

4. The result of emphasizing this possibility will neither weaken the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie nor lull them.

5. Nor will such emphasis make the social democratic parties any more revolutionary.

6. Nor will such emphasis make Communist Parties grow any stronger. On the contrary, if some Communist Parties should as a result obscure their revolutionary features and thus become confused with the social democratic parties in the eyes of the people, they would only be weakened.

7. It is very hard to accumulate strength and prepare for the revolution, and after all parliamentary struggle is easy in comparison. We must fully utilize the parliamentary form of struggle, but its role is limited. What is most important is to proceed with the hard work of accumulating revolutionary strength.

III. To obtain a majority in parliament is not the same as smashing the old state machinery (chiefly the armed forces) and establishing new state machinery (chiefly the armed forces). Unless the military-bureaucratic state machinery of the bourgeoisie is smashed, a parliamentary majority for the proletariat and their reliable allies will either be impossible (because the bourgeoisie will amend the constitution whenever necessary in order to facilitate the consolidation of their dictatorship) or undependable (for instance, elections may be declared null and void, the Communist Party may be outlawed, parliament may be dissolved, etc.).

IV. Peaceful transition to socialism should not be interpreted in such a way as solely to mean transition through a parliamentary majority. The main question is that of the state machinery. In the 1870s, Marx was of the opinion that there was a possibility of achieving socialism in Britain by peaceful means, because "at that time England was a country in which militarism and bureaucracy were less

pronounced than in any other." For a period after the February Revolution, Lenin hoped that through "all power to the Soviets" the revolution would develop peacefully and triumph, because at that time "the arms were in the hands of the people." Neither Marx nor Lenin meant that peaceful transition could be realized by using the old state machinery. Lenin repeatedly elaborated on the famous saying of Marx and Engels, "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes."

V. The social democratic parties are not parties of socialism. With the exception of certain Left wings, they are parties serving the bourgeoisie and capitalism. They are a variant of bourgeois political parties. On the question of socialist revolution, our position is fundamentally different from that of the social democratic parties. This distinction must not be obscured. To obscure this distinction only helps the leaders of the social democratic parties to deceive the masses and hinders us from winning the masses away from the influence of the social democratic parties. However, it is unquestionably very important to strengthen our work with respect to the social democratic parties and strive to establish a united front with their Left and middle groups.

VI. Such is our understanding of this question. We do hold differing views on this question, but out of various considerations we did not state our views after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since a joint declaration is to be issued, we must now explain our views. However, this need not prevent us from attaining common language in the draft declaration. In order to show a connection between the formulation of this question in the draft declaration and the formulation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we agree to take the draft put forward today by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a basis, while proposing amendments in certain places.

International Communist Movement

Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) Founded

DETERMINED to repudiate revisionist leadership, the Australian Marxist-Leninists have formed the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). This was announced by *Vanguard* (published by the Australian Marxist-Leninists) on March 24. (For full text of the statement see p.24.)

In the same issue, the newspaper carried a commentary denouncing Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey for their betrayal of the communist cause and for serving U.S. imperialism.

The commentary says: "A momentous decision was made when the Australian Communists recently repudiated Messrs. Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey as com-

munist leaders and decided to carry forward the best traditions of the Australian communist and working-class movement under the name of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

"Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey have deserted the cause of communism altogether. They have become revisionists, that is, they have stripped the revolutionary essence from Marxism-Leninism.

"At the very moment when the main content of our times is the transition to socialism, these gentlemen assert that socialism will not be achieved for one hundred years or more. At the very moment of crisis of imperialism when the main imperialist — U.S. im-

Australian Marxist-Leninists' Statement

Australian Marxist-Leninists have recently met in conference. After full discussion, the conference decided to repudiate the leadership of Messrs. Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey and to reconstitute the Australian communist movement under the name of Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). The documents of the conference (including the Party programme) will be published. The conference elected a central committee which elected as office bearers E.F. Hill (Chairman), P. Malone and C.L. O'Shea (Vice-Chairmen), and F. Johnson (Secretary). The newspaper *Vanguard* and the journal *Australian Communist* will publish the material of the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.).

(signed) E.F. Hill, P. Malone,
C.L. O'Shea, F. Johnson.

perialism — is being defeated all over the world in its policies, its armed aggression against other countries and in every other way, these gentlemen play down the struggle against U.S. imperialism." The commentary adds that they support India backed as it is by U.S. imperialism in its attack on socialist China. They decry anyone who lifts up the banner of struggle against U.S. imperialism as repeating 'well-known truths' and being concerned only with wordy denunciations of imperialism and so on.

"They speak of significant relaxation of international tension at the very moment when U.S. imperialism is waging aggressive war in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, menacing Cyprus, operating its innumerable military bases throughout the world, spending record amounts on armaments.

"In other words, in the very terms of communism they serve U.S. imperialism, the very thing that imperialists need, the revisionists provide."

The commentary goes on to say: These gentlemen have repudiated Marxism-Leninism. They frown on anyone who even quotes Marx, Engels or Lenin, and say that it is phrase-mongering or it is abstract or it is not reality and that times have changed since Marx, Engels and Lenin wrote.

"They have publicly taken the initiative in attacking the Communist Parties of Albania and China despite the assertion in the 81 Parties Statement in its characterization of Yugoslav revisionism and its estimate that the main danger in the working-class movement is revisionism (capitalist ideas). In line with that, in Australia they have pursued a policy of holding back the working-class struggle."

"Instead of developing struggle and appropriate criticism of the reformist policy of containing the working class, they have become part of it in the interests of the so-called struggle against sectarianism, Leftism," the commentary says. "They thus help the monopoly capitalists."

"In the peace bodies, they have followed a policy of splitting and dividing, leading such bodies into purely pacifist channels, talking about peace in general and not the specific concrete struggle against the particular acts and threatened acts of aggression in the world today initiated above all by U.S. imperialism.

"On the all-important agrarian problem in Australia, they have long since abandoned a scientific socialist standpoint of basing themselves on the rural working class and small farmers. On the day-to-day questions of education, housing, roads, hospitals, they fail either to develop struggle or advance the socialist solution of these problems.

"They have destroyed the concept of organization of the Marxist-Leninist party — the Communist Party. They have attempted to use the very principles of organization of the Communist Party to attack Marxism-Leninism. Thus in the name of 'democratic centralism' and 'unity of the Party' and 'majority decision,' they have attempted to impose their anti-Marxist-Leninist policy on Marxist-Leninists and the Australian working class.

"But when Marxism-Leninism itself has been abandoned so has democratic centralism and all the other principles of Party organization. When Marxism-Leninism has been abandoned, the Communist Party has ceased to be a Communist Party except in name. It is the bounden duty of Marxist-Leninists to uphold Marxism-Leninism, the principles of scientific socialism. Marxism-Leninism is all powerful because it is true."

The Communist Party of Australia (M.L.), the commentary stresses, has formulated a programme for Australia's advance to socialism in strict accord with the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. It takes its place alongside the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties of other countries. "Every advanced worker will evaluate the relative merits and demerits of Messrs. Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey as against the Communist Party of Australia (M.L.). We fear no debate, no abuse. Our position is all powerful because it is in accord with Marxism-Leninism, it is true. No allegation or accusation of splitting or being renegades no matter how often it is repeated can be sustained; on the contrary, it will help people to appraise the situation.

"Messrs. Aarons, Dixon and Sharkey have split from Marxism-Leninism, that is the real question. The Communist Party of Australia (M.L.), on the contrary, adheres to Marxism-Leninism. Who, then, are the real splitters? No lies, slanders, provocations, diversions can prevent the triumphant advance of the Australian working class to socialism."