and naval installations in Australia both of a native character and a foreign character but all used for internal repression and external imperialist aggression. It particularly then concerned the Woomera Rocket Range. Equally reactionary was his insistence upon the creation of a secret police, particularly the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation. This organisation is an essential part of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state machine. The "defence" of Evatt to the charge that he sponsored A.S.I.O. was that he had appointed a judge to head it. But this is not a defence at all; in a sense it is worse that it was headed by a judge because "judicial independence" and "judicial integrity" were used to try to deceive people that the secret police were not a capitalist class weapon. The reality cannot be hidden in this way.

Another outstandingly reactionary series of measures and activities were those of the Labor government, of which Evatt was a leading member, in suppressing the great strike of the coal miners in 1949. Every repressive feature of the State apparatus was brought into action against the workers. Parliament was used to pass emergency legislation, the High Court was used to "justify" that legislation, the unions were attacked under that legislation, workers' leaders were gaoled under that legislation and the army was used in the coal mines. In short, when the liberal bourgeoisie felt its position or profits seriously threatened, it joined forces with the diehards to use every form of repression against the workers, working class and other patriotic Australians.

Liberalism suffices in certain periods of capitalism; in those periods it is the more successful. But the "liberals" tend to join with the diehards in matters which concern a

critical class issue. The seeming conflict in the 2 positions is seen not to be a fundamental conflict but a question of tactical differences (certainly having their importance) from time to time.

Moreover, even on the one question, people like Evatt can maintain both the liberal and the illiberal approach or can seek to enter into "alliances" with the left and the right almost simultaneously.

Evatt's judgments in the Courts showed a similar liberal viewpoint but at the same time a lack of consistency even with liberal capitalist ideas. The essential fact is that they never transgressed bourgeois boundaries. Evatt as a judge came out against the attempt by the Australian reaction to keep the Czechoslovakian author Kisch out of Australia when Kisch came to participate in the Australian struggle against war and fascism. As a judge, he favoured liberal interpretation of statutes. In the prosecution of Devanny under the politically repressive sections of the Crimes Act, he delivered a strong liberal judgment. On questions which concerned the respective powers of the States of Australia as against the Australian government he showed no particularly firm commitment. Again this rather illustrates the vacillating character of the liberal bourgeoisie.

It is to the interest of the national bourgeoisie that the central power in Australia be developed and that the power of the States be curbed. Yet the bourgeoisie hesitates to carry the struggle for central power to the end. The imperialist bourgeoisie with very big financial interests in Australia prefers to keep a division of power so that it can use the powers of the six separate States (former colonies) as a refuge against rivals who might exploit the central power (Australia) against the States. And also the imperialist bourgeoisie is concerned to see that Australian native capitalism does not grow too strong; hence too its preference for keeping rather circumscribed Australia's development as one nation. Because the Labor Party, even though to some degree it is more independent of particular vested interests than its parliamentary rivals, still must serve both the native capitalists and the imperialist capitalists (because it administers capitalism as a whole) it has a vacillating position on the question of Australian central power and Australian State powers. This too Evatt expressed in his judgments which involved relations between the central authority and the State authority.

CHAPTER THREE

The Petrov Affair; an anti-working class provocation and incidentally an election gimmick; the labor party's dilemma; revelations of the Petrov royal commission; Evatt's part in the commission.

The Petrov affair of 1954-1955 demonstrated graphically some of the features of the Labor Party and its character. The chief Labor Party politician concerned was Evatt. Endless controversy has resulted from his activities in the Petrov affair. And the matter must be examined.

Parliament, as has been seen, is one of the institutions by which the capitalist class maintains the deception that there is democracy in countries like Australia, that the people have a real choice of who will be the government, and if the people do not like the incumbent government they can throw it out in the next election. All this is designed to conceal bourgeois class rule where the real content of rule is force and violence.

Nonetheless parliament does have a certain importance and the activities of parliamentary parties and their leaders cast a certain light upon the position of the bourgeoisie. Thus in the Australian parliament although basically both the Labor Party and the Liberal Country party, when they constitute the government, administer capitalism, nonetheless, they constantly struggle against each other for the spoils of office. In short, parliament as an institution of capitalism has a certain life of its own. Parliamentary parties which serve the parliamentary institution of capitalism also have a certain life of their own. Within the confines of parliament, the parliamentary parties struggle against each other. They sometimes have real differences as to how in given circumstances to administer capitalism.

The Labor Party, because it bears the name "Labor", and because its origins go back to the birth and struggle for existence of the trade unions, and because there is a good deal of interchangeability in the personnel of the leaders of the ALP and the trade unions, presents itself as a workers' party. Notwithstanding this presentation, it is in fact a party of capitalism. Because of its Labor appearance, the bourgeoisie uses it to impose bourgeois policies on the workers in the name of Labor. This is based upon the assessment (correct to a degree and in certain circumstances) that the workers will accept from a Labor government anti-popular actions which they will not accept from a party like the Liberal-Country Party.

There is too always a division (and unity) of tactics within the bourgeoisie between the hard (diehard) and soft (liberal) approach. Lenin said:

"...in every country the bourgeoisie inevitably works out two systems of rule, two methods of fighting for its interests and of retaining its rule and these methods at times succeed each other and at times are interwoven with each other in various combinations. They are, firstly, the method of force, the method which rejects all concessions to the labour movement, the method of supporting all the old obsolete institutions, the method of irreconcilably rejecting reforms. Such is the nature of the conservative policy, which in Western Europe is becoming less and less a policy of the agrarian classes and more and more one of the varieties of bourgeois policy in general. The second method is the method of 'liberalism' which takes steps towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions and so forth.

The bourgeoisie passes from one method to the other not in accordance with the malicious design of individuals and not fortuitously but owing to the fundamental contradictions of its own position" (Differences in the European Labor Movement).

One aspect of the Labor Party in Australia is concerned with this. Within the Labor Party itself there is a "left", a right and a centre. Within this bourgeois party these tactics of "left", right and centre are employed (likewise also in the Liberal Country Party but with certain differences).

In 1954, an election to the Australian parliament was due. That election in fact took place on May 29, 1954. At that time, the Menzies conservative government had lost a great deal of the electoral support it had had since its electoral victory over the Chifley Labor government in 1949 and since the double dissolution of the Australian parliament in 1951. Menzies' cheap promise in 1949 to put "value back in the pound" had been revealed to be a gimmick. Inflation and the anti-popular Australian participation in U.S. aggression in Korea had undermined support for Menzies; the intense phase of the cold war was easing. It appeared that the Labor Party would be elected as the government and that Evatt, as Labor leader, would become Prime Minister.

Sections of the ruling class had serious doubts about Evatt. They feared that his capacity to rouse the workers could cause the workers to get out of hand and that Evatt could not control them sufficiently for the bourgeoisie. They feared that the workers might take too seriously some of the demagogic promises that were made and would take social matters into their own hands. Hence Evatt was regarded by this section of the bourgeoisie as a dangerous man. Because too he treated with contempt those in the ruling circles with whom he disagreed (or anyone else with whom he disagreed) he had many personal enemies. The prospect of a Labor government under the leadership of Evatt filled this section of the bourgeoisie with misgiving. They wanted to maintain diehard hard tactics in dealing with the working people.

On April 6, 1954, the Sydney Morning Herald, a fairly authoritative paper for the monopoly capitalists, said: "The Liberal Party is hoping that the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, will pull a rabbit out of the top of the hat which he wore with such assurance during the Royal tour . . . It looks as if he will have to do so if his government is to survive the election in May." On April 12, 1954, in the Australian parliament, Menzies announced

the defection to Australia of V. M. Petrov, then third Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Australia. Events showed that the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (itself as previously indicated created by a Labor government) had begun to compromise Petrov from the time of his arrival in Australia in 1951. Gradually Petrov had been made the prisoner of A.S.I.O. and had ultimately been officially "taken" by that organisation. On April 2, 1954, £5,000 was paid to him by Deputy Director of A.S.I.O. a policeman named Richards. Thus the stage was set for a spy plot. This "spy" plot was the rabbit Menzies pulled out of his hat.

There are several things that must be said to explain the then situation. 1951 was a year of the cold war. The Soviet Union was a socialist country, then under the leadership of the great revolutionary Stalin (he died in 1953). In 1946 Churchill had made his Fulton speech which called upon the so-called Western World to halt the advance of Communism. The people in the capitalist countries, including Australia, had engaged in large-scale struggles for better conditions and fulfilment of wartime promises. As the bourgeoisie saw it, this movement to the left had to be stopped. The U.S. President Truman and U.S. Secretary Dulles were class brothers of Churchill. They did all they could to isolate and destroy the socialist countries. Hence they provoked the Berlin airlift, made a series of provocative moves against the Soviet Union, financed and armed Chiang Kai-shek's war against the Chinese people, waged the war of aggression in Korea and carried out severe repressive measures against the people inside their own countries in the name of action against Communism.

The Australian ruling circles gave full support to the U.S. moves, participated in the Korean war, and inside Australia the Chifley Labor government had taken repressive measures against the coal miners; there had been in Victoria in 1949 a provocative anti-working class Royal Commission into Communism (promoted by a Liberal government) centred around the allegations of an erstwhile Communist "leader" and then renegade Sharpley; there had been various Australian and State prosecutions for sedition and contempt of court and other political "crimes"; there had been the Communist Party Dissolution Act (1950) and the referendum on it (September 22, 1951) and a series of other anti-working class actions. This marked the offensive against the people of the reactionary bourgeoisie and their employment of hard tactics against the people.

In this situation (and in such situations) the Labor Party is caught in a dilemma. Its "labor" label causes the expectation among its followers that it will fight in the people's cause. Evatt's court appearance against the Communist Party Dissolution Act and his prominent advocacy of a No vote in the subsequent referendum accorded with those sentiments among the people. In these respects, he seemed to be playing a genuine labor role. It aroused enthusiasm. We have seen how there was nothing in Evatt's progressive activities inconsistent with a bourgeois outlook nor with the bourgeois character of the Labor Party, nor with his association with diehards in the Labor Party. In a certain way it assisted that party more effectively to carry out its bourgeois policy.

In addition, the fact that the Labor Party bore the label "labor" and its seeming working class connections, enabled the diehard sections of the bourgeoisie to denounce it as Communist or too friendly with Communists. When the Labor Party followed "left" tactics such as Evatt's court appearance and his No vote advocacy, then these things lent

credibility to the allegations of Communist sympathy. Within the Labor Party itself, the right centred around the so-called industrial groups and sponsored by the semi-fascist organisation headed by Santamaria, an avowed believer in Mussolini's corporate state, lent support to the anti-Communist campaign and gave credibility to allegations that the "left" labor party leaders were communists. Further, within the Communist Party itself there were serious misunderstandings of the character of the Labor Party. Because of this some Communists also gave credibility to the allegation that the "left" in the Labor Party was Communist. This arose from a failure to understand the dual character of people such as Evatt. This dual character is dual character as a bourgeois — as a bourgeois sometimes pursuing policies that accord with the real interests of the people and sometimes pursuing policies against the real interests of the people. Through all this the Labor Party and leaders such as Evatt asserted, and of course it was true, that they were not Communists and Communism was anathema to them. In Evatt's case at the very time of doing these very "left" things, he maintained an alliance with the right in the Labor Party.

Tactically, the allegation of Communist sympathy placed Evatt and the Labor Party in a difficult position. On the one hand, they were accused of Communism which they repudiated and because they in fact were not Communist, they were precluded from going all out in defence of Communism or taking Communist measures, and on the other hand, despite their avowals to the contrary, they appeared to be defending Communism. Hence when Menzies announced that his government intended to have a Royal Commission on Petrov, Evatt supported the proposition. This too was consistent with his bourgeois outlook. When speaking on the proposition for a Royal Commission he said in the Australian parliament: "If any person has been guilty of espionage or seditious activities, a Labor government will see that he is prosecuted by law [...] This has not only been our established policy, but we have acted in strict accordance with it". A genuine left approach, a genuine Communist approach would have led to a denunciation of the whole Petrov defection as a fraud and as a contrived provocation against the working class and working people.

The Petrov provocation was not merely or even mainly concerned with the electoral struggle between the Liberal Party and the Labor Party but was vitally concerned with the cold war internationally and the internal repression of the workers and working people in Australia. Internationally it was part of the Fulton speech "strategy" out of which arose such things as the Berlin airlift, the Korean War, the war against the Chinese people and so on. Internally in Australia it was part of the repression that expressed itself (never forget) in the Labor Party's attack on the coalminers, the Victorian Royal Commission on Communism, numerous individual prosecutions. It was precisely because of the Labor Party's use of the deception of Labor and working class connection that it could fall a victim in the Petrov affair and, by its previous reactionary moves, prepare the way for the open reaction to attack the workers. That support and yet opposition exposed the weakness in the dual character of Evatt.

Evatt ultimately fastened upon the aspect of the Petrov affair that, as he believed (and probably correctly), had led to the electoral defeat of the Labor Party. He set out to expose the Petrov affair as a fraud and as an attack upon him and the Labor Party in the election of 1954. He virtually entirely ignored the general direction of the Petrov affair as

aimed at the working class and the genuine left. He almost completely ignored the fact that the most important aspect of the Petrov affair was the place it occupied in the worldwide offensive against the workers, working and other patriotic people and Communism within the capitalist countries (and internationally).

Still, Evatt's campaigning against it, although based on fairly narrow grounds, was objectively progressive; it expressed the "left" side of his dual character as a bourgeois. And it provided a valuable link in the struggle for working class unity with Evatt and the Labor Party and in the united action by all sections of the workers and people against the diehard reactionaries.

The Petrov affair took the shape of a Royal Commission composed of 3 reactionary diehard judges: Owen from New South Wales, Philp from Queensland, Ligertwood from South Australia, all of whom subsequently received promotion and rewards for their activities. The selection of the judges revealed differing tactical viewpoints among the bourgeoisie — the High Court Chief Justice maintained the tradition that it was improper for judges to be concerned with matters of political controversy. The Victorian Supreme Court judges took up a similar stand, and in Queensland the judge nominated by the Queensland government was not acceptable to Menzies and Menzies sought Philp in his place.

From the very beginning, the workers, working and other patriotic people unequivocally denounced the Petrov provocation as an anti-working class provocation. They were not handicapped by any dual character nor the need to serve the bourgeoisie. They saw it as an outright bourgeois reactionary attack primarily against the workers and then against other working and patriotic people. The struggle against this bourgeois reactionary attack throughout was led by the Australian workers.

The solid class opposition to it roused other working and patriotic people. Communist activity against it represented the real position of the workers and other patriotic sections of the people. It is wrongly said by commentators on it that Evatt led the opposition to it. This is simply not true. Neither in the Commission nor outside it did he lead the struggle against this provocation. The attempt to portray him as the leader is just another tactic of the bourgeoisie. But there is equally no doubt that what he did in opposition to the Petrov provocation made a great contribution to the struggle. It is very important for the whole working class movement that a correct estimate be made of Evatt's role during the Commission and before and after it.

There are those who say that Evatt should not have appeared at the Commission at all. Apart from the unresolved question whether a general boycott of such an affair is not the correct tactic, a boycott be it said in which such people as Evatt would not have participated, there is no doubt that Evatt's appearance assisted the working class struggle against the provocation. It aroused more people to the danger and to the struggle against fascism. The only criterion of such a question is a class criterion — did it assist or hinder the struggle of the workers?

The stand of the seamen's leader W. Bird illustrates the determination of the workers to defeat the anti-working class Petrov provocation. From first to last, Bird defied the judges and gave a splendid demonstration of how a worker should behave in the

courts of the bourgeoisie (See Appendix 2). There was no equivocation in his stand. It was a clear declaration of working class defiance of bourgeois provocations. Nor was Bird the only person to defy this tribunal. By and large those who were persecuted by it made a firm stand against it.

Within the working class movement and amongst the people generally, a major struggle against the Petrov provocation was waged. Rather than the Petrov affair being an asset in the hands of the bourgeoisie, it became a liability. It openly revealed the operations of the secret police (the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation). It showed publicly that this organisation engaged in lying, forgery, burglary, theft, perjury, telephone tapping when theoretically not legally authorised to do so — almost every crime in the calendar. So much for laws! These people who are so fond of throwing about allegations that the end justifies the means, showed that in their case the end justified all and any means. It revealed that this organisation endeavoured to compromise its victims by drink, drugs, sex and any other means it could lay its hands on. It showed that this organisation thought nothing of breaking the conventionally accepted confidence between doctor and patient. It showed how this organisation freely used pimps, it hired provocateurs, it secretly followed people "of interest", it kept extensive dossiers on all sorts of people. It showed above all the weakness of such an organisation, its divorce from the people, and the weakness that anti-people's activity always imposes on those who engage in it.

It showed too, how the bourgeois state functions, and what a hollow mockery "independence" of the judiciary is and what an equally hollow mockery is judicial impartiality. It showed the co-ordination of every repressive arm of the State apparatus — courts, judges, open and secret police, army, gaols. It showed how every resource of the State is used to oppress the workers. For example, to prove certain handwriting samples, recourse was had to customs and immigration forms filled in by people in a routine way.

As for judicial independence and impartiality, it showed that on an open class question, judges do not take long to cast off the pretence of judicial independence and impartiality. Already comment has been made on the division of opinion among judges as to making one of their number available. Those opposed to it were concerned that the veneer of independence and impartiality would be ripped off. That is just what did happen. To accept without independent corroboration as a witness of truth, and base findings against a large number of people on the tainted evidence of the Petrovs and A.S.I.O. agents, is going against even traditional bourgeois legal doctrine. These "independent" and "impartial" judges had no compunction in throwing overboard their own rules when class interests demanded that these rules be thrown overboard. Petrov was revealed as a drunken degenerate with no principles of any kind, unhandicapped by any respect for the truth and manipulated by his far more competent Lady Macbeth of a wife. She was revealed as a scheming, calculating, lying scoundrel who entered into a sordid liaison with a petty A.S.I.O. agent, Biologuski, to betray her country. Biologuski was correctly branded at the Commission as a "disgrace to humanity". Petrov and his wife were traitors to their country. Petrov admitted he got \$10,000 for his treachery (5000 pounds when money was worth much more than it is now). Yet these judges accepted the word of these people.

It was difficult for them, for A.S.I.O. deputy head Richards, for barristers assisting the Commission, to conceal their feelings of admiration for and protection of Mrs. Petrov. Nor did these "impartial" and "independent" judges hesitate to go to a special Christmas party with the Petrovs whom they were called upon to "judge". Rather difficult to imagine them going along to a Christmas party with Mr. Bird and his seamen! The High Court and its very conventionally respected and able and "impartial" and "independent" judge, W. K. Fullagar, tortured the legislation that authorised the government to establish a Royal Commission to rule that the Commission was legal when it was obvious that it was not legal, even on accepted bourgeois standards. So much was its illegality apparent and so much did Menzies doubt its legality, that he passed special legislation to validate it retrospectively. To give legislation a retrospective action is itself against ordinary legal convention. Again the end justified the means. It is safe to say that the "impartial" and "independent" judges (and they are typical examples of all judges) broke any legal rule that stood in the way of their doing their capitalist class duty in the capitalist class's struggle against the working class. Thus for instance they had no difficulty in accepting hearsay (that is, what someone said someone else said) and hearsay 3 or 4 times removed. This is a cardinal heresy according to orthodox legal theory. They accepted the truth of Petrov's story of handing over a quantity of U.S. dollars even though Petrov said that some of it was in denominations of \$25 when in truth there had never been denominations of \$25 in the U.S. currency. In the allegation about the same event they disregarded Petrov's sworn evidence (after he had been given every chance to correct it) that he handed this money over on 16 October 1953 and on no other day when the fact was testified to even by A.S.I.O. that his story could not possibly be true. The "impartial" and "independent" judges said that Petrov had simply made a mistake! The deputy director of A.S.I.O. swore "by Almighty God" (in whom he no doubt believed) in the Canberra pre-election sitting of these "impartial" and "independent" judges to "tell the truth the whole truth and nothing but the truth" but conveniently omitted the truth (a critical part of the whole truth) that he had given Petrov £5000. Asked later why he made this critical omission, he squirmed and shilly-shallied and offered no real explanation because there was none except plain dishonesty to attack the workers. His superior and head of A.S.I.O., the military man Spry, (his military connection showing the essential unity of State forces) made a liar of Menzies as to when Menzies was first informed by Petrov. So it went on.

The great mass campaign against the Petrov Commission prevented even that accommodating, obliging and imaginative body in its service to the bourgeoisie, from inventing any spies. It was forced lamely to admit it had found no spies. Hence the key aim of the provocation against the workers and their leaders was defeated by the power of the Australian workers and their allies.

It remains to pass a comment on Evatt's position. In the first place Evatt's part must be seen in the background of workers' struggle against an anti-working class provocation. In this instance in the particular conjuncture of cold war attack upon the workers, the progressive side of the bourgeois Evatt and his own personal ambitions led him to participate to a degree in the struggle. Because he was parliamentary leader of the Labor Party his participation aroused others. In this way he played a role in awakening broader sections of the people to participate in the struggle. In no sense can either Evatt's forensic

(court appearance) efforts nor those of anyone else be seen to be the main thing. They were not; they were simply part of the mass struggle in which the key factor was the struggle of the workers. Evatt's efforts in the Commission showed that as a bourgeois advocate he was a man of immense courage. He did not hesitate to tell the bourgeois, diehard judges with whom he disagreed what he thought of them and their role but wholly from a bourgeois liberal point of view. He did not hesitate to stand up for liberal democracy. He did not hesitate to treat Sir Garfield Barwick (Counsel for A.S.I.O. and now Chief Justice of the High Court) with the utter contempt with which he ought to have been treated, and likewise with counsel for the prosecution (officially described as counsel assisting the Commission). Evatt had a commanding knowledge of bourgeois law and used it. His actual skill as an advocate was rather different. An examination of the transcript will show that he left most sentences unfinished, his cross-examination was not very effective nor well directed. He performed as an advocate as one would expect a rather radical liberal bourgeois to perform. In short, his efforts were never those of the champion of the working class. He was once described by a fellow Labor parliamentarian as a first rate appeal judge and appeal advocate (and this gentleman rather jealously went on to say "a third rate politician"; it may be added that one bourgeois rarely praises another in a similar occupation). As an advocate in the hurly-burly of a rough-and-tumble court appearance like the Petrov affair, he had many shortcomings. But this is really not to the point. It is dealt with only because the unqualified admirers of Evatt put to the credit of Evatt's advocacy the failure of the Petrov provocation, and attribute what success this provocation did have to the fact that the judges threw Evatt out of the Commission in their undisguised hatred of him (a matter very much to his credit). But the failure of the Petrov provocation was as already pointed out not due to the advocacy of Evatt nor of anyone else; it was due to the struggle primarily of the Australian workers and other working and patriotic people. Evatt's court performance and that of others contributed to that struggle and were part of it.

CHAPTER FOUR

Divisions in the A.L.P.; the split of 1955; The Hobart Conference

The Petrov Commission was the spark that lit the fires of split in the Labor Party — a party which had been the subject of previous major splits. Historically within the Labor Party there had been a "left", and a right and a centre. It was always a candidate for split based upon differences amongst the bourgeoisie which it as a bourgeois party reflected. Added to differences amongst the bourgeoisie, it had the difficulty of serving the bourgeoisie while pretending to serve the working class. Under the influence of the cold war and to serve the diehard reactionaries in Australia, a hard core of the right of the Labor Party had emerged to fight any tendency of the Labor Party to pursue its traditional bourgeois liberal policy.

The reactionary Roman Catholic Hierarchy backed this hard core. This was no more than the reflection within the Labor Party of the ordinary division in the bourgeoisie between diehard and liberal tactics, hard or soft tactics. A lay organisation of the Roman Catholic Church, the predecessors of the present (1974) National Civic Council which always had close U.S. monopoly capitalist connections, also played a large part in supporting and sponsoring this hard core. Particularly in the early years of his leadership of the Labor Party, Evatt was allied with this right element. In certain ways, he entered this alliance against the "left", his opponent for leadership having been the "left" leader Ward. The very fact that this alliance between Evatt and the right existed and was maintained for 2-3 years is characteristic of the ambivalence of the Labor Party and its leadership. It reflected the then seeming ascendancy in the so-called Western World of the reactionary diehards expressive of the Fulton speech line. In the interests of maintaining its bourgeois position and getting its share of the spoils of office the Labor Party leaders (and it as a Party) make deals with anyone, and compromise almost any issue. Such compromises proceed from the pragmatic basis of maintaining the given leader's own position or the position of the Labor Party as such. All this is justified in the name of seeking parliamentary "success" or office.

The reactionary bourgeoisie was alarmed by Evatt's court appearance against the Communist Party Dissolution Act and his advocacy of a No vote in the Communist Party Dissolution Act referendum. This was so even though Evatt made it clear that he was opposed to Communism and limited his court appearance and No vote advocacy to his liberal defence of the right of all to free speech.

The right within the Labor Party, backed by U.S. imperialist interests and in conformity with the dictates of cold war needs, had struggled to strengthen its own position within the Labor Party, particularly in the late forties and early fifties. It had captured key positions within that Party's organisation (and in the trade unions). Right-wing labor

politicians sponsored by it had been elected to all parliaments including the Australian parliament. In the Petrov affair this right-wing was active in support of the reaction.

The traditional centre and "left" in the Labor Party questioned the tactics of the right. The A.L.P. right fiercely espoused ultra-reactionary policies. The view of the traditional bourgeois-liberal element in the Labor Party, really the backbone of the Labor Party, was that if right-wing policy became the official policy of the Labor Party, this would very seriously adversely affect the mass basis of the Labor Party, would alienate it from wide sections of the people and undermine its electoral support and its capacity to serve the bourgeoisie effectively. It would strip the Labor Party of its powers of deception in its pretended "Labor" role.

The traditional bourgeois liberal position of the Labor Party led it too to a different position from the diehard reactionaries on the international situation. Evatt and other more far-sighted Labor Party leaders saw that the countries to the north of Australia were sooner or later bound to achieve independence. It was to the interest of the Australian bourgeoisie that Australia be in a position to trade with these newly independent countries. It was thus in this view a mistake for Australia to participate in suppression of the liberation movements in these countries or to be associated with suppression. Chifley's Australian Labor government, of which Evatt was foreign affairs Minister, had been quick to recognise the aspirations of Indonesia for independence from Dutch imperialism. In San Francisco in 1945 Evatt had said: "For more than three years the peoples of south-eastern Asia and Indonesia have been under Japanese military overlordship [...] They will need help and guidance for their material and moral rehabilitation [...] Their good-will must be fostered not only because their co-operation is essential to good administration in their own interests, but because they inhabit a vital strategic area." Actually what Evatt and the Labor Party traditionalists sought was a capitalist independence to offset working class and Communist leadership of these countries. The diehard reactionaries, on the other hand, wanted to maintain outright imperialist domination and suppression of the peoples of these countries.

Within the working class movement, there had developed strong opposition to the reactionary moves initiated by the Chifley Labor government. These reactionary moves had been highlighted by the Chifley government's suppression of the coalminers in 1949. The pattern set by Chifley's government was developed further by Menzies after his party became the government in 1949. The Labor Party itself had largely paved the way for Menzies' reactionary measures. The right within the Labor Party enthusiastically joined in the worst features of the cold war; the "left" joined more reluctantly. They identified their position in essence with the diehards headed by Menzies. Even more important, the momentum of the cold war was slowing down. The workers and working people throughout the capitalist world were fighting more vigorously against the reaction in the early and mid-fifties. The right-wing policies of the Labor Party were becoming less and less acceptable. Evatt even in the period of his right-wing affiliations had kept his "left" options open. He was quick to sense the gathering move of the working people to the left and the rejection of the right.

All this led to great internal friction in the Labor Party. Just as in internal matters in Australia, this right-wing policy in the Labor Party tended to isolate the party from its traditional base, so too did the international policy of this same ALP right.

The mass movement of the workers resisted the diehard measures of repression. It demanded anti-imperialist measures. It demanded an end to the internal repression. It resisted the Petrov provocation. It had opposed the U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea. As the Labor Party right-wing moved further to the right, it came into increasing opposition with the leftward movement of the rank and file workers. The bourgeoisie was faced with the need to control and adapt to capitalism the leftward inclined workers.

In the Petrov provocation, the ALP right came into conflict with Evatt. Within the Labor Party it attempted to remove him as leader. This expressed the struggle and difference between hard and soft tactics amongst the bourgeoisie. It expressed the conflict between the Labor Party's real position as a party of capitalism and its pretence of being a party of the working class.

On October 5, 1954 Evatt issued a statement which publicly attacked the right in the Labor Party. This led to a great debate within the Labor Party and added fuel to the struggle within the working class movement. Within the Labor Party what was really at issue was a question of tactics, a question of tactics be it said for the bourgeoisie. The tactic of the right was to go more and more anti-Communist, anti-working class at a time when the working people were moving more to the left. On the other hand, the tactics of the traditional bourgeois liberals were much more far-sighted. They were to accommodate the leftward swing of the working people so as ultimately to control it. Evatt's statement thus had an immediate mass appeal because the right were seen or if not seen, sensed as expressing an anti-popular policy. On the other hand, Evatt was seen within the Labor Party as the leader of the anti-right forces. In addition Evatt's bourgeois liberal position in important ways corresponded with left development in the working class movement. The full implications of his position were realised by a few. In any event, his denunciation of the right had a progressive character; once more it showed the progressive bourgeois liberal side of the dual character of Evatt and of the Labor Party (expressed for example by his fundamental anti-Communism and his alliance with the right in the Labor Party on the one hand and on the other, his insistence that the Communists had a right to be heard and his championship of various liberal causes). His bourgeois liberal position can be seen in the actual statement he issued on this matter. It is as follows:

The strong and determined desire of the overwhelming majority of trade union officials and membership for solidarity within the movement has been given eloquent expression at the Labor Day celebrations in New South Wales.

But the matter is of such Australia-wide importance to the Labor Movement that I have come to the conclusion that I must say more about the present position, especially so far as the Commonwealth Parliament is concerned.

At the recent Federal elections on May 29 we put forward a policy of development and we polled a majority of the people of Australia. We made gains in every State except Victoria.

All this was achieved by the self-sacrifice of tens of thousands of voluntary workers for Labor.

It was achieved, too, despite the thinly-veiled use against Labor of the opening speech before the Petrov Commission — the statement of which seemed to be distant, many poles apart from the truth of the matter so far as it has been more recently revealed by the sworn evidence of many witnesses.

But in the elections one factor told heavily against us — the attitude of a small minority group of Labor members, located particularly in the State of Victoria, which has, since 1949, become increasingly disloyal to the Labor Movement and to Labor leadership.

Adopting methods which strikingly resemble both Communist and Fascist infiltration of larger groups, some of these groups have created an almost intolerable situation — calculated to deflect the Labor Movement from the pursuit of established Labor objectives and ideals.

Whenever it suits their real aims, one or more of them never hesitate to attack or subvert Labor policy or Labor leadership.

A striking example of this at the elections was the attack upon Labor's proposal to abolish the means test. That proposal had been approved, not only by myself, but by the authorised representatives of the Federal Executive, the A.C.T.U., the A.W.U., and the leaders of the Parliamentary Labor Party in both Houses.

In spite of that, there were further attacks on the agreed policy. These attacks were eagerly seized on by anti-Labor parties, as though by a preconceived plan, and advertised from one end of the country to the other.

Since the elections nothing has been done officially to deal with those responsible for the disloyal and subversive actions to which I refer.

In addition, it is my clear belief that in crucial constituencies members of the same small group, whether members of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, or not, deliberately attempted to undermine a number of Labor's selected and endorsed candidates, with the inevitable and intended result of assisting the Menzies Government.

Similar attempts at subversion have recently been taking place in the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party. In that Party the group concerned is small, almost minute, in numbers. But repeated attempts have been made to make use of minor and unimportant incidents in the Caucus.

For instance, it was falsely reported to the Press that three members, having nothing to do with the group, were resorting to fisticuffs.

Incidents were deliberately created and then followed by an almost instantaneous relay of distorted and sometimes invented accounts to a naturally receptive anti-Labor Press

It seems certain that the activities of this small group are largely directed from outside the Labor Movement. The Melbourne News-Weekly appears to act as their organ. A serious position exists.

Since the referendum of 1951 Labor leadership has been very patient with some of these outbursts, solely in the interests of solidarity. But our patience is abused and our tolerance interpreted as a sign of weakness.

The Labor Party cannot yield to the dictates of any minority which functions in a way contrary to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the rank and file of the Labor Movement.

The procedures adopted cannot be accidental. They are deliberately planned. They are causing a rising tide of disgust and anger throughout Labor's supporters.

I cannot overlook the fact that in somewhat analogous circumstances Mr. Chifley was subjected to sniping and snide attacks which helped to undermine his health and strength.

The feeling of the rank and file of Labor throughout Australia is strong and determined. Thousands of messages have come to me from Labor Leagues and trade unions.

They are almost all to the effect that this planned and somewhat desperate attempt to disrupt and injure Labor leadership is really intended to assist the Menzies Government, especially in its attempt to initiate in Australia some of the un-British and un-Australian methods of the totalitarian police state.

Having in view the absolute necessity for real, and not sham, solidarity and unity within the movement. I am bringing this matter before the next meeting of the Federal Executive, with a view to appropriate action being taken by the Federal Labor Conference in January.

Ninety-five percent of the rank and file of the Parliamentary Labor Party are absolutely loyal to the movement. There is not the slightest reason why their efforts should be undermined by a tiny minority.

This statement gave dramatic impetus to the forces against the diehards. It culminated in a major upheaval within the Labor Party. A special meeting of the Federal Executive of the Labor Party was called for October 18, 1954. The central theme of this meeting was consideration of Evatt's October 5 statement and its subsequent amplification by him and of counter charges against Evatt. The meeting by 7 votes to 5 decided to "investigate" the Victorian branch of the ALP out of which arose a special conference of that branch for 26 and 27 February 1955. Victoria had been the stronghold of the right forces in the Labor Party.

The Victorian conference took place after Federal intervention and under Federal supervision. It elected a new executive and a new delegation of six to the then forthcoming Hobart Federal Conference of the ALP. The conference ultimately commenced on March 15, 1955. The details of the wrangling beforehand and the claims of the rival forces are not important. What is important is that the ALP diehards were defeated and the conference decided upon policy changes particularly in the field of foreign affairs.

The resolution of the Hobart conference on "International Affairs and World Peace" graphically illustrates the bourgeois nationalist attitude at that time to Australia's position. It was largely influenced by Evatt. Its text is as follows:

Having regard to the present state of international tension and the resulting threat to world peace, this Conference declares as follows:

1. Australia is, and must always remain, an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations as well as of the United Nations Organisation.
2. Co-operation with the United States in the Pacific is of crucial importance and must be maintained and extended.
3. Australia must give greater practical support to the United Nations for the purpose of carrying out the principles of the United Nations Charter and in particular for their wholehearted application in the Pacific and South-East Asia areas. These principles cover both collective action to repel military aggression and also — a factor which is usually forgotten — continuous action by way of conciliation and peaceful intervention for the purpose of preventing war and of bringing all armed conflict to an end.
4. The Australian Government has not sufficiently availed itself of the machinery of the United Nations. A convincing illustration of this is the case of Indo-China, where the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party consistently advocated intervention by the United Nations to stop the fighting and negotiate a just settlement. The Federal

Government took no action in this regard and in the end — five years later — the Indo-China conflict had to be settled by negotiation. The result was a settlement which was infinitely worse than would have been the case had United Nations intervention taken place in a prompt and timely manner, in the meantime hundreds of thousands of precious lives were lost.

5. Indo-China is typical of these cases where inexcusable delay in recognising a genuine Nationalist anti-colonial movement in Asia resulted in Communism gradually capturing the Nationalist movement. The result was that democratic Nationalism suffered a severe set-back.

6. The Labor Party advocates generous assistance by Australia to Asian peoples suffering from poverty, disease, and lack of educational facilities. This is only part of our task. Asian people also demand — in accordance with the United Nations Charter — the end of colonialism whenever and wherever the people are fit for self-government. Even more, Asia rightly demands recognition of the dignity and self-respect of Asian Nations and peoples. Unless all these principles are fully acknowledged, Western Nations will find it impossible to achieve that real cooperation with Asia which is basic to the maintenance of peace.

7. The Australian Labor Party is satisfied that the use of Australian Armed Forces in Malaya will gravely injure Australian relations with our Asian neighbours while in no way contributing to the prevention of aggression. The "guerrilla" operations in Malaya have lasted five years. They will eventually be ended by some form of agreement or amnesty. Action towards this end should begin now.

8. Labor policy is to oppose the use of Armed Forces in Malaya.

9. This Conference is firmly of the opinion that there is a grossly inadequate understanding of Asian problems in Australia and of Australian problems in Asia. Therefore it establishes the policy of encouraging exchanges of official and unofficial visits between our countries. In particular, the Australian Labor Movement itself should seek direct contact with Asian countries. In this connection no Asian country should be excluded from such exchanges.

10. The Australian Labor Party should seek the appointment of observers at the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference in Indonesia. Delegates representing Labor should be arranged between the Federal Executive of the ALP and the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party.

11. The development of atomic weapons has reached such dimensions that the peoples of the world are now faced with the stark and terrifying spectacle of a possible atomic world war causing a danger to the very fabric of the earth, its atmosphere and all its inhabitants which is so real that distinguished scientists refer

to the prospect with a sense of 'desperation'. This desperation is partly due to the vacillation and delay in arranging high level political talks aiming at the effective prevention of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs by any nation, whether for purposes of war or experimental purposes.

12. Conference therefore directs the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party to press for effective action directed towards these great ends. We are convinced that in years to come a nation's true greatness will come to be measured by its courageous approach to the solution of these tremendous problems here and now.

13. The SEATO Organisation must devote special attention to the peaceful settlement of international disputes in South-East Asia. SEATO as a regional organisation within the United Nations has a positive duty to try to lessen international tension in South-East Asia and the Pacific. It should discharge that duty.

14. A mutual regional Pact for security and welfare should be negotiated between Australia, Holland and Indonesia. The Pact should aim at promoting the security of the entire areas of Indonesia and New Guinea. It should also aim at improving the standards of life for all the peoples throughout this area — so vital to Australia.

15. There should be a renewed and vigorous attempt to bring about universal membership of the United Nations in accordance with the spirit of the Charter. No fewer than twelve nations have been excluded by the Russian veto from membership. On the other hand six nations associated with Russia have also been kept out by failure to secure the necessary majority of seven votes in the Security Council.

CHAPTER FIVE

Splits are characteristic of the ALP; fundamental causes; the conscription of World War I and the split over the Premier's Plan of the Depression; effects of splits.

An upshot of the Hobart conference was the formation of the so-called anti-Communist Labor Party (later Democratic Labor Party) composed of the main diehard figures in the Labor Party. The 1955 ALP conference led to a regrouping of Labor Party forces throughout Australia. Menzies called a Federal election for December 10, 1955, some eighteen months before elections in the normal course were due. In the election, the candidates of the anti-Communist Labor Party were, in the main, defeated. A similar fate overtook the diehard breakaway ALP candidates in various State elections.

Aside from the personal intrigue and backstabbing that occurred, there are certain much more fundamental reasons for the split in the Labor Party.

In the Labor Party split in World War I, the immediate issue was support or opposition to universal military conscription for overseas service. The first referendum on conscription was in 1916 and the second in 1917. In each, there was a majority against conscription. By 1916 and even more so by 1917, the realisation that the war was a trade war, an imperialist war, had become more widespread than at the outbreak of war in 1914. In campaigning against conscription, the main Labor Party leaders at no time opposed the war as such. As has been seen their leader Andrew Fisher had declared Labor Party support for the war to the last man and the last shilling. Opposition by Labor Party leaders to conscription was scarcely in accord with these sentiments. W. M. Hughes as Labor leader declared himself for conscription as did the N.S.W. Labor leader Holman. They encountered tremendous opposition because conscription at that time ran counter to the interest of sections of the bourgeoisie who required manpower to make profit from the war. An even more important reason was the then growing sentiment against war among the working people. The advanced workers had great support in their denunciation of the war as imperialist. They were the backbone of the opposition to conscription. The Labor Party leaders, in their efforts both to serve the bourgeoisie and to maintain their hold on the working people, had a tortuous path to follow. The issue of conscription in itself could not really be regarded as a matter of principle. If you supported the war, the question of for or against conscription was purely tactical. Nonetheless, the Labor Party leaders declared it a matter of principle. Hughes and Holman and those who supported them were expelled from the Labor Party. The liberal democratic side of the Labor Party, its bourgeois liberal side, emerged as dominant. This is an important feature of the main Labor Party splits.

The more far-sighted leaders of the Labor Party always moved against the right trends when those trends threatened the existence of the Labor Party. They adjusted their position to the general left swing of the masses. Actually this is an essential feature of serving the bourgeoisie and yet maintaining the appearance of Labor.

A similar process can be seen in the split over the Premier's Plan of the great depression of the thirties. The right supported the wholesale attack upon the conditions of the working people demanded by the monopoly capitalists. Once more the liberal section of Labor leaders, the "left", opposed it and favored softer tactics. It was the bourgeois liberals who emerged victorious and the right who were expelled. Just as the Labor leader Hughes had joined with the open parties of the reaction so did the Labor leader of the thirties, Lyons, join with the open parties of the reaction.

In 1955, the "left" liberal section of the Labor Party emerged victorious over the right. The preservation of the bourgeois liberal character of the Labor Party is a matter of very great importance for the Labor Party and for the bourgeoisie whom it serves.

The Hobart conference occurred in 1955. By 1955 there had been certain changes in the international and national situation. The cold war waged against the Soviet Union, though still in existence, had lost some of its importance. After the death of Stalin in 1953, certain changes had crystallised in the Soviet Union. By 1955, events in the Soviet Union had not yet made it plain that the successors of Stalin were not socialist at all. It had become at least doubtful whether they had the same implacable anti-imperialist stand as that of Stalin. China had emerged as a major socialist country. The U.S. aggression in Korea had been defeated. Internally in Australia the attempted repression had suffered serious blows at the hands of the workers, working and other patriotic people.

The bourgeois liberal element in the Labor Party had always shown themselves as more far-sighted than the diehard reactionaries either within their own Party or within the open parties of reaction. As has just been seen, this had been so in the conscription struggle, in the depression of the nineteen thirties and once more in the mid-fifties.

By their policy and tactics the right which had assumed strong positions within the Labor Party in the late forties and early fifties, threatened the Party with isolation from the masses. It is critical to the existence and use (for the bourgeoisie) of the Labor Party that it maintains its links with the masses and its capacity to maintain the pretence of serving the working people. Had, for example, the Labor Party not followed a "left" line in the conscription struggle, it would without doubt have suffered serious losses in its capacity to deceive the masses. The erstwhile Labor leaders Hughes and Holman, because they maintained an openly imperialist position, lost their capacity to deceive the masses. Had the Labor leaders of the depression of the thirties followed the diehard line, they too would have suffered serious losses in their capacity to deceive the masses.

In the mid-fifties the issue of bourgeois liberalism or open diehard reaction presented itself still once again. Had the Labor leaders followed the line of diehard reaction, they would have suffered similar serious blows in their capacity to deceive the masses. It is true that many other factors enter into these struggles. Influences of personal careerism, personal likes and dislikes, etc. enter into them. But the present concern is for fundamental trends.

Moreover, an aspect of personal careerism is that the given careerist must estimate correctly the direction in which events are going so that he/she will not share the isolation of Hughes, Holman, Lyons and more latterly of the main right leaders in the fifties such as Gair, Mullens, Keon.

The bourgeoisie always has its diehard reaction represented in the open parliamentary party of reaction, now the Liberal Party but variously named in the history of Australia. There is no need and no room for a second such party. The history of the Democratic Labour Party that arose after the 1955 Hobart Labor conference adequately proves that. Indeed, the more authoritative bourgeois spokesmen condemned the DLP because it tended to destroy, or at least to complicate, the operation of the 2 party system in parliament. The 2 party system of apparent opposition but essential unity is also a deception critical to the existence of the deceptions of democratic rule by parliament, universal suffrage, free elections, etc. If the Labor Party followed the right trend in any of the 3 splits of which we have spoken, then its very use would be greatly diminished; in fact, its very existence would be threatened.

Its adjustment to the left development of the working people if correctly understood, has a great importance for that left development. It serves, even though it is deceptive, to arouse and develop the working people. It enables them over a period more readily to understand the real character of the Labor Party as a Party of capitalism and to pass from the influence of the reformist Labor Party to the influence of the revolutionary party.

There were of course genuine bourgeois democrats within the Labor Party. It is not suggested that all the participants in this struggle in the fifties (and earlier) were just cynics or even thought out the implications of the various moves they respectively made. There is no doubt adherents of the "left" in the Labor Party included genuine liberal democrats. In addition, the Labor Party had an influence on genuinely left workers. Much of Evatt's career shows that on questions of civil liberty he did have a genuine liberal democratic outlook. When the bourgeoisie's critical direct class interests were better served by abandoning bourgeois liberalism, he was prepared to abandon this liberal democratic outlook as in the coal miners 1949 strike or the creation of ASIO or the Approved Defence Projects Protection Act. Equally, no doubt, adherents of the right held a genuine belief in their correctness. Individual motives are one thing; results and historical trends are quite another. It is the latter that constitutes the subject of this analysis.

In 1955, too, Australia's position in the world was assuming sharper shape. Chifley and Evatt had a certain appreciation of Australia's independence. They represented Australian capitalism as a whole or at least were freer of sectional ties than the diehard reactionary leaders. The Hobart (1955) Conference decisions reflected that, as did subsequent developments in the ALP. The dream of Australian *capitalist* independence is indeed a dream. Independence can only be achieved by a people's democratic anti-imperialist struggle led by the working class. Nevertheless the influence of bourgeois striving for an independent capitalist Australia has an importance for the working people. It demonstrates the possibility of various sections of the population entering into an alliance in the struggle for independence. Evatt's ideas were to a large extent the product and reflection of the striving of the Australian capitalists for a place in the sun, capitalist

motivated independence. Its ambivalence can be seen in the Hobart conference resolution that has been reproduced earlier.

This is by no means to say that Evatt and other Labor leaders of his thinking were not also closely allied to and heavily influenced by (even the servants of) the imperialist powers and particularly U.S. imperialism to which Curtin (Evatt's then leader) had declared that Australia would unequivocally turn. It too can be seen in the Hobart conference resolution. It illustrates once again the ambivalence of the Labor leaders. Perhaps this very ambivalence enabled Labor leaders like Evatt to get better terms from such a power as the USA than those who cravenly talk about "All the way with L.B.J." (Holt to Johnson) or "We'll go a waltzing Matilda with you" (Gorton to Johnson).

In short, the result of the ALP split of the fifties then was to assert and restore the bourgeois liberal character of the Labor Party. The U.S. bourgeois historian C. Hartley Grattan said of Evatt during World War II: "Fundamental to an understanding of Evatt is the perception that he was an Australian nationalist. Therefore in the United States he was not consciously playing a role when he appeared before the Washington bureaucracy and the American people as an Australian nationalist. He was being himself..."

What is not said is that Evatt was a bourgeois nationalist. He wanted Australia as a nation but as a capitalist nation.

CHAPTER SIX

Growth of Australia during World War II and changes in imperialist domination; the Statute of Westminster Adoption Act 1942; the dream of an independent capitalist Australia.

During World War II Australia's industry had been greatly developed. Both its agrarian and industrial output rose appreciably. In the post-war period they grew still more. Imperialist investment in Australia began too to multiply.

The Australian capitalists sought an independence from too much control by the imperialists. Because Evatt was not able to analyse the exact position, namely a world including Australia, dominated by the great imperialist powers, he could not understand the frustrations he experienced in fighting for the Australian bourgeoisie's interests. Nor could he understand the people's movement against imperialism. The U.S. and British imperialists' interest in Australia lay only in considering how Australia fitted in to their imperialist schemes. If it were to their imperialist interests to build up Australia, then that became the direction of their policy. If it were to their interest not to build up Australia, that became the direction of their policy. Thus in World War II British imperialism was compelled by the circumstances of her conflict with German imperialism to lessen her interest in Australia. On the other hand, U.S. imperialism, by the circumstances of her conflict with Japan and in her own general imperialist position, was compelled to take an interest in Australia. In turn, Australian capitalism in a comparatively minor country was compelled to turn to U.S. imperialism for support.

This also explained why the Curtin government, of which Evatt was a member, declared its unconditional looking to the USA for assistance in the war.

The situation then was that the weak country, Australia, turned to the powerful imperialist country, the USA. The U.S. imperialists were in a dominant position. They could fundamentally determine the terms of their interest in Australia and the terms of their collaboration with the Australian bourgeoisie. Conversely the Australian bourgeoisie could not basically determine the conditions upon which U.S. imperialism extended its "help".

The Australian bourgeoisie, as a section separate from British imperialism which had seized Australia and the later U.S. imperialism, was very weak. Australia had never achieved real independence from Britain. But of course, what native bourgeoisie there was, was certainly interested in developing its own capitalism against British and U.S. imperialist development of capitalism in Australia. But it competed against the greatly

superior economic power of British and U.S. imperialism. Their industries, established in Australia, dominated the Australian economy. Hence the Australian bourgeoisie, while battling for its own position, was reduced to a struggle for the best conditions it could get from the British and U.S. imperialists.

World War II thus found the Curtin government and Evatt as Minister for External Affairs in a good deal of conflict with British imperialism (a reflection also of the conflict between British and U.S. imperialism) and at the same time, struggling to get the best possible terms from U.S. imperialism. In turn, British and U.S. imperialism treated Australia largely as the imperialist dependency it was and assigned it a role conditioned by their overall imperialist interests.

In 1942, the Australian parliament passed legislation which adopted the Statute of Westminster. The Statute of Westminster was a device invented by the British imperialists to give its erstwhile colonies "independence" while maintaining a hold on those erstwhile colonies. It was a recognition of the growth of the demand for independence from British imperialism in the old British colonies, and at the same time, an attempt by British imperialism to save its imperialist interests in those erstwhile colonies. The adoption of this Statute marked legal recognition of the growth in the independence movement in Australia amongst all sections of the people (including sections of the capitalist class); it also marked the increasing U.S. imperialist interest and investment in Australia, anxious as U.S. imperialism was to oust Britain. The Statute of Westminster was passed by the British imperialist parliament in 1931 but its adoption by Australia had been delayed until 1942. The fact that it was adopted on the initiative of an Australian Labor Government demonstrates the Labor Party's bourgeois nationalism. The long delay in adoption showed the strength of British imperialist influence on the Australian bourgeoisie and the collaborating character of sections of that bourgeoisie. When the Labor Government in fact adopted it in October 1942 it made the adoption operate from September 3, 1939 (i.e. the outbreak of the war between Britain and Germany).

The Statute of Westminster, while a step towards independence of Australia from Britain, by no means cut off all ties between Australia and British imperialism. On the contrary, it proceeded on the very footing that certain important economic ties remained and therefore that important legal ties would remain. Those legal ties reflected the real economic and social interest that British imperialism maintained in the erstwhile British colonies in Australia and its acceptance by the Australian bourgeoisie. Thus British and U.S. imperialism each had real interests in Australia at the close of World War II. U.S. imperialism attempted to take its own advantage of Australia's growing independence of Britain and take Australia into its own sphere of influence.

Australia became a participant in the formation of the United Nations Organisation after World War II. Its chief spokesman in the formative period and in the early years of its existence was Evatt. His activities there reflected the Australian bourgeoisie's struggle for "independence" and for the best possible terms from the imperialist powers. Thus he was represented as the champion of small nations. What this really amounted to was pursuit of his dream of an independent capitalist Australia. In fact in the United Nations, this movement had a certain objectively progressive character because it hampered the efforts of the chief imperialist powers in pursuing their aims of world domination. However, in its

outcome, it still left the chief imperialist powers in the dominant position in the United Nations.

The strivings of countries like Australia to take advantage of the weakening by the war of the imperialist powers had a little success. But the position of Evatt reflected the weakness and confusion of the bourgeoisie in Australia. At the very time of "championing the cause of small nations", Evatt supported the imperialist creation of Israel. He championed the reactionary racist cause of White Australia. On the other hand, he was far-sighted enough as a bourgeois to see the development of national liberation movements in many colonies and to work for their independence, again a capitalist independence. (See Hobart conference resolution reproduced earlier.) Evatt became President of the United Nations General Assembly for 1948. The position was fought for by him not only out of personal ambition but out of his very dream of Australian independence. He is often said with some justice to have been the founder of Australian foreign policy.

His stand, while a bourgeois stand, gave certain expression to the growing world-wide movement which called into question imperialist domination and played a part in arousing wide sections of the people to question imperialist domination.

A feature too of the dual character of such people was revealed by Evatt's subservience to the British Crown. He showed himself as anxious as any compradore capitalist to be "seen with Royalty" and to be loyal to the British imperialist monarch.

Some of this is expressed in his book "The King and His Dominion Governors". This book gives Evatt's views of the legal relations between the central power of British imperialism and its former colonies now called "dominions". It in no way challenges British imperialism, but examines and accepts the legal forms by which British imperialism maintains a hold on its former colonies (now Dominions) in a period when the movement for independence in the colonies had compelled British imperialism into legal manoeuvres under which it could maintain some real power while at the same time conceding "independence". Evatt proceeded on the footing that he accepted British imperialism's continuance in a new form but sought a more careful definition of the relations of the British Crown to the dominions. His "independence" shows through this latter.

All this is in contrast with a genuine working class movement for independence. Such a movement seeks an unequivocal break from imperialism, expulsion from Australia of imperialists, taking over their assets by a people's anti-imperialist democratic state. In that movement, sections of the bourgeoisie can participate. As has been said, some of Evatt's actions and declarations fitted into such an alliance. Others of his actions and declarations were the very reverse of it. He certainly did not recognise that the working class can lead even a comparatively small country (in terms of population) in a successful struggle for independence.

The Labor Party aspired to an independent capitalist Australia. Evatt showed much of bourgeois nationalism. The limitations of this bourgeois nationalism have already been commented upon. Nonetheless it was and is an important aspect of the Labor Party.

It can be well illustrated by comparing Evatt's attitude to Australian independence with the attitude of R.G. Menzies, former Liberal Prime Minister. Menzies is boomed up by

the bourgeoisie as a great statesman, as a man who towered over Evatt, who defeated Evatt in the Petrov provocation and its aftermath and so on.

It is certain that Menzies will appear in Australian history (if he appears at all) as a craven traitor to Australia. He was the representative of the traitor class interests above everything else. Menzies betrayed Australia in the early period of the war. He presided over the notorious "Brisbane line", a conception of the defence of Australia that involved abandoning a large part of the north to the Japanese imperialists. Menzies denied the existence of any such plan. But its existence is evidenced in his whole position.

Menzies used the repressive state machinery in the thirties to compel wharf laborers to load scrap and pig iron for transport to the Japanese imperialists. It was ultimately used by the Japanese imperialists against Australia. During World War II, he was described by the Japanese controlled Indonesian radio as "a clear eyed soul".

Menzies showed himself a tool of the most reactionary circles in the world. This embraced the British imperialists, the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese imperialists, the Nazis - whichever imperialism seemed to be in the ascendancy for the time being.

Menzies' Minister for the Interior, Kent Hughes, said in 1950: "Australia must become the 49th State of America" (Melbourne Argus, March 24, 1950). Menzies made no attempt to dissociate himself or his government from these ideas.

It was completely consistent with Menzies' whole position. The following statements of Menzies himself show his traitor position:

"I thought myself it was a great thing for Germany to have arms" (Sydney Daily Telegraph, December 12, 1938).

"I have a great admiration for the Nazi organisation, of Germany. There is a case for Germany against Czechoslovakia. We must not destroy Hitlerism, or talk about shooting Hitler" (Hansard, April 22, 1940).

"I become very resentful when I hear people affecting to sneer at American imperialism. The benevolent commands of a great nation should be good for mankind. If that is American imperialism, let us have more of it" (Christian Science Monitor September 24, 1952).

Menzies' refusal to ratify the Statute of Westminster showed his subservience to British imperialism. His crawling to the British monarchs and acceptance of "honors" from the British monarchy demonstrated again his traitor position. His dressing up in the fancy dress bestowed on such British "offices" as Warden of the Cinque Ports revealed the disgusting depths to which he sank in his subservience.

The basis of his hatred of Evatt lay just in this. Evatt championed a nationalism (bourgeois though it was) that was anathema to Menzies' traitor position.

This points up an essential aspect of the Labor Party's position — its service to the national bourgeoisie and attempted development of Australia as a nation.

Evatt got into conflict with the British and U.S. imperialists in World War II in his struggle to secure Australia's "independence" as he saw it. Evatt's position had certain reactionary features but it had certain objectively progressive features. It illustrated well the A.L.P.'s dual character on this question of Australian nationalism as on other questions.

It is worth quoting material from an article by a British research student, Christopher Thorne, published in the Sydney Morning Herald of May 31, 1974. Mr.

Thorne said:

"The newly enhanced and independent role of Australia in world affairs was, of course, to be a major theme of Evatt's throughout the war and into the peace, and it is worth jumping ahead for a moment to see how he was still using the Hopkins (U.S.) channel for this purpose at the end of March 1945.

"Writing to emphasise that, in the light of her geographical position and her war effort, 'proportionately second to none', "Australia or at least Australia or New Zealand should be a member of the (United Nations Security) Council at any one time", he (Evatt) added:

“ ‘My view of the future of Australia and New Zealand is that they will quickly develop the fullest autonomy in international affairs without prejudicing the only legal tie that united them with the United Kingdom — that is kingship. This will mean in practice a close relationship with the United States both on matters of security and on matters of economic and social welfare, including the development of native races in the Pacific. I often think that this picture of the future is insufficiently realised in certain parts of Washington.

“ ‘I see no reason why the United States and Australia cannot devise machinery to carry out Pacific objectives within the framework of the world organisation. Further, the Pacific War Council, which in my opinion performed a job of great importance at the time of greatest emergency, should be replaced by a Pacific Advisory Council or Commission which could perform a work of great usefulness. Whatever may be said about the exclusion of the Dominions from the European Advisory Commission, it is pretty plain that public opinion in Australia and New Zealand will insist upon a broader attack to the very difficult problem of handling the Japanese.

“ ‘Then there is the question of Pacific native races and the application of the doctrine of trusteeship and mandates. On the security side there is the question of the use of bases in the post war period.

“ ‘At the State Department it has only been possible to touch on a few of these matters. I hope I can have an opportunity of a full discussion with you. Already the old cry is being raised that Singapore must again be the bastion of defence after the present war. Australia nearly went under in 1942 and escaped because of American aid coming in timely fashion and enabling our forces to clear the Japanese out of New Guinea while the Navy performed so splendidly in the Pacific battles and in the operations of the Marines.

“ ‘I was sorry to see at the Crimea (i.e. Yalta Conference) the question of trusteeship in dependent territories was dealt with so summarily and without any attention being paid by the United Kingdom to the views of the Dominions. If the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom persists in this attitude, especially towards the New Deal governments in the Dominions, there will be all sorts of trouble.’ ”

Churchill, arch British imperialist, said of Evatt who was struggling for an independent position for Australia "...I simply can't stand this fellow. I think I'm going to bed." (in the middle of the day). Roosevelt, representative of U.S. imperialism, spoke of the "rudeness and crudeness of the man" (Evatt).

The stand of Evatt was not a working class stand in any shape or form. But it stood in contrast to the sheer treachery of the compradore capitalists represented by Menzies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A people's democratic dictatorship is the only way to independence; the need for a united front and the correct approach to it.

Australia has never freed itself from the hold of imperialism. Since British imperialism seized Australia, the black people have resisted imperialism and since Australia developed a white population, the white workers, working and other patriotic people (including some capitalists) have joined in the anti-imperialist struggle. Communists aim at socialism but an essential stage of socialist revolution in Australia is the struggle against imperialism and for people's democracy. The direction of that struggle is against the comparative handful of British, U.S. and Japanese imperialists to establish a people's anti-imperialist democratic dictatorship led by the workers. Such a government would take over the imperialist monopolies, key sectors of the economy and give real substance to democratic rights.

In the struggle for such a government, the enemies of the Australian people must be clearly identified. Capitalism in Australia is largely U.S., British and Japanese imperialism in Australia. Those enemies are the imperialist foreign monopolies and their Australian collaborators. All those who can be united must be united in struggle against these enemies. Such a united front embraces workers, working people and other patriots. There is quite a section of the capitalist class prepared to struggle against foreign domination. The task therefore is to build up a broad united front against the imperialists and their Australian collaborators who are betraying the national interests. Such a united front is not a series of formal agreements between political parties but it is a united front of *people engaged in common struggle*. It may embrace formal agreements between political parties when appropriate conditions arise out of struggle. But it is not a condition of united front struggle that there be such formal agreements.

This is said because in the past, one view that gained hold in Australia was that the united front was entirely an agreement between the Communist Party and the Labor Party. Hence a great deal of effort was put into struggling to obtain such a formal agreement. In one form or another this method of thinking appeared over many years. There were schemes of united front from "on top" which meant agreement with the Labor Party leaders or united front "from below" which meant agreement with the rank and file of the Labor Party, when there was no agreement with the Labor Party leaders. The whole thing was

even more confused because as has been demonstrated earlier, there were incorrect ideas of the character of the Labor Party.

Another wrong idea about the united front was the proposition "to heal the breach in the working class movement." Some Australian Communist ideas of this were that the breach in the working class movement was between the Communist Party on the one hand and the Labor Party on the other. The very foundation of such an idea was wrong because the Labor Party is not a party of the working class. This is so whether one looks at those aspects of it that are social democratic or those aspects of it that are simply bourgeois liberal. To put forward a proposition to heal the breach in the working class on this basis is to represent that the Labor Party is a party of the working class.

If the breach between the Labor Party and the Communist Party in Australia is healed, then it means that the Communists have failed to maintain the line of demarcation between themselves and the Labor Party. An approach to the question of the united front is sure to cause errors and damage unless the Communists correctly examine the forces who can be united and reach correct conclusions about them.

Still another error was the failure to be clear about the anti-imperialist target of the united front.

In the case of Evatt and those of his activities that were objectively progressive, he, and those he and the Labor Party influenced, were potential participants in a united front *led by the working class*. In fact the working class was very active and the then Communist Party was very active. There was co-operation between the various forces involved in the campaign against the various fascist measures of that time.

In the united front always there is competition as to who is to lead — the bourgeois participants or the working class. Certainly Evatt was very active in imposing his leadership. That meant bourgeois leadership. As some Communists approached questions of the united front from the standpoint that the Labor Party and its leaders had a working class side and from the standpoint of healing the breach in the working class and also failed to maintain their own independence and initiative, conditions were present for the spreading of incorrect ideas in the working class, bourgeois ideas.

In addition, because the anti-imperialist people's democratic direction of the struggle was not identified clearly enough, the struggle, for example, for a No vote in the referendum on the Communist Party Dissolution Act and for democratic liberty, tended to be seen as a thing in itself. It was based on the idea that the preservation of the democratic liberties of capitalism was the all important thing. Projected to its logical conclusion that meant that capitalism was acceptable so long as it had democratic liberties and a legal Communist Party and legal trade unions.

The correct approach was to see the Communist Party Dissolution Act with its far-reaching attack on the workers, working and patriotic people as dictated by the imperialist overlords of Australia. On that basis, the struggle to defeat it was a component of the anti-imperialist *people's democratic struggle*.

Dr. Evatt then was hailed by some Communists as leader of the struggle, and to a degree, his ideas penetrated the working class. A correct approach involved working with Dr. Evatt, seeing him as an important participant in the united front but not to do everything through Dr. Evatt and the Labor Party. The maintenance of a clear line of demarcation

between bourgeois liberalism, social democracy and Communism in this instance required explanations and actions that Dr. Evatt and the Labor Party were not prepared to make or do, precisely because their approach was a bourgeois approach. Independence and initiative of the Communists in such united action of course involved proper respect, proper agreement and proper relations for and with other participants in the struggle. Mao Tse-tung explained the principles of the proper way to approach such matters in his material published under the title "Independence and Initiative within the United Front". (Selected Works Vol. 2, p. 213. This article is reproduced as an appendix to this booklet).

Similar considerations apply to the Petrov affair. Dr. Evatt played an important part in the opposition to this anti-working class provocation. His opposition was extremely valuable in rousing wide sections of the people against the provocation. But his vision of the Petrov case, and his opposition to it, were dictated and limited by his bourgeois and social democratic and personal standpoint. The attitude of some Communists was limited by wrong ideas of the character of the Labor Party, of the character of Evatt, of the character of the united front and of the character of the anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle. Evatt was seen by these Communists as the main thing in the struggle against the Petrov provocation. In truth the main thing was the struggle of the working class. Because of wrong ideas held by some Communists, the social democratic bourgeois ideas of Evatt were not subject to sufficient criticism.

All this fitted in with the revisionist influences that operated in the Communist Party. These revisionist influences expressed themselves in a certain reliance upon parliamentary politics and trade union politics. Both of these are bourgeois trends. Evatt and such people lived by parliamentary and trade union politics. Thus collaboration between him and the Communists required particular clarity by the Communists if they were to maintain correct leadership of the struggle. However, because of wrong estimations, the amalgamation of political ideology between the Labor Party and the Communists got a push forward. It was indeed a factor in the ultimate total embracing of revisionism by some of the Communist "leaders".

It was not Evatt's position that was the cause of this nor should the conclusion be drawn that it was wrong to unite with Evatt. The difficulty was wrong Communist appraisal of Evatt and the Labor Party.

Another aspect of the matter was that because ideas about the united front were to a degree centred around unity between the Labor Party and the Communists, too little attention was given to uniting all those who could be united and too little attention was given to identification of the main enemies of the workers, working and other patriotic people.

After the imperialist phase of World War II, the Communists participated in the war against fascism alongside the Labor government and Labor Party. It was entirely correct to unite all those who could be united in the struggle against fascism. But it was entirely incorrect to fail to keep clear the line of demarcation between the Communist Party and the Labor Party. Here too the revisionist tendencies within the Communist Party pushed that Party towards amalgamation of "Communist" ideas and Labor Party ideas. In other words, the social democratic bourgeois ideas of the Labor Party penetrated the Communist Party. Insufficient heed was paid to principles spoken of by Mao Tse-tung in

dealing with the wartime alliance between the United States, Britain and France and the then socialist Soviet Union. In a statement of fundamental truth he said: "Such compromise between the United States, Britain and France and the Soviet Union can be the outcome only of resolute, effective struggles by all the democratic forces of the world against the reactionary forces of the United States, Britain and France. Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." (Selected Works, Vol. 4, p. 87).

Failure to analyse the Labor Party correctly and participation with it on a false basis of identification can only seriously mislead the masses about the Communists and the Labor Party. Of its very nature, the Labor Party does very bad anti-working class things. A wrong basis of unity results in the Communists being identified with these anti-working class actions.

When there is some affinity of viewpoint on certain questions between the Labor Party and the Communists, there is a danger of the Communists going to the right; when there is no affinity on anything, there is a danger of the Communists going to the "left".

In the struggle after the Petrov Commission within the Labor Party, certain Communists identified their position with that of the "left" of the Labor Party. They saw the main direction of the struggle to drive the right out of the Labor Party. Once more by these incorrect ideas, they opened the door to the penetration of the working class by social democratic bourgeois ideas. It was perfectly correct to unite with those with whom it was possible to unite in dealing blows to U.S. imperialism and its agents but again it was critical to understand the character of the Labor Party and its leaders.

From time to time the Communists of the past have urged the election of Labor governments in parliamentary elections and have participated in the campaigns to elect the Labor Party. Such activity has been based on or heavily influenced by the considerations about the Labor Party to which reference has been made. Particularly have they been influenced by the idea that there is something of a working class character in the Labor Party. But those considerations have been wrong. In this particular case the Communists accepted parliamentarism as a possible working class institution contrary to all Marxist-Leninist teachings. It is an entirely different matter to prefer government administration by the more enlightened bourgeoisie.

In relation to the Whitlam government, Communists have made their starting point the bourgeois social character of the Labor Party, the Whitlam government and its Ministers. But the Communists have recognised that it and its members (some more than others) has and have a certain dual character. Some of the things it has done have been progressive, some reactionary. It is correct to support what is progressive and to oppose what is reactionary. As crisis deepens in Australia, the progressive actions become less and the reactionary actions become more. The most important aspect is the people. By correctly analysing the Labor government, the Communists assist in rousing the people to correct struggle.

The united front is not an idea or tactic dominated by considerations of Labor and Communist. It is action to unite *all people* who can be united. It is the people who are all important. Their unity transcends particular parties; it may be helped by the stand of

particular parties or it may be hindered by it. In any event an important component of the people is the people influenced by the Labor Party. There are no artificial criteria or schemes. People can be united on many, many issues of the anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle. To confine that united action to some sort of agreement or understanding between the Labor Party and the Communist Party would be very seriously to circumscribe the united front. To fail to appreciate what is objectively progressive in the Labor Party's stand would hinder the struggle. Imperialist domination of Australia is compelling the people to unite. Recognition of that process opens up the way for an all-powerful anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle that will drive the imperialists out of Australia and win an anti-imperialist, people's democratic government.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The A.L.P. —a party of capitalism; its attitude to the capitalist state apparatus; objectively progressive aspects of the Labor government's internal policy and international relations; a comment on its health and compensation schemes; the Labor government's attempts to counter economic depression with capitalist measures; intensification of class struggle the result; the crisis of capitalism deepens; Labor Party faces collapse; working class turns towards communism as the way out

Evatt never achieved the Prime Ministership of Australia but he served as a senior Cabinet Minister under two Labor Prime Ministers, Curtin and Chifley. The position of both of these governments is perfectly clear. They were governments of capitalism in accordance with the character of the Labor Party as a party of capitalism. They administered capitalism for the monopoly capitalists. After the defeat of the Chifley government in 1949, the Labor Party was the parliamentary opposition party. As the bourgeois social scientists say, the Labor Party was the alternative government. Evatt became opposition leader after the death of Chifley and after Evatt's retirement from the Australia parliament, Calwell became the Labor Party leader. After Calwell's retirement as Labor leader, Whitlam became the Labor Party leader. Under his leadership, the Labor Party set out to win the so-called middle sections of the population. It took steps to eliminate from leading Labor Party positions the "left" and those who had too openly exposed themselves as the right. In December 1972 the Labor Party was elected a majority in the parliament and Whitlam became the Prime Minister.

Thus once again the Australian people were able to see and experience a Labor government in office. This experience demonstrated still further that the Labor Party is a party of capitalism and that all its measures are determined by capitalist motives. It is necessary to repeat the analysis previously made about the nature of parliament as an institution of capitalism.

A few comments however on the attitude of the Labor Party to the apparatus of the Australian state may be useful.

Whitlam's Labor government came to office after 23 years of office of the Labor Party's parliamentary opponents, that is, by those who made no pretence about their capitalist position; on the contrary, they were people who vehemently asserted their belief in capitalism. They extolled U.S. imperialism in Australia.

When Whitlam's government came to office, Australia, like other capitalist countries, maintained a state apparatus. The chief component of this state apparatus was the standing army. The state apparatus included Commonwealth police forces, both public

and secret, courts, gaols and a public service. The army was officered by a reactionary officer corps, the police were headed by reactionary officers; there was a security intelligence service of open anti-working class character, the courts were staffed by reactionary judges, the gaols were used to punish those who offended Capitalist law based as it is, upon the maintenance of exploitation and private property, a public service was headed by men who were very closely tied to the monopoly capitalists and breathed the ideology of capitalism.

The whole state apparatus existed to maintain the system of capitalist exploitation in Australia. It was closely co-ordinated in its chief aspects, namely army and police and senior public servants, with the corresponding apparatus of U.S. imperialism. It was the repressive apparatus of the imperialist bourgeoisie in Australia and their Australian collaborators. In short, it was the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This apparatus was the critical apparatus of that dictatorship in Australia. Despite the efforts of the bourgeoisie to promote parliament as the supreme institution of state, the fact remains that parliament was and is a matter subsidiary to these key organisations of the state apparatus.

The central question of politics is the question of state power — which class has state power — the working class or the capitalist class.

One can test immediately the Labor Party's capitalist or working class character by taking its attitude to this state apparatus. When it assumed office, Whitlam's government left this state apparatus intact; in many ways it set out to strengthen it. The chief component of state power, the army, remained largely as it had always been, except that the Labor government took early steps to make it more efficient; the police, both public and secret, remained as they had been; (subject to what is said later) the courts and the gaols similarly and so too, the public service.

The foreign monopoly capitalists in Australia and their Australian partners remained untouched. They carried on their exploitation and profit making as before. The bourgeois commentators said after the election that it was business as usual. A sizeable section of their press, radio and television had encouraged the electoral return of a Whitlam Labor government. Amongst their reasons were the belief that difficult times were coming for capitalism and a Labor government could better handle rebellious workers than could an open Tory party, that the open reactionary parties had been in office 23 years and this created a danger of destroying the parliamentary system, that the open Tory parties had no capable leaders whereas the Labor Party did.

The Labor Party therefore came into office with the support of important sections of the bourgeoisie. It encouraged the continuance and development of the capitalist system in Australia and it maintained and developed the bourgeoisie's apparatus of state in Australia. Had the Labor party been a party of the working class, it would have smashed the old army and police, established a people's army, armed the people, sent the old judges packing, used the gaols for imprisoning the handful of imperialist monopolists and their Australian partners, sacked the chiefs of the public service and abolished their bureaucracy.

It did none of these things. And no one who had studied the Labor Party would be under any illusion that it would do any of these things.

However in its timid steps to get people in the state apparatus slightly more sympathetic to itself, it illustrated its own dilemma still again. Its dilemma is to maintain something of a working class appearance while really being a party of capitalism.

The Labor Attorney General Murphy organised a raid by the Australian public police against the Australian secret police, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation. From the standpoint of the working class a raid was entirely justified and necessary to disband the secret police. The secret police had been particularly active in sponsoring fascism and spying on the workers and indeed on anyone who in their opinion had any left persuasion. Their view of who was left was entirely distorted but still the central target for their activities was the working class. From the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, this was quite correct. It is the content of politics, class against class. The secret police were one of the weapons of the bourgeoisie against the working class. Senator Murphy's raid aroused some illusions amongst the workers that A.S.I.O. would really be dealt with and disbanded. On the other hand, it roused certain alarm amongst the bourgeoisie that one of their key weapons of state repression was to suffer. In fact the "raid" was initially hailed by some workers and initially vigorously condemned by the bourgeoisie. The Labor Party hastened to repudiate any idea of its intention fundamentally to interfere with A.S.I.O. Had the Labor Party in fact disbanded A.S.I.O. it would have aroused the enthusiasm of the workers who detest the secret police. But to say that the Labor Party would disband A.S.I.O. is really to say that the Labor Party is not the Labor Party, for a secret police is critical to capitalism and the Labor Party is a party of capitalism. The fact is that the Labor Party through Chifley and Evatt had created this very secret police that Senator Murphy raided. What had happened to provoke this raid was that A.S.I.O, instead of confining itself to anti-working class activities as was intended, had allowed itself to get mixed up in the much less important struggle between the parliamentary parties for the spoils of office. It had lent its apparatus to the Liberal-Country Party in its parliamentary struggle with the Labor Party. It had served one section of the bourgeoisie against another. Senator Murphy's raid was quickly repudiated by the Labor government. The real purpose of the raid and the real attitude of the Labor government to the secret police were revealed by the appointment by Whitlam's government of a Royal Commission to investigate the intelligence services with a view to improving their efficiency.

The Whitlam government did alter some public service positions but in no way did it attack the basic organisation and structure of the public service. A working class government would sack the heads of the public service. These people are imbued with the ideology of the capitalist class. A workers' government would establish workers as heads of the public service and thoroughly reconstitute it. Moreover it would smash the "tradition" that the public service stands above classes and parties and maintains the continuity of government. This latter is true; as a capitalist institution, as the full-time administrators of capitalism, the public service *does* maintain continuity of the administration of capitalism. Once again, if this were not so, then it would not be capitalism. A working class party would say a public service serves whichever is the ruling class at the time, and our public service will be a working class public service to serve the working class. The Labor Party is as far removed from that as chalk from cheese. The very fact that it stands for the tradition of continuity of the public service is another indication of its bourgeois character.

The few changes that the Labor Party did make in the public service were cases of substitution of one bourgeois-orientated head for another. It would never enter the thinking of the Labor Party to staff these positions from militant revolutionary workers from the factories. Even with the few changes the Labor Party made, it still had considerable trouble with the public service heads. So reactionary were they that they forgot the tradition of being above parties and only reluctantly adjusted themselves to the change of government.

The Labor government did nothing to sack the reactionary generals nor does its position even envisage this. It set out to improve and strengthen the existing army and ensure its co-ordination with the military forces of U.S. and British imperialism. Again it retreated from the few timid steps it took to get the civilian head of the department of the army to co-operate more closely with certain moves it was making. It allowed the reactionary generals (all capitalist generals) to break the convention of army men not speaking publicly on political matters.

It maintained the existing courts. When a vacancy occurred on the High Court, it appointed a perfectly orthodox judge from New South Wales to the vacancy. In other vacancies it has in no way stepped outside capitalism. It has appointed to these positions people who will loyally administer capitalist law. And it has maintained the existing body of law - that is, a body of law which serves capitalism. It allows openly fascist provisions of the Crimes Act and other acts to remain on the statute books.

What appointments it has made to the various public bodies that existed when it took office, or that it has created, reveal again its capitalist character. Instead of saying we intend to put our people in all key positions and make no apology for it which would even be consistent with its capitalist character, it proceeds in a timid way even in the appointments it does make. It leans over backwards to make it appear that it is "fair" and "just". In this context, this means that it will appoint to key positions only those who are acceptable in advance to the bourgeoisie (all its appointments are finally acceptable to the bourgeoisie).

Then it intersperses these appointments with blatantly inept appointments, apologises for them, gets on the defensive and is accepted by no one.

In the field of internal policy, the Labor government carries on the Labor tradition, commented on by Lenin, to build Australia as a single nation from the original six separate British colonies. To that end it maintains the uniform taxation system initiated by the Curtin Labor government, builds up national control of such things as education, medical services, compensation. It strives to combat the separation of the States born of their colonial days and maintained by sections of the imperialist bourgeoisie as bases for exploitation. The Labor government seeks to gain more control over Australia's natural resources for the Australian bourgeoisie as a whole. Much of this is objectively progressive because it fits in with the aims and aspirations of the working class in Australia. This is not the motive of the Labor Party. Its efforts are dictated by the needs of capitalism as a whole in Australia. Nonetheless, such measures are objectively progressive.

In international relations the Labor government has carried forward the steps originally taken by Curtin, Chifley and Evatt of a certain stand independent of the imperialists. Thus among the early measures of Whitlam's government was the exchange

of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. This had been preceded by Whitlam's visit as opposition leader to People's China. In office, Whitlam's government has also established relations with the Democratic Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It has sought better relations with the countries of Asia. To a degree it aligned itself with countries of the Third World on matters like extending jurisdiction over territorial waters, relations with racist regimes like South Africa. Its stand against U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people was certainly progressive and supported by the Australian workers, working and patriotic people.

At the beginning of 1974 it was possible to say of the Labor Party government of Mr. Whitlam:

"1973 completed 12 months of the Labor Party in office.

"The Labor Party government made a dramatic break from the foreign policy of its predecessors. To a considerable degree it entered into the world-wide struggle of developing countries and countries of the Third World for independence against oppression and racism. This is a big step forward. All sensible people welcome and support it.

"Whitlam's stand against the U.S. bombing of Vietnam showed a substantial degree of independence. Publication of the cables of the time can do nothing but good. There should be no retreat from their contents nor clouding of the issue by a witch-hunt over their 'leakage'. Indeed the government would have done well to have taken the initiative in publishing them.³

"This trend in foreign policy is undoubtedly progressive. It is in the interests of Australian workers, working people and other sections of the people. Its objective effect is within the mainstream of progress in the world. This is not to overlook serious negative features in foreign policy.

"The danger to the world arises from the striving to world domination of the superpowers - the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

"The trend of Australia's policy objectively runs counter to the superpowers.

"There is, of course, a very serious subordination to U.S. imperialism and a reluctance for outright, consistent opposition to the superpowers. All people will combat this. What is required is a thoroughgoing policy of independence and opposition to the superpowers.

"Within Australia the Labor government has taken a number of progressive steps. Its policy to strengthen the central government is objectively progressive. Our view is that Australia must be developed as one country and not as six separate kingdoms. The correctness of this is demonstrated by the ultra-reactionary regrouping that is going on such as the DLP-Country Party amalgamation, the stand of Bjelke-Petersen to protect 'state rights'. These people are the quintessence of diehard reaction in Australian politics.

³ In early 1974, journalist Mungo MacCallum published highly classified cables from December 1972 recording the Whitlam government's strident criticism of US bombing operations in Vietnam and the US government's equally sharp response. US officials privately encouraged the Liberal National Party Opposition, and shadow Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock in particular, to attack Labor as "untrustworthy".

"We fully approve the Labor government's efforts to develop Australia as one nation. Its objective effect is to assist the working class struggle. This objective effect is not altered by the capitalist motives of the Labor Party leaders.

"On various other issues such as health, education, the Labor government has a far better policy than its rivals.

"Of course there is another side to all this.

"On no single issue does the Labor government have an unequivocal attitude. It compromises on almost everything. When it proposes something progressive it then begins to retreat in the face of opposition. It fears the masses and does not seek to rely on them. It does some very bad things. Its words are by no means matched by its deeds. Such, for example, is its policy towards Australian black people. But there are other examples.

"The most critical internal question which faces Australian people is the question of inflation. It will never be solved while capitalism lasts. This is a worldwide problem. But within Australia a great deal could be done even within capitalism by making the rich pay, by reducing or abolishing indirect taxation, by nationalisation. The Labor government will not do these things because it administers capitalism.

"The root of the internal problem (and the explanation of vacillation in foreign policy) lies in the degree to which Australia is dominated by U.S., British and Japanese imperialism. Key sectors of Australia's economy are completely in their hands or dominated by them. Real independence involves expulsion of these imperialists from Australia.

"In short, Australia's Labor government has a dual character. Insofar as it pursues an international policy of independence and lines up with developing and Third World countries, it is progressive. As a government which favours central national development in Australia it is progressive. On certain internal social issues its policy is certainly more progressive than that of its opponents. On the other hand, its essential capitalist and imperialist-dependent position leads to anti-working class stands on great number of issues.

"Its social theory of social democracy is anti-working class. It espouses parliamentarism. Its essential purpose is to maintain, administer and strengthen capitalism in Australia. Social democracy has been rightfully described as the main prop of capitalism.

"Hence Communists support the objectively progressive policies and actions of the Labor government and oppose its reactionary policies and actions. At the same time Communists must carefully explain the essential nature of social democracy. This is a question of great importance and requires great skill. There are stages in the political development of people and these stages must be gone through before the people fully understand the nature of the Labor Party in Australia. Events will undoubtedly assist greatly that understanding. For example there is no doubt that in the near future economic crisis will deepen. The Labor Party in that crisis will act for the imperialists and the big monopolists and against the working people. There will be mass disillusionment with it. Many will turn away from it.

"The most important aspect of their turning away, and indeed the most important aspect of the whole situation, is people's struggle. Australian people must rely upon themselves. Many struggles are being waged now. Many more will be waged. Growing inflation and economic crisis will widen the scope of struggle.

"The leading force in those struggles is the Australian working class. Around it are other broad sections of the people.

"The direction of these struggles is to real independence and people's democracy.

"In those struggles and their direction a critical position is occupied by Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of Australia (M-L). Amid all the seeming chaos the position of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is perfectly clear — for a people's democratic, independent Australia.

"The Communist Party of Australia (M-L), in contrast to the ever-growing disintegration of revisionism and its 'parties', grows strong. It must grow stronger-ideologically, politically and organisationally."

Since that twelve months of office of Labor government it is possible to make still further comments that embrace both the preceding period and succeeding period. But preparatory to this it is appropriate to say that the dual character of the Labor Party is a dual character as a bourgeois party. In the sense of its character as a party of the bourgeoisie its actions in certain international and national affairs are objectively progressive; in its capitalist anti-working class character it is reactionary. Both these trends assert themselves, one or the other coming to the fore as the objective conditions vary.

Labor governments before that of Curtin maintained with the public parties of reaction a bipartisan attitude of serving particularly British imperialism and the local collaborators with British imperialism. But at that time the Labor Party pursued, more vigorously than its parliamentary opponents, the struggle to get better terms of "independence" from British imperialism. It has been shown how the Curtin Labor government adopted the Statute of Westminster, a formal recognition of "independence". The Curtin Labor government gave expression to growing U.S. investment in Australia and the then needs of Australian capitalism by turning to U.S. imperialism in the crisis of World War II. U.S. imperialism certainly reached out to suck Australia deeper into its sphere of influence.

After World War II, the Chifley Labor government presided over the beginnings of immense and aggressive U.S. imperialist investment in Australia. Some comment has already been made about Australia's relations with U.S. imperialism in the years between the defeat of Chifley's government in 1949 and the advent of Whitlam's Labor government in 1972.

By 1972 there had been profound changes in the world and in the relationship between the countries of the world. Australia itself had developed in industry and agriculture. The central fact of the world was the development of People's China as a socialist nation standing up to the threats of the imperialist superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism. Side by side with this was the immense independence struggle of those people formerly in colonial enslavement. The hold of imperialism had been shaken to its foundations. The movement where "countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution" had become an irresistible trend.

Australia does not exist in a vacuum. All these factors operated on Australia's position.

It is important to examine the forces operating in Australia and the position of Whitlam's government in relation to these forces.

The native bourgeoisie in Australia wanted independence from imperialism in order to build up their own capitalism. In this, they sought to break from imperialism. On the other hand, Australia's economy was dominated particularly by U.S. imperialism. That domination acted as a brake on the capitalists' striving for independence. The capitalists too wanted U.S. imperialist assistance against possible enemies and against the Australian working class. The Labor Party government was influenced by all these (and other) factors. Fundamentally it was tied to U.S. imperialism because of U.S. imperialism's dominating position in the Australian economy and because Australia is in the sphere of influence of U.S. imperialism. But U.S. imperialism is also a declining force; Whitlam certainly discerned this and it is very important discernment. At the same time, in its service to Australian native capitalism, the Labor Party sought a certain break from U.S. imperialism. Hence its stand for independence. But this independence as sought by the Labor Party is hesitant and conditional. It reflects the weakness of the independent capitalists in Australia (who, for example, have not yet developed a substantial machine tool industry in Australia). It shows that the Labor Party is not prepared to call the working class into struggle for independence; on the contrary, it fears the movement for independence if led by the working class. Nonetheless, even the hesitant and timid steps of the Labor Party to independence have a great importance. They demonstrate that wide sections of the people can be united in struggle for independence.

The working class appearance of the Labor Party is a powerful factor which has always influenced its life and continues to do so. In order to serve its purpose of controlling the workers, the Labor Party must pay close attention to the movements within the working class and to its mood. The Labor Party government of Mr. Whitlam must appear to pay heed to working class struggles. In order to pay that heed, it must in fact know what is happening in the working class. Thus the Whitlam government came out in support of higher wages, intervened before arbitration tribunals to support workers' claims. It presented various social reforms as working class measures. And, in fact, some of this type of measure of the Whitlam government is much more beneficial within capitalist limits to the workers and working people than measures of the diehard reactionaries.

This is well demonstrated by its compensation and health schemes of which this was said:

"The Labor government has worked out a new health scheme. The implementing of this has been resisted, particularly by the leaders of the existing private health schemes, by the leaders of the medical practitioners and above all by U.S. and other foreign drug monopolies and the paid agents of the drug monopolies, Snedden and Anthony⁴.

In Australia there are virtually no drug manufacturers other than the foreign drug houses. Almost all prepared medicines are brought into Australia by overseas

⁴ In 1974, Billy Snedden led the Liberal Party to a narrow defeat in a federal election, and then was replaced as Liberal leader by Malcolm Fraser. Doug Anthony was, at the time, leader of the National Party.

manufacturers. The foreign monopolies have strangled any local manufacturer and they virtually put an effective end to the Commonwealth Serum Laboratory.

Alongside the health scheme has been the Labor government's scheme for universal compensation. The Labor government has had an extensive inquiry into this by the New Zealand Judge Woodhouse and N.S.W. Judge Mares. They have produced a report which is popularly known as the Woodhouse report.

There are other somewhat seemingly far-reaching social reforms.

It is very important to understand the reasons behind these moves.

These proposals are better for the people than the existing schemes. They also have quite far-reaching shortcomings for the working people. They are most certainly not socialist. Really they are schemes that, while having certain liberal features that help the working people, are designed to make capitalism work better. They are the product of the liberal bourgeoisie. In some respects they are opposed by diehard reactionaries, particularly by U.S. imperialist monopolies.

The medical scheme has provoked much more opposition among the diehards than the compensation scheme. That, too has a basis in the conflicting interests and tactics of the monopoly capitalists.

If one looks closely at these schemes and their social background, what do they reveal?

A problem that always confronts the capitalists is the problem of how to keep the wages of the workers down. This is so as to keep up the profits, particularly of the monopoly capitalists. If a component of wages is payment of large subscriptions to a medical benefits society, then that is a component in wages that the capitalists must take into account.

Certainly the workers must take it into account when considering their wage levels. Hence it tends to push wages up and tends to add to the "unrest" of the workers. Such "unrest" is undesirable for the monopoly capitalists because it interferes with profits. Anything that interferes with profits is undesirable.

None of this really escapes the objective social laws of capitalism — indeed these things strictly obey and illustrate those objective laws. A central social law of capitalism is that the value of labor power (wages) is determined by the socially necessary labour time required for the maintenance of the worker and his family and the worker's production of children (for the maintenance of capitalism). Anything that increases that socially necessary labor time increases the value of labor power, that is, it tends to put up wages. The social laws of capitalism dictate that the pressure of capitalism is to keep wages down to subsistence levels for the workers and even below the subsistence level. At the same time there is a component to wages which is determined by the ups and downs of class struggle. By struggle the workers can wrest a little bit more out of the capitalist, a little bit more added to subsistence levels. This is particularly so in a period when demand for workers exceeds supply. The reverse is true when supply exceeds demand, that is, in times of unemployment. But whatever the circumstances, the costs of medical service to the workers involves part of the socially necessary labor time required for the maintenance of the worker.

Before we go to conclusions about this let us turn to the compensation scheme.

The central idea of this is to substitute a universal scheme of compensation for the existing workers' compensation and accident damages (as for motor vehicle accidents, industrial accidents, etc.).

There is no doubt this is a far superior approach to what exists. It is a far superior approach to the existing workers' compensation and accident damages schemes because both of these have arbitrary and artificial qualifications that the working people must fulfil before they can get compensation or damages. All sorts of conditions must be fulfilled. For example, under the workers' compensation schemes in Australia, you can get compensation for an accident on one side of a fence and none if you are on the other side of the fence (perhaps a couple of feet away); if you fulfil certain conditions you can get compensation for heart trouble, if you don't fulfil the conditions you can't get compensation for the same heart trouble. The Woodhouse report correctly says that the chief defect is that for all but eight or 10 hours involved in working, the worker is not covered by workers' compensation; his fate depends upon the chance that his accident or illness will have that connection with the employment that workers' compensation law requires. As for accident claims for damages, the tests of liability of negligence (carelessness) are just a lot of nonsense in these days of mass use of fast-moving vehicles and machinery. This leads to all sorts of artificialities and devices in the law. These fields of compensation and damages have been a feast for insurance companies and lawyers.

As for workers' compensation, it was first introduced in England in 1897 (there had been a German scheme even earlier). It was a very limited scheme. It was introduced only into English heavy industry because there had been great discontent among the workers in heavy industry at the injustices caused by the then very restricted English laws about damages. This discontent was adversely affecting profits. Thus by such a compensation law the liberal bourgeoisie could, as it were, kill two birds with one stone — make itself out as "good" to the workers and say to the bosses, this is to help your profits.

Over the next 50 years or so, in England, the workers' compensation legislation was made more liberal. Then in the nineteen-forties it was abolished in favour of a universal scheme. There were a number of reasons for its abolition. Among those reasons were the demand among the workers for full pay when injured (rather than the very meagre compensation payments), the fact that insurance premiums for the bosses were imposing too big a burden on individual employers and that placing the burden on the so-called community at large through a universal tax or levy or contribution (whatever you like to call it) was, from the standpoint of the bosses, a better proposition (that is, it put the burden on the working people). In Australia these are the basic reasons for the Woodhouse proposals.

The consequence is that in the health scheme and in the compensation and damages scheme the burden is placed largely on the working people. This is because each scheme is to be financed by an overall impost or levy or contribution which is a definite amount on all people equally. That means the vast majority of working people provide funds to make these schemes work while the tiny group of monopoly capitalists make exactly the same contribution. To the working man it is a big burden; to the monopoly capitalist with his millions it is nothing.

In the medical scheme it benefits the monopoly capitalist because the contribution will be less than the subscription to the wasteful and inefficient private fund (and a universal scheme could be expected to provide much better medical service for the worker's health and he must be healthy to be exploited). Because the levy or impost or contribution to a universal scheme will be less than the private scheme then this component in the determination of wages is reduced and it too is subject to the downward pressure on wages.

In the compensation scheme the monopoly capitalists get rid of the big individual burden of high insurance and spread it mainly over the working people while not adding an enormous amount (because averaged over the whole population the individual contribution is "comparatively small") to be taken into account in the social determination of wages. There are, of course, other factors in both these schemes. Some factors both for and against are government use of the funds collected from contributions (and the government is only the executive committee for the whole bourgeoisie), the interlocking of private funds and insurance companies with monopoly capital and their own monopoly capitalist character, the danger of "nationalisation" in revealing the parasitic character of private capitalists and so on. It is not the present purpose to examine all these. Suffice it to make what we regard as the basic statements that we have made about these schemes.

By introducing them, the Labor government is able to say to the working people that they are being very well treated and will be much better off under these new schemes and is able to say to the bosses that it is protecting you from demands for higher wages (because of high subscriptions) and from the big burden of insurance premiums. Significantly, the diehards have made very little fuss about the Woodhouse report; the only protest has been from a handful of insurance companies which for years have moaned about their losses in workers' compensation insurance and now suddenly discover what a loss to revenue and profits this scheme will mean and from certain lawyers.

But what of the working people? How do they fare under these schemes?

In the first place the existing schemes and the new proposals are capitalist through and through. They serve capitalism. The competition is between which serves capitalism better. Some monopoly capitalists have one view; some another. Obviously the answer is that the new proposed schemes are considered by one section of monopoly capitalists to be better or they would never have arisen.

That, however, does not end the matter. For as Lenin pointed out, often we are compelled to define our attitude to this or that reform under capitalism.

One can argue that in principle each of these proposed schemes is better for the workers than the existing schemes.

BUT THEY SHOULD BE ENTIRELY NON-CONTRIBUTORY FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE. THE BURDEN SHOULD BE CARRIED BY THE RICH, BY THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS. IT IS TRULY A CASE OF MAKING THE RICH PAY.

If the rich were made to pay it would be a step in the right direction but it would not solve the problem finally. Only people's power will do that. Making the rich pay is a component in the struggle for people's power.

Then each of these schemes provides the working people with the very barest minimum of medical service and compensation. The rich can easily cash in on these schemes and at the same time continue with the very best that money can buy.

Thus the medical service offered to the working people under the Labor government's scheme does have certain restrictions and limitations.

The Woodhouse scheme does deprive the working people of some of the benefits they get under existing schemes and the rich fare very much better.

The Labor government has never really made a mass explanation of either scheme. This is really because they ARE capitalist schemes and the Labor ministers know that if the masses are aroused then they may create great difficulties for the government.

Within capitalism it is impossible to have a socialist scheme. The capitalists will only tolerate measures of this kind that accord with their own interests, that is, with the maintenance and development of capitalism. Only socialism can adequately solve these problems. In socialist China they have, in fact, been largely solved in the short period of 25 years.

Within capitalism, however, the working people must demand universal and non-contributory free hospital and medical services and a free, non-contributory scheme of compensation for all accidents, injuries and illness at adequate rates and amounts (without loss of any beneficial aspects of the existing laws).

These things will only be achieved in struggle. The direction of that struggle is chiefly against the U.S. based imperialist monopolies for they dominate the State in Australia. Insofar as they favour changes they do so only on the barest possible minimum basis.

The Whitlam government came to office before economic depression had set in. Its re-election in May 1974 occurred as economic depression was intensifying. Our review of early 1974 predicted intensification of economic crisis. This has occurred. The 1974 budget was introduced at a time of rapidly increasing inflation with over production and impoverishment of the people.

The Labor government set about handling the economic crisis in a purely orthodox way. The working class approach would involve mobilising the people to take over the key sections of industry, the transport system, the banks; in short, expelling the imperialists from Australia and establishing people's anti-imperialist democratic dictatorship.

But the Whitlam government sought advice from the bourgeois economists. It adopted various measures all within capitalism — revaluation of the currency, devaluation of the currency, expensive credit, cheaper credit, tariff protection, easing of tariff protection, taxation changes, quarterly adjustment of wages, etc., etc.

Because these were all capitalist measures they could neither attract the support of the people nor control the economic crisis. Hence in the electoral sense the Labor government alienated the workers, alienated the middle sections of the population and caused acute divisions among the bourgeoisie. Some of the measures were welcomed by certain sections of the bourgeoisie and offended others. The crisis of capitalism acutely intensified competition and conflict among the monopoly capitalists. At the same time, the big foreign monopolists enlisted the open parties of the reaction to serve their interests. These foreign monopolists know very well that the Labor Party largely serves them but

they are afraid of the implications of its working class associations and even of its hesitant steps to independence. Those working class implications, as the foreign monopolists see it, may lead the working class to take matters into its own hands and go beyond the Labor Party. The bourgeoisie understands that in the deepening crisis of capitalism, the working class is at flash point and must be handled very carefully.

The measures of the Labor Party, because it administers capitalism, cast the burden of economic crisis on the workers in order to maintain the capitalist system. The "concessions" made in the early days of the government stored up capital to attack workers and working people.

One feature of the crisis of capitalism is the development of determined struggle of the workers and other sections of the population. The working class and working people are experiencing a new awakening. Throughout Australia this struggle has been more extensive and has involved more people than ever before. The fact that there is a Labor government has not acted to divert struggle. The workers and working people have pressed ahead. All the efforts of Labor ministers and labour lieutenants of capitalism, like Hawke, to restrain the workers have failed to restrain them in any decisive way.

The Labor government has not yet been prepared to resort to open repression and attacks upon the workers. Those members of the Labor government, and those members of the Labor parliamentary party who are close to the workers, hesitate in face of any proposed action by the Labor government to take strong measures against the workers and working people. Such measures would alienate the Labor government and Labor Party still further from the workers. This is very dangerous for the life of the Labor Party. However, the exigencies of the class struggle demand that the capitalist class must try to attack the workers. The class struggle is more acute than ever before in Australia. Classes cannot be reconciled. A powerful factor in the crisis of the Labor Party, in tearing it apart, lies precisely in this. The Labor Party really serves the capitalist class in that class struggle; part of its service to the capitalist class is its influence in the working class. But with the intensification of class struggle, the harsh reality of irreconcilability between the classes asserts itself.

Within the Labor Party there is thus tremendous strain. Several times proposals from the top leaders of the Labor Party have been rejected or radically amended by the Labor Party parliamentary caucus (the meeting of all Labor parliamentarians). This expresses the conflict between the Labor Party's actual need to serve capitalism and, on the other hand, its need to appear to serve the working class.

The difficulties which face the Whitlam government are far greater than those which faced any previous Labor government. Although the Scullin Labor government faced the economic depression of the thirties and was wrecked upon a similar type of conflict in the Labor Party, yet since then capitalism has had more than 40 years of life and its crisis is far deeper and more all embracing. The depth of the crisis makes it virtually impossible for the old institutions and parties of capitalism to cope with the situation. The situation has arisen or is arising where the old institutions of capitalism, parliament, courts, universal suffrage, etc. no longer suffice. The imperialist bourgeoisie and their Australian collaborators are finding it exceedingly difficult to govern in the old way. The crisis has

become too intense for the Labor Party to handle within the old institutions. In the crisis, the Labor Party leaders give way to pessimism; they can see no way out.

Parliamentary electoral defeat faces them. They tend to abdicate in face of it instead of daring to struggle. They have failed to solve the problems of the capitalist class and that is their only use to the capitalists. And the central reason for that is that the workers reject the capitalist policy of the Labor Party. Working class demands simply cannot be answered within capitalism and Labor Party pretence to do that is in grave danger of being revealed as pretence.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and its Australian collaborators use the situation to attempt to attack the workers and working people. They do this by representing the Labor Party as a workers party and then discrediting it with the object of saying the workers can never solve the social problem.

In the era of the collapse of imperialism and the world wide trend, where countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution, the Labor Party faces actual destruction as a parliamentary force. It dissipates working people's support. The ruling circles seek other ways to suppress the workers. They resort to more open fascist force. The near collapse of the Labor Party paves the way to this force.

Thus the discrediting of the Labor Party faces the bourgeoisie with the need to use the old parties of reaction. But they too cannot solve the crisis of capitalism. The crisis is too deep; it is becoming impossible to govern in the old ways. Hence the intensification of fascist repression with consideration being given to open dictatorship through the army. There is no doubt whatever that there are contingency plans to establish a fascist military dictatorship in Australia, backed (and if need be, engineered by the C.I.A.) by the U.S. imperialists.

They also turn to revisionist and Trotskyist "Communism". The bourgeoisie realise that the working class turns to Communism. Hence they promote revisionist and Trotskyist "Communists".

The Labor Party has almost run its logical course as a liberal bourgeois party with social democratic features.

It has failed satisfactorily to serve the bourgeoisie and its basic anti-working class character has come to the fore. Australian workers, working and patriotic people look beyond it to a way out of the crisis of capitalism.

CHAPTER NINE

A closer analysis of the nature of the A.L.P. as a party of capitalism.

There has been endless confusion in the Australian working class movement as to the nature of the Australian Labor Party. Many "theories" have been advanced by theoreticians, some of whom did so in the name of Marxism-Leninism. At the time some of the "theoreticians" wrote about its nature, they did so in a more or less honest desire to expound a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint.

It is now well known that in the early sixties, revisionism, the adherents of which use the names of Communism and Marxism-Leninism, but strip Communism, Marxism-Leninism, of its revolutionary essence, split away from Communism. The controversy between the Communists, the adherents of Marxism-Leninism, and the revisionists, involved every question in the working class movement. This included the character of the Labor Party and the Communist attitude to it.

It is well then to examine some of the errors of the past and some aspects of the controversy with the revisionists on this question.

Amongst these errors was the assertion that the Labor Party was a two class party. Presumably this means a party of the working class and also a party of the capitalist class. Or it may mean that it is a party of the capitalist class and also a party of the petty bourgeoisie. Or it may mean it is a party of the petty bourgeoisie and of the working class. When one reads the material that expounds this two-class theory it is rather difficult to tell just what its authors meant.

Accordingly it becomes necessary to discuss once again the question of classes in Australian society. There are two main classes in Australia. They are the monopolist bourgeoisie and on the other hand, the working class. Between them there are other sections of the population such as capitalists lesser than the monopoly capitalists but still big, small and medium sized capitalists, shopkeepers, farmers big, medium and small, working people of many kinds. The natural allies of the working class are small and medium farmers, all other working people, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and, much more wavering allies on some questions, some sections of capitalists. The Australian workers have the task of uniting all those who can be united against the enemies of the

Australian people, the monopoly capitalists, who are largely imperialist monopoly capitalists. This is a matter that has already been referred to and will be referred to again.

But the central division is that between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The bourgeoisie owns the Australian state machine. The government is the executive of the state. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels said: "Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat". A little later in the Communist Manifesto they said: "The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". This analysis applies fully to Australia. It has been shown that the Labor Party has constituted the government in Australia and in all Australian States. The Labor Party has provided the committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. It has administered capitalism in Australia and has sought to do nothing else. The members of the "committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" have come either from the Labor Party or some other parliamentary party. In Australia those members of that Committee have in the last several decades been either the more or less open (in contrast to "labor") parties of the monopoly capitalist class or the Labor Party. Whichever it has been, has been decided in an election under the control of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The Labor Party is a party of capitalism. It has administered monopoly capitalism in Australia. It is therefore not a two class party in any sense at all. It is a party of capitalism.

Because it does use the name "labor" and does make an appeal to the working class and does include in its membership quite a number of the petty bourgeoisie like small shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, intellectuals, the characterisation of it as a two class party contains particular dangers of confusing the whole matter. The criterion of characterising a political party must be which class does it serve. That criterion confirms that the Labor Party in Australia is a party of capitalism, a monopoly capitalist party. This is not to say that it has no differences from the open parties of the monopoly capitalists nor that it is a matter of indifference with which party the working class must deal.

Both the working class and the capitalist class produce political parties to represent their respective class interests. The working class has produced the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party to represent it. The Marxist-Leninist Party is the headquarters of the Australian working class.

The bourgeoisie in Australia has historically produced several parties or at least parties with different names to represent its interests. They have mainly resolved themselves into what is now called the Liberal Party and its predecessors, and the Labor Party.

A correct estimation of the Labor Party's nature is critically important to the party of the Australian proletariat in the latter's working out its strategy and tactics in the Australian revolution.

It is another question entirely that the composition of the membership of the Labor Party in Australia embraces few (if any) monopoly capitalists but does embrace members of the working class, farmers, smaller capitalists, lawyers, doctors, intellectuals and influences members of the working class. These facts do not alter the characterisation of

the Labor Party in Australia as a party of capitalism. Its consistent service to capitalism has already been traced. The career of Evatt when properly understood, demonstrates this.

It is however, true that an essential part of its service to capitalism is its position towards the working class and the allies of the working class. Its policy and tactics are influenced by theories of social democracy, reformism (reform of capitalism). The ideas of social democracy, reformism, have an appeal to and a certain base in the upper strata of the workers, particularly the more highly paid workers. This constitutes the base in the working class for the Labor Party. Through this base, Labor Party, social democratic, reformist ideas are taken into the working class. At the same time, similar ideas of reform of capitalism, the welfare state, have an appeal to elements in the petty bourgeoisie. From these elements the ideas are spread.

In addition the Labor Party does serve in a certain hesitant way the national bourgeoisie while at the same time fundamentally serving the imperialist bourgeoisie. This is another source of non-working class ideas being disseminated within the working class.

In these respects the Labor Party has a certain dual character. An understanding of its dual character is a matter very different from a characterisation of it as a two class party. Its dual character arises precisely because it is a party of capitalism. It can be contrasted with the party of the working class which serves only the working class as a whole.

The Labor Party serves the monopoly capitalists, largely imperialist monopolies, but also strives to serve the national bourgeoisie. It also serves the more liberal-minded sections of the bourgeoisie. In that sense and in particular circumstances, it follows a more enlightened policy both internationally and internally than the open parties of monopoly capitalism. And this is all complicated still further by the need for it to maintain connections in the working class. All of these are matters of importance in dealing with the Labor Party but they are all matters that flow from its character as a party of capitalism. At the present time (1974), its capitalist character is demonstrated by a glance at the list of those who are sponsoring its appeal for funds for a Curtin memorial. A capitalist newspaper of September 6, 1974 published under the heading "Top Liberals to help Labor Party appeal" this item:

"Leading businessmen and blue ribbon Liberal supporters have agreed to help the Australian Labor Party raise money for a national headquarters in Canberra.

"The Federal secretary of the Labor Party (Mr. Combe) announced the names of prominent business figures who had agreed to attend the opening of the \$2 million appeal to build John Curtin House.

"Among them were Sir Rupert Clarke, chairman of Schweppes and United Distillers; Sir Howard Beale, a former Minister for Supply, in the Menzies Government; Sir Warwick Fairfax, chairman of John Fairfax and Sons; Sir Ian McLelland, chairman of BHP; and Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick Scherger, chairman of the Australian National Airlines.

"In South Australia, former Liberal Premier Sir Thomas Playford is to be State chairman of the appeal committee. In Western Australia, former Lord Mayor Sir Thomas Wardle will do the job.

"Mr. Combe said many of the people who had agreed to help had done so on the same non-political basis as the national chairman, Sir Richard Kirby.

“When Sir Richard accepted the job he made it clear he supported the building of a national memorial to one of Australia's greatest Prime Ministers, Mr. John Curtin”.

This is openly revealed. Indeed these representatives of the monopolies use their very position as monopoly capitalists to further the appeal for funds for the Labor Party. In addition, it is very well known that the big monopolies have contributed heavily to the Labor Party particularly at election times, a number of them giving to both the Labor Party and the Liberal and the Country Parties.

Australian Communists must always correctly identify the Labor Party as a party of capitalism. They must draw a clear distinction between themselves and the Labor Party. That does not mean wanton and irresponsible abuse of the Labor Party but clear, consistent and appropriate explanation of its character as a party of capitalism. So far as the social democratic aspect of its character is concerned, the Communist attitude and the social democratic attitude differ profoundly on “the basic question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat”. This question dominates all other political questions. The parliamentarism of the Labor Party is clear; it is fundamental to the existence of the Labor Party. It has no conception or aim of socialism and it repudiates revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its spreading of parliamentarism and reformism in the working class must indeed be combated.

The Australian Communists have the task of “liquidating” the ideological influence of social democracy in the Australian working class movement and among the working people.

Because of wrong characterisations of the Labor Party in Australia, Australian Communists also made errors about the tactic of the united front. This is a subject separate from the immediate theme but has been previously commented upon.

The membership of the Labor Party and those influenced by the Labor Party comprise an important section of Australians. Our estimate of the Labor Party by no means involves that Communists scorn the Labor Party members or those people influenced by the Labor Party. “Beyond any shadow of doubt, Communists must win over the masses under the influence of the social democratic parties and must win over those left and moderate elements in the social democratic parties who are willing to oppose domestic monopoly capital and domination by foreign imperialism, and must unite with them in extensive joint action in the day to day struggle of the working class movement and in the struggle to defend world peace.” (From “A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement” by the Communist Party of China 1962).

CHAPTER TEN

The fundamental difference between A.L.P. policy and communism

The Australian Labor Party is a party akin, in many respects, to the old parties of social democracy. Lenin pointed out that the social democratic parties are the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement and the main social prop of capitalism. This has just been the subject of comment. In Australia, the Labor Party has organised within the working class. Politically it has taken its stand on parliament and reforms within capitalism. It has had its features peculiar to Australia and to the historical conditions of Australia. Blended with its social democratic character is objectively progressive service in building Australia as one nation and even its vacillating attempts to achieve a measure of independence for Australia.

It has been pointed out that the Labor Party's use of the word "socialism" is deception. Whereas the historical trend of European social democratic parties was to evolve as socialist parties and then degenerate into detachments of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement, the Australian Labor Party did not evolve at all as an avowedly socialist party. It adopted the so-called socialisation plank in its platform in 1921. It did this, as has been pointed out, in order to cater for the leftward swing of the Australian working people after World War I and under the influence of the October socialist revolution in Russia in 1917. Even then the socialist plank was adopted only in great struggle and was immediately followed by this and that interpretation explaining it away. And, as has been seen, the Australian Labor Party has never in fact done anything whatever of a socialist character.

Thus the bourgeois character of the Labor Party in Australia emerged more clearly than the true social democratic parties of the older world. It was born as a party pledged to serve capitalism, the conception at first being to get members of parliament who would bargain with the established parliamentary parties to achieve Labor demands typical of which, for example, was arbitration.

Indeed the competing parties in parliament before the advent and evolution of the Labor Party in Australia simply reflected divisions in the capitalist class between those who advocated hard or soft tactics in dealing with the workers; between free trade and

protection, etc. The Labor Party *gradually* became the essential alternative parliamentary Party to the open party of capitalism (whatever name it took). There evolved an Australian parliament in which the alternative parties were the Labor Party and the open party of capitalism. The Labor Party, it must be remembered, was born in the separate British colonies in Australia and only became "National" after federation at the turn of the century. Within the original colonies it held a slightly more aggressive stand of independence from Britain. As Federation evolved it assumed a national shape. Even to this day it bears the stamp of its birth in colonial days and then the development of separate States from the original colonies. It is thus different in many respects from the traditional parties of social democracy. Nevertheless it is the nearest party in Australia to social democracy.

Also there have been various "socialist" influences on the Labor Party and amongst its leading members. The socialism of Tom Mann, the ideas of Henry George, even a version of the ideas of Marx, the I.W.W., found reflection in the Labor Party in Australia.

Lenin described the situation in 1913 as follows:

"LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN AUSTRALIA.

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

"What a peculiar capitalist country is this in which Labour predominates in the *Upper* House and recently predominated in the Lower House and yet the capitalist system does not suffer any danger!

"An English correspondent of a German Labour newspaper recently explained this circumstance, which is very often misrepresented by bourgeois writers.

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

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

"Australia is a young British colony.

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

“And while in England the so-called ‘Labour Party’ represents an *alliance* between the socialist trade unions and the extreme opportunist Independent Labour Party, in Australia, the Labour Party represents *purely* the non-socialist trade unionist workers.

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

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

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

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

“Those liberals in Europe and in Russia who try to ‘preach’ to the people that class war is unnecessary by pointing to the example of Australia, only deceive themselves and others. It is ridiculous to think of applying Australian conditions (an undeveloped, young country, populated by Liberal English workers) to countries in which a state and developed capitalism have long been established. - June 1913.”

(“In Australia”, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVI.)

As can be seen, Lenin said that the Labor Party did not even claim to be a socialist party. It was a party of the Liberal bourgeoisie. He said that when it had discharged the tasks of developing Australia as one nation, it would give way to a genuine party of the working class and of socialism.

The year before the Labor Party adopted the socialisation plank, the Communist Party of Australia was formed. The details of the development of the Communist Party in Australia for the moment can in the main be put on one side.

Its avowed purpose was to work for Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism in Australia. The conception of socialism of the Communist Party stood in striking and fundamental contrast with the whole position and programme of the Labor Party. Marx and Engels based themselves on an analysis of history and society. They concluded that for socialism to be established the revolutionary seizure of state power by the working class and the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat were critical. Marx, in *Capital*, brilliantly described the basis of this change:

“As soon as this process of transformation has sufficiently decomposed the old society from top to bottom, as soon as the labourers are turned into proletarians, their means of labour into capital, as soon as the capitalist mode of production stands on its own feet, then the further socialisation of labour and further transformation of the land and other means of production into socially exploited and, therefore, common means of production, as well as the further expropriation of private proprietors, takes a new form.

That which is now to be expropriated is no longer the labourer working for himself, but the capitalist exploiting many labourers. This expropriation is accomplished by the action of the immanent laws of capitalistic production itself, by the centralisation of capital. One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the cooperative form of the labour process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market, and this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." — ("The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation", *Capital* Vol.1, Chapter 32).

Marx, Engels and Lenin evolved the theory, strategy and tactics for the revolutionary seizure of state power. They pointed out that almost certainly this revolutionary seizure of state power would be violently resisted by the bourgeoisie. Accordingly the working class and its allies must prepare in advance to defeat counter-revolutionary violence. Again it is not the present purpose to deal with this in detail. Reference must however be made to Lenin's statement that "A Marxist is one who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*". It has already been seen that in a country like Australia, which was seized by British imperialism from the black people and colonised, there is an important stage in the struggle for socialism. That stage is the winning of independence from imperialism by the struggle of all anti-imperialist sections of the people led by the workers. Out of that struggle will be established a people's democratic anti-imperialist dictatorship (a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat) and carry the revolution on to the building of socialism in Australia. That is Australia's path to socialism. An essential part in this revolution is the integration of Marxism-Leninism into the actual conditions of Australia and the arming of the people with revolutionary theory. Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. And Australian Marxist-Leninists can evolve correct theory only by correctly integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism into Australian conditions. An essential ingredient in evolving the correct theory is close integration of Communists with the people.

To achieve people's democratic anti-imperialist dictatorship, revolution is necessary. In Australia, capitalism is largely imperialism in Australia and because the main barrier to socialism is constituted by the U.S. imperialist monopolies, an essential stage of socialist

revolution is the expulsion of the U.S. imperialist monopolies, the taking over of their factories and those of their Australian collaborators. Along with that is people's ownership of the transport system, the banking system and other key sections of the economy. Bound up with it too is the institution of real people's democracy where instead of formal democratic rights under capitalism, freedom of speech (with no facilities to speak), freedom of the press (with no facilities to enjoy it), etc., there is people's ownership of the halls, printeries, newspapers, radio and television, etc.

All this can only be achieved in determined struggle by all sections of the people other than the imperialist monopolies and their Australian collaborators. The leadership of such a movement is that of the workers around whom are allied the farmers (except the big farmers), intermediate sections of the population such as shopkeepers (except the big monopolies), the majority of public servants, insurance and bank clerks, national capitalists.

The U.S. imperialists and their local collaborators are bound to try to suppress this movement with force. They own the state apparatus previously described, the chief component of which is the army. The U.S. imperialists have many military, naval and air force bases in Australia to serve two purposes; the first, U.S. imperialism's global needs and the second, U.S. imperialism's needs to protect its investments in Australia against the Australian people. Its overall military forces are closely integrated with those of Australia. Likewise its intelligence services with their counterparts in Australia. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is very active in Australia. The U.S. ambassador to Australia, Marshall Green, a very experienced C.I.A. operative, is in Australia. He supervises the overall contingency plans to establish military dictatorship in Australia in the event of the Australian people turning to revolution. In World War II the Labor Prime Minister Curtin had turned, as he put it, unashamedly and without reservation to the U.S. for aid. His successor Chifley had as previously indicated, presided over the aggressive post-World War II U.S. investment in Australia. In the time of the next Labor government in Australia, that led by Whitlam, Whitlam many times reaffirmed Australia's basic adherence to alliance with the United States. As to U.S. intelligence operations in Australia, he said in a U.S. television programme in Washington on October 7, 1974: "My government knows what the U.S. is doing ... We have full knowledge and have given our full concurrence". In internal repression in Australia, the history of the Labor Party reveals its administration of the state apparatus, a continuously repressive organisation, and when crisis conditions prevail or there is a challenge or interruption to capitalism, use of the chief component of state power, the army, against the working people. Such were the actions of Labor governments in the 1930's economic crisis, the 1949 coal miners' strike, etc.

The state is a special apparatus of force for the suppression of one class by another. In Australia, it is the apparatus of the bourgeoisie, particularly the imperialist bourgeoisie and their local collaborators to suppress the working class and its allies. It is *this* state the Labor Party administers.

In the actual conditions of Australia, the central question of politics is the struggle for *state* power between the bourgeoisie and the working class and its allies. The bourgeoisie is bent on maintaining its hold and state power in order to protect and extend its system of exploitation. On the other hand, the workers and their anti-imperialist

democratic allies aim to overthrow this state power and establish the state power of the workers and their anti-imperialist allies. This involves the smashing of the institutions of the state power of the bourgeoisie and establishing a people's army, people's police, people's courts and gaols, and a new people's public service.

This is the line of struggle for the real independence of Australia from imperialism and the establishment of real democratic rights for Australia's workers, working and other patriotic people.

The position of the Labor Party however is entirely different. The Labor Party rejects Marxism-Leninism. It rejects socialism. It rejects revolution. In Evatt's "Australian Labor Leader", written about the N.S.W. Labor leader Holman, and in his High Court judgment in the appeal against the conviction of a Communist, he spoke of "the inevitability of gradualness as a Socialist and Labor doctrine". This was to describe his own and the Labor Party's ideas of gradually changing capitalism in contrast with the Communist idea of revolution. In fact his thinking is illustrated, by this passage from his judgment:

"In order to determine the bearing of all these matters, reference would have to be made to the leading exponents of more modern Socialist thought, from Marx and Engels onwards. It is a subject upon which every student of history, political science, sociology and philosophy should be tolerably well informed. Even the averments in the present case include a historical reference to the three Internationals. In the ultimate ideal of a classless society, the Communist movement has much in common with the Socialist and working class movement throughout the world. They all profess to welcome a revolutionary change from the present economic system, which, conveniently enough, is called Capitalism, and the more violent protagonists of which are now called Fascists. The doctrine of the class struggle raises a dispute as to fact, rather than opinion. It is not a question whether it is desirable to have a struggle between a property-less class and a property-owning class, but whether such struggle exists in fact. The Communists claim that democratic institutions conceal, but do not mitigate, the concentration of political and economic power in the property-owning class, and that, for such dictatorship, there should be substituted the open, undisguised dictatorship of the property-less classes. They say that it is extremely probable that a violent upheaval will ensue when the time comes to effect such substitution (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 12th ed., vol. 30, p. 732 (R. P. Dutt); cf. Laski's Democracy in Crisis, pp. 194, 226, 227, 241.)

"When the time comes'. It is, it would seem from the writings in evidence, the element of time which must be closely examined in determining whether at the present, or in the near, or very far distant, future there is to be any employment of violence and force on the part of the classes for which the Communist Party claims to speak. 'The inevitability of gradualness' as a Socialist and Labor doctrine, the Communists reject. But they believe and advocate that a Socialist State must inevitably emerge from the very nature of capitalist economy. But when? So far as the evidence placed before us goes, there is no answer to this question. So that one possible argument, which may be open to the Communist Party in explaining their references to physical force, is that force and the threat of force are far distant from the present, or the near future. The history of the attempts and failures of Communism to gain control of other political movements of the

working classes may tend, upon close analysis, to show that, to turn the phrase, Communism illustrates the gradualness, the extreme gradualness, of inevitability.” (48 Commonwealth Law Reports pp. 517-8).

The Labor leaders are fond of speaking of “democratic socialism”. This is a vague notion that has no real relation to socialism other than the use of the word, but is designed to contrast with scientific Marxist revolutionary socialism.

“Democratic socialism” is to be attained through parliament, through the ballot box, gradually. All history shows that no form of socialism or even radical reform will ever be introduced in this way. Examples of the impossibility of putting such ideas into practice lie in Spain in 1936, Indonesia in 1965, Chile in 1973. Moreover the Labor Party has never attempted it. It is a party of liberal reforms. The basis of its reforms is always capitalist reforms within capitalism. By these reforms, it attempts to make capitalism more palatable for the working class and other working people. It attempts to take the leadership of the workers and steer the working class movement into parliamentary channels. And parliament is a weapon of capitalism. There have been about 80 years of the Labor Party in Australia to test the correctness of this analysis. It has been abundantly tested and proved true.

The Labor Party has its “left”, its centre and its right. This is a division of labor to cater for leadership of diverse trends in the population. The Labor Party alters its tactics in accordance with changes in the actual conditions of society. Thus it takes direct anti-working class measures when the needs of the capitalist class demand such measures. Examples have been given in the career of Evatt. The repression in the 1949 coal miners' strike stands out. But there are many examples.

The leaders of the Labor Party have publicly denounced scientific socialism. They have emerged as anti-Communists. But again when the needs of the bourgeoisie demanded it, they have attempted to use the advanced workers as in World War II and as in the struggle in the Labor Party in 1954-5.

At all times, both in its relations with other parties and in its internal affairs, the life of the Labor Party is a life of proceeding from case to case, of pragmatism, of vacillation, intrigue, backstabbing, inconsistency. This is because it has no principled philosophy and exists only to make the chaotic and exploiting social system of capitalism work.

The Labor Party in Australia really remains a bourgeois liberal party but has taken on some of the characteristics of a social democratic party. It has not yet achieved the historic tasks of which Lenin spoke. Indeed it is very doubtful that it ever will. Conditions have altered. The imperialist overlords of Australia use the old colonies (now States) as appendages to resist development of Australia as one nation. Australia's national bourgeoisie largely represented by the Labor Party is not strong enough to consummate Australia's centralisation and nationhood.

Historical conditions have passed the task on to the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party. Only with working class leadership of all anti-imperialist sections of the Australian people can Australia be built as one independent nation.

The Labor Party is destined for more divisions, split and destruction. The liberal bourgeoisie cannot achieve independence nor unite Australia. Only the working class can carry this through to the end. The Marxist-Leninist Party acts on clear theoretical

principles. It works to unite with all those who can be united for anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The workers' need of a revolutionary party; A.L.P. ideology politics and organisation do not meet this need; its service to capitalism breaking down; the revisionist "communist" party being used to prop it up; the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) leads the fight for national independence and a people's democratic dictatorship.

It has been pointed out that in order to lead the revolutionary struggle in Australia there must be revolutionary theory and a revolutionary party to lead the revolutionary movement. The theory of the Australian revolution depends upon the correct integration of the general truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions in Australia. In broad outline, the preceding chapter sketched the path to revolution in Australia.

Lenin described the type of party that was required to lead the revolution. Summing up of subsequent experience has enriched and developed Lenin's ideas. The early conflict in ideas about the working class Party really centred on whether the party should be organised so that it could effectively serve the working class in revolutionary struggle or whether it would be so organised that it would serve the capitalist class.

In the forefront of the approach to what constitutes the working class party was its adherence to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, its revolutionary devotion. Involved in this is its understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its correct solution of the problem of integrating the general truths of Marxism-Leninism into Australian conditions. It must be a party organised so as to answer these needs.

In the struggle to build the revolutionary party, certain principles arose. The revolutionary party in contrast to the social democratic party insisted that those who joined must adhere to the revolutionary programme of the Party, must pay dues to the Party and must belong to and work in a basic organisation of the Party. In addition, the Party must be organised according to the principle of democratic centralism, namely that the decisions of the majority are binding on the minority, that the decisions of higher organs of the Party are binding on lower organs. This meant that leading organs and holders of official positions must be elected after proper democratic consultation.

The Party speaks with one voice because it has one policy. It is united around its programme and policy. Every party member upholds that programme and policy. There is strong discipline because the party members have the common conscious aim of upholding Marxism-Leninism and its integration into Australian reality.

The Party members work among the people and do all they can to learn from the people and to lead the people along the anti-imperialist people's democratic path of struggle.

Thus the Party constitutes a cohesive united disciplined force.

The Labor Party arose as a bourgeois liberal party, and later in its history took on some of the characteristics of a social democratic party.

It has an ideological, political and organisational character quite different from the Communist Party. It has no proclaimed ideology such as Marxism-Leninism. It rejects Marxism-Leninism. Because it has no working class ideology, it follows that its ideology must be bourgeois because of the all-pervading ideology of the bourgeoisie. It arose as Lenin pointed out, not ever claiming to be a socialist party. Its 1921 adoption of socialisation as one of its planks by no means gave it socialist ideology and politics. Its subsequent history showed its non-socialist character. The government led by Whitlam administers Australia in a purely capitalist way. Whitlam himself declared several times that the Labor Party was not a socialist party though it used the term "democratic socialism". Really this term means liberal capitalism. Characteristic of this position is this statement by Whitlam:

"To my mind,' Mr. Whitlam wrote, 'capitalism is the best means yet devised for producing the material goods required by advanced societies: I therefore believe in free enterprise.

"At the same time, there can be no question that the injustices and inequalities of such societies must be redressed by government intervention, and for that reason I am a democratic socialist."

The chief ideologist of the Labor Party, Dr. J. F. Cairns, in a carefully considered article, wrote:

"To those who attack co-operation as collaboration and argue that nothing can be achieved by co-operation and assert that capitalism must be destroyed, I say — you will achieve nothing but perpetual conflict and violence".

The Labor Party organisationally does not insist upon strict conditions of membership. It is a party which anyone may join if they are prepared to say in the most general way that they accept the programme of the Labor Party. That programme is never well defined. The result is that the Labor Party is a completely amorphous body which attracts anyone who has a liberal outlook. It has often been the subject of comment that it attracts to its leadership lawyers, bourgeois intellectuals, doctors and various other members of the petty bourgeoisie who want to make a parliamentary career for themselves. This does not at all reflect adversely upon people from the petty bourgeoisie; they may and some do adopt a proletarian stand. But those who join the Labor Party in the main, seek a personal career and have the outlook of the liberal bourgeoisie. In addition trade unions are affiliated to the Labor Party. This too reveals its connection with the working class but its acceptance of a very loose form of organisation.

A further feature of the Labor Party is that it permits its members to speak with different voices on the one subject. Thus it is very common to find Labor Party leaders making different pronouncements upon the one question. There is nothing in the Labor Party organisation to prevent this. Even the members of a Labor Party Cabinet not uncommonly make different pronouncements on the same subject. The contrast with the Communist Party is clear. Because the Communist Party serves the working class by its adherence to one ideology, its politics and organisation preclude different pronouncements on the one question. Because the Labor Party serves the capitalist class, and its ideology, politics and organisation bear the stamp of that class, then it reflects the conflicts within that class. Hence its leaders and members have many different ideas, but the aggregate of them serve capitalism.

Marx said that one capitalist always kills many in the competition of the capitalists among themselves. One capitalist gets on at the expense of another. This competition and rivalry are reflected within the Labor Party.

The fundamental outlook of the Australian Labor Party and the Liberal and Country Parties is service to capitalism. In that, the most important sense, there is no difference between them. In their respective capitalist outlooks as has been seen there is a certain difference between them; that is, the Labor Party serves the more enlightened sections of the bourgeoisie and at certain times and in certain circumstances has an objectively progressive policy on certain questions. At other times and in circumstances of crisis and challenge to capitalism, it adopts a much more reactionary position. This arises from its fundamentally capitalist character from which it takes its politics and organisation.

The political and organisational closeness of the Labor Party and the Liberal and Country Party is shown by the ease with which Labor Party leaders have passed from the Labor Party into the Liberal Country Party. Such, for example, was the case of Hughes and Holman, Lyons and various others. In the case of Holman, Dr. Evatt wrote a sympathetic biography entitled "Australian Labor Leader". Actually if the Labor Party were a party of the working class, then Hughes and Holman were despicable renegades from it and there was no room for calling either of them a Labor leader nor for a sympathetic treatment of them. It was possible for Dr. Evatt, himself a Labor leader, to write in these terms precisely because Hughes and Holman were not class renegades. They never did serve the working class; they always served the capitalist class. Hence at most they were renegades from one party of the bourgeoisie. Immediately after his retirement from the High Court, Dr. Evatt as one of this leading group in the Labor Party was a protagonist for a national government; that is, a government composed of all parliamentary political parties. There is nothing remarkable in this as such national governments in Britain show. It merely underlines the bourgeois character of the parliamentary parties and the bourgeois character of parliament.

In his comments on the Labor Party in Australia, Lenin said: "Naturally when Australia is finally developed and consolidated as an independent capitalist state, the conditions of the workers will change," (i.e. from the ideology of liberal English immigrant skilled workers of whom he had written) "as also will the *liberal* Labor Party which will make way for a *socialist* Labor Party".

The conditions of the Australian workers have changed greatly since Lenin wrote in 1913. While there are still strong influences of liberalism and social democracy from the skilled aristocrats in the working class, the basic sections of the workers turn to scientific socialism.

Lenin spoke of the Labor Party as “a liberal Labor Party which arises only for a short time as a result of conditions that are abnormal for capitalism”. Events in Australia are pushing the Labor Party and the Liberal and Country Parties closer together and destroying the working class appeal of the Labor Party. Events have shown that the Labor Party has not been capable of unifying Australia as one nation, though it has taken what within capitalism are much more far-reaching steps to do so than any other bourgeois party. Its foreign policy also has been far more enlightened than any other bourgeois party. But as the crisis of capitalism has deepened and as U.S. and Japanese imperialism have extended their investments in Australia, the Labor Party has shown that it cannot consummate the establishment of an Australia independent of imperialism. While it has taken on some of the characteristics of a social democratic party, it is reaching the stage where it can no longer deceive the workers that it is a party of the working class.

Its ideological, political and organisational crisis is acute indeed, because it tries to serve the national capitalists, and at the same time it serves the great imperialisms. It is rent by the profound conflict between them. Its service to each of these involves its capacity to “control” the workers by deceiving the workers that it is a party of the working class. That capacity is rapidly being lost because the workers have experienced and are still experiencing a new awakening which includes negative experience of the Labor Party. Capitalism and imperialism are collapsing and socialism is going from triumph to triumph. It is an era of the assertion of the irresistible historical trend when “countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution”.

The Australian Labor Party is subject to enormous strain by its efforts to serve these three conflicting interests — the national bourgeoisie, the imperialist bourgeoisie and the working class (this latter by deception). There is an element of deception in its service to each of these. At the same time as it proclaims its stand for Australian national development, it also proclaims its basic support for the Australian-U.S. alliance. These are irreconcilable. Then it must cater for its “working class” position. The Labor Party has suffered great splits and crises in its organisation in the past. Each crisis in Labor Party organisation has been more serious than the crisis which preceded it. Thus, for example, the damage done to the Labor Party organisation in the 1955 crisis was greater than that done by the Hughes Holman crisis and by the even deeper crisis of the 1930 depression. The Labor Party is in new and deeper crisis in 1974 and that “short time” of its existence as a liberal Labor party is coming to an end.

As has been seen, in 1920 the Communist Party of Australia was founded. It proclaimed its socialist objective and strove to serve Marxism-Leninism. But by the early 1960's revisionism had penetrated that Party and a revisionist “Communist” Party broke away from Marxism-Leninism. This revisionist organisation too is a party of capitalism. The bourgeoisie tries to present it as a socialist party which serves the workers. In more recent times, this “Communist Party” has received greater publicity from the bourgeoisie because the bourgeoisie senses and knows that the Labor Party is losing its capital as a party of

deception of the working class. The revisionist "Communist" party serves the purpose of trying to keep the workers loyal to the Labor Party by its support of the Labor Party and, at the same time, its deception that it itself is a party of socialism. This revisionist "Communist" Party is in no sense a socialist party. It is a party which in Lenin's characterisation omits, obliterates and distorts the revolutionary side of Marxism, its revolutionary soul.

Hence it is not this revisionist Party which is a socialist Labor Party.

That socialist Labor Party is the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). This Party is the socialist party of the Australian working class and strives to lead to the end the socialist revolution in Australia. Its draft provisional programme proclaims:

The Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) is the political party of the Australian proletariat.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has an immediate and a future objective, a minimum and a maximum objective. These objectives are an essential unity and constitute a programme of continuing revolution by stages.

The maximum objective is socialism with the ultimate aim of the classless society of Communism. The immediate objective is the achievement of the complete independence of Australia from imperialism and the establishment of a revolutionary anti-imperialist people's democratic dictatorship. Winning independence from imperialism is an essential and first component of socialist revolution in Australia; that independence can only be achieved in determined revolutionary struggle. The anti-imperialist character of this revolution is aimed at the winning of national independence from imperialist domination; its democratic character is aimed at democracy with real content in people's ownership of the press, radio, television, halls, streets, etc.; in people's ownership of banks, transport and other key sections of industry; in the expropriation and redistribution of the land of the foreign monopolies and their collaborators; in the expropriation of the means of production and distribution owned by the imperialists and their collaborators; and in adequate living standards for workers and working people. The Australian anti-imperialist democratic revolution forms part of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) has the task of integrating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought with the actual conditions in Australia. The main political task is the organisation of the broadest united front to abolish the remnants of colonialism and to achieve national independence. It is directed against the imperialist and social imperialist enemies of Australia. These enemies, notably U.S. imperialism, British imperialism, Japanese imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism aim to dominate and exploit Australia and the Australian people. U.S. imperialism has penetrated and dominates every aspect of Australian economic, military, political and cultural and social life. As it declines, Japanese imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism move in while British imperialism maintains a strong

hold. Within that united front the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) maintains its independence and initiative — a policy both of unity and independence. This united movement narrows the target of people's enemies and works for the armed overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie who dominate Australia and their local collaborators. The proletariat is its independence and initiative — a policy both of unity and independence. This united movement narrows the target of people's enemies and works for the armed overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie who dominate Australia and their local collaborators. The proletariat is the leading force in that fight for it is the most far-sighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary force. Thus the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) works to unite the working class, the working farmers, the middle class composed of clerks, small businesspeople, professional people, intellectuals and the patriotic capitalists to form a united front against imperialism under the leadership of the working class. Upon this basis the Party strives to establish a people's anti-imperialist democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class and based on the alliance of workers and working farmers, with democracy for the broad masses of the people opposed to imperialism, and dictatorship over the imperialist bourgeoisie and their local collaborators.

Without Marxism-Leninism to guide it, Australia's anti-imperialist new democratic revolution cannot succeed nor move on to the socialist stage.

The Communist Party of Australia (M-L) is composed of the advanced members of the proletariat. Aiming to be the core of leadership of the Australian people, it is a vigorous vanguard organisation leading the proletariat and revolutionary people in the fight for national independence and people's democratic dictatorship.

By its reconstitution of the Communist Party in Australia in 1964, the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) maintains the continuity of the Communist Party from its foundation in 1920.

The Party has strengthened itself in struggle against revisionism and “left” opportunism. This struggle continues and will continue.

True to its adherence to proletarian internationalism, it strives for united action of the proletariat with the aboriginal people, the oppressed peoples of Papua-New Guinea and other oppressed peoples of Oceania in their struggle for independence.

The Party fights together with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups all over the world and with the proletariat, the oppressed people and the nations of the whole world to overthrow imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre, and the reactionaries of all countries.

The Party fights without let-up to abolish the system of exploitation of man by man over the globe so that all mankind will be emancipated.

Members of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) who dedicate their lives to the struggle for Communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

APPENDIX 1

THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE AND INITIATIVE WITHIN THE UNITED FRONT

November 5, 1938⁵

Help and concessions should be positive, not negative

All political parties and groups in the united front must help each other and make mutual concessions for the sake of long-term cooperation, but such help and concessions should be positive, not negative. We must consolidate and expand our own Party and army, and at the same time should assist friendly parties and armies to consolidate and expand; the people want the government to satisfy their political and economic demands, and at the same time give the government every possible help to prosecute the War of Resistance; the factory workers demand better conditions from the owners, and at the same time work hard in the interests of resistance; for the sake of unity against foreign aggression, the landlords should reduce rent and interest, and at the same time the peasants should pay rent and interest. All these principles and policies of mutual assistance are positive, not negative or one-sided. The same should be true of mutual concessions. Each side should

⁵ This is part of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concluding speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party. At the time, the issue of independence and initiative within the united front was one of the outstanding questions concerning the anti-Japanese united front, a question on which there were differences of opinion between Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Chen Shao-yu. In essence what was involved was proletarian leadership in the united front. In his report of December 1947 ("The Present Situation and Our Tasks") Comrade Mao Tse-tung briefly summed up these differences:

During the War of Resistance, our Party combated ideas similar to those of the capitulationists [referring to Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War], that is, such ideas as making concessions to the Kuomintang's anti-popular policies, having more confidence in the Kuomintang than in the masses, not daring to arouse and give full rein to mass struggles, not daring to expand the Liberated Areas and the people's armies in the Japanese-occupied areas, and handing over the leadership in the War of Resistance to the Kuomintang. Our Party waged a resolute struggle against such impotent and degenerate ideas, which run counter to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, resolutely carried out its political line of "developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle forces and isolating the die-hard forces", and resolutely expanded the Liberated Areas and the People's Liberation Army. Not only did this ensure our Party's ability to defeat Japanese imperialism in the period of its aggression, but also in the period after the Japanese surrender when Chiang Kai-shek launched his counter-revolutionary war, it ensured our Party's ability to switch smoothly and without loss to the course of Opposing Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary war with a people's revolutionary war and to win great victories in a short time. All Party comrades must keep these lessons of history firmly in mind.

[pg. 78 E.F. Hill, The Labor Party? \(\(October 1974\)](#)

refrain from undermining the other and from organizing secret party branches within the other's party, government and army. For our part we organize no secret party branches inside the Kuomintang and its government or army, and so set the Kuomintang's mind at rest, to the advantage of the War of Resistance. The saying, "Refrain from doing some things in order to be able to do other things"⁶, exactly meets the case. A national war of resistance would have been impossible without the reorganization of the Red Army, the change in the administrative system in the Red areas, and the abandonment of the policy of armed insurrection. By giving way on the latter we have achieved the former; negative measures have yielded positive results. "To fall back the better to leap forward"⁷ — that is Leninism. To regard concessions as something purely negative is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. There are indeed instances of purely negative concessions--the Second International's doctrine of collaboration between labour and capital⁸ resulted in the betrayal of a whole class and a whole revolution. In China, Chen Tu-hsiu and then Chang Kuo-tao were both capitulators; capitulationism must be strenuously opposed. When we make concessions, fall back, turn to the defensive or halt our advance in our relations with either allies or enemies, we should always see these actions as part of our whole revolutionary policy, as an indispensable link in the general revolutionary line, as one turn in a zigzag course. In a word, they are positive.

The identity between the national and the class struggle

To sustain a long war by long-term co-operation or, in other words, to subordinate the class struggle to the present national struggle against Japan--such is the fundamental principle of the united front. Subject to this principle, the independent character of the parties and classes and their independence and initiative within the united front should be preserved, and their essential rights should not be sacrificed to co-operation and unity, but on the contrary must be firmly upheld within certain limits. Only thus can co-operation be promoted, indeed only thus can there be any co-operation at all. Otherwise co-operation will turn into amalgamation and the united front will inevitably be sacrificed. In a struggle that is national in character, the class struggle takes the form of national struggle, which demonstrates the identity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt co-operation; on the other hand, the demands of the national struggle (the need to resist Japan) should be the point of departure for all class struggle. Thus there is identity in the united front between unity and independence and between the national struggle and the class struggle.

"Everything through the united front" is wrong

⁶ A quotation from *Mencius*.

⁷ V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's Book *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*", Collected Works, Russ. ed., Moscow, 1958, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275

⁸ "The doctrine of collaboration between labour and capital" is the reactionary doctrine of the Second International, which advocates such collaboration in the capitalist countries and opposes the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Kuomintang is the party in power, and so far has not allowed the united front to assume an organizational form. Behind the enemy lines, the idea of "everything through" is impossible, for there we have to act independently and with the initiative in our own hands while keeping to the agreements which the Kuomintang has approved (for instance, the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction). Or we may act first and report afterwards, anticipating what the Kuomintang might agree to. For instance, the appointment of administrative commissioners and the dispatch of troops to Shantung Province would never have occurred if we had tried to get these things done "through the united front". It is said that the French Communist Party once put forward a similar slogan, but that was probably because in France, where a joint committee of the parties already existed and the Socialist Party was unwilling to act in accordance with the jointly agreed programme and wanted to have its own way, the Communist Party had to put forward such a slogan in order to restrain the Socialist Party, and certainly it did not do so to shackle itself. In the case of China, the Kuomintang has deprived all other political parties of equal rights and is trying to compel them to take its orders. If this slogan is meant to be a demand that everything done by the Kuomintang must go through us, it is both ridiculous and impossible. If we have to secure the Kuomintang's consent beforehand for everything we do, what if the Kuomintang does not consent? Since the policy of the Kuomintang is to restrict our growth, there is no reason whatever for us to propose such a slogan, which simply binds us hand and foot. At present there are things for which we should secure prior consent from the Kuomintang, such as the expansion of our three divisions into three army corps--this is to report first and act afterwards. There are other things which the Kuomintang can be told after they have become accomplished facts, such as the expansion of our forces to over 200,000 men--this is to act first and report afterwards. There are also things, such as the convening of the Border Region assembly, which we shall do without reporting for the time being, knowing that the Kuomintang will not agree. There are still other things which, for the time being, we shall neither do nor report, for they are likely to jeopardize the whole situation. In short, we must not split the united front, but neither should we allow ourselves to be bound hand and foot, and hence the slogan of "everything through the united front" should not be put forward. If "everything must be submitted to the united front" is interpreted as "everything must be submitted to" Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, then that slogan, too, is wrong. Our policy is one of independence and initiative within the united front, a policy both of unity and of independence.

APPENDIX 2

TRANSCRIPT OF EVIDENCE OF W. BIRD AT PETROV ROYAL COMMISSION

This evidence of W. Bird, seamen's leader, was given on December 6, 1954. Nowadays, some 20 years later, some of the politics would be different. But the evidence is reproduced to show the spirit of defiance towards this Commission—

The proceedings opened at 3.5 p.m.

1. MR. PAPE. — Call William Harrison Bird.

1A. MR. E. F. HILL. — If Your Honours please, I seek leave to appear for Mr. Bird.

1B. THE CHAIRMAN. — Yes, Mr. Hill.

WILLIAM HARRISON BIRD, affirmed:

2. MR. PAPE. — Your name is William Harrison Bird? - Yes.

3. Where do you live? —15 Attley Grove, Ripponlea, Melbourne.

4. And you are a secretary of the Seamen's Union? — I am the secretary of the Victorian branch of the Seamen's Union.

5. I want to ask you some questions with a view to ascertaining the whereabouts of Walter Seddon Clayton. Do you know Walter Seddon Clayton? - I would not know him if I fell over him.

6. THE CHAIRMAN. — Mr. Bird, would you mind conducting yourself properly? - That's all right, that's the ordinary manner of speech. "I would not know him if I fell over him," I said.

7. MR. PAPE. Have you never met the man? - Never in my life.

8. Have a look at that photograph (passed to the witness).

9. THE WITNESS. — It does not mean a thing to me.

10. MR. PAPE. — You have never had any dealings with him? - No.

11. Did you know of him even though you had never met him? - How would I know of him?

12. Well, I am asking you the questions, Mr. Bird. Have you heard of him? — Well, before I answer the question I have got to know what you mean, have I not?

13. I should have thought it was fairly obvious. I will ask you again. Have you ever heard of him? — I have read the newspaper reports of this Commission and this talk about him. That is the first I have ever heard of him.

14. Before you read anything about him and the Royal Commission, had you heard anything of Clayton in connexion with his activities in the Communist Party? — Never.

15. Did you know that Clayton was, shortly before 1950, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party? - No.

16. Did you know that he was a member of the Control Commission? - No.

17. You had never heard that he held either of those offices? - That is correct.

18. And you had never heard that he held any office in the Communist Party? - No.

19. PHILIP, J. — Had you heard his name at all? - No, I can honestly say I have never heard at all of him until this outfit started to bandy his name about.

20. LIGERTWOOD, J. — Are you a member of the Communist Party? - I am, and I am proud of it.

(Applause from the public gallery.)

21. How long have you been a member of it? - I have been a member since I came ashore in this job this time since 1941. I came out of the "Zealandia" on the 13th March 1941. Prior to that I joined it in 1926.

22. MR. PAPE. — And - - -

23. THE WITNESS. — Just a minute; I have not finished.

24. MR. PAPE. — Don't you be impertinent.

25. THE WITNESS. — I am answering the question and have not finished answering the first question.

26. THE CHAIRMAN. — Do you mind controlling yourself?

27. THE WITNESS. Look: I have come here to talk and I will talk the way I think I should, not the way that guy (indicating Mr. Pape) thinks I should talk.

28. THE CHAIRMAN. — I trust the Crown Law authorities are taking note of this.

29. THE WITNESS. — It doesn't worry me. I am telling you about my life I will tell you without you telling me what to do.

(Applause and calling out from the public gallery)

30. MR. PAPE. — Well, you tell me.

31. THE WITNESS. — All right; well, dry up and - - -

(More applause and calling out from the public gallery)

32. THE CHAIRMAN. -Clear the court-room. We will retire while the court-room is cleared. (To the witness) You will remain in court.

(At 3.10 p.m. the proceedings were adjourned while the court-room was being cleared.)

Upon resuming at 3.19 p.m.

33. THE CHAIRMAN. — The galleries will be kept cleared. The Press may attend. We do not propose to allow our proceedings to be interrupted by an unseemly crowd.

34. MR. PAPE. — Mr. Bird, in 1935 were you a member of the Communist Party in Victoria — any branch of the Communist Party? - No.

35. At that stage where were your headquarters — in Victoria or New South Wales? - Where were my headquarters?

36. Yes.

37. MR. HILL. — Just a moment; I object. In 1935?

38. THE CHAIRMAN. — I take it that this is to test the witness's statement that he never heard of Clayton?

39. MR. PAPE. — That is perfectly true.

40. THE WITNESS. — I will answer it. I am going to answer your question. 1935 was the year of the seamen's strike. In December 1935 I paid off a "submarine" called the "Ready" — Howard Smith's "Ready". I had been in her for six months. Some people here ought to be in her for one month. She was on the Gladstone to Brisbane run. I had not been to Melbourne then for over five years.

41. MR. PAPE. — Then between 1935 and 1939 were your headquarters in Melbourne? - What do you mean by my "headquarters"?

42. You know what I mean.

43. THE WITNESS. — I do if you talk sense.

44. MR. PAPE. — Was your office in Melbourne? - What office?

45. THE CHAIRMAN. — Mr. Shorthand-writer, just make sure that you get all this down.

46. THE WITNESS. — What office do you mean?

47. MR. HILL. — Your Honour, the evidence was that in 1941 he became the secretary of the Victorian branch of the Seamen's Union. Now there is room for a genuine misunderstanding about this question: "Where were your headquarters between 1935 and 1941?" The fact was, as I understand it, that he was not an official of the Seamen's Union before 1941.

48. THE WITNESS. — I was a sailor at sea.

49. MR. PAPE. — I am obliged to my friend Mr. Hill in that. In the hullabaloo I did not quite get the date.

50. THE WITNESS. — Why don't you get your facts straight before you ask questions?

51. MR. PAPE. — You kindly answer the questions I ask and do not make any speeches. During the years 1935 to 1939 did you have an any contact at all with the Communist Party in Victoria? - None whatever.

52. You did not know that Clayton was an official of the Party in Victoria between those years? - No.

53. Have you any idea — I know you have told us that you do not know Clayton — where Clayton is at the present time? - I do not know. I have not got the remotest idea and I have got no interest.

54. Do you know Mr. Skolnik? - I do.

55. Have you had any discussion or has there been any discussion between you and Mr. Skolnik with regard to Clayton's whereabouts in the last six months? - I went and saw Mr. Skolnik following him giving evidence in this court and abused him for being a rotten liar. That is the only contact I have had with him, the only thing I have spoken about Clayton.

56. Before you went and had that interview with Skolnik had he discussed Clayton with you? - At no time.

57. Was anything like this ever said by you to Skolnik after Skolnik had make some inquiries of you about where Clayton was - - - ? - He did not make any inquiries.

58. Let us assume for a moment that he did.

59. THE WITNESS. — I do not want to assume anything; let us stick to facts. He did not.

60. MR. PAPE. — All right. Did you ever say this to Skolnik: “Oh, they'll never get him; we arranged for him to get away to New Zealand”? - No. It is a fairy tale as far as I am concerned.

61. PHILP, J. — You never said it? - No, definitely did not.

62. MR. PAPE. — And you never at any time arranged for Clayton to get away to New Zealand? - Never.

63. Or any other place? - No.

64. Did Skolnik ever have any conversation with you in which Clayton's name was mentioned but in which he did not ask you if you knew where he was? - Look: the only discussion I ever had about Clayton with Skolnik I told you — and I tell the truth, whether I am on oath or not — was when I went to his office and called him a rotten liar following his submissions in this Commission, and that is the only time I have ever mentioned Clayton's name or ever heard it mentioned by him.

65. PHILP, J. — What did you berate him for, exactly? - Because I do not like people going out telling rotten lies about me.

66. What did you understand him to tell us about Clayton? - I read the evidence.

67. What did you understand he had told us? - I understand that as far as I could assume he tried to be a big shot in front of the security officers and he indicated or inferred that I had had some part in spiriting Clayton out of Australia, which is a complete untruth.

68. But what did you understand he told us about your conversation? - What is in the evidence, that is what I understand. I read it.

69. But what is in it? - You know it. As far as I know, you have read it, have you not?

70. I think you have a wrong memory on it.

71. THE WITNESS. — Well, hand it to me and I will read it. I have not learned it off by heart.

72. THE CHAIRMAN. — Mr. Hill, do you want to offer your client some advice?

73. MR. HILL. — Well! Your Honour, he is being asked questions.

74. THE CHAIRMAN. — Very well.

75. THE WITNESS. — Excuse me a minute. Just for His Honour's benefit: I cannot memorize the whole of the Transcript and everything Skolnik said.

76. PHILP, J. — That is all right, I merely asked you what you understood Skolnik had told us. If you cannot remember, it is all right.

77. THE WITNESS. — I understood that Skolnik came to this Commission and made some false submissions and told some rotten lies, the same as a lot of other people have done. That is what I understand.

78. MR. PAPE. — And you went to him as a result of seeing that in the newspapers? - Yes, and I will go to him again when I get back to Melbourne this time and tell him something else.

79. Were you present in Sydney in August 1951 at the Sixteenth National Congress of the Party? - Was I where?

80. Present in Sydney at the Sixteenth National Congress of the Party? - What date was that?

81. August 1951.

82. THE WITNESS. — Yes, I was.

83. MR. PAPE. — And can you tell me whether Clayton was a candidate for the Central Committee? - No, I could not tell you. I am very small fry in the political movement. It was the first Congress that I ever attended, and I could not tell you who the names of the Central Committee were at that time.

84. Well, you do not know whether Clayton was nominated or not? - No, I do not.

85. I suppose you would have a vote for the Central Committee? - I presume I would.

86. And have you got any recollection as to whether you voted for him or against him? - No, I have not.

87. LIGERTWOOD, J. — What is your position in the Communist Party? How did you come to be a member of that Congress? - Well, I joined the Party as I told Mr. Pape, back in 1941, 1942, when I came ashore from the "Zealandia", and I have been elected in the last two years as a member of the State Committee in Victoria. Prior to that I was just a delegate attending the Congress, and just a rank and file delegate, that is all. I never spoke; I listened in to what was going on.

88. Did you attend more than one Congress? - That was the only one.

89. That was the only one you attended? Yes.

90. I suppose you knew of the Control Commission? - I have heard of the Control Commission.

91. And of the Central Committee? - Yes, I have heard of it.

92. Did you never worry to find out who were members of those two bodies? — Well, no, I can't say that I did. I had plenty of work to do without worrying about that.

93. The Control Committee is a small body, isn't it? - As far as I understand, it is, yes.

94. How many do you think are on it? — I could not tell you at the moment. I am not going to discuss the internal workings of the Communist Party, or the Union movement, here, anyhow.

95. I was not asking you to discuss it, I was wondering whether you were not curious enough to inquire who they were. You say you never knew at any time? - I never knew of Clayton,

96. MR. PAPE. — Did you ever know of a man called Sutherland? - Sutherland? No, to the best of my knowledge I do not.

97. Or Roberts? - No.

98. Can you tell me this: was any statement or announcement made at the meeting, that is, the Sixteenth National Congress, by way of explanation as to why Clayton was not present? - I said I was not going to discuss any of the Internal business of the Communist Party here, and I am not.

99. I am not asking you to discuss the internal business of it.

100. THE WITNESS. — You are asking me whether something was discussed at a Congress.

101. MR. PAPE. — Not discussed; I was asking whether a statement was made to the effect that Clayton was absent because he was on business.

102. THE WITNESS. — I never heard it.

103. MR. PAPE. — Was any statement to that effect, or any similar statement, made about Clayton's absence? - I don't remember any statement being made.

104. Although you have told us that you never met Clayton, have you any idea, acquired since you have heard his name mentioned in these proceedings, as to where he is at the present time? - No, I have not the remotest idea.

105. THE CHAIRMAN. — Can a man ship on a vessel trading to New Zealand as a member of the crew unless he is a member of the Seamen's Union? - Yes, he can. He can ship in five other different categories; he can ship as a member of the Merchant Service Guild, or a member of the Marine Institute of Power Engineers, or as a member of the Wireless Operators' organization, or as a member of the Marine Cooks Union, as a member of the Marine Stewards' Union, or as a member of the Shipwrights' Association — all of which man ships outside the ambit of the Seamen's Union.

106. PHILP, J. — And you have nothing to do with any of those? - None whatever.
107. MR. HILL. — You have never engaged in espionage? - No. I have not, as far as I know.
108. You have lived in Australia most of your life? - Since 1905, I believe.
109. PHILP, J. — What do you mean by that? Were you born in Australia? - No, I was not. I was born in “the big smoke”.
110. THE CHAIRMAN. — What do you mean by “the big smoke”?
11. PHILP, J. — Oh, Auld Reekie — Edinburgh? —Don’t you know where the Queen lives? No; London.
112. MR. HILL. — You served in the Navy and the Army in the First World War? - I did.
113. For a period of five years? - Four and a half.
114. LIGERTWOOD, J. — You said you were a delegate to this Congress in 1951? - Yes, I would be elected...
115. Who would appoint you as delegate? - A section.
116. The Victorian section? - Yes.
117. Of the Communist Party? - The particular industrial section that I belonged to, that is all.
118. Do you also belong to a Communist Party District, or anything of that kind? - No. Do you know anything about the Party?
119. I am afraid I do not.
120. THE WITNESS. — Well, why don't you read something and find out? You can easily learn what its ideas are, its aims and ambitions, and you can find out what its general set-up is in so far as organization is concerned.
121. LIGERTWOOD, J. — You were appointed...
122. THE WITNESS. — It is all printed.
123. LIGERTWOOD, J. — You were appointed a delegate by the...? - By the section.
124. The Victorian section? — Yes.
125. THE CHAIRMAN. — Seamen’s section? - No; an industrial section, Metropolitan Ports.

126. What is the industry? - It covers the whole of the maritime section...

127. I see.

128. THE WITNESS. — ...in the Melbourne ports.

129. LIGERTWOOD, J. — Is that a branch of the Communist Party? - Only the people who belong to that section.

130. THE CHAIRMAN. — But is the section a branch? - There are a lot of branches in a section.

131. LIGERTWOOD, J. — They are branches of the Communist Party - That is right.

132. Did you hold office in any of those branches? - No; I was an ordinary rank and file member of the branch, the same as I am now.

133. You were appointed a delegate by the section to this congress? - Yes; and I just sit and listen to what goes on, the same as anybody else does.

134. THE CHAIRMAN. — Do you by any chance know a man named McNamara? - Yes; he has a pub at Caulfield.

135. What is his Christian name? - I do not know, but he was an outstanding footballer down there in Australian Rules, I am given to understand.

136. Was he ever a seaman? - No, not to the best of my knowledge. He is the only McNamara I know of.

137. LIGERTWOOD, J. — Did you never hear of Clayton as an active organizer of the Party? - Never heard of him in my life. There are probably hundreds of people in the Party that I have never heard of.

138. We have been told that he was a very active organizer.

139. THE WITNESS. — It is possible. There might be a lot of active organizers around. Look; the whole of my life is spent in Melbourne, ninety per cent of it around the Melbourne wharves, looking after the welfare of seafarers. I do not know what goes on in New South Wales or Queensland or what not. I have not the time to do it. I am flat out doing what I am paid to do - looking after seamen.

140. LIGERTWOOD, J. — How did you come to know Skolnik? - I first met Skolnik when he became — I do not know whether it was a contract or something at the dredging plant, and I drew up a contract between him and the Dutchmen who came out here, with the help of the A.C.T. U., for the conditions they work under. They are completing a contract — I think they finish it about the middle of February. That is their last job.

141. I am not interested in that, but did you ever know him in connexion with the Communist Party at all? - No, not at all.

142. Did you ever know that he had guaranteed Clayton's account? - Only when I read it in this report, that is all. That is why I take such umbrage in connecting me with it. They have no right to do that. I know nothing about it.

APPENDIX 3

NEWSPAPER VANGUARD COMMENT ON ARTICLE BY DR. J. F. CAIRNS AND DR. CAIRNS' ARTICLE

Dr. J. Cairns, Deputy Prime Minister of Australia, has recently made a series of very important statements.

These include an article which he himself wrote and which has been published in the Australian press. These statements require close analysis.

This is because they are typically expressive of the ideology of social democracy. Social democracy sets out to adapt the working class and working people to capitalism. Social democracy has often been described as the main social prop of capitalism.

MAIN SOCIAL PROP

It is the main social prop of capitalism because it appears in the name of the workers and yet, in fact, serves capitalism. Thus the Australian Labor Party is a party of capitalism no matter how it professes otherwise (and nowadays it does not even profess that it is not a party of capitalism).

Dr. Cairns probably represents the highest development of social democracy in Australia. More than anyone else he has publicly championed left causes. In the struggle against the war in Vietnam he emerged as a leader opposed to the war in Vietnam. He took a leading part in mass demonstrations against the Vietnam war. He wrote and spoke against it. He championed the cause of draft resisters. In many other ways he opposed the drive of aggression and the attack on democratic rights. Most certainly Dr. Cairns helped to arouse mass activity on these important issues. By doing this Dr. Cairns accumulated a great deal of capital as a left leader. Many people believed that Dr. Cairns was a single-minded socialist with no interest in life other than the promotion of socialism. Accordingly he acquired considerable authority in the working class and progressive movement.

It is not at all to be denied that Dr. Cairns made a contribution to the struggle against the war in Vietnam, nor to the movement to exchange diplomatic relations with People's China, nor to the anti-conscription cause. It does not detract from the objective fact of that contribution to point out that it was from a bourgeois standpoint and not from a socialist or revolutionary standpoint. We have said in the past that Dr. Cairns has a dual

character, but it must be emphasised that that dual character is as a bourgeois. That is, as a bourgeois, Dr. Cairns supports some progressive causes and opposes others.

IMPORTANT QUESTION

Although we mention Dr. Cairns' name many times we are concerned with him only as representing social democracy. And it is extremely important that the question of social democracy in Australia be thoroughly understood in the working class movement.

Dr. Cairns became Deputy Prime Minister of Australia not only because he is a capable man (which he is), but above all, because in the crisis of capitalism the bourgeoisie must have a "left" person who has considerable authority and who can, at least, in the estimation of the bourgeoisie control the rebellious people. The bourgeoisie constantly discusses its tactics of struggle. Dr. Cairns, therefore, was given a great deal of publicity as a "left", as a "rebel", as a leader of street demonstrations and was denounced accordingly. On the other hand, when he became a Minister in the Labor government, he was given great praise as being "responsible", "understanding the problems of industry in a surprising way". The capitalist press actually did a great deal to promote Dr. Cairns as Deputy Prime Minister and since then to give him publicity that almost overshadows that given to Whitlam. Why do they promote the "left" Cairns rather than the right Whitlam? This is largely because Whitlam always has had a right-wing image, has always been fairly remote from the people, has not served his time in the hurly burly of labor politics and it is estimated that he is not the best person to control the rebellious people, particularly as the people are likely to get more rebellious. But Dr. Cairns has all these attributes. *People's rebellion is the most important single factor in the present breakdown and crisis of capitalism.* Hence its control, how to control it, is a cardinal question for the bourgeoisie. Dr. Cairns himself in recent times has shown that he is well aware of this requirement that the bourgeoisie has of him. When he was asked to comment on his role in leading street demonstrations he was at pains to point out that where he was present the demonstrations were in the main orderly, did not get out of control and there was little violence. This was indeed true. Dr. Cairns went to great pains to ensure "law and order", capitalist law and order, were always upheld. He collaborated with police and other authorities to ensure that this was so. Had it not been for him the bourgeoisie would certainly have had more cause for worry. Another instance is provided by Dr. Cairns' attitude to ASIO. Dr. Cairns has insisted that an ASIO is necessary, consistent with that, that an ASIO should interest itself in the activities of parliamentarians (contrary to views of other labor party spokesmen). But the essence of ASIO is anti-working class, it is a dagger directed by the bourgeoisie at the heart of the working class, working and other patriotic people. It is for this role that the bourgeoisie maintains ASIO. It is this that Dr. Cairns really supports.

But Dr. Cairns has made our job of criticizing social democracy easier by writing an article for the capitalist press and in this article setting out his own views. Significantly the article bears the heading — "Together we can solve conflict and violence..." It commences with this statement... "In recent times the society in which we live has been more seriously questioned than at any time for more than 50 years." That is undoubtedly a statement with

which Communists can agree. The critical point, however, is how to resolve the questioning. This is extremely important to the working class, to all working and patriotic people. People must have clear heads, be sober minded and face facts in order to resolve the question, in order to determine the path of struggle. We must say immediately that there is only one solution and that solution is scientific socialism, the ownership by workers and working people of the means of production and the establishment of working class state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat to enforce it. This means revolutionary struggle to break up capitalist state power and to destroy the violence of capitalism with revolutionary violence. In Australia, the way to socialism is through building a great united front of the workers, working and other patriotic people directed against the imperialist owners of Australia and their collaborators and setting up an anti-imperialist people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class. This is the only path. And all attempts to divert the people from it will fail.

Now let us see how Dr. Cairns approaches the question. We quote from him again:

“Conflict and violence are now more critically different than ever before in history. Conflict and violence are the great political questions for the rest of the century. The essence of this question is another one — are we to turn against that liberation of human personality which has been the aspiration of man since the beginning of time, or can we find ways of making liberation a generally accepted aim?”

This kind of statement is characteristic of Dr. Cairns' article. It is vague, diffuse and tells us nothing; it does not pose a real question. The assumptions upon which it rests are a distortion of history. “Liberation”, “human personality” etc. are class questions. The “beginning of time”, as Dr. Cairns uses the expression, could only be when primitive man emerged from the animal stage and was so backward in the struggle with the forces of nature that he was compelled to combine in primitive communes, primitive communism. He had a full-time job surviving. Then there was slave society, the only “liberation” and “human personality” being in the slave owners; the slaves did not exist, they were chattels. And in feudalism only the feudal overlords had liberation and human personality; the feudal serfs, while better off than the slaves, were bound to the overlord. In capitalism it is only the tiny minority capitalist who is liberated and whose personality can be developed; the wage slave is exploited and oppressed. It is precisely the class question that Dr. Cairns evades. One can read his article and get the impression that there is no such thing as class divisions and struggle in society. It is true that Dr. Cairns gives class struggle a passing mention by saying “Australia is a class society, a divided society. The divisions which are most significant are those between workers and employers and those between city and country, between immigrants and Australians, between Queenslanders and southerners, between West Australians and easterners.” But while this statement is true there is no real analysis of class struggle. Marx and Engels began the *Communist Manifesto* by saying “The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle,” and showed that class struggle was the motive force of social change. But Dr. Cairns' solution is “cooperation and brotherhood.” And he says: “To those who attack co-

operation as collaboration and argue that nothing can be achieved by co-operation and assert that capitalism must be destroyed, I say you will achieve nothing but perpetual conflict and violence.”

CLASS QUESTION

In short, whatever you do, you must not in any circumstances destroy capitalism. Capitalism must remain. Capitalism is fundamental. Capitalism the great God. You must have “co-operation”, “compassion”, “co-operative and socialist values and practice”, “the right social values”, “morality”, “brotherhood”, but you must have capitalism. Dr. Cairns uses the term “values” a great deal: he says, for example, “Bul nothing can be achieved unless the right social values are held on to firmly.” All these words are very impressive but they are designed to abolish the class struggle. At the very best all that can be said for them is that they are bourgeois humanism

Morality for the imperialist bourgeoisie means exploitation, enslavement of peoples, aggressive war, spheres of influence; morality to the victims of imperialism means overthrow of imperialism. In the Vietnam war it was moral, compassion, brotherhood, to the U.S. imperialists to kill and maim the Vietnamese people, to defoliate the land; and it was moral, compassion, brotherhood to the Vietnamese people to fight with arms in hand against the U.S. imperialists. It was “moral” etc. for the Australian diehards to support the U.S. imperialists and on the other hand moral for the Australian people to support the Vietnamese people. These are class terms. Every kind of thinking is stamped with the brand of a class. And we are for revolutionary values, compassion, brotherhood, morality, born of class struggle. To try to put these things above class is service to capitalism and Dr. Cairns is consistent enough because he has told us he wants to preserve capitalism, or rather that to destroy it means “nothing but perpetual conflict and violence.”

NOT A SOCIALIST

Really this disposes of the question. Dr. Cairns is for capitalism, the revolutionary people are for its destruction. But the difficulty is Dr. Cairns has developed a name as a socialist and we must continue to examine what he says. You can see that he is using his “prestige”, “authority” as a “socialist” in order to preserve and protect capitalism.

Dr. Cairns is consistent to the end of his article. He says “Now let me clear up this terminology of Right and Left.” This is indeed a very important question. He tells us of the origin of the terms in the French revolution and then says: “It is from the Left, who represent and understand the poor, that progress is formulated and carried forward, and it is from the Right — those who represent the reactionaries and who have little sympathy or understanding for those in need — who resist progress”. No question of class struggle here: just a vague generalisation. “Left” and “right” has come to mean something perfectly clear. The left is composed of the advanced workers and the people whose real interests and aspirations the advanced workers represent, and on the other hand the right means the diehard reactionary imperialists and capitalists against whom the people struggle. This

is perfectly straightforward but Dr. Cairns uses his terms to confuse the whole question so that such well known class terms cease to have anything to do with class struggle.

Dr. Cairns concludes his article by saying: “We need reform not repression and compassion not castigation. Yet, at the same time, we need people who are prepared to stand for what they believe in and against apathy and double talk.

“I think Australia, under this Government's policy of participating government at all levels, has a good chance of being unique, in that it will make the right decisions to produce a forward looking country.”

Yes, we too stand for reforms. *Struggle* for reforms, struggle that is an essential component of the overall anti-imperialist people's democratic struggle. Dr. Cairns' last paragraph, like many others, is very vague. But our attitude is that he is bourgeois, that the government of which he is now Deputy Prime Minister and may well be Prime Minister, is a bourgeois government. On that basis it has done some good things and it has done some bad things. We have supported what has been good and opposed what has been bad. Our criterion of good and bad is the criterion of advance of the interests of the Australian working class, working and patriotic people. That will continue to be our attitude.

It is as well that we clear up all confusion about socialism and capitalism, class struggle, social democracy, left and right. Dr. Cairns seeks to introduce into the working class social democratic ideas, ideas of class collaboration, class peace. Such ideas are bourgeois ideas. It is our job to combat them and to propagate Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas. To propagate revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas does not preclude our support of what is good in Dr. Cairns' bourgeois stand nor preclude our opposition to what is bad but it does preclude our having anything but opposition to theories of social democracy, class collaboration.

ARTICLE BY DR. CAIRNS PUBLISHED IN MELBOURNE HERALD, JUNE 20, 1974

In recent times the society in which we live has been more seriously questioned than at any time for more than 50 years.

This has come as a surprise to most experts because they thought that affluence and full employment had put an end to anything but a desire for more of what we had.

The Labor Party, they told us, was finished because we were based on the “blue collar” workers and they were fast declining as a percentage of the work force.

We were told that the Young Liberals were vast in numbers and growing every day, and that the “white collar” and the professionals were non-political and were merely social climbers.

But all that has changed.

“White collar” workers and professionals have been forced to act collectively to keep up; youth has turned against war, especially counter-insurgency war, and now questions the whole Calvinist ethic which made capitalism go.

Some of our intellectual leaders tell us that Doomsday is not far away unless we change radically and many people believe that more and more of us will have to live in congested, polluted, conflict-saturated areas dominated by self-centredness and alienation.

Another way of putting the dissatisfaction is the belief of many that workers do not care and do not work hard enough; that productivity must be raised; that there must be more discipline and punishment of delinquents and deviants, that everyone else has it far too easy.

In common ground to all is the fear of encroachment by a soulless bureaucracy, of the heavy hand of authority, and perhaps of needless spying and recording by computers and otherwise.

There is much in all these dissatisfactions and fears.

But we have never been in a better position to do something about all of them.

At the same time the problems we have to overcome are greater than ever before. Man is now able with nuclear and bacteriological weapons to destroy civilisation.

Weapon

One man, it seems, can carry in his hands a weapon able to destroy a city. They can alter personality with drugs and, perhaps, change the whole genetic structure in some desired direction.

Conflict and violence are now more critically different than ever before in history. Conflict and violence are the great political question for the rest of the century.

The essence of this question is another one — are we to turn against that liberation of the human personality which has been the aspiration of man since the beginning of time, or can we find ways of making liberation a generally accepted aim?

I think the answer to these questions lies in whether we recognise what it is that really motivates man and whether we can soon enough organise society so that this motivation can operate.

I think that the weight of experience shows that man seeks satisfaction of his needs and that he wants co-operation, security, recognition, affection and love much more than he wants competition and conflict.

People who cannot satisfy their needs for security, mutuality, co-operation, affection and love become sick and can be fed all kinds of sensual satisfactions because they are unable to obtain what is genuine.

It has been shown time and time again the needs of the developing person or social group are inadequately satisfied, that is, where there are too many frustrations, conflicts or disorders, the person or group becomes anxious, fearful and hostile.

Conflict and violence are bred from too much self assertion and frustration, and self assertion and frustration are bred from social values of competition and superiority of man over nature and over other men.

Now it is no good saying co-operation and mutuality are our social values because we are a Christian nation. They are not.

The values of co-operation and brotherhood are not central to Christian preaching, and Christians cannot claim to practise them more than other people.

Co-operation and brotherhood are of importance to socialism as they are to Christianity but neither can socialists claim to practise them more than other people.

In both cases co-operation tends to be reserved for the good and the few, or postponed until the ultimate day of revolution.

Co-operation

In such circumstances It is hardly likely that cooperation will be any better among the good and the few, or on and after the great day.

I do not believe we can afford not to preach co-operation, nor can we afford not to work out ways of putting it into practice right here and now.

It is true that Australia is a class society, a divided society. The divisions which are most significant are those between workers and employers and those between city and country, between immigrants and Australians, between Queenslanders and southerners, between West Australians and easterners.

There are others but the important divisions are based on objective and historical facts which are real and difficult to remove. They are impossible ignore.

It is not only the Australian society that has divisions of significance. Every capitalist country does and it is clear that the countries which have had revolutions — China, Russia, Yugoslavia and the rest — all have divisions too. History breeds them and nothing can remove them quickly.

To those who attack co-operation as collaboration and argue that nothing can be achieved by co-operation and assert that capitalism must be destroyed, I say — you will achieve nothing but perpetual conflict and violence.

If society is to be better, if it is to be co-operative, if it is to be socialist, we must start now to establish co-operative and socialist values and practices.

Those who have no influence must begin to discover that it is obtained through co-operation. They must not hold back waiting for so-called “control” or they will never do anything. They must participate, even if it is only in a small way.

But nothing can be achieved unless the right social values are held on to firmly.

Economic growth has eliminated poverty for millions of people and although economic growth is essential for the world and hardly less for Australia, economic growth in a money dominated, acquisitive society is not enough.

We must become determined to have no more slums and ghettos, no more factories which grind out frustration no less than they pour out pollution.

It must be possible for workers’ children to attend schools and live in homes which give them a chance to gain equality of tertiary education along with the children of managers and professionals who may have a huge advantage.

People's requirements must be the test of what we do, not only profits or comparative costs. Life is a matter of priorities.

There is nothing that one can do that does not relate to values and human priorities. Morality is a word that covers all the ways in which one person's behaviour affects others.

To know what is morally right needs understanding of people and compassion for people. I believe that those on the Left have a good record in morality.

Almost everything that has been for the welfare of people has been first raised on the banners and fought for by people of the Left. Most of it has been resisted by people of the Right until it could be resisted no longer.

Now let me clear up this terminology of Right and Left.

Revolution

It came to be used first in the French Revolution — when those who wanted to open up and free social life and power in Paris were on the Left and those who wanted to stop change and enforce discipline were on the Right.

Sometimes those on the Left will act selfishly and irresponsibly. Sometimes those on the Right exercise a good steady influence.

But my point is valid. It is from the Left, who represent and understand the poor, that progress is formulated and carried forward, and it is from the Right — those who represent the reactionaries and who have little sympathy or understanding for those in need — who resist progress.

Aware of the problems of change, there are people who exaggerate the speed and strength of change and fail to see that change generally enlarges the whole range of opportunity.

They do not see that the drug culture along with the sub-cultures of pornography, violence and crime, are an outcome of a money dominated society with bad priorities

Falling to see this, many people do not believe in social reform. And they often have an extraordinary degree of self-righteousness for they are really claiming that they have a special ability to know what is right and wrong.

We must not allow those who are inclined to repress and punish, whether here or, for instance, in the Soviet Union or elsewhere, to get away with this extraordinary degree of self-righteousness.

What we need in Australia, and we must be mainly concerned about Australia, is not repression but to ensure that social problems have social remedies.

We need reform not repression and compassion not castigation. Yet, at the same time, we need people who are prepared to stand for what they believe in and against apathy and double talk.

I think Australia, under this Government's policy of participating government at all levels, has a good chance being unique, in that it will make the right decisions to a produce forward-looking country.