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# DISCUSSION BULLETIN

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PLUS THE DEBATE ;

REJECT THE THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS ! (14 PAGES)

VERSUS

REJECT THE THEORY OF POMPOUS PHRASE MONGERING ( 19 PAGES)

STOP PRESS: LATEST NEWS FROM CHINA : TENG HSIAO PING HAS  
POSTHUMOUSLY REHABILITATED GHENGHIS KHAN. EF HILL SAYS:  
"A QUESTION FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE TO DECIDE"

DISCUSSION BULLETIN is published approximately once every six weeks by the Red Eureka Movement as a public forum for thrashing out the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete problems of the Australian revolution.

Material from non-members is welcome and all correspondence addressed to us care of the After Hours Books (address below) will be answered. Financial assistance and assistance distributing bulk copies of this bulletin to others would also be very welcome.

Individual articles are the views of the contributor. Signed articles use pseudonyms. Editorial comments are the views of the Editorial Committee and are not necessarily REM policy.

Policy statements are made formally by the REM Executive or membership and will be signed as such in this bulletin.

Articles hostile to REM policy and Mao Tsetung Thought may also be published in this bulletin.

The RED EUREKA MOVEMENT is a small revolutionary organisation that arose from opposition to revisionist attacks by leaders of the CPA(ML) on Mao Tsetung's close comrades, the Chinese "gang of four", and generally opposes the revisionist line of the CPA(ML) leadership including its bourgeois nationalism, extreme sectarianism, subservience to Chinese revisionism and outright opposition to socialist revolution in Australia.

Our stand is to defend the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tsetung Thought against the new revisionist attacks on them in China, Australia and throughout the world.

We oppose both Chinese and Albanian revisionism and reject the tendency towards "left wing communism" prevalent among many opponents of the latest revisionism.

We support the concept of "three worlds" and the united front of all forces that can be united against Soviet social imperialism, which has become more dangerous, although not more powerful, than US imperialism.

Within Australia US Imperialism is the greater enemy .

We are not, and do not pretend to be, a new vanguard party of the workingclass, nor do we pretend to have all the answers.

We believe that overcoming sectarianism is central to building a genuinely revolutionary movement in Australia and is a major contribution of Mao Tsetung Thought or "Maoism".

Our basic program is the complete overthrow of all exploiting classes, the establishment of working class rule (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in place of capitalist class rule (the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) and the triumph of socialism over capitalism.

Our ultimate aim is the classless society of world communism. This is a process of continuing revolution by stages and the fight for Australian independence is part of that uninterrupted revolution.

We believe in armed revolution.

AFTER HOURS BOOKS is a political bookshop operated by the Movement for Independence and Socialism at 118 Hoddle St., Abbotsford 3067, Victoria, Australia and open from 5pm to 9pm Mondays to Fridays and 9am to 5pm on weekends. A wide range of Australian and overseas ML and "ML" publications are available, including all publications of the Red Eureka Movement .

Stop press: Late messages .

1. 'Vanguard' sendup

REM will be producing a send up issue of 'Vanguard' and other super-patriotic publications over the coming Xmas holidays . We want you to write contributions along the lines of :

\* Unintentionally funny reprints from 'Vanguard'.  
Eg. EF Hill on the womens question, or, how I discovered how much I had in common with the DLP voters down the road .

\* The media supported conspiracy behind the insidious promotion of polar bears (and other bears) and the downgrading of patriotic symbols like the Eagle . Wake up Australia !

\* Book review of Mao's recently discovered autobiography : "I slept with a KMT agent for 40 years".

\* If these don't inspire you then buy a recent copy of 'Vanguard'.

An article will be published in DB 8 called "How to write for the patriotic press" on this theme .

Meanwhile please start sending your contributions , including short notes and ideas, now .

2. The Editorial Board would appreciate more detailed help from the Executive for preparation of an Overseas order form for Discussion Bulletin .

3. Our Subscription rates have increased as shown below . Our previous charges were not in line with postal charges . Discussion Bulletin is produced at cost, that is, if we sold every copy we would only break even .

Subscriptions and copies of 'Discussion Bulletin' are available from After Hours Bookshop

118 Hoddle St.,

Abbotsford, Victoria, Australia 3067 .

Individual copies ..... 30 cents + 45 cents postage

Subscriptions ( 10 issues ) ..... \$ 7.50 including postage .

Contributed articles to 'Discussion Bulletin' can be sent to the same address.

Donations to help cover costs are naturally welcome .

REM EXECUTIVE STATEMENT :

A formal reply from the Red Eureka Movement Executive was requested to the article "Party Building is Important" in Discussion Bulletin No. 6. Two draft replies were both approved by the Executive, "Playing Tin Soldiers is Not Important" and "Party Building is Bullshit" which appears below :

PARTY BUILDING IS BULLSHIT : ( 3 October, 1979 )

According to "Party Building is Important", the Red Eureka Movement cannot become a Communist Party :

"...until we develop a political program on key questions of the day..."

"Before we can draft a program we have to do a proper analysis and we have to get organised".

Thus we need to get organised so that we can do a proper analysis and draft a program so we can become a Party.

The REM Executive disagrees strongly with this view.

A political party is basically "a group of persons organised for the purposes of directing the policies of a government" (Websters 7th New Collegiate Dictionary).

A Leninist Communist Party is the advanced, organised detachment of the working class, the highest form of its class organisation, the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat and so on ( Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism" ).

It is absurd and pathetic that in most Western countries today there are groups, small or "large" (relatively speaking) who have got themselves organised (some quite efficiently organised, judging from their publications), made an analysis, drafted a program, and proclaimed themselves to be the new vanguard revolutionary party of the proletariat in their country.

These groups then spend a substantial amount of their energy proving that the other dozen or so competing vanguard parties are really phony (often very successfully). Any energy left over is spent "immersing oneself among the masses", leading Economist struggles against the employers and the Government.

These people are quite clearly not organised for the purpose of directing the policies of any kind of Government, let alone being the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so directing the policies of a proletarian revolutionary Government. Indeed the proletariat is generally quite unaware of their existence. Some of these "parties" appeared to be organised because of the inner needs for self expression of their members and leaders - just as other people express their creativity by joining amateur theatrical groups and so forth.

As for the Red Eureka Movement, even fully equipped with an organisation, an analysis and a program, we could not be a political party. If we were invited to direct the policies of a Government and did not have to first lead a proletarian revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie, we would still be unable to accept the invitation. We don't even have enough active members to provide one for each Ministry.

Essentially REM is a circle . This does not refer to our tendency to go round and round chasing ourselves, but is based on Lenin's definition :

"...the circles, i.e. close-knit, exclusive groups uniting a very small number of people and nearly always based on personal friendship, were a necessary stage in the development of the workers movement in Russia. As the movement grew, it was confronted with the necessity of uniting these circles, forming strong links between them, and establishing continuity ..."  
( Collected Works, vol 1, p. 105 )

Other circles will develop and it will become important to build them into a united party. But it is clearly bullshit to imagine that we are the embryo of that party already, when in fact we are a "close knit, exclusive group uniting a very small number of people ... based on personal friendship".

Although we don't want to remain a propaganda circle and we do want to build a revolutionary party, our task right now is to build our propaganda circle as

well as we can.

"As long as the question was (and in so far as it still is) one of winning over the vanguard of the proletariat to Communism, so long, and to that extent, propaganda was in the forefront; even propaganda circles, with all the defects of the circle spirit, are useful under these conditions and produce fruitful results." (Left Wing Communism... , Peking 1965, p.98)

Even when we have become larger and better organised than most of the sects that call themselves "parties" these days, we will still be a propaganda circle, although by then party building may be on the agenda.

In the meantime we can certainly agree that we ought to be better organised. One doesn't need to be a Leninist to believe in getting organised and the Mensheviks, not to mention many amateur theatrical societies, could be a lot better organised than REM . We should indeed get organised, and the comrades responsible for the 'Discussion Bulletin' have made a most valuable contribution towards doing so.

For the immediate future, getting organised must centre around publishing and distributing this bulletin, at least every 6 weeks, as suggested in the article.

This obviously fits in together with making a proper analysis and developing a draft program, since articles in the bulletin will presumably try to do so. It also includes polemics against the CPA(ML) leadership. More importantly it includes organising to get our material both to the people who have been influenced by that leadership and may now be starting to wake up, and also getting out to other revolutionaries and receiving material from them .

But it would be pompous to call getting our circle organised and promoting its publications, by the grandiose title of "Party Building". Also its wrong to say that "Study of Party Building" is a major task.

If people want to write articles on their study of party building for the bulletin, that's fine. Only if the rest of us agree with those articles will you find us joining. We cannot be compelled to do so in advance, and we have been through too many such "studies" and have seen too much bullshit about it in the past to be initially attracted to what looks like more of the same.

If people are going to "Study Party Building" we would recommend Lenin's book "What Is To Be Done ?" as a good beginning, better than the other three listed. This describes the "third period" in the Russian revolutionary movement as one involving "disunity, dissolution and vacillation". In answer to the question "What is to be done ?" Lenin did not say "Study Party Building", but "Liquidate the third period !"

Lenin's concrete plan was to liquidate this period by establishing a firm organisation around a revolutionary newspaper. Obviously the focus we have all agreed on around this bulletin is in no way inconsistent with Lenin's approach to party building, and is a necessary preliminary to it .

Additional calls to "get organised", let alone calls to "Study Getting Organised" will not help in the slightest. As we do get organised, those who don't want to be organised will no doubt drop out or be pushed out, but that is not the main problem at present.

While the Executive must accept responsibility for REM being disorganised, it does not follow that this is due to Menshevism or that the answer includes "Study of Party Building".

We are all agreed on the need to get organised and on the bulletin being the vehicle to do that at present. Everybody will welcome realistic concrete proposals for strengthening this organisation. Our only real disagreement is whether this can be called "party building".

So lets continue getting on with it !

REM EXECUTIVE

## PLAYING TIN SOLDIERS IS NOT IMPORTANT.

The article in Discussion Bulletin No.6, "Party Building is Important", draws attention to the slackness and disorganisation which exist in REM, in particular the failure to carry out prior decisions. A perfectly valid criticism. At least some of the cases that were a cause of concern are being rectified to some extent.

The article also quite correctly points to the need to develop our political line. On this question some small progress is being made through the recent establishment of regular political discussion and the formal study of economics by some people. The greater circulation of ideas through the Discussion Bulletin will also help things along.

The references listed at the end of the article plus the Lenin quote cited all strongly emphasize the need to fight petit-bourgeois tendencies towards disintegration and disorganisation, and the need to build an effective machine along democratic centralist lines. This is quite relevant to our present position.

Where disagreements do emerge, however, is on the notion of party building as such. We are a tiny group, with no sign of becoming in the immediate future, a sizeable or influential force. Seeing ourselves as the advanced or organised detachment of the working class seems rather unreal, given the above plus our lack of political line and limited prowess in providing leadership.

It is important that we do not get dressed up in full kit and end up only playing with tin soldiers. Looking at the tiny groups around the world that describe themselves as parties, tin soldiers take such forms as unreadable or useless "newspapers", phrasemongering impersonations of a political program and posturing in place of class leadership; all this in enclosed isolation from the real world.

Party building in one lounge room can be the source of the most childish delusions and a real sectarian block to forging links with other advanced elements, or anyone else for that matter. Leninist parties are mass parties, anything less are propaganda circles.

Moreover it is possibly wrong to see the party as growing out of REM. There is no necessary reason for believing that the people who would jell into a party would not come from a number of areas.

Leninist organisation and discipline by all means, but lets avoid silly games.

MESSAGES .

1. The comment from Tom Bell on the letter from India in 'Discussion Bulletin' no. 6 was an individual view and has not been endorsed by the REM Executive as an official policy statement from REM.

2. The following motion was recently passed at a REM General Meeting :

"That following the publication of DB 7 REM make a concerted effort to resolve the continuing controversy on the 3 worlds question. That the Executive take responsibility for this and set up a working group to update the policy which would describe the Albanian line as revisionist. This issue should not be allowed to dominate REM work but nor should it remain unresolved. That the working group also look into the Vietnam-Kampuchea question and make recommendations."

3. Can Executive pass on other motions suitable for publication in 'Messages'.

4. We have been expecting an article to arrive on Piece Work (and China ?). It hasn't. Why not ?

5. The list of "Some Suggested Reading in Political Economy" published in DB 6 included an "Introduction to Marxism" by Emile Burns as well as the "Theory of Capitalist Development" by Paul Sweezy. Although neither of these works can be considered Marxist-Leninist, we don't have critiques of them available. However anyone interested can obtain a photocopy of some 10 pages of critical notes on another related pamphlet by Emile Burns : "Money ! A Marxist Interpretation of Money and its Function Under Capitalism and Socialism", for \$ 2 from the Editor of this Bulletin.

Also the Shanghai book "Fundamentals of Political Economy" is substantially better than Leontiev's "Political Economy, A Beginner's Course" (its translated by the International Arts and Sciences Press in Chinese Economic Studies Vol. VIII No. 4.

6. We want to print more articles about real struggles in the real world. For example, the next DB will carry some material summing up the struggle at radio 3 CR in Melbourne . Other calls that we have made such as the summing up of the recent teachers struggle in Melbourne have not been answered so far .

Lets face it. Giving piddly little reminders in 'Messages' won't have much effect . Its up to you REM heavies that have been well trained in the old Party gestapo tactics to give these people a little "encouragement". Creative suggestions about how to force people with experience to write it down much appreciated (also tell us how to force people with no experience to stop writing).

7. We are interested in receiving further information about the collapse of the 'Worker Student Alliance for Australian Independence' newspaper 'Peoples Voice' in Adelaide .

LETTER from West Australia (extracts)

Comrade,

It is good to see the way you accepted our criticism ( this refers to REM's slackness in replying to previous correspondence: see Messages, no.2 in DB 6 -- Ed.). We believe in unity-criticism-unity, but it would seem that many so-called ML's are only interested in criticism when they are doing the criticising !! You will never know how good it "feels" to see/hear from people/groups such as yourselves who abide by Marxism/Leninism in deed and not just in words !!!

I have read with interest your bulletin no.5 and it is with deep regrets that I find I must agree with its sentiments. I say deep regrets because Ted Hill was for many years a true Marxist/Leninist. There is one small point in Hill's article that the author of the critique "never touched on" and I would be interested to hear his views on the subject ....

E.F.Hill's book ("Class struggle within the Communist Parties"), page 9 :

"He seemed to speak and write well. In fact, I praised his article on the dictatorship of the proletariat." (referring to Chang Chun-chiao).

On the same page, Hill continued : "...but I accepted him as a person who had a grasp of Marxism/Leninism and praised his article on the social basis of the Lin Piao clique. Now I think I was profoundly mistaken " (referring to Yao Wen yuan).

"If" the "Gang of 4" "did" turn bad surely that doesn't mean we should forget the good they did before turning bad ! Mao said that no matter who suggests a thing, if it will benefit the people, they would accept it !! By Hill's own admission two of the "Gang" wrote at least 2 articles which were "good enough" by his "super" knowledge of M/L's (his whole book in my belief is an ego trip) to warrant praise, yet he now says they can't/shouldn't be read !! In my very limited knowledge of the writings of Marx/Engels/Lenin/Stalin/Mao, I have never seen such a lot of hogwash. Throughout the pamphlet "The proletarian revolution and the renegade Kautsky", Lenin at the same time as he attacked (rightly so) Kautsky emphasised the correctness of his earlier writings.

This may seem a "petty thing" to the author of the critique, which I believe is excellent !! Not because I regard myself as a super revolutionary and authority of M/L's, as certain comrades do, but because it was simple to read and the conclusions he reached were based on facts and not emotions. At the same time I believe that the above is important as it is a mistake many of us have made in the past. An example was Lin Piao, who wrote some really good articles on guerilla warfare, but when he exposed himself we all (hopefully not all) discarded these valuable contributions .

I hope that you will answer the above and pass any criticism on the enclosed old literature. With fascism "staring us in the face" it is important that the true revolutionaries strive for unity, a unity based on materialist dialectics, and not a unity of subjectivism. Which it seems Comrade Hill demands !!

Yours in struggle,

ps. We are at present writing an article on the "make up" of the working class. It is hoped that you will consider printing same in your discussion bulletin ( Certainly ! -Ed.). Once again thanks for your prompt and honest reply .

Message : Can the author(s) of the critique of Hill's book reply to the points raised by the comrade for DB 8.



LETTERS (continued)

The following is a reply in DB 7 to a letter by Paul in DB 6 about the Editorial in DB 5 (it is all a cunning plot to make our readers buy back issues) :

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your letter. It has produced some deep thought and sharp discussion but not total agreement.

Of course you are right that the CPA(ML) never had the support of the masses. I'd like to explain why I made this mistake. Lazy thinking would be an accurate description. I simply copied it out of the booklet: "The Leaders of the CPSU are the greatest splitters of our time" (the 7th Reply by the CPC in the Sino-Soviet split), Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1964, which says :

" On the other hand, the celebrities and the big battalions inevitably dwindle, decline and putrefy when they lose possession of the truth and therefore lose the support of the masses. This was the case with Bernstein, Kautsky and the Second International. Everything tends to change into its opposite in particular conditions" (pp. 49-50).

You might be interested to look up the whole section, including the wrap up they give EF Hill on pp. 50-51 :

This is an explanation, not an excuse. What I did was import a foreign thing that looked good without thinking about what it really meant .

The specific points I agree with on are: (i) the one above, and (ii) it was subjective to pretend that 'The Way Forward' and opposition on the Melbourne Waterfront didn't exist (incidentally, I think 'The Way Forward' has a far worse case of stereotyped Party writing than I have).

But on part of your letter (especially the second half) I don't really see what you are getting at. If someone asks us: "Why did Hill do the dirty deed?" then what the hell are we meant to do ? We've got to answer the question. The answer I gave was selfish pride, egoism and the comforts of the left bloc. I still think its a good answer. You almost seem to be suggesting that its bad to offer leadership. At the least you don't make it clear how to offer better leadership.

I think you are wrong when you say : "the struggle against the Hillites... has hardly even started." In fact that strikes me as a pretty similar mistake to the one I made about the CPA(ML) having the support of the masses. I would say the struggle against the Hillites started 4-5 years ago when some comrades began analysis and criticism on political economy. It really got going when the 'Gang of 4' was axed and Hill began doing somersaults. True, it slowed down for a while because of the Albanian liners and our poor organisational skills. But in fact Hill's mob is now rotting away in maggotty isolation while we are slowly growing stronger. I think Brecht was right when he said : "So much has already been achieved when one man/woman stands up and says NO."

OK, I made a mistake in exaggerating how strong we are (by suggesting that the CPA(ML) had mass support and 'The Way Forward' had no support). But aren't you exaggerating how weak we are (in an equally subjective way) ? In these times we should remember what Mao said to Lin Piao's pessimism in 1930 , only 3 years after the massacre of 90% of the CCP by Chiang Kai-Shek :  
"A single spark can start a prairie fire!"

Quite frankly, I can't see anything wrong (except for the omission about the 'The Way Forward' etc. ) in the 2 paragraphs you cite for complaint ( I suggest that those interested in this controversy make a point of reading the original). You reckon its bad but you are not saying how to do it better. General remarks about the danger of "isolation from the nitty gritty world" sound great but are just not all that helpful .

Chas . . .

Letter to the Editor

19 October 1979

Dear Comrade,

1. Congratulations on getting this bulletin going again. The last issue was especially readable and regular publication should inspire people to start writing again with the feeling that it will get published and someone will be interested to read it.

2. You guessed it, that isn't why I'm writing, just a nice bit at the start to soften the blow (although I really do think its a great achievement and shows were on the way).

3. I'm writing to support Paul's letter in the last issue, especially since you showed me the draft editorial for No 5, which Paul complained about and I just said "looks good" so I share some of the blame. Since you have also shown me your reply to Paul for this issue, I would like to comment on it, even though a protracted debate might get the whole thing out of proportion.

4. I think Paul is right to take up the question of pretentiousness as a major question of principle. Its something that was cultivated to a fine art of stereotyped pretentious party writing in the CPA(ML) and some of that style still shows in your material. Pretentiousness is completely absent in Mao's writings and those of other Marxist classics and it instinctively shits most people off as soon as they see it. The CPA(ML) writing style is completely alien to most readers and even less pretentious styles are a major source of annoyance that puts people off the innumerable Australian and overseas political sects that engage in it.

5. Take the slogans on the front cover for example. Several people have independently mentioned to me how they really grate.

Slogans are useful for mass agitation - like "Bread, Peace, Land!" or "Down with Chiang Kai-shek" or "Smash Conscription!"

But what possible use is a big slogan on the cover of a "Discussion Bulletin" saying "Expose E. Hill's Revisionist Book 'Class Struggle Within the Communist Parties!'" or "Study Political Economy to Make Revolution!"?

These slogans are either an arrogant attempt to tell the reader what to think (or what to avoid reading) or (more likely) just meaningless verbiage.

It would be quite sufficient to have headlines saying "Critique of Hill's Booklet" or "Special Issue on China" and "Political Economy" or "Special Issue on Political Economy".

6. There is the same sort of pomposity in the article "Why Study Political Economy", especially the opening paragraphs.

It would have been better to just write about studying political economy in a straightforward way, without reference to REM, the "importance" we place on things, or our "very important" study groups. Who cares? Also the whole article could have been more down to earth.

7. By way of contrast, the article on the Sydney Political Economy Conference was much better because it simply said what the writer had experienced and thought about it, without pronouncing from a great height. Thats more the style we want (although stencils typed with the ribbon left on should be re-typed!)

Likewise the review of Bettelheim (although I don't agree with it).

Even the article on Party Building, which I strongly disagreed with, didn't seem to grate all that much, and "Intellectuals and the Working Class" hardly at all (except for the title, which would drive readers away in droves).

But the slogans, the editorial in number 5, and "Why Study Political Economy" really did grate on quite a few people.

8. I used to think these were just questions of individual style. But Paul's letter, and also your reply, has convinced me its pretty important.

9. Your explanation about "lazy thinking" for implying that the CPA(ML) once had the support of the masses, was an excuse, not an explanation. The words "This is an explanation, not an excuse" are always a dead cert 100% give away! "Point taken" would have been a sufficient reply.

10. Your answer to the second half of Paul's letter frankly admits that you don't really understand what he's getting at. I'm sure that's true, but it means you should have tried to find out before replying.

Paul pointed out that what you said read like a pronouncement from the "wise" leader who surveys all and knows all. Perhaps you missed the point because that isn't really the way you think at all, nevertheless, the point was made clearly enough.

This writing style arose in the CPA(ML) because the people concerned were dishonest and didn't have much to say. They covered up their dishonesty by vast doses of Liu Shao-chi Confucian style self-cultivation full of humility and self criticism. All very Christian. Others, including you and me, were taken in by this for a long time, and some of the style rubbed off, without being a product of the same dishonesty.

11. No doubt when you pronounce on what motivated Hill and also on your own reaction to your mistake, you are being perfectly honest. Nevertheless, this Christian earnestness has got to stop! It is a style of writing not found in Australian political journals but only in fairly obscure religious publications.

12. The answer you gave to "Why did Hill do the dirty deed?" was "selfish pride, egoism and the comforts of the left bloc", and you still think it's a good answer.

Personally I think it's a hopeless answer.

First, it's exactly the same sort of thing Hill would say about us, and doesn't prove a bloody thing. It couldn't possibly illuminate things for anyone still taken in by Hill since it doesn't actually explain anything but just adds to the list of crimes.

Second, when you really look at it, what does it actually mean?

Third, it avoids a much more interesting question as to why in fact we were "surprised and annoyed" about Hill.

Fourth, it's another example of the revisionist "self cultivation" line which sees the class struggle going on inside our own heads rather than being against an enemy class that represents reactionary social relations.

Rebels aren't angels (and angels aren't rebels - except for Lucifer). Sure we should oppose "selfish pride", "egoism" and so on, but if one sees that as central, the best place to do it is a monastery, not a revolutionary movement.

13. No at this stage I don't have a "better" answer, so I won't pronounce on it because it isn't necessary.

14. It's true one aspect of the struggle began 4-5 years ago when "some comrades" began analysis and criticism on political economy (even earlier, and on other issues too, as a matter of fact). But Paul is quite right to say it's "hardly even started". I think I can safely speak on behalf of all the comrades who raised issues about political economy and say without fear of contradiction that we all unanimously agree with Paul (all one of us).

Even after a couple of years of that I was more surprised when Hill denounced the "gang of 4" than when the Chinese Political Bureau majority did.

The Liberal and National Parties still have most support in Australia.

The celebrities and big battalions of the Second International who inevitably dwindled, declined and putrefied still have the next most support.

The CPA still has a lot more support than the CPA(ML).

We don't even rate yet on the fringes.

15. So let's have no pronouncements!

... Alan Ward .

Dear Alan, ( reply to letter on previous page)

You say (point 3) that "a protracted debate might get the whole thing out of proportion" in the process of writing a 2 page letter. In practice this either means that you have the last say or it gets out of proportion.

Regarding the slogans on the cover and the opening paragraphs of "Why study PE" I think you are right. Point taken .

Regarding your concrete criticisms of the original DB5 Editorial all I can say is : Point not taken ( and I hope this isn't a "dead cert. 100% give away" for some other form of insidious alleged dishonesty ).

The overall impression of your paras. 12 and 13 is a negative one, tearing down something positive and replacing it with nix.

Certainly we have to get rid of the "revisionist 'self cultivation' line which sees the class struggle going on inside our own heads rather than being against an enemy class that represents reactionary social relations "(your point 12).

Wow ! Yes, that evil stuff has gotta go.

Selfish pride, egoism and the comforts of the left bloc serves the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. In describing Khrushchev the Chinese communists described similar traits as feudal hangovers : "With his feudal psychology of self-exaltation, he has absolutely no sense of shame" (7th Reply, p.19). Well, that is not just "going on inside our own heads". Its happening right now in the real world. Mr. Hill and his fellow parrots are serving the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat .

Selfish pride, egoism etc. are class questions and it is a valid point that the Editorial could have said this more clearly,. But your solution to this is to scrap the whole lot and then say that a better answer "isn't necessary" anyway. Is that constructive ?

In addition to that you say that its a hopeless answer because : "its exactly the same sort of thing Hill would say about us" (does that mean that we can't call Hill a revisionist, because he has called us revisionist), "it doesn't prove a bloody thing", "it doesn't actually explain anything but just adds to the list of crimes", "what does it actually mean".

I still think that mine is a good answer, and that yours is a hopeless critique. The Editorial appeared in DB 5 with 2 most convincing critiques (one of which you wrote) of Hill's book that showed that Hill had run off the rails. One of the aims of the Editorial was to add to this an explanation of why he had run off the rails .

If you don't know what selfish pride , egoism etc. means then I suggest you look it up in the Dictionary. I just don't think its correct in my head but I know its correct both in my head and outside my head from my personal experience of Hill and other Party leaders .

Your third point in your 12th para. is just a debating point. If it "isn't necessary" to answer why Hill is surprised about us then what makes it necessary (from your point of view) to answer why we were surprised about him ?

Finally, I think we ought to learn to do criticism/self criticism better. In the CPA(ML) it always got lost in the sewer system ( ss or central committee). Now it becomes a bit of a new experience. I hope the readers say whether they are bored or entertained . I agree that some of your comments are valuable and the 'Discussion Bulletin' will improve as a result .

But as a confirmed Christian I got a feeling that I was being fed to the lions which contradicted my ethics of "hate the sin but love the sinner" or "cure the sickness to save the patient" .

.... Chas .

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VIETNAM'S AGGRESSION AND THOSE WHO EXCUSE IT .

Predictably, the news of mass starvation in Kampuchea has been used by supporters of Vietnam's aggression to justify that aggression.

A recent newsletter from the South Australian branch of the Australia-Vietnam Society says :

" Men, women and children are dying from starvation in tens of thousands in Kampuchea. Gruesome scenes have been reported over past days, in the 'Advertiser'

" It was to rescue the Kampuchean people from this mass extermination that the Kampuchean National Front for Salvation invited the neighbouring Vietnamese to assist them."

The newsletter goes onto say :

" The quickest way to get the food and medicine to the Kampuchean people is to send donations direct to the Vietnamese Government, which has the best distribution agencies in Kampuchea...

" Cheques may be made out to the 'AUSTRALIA-VIETNAM SOCIETY' which has the strongest links with the Vietnamese Government, and will ensure that the aid is sent quickly and directly to the suffering Kampuchean people."

In contrast to the 'Australia-Vietnam Society' let us examine the facts.

In the period 1970-75 when formally there was a united front between Prince Sihanouk's forces and Pol Pot's forces against Lon Nol a very serious food situation did develop in Kampuchea. Refugees left the countryside for Phnom Penh to escape the massive American bombing. In this period the population of Phnom Penh increased from a pre-war figure of 600,000 to a probable total of 3 millions. Lon Nol destroyed farm machinery and conscripted young males into the army causing a drop in yield on the paddy land remaining under Lon Nol's control. Rice production fell from a total of 3.8 million tons in 1969-70 to a mere 493,000 tons in 1974-75 - an 87% decline in production.

Lon Nol fell in April 1975 and Pol Pot's Government came to power. They inherited terrible conditions (conditions which they had not created) in Phnom Penh. Lon Nol's Premier, Long Boret stated on the eve of surrender that the city had enough rice for only 8 days. Transporting food to Phnom Penh was impossible because of insufficient transport and a shortage of fuel. Lack of pure water was another health hazard in the city. Medical provisions in Phnom Penh were hopelessly inadequate .

Under such conditions the now much criticised evacuation of Phnom Penh by Pol Pot's forces must have saved - not lost - many lives.

In general the conditions in Kampuchea are better than those in Vietnam for growing rice. Pol Pot announced both in 1976 and especially in 1977 a bumper rice crop and an exportable surplus. Different observers, depending on their general attitude to Pol Pot, place different weights on these claims.

There may be some doubt about Pol Pot's claims. But there is no doubt at all about the food situation inside Vietnam in the same period. Prior to their invasion of Kampuchea, Vietnam was in a famine situation. The Far Eastern Economic Review said that Vietnam was faced with the gravest food crisis in their history - a total shortfall of 4.3 million tons (following rains that had wiped out more than 2 million tons of rice). Such reports are confirmed by eye witness supporters of the Vietnam Government like "Tribune" journalist Chris Ray who said that there would be famine in Vietnam without rice lifts from the Soviet Union.

At any rate, the Vietnamese themselves estimated that a bumper harvest had been likely in Kampuchea at the end of 1978, and that only 10% had been got in before the war launched from Vietnam began. The Vietnamese estimate for 1978 was of total food production of 11 million tonnes, including 9 million paddy, although they claimed this was a shortfall of 5 million tonnes overall, or four and a half million in terms of paddy. What they were pronouncing a failure, in other words, was an actual doubling of the best crop figures of the Sihanouk years .

In January 1979 when Vietnam invaded Kampuchea none of their supporters claimed then that it was to prevent "mass extermination" by "starvation". As for the Vietnam Government they even "forgot" to mention that they had invaded another country.

As recently as 30th September 1979 the Vietnam Government itself has claimed that the threat of famine in "some areas" of Kampuchea was under control (while of course blaming it all onto Pol Pot):

"Since its founding the revolutionary administration (referring to the pro-Vietnam Heng Samrin regime) has concentrated on restoring production and stabilising the people's livelihood, with priority given to the resettlement of the population and the restoration of production, especially food production ... In some areas, however, difficulties still abound ... These areas are threatened by famine stemming from the crimes committed by the genocidal regime and its masters in Peking. The revolutionary administration, however, has taken urgent steps and has made the threat more remote." (my emphasis)  
( Hanoi Home Service, 30th Sept., 1979).

In contrast to the Vietnamese propaganda officials of the UN and the International Red Cross have recently announced that some 2,250,000 people in Kampuchea are facing starvation.

In the light of this information the claims made by Pol Pot sound quite believable. As early as May 6-7, 1979 a press communique by Khieu Samphan and Pol Pot said :

"Being stricken by poverty and famine, they (the Vietnamese) themselves can do nothing else but despoil our people. Concretely speaking, during these last 4 months, they have plundered rice and cattle of our people."

The "Voice of Democratic Kampuchea" (Pol Pot's radio) broadcast on 30th September, 1979 (on the same date that Hanoi was saying that the threat of famine in "some areas" was becoming "more remote") said :

"Millions of Kampuchean people have been starved and reduced to skin and bone."

Who has turned out to be telling the truth and who has turned out to be telling lies ?

The Australia-Vietnam Society mentions Vietnamese assistance to the so-called Kampuchean National Front for Salvation as though it were incidental. The opposite is true. The pro-Vietnam Heng Samrin regime has 3 Vietnamese advisors for every Cambodian official and ten Vietnamese military personnel for every Cambodian soldier.

Statements by the officials of the 'Australia-Vietnam Society' and the Vietnam Government cited above are clearly made by people with little or no respect for the truth. No thinking person who wants to assist the Kampuchean people should do so through the Vietnamese Government .

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OVER THE HILL AND DOWN THE DRAIN .

Recently, the "wise" leader of the Australian revolution Mr. EF Hill (Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia -Marxist-Leninist) spoke in Adelaide at a public meeting on the topic : "Contemporary China and its importance to Australia". He was invited by the Flinders Branch of the Australia-China Society. Over 100 people attended .

In retrospect two things stuck out about Hill's talk. First, it was boring and second, he was very much on the defensive.

Mr. Hill claims to be the leader of a revolutionary Party. But his speech completely lacked any revolutionary inspiration or fire. He was the personification of a tired old actor ritualistically repeating his well worn lines on the stage. But Mr. Hill's act has been running too long and the audience ( most of whom wanted to support him ) was eager for a change or at least a variation on the theme . None was forthcoming .

It was not a great surprise that Mr. Hill was backpeddling at such a great rate . The CPA(ML) leadership has tied themselves to the new leadership in China. Since the death of Mao Tsetung and the overthrow of the "Gang of 4" the reversals of China's revolutionary policies and the speed of capitalist restoration has been breathtaking. Mr. Hill announced that he had recently spent 1 month in China. Naturally, he is aware that at the recent 30th Anniversary of the founding of the Peoples Republic of China, Vice Chairman Ye Jianying, speaking on behalf of the Party Central Committee, came out openly and attacked the Cultural Revolution (for the full text of Ye Jianying's speech see Peking Review 40 , 1979). To prove their sincerity on this score China's new leaders have brought back to positions of power virtually all the capitalist roaders who were removed during the Cultural Revolution. Even China's Khrushchev, Liu Shao chi is rumoured to be back in the good books ( though posthumously apparently ).

So this puts Mr. Hill, who strongly supported and identified himself with the Cultural Revolution for a 10 year period ( 1966-76) in a bit of a dither . Any self respecting Maoist regards the Cultural Revolution as a high point in Mao Tsetung Thought . But Mr. Hill is still trying to claim that he supports both Mao and the new leaders in China. To try to achieve this impossible task he was reduced to doublethink and doublespeak and large doses of "These questions are difficult. It is up to the Chinese people to decide". Many of Mr. Hill's supporters in the audience who came along looking for some answers left very disappointed. In a word the whole performance was pathetic .

In the long discussion that followed his talk Mr. Hill faced some difficult and embarrassing questions .

The first questioner said he was amazed that Mr. Hill had attacked the Cultural Revolution and contrasted this with Mao's analysis that the Cultural Revolution was 70% good and 30% bad and that in the future many more Cultural Revolutions would be necessary. Mr. Hill did not directly answer the question but said that in "On the correct handling of contradictions amongst the people" Mao had said that "in the main the period of turbulent class struggle had come to an end". So, what Hill tried to get away with was to take a quote out of context, from the 50's, and say that this applied to the Cultural Revolution period !

The original questioner came back later and pointed out that Mao had explicitly said that there was a real danger of the rightists seizing power but that if they did "they would know no peace". Hill was then forced to admit that Mao had indeed said these things in the 60's but now it was "up to the Chinese people to decide".

Next, Mr. Hill was asked to explain the backflip by the Chinese Communist Party on their attitude to Yugoslavia. In 1962 they had said strongly that Yugoslavia was not a socialist country. But since the death of Mao they have said that Yugoslavia is socialist and described Tito as a "communist" and "comrade".



Mr. Hill's answer to this question was most interesting. He said that in the past the international communist movement had first said that Tito was a communist, then he wasn't a communist, then he was again etc. Mr. Hill claimed that he had always gone along with this arbitrary chopping and changing even though he knew very little about Yugoslavia anyway !

The questioner then pointed out that Mr. Hill's attitudes - follow the leader - hadn't changed much in relation to the present reversals and capitalist restoration in China. This annoyed some of Hill's supporters in the audience who told the questioner to "Go home" . Scratch a parrot ... and you get some birdshit .

But Mr. Hill should be reminded that he once did swim against the tide. He did side with the revolutionaries in the Sino-Soviet split . He was attacked and vilified by the then other leaders of the CPA for sticking to his guns . This struggle resulted in the formation of the CPA(ML) in the 1960's . Mr. Hill has not always been a blind follower in international struggles as he now claims he was .

Surely this is proof that this was not the real Mr. Hill on the stage at all but a poor paper mache impersonation. The real Mr. Hill, the one we remember as having the courage to swim against the tide, is probably rotting away in a prison cell in China with the illustrious Gang of 4 .

The next questioner asked Mr. Hill abruptly : "What is it that makes you think the dictatorship of the proletariat still exists in China ?" Mr. Hill claimed that he had answered this in his talk . If he had then no one had noticed ,

Next, Mr. Hill was asked about the reintroduction of sexist advertising techniques in China (as displayed in 'China Pictorial' 8. 1979). This type of thing was never seen in China in the 10 years following the Cultural Revolution . Didn't Mr. Hill think it was a great leap backward ? Mr. Hill was forced to admit - though unhappily - that he didn't agree with every - thing happening in China .

Another questioner commented that Mr. Hill seemed reluctant to definitely commit himself on matters concerning countries overseas and contrasted this with 'Vanguard' which seemed to make dogmatic and unsubstantiated statements on all sorts of questions .

In general, Mr. Hill's answers to all the questions were vague and unsatisfactory. Not only to his opponents in the audience, but also his supporters .

We would like to encourage Mr. Hill to speak more at public meetings .

UPHILL .

An open letter to all those people who went to the recent meeting on China addressed by Ted Hill and organised by the Australia - China Society : -

Do you still think China is a socialist country ? If so, how can you justify the changes in political line that have occurred amongst "Marxist-Leninists" over the last few years ?

Do you remember when we used to believe, along with Chairman Mao, that the Cultural Revolution was basically good but that mistakes had inevitably been made ? How did it strike you at the meeting to hear that the Cultural Revolution did a tremendous amount of harm and that about the only good thing that came out of it was that it introduced a generation of people OUTSIDE China to Marxism ? No doubt people are entitled to change their opinion on things but do you think it is honest of people to disagree with Mao Tsetung's judgement on these things and then say, as Ted Hill does, that they still follow his line ?

Did it surprise you to hear that according to the present Chinese leadership and Ted Hill, large scale class struggles like the Cultural Revolution are a thing of the past ? Do you remember that Mao declared that there would be a need for many more Cultural Revolutions ? How can people who disagree with Mao's judgement on this still say that they are following his line ? Have you thought through the implications of these statements by Hill and the Chinese leadership ? Because what it means is that class struggle in China is "dying out". It means that there is no longer a capitalist class to be fought against . Doesn't this remind you of what Khrushchev said a long time ago about Russia when he declared that the Soviet Union was a state of the whole people and that class struggle was dying out ? Haven't we come to the conclusion that such talk is a sure sign of revisionism, that it is a cover under which the capitalist elements can worm their way into power ? And was not Ted Hill one of the most outspoken opponents of such talk when it came from the Russians ? What is happening now when the same garbage is coming from China ? Whereas in the early sixties Hill led the break away from the old Communist Party today he does nothing but parrot the garbage himself.

On top of that, do you recall how evasive Hill was when he was asked a question on this point . Don't you think it dishonest to attempt to justify statements about there being no need for further Cultural Revolutions by going back to something Mao said in the fifties referring to the "large scale class struggles" of the civil war period long before the Cultural Revolution ?

Why is it necessary for Hill to become something of an agnostic when questions on Yugoslavia are asked ? Why does he have to say that really he knows nothing about Yugoslavia and that when the trend in the international communist movement was to criticise Tito he went along with that, and when it was favourable to Tito he went along with that ? Is it possible that at a time when Hill was actively swimming against the tide of Russian revisionism and when the question of Yugoslavia was a major part of the debate, Hill chose to swim with the tide on this one question ?

Don't you think it is a sad sight to see a man crawling on the floor in his efforts to denounce his past which is in fact a record for standing up for the truth ? There is no doubt that you who were there realised that Hill's performance on Yugoslavia was pathetic . Why else did one of you jump up to assure Hill that he did not have to talk about Yugoslavia. That person told Hill that he had come to talk about China's relevance to Australia and China's attitude to Yugoslavia did not come into it. But that same person did not complain when Hill talked at length about China's attitude to the three worlds. Or are we to take it that Yugoslavia is not part of any of the three worlds and is in a special category of its own ?(\* footnote)

In fact China's attitude to Yugoslavia is important. If we believe that Yugoslavia is revisionist, and the Chinese call them comrades, doesn't that say something about the Chinese . And doesn't it also say something about those who follow blindly, or so they tell us, in the Chinese footsteps .

People, why don't you wake up ? Don't you remember when we used to blast the Soviet Union for allowing in foreign investors ? Didn't we say that it showed that they weren't socialist ? Why is it that now its alright for the Chinese to do it ? Don't you remember how we laughed when the Soviets let Pepsi -Cola in ? Why aren't we laughing now when the Chinese let Coca-Cola in ? Ted Hill tells us that it is only being sold to foreigners and only in order to bring in Hard cash . Surely, this is an admission that the profit motive is in command in China ? After all why did the Russians let Pepsi-Cola in if not to get a bit of hard cash ? Why do the Yanks invest in Australia if not to bring in a bit of hard cash ?

Why did we attack the Russians over the type of stuff that was appearing in their magazines ? Why don't we now see it as significant that advertisements are appearing in Chinese magazines, and sexist ones at that. Havn't we been told that advertising is a capitalist phenomenon ?

Open your eyes, see what is happening around you and realise the significance of it .

Down with Hill !

- if this article offends anyone then remember there is nothing worse than a reformed smoker .

\* Footnote :

The significance of China's new relationship with Yugoslavia for communists and workers in Australia becomes clear when we examine Yugoslavia's workers self management system.

This is a system of deception in which some workers have some say in running the factories but have no say (or as much say as the workers in Australia) in running the State, the Government or the Army. This form of capitalism is described in detail in the booklet : "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country ?" ( 3 rd. Reply in the Sino-Soviet split), Peking 1963 and we recommend it.

In the 1970's in some Yugoslav factories the illusion of participation by the workers has worn very thin indeed. Fortune magazine, Jan. 1972, ran an article "A Socialist Enterprise that acts like a fierce capitalist competitor". They described the giant enterprise, Energoinvest, in Sarajevo , which employs American management consultants at high fees and management power very similar to Western enterprises ( including hire and fire of workers ). Pay rates at Energoinvest are determined by education, seniority and functions, so that the wage differentials between lowest and highest paid workers are claimed to be comparable to the wage differentials in America.

Prominent trade union officials in South Australia (like Ted Gnatenko of the AMMSU ) eulogise Yugoslavia and promote ideas of 'workers control' consistent with the Yugoslav system here .

Energoinvest sounds like capitalism to us and promoting it in Australia as "communism" (as Peking Review does) sounds like revisionism to us . An article in Peking Review 12, 1978 ( a year and a half ago ), p. 41 was full of praise of Energoinvest. On this question they saw eye to eye with Fortune , America's Business magazine .

If the worker who wanted to shield Mr. Hill on Yugoslavia wants to use the pages of Discussion Bulletin to demonstrate that Yugoslavia is ' socialist or that it is irrelevant to Australia then he is welcome to try . If he is not prepared to put up then we suggest he shuts up .

Tito's firm stand against Soviet imperialism should be warmly welcomed, just as Churchill's stand against Hitler was and Chiang Kai shek stand against Japan was . But anyone who tries to kid us that Tito was a communist is talking through their hat . The time bomb that Mao left in 1963 has exploded in the face of the new revisionists .

- Editorial note .

STATISTICS ON WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE

12 October 1979

According to "Women in the Present Economic Crisis" (Discussion Bulletin 6), women aren't a "reserve army" drawn into employment during booms and pushed out again during recessions. Rather male labour is pushed out in recessions while women are actually drawn in as a cheap substitute. Also cheaper and less unionized part-time and casual female labour replaces full-time male labour.

The call to "fight" this "use of the labour of women in depressions" is ambiguous and could very easily be interpreted as meaning that male "breadwinners" jobs should be protected by opposing female employment, and not as a call for increased womens' wages. That view is still very widespread among even militant trade unionists, and is strongly promoted by the mass media talking about "women taking away men's jobs" etc.

The figures quoted for male and female unemployment seem to bear out the article's conclusions. But they involve a basic fallacy in only considering "unemployment" and not examining the movement of women into and out of the "labor force". The distinct role played by women as a special part of the "reserve army" rests precisely on the fact that many women are not "breadwinners" and can therefore be drawn into the "labor force" or pushed out of it, according to the needs of capital, with less disruption than their husbands who, as "breadwinners," are always in the labor force and either "employed" or "unemployed". A woman who decides to become or remain a housewife because there are no sufficiently attractive jobs, is not "unemployed" once she has given up looking for work. She is simply "not in the labor force", so to investigate this phenomena one has to look up labor force statistics and not just unemployment statistics.

I haven't checked the references given in the article, or made a proper analysis myself from the very detailed statistics that are available, stretching over many years. But I would just like to quote a few figures comparing the situation over the two year period from November 1975 to November 1977, which seem to indicate that women do play a special role in the "reserve army" available for exploitation when required by capital. The page references below are from the "1977 Labour Statistics" (\$2.75 and well worth having - Catalog Number 6101.0 from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, 78 8406 6 from the Australian Government Publishing Service).

Naturally these figures do not settle the issue, and a proper analysis would require an investigation of the statistical sources themselves, and a much longer time span, including a comparison with previous recessions, and also an investigation of the extent to which the role of women in the labor force is changing as a higher proportion become "breadwinners". Nevertheless, I think the facts below are sufficient to contradict those quoted in the article.

First, total unemployment increased over these two years by 32,900 for males, but only 3,800 for females (p11). This certainly suggests that males were harder hit by the recession than females, and would be consistent with a tendency for women workers to replace men, while the number of jobs for both was not increasing as fast as the number of applicants.

But in fact there was a (slight) net displacement of female labour (p17) by male labour in this period. The aggregate weekly hours worked by all males rose by 1.2 million from 157.9 to 159.1 million hours per week, while the work done by females fell by 1.1 million hours from 65.3 to 64.2 million hours per week. If there really was a "fixed" amount of work to be done, with men and women competing to do it, then one would have to say that men took away women's jobs rather than the other way round. This is an important statistic, which should be carefully studied and publicized, since it completely refutes the attacks on women workers in the mass media. (A graph over a longer period would need to be prepared).

How does this contradictory situation arise? Simply because the "labor force" varies as well as "unemployment".

During the same period that male unemployment rose faster than female unemployment, the number of males "not in the labor force" rose by 105,000 (p11) while the number of females rose by 159,600. Part of this increase would just be a natural increase in the number of retired people and students and other dependents as the population increases. But most of it would be part of the latent reserve army - people who retired earlier, or stayed at school longer, or in the case of women decided to become or remain housewives, because they couldn't find jobs.

Combining the figures for unemployment and "not in the labor force" together, we have an increase of 137,900 for men, and 163,400 for women, which suggests that substantially more women than men were pushed out of employment in this period.

The discrepancy is larger than it might appear because it includes a reversal of the previous strong tendency for an increasing female labor force participation rate throughout the long post-war boom (and when male participation rates were slightly declining due to longer education and earlier retirement etc.). Thus a tendency to soak up the latent "reserve army" of women by drawing them into the labor force during the boom, is being replaced by a tendency to recreate this reserve by pushing them out of the labor force during the recession (where they would be available to be drawn in again during the next boom). This is the classic picture of a "reserve army". Total male employment increased by 32,000 in these two years (much less than the population growth) while female employment increased even less - by only 18,700. The decline of 1.4% in the male labor force participation rate from 80.7% to 79.3% was only a slight acceleration of the existing trend, while the decline of 1.2% in the female labor force participation rate from 45% to 43.8% was a dramatic reversal of - a trend which had increased the female participation rate from 37% in 1966-67 to a peak of 45% (graph p9).

According to a May 1977 survey of people aged 15 to 64 years, there were 450,000 females who were not looking for work (and therefore not "unemployed"), but who "would have liked a job" (p31). This is a very substantial latent reserve army - larger than the total male and female unemployment at the time. It reflects the special role of females, since only 96,000 males were in the same category.

A tendency for women to drop out of the labor force rather than remain unemployed is also suggested by the February 1978 statistics on the duration (p21) of unemployment. This showed that 40% of unemployed males had been out of work for more than 3 months, but only 32% of unemployed females. Presumably many of the rest would have stopped being "unemployed" after a few months by joining the disproportionate number of women "not in the labor force" who "would have liked a job". Although most of these women were out of the workforce due to "family considerations" (which may easily be internalized from the objective lack of jobs), only 9,100 were wives whose husbands disapproved of their taking a job, and 57,800 were listed as "discouraged workers" who had given up looking for jobs suitable to their age, qualifications, background and locality. Only 7,700 males were listed in the same "discouraged worker" category, presumably because "breadwinners" had less choice about remaining in the work force.

As regards part-time work, I doubt whether employers prefer it because it is cheaper. On the contrary, they seem to prefer full-time workers and resort to part-time only when circumstances (such as insufficient workload for a full-time position) require them to put up with the resulting increased overhead costs. This distinct employers' preference for full-time workers has resulted in a situation where many women whose "family considerations" prevent them working full time have had to stay out of the labor force. Thus of the 470,000 women who would have liked a job but were not looking, 353,000 would have preferred a part-time job (cf. 44,000 out of

96,000 for males.) - p31.

In fact for both males and females, part-time employment represents in another form, the latent reserve army available to be fully employed when capital needs more labor. That is why there is a tendency for part-time employment to increase alongside unemployment. It is at the expense of full-time employment, and reflects the same elasticity in the labor market as the reduction in over-time worked and so on. The supply of labor is adjusted to meet the demand for it by a whole range of mechanisms of which unemployment is the best known because it is the most disruptive, not because it is the first or even main symptom of a disproportion. On the contrary, unemployment is such an important phenomena in the labor market because it is a last resort (short of mass starvation or war) when none of the other mechanisms are functioning smoothly.

Certainly the aggregate hours worked by part-time workers did increase over the two years from 13.9 million hours weekly to 15.7 million, even while the hours worked by full-time workers fell from 209.4 million to 208.2 million (p17). This does suggest a (slight) displacement of full-time by part-time workers.

But it does not mean that full-time male workers were displaced by part-time female workers. Although the number of females working from 1-34 hours weekly increased by 121,000 from 757,000 to 878,000, this was mainly at the expense of females working 35 to 49 and over hours weekly, who declined 95,700 from 1,249,200 to 1,153,500 (p18). (Remember that each full-time job lost counts for more hours worked than each part-time job gained - thus the total hours worked by females declined even though the number of females with jobs increased).

Among males too, there was an increase of 211,100 in part-time employment against a decrease of 175,400 in full-time employment.

Confirmation that for both males and females this increase in part-time employment is part of the latent reserve army is provided by a November 1977 survey showing that 21% of males and 12.5% of females working part-time would have preferred to work longer hours (p19), although it would be necessary to examine how these percentages changed over time, to be sure.

The average weekly hours worked by females over these two years fell by a full half-hour, from 31 to 30.5 hours weekly, while for males it fell by only 6 minutes from 41.2 to 41.1 hours weekly. This strongly suggests that the increase in part-time female employment was at the expense of full-time female employment, and not at the expense of male jobs at all. (p17) Often enough the displacement would have been direct, as many office workers (especially females) have been offered part-time work as an alternative to retrenchment. (I have not looked up any statistics on this).

Actually, even apart from overheads, there is no reason to believe that the wages of part-time workers are less than those of full-time workers. One would need to investigate each type of job separately to compare wage rates accurately, but the following gives a rough indication.

In August 1977 full-time workers worked an average of 40.3 hours per week (p17) for a mean pay of \$178 weekly (p49). This would give an average rate of \$4.42 per hour. For part-time workers the figures were 14.9 hours, \$77 and \$5.17 per hour.

I also doubt whether casual workers are cheaper and tend to displace permanent staff. Although employers might take on a casual more readily in uncertain conditions, this is precisely because they are, by definition, the first to be retrenched, leaving a higher proportion of permanent staff in a recession. Again, I haven't checked the statistics on this.

The situation where women could be used to undermine union gains by men is changing and in fact women's wages have been rising faster than men's

wages for many years now. Even over this two year period when women were being pushed back out of the labor force, average female earnings continued to increase from 64% to 67% of average male earnings (p69). So how could it be increasingly possible to use cheaper women workers to undermine male unionists gains? They are actually resisting the impact of the recession on wages rather better than the males! Unionization among women workers is also increasing too.

Finally, I disagree with the whole idea that foreign multi-nationals have the economic power to enforce whatever measures are necessary to keep their profit up, and could therefore adopt a conscious policy of using more cheap women's part-time labour to make up for falling profits at home.

This isn't a matter of statistics, but of common sense. Surely whatever measures could be taken to increase profits would be taken anyway, whether there was a recession or not? This includes measures to get cheaper labour or to raise prices or anything else. We live in a market economy (i. e. capitalism) and when the multi-nationals change their policies it is because the market has changed, not because it has suddenly occurred to them that it would be nice to have more profits.

If the multi-nationals could control the market instead of responding to it, as many "left wing" theories about the crisis seem to suggest, then there wouldn't be booms and recessions in the first place. But there are, because they don't.

This may not be a very positive and encouraging response to the article so perhaps a few patronizing words of good cheer may be tolerated (not along the lines that the material was "thought provoking" and so on)!

The reason I have all these statistics at my fingertips is because I long ago got my fingers burned believing what "radicals" and even "Marxist-Leninists" had to say about the economy, when they were really just talking off the top of their heads to confirm their own prejudices (which had often long ago been refuted by Marx or Lenin writing against similar prejudices in earlier socialist literature).

Most Australian Bureau of Statistics publications are free and can be ordered by mail from their free catalog. Those that aren't free are cheap, and are available in libraries. The bourgeoisie collects statistics on practically every subject of interest to revolutionaries, because it is of interest to them too (for much the same "life and death" reasons!)

Its well worth learning to distrust "radicals" bearing "facts" and to learn to look up real facts oneself (as Marx, Lenin etc did), even though the only way to find this out is by first getting one's fingers burnt!

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE REVOLUTION .

BOOK REVIEW : Enver Hoxha, "Imperialism and the Revolution"  
Paperback, 464 pages,  
"8 Nentori" Publishing House, Tirana, 1979.

"From the time the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' of Marx and Engels was published in 1848 to this day the struggle between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism, in both the political and ideological fields, has centred around one problem : is the revolution necessary for the transformation of society to a socialist basis or not, do the conditions exist to carry out the revolution or not, can it be carried out in the peaceful way, or is revolutionary violence indispensable ?"

Thus writes Enver Hoxha in the Foreward to his recent book. "Imperialism and the Revolution" is a powerful polemic from revolutionary Marxist positions against several currents of "revised Marxism" - Titoism, Hhruschevism, Eurocommunism and Maoism .

Enver Hoxha, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, is no stranger to the fierce struggles which have raged in the ranks of the international communist movement since the Second World War. The Albanian communists have a solid record of sticking to their guns (both ideologically and literally) against seemingly more powerful adversaries. In the late forties they battled it out with Tito. In the late fifties and early sixties they stood up to Khrushchev and in the late sixties and early seventies they withstood the pressure from the Chinese leaders.

With this wealth of experience to draw from, Enver Hoxha has set out to interpret the current world situation and point out the traps and blind alleys facing communists in the fight for socialism.

"Imperialism and the Revolution" was first published in April 1978 for distribution within the Albanian Party of Labour. The second (updated) edition has now been published in English and several other foreign languages and is available from the After Hours Bookshop (118 Hoddle St., Abbotsford, Melbourne) or by writing to the 'Albanian-Australian Friendship Association' (AAFA) PO Box 34, Chadstone, Victoria 3148 .

The book is divided into two parts and each part contains three chapters. Part one deals with the strategy of imperialism and modern revisionism and the necessity of carrying out the revolution

Hoxha explains Lenin's theory on imperialism and shows that it is by no means outdated. He defends the Leninist thesis that we are living in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, and exposes the various arguments advanced to "prove" that the world has entered a "new" epoch with radically "changed" conditions.

He argues that the working class stands at the centre of our epoch and is the only class capable of exercising leadership in a victorious socialist revolution. He contends that the closest possible alliance must be forged between the proletarian socialist revolution of the advanced capitalist countries and the anti-imperialist, national-liberation movements of the undeveloped countries.

Hoxha tackles the complicated question of inter-imperialist contradictions and explains how they should be utilised by communists without discarding Marxist principles. He argues against the view that the working class and exploited peoples should rely on one superpower to fight the other and upholds the principle that if a new world imperialist war cannot be avoided, then communists must aim to transform it into a revolutionary liberation war for the seizure of statepower by the working class.

Part two of "Imperialism and the Revolution" is devoted to an exposure of Chinese revisionism. Hoxha condemns the Chinese "theory of the three worlds" as counter-revolutionary and chauvinist. He compares it with the classical writings of Lenin and Stalin and shows that it does not proceed from a class analysis of the various forces acting in the world today. He points out that the "three worlds" theory is designed to unite the proletariat with its "own" bourgeoisie to forget the revolution in favour of defending the bourgeoisie's "national independence". He argues that the Chinese theory liquidates the national liberation struggle of the oppressed masses of



Africa, Asia and Latin America by preaching that the various pro-imperialist forces ruling these countries are "leading the struggle against the hegemonism of the superpowers." Hoxha also shows the similarity between the "three worlds" and the Yugoslav theory of the "Non-Aligned World".

One chapter is titled "China's Plan to Become a Superpower". Here, Enver Hoxha shows the link between China's counter-revolutionary foreign policy and its counter-revolutionary domestic policy of the "four modernisations". In order to become a superpower, China must go through two phases, says Hoxha. First it must encourage huge investment from U.S. and other imperialisms, and second (and later) it must invest surplus value in other countries. It is already apparent to everyone that China is deep in the throes of the first of these phases.

Hoxha points out that the Chinese leaders had to make a definite choice as to which of the two superpowers ( Soviet or U.S. ) they would forge an alliance with. They decided on the U.S. because they are aware that its economic and military potential is greater than the Soviets and therefore they calculate that they have much more to gain from it in terms of financial, technical and military assistance. He points out, however, that the capitalist transformation of the Chinese economy is bound to lead to sharp conflicts between the Chinese workers and peasants on the one hand and the Chinese leaders on the other. He predicts that revolutionary outbursts are bound to occur in China .

The last chapter of Hoxha's book is devoted to a critique of "Mao Tsetung Thought" and to many readers will prove to be the most controversial section.

Fighting from the established positions of Lenin and Stalin on the nature of class struggle after the revolutionary seizure of power, the nature, task and method of the communist party, the principles of dialectical materialism, and other questions, Enver Hoxha concludes that "Mao Tsetung Thought" is certainly not a "new and higher development of Marxism-Leninism" but is actually an anti-Marxist theory which has caused the Chinese revolution colossal setbacks and confusion.

He criticises Mao's thesis on "long term co-existence with the bourgeoisie", "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and the theory of the "inevitable" two lines in the Communist Party.

This last chapter of "Imperialism and the Revolution" should ideally be studied together with the extracts from Enver Hoxha's political diary ( 1962-72) which have recently been published by the Albanians under the title "Reflections on China", vol. 1.

"Imperialism and the Revolution" is essential reading. As a major work of communist theory, it has not been equalled since the days of Stalin .

... Martin .

Editors note : To avoid any possible confusion about the above article we would like to remind our readers that REM policy is "We oppose both Chinese and Albanian revisionism ... " and also that "Articles hostile to REM policy and Mao Tsetung Thought may also be published in this bulletin." The most comprehensive /critique of Albanian revisionism published by REM so far is a 30 page article in 'Discussion Bulletin' 3 called "Are Mao's critics Marxist-Leninists at all ?"

## PRODUCTIVE AND UNPRODUCTIVE WORKERS

NOTE: The following article analyses the question of "Productive and Unproductive Workers" in the form of a critique of a Vanguard article.

It should stimulate further theoretical analysis of the class structure of Australian society so we can answer "Who are our friends, who are our enemies?"

Are "white collar workers" part of the working class, or are they "lower sections of the middle class" still being "driven into" the proletariat, as suggested by the Vanguard headline?

This section of the population is clearly growing, not declining. Does this prove, as many suggest, that Marx was wrong and there is now a growing middle class and shrinking proletariat?

Does it prove that there is a "new working class", fundamentally different from the old concept of a "proletariat"?

Does it prove, as Harry Braverman suggests in "Labor and Monopoly Capital", that a large and growing part of the proletariat are engaged in "unproductive labor"?

Or does it confirm Marx's analysis of a growing proletariat, with less and less differences between different strata of the proletariat, and an extension of productive labor, as the labor process becomes both more socialized and less "manual"?

These questions are important. If "white collar workers" in general are "unproductive" then its no wonder Vanguard now looks to "patriotism" rather than class struggle as central to the Australian revolution.

Just as China's large petit-bourgeoisie had to be analyzed into different strata of shopkeepers, rich, poor and middle peasants etc, so Australia's large working class must be analyzed into different strata to understand how each reacts to political and economic struggles.

If the "key difference" lies in "whether a wage earner is a 'productive' or 'unproductive' worker", then different conclusions will follow compared with an analysis based on other distinctions.

The mere fact that someone who contributes to Vanguard is attempting to make an analysis, and even referring to Capital while doing so must be welcomed.

The contributor asked for other readers to "fill out my attempt with more facts...", so this critique can be seen as a response to that request.

In pointing out some of the mistakes in that article, as well as drawing attention to some very important excerpts from Marx, it should encourage further study...

\* \* \*

PRODUCTIVE & UNPRODUCTIVE WORKERS

Norm Sinclair

A correct class analysis requires a correct understanding of the process of capitalist production

\* \* \* \*

In the June 7, 1979, issue of VANGUARD there is a "contributed" article headed LOWER SECTIONS OF MIDDLE CLASS DRIVEN INTO THE PROLETARIAT. The article presents 3 arguments concerning "white collar" (i.e., mental) workers; that they are unproductive; that they are "middle class"; that they are being "driven into the proletariat".

The article does not attempt to grasp how the capitalist production process works, & can do little else but distort our understanding of the working class & who its allies are. The article presents pre-conceived ideas that are commonly held within the CPA-ML's "independence only" movement. As is clearly evidenced by the editor of VANGUARD endorsing the article, the CPA-ML leadership does not attempt to combat these ideas.

Who are productive workers & who are unproductive workers? How do we go about determining this? The Vanguard article gives a brief & simple answer.

Although they work for wages & do not own & control the means of production, white collar workers are not the same as manual workers. The key difference is in whether a wage-earner is a 'productive' or 'unproductive' worker. ...

...In short, wage-earners in commerce, advertising, marketing, accounting, banking & insurance do not produce surplus value & on this basis can be differentiated from manual workers. What is being said here is that if you work with your hands you are productive, if you work with your head you are unproductive. If you are not actually touching the instruments of production or the raw materials, you are not productive.

But a direct equation between the manual/mental division of labor, & what is productive & unproductive labor respectively, does not exist. Nor has Marx proposed any such equation. In the capitalist mode of production, productive labor is labor that creates surplus value for capital, i.e., expands the total capital of the capitalist. The product that is the end result of the production process obtains its value from all the labor, both mental & manual, that is necessary to that production process. It is the labor that does not alter the usefulness of the product, e.g., labor spent in selling the completed product, that is unproductive. But in anycase, all labor that does not produce surplus value for capital is unproductive in the capitalist sense.

In Marx I have come across the following types of unproductive worker. (1) A self-employed person such as a tailor or architect in contrast to an employed tailor or architect. (2) Persons employed by productive capital to carry out non-productive functions in the sphere of circulation, e.g., sales reps. (3) Persons employed by merchant or interest bearing capital (i.e., capital that functions purely within the sphere of circulation of capital) to carry out purely merchant or interest bearing capital functions. (See "Productivity of capital, productive & unproductive labor", addenda to Theories of Surplus Value, part 1; also see CAPITAL Vol. 1, Chap. VI "The costs of circulation".)

In the Vanguard article, the category "white collar" is not defined but is simply used in the hazy way of everyday speech. Scattered throughout the article are little batches of job categories or labels.

In the second paragraph we find scientists, engineers & technicians. Assuming they are employees of capital (not self-employed), & even allowing for some grey areas, it should be clear as day that the overwhelming majority are productive labor.

"Scientists, engineers & technicians" may be involved purely in the initial design or development stage of a product or they may participate throughout the labor process. With the latter case these people act as the "mental headquarters" issuing new plans & instructions as the process progresses & watching over the process

as a whole, at any particular time, for bottlenecks & problems.

With our present division of labor you cannot build 40 storey office block just with B-Is, electricians, glaziers, carpet layers & plumbers. Nor can you run a large modern factory just with process workers, no matter how willing they are.

Another job description mentioned in paragraph 2 is "administrator". Since the word is only rarely used as a job title, I will take the liberty of assuming that the author means the same thing as "manager". When looking at this kind of work, you have to first ask what is being managed; what kind of enterprise & what particular department. Management work that involves coordinating the production process is obviously productive, I would imagine that even someone involved in keeping track of raw materials & ordering them when they are required by the production process would also be productive; although possibly that person would be productive when s/he is "keeping track", but unproductive when s/he is sending off an order (i.e., purchasing). On the other hand, a sales manager would be unproductive, being employed purely to convert value from one form to another.

So far we have been looking at the categories of "white collar" work that could all be described as as mental labor. Below are a couple of quotes from Marx that give his views on the part that mental labor plays in the production process & the creation of surplus value.

In so far as the labor process is purely individual, the same worker unites in himself all the functions that later on become separated. When an individual appropriates natural objects for his own livelihood, he alone supervises his own activity. Later on he is supervised by others. The solitary man cannot operate <sup>upon</sup> nature without calling his own muscles into play under the control of his own brain. Just as head & hand belong together in the system of nature, so in the labor process mental & physical labor are united. Later on they become separate; & this separation develops into a hostile antagonism. The product is transformed from the direct product of the individual producer into a social product, the joint product of a collective laborer, i.e., a combination of workers, each of whom stands at a different distance from the actual manipulation of the object of labor. With the progressive accentuation of the cooperative character of the labor process, there necessarily occurs a progressive extension of the concept of productive labor, & of the concept of the bearer of that labor, the productive worker. In order to work productively, it is no longer necessary for the individual himself to put his hand to the object; it is sufficient for him to be an organ of the collective laborer, & to perform any one of its subordinate functions. ... (CAPITAL, Vol. 1, p.643, Pelican edition) (My emphasis-NS)

First, with the development of the real subsumption of labor under capital, or the specifically capitalist mode of production the real lever of the overall labor process is increasingly no longer the individual worker. Instead, labor-power socially combined & the various competing labor-powers which together form the entire production machine participate in very different ways in the immediate process of making commodities, or, more accurately in this context, creating the product. Some work better with their hands, others with their heads, one as a manager, engineer, technologist, etc., the other as overseer, the third as manual laborer or even drudge. An ever increasing number of types of labor are included in the immediate concept of productive, & those who perform it are classed as productive workers, workers directly exploited by capital & subordinated to its process of production & expansion. If we consider the aggregate worker, i.e., if we take all the members comprising the workshop together, then we see that their combined activity results materially in an aggregate product which is at the same time a quantity of goods. And here it is quite immaterial whether the job of a particular worker, who is merely a limb of the

aggregate worker, is at a greater or smaller distance from the actual manual labor. (CAPITAL, Vol.1, pp1039-1040, Pelican edition) (My emphasis-NS)

(See also THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE, part 1, pp411-412.)

The Vanguard article relies very heavily on what Marx has to say on labor employed by merchant capital, in order to "prove" that all "white collar" workers are unproductive. The article included 2 quotes from Marx on the subject. (They are typeset as if they were one single quote. We have no way of knowing whether this is the authors doing or the mistake of the editor or typesetter.)

Merchant's capital is simply capital functioning in the sphere of circulation. The process of circulation is a phase of the total process of reproduction. But no value is produced in the process of circulation &, therefore, no surplus value. (CAPITAL, Vol.3 p.279, Progress Publishers)

Since the merchant, as a mere agent of circulation produces neither value nor surplus value... it follows that the mercantile workers employed by him in these functions cannot directly create surplus value for him. (ibid. p293)

To most peoples minds the word "merchant" could loosely suggest a whole range of activities, some of them having only an apparent connection with buying/selling. Marx has in mind a very specific function as these following 2 quotes show.

We have explained (Book II, Chapter VI, "The Costs of Circulation" 2&3) to what extent the transport industry, storage & distribution of commodities in a distributable form, may be regarded as production processes continuing within the process of circulation. [see section below on retailing-NS.] These episodes incidental to the circulation of commodity-capital are sometimes confused with the distinct functions of merchant's or commercial capital. Sometimes they are, indeed, practically bound up with these distinct, specific functions, although with the development of the social division of labor the function of merchants capital evolves in a pure form, i.e., divorced from these real functions, & independent of them. Those functions are therefore irrelevant to our purpose, which is to define the specific difference of this special form of capital. In so far as capital solely employed in the circulation process, special commercial capital, partly combines these functions with its specific ones, it does not appear in its pure form. We obtain its pure form after stripping it of all those incidental functions. (CAPITAL, Vol.3, pp267-268, Progress Publishers.)

The pure commercial costs of circulation ( hence, excluding costs of expressage, shipping, storage, etc.,) resolve themselves into costs required to realise the value of commodities, to transform it from commodities into money, or money into commodities, to effect their exchange. We leave entirely out of consideration all possible processes of production which may continue in the process of circulation, and from which the merchant's business can be altogether separated; as, in fact, the actual transport industry and expressage may be, and are, industrial branches entirely distinct from commercial; and purchaseable and saleable commodities

[...continues next page]

ERRATUM:

(See paragraph half way down on the next page of this article.)

In The paragraph beginning "I think it would..." the second sentence should read "However that in itself does not exclude it ..." I.e. the word NOT was inadvertently left out.

may be stored in docks or in other public premises, with the resultant cost of storage being charged to the merchant by third persons inasmuch as he has to advance it. All this takes place in wholesale commerce, where merchant's capital appears in its purest form, unmixed with other functions. The express company owner, the railway director, and the shipowner, are not "merchants." The costs which we consider here are those of buying/selling. We have already remarked earlier that these resolve themselves into accounting, book-keeping, marketing, correspondence, etc. The constant capital required for this purpose consists of offices, paper, postage, etc. The other costs break up into variable capital advanced for the employment of mercantile wage-workers. (ibid. pp288-289.)

Marx is making it quite clear that he is separating merchant capital off from many extraneous functions that are usually associated, or go hand in hand, with it. The Vanguard article totally ignores this fact.

So far I have mentioned jobs that could not possibly be described as being within the sphere of circulation by anyone's definition, or jobs that could be in some cases and not in others. I now want to look at a whole industry (retailing) which the Vanguard article describes as "the realisation of surplus-value or the sale and marketing of commodities". What the article is saying is that labor performed in retailing is simply involved in transforming values from one form to another (commodities into money) and therefore adds no new value to the product.

I think it would be pretty safe to say that retailing is within the process of circulation. However that in itself does exclude it from being part of, or continuation of, the production process. This is a possibility which Marx points to in the case of transport and the formation of a commodity-supply.

On the transport of commodities Marx has this to say.

If on the other hand we consider the process in relation to commodities [as opposed to the transport of people], in this case there certainly takes place, in the labor process, a change in the object of labor, the commodity. Its spatial existence is altered and along with <sup>this</sup> goes a change in its use-value, since the location of the use-value is changed. Its exchange value increases in the same measure as this change in its use-value requires labor - an amount of labor which is determined partly by the wear and tear of the constant capital, that is, the total materialised labor which enters into the commodity, and partly by the quantity of living labor, as in the ~~xxxx~~ process of increasing the value of all other commodities.

When the commodity has reached its destination, this change which has taken place in its use-value has vanished, and is now only expressed in its higher exchange value, in the enhanced price of the commodity. And although in this case the real labor has left no trace behind in the use-value, it is nevertheless realised in the exchange-value of this material product; and so it is true also of this industry as of other spheres of material production that the labor incorporates itself in the commodity, even though it has left no visible trace in the use-value of the commodity. (Theories of Surplus Value, part 1, pp 412-413, Progress Publishers edition.)

... although the transportation industry when based on capitalist production appears as a cause of circulation costs, this special form of appearance does not alter the matter in the least. (Capital Vol. 2, Chap. 5, part 3, "Costs of Transportation"; p149, Progress Publishers edition.)

But the use-value of things is materialised only in their consumption, and their consumption may necessitate a change of location of these things, hence may require an additional process of production in the transport industry (ibid. p150-)

The circulation, i.e., the actual locomotion of commodities in space, resolves itself into the transport of commodities. The transport industry forms on the one hand an independent branch of production and thus a separate sphere of investment of productive capital. On the other hand its distinguishing feature is that it appears as a continuation of a process of production within the process of circulation and for the process of circulation.

(ibid. p153.)

A use-value is a useful effect which is consumed by the consumer. A tin of baked beans in the manufacturer's warehouse, is in no position to provide a useful effect. The beans are transported by truck to the storage area at the back of the supermarket. At this point the useful effect of the commodity is almost available to the consumer but not quite. It has to be placed on (dare we say transported to) the Shelves.

The impression I get from the medium sized self-service grocery that I regularly buy from is that a high proportion of the labor performed is productive. Examples would be - unloading of trucks, carting boxes to the shelves and unpacking them on to the shelves, serving behind the delicatessen counter which entail cutting up cheese and sausage and doling out olives in manageable desired quantities to the customers and home delivery of groceries.

Certainly some of the labor at a supermarket involves wacking prices on goods, while they are being placed on the shelves, and manning the cash register. I suspect that these activities could be rightly considered unproductive and purely entailing labor engaged in assisting the metamorphosis of commodities.

Another question worth considering is the formation of a socially necessary commodity-supply, which Marx discusses in Capital Vol. 2. In retailing a certain amount of labor would be involved in stockpiling goods for future display. This may or may not be a major undertaking in retailing. Nevertheless, it is worth raising as another example of productive labor within the process of circulation which would be found in a number of areas as well as retailing, and which is denied by the Vanguard article.

In Capital Vol. 2, Chap 5 (in the section entitled "The Commodity-Supply Proper", p146, Progress Publishers edition) Marx says:-

The commodity-supply must be of a certain volume in order to satisfy the demand during a given period. A continual extension of the circle of buyers is counted upon. For instance, in order to last for one day, a part of the commodities in the market must constantly remain in the commodity-form while the remainder is fluent, turns into money. True, the part which stagnates while the rest is fluent decreases steadily, just as the size of the supply itself decreases until it is all sold. The stagnation of commodities thus counts as a requisite condition of their sale. The volume must furthermore be larger than the average sale or the average demand. Otherwise the excess over these averages could not be satisfied. On the other hand the supply must constantly be renewed, because it is constantly being drawn on. Two paragraphs earlier Marx made the following point.

Hence in so far as the formation of a supply entails a stagnation of circulation, the expense incurred thereby does not add to the value of the commodities. On the other hand there cannot be any supply without a stay in the sphere of circulation, without capital staying for a longer or shorter time in its commodity form; hence no supply without stagnation of circulation, just as no money can circulate without the formation of a money reserve. Hence no commodity circulation without commodity supply. And further on (pp147-149)

Since the commodity-supply is nothing but the commodity-form of the supply which at a particular level of social production would exist either as a productive supply (latent production fund) or as a consumption fund (reserve of means of consumption) if it did not exist as a commodity supply, the expenses required for its preservation, that is, that is the cost of supply formation -i.e.,

materialised or living labor spent for this purpose - are merely expenses incurred for maintaining either the social fund for production or the social fund for consumption. The increase in the value of commodities caused by them distributes these costs simply pro rata over the different commodities, since the costs differ with different kinds of commodities. And the costs of supply formation are as ever deductions from the social wealth, although constitute one of the conditions of its existence.

Only to the extent that the commodity-supply is a premise of commodity circulation & is itself a form necessarily arising in commodity circulation, only in so far as this apparent stagnation is therefore a form of the movement itself, just as the formation of a money-reserve is a premise of money circulation - only to that extent is such stagnation normal. But as soon as the commodities lying in the reservoirs of circulation do not make room for the swiftly succeeding wave of production, so that the reservoirs become over stocked, the commodity-supply expands in consequence of the stagnation in circulation just as the hoards increased when the money circulation is clogged. It does not make any difference whether this jam occurs in the warehouses of the industrial capitalist or in the storerooms of the merchant. The commodity-supply is in that case not a prerequisite of uninterrupted sale, but a consequence of the impossibility of selling the goods. The costs are the same, but since they now arise purely out of the form, that is to say, out of the necessity of transforming the commodities into money & out of the difficulty of going through this metamorphosis, they do not enter into the values of the commodities but constitute deductions, losses of value in the realisation of the value. (ibid, pp147-148.) (My emphasis-NS)

Bank & insurance workers get their share of attention in the Vanguard article. A lot more study is needed in this area before clear conclusions can be drawn. One point on which views differ is whether or not most bank employees are mainly engaged in lending & borrowing operations. One view is that the majority of bank staff are performing socially necessary bookkeeping, rather than lending & borrowing, functions.

If I may digress for a moment, the following paragraph is rather strange.

For the capitalist (for example a banker), his wage-earners appear to be the source of his profit. But the profits of commerce or banking do not derive from the process of value creation of these firms, but from a transfer of surplus value from firms employing productive labor. Such is the interest charged by a bank on a loan to a manufacturer.

I don't think bankers would have any such notion: they would be quite certain their profits come from interest. On the other hand the productive capitalist certainly has illusions about where his profit comes from. He tends to see it as something "earned" by his capital; something akin to the interest earned by bank capital. He is less likely to attribute it to the wage labor he employs.

In paragraph 5, advertising is lumped with a number of other business fields which are described as unproductive. While I have not the slightest doubt that there are jobs in advertising that are unproductive, I fail to see how people engaged in producing art work such as posters or display fittings or film commercials for TV are not productive workers creating values or commodities which are sold to clients.

Next we come to a rather strange use of a quote from Theories of Surplus Value on teachers, lawyers & doctors, ~~Contrary to what~~ the author of the article might think, Marx is not talking about whether or not teachers, lawyers & doctors, as job categories per se, are productive or unproductive. The heavily edited quote is taken from a 25 page chapter devoted almost entirely to discussing how the same job is productive in one case & not another.



Lets quote the whole paragraph in question.

If I buy the service of a teacher not to develop my faculties but to acquire some skill with which I can earn money - or if others buy this teacher for me - & if I really learn something (which is quite independent of the payment for the service), then these costs of education, just as the costs of my maintenance, belong to the costs of production of my labor-power. But the particular utility of this service alters nothing in the economic relation; it is not a relation in which I transform money into capital, or by which the supplier of this service, the teacher, transforms me into his capitalist, his master. Consequently it also does not affect the economic character of this relation whether the physician cures me, the teacher is successful in teaching me, or the lawyer wins my lawsuit. What is paid for is the performance of the service as such, & by its very nature the result cannot be guaranteed by those rendering the service. A large proportion of services belongs to the costs of consumption of commodities, as in the case of a cook, a maid, etc.

(THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE part 1, p405, Progress publishers)

Labor is unproductive when employed directly for the personal consumption of a client. The payment the client makes is not the expenditure of variable capital or put differently, the client is not turning his money into capital. Throughout much of the chapter Marx uses the example of the self-employed tailor. If you or I "employ" a tailor to make a suit, we are not being capitalists & the tailor's labor power is not productive.

On the other hand Marx contrasts the selfemployed tailor with the clothing worker employed by a manufacturer to do exactly the same work. In this case the worker is productive because his labor creates surplus value for capital.

So whether teachers, lawyers & doctors are always unproductive or not is not resolved by the quote because Marx is not discussing the question. In Theories of Surplus Value (part 1, pp411-412) Marx refers to a teacher working for a school run on business lines as being productive (e.g., Taylor's College in Melbourne). Whether teachers employed by church or state schools are productive remains to be seen, nevertheless you cannot say that teaching is unproductive by its nature. The same with doctors. At the very least those employed by private hospitals would be productive.

#### CONCLUSION

Marx spoke of an ever growing polarisation, with a shrinking capitalist class up one end & an expanding proletariat up the other end, with a disappearing middle stratum in between. Left liberal "marxists" for many years now have spoken of a middle class growing at the expense of the proletariat. What we have actually been observing is an ongoing revolution in the labor process, which has quite naturally lead to changes in job categories among the proletariat.

It is quite ironical how the Vanguard article misconstrues Marx as saying that the "middle class" (by its definition) is being thrown into the ranks of the proletariat, when everybody knows that over the last 30 years a section of the "proletariat" (read blue collar workers) has been "thrown" into the ranks of this so-called middle-class.

Let's look at what Marx meant by middle class. this is the quote that concluded the article under discussion.

The lower strata of the middle class... all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, & is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. (from the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO)

A very important quote from Marx. However what it has to do with a discussion of "white collar" wage or salary earners is anybody's guess. Marx makes it perfectly clear that he is referring to a stratum that possessed means of production (the bourgeoisie & petty-bourgeoisie). It is doubly clear when you remember that it was written in the 1840's when "middle class"

loosely referred to the intermediate stratum between the nobility & the riff-raff. It comprised capitalists, officials, prosperous petty-bourgeoisie, etc.

This particular inappropriate quotation from Marx is the most glaringly idiotic bungle of the whole article (although not central to its line of argument). It is indeed interesting that of all the mistakes to choose from in this article, the Vanguard editor, in his short introduction, put his seal of approval on this particular one.

But the author of the Vanguard article shows still more confusion on the class position of "white collar" workers. Apparently they are not only middle class but they "were the top layer of the 'labor aristocracy' in Australia". This is said right at the beginning of the last paragraph, the same one in which the Marx quote on the middle class appears. If the white collar workers are "labor aristocracy", then they are not only not middle class, they are, by definition, part of the proletariat already! That is precisely what Lenin meant by the labor aristocracy when he discussed it in IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM. He says in discussing British Imperialism & the British working class:

This clearly shows the causes & effects. The causes are; 1) exploitation of the whole world by this country; 2) its monopolistic position in the world market; 3) its colonial monopoly. The effects are: 1) a section of the British proletariat becomes bourgeois; 2) a section of the proletariat allows itself to be led by men bought by, or at least paid by, the bourgeoisie. (SELECTED WORKS, p247 Progress Publishers, one volume edition, 1971) (My emphasis-NS)

Further on Lenin outlines the general principle for the existence of this labor aristocracy.

The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers & for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, & win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this urge, and so there is created that bond between imperialism & opportunism... (ibid., p261)

If we now return to the 3 arguments mentioned at the start & draw some conclusions:

- 1) It is wrong to say "white collar" workers perform solely unproductive labor. Some are unproductive workers & others productive.
- 2) They are not "middle class", at least in the sense that Marx was referring to a middle class.
- 3) If they are a part of the "labor aristocracy" they cannot be "driven into the proletariat" because they are already a part of it.

see appendix on next page

(second half not directly related to the points at issue.)

# Lower sections of middle class driven into the proletariat

It is not unusual these days to see bank clerks, insurance clerks, public servants, air line pilots, air safety personnel, teachers and other white collar workers taking strike action in defence of their living standards.

Not so many years ago it was a rarity for white collar workers to strike. Why the change? Because, as Karl Marx pointed out long ago, capitalism drives the lower sections of the middle class into the ranks of the proletariat.

A reader has been inspired to write an article on this phenomenon in Australia. In a note accompanying the article (below) the author says: "There is growing militancy among sections of white collar workers and this is providing new opportunities for building revolutionary unity with them."

"A feeling is abroad that things for many of the middle class will never be the same again. This feeling is based on the fact that new technology has deprived many white collar workers of their jobs and is continually narrowing the field of employment. While the economic crisis for the big capitalists may have "bottomed" it has not for the great majority of the working people. High profits which are now being published as a sign of economic recovery really mean intensified exploitation through greater use of modern technology.

"It is timely to attempt an analysis of what is happening to the middle class generally in Australia. Perhaps other readers could fill out my attempt with more facts concerning the economic decline in the various spheres of white collar work. The narrowing margins for skill can be easily verified by comparisons between pre war and early post-war levels with those of today. For instance a metropolitan B grade journalist before the war was paid a "salary" that was 400 per cent greater than the basic wage of that time. Now the margin would not be 50 per cent higher. An examination of the economic situation of the middle sections is necessary and will help to speed the building of unity.

"Teachers are at present engaged in magnificent struggle. Because education is deliberately being run down by the multi-nationalists which have no more use for an educated Australian work force, teachers all over the country are being compelled to struggle to "hold the line". Their struggle is a great, patriotic struggle. While it has an economic centre of gravity the teachers' struggle has wider implications. Evidence of this is the wide support teachers are receiving from parents, students and the public generally.

## (CONTRIBUTED)

With the post-war expansion of the service sector and public service, the number of salaried employees in Australia grew in numbers.

The category, white-collar workers, includes employees such as clerks, teachers, administrators, scientists, engineers and technicians.

Like the industrial or manual working class, many white-collar workers do not obtain any income from property, as rent or profit. They rely on wages for their income.

Although they work for wages and do not own and control the means of production, white-collar workers are not the same as manual workers. The key difference is in whether a wage-earner is a 'productive' or 'unproductive' worker. As Marx put it in the Appendix to *Capital*, Vol. 1, "Results of the Immediate Production Process": "Every productive worker is a wage-earner, but it does not follow that every wage-earner is a productive worker."

For Marx, productive labour under capitalism is labour that directly produces surplus value, which is expressed as profit, interest and rent and leads to capital accumulation. So labour performed in the sphere of circulation of capital (bank clerks, insurance employees, bank managers, accountants, etc.) and the realisation of surplus value or the sale and marketing of commodities (shop assistants, advertising employees, etc.) is not productive labour. In short, wage-earners in commerce, advertising, marketing, accounting, banking and insurance do not produce surplus value and on this basis can be differentiated from manual workers.

As Marx put it in his description of merchant's capital: "Merchant's capital is simply capital functioning in the sphere of circulation. The process of circulation is a phase of the total process of reproduction. But no value is produced in the process of circulation, and therefore, no surplus value. Since the merchant, as a mere agent of circulation, produces neither value nor surplus

value... it follows that the mercantile workers employed by him in these same functions cannot directly create surplus-value for him." (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 274)

For the capitalist (for example a banker), his wage-earners appear to be the source of his profit. But the profits of commerce or banking do not derive from the process of value creation in these firms, but from a transfer of surplus value from firms employing productive labour. Such is the interest charged by a bank on a loan to a manufacturer.

Of course white-collar workers are exploited, and their wages are determined by what is necessary to purchase the requirements for their reproduction as workers. To quote from Marx again: "The commercial worker... adds to the capitalist's income by helping him to reduce the cost of realising surplus-value, inasmuch as he performs partly unpaid labour" (*Capital*, Vol. II, p. 287)

Surplus labour is extorted from wage-earners in the service sector or commerce and trading, but the process is different from the exploitation from which surplus-value is derived.

Marx elaborates on these distinctions when he defines teachers, lawyers and doctors: "The particular utility of this service alters nothing in the economic relation: it is not a relation in which I transform money into capital... it also does not affect whether the physician cures me, the teacher is successful in teaching me, or the lawyer wins my law suit. What is paid for is the performance of the service... (*Theories of Surplus Value*, Vol. I, p. 393)

LENIN AS THE ORGANIZER AND LEADER  
OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

BY J. STALIN (April 23, 1920)

(Excerpt from full text in Stalin's Works Vol 4, pp317-327)

There are two groups of Marxists. Both work under the flag of Marxism and consider themselves "genuinely" Marxist. Nevertheless, they are by no means identical. More, a veritable gulf divides them, for their methods of work are diametrically opposed to each other.

The first group usually confines itself to an outward acceptance, to a ceremonial avowal of Marxism. Being unable or unwilling to put it into practice, it converts the living, revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless, meaningless formulas. It does not base its activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx. It does not derive its instructions and directions from an analysis of living reality, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed is the chief malady of this group. Hence the disillusionment and perpetual grudge against fate, which time and again lets it down and makes a "dupe" of it. The name for this group is Menshevism (in Russia), opportunism (in Europe). Comrade Tyszka (Jogiches) described this group very aptly at the London Congress when he said that it does not stand by, but lies down on the point of view of Marxism.

The second group, on the contrary, attaches prime importance not to the outward acceptance of Marxism, but to its realization, its application in practice. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is determining the ways and means of realizing Marxism that best answer the situation, and changing these ways and means as the situation changes. It does not derive its directions and instructions from historical analogies and parallels, but from a study of surrounding conditions. It does not base its activities on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience, testing every step by experience, learning from its mistakes and teaching others how to build a new life. That, in fact, explains why there is no discrepancy between word and deed in the activities of this group, and why the teachings of Marx completely retain their living revolutionary force. To this group may be fully applied Marx's saying that Marxists cannot rest content with interpreting the world, but must go further and change it. The name for this group is Bolshevism, communism.

The organizer and leader of this group is V.I. Lenin.

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# REJECT THE THEORY OF THREE WORLDS!

Martin Connell

24/8/78.

Allan Ward's article in Discussion Bulletin No. 1, "Three Worlds", is a cleverly written document liberally studded with quotations from Marxist-Leninist classics together with a three page list of references which, he suggests, should be used as a "bibliography of works" for "anyone interested in a proper understanding of these questions."

It is indeed a very selective bibliography.

Most notable by their absence are the Chinese polemics against Krushchovite revisionism which have a great deal to say about "these questions" and would, no doubt add greatly to our "proper understanding" of them. Also absent are the series of statements made by comrade Mao Tsetung during the 1960's and in 1970 dealing specifically with international questions. The reason for this is precisely because this material is in stark contradiction to the theory of three worlds. At the end of this article, I have compiled an "alternative" bibliography which I urge comrades to study.

## THE FOUR CONTRADICTIONS

Leninism holds that there are four fundamental contradictions in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. These four contradictions have always been the starting point of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation.

Up until 1917, the three basic contradictions of our era were:

- \* The contradiction between labour and capital — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.
- \* The contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples.
- \* The contradictions among the imperialist powers and monopoly capitalist groups.

Stalin gave an excellent summary of these three contradictions in his work; "The Foundations of Leninism". (1)

Following the seizure of state power by the proletariat in Russia in 1917, a fourth basic contradiction of our era emerged and has been in force ever since, namely:

- \* The contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist system.

Alan Ward does not list these contradictions in his article, nor does he consider them the starting point to any analysis of the world situation. But, whether he likes it or not, they have been part and parcel of the international communist movement. general line since the Great October Socialist revolution, despite numerous attempts by Trotsky, Browder, Tito, Krushchev, Teng Hsiao-ping etc, to "forget" one or more of them. The Albanian and Chinese parties consistently defended them as the "starting point" against Krushchovite revisionism.

In 1963, the Chinese Party categorically stated: "These (4) contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are inter-related and influence each other.

\* NOTE. The following article does not attempt to answer all points raised in Allan Ward's article "Three Worlds".

A future article shall deal with the "Second World" and World War.

Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest." (2)

Allan Ward choses to present as the theory of the three worlds, the version given by Chiao Kuan-hua in his U.N. speech of Oct 5, 1976, although it was first "unveiled" in a finished form by Teng Hsiao-ping in 1974. Let us look at the version A.W. prefers to present as the theory of the three worlds.

"Making a penetrating analysis of all the basic contradictions of our time and the division and realignment of all the political forces in the world, Chairman Mao Tsetung advanced his great strategic concept of the three worlds. He pointed out: The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World; the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere constitute the Third World; and in between the two is the Second World composed of Europe, Japan, Canada and other countries. Lenin once said: Imperialism is progressing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of great powers; it is an epoch of wars among these powers for the extension and consolidation of national oppression. At present, the Soviet Union and the United States, the two superpowers constituting the First World, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters of our time and they are the sources of a new world war. While the countries of the Second World oppress and exploit Third World countries, they themselves are at the same time subjected to superpower oppression, exploitation, control and threat. The numerous Third World countries are most heavily oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism; they are the main force in the fight against imperialism, and particularly against superpower hegemonism.

"Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: "Who are our enemies ? Who are our friends ? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." Chairman Mao's concept of the three worlds provides orientation for the workers and oppressed peoples of the world in their fight in the realm of international class struggle."

According to Chiao, this "great strategic concept" is based on an analysis of "all the basic contradictions of our time" (or era), but he does not list these basic contradictions, nor does he say that "our time" is precisely the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. This "great strategic concept" completely neglects two of the "basic contradictions of our time" — namely the contradiction between socialism and capitalism and the contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat which, according to Allen Ward himself, taken together, form the "fundamental division of our times".(p1). Some strategic concept !

In 1963, the Chinese listed as an "erroneous view" which "should be repudiated" :

"(a). the view which blots out the class content of the contradiction between the socialist and imperialist camps and fails to see this contradiction as one between states under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists..."

They conclude that such a view would "inevitably lead to erroneous and harmful policies and hence to setbacks and losses of one kind or another to the cause of the people and socialism."

Doesn't this "great strategic concept" exactly fall into this trap? The "three world" theoreticians speak of China as a "socialist country belonging to the third world" (just as Tito speaks about Yugoslavia) and put the contradictions between China and imperialism entirely within the framework of the third world versus imperialism and particularly the superpowers and even more particularly Soviet social-imperialism.

At least up until October 1976, when China was a proletarian dictatorship, this was a very "erroneous view". The Albanians are right when they say "today, too, we should speak about the socialist world" and that not to do so "is in complete opposition to the Leninist teachings and the class criterion" and "ignores the greatest historic victory of the international proletariat, ignores the fundamental contradiction of the time, that between socialism and capitalism." (4)

The Chinese agreed with this view in 1963, but have now negated it. So who is departing from Marxism Leninism? As the Communist Party of Germany (M-L) pointed out in April 1977, according to the theory of three worlds, "it wouldn't, for example, really matter whether the dictatorship is successfully defended in China or if capitalist despots in the Party and state succeed in forcing China onto the path of capitalism. Such an attitude towards the socialist countries leads to an ideological weakening of the proletariat as regards the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist countries and a promotion of the attacks of imperialism, the attacks of the class enemy on the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time it amounts to disorientating the proletariat in the capitalist countries in its struggle for the socialist revolution and blurring the goal of its struggle."

It is not as A.W. states an argument over whether to refer to a socialist "camp" or to socialist countries (p.20). It is a fundamental question of principle which the "great strategic concept" ignores.

#### COUNTRIES or NATIONS ?

Where the theory of three worlds makes an obvious departure from the general line of the international communist movement is in negation of the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people. It replaces the "oppressed nations and people" with "third world countries" which are the "main force in the fight against imperialism".

This fundamental revision of Marxism-Leninism is glossed over by A.W. as something "one can hardly object to" because "When Lenin and Stalin wrote, most of the oppressed peoples existed under colonial or semi-colonial regimes and did not have their own independent national states, even formally" whereas today, the opposite is the case. This is a bad justification for a sleight-of-hand trick.

Up until the 1970's, the Chinese party was most meticulous about distinguishing "country" from nation, as the Albanians and all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties still do.

In 1963, the Chinese said: They (the Khrushchovites) contravened the thesis of the Moscow Declaration (of 1960) that in our day the liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples ... are powerful forces for the defence of world peace..." (6) (emphasis added).

And later in the same year: " The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys. " (7) (emphasis added)

Why did the Chinese not refer to third world countries ? By 1963, "Independence has been proclaimed in more than fifty Asian and African countries." (8) This is not to mention the nation-states of Latin America.

At the Ninth National Congress of the CPC in 1969, the report states:

"The revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations of the world always support each other." (9) (emphasis added).

Again in 1970: " From Asia, Africa, Latin America to North America, Europe and Oceania, the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries, including the American people (not country\*M.C.), are developing in ever greater width and depth and are shaking the whole of the old world." (10) emphasis added)

In August 1963, Mao Tsetung said: " At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are inflicting oppression, aggression and intimidation on the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world." (11) (emphasis added)

In January 1964, Mao Tsetung said that U.S. imperialism " never ceased to plunder and trample on the people of the Latin American countries and suppress their national democratic revolutionary struggles." (12) (emp. added)

It can be seen from this that Allen Ward's justification for the Chinese changing the Marxist-Leninist formula of "oppressed nations and people" to third world countries" doesn't hold water.

Marxist-Leninists have always clearly distinguished between the people and the government of a capitalist or fuedal country. In Chiao Kuan-hua's exposition of the theory of three worlds quoted earlier, it is clear that he, too, makes the distinction, but only in order to mislead people. The main force in combatting imperialism, he tells us, is the third world countries (ie. governments), and this " great strategic concept " should be used by the " oppressed nations and oppressed peoples ". (p.2)

What a blatant piece of revisionism !!

The " third world countries " are not the same thing as the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Chinese explained the position very well in 1966 in an excellent pamphlet called " The National Question and the Class Struggle ". Here it is stated:

" There are classes within every nationality. What people, or to be more specific, what class, then, is the essential part of a nationality ? When we say national interests, to whose interests do we refer ? When we say national liberation, whose liberation do we mean ? When we say national equality and progress, to whom do these terms apply ? In the answers to these questions lies the difference between the proletarian view of nationality and the view of the bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes.

" The bourgeoisie and the other exploiting classes always put their own class interests above those of the people of the whole nationality. They want to monopolise the term ' nationality ' and proclaim themselves the representatives of the nationality and custodians of the national interests.



According to them, their own exploiting classes are the essential part of the nationality and their class interests are the national interests. For them, so long as their demands with regard to their selfish class interests are satisfied, national equality and national liberation are achieved and the national question is solved. Marxist-Leninists, on the contrary, consider that the essential part of nationality can only be the oppressed and exploited working people who are the vast majority of its population... In the final analysis, national interests are the interests of the proletarians and other working people, who are the overwhelming majority of the population. Apart from the class interests of the proletariat there can be no real national interests. National liberation must be the liberation of the vast majority of the nation, i.e. the working people. The same principle applies to national equality and development. The national question is essentially one of the emancipation of the broad masses and exploited working people of all nationalities. If the working people, the overwhelming majority of the people of all nationalities, do not enjoy equality and emancipation, then those nationalities are not equal or free, and the national question can not be said to be solved." (13) (emphasis added)

The theory of three worlds holds that the national question has been solved in the "Third World". It proclaims the bourgeois governments as the "the representatives of the nationality and the custodians of the national interest". When Teng Hsiao-ping told the U.N. in 1974 that the "Third World" countries "have won political independence", he was obviously not referring to the workers and peasants. He was referring to the bourgeois governments which "still face the historic task of clearing out the remnant forces of colonialism, developing the national economy and consolidating national independence". (14) For Teng Hsiao-ping there are only "remnant forces of colonialism" and there is no such thing as neo-colonialism! And most importantly, there is no "historic task" of carrying out the revolution!!

This is straight-out Kruschovite revisionism.

Selectively quoting Lenin:

On page 1 Allan Ward quotes a passage from one of Lenin's speeches to the 2nd Congress of the Communist International where Lenin talks about the "fundamental idea of our theses" — the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations. Allen Ward argues that if it was good enough for Lenin and also Stalin to talk about this without meaning classes, then there can be no valid objection to the theory of three worlds failing to mention classes.

But this is an entirely false and dishonest argument. Lenin was making the Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions to the Congress. The theses he spoke of were to do with this question, i.e. they dealt specifically with one of the four fundamental contradictions (the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples).

continued page 6.

The section quoted by A.W. is only the first of three points which make up the theses on the national and colonial question. It is very obvious why A.W. neglected to quote the rest of the theses, because they show precisely the stark difference between the Leninist class approach and the bourgeois outlook of the theory of three worlds. Lenin said:

" The second basic idea in our theses is that, in the present world situation following the imperialist war, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial question correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist parties, in civilized and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting point." (15)

The "three worlds" fails to even mention the contradiction between socialism ("the Soviet movement") and imperialism, let alone making this postulate its starting point !!

Lenin's third point concerns the nature of the national revolutionary movements and the various class forces in the oppressed nations. Lenin said:

"Yet that distinction (between reformist and revolutionary movements) has been very clearly revealed of late in the backward and colonial countries, since the imperialist bourgeoisie is doing everything in its power to implant a reformist movement among the oppressed nations too. There has been a certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies, so that very often — perhaps even in most cases — the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes."(16)

Unlike Lenin's theses on the national question, the "great strategic concept" of three worlds makes no distinction between reformist and revolutionary movements, but describes the "Third World" governments (whether revolutionary, reformist, or fascist) as "a revolutionary motive force propelling the wheel of world history". (17)

In further comments on the third idea of his theses, Lenin stressed that "Communists should and will support bourgeois-liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organising in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited."

He concluded by saying that this distinction "has been made in all the theses with the result, I think, that our view is now formulated much more precisely." (18)

Unlike Lenin's theses, the " three worlds " negates any such distinction.

If we base ourselves on the three ideas of Lenin's theses, and not just on the first one, how can we possibly preach the notion that the "Third World countries" full stop are the " main force in the fight against imperialism.

The Albanians are completely correct when they say the theory of three worlds "ignores classes and class struggle" and "ignores the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces of their own countries". (19) Alan Ward is wrong when he says that according to the Albanians' logic, Lenin and Stalin would be "guilty of exactly the same crime" (pp 2-3). They were not guilty of this crime in their theses on the oppressed nations, but the "great strategic concept" of three worlds is !!

The dual nature of the bourgeoisie in the "third world".

Allan Ward takes the Albanians to task for listing five "bloody fascist dictatships" in Asia, Africa and Latin America, implying that this is not consistent with the Albanians' claims about "viewing regimes according to class criteria based on their social order". (p.27). But once again, in his attempts to ridicule the P.L.A. and justify the fundamental revisions of Marxism-Leninism embodied in the theory of three worlds, he has missed the mark.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania:

"... regarding the assesment of the policy pursued by various states and governments, the Marxists proceed again from the class criterion, from the stands these governments and countries maintain towards imperialism and socialism, towards their own people and reaction." (20)

This is the correct Marxist-Leninist approach which distinguishes between the reactionary and progressive section of the bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries. Lenin made the same distinction, as we showed earlier. He said the International Communist Movement would support liberation movements whose "exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organising in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited." He said that very often, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations "joins forces" with the imperialist bourgeoisie "against all revolutionary classes."

Today, the Chinese speak of the "fight against imperialism", but before the the theory of three worlds was concocted, they, along with the rest of the Marxist-Leninist movement, spoke of fighting imperialism and its lackeys. Who are the lackeys of imperialism if not the compradore bourgeoisie, -- the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie (and the fuedalists, too).

In 1963, the Chinese Party said: " In some of these countries (of Asia, Africa and Latin America ), the patriotic national bourgeoisie continue to stand with the masses in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and introduce certain measures of social progress. This requires the proletarian party to make a full appraisal of the progressive role of the patriotic national bourgeoisie and strengthen unity with them.

"As the internal social contradictions and the international class struggle sharpen, the bourgeoisie, and particularly the big bourgeoisie, in some newly independent countries increasingly tend to become retainers of imperialism and to pursue anti-popular, anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary policies.

"Generally speaking, the bourgeoisie in these countries have a dual character."

(21)

In the "third world", it is precisely the countries with fascist regimes (of which the Albanian editorial mentions five examples) where the reactionary anti-communist section of the bourgeoisie is in power. There are other "third world" governments which represent the aspirations of the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie to one extent or another. It is a correct Marxist-Leninist approach to recognise the dual nature of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations and draw distinctions between Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, Sukarno and Suharto, Allende and Pinochet, Lumumba and Mobutu.

continued page 8.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's remarks on how Marxist-Leninists appraise various governments are correct and have long been part of the general line of the international communist movement. That is why when he talks about "progressive peoples and democratic states" in Asia, Africa and Latin America (quoted by Allen Ward. p.3), he is not at all negating the class viewpoint as A.W. suggests. The Chinese were also correct in 1963 when they said that one of the "main common demands" of socialist countries should be to "oppose the anti-Communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies of the reactionaries of all countries". (22)

That is why the "great strategic concept" of three worlds is wrong and that is why the current Chinese silence about the anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary policies and actions of the "bloody fascist dictatorships" is a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

#### Two Attitudes Towards Reaction

When the fascist coup took place in Indonesia, Marxist-Leninist parties around the world vigorously opposed it and drew the lessons from it which showed the bankruptcy of Krushchov's revisionist line. Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote a lengthy article for Zeri i Popullit (People's Voice) entitled "The Fascist Coup in Indonesia and the lessons Communists Draw From It". (23) (This is an excellent exposition of the problems of Communist parties in under-developed countries with particular reference to united fronts with national bourgeois forces. It is well worth studying.)

The Chinese Party also vigorously opposed the Indonesian fascists, published documents from the Indonesian Communist Party relating to it and denounced the Soviet revisionists for supplying aid to the junta.

All this was an essential part of the internationalist obligations of the socialist countries and was a concrete example of "opposing the anti-communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policies" of the Indonesian fascists.

In 1973, a fascist coup took place in Chile. Again, numerous Marxist-Leninist parties vigorously condemned it and analysed the important lessons. The Albanian newspaper Zeri i Popullit published an editorial entitled "The Tragic Events in Chile- A Lesson for Revolutionaries the World Over" (24) which was translated into several languages and distributed around the world as a special supplement to the magazine Albania Today. Since the coup, the Albanian Telegraphic Agency has regularly provided information on the anti-fascist struggles going on in Chile and carried articles and statements from the Revolutionary Communist Party's clandestine newspaper El Pueblo and the Chilean Anti-Fascist Newsagency (ANCEA).

But by 1973, the international line of the CPC had already undergone significant changes, and what the Chinese did for Indonesia, they failed to do for Chile.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile which, at the time of the coup, had Party to Party relations with the CPC, recently stated that in the course of a meeting with Chinese Party representatives in 1975 (which turned out to be their last meeting)

"...we did manifest our deep disagreement with the callousness and lack of solidarity of those responsible for leading China's international policy, in accord with the international line of Teng Hsiao-ping, in face of the tragedy which has moved and angered the broadest sections of the progressive and democratic people of the entire world." (25)

Chou En-lai did send a message of condolence to Allende's widow, This message expressed "sorrow and indignation" at Allende's death, but failed to pass judgement on his murderers and "neglected" to mention the fascist terror, murder,

torture and imprisonment being inflicted on thousands of Chilean workers by the fascists.

And in the United Nations, Chiao Kuan-hua mentioned the fascist coup in passing in the middle of a paragraph. He chose to refer to merely as a "military coup d'etat" and mentioned it as an example of "aggression, subversion, control and interference against countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America by the superpowers". The only death he mentioned was Allende's who "died a martyr at his post". The only thing remotely approaching a lesson from the coup was his comment that the theory of "peaceful transition" (peaceful transition to what is not stated) is harmful "to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American people" (and presumably not harmful to "2nd" and "1st world people").

But the main, if not only, reason he made this almost Marxist comment was because this "absurd theory" has "been advocated by one of the superpowers" (guess which !). How utterly spineless and piss-weak can you get ! He wasn't even fair-dinkum enough to actually name outright the U.S. imperialists as the external instigators of the coup ! (26)

The Chilean comrades point out:

"News items on various aspects of the repression in Chile appeared only during the month of the coup d'etat (coinciding with Chiao's U.N. comments) and were reported without any commentary or opinion. Moreover, as if to underscore the decision not to take a stand on the atrocities perpetrated by the fascist junta, several condemnations of it were reproduced, but always condemnations made by others. Later, even news regarding acts of repression was passed over in silence and the Chinese publications restricted themselves to noting, with increasing tardiness, some of the effects of the economic crisis affecting Chile... (The) representatives of China at the United Nations and in other international bodies left the sessions without voting when the resolutions condemning Pinochet and his henchmen were presented... (This) attitude of the official Chinese circles was warmly hailed by the functionaries of the Chilean fascist regime, such as the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs who, in January 1975, maintained that 'People's China supports Chile in international meetings', without being contradicted either by word or deed." (27)

Don't forget that this occurred only three years after China pulled out all propaganda stops to denounce the fascist coup of Lon Nol in Cambodia. Mao Tsetung issued his famous May 20 Statement as a response to the Cambodian coup and the Chinese loudly condemned the Soviet revisionists for doing precisely what China did over the Chile coup -- nothing !

Isn't it obvious to blind Freddy (not to mention his running dog) that the foreign policy of the Chinese Party in relation to Chile was a betrayal of proletarian internationalism ? Isn't this a complete about-face from the position upheld by the Chinese Party in 1963 against Krushchovite revisionism ?

And the reason for this betrayal of Marxist-Leninist principles is equally obvious -- China's fragile "united front" of "third world", "second world" and half the "first world" governments might take offence. Pinochet is more important to the revisionists than the Chilean workers and peasants because it is he, and not they, who are supposedly the "main force in the fight against imperialism" ! Allen Ward please explain.

The plain fact of the matter is that the Chinese revisionist clique have thrown the long-established general line of the international communist movement overboard and are proclaiming the "great strategic concept" of three worlds as the new general line. Hua Kuo-feng made this perfectly clear in his report to the 11th Party Congress.

He alleged that this theory, which mentions only countries and not classes "clearly defines the main revolutionary forces, the chief enemies and the middle forces that can be won over and united". He proclaims it to be "the correct strategic and tactical formulation for the world proletariat in the present era and its class line in its international struggle". (28)

It sticks out like dog's balls that the Leninist theses on the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution have been rejected. The Chinese revisionists reject the thesis that the two main revolutionary currents in our era are the national liberation revolution and the proletarian socialist revolution. In rejecting this, they have joined the ranks of Browder, Tito and Kruschew as enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

And just like Kruschew, they seek to impose their new line "of profound and far-reaching significance" on the International Marxist-Leninist movement in total violation of all established principles of Party-to-Party relations. There is a common international line of the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and this line is based on the general principles re-affirmed at the last international conference of communist and workers' parties — the 1960 Moscow meeting. It is the Chinese revisionists who are negating it, just as the Kruschovites did 18 years before them.

#### The Foreign Policy of a would-be Superpower

REM has realised that since October 1976, the bourgeoisie have controlled state power in China.

It is also obvious that the bourgeoisie had control of the People's Liberation Army before then — probably from at least 1974. It also controlled various other portions of the state and Party and a fierce see-saw battle for total power was being waged for several years before the actual final coup d'etat. With hindsight we can see that the bourgeois forces were a lot stronger and well-entrenched than any of us imagined at the time. The Marxist-Leninists were facing a major offensive in which they had their work cut out holding their ground, let alone seizing new ground.

Since the coup, the policies in those areas where the Marxist-Leninists had held sway have been rapidly, radically and systematically reversed. Industry, education, science and technology and culture are obvious examples.

But the opposite has occurred in foreign policy. All changes here, such as the "re-habilitation" of the revisionist counter-revolutionary Tito, are merely developments of the basic ideas of the three worlds theory.

Comrades, please ask yourself what the "ideal" foreign policy for a Chinese bourgeoisie hell-bent on becoming a super-power would be. Wouldn't it be a policy of active discouragement of revolutions, a policy designed to preserve the status quo and hoodwink people into abandoning the struggle against their governments? Wouldn't the Chinese bourgeoisie seek to re-assure the U.S. and western imperialists that, in exchange for their technology, expertise, military hardware and investments, they have renounced their support and aid to the class struggle in Western Europe, North America, Latin America, Japan and Oceania and liberation wars in the horn of Africa?

All of these things have been among the practical results of their "great strategic concept".

Of course they still do give some low-key verbal support to armed struggle in Zimbabwe, but this is certainly not out of context with the "Anglo-American initiative" which holds that the Patriotic Front must not be ignored.

And they zealously support Democratic Kampuchea, give low key support to the armed struggle in Malaya, Thailand and Burma while also supporting the targets of the armed struggle (two bob each way) and denounce one "third world country" (Vietnam) twenty-four hours a day while threatening her with gunboat diplomacy and further reprisals. They have already militarily occupied the mineral-rich disputed territories around Hsisha Island in the South China Sea, instead of resolving the issue through negotiation.

The Chinese bourgeoisie clearly intends South-East Asia to be the first "Sphere of influence" for the would-be superpower.

### Conclusion

Thousands of copies of Peking Review are published every week in English, French, Spanish, Japanese, German and Arabic. Radio Peking broadcasts all over the world every night in several languages. None of this is aimed at governments. It is aimed at the broad masses of the world's people. This is who the three world's theory is designed to hoodwink.

It is an eclectic reformist theory which negates classes, negates revolution and negates the dictatorship of the proletariat, while purporting to be a "penetrating analysis of all the basic contradictions of our time and the division and realignment of all the political forces in the world".

Lenin's remarks in his book "The State and Revolution" can be equally applied to this "great strategic concept".

"In falsifying Marxism in opportunist fashion, the substitution of eclecticism for dialectics is the easiest way of deceiving the masses; it gives an illusory satisfaction; it seems to take into account all sides of the process, all tendencies of development, all the conflicting influences, and so forth, whereas in reality it presents no integral and revolutionary conception of the process of social development at all".

(29)

All around the world, the anti-revisionist forces are rallying to defend the general line of the international communist movement. Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labour of Albania have done a magnificent service to the world revolution by taking up cudgells against the new revisionist theory.

It has led to a decisive and all-round break with the Chinese Party bourgeoisie by the overwhelming majority of parties which were born in the struggle against Krushchovite revisionism.

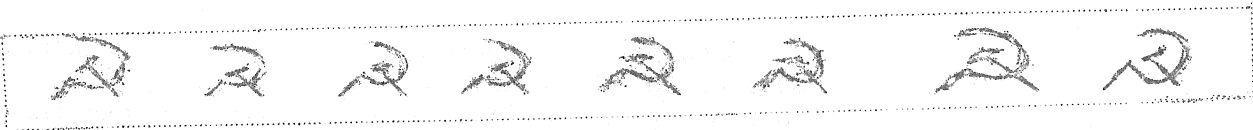
We are living through another historic polemic between Marxism and revisionism, a polemic which will result in a new revolutionary upsurge. One's attitude in this polemic is a sharp demarcation line.

REM must reverse the stand taken in our document " Opinions on Some International Questions " with regard to the theory of three worlds and the opposition to it.

REM must vigorously condemn and expose this revisionist theory of class capitulation.

Accordingly, I demand that the REM Executive convene a special Conference of all REM members to overturn our current position. If the Executive refuses to convene such a conference, I request all Branches which think there should be another conference on this question to demand it of the Executive.

Martin Connell 24/8/78



Decision REM Executive 10/9/78

" That the above article be published as an internal circular. The Executive will not re-open the discussion on the theory of three worlds until early next year (1979) unless branches request it. That in the meantime, our present position stands."

Carried, with one against.

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NOTES
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# REJECT THE THEORY OF POMPOUS PHRASE-MONGERING!

By Alan Ward

NOTE: Martin Connell's "Reject the Theory of Three Worlds!" was originally circulated internally in September 1978. The following comments are based on a reply originally drafted in January 1979, but not finalized and published then, because of other commitments, and because there was no interest shown in the internal discussion supposed to start then. A more positive analysis of some of the issues raised by Martin Connell, would probably have been better, but since the critique is being published now, it is necessary to put on record a simple reply to the various accusations of misquoting and the various references to Marxist-Leninist classics, even though such a reply cannot deal with the essential issues in dispute. On the substantive issues, I still stand by my original article on "Three Worlds" in the first issue of this bulletin, and also the additional material in the second issue, although I no longer regard the Albanian line as simply a "Left Wing Communist" error. I do not believe that Martin Connell's article answers mine, or even seriously attempts to do so, but since it is being published, I don't want anybody to think I am refusing to answer it.

\* \* \*

1. The reason my article was "liberally studded with quotations from Marxist-Leninist classics" was because it was refuting the Albanian editorial "Theory and Practice of Revolution" which uses the method of quoting isolated remarks by Lenin or Stalin to "prove" that this or that view is "Leninst" or "anti-Leninist". Probably it is best not to reply directly, and simply put forward a positive statement of one's own, based on an actual Marxist-Leninist analysis of the real world. That appears to be the way that Mao's China handled its differences with the Albanian party. Nevertheless, I thought it would be helpful to people intimidated by the Albanian pontifications, to call their bluff by quoting what the classics of Marxism have said on these issues, and quoting them in their full context. I will do the same in regard to Martin Connell's article, and simply hope that this won't unduly contribute to the atmosphere created by "quotation mongering" material, which is usually boring and unreadable and encourages people to shy away from the whole dispute, leaving it to the "gurus".
2. The complaint is a bit rich coming from Martin Connell, whose article is "liberally studded" with more than twice as many quotations per page! If mine were longer that is because I was careful to include the context.
3. I did not omit the Chinese polemics against Khrushchov and Mao Tsetung's statements in the 1960s from my bibliography "because this material is in stark contradiction to the theory of three worlds", but for the opposite reason, that although it is relevant to quote Mao's statements in the 1930s and 1940s to show consistency, it is hardly convincing to quote current Chinese material in support of Chinese current policy. In other words I omitted it for the same reason that supporters of the Albanian line should refrain from quoting current statements by Enver Hoxha as an authority for their views (although they would find it interesting to go back over some of his previous statements on related issues, such as the anti-fascist war). I will quote some of this material now, since the issue has been raised, although a short answer would be that Martin Connell, along with most of those who wrote polemics 'proving' that the "three worlds" was against Mao's line and the Chinese Communist Party's polemics with Khrushchov, has since admitted that this is bullshit and now claim that Mao and the Chinese Communist Party were revisionist all along (but of course without any self-criticism whatever).
4. Neither the "two camps", nor the "three worlds" nor the "four contradictions" have ever been "the starting point of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation".

We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts.

(Mao Tsetung, "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art")

Nevertheless, I will have to follow Martin Connell's approach, in order to refute his article point by point. So here goes.

### THE FOUR CONTRADICTIONS

5. My article on "Three Worlds" rejected the Albanian complaints about China no longer talking about the socialist camp, by pointing out that it no longer existed and that there was therefore no point talking about anything more than socialist countries (who do not play such a central role, as one pole of a fundamental contradiction in the world, as they did when there actually was a socialist camp). (Section 6, p20)

6. Martin argues that there is a "fundamental question of principle" involved, whether one refers to a "socialist camp" or "socialist countries", in that one of the four fundamental contradictions in the world is that "between the socialist system and the capitalist system". He implies that in the 1960s polemics, Khrushchov tried to play down the importance of this fundamental contradiction, while the Chinese emphasized it, but they have since negated this, departing therefore from what they themselves had insisted was the Marxist-Leninist position.

7. Instead of trying to prove that a "socialist camp", or for that matter "socialist countries" do in fact play a central role in one of the fundamental contradictions of the world today, Martin simply argues that they must do so because:

Following the seizure of state power by the proletariat in Russia in 1917, a fourth basic contradiction of our era emerged and has been in force ever since, namely:

\* The contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist system.

8. Having looked through Stalin's "Foundations of Leninism" and found only three basic contradictions listed, Martin concludes that the fourth one must not have existed when Stalin wrote that book, but must have "emerged" after 1917. Since nobody has repealed it, this contradiction must still be "in force" (sic) "ever since". Check out page 1 of the article and see whether this isn't the way Martin is reasoning.

9. Unfortunately "Foundations of Leninism" was written in 1924, thus 7 years later, Stalin had never heard of the terribly terribly vital "four" contradictions, although:

... whether he (meaning Alan Ward, not Uncle Joe) likes it or not, they have been part and parcel of the international communist movement general line since the Great October Socialist revolution, despite numerous attempts by Trotsky, Browder, Tito, Krushchev, Teng Hsiao-ping etc, to "forget" one or more of them...

Thus Stalin, not to mention Lenin, is as forgetful as Trotsky, Alan Ward, Tito and the rest. Oh well... back to 65% good, 5 marks off for bad memory!

10. If Martin had ever bothered to study the 1960s "Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement", instead of skimming through it looking for suitable quotes, he would have realised that the "contradiction between the socialist camp, and the imperialist camp" referred to a specific bloc of thirteen countries (listed on pp10-11 of the "Polemic...") which did in fact play a fundamental role in world affairs during the period known as the "Cold War".

11. The Albanian polemic complained about classifying countries into "three worlds" instead of classifying "first and foremost, from the social-economic order existing in various countries." They explicitly said that "today, too, we should speak of a socialist world", although they were not able to specify exactly who was in it.

Instead of explaining how a classification of the countries of the world into Albania on the one hand, and the rest of the world on the other, helps us to grasp international affairs, Martin simply avoids the whole issue by talking about a "contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist system".

This was never the issue, and nobody except Martin has ever claimed that this is a fourth fundamental contradiction in the world, separate from the contradiction between labour and capital.

12. In the 1960s polemics, it was precisely the Khrushchovites who over emphasized the contradiction between socialist and capitalist countries, while the Chinese refuted them, pointing out that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism was even more important. This incidentally, was also a feature of Trotsky, Browder and one phase of Tito's revisionism, and it is also becoming a feature of Teng Hsiao-ping's, as China now abandons the concept of rallying the Third World against both superpowers, and tries to subordinate the international communist movement to its needs as an allegedly socialist country threatened by Soviet imperialism.

Here is the Soviet position and the Chinese reply in the 1960s polemics (pp 200-203). The continuity between this debate and the present one about "Three Worlds" is clear, but in the opposite direction to what Martin suggests:

The Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU accuses the Chinese Communist Party of putting forward a "new theory". It says:

... according to which (the new theory) the chief contradiction of our time is not, we are told, between socialism and imperialism, but between the national-liberation movement and imperialism. In the Chinese comrades' opinion, the decisive force in the battle against imperialism is not the socialist world system, and not the international working-class struggle but, again we are told, the national-liberation movement.

In the first place, this is a fabrication. In our letter of June 14, we pointed out that the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world are the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and the contradictions among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

We also pointed out: The contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp is a contradiction between two fundamentally different social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is undoubtedly very sharp. But Marxist-Leninists must not regard the contradictions in the world as consisting solely and simply of the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp.

Our view is crystal clear.

In our letter of June 14, we explained the revolutionary situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the significance and role of the national liberation movement. This is what we said:

1. "The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the

storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism. "

2. "The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time. "

3. "The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution. "

4. "The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace. "

5. "In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population. "

6. "Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance but one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution. "

These are Marxist-Leninist theses, conclusions drawn by scientific analysis from the realities of our time.

No one can deny that an extremely favourable revolutionary situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today the national liberation revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important forces dealing imperialism direct blows. The contradictions of the world are concentrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The centre of world contradictions, of world political struggles, is not fixed but shifts with changes in the international situation. We believe that with the development of the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America, the momentous day of battle will arrive in these homes of capitalism and heartlands of imperialism. When that day comes, Western Europe and North America will undoubtedly become the centre of world political struggles, of world contradictions.

Lenin said in 1913, "... a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia... It is in this era of storms and their 'repercussion' on Europe that we are now living. "

Stalin said in 1925:

The colonial countries constitute the principal rear of imperialism. The revolutionisation of this rear is bound to undermine imperialism not only in the sense that imperialism will be deprived of its rear, but also in the sense that the revolutionisation of the East is bound to give a powerful impulse to the intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the West.

Is it possible that these statements of Lenin and Stalin are wrong? The theses they enunciated have long been elementary Marxist-Leninist knowledge. Obviously, now that the leaders of the CPSU are bent on belittling the national liberation movement, they are completely ignoring elementary Marxism-Leninism and the plain facts under their noses.

13. The long excerpt above is justified not only to refute the idea that the analysis of "Three Worlds" contradicts the stand taken by Maoists in the 1960s polemics, but also because it provides such a clear refutation of the present Albanian theses about the "two camps" and the relative importance of the "socialist system" and the national-liberation movement. Check out the excerpt quoted from the CPSU Open Letter (indeed check out the whole Open Letter - "Polemics..." pp526-586). Weren't the Khrushchovites saying then exactly what Martin is saying now?

Of course Martin could admit that he was wrong to counterpose the "Three Worlds" to the Chinese stand in the 1960s (although he has not admitted this yet - preferring to just change his views without any self-criticism whatever).

Consistent with his present position, Martin could now argue that the material I have quoted confirms the Albanian thesis that the Chinese Communists were always revisionists all along from the 1930s and therefore their 1960s polemics with Khrushchov weren't much good either.

But will Martin go further and admit Khrushchov was right? I doubt it, nevertheless the above material shows clearly that if Enver Hoxha is correct about the "two camps" today, then Khrushchov was right about it much earlier.

This is a very serious issue. Not only did Khrushchov advance the idea that Chinese strategy was to provoke a world war between the USA and the USSR, long before Enver Hoxha, but he also took up the question of Chinese attitudes towards the "socialist system" and the national-liberation movement, as shown above, and if you look through the Soviet polemics there is hardly a single issue (except perhaps Yugoslavia), where Khrushchov did not anticipate Hoxha (just as on most concrete international questions today, like the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, Albania and the Soviet Union take up identical positions, and now this includes the Yugoslav question too).

One need only study what the Soviet polemics had to say about the social content of the Chinese revolution, the class character of the Chinese Communist Party, the "anti-Leninist" strategy and tactics it followed against Comintern advice and so on, to be struck by the fact that the Albanians, like the Trotskyites before them, have absolutely nothing new to say on these questions. The resemblance grows even more striking when one reads the Soviet polemics about the construction of socialism in China, the internal life of the CCP and its lack of Congresses etc, the Cultural Revolution which allegedly liquidated the CCP and plunged China into chaos, and all the rest of it.

Having made the same analysis of China's "pro-imperialist" foreign policy, especially since the Nixon visit, it is hardly surprising that the Soviets, Trotskyites and Albanians should come up with the same "theoretical" and "historical" explanation for it. The only thing surprising is that the Albanians won't admit Khrushchov was right. This hardly seems fair, especially since the Soviets have publicly stated that the Albanians are right (see Discussion Bulletin 3!).

14. Martin complains that the Chinese Foreign Minister's October 5, 1976 UN speech only mentions an "analysis of all the basic contradictions of our time and the division and realignment of all the political forces in the world", but he "does not list these basic contradictions...". Martin also complains (p1) that "Alan Ward does not list these contradictions in his article".

All the Albania line speeches and articles do unfailingly list all four contradictions (including the one between imperialist and socialist camps which disintegrated more than a decade ago), so whoever fails to conscientiously list all four in every speech or article is obviously guilty of a grave crime.

What the UN speech did, and what I tried to do in my article, was to actually present an analysis of how the proletariat can overthrow imperialism (the principal contradiction of our epoch), based on an analysis of the other fundamental contradictions - between the oppressed nations and imperialism, and among the imperialists themselves. This still seems to me far more useful than producing a "list" and pontificating about its significance.

15. The point of the Albanian thesis about "two camps" is not that it takes into account a fourth fundamental contradiction left out or slurred over in the analysis of "three worlds".

The contradiction between socialist and capitalist systems is an aspect of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which the Red Eureka Movement highlighted in the first section, on "Proletarian Revolution" of our policy statement "Opinions on some international questions".

The point of the "two camps" theory is to downplay the other two "fundamental" contradictions in the world today - taking strong exception to the importance we attach to the struggle of oppressed Third World and Second World countries against the superpowers, and the contention between the two superpowers for hegemony.

It is precisely because we really do recognize that the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism is fundamental to understanding the division and realignment of all the political forces in the world, that we pay such attention to the relations between the Third World (and Second World), and their oppressors, the two superpowers. That is exactly why we attach such importance to the rise of the Third World and the struggles waged by Third World countries and peoples against the two superpowers (and to a lesser extent by Second World countries and peoples too).

It is precisely because we really do recognize that the contradiction between the imperialists themselves is a fundamental contradiction that also does determine the actual course of international developments, that we pay so much attention to superpower contention in international affairs. That is exactly why we attach such importance to the broadest possible united front against Soviet imperialism, seeing this as a fundamental issue like the united front against fascism in the 1930s and 1940s.

It is precisely because we really do recognize that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a fundamental contradiction determining the whole character of our epoch, that we won't agree to forget about it when dealing with aspects of the other two fundamental contradictions or any other matter. That is exactly why we went along with Hill in making "independence" the whole content of the Australian revolution at its present stage (whether independence from the USA, the USSR, or their "contention"). Nor will we surrender our initiative, independence and opposition to imperialism in the course of a united front against the Soviet Union. Nor will we forget Communist leadership of the new democratic revolution because we support Third World countries against imperialism. Nor will we accept that "superpower contention" has replaced the class struggle as the motive force behind political developments in Australia. And neither will we accept Enver Hoxha's denials that there is a bourgeoisie and a class struggle in Albania.

Since the defeat of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe after the second world war, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of the advanced capitalist countries has not been at the center stage of world affairs, and the focal point of world contradictions has been in Asia, Africa and Latin America. That situation will certainly change, perhaps in the course of the coming world depression, but nobody could seriously argue that it has changed already and that working class struggle in the West already overshadows the national-liberation movement, and the contradictions between imperialists, as a determining influence on world affairs.

This is the whole point of recognizing that there are three interrelated fundamental contradictions, not just one - and this is completely missed by those who talk about "two camps".

By reducing world politics to just a struggle between "two camps", the Albanian line completely negates the concept that there is more than one fundamental contradiction in the world, while those of us who don't conscientiously list those contradictions are faithfully upholding that concept.

The "two camps" approach is very attractive to a certain "leftist" mentality (even though its promoters are not "left" at all), but it very clearly does not correspond to what's actually happening in the world and the forces that are really at work. That's why its advocates resort to abstract quotation mongering and "lists" instead of trying to apply their theory to explain facts and show who our friends and enemies are and what line we should take towards them, as the Chinese UN speech does.

Although it sounds very "revolutionary" and "Leninist", this "two camps" approach is really quite the opposite.

As usual, Lenin himself provides the best refutation of this ignorant and childish nonsense:



So one army lines up in one place and says, "We are for socialism", and another, somewhere else and says, "We are for imperialism", and that will be a social revolution!

Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.

("The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up",  
Collected Works Vol 22, pp356-7)

16. According to Martin (p3), to put the contradiction between China and imperialism within the framework of the third world versus imperialism (rather than two camps - socialist and imperialist) was a very "erroneous view", "At least up until October 1976, when China was a proletarian dictatorship..."

On the contrary, it was a very correct view, and "at least up until October 1976" the view of many revolutionaries who saw China as a major determining force in the world, at the head of the socialist and proletarian revolutionary forces, separate from the "Third World", had a very "erroneous view".

Since the revisionist coup d'etat of October 1976 and the defeat of socialism in China, continuing to view a "socialist camp", or "socialist countries" or even the "socialist system" in the abstract, as more central to world affairs than for example the "Third World", is not merely "erroneous", but just plain silly.

To paraphrase Martin's quote from the Albanian editorial, it "ignores the great historic defeat of the international proletariat" both that which occurred when the socialist camp disintegrated, and the subsequent defeat in China, not to mention Albania's open repudiation of Marxism-Leninism in favour of revisionism.

Like it or not (and I do not), there is no socialist camp, therefore there is no "fourth contradiction", and therefore the polemics about it are just pompous phrase-mongering which cannot help anyone to understand, let alone make revolution in the real world.

At least the "Third World" is real.

#### COUNTRIES or NATIONS ?

17. Martin's next complaint is about the "Three Worlds" referring to "countries" and not "nations" or "peoples". Instead of explaining why, in his opinion, we should not unite with oppressed Third World countries and their Governments, against imperialism, Martin simply produces no less than six quotations from Chinese statements in the 1960s, which refer to oppressed nations and peoples ("emphasis added"). This proves it is a "fundamental revision of Marxism-Leninism" to classify the world into oppressor and oppressed countries, and refutes my claim that Lenin and Stalin's division of the world into oppressor and oppressed nations is the basis for the concept of "Three Worlds" and would be a "non-class view" according to the logic of the Albanian insistence on classifying the world only according to class criteria.

The quotations selected are taken from the polemics against Khrushchov, the political report to the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, and various solidarity declarations on international questions by Mao Tsetung. Presumably this explains why Martin thought I omitted reference to these documents as being in "stark contradiction to the theory of three worlds".

Very impressive.

Almost as impressive as the "four contradictions" and Stalin in fact, and just as wrong.

Unfortunately for Martin, the very same documents he quotes about "nations" and "peoples", also refer to "countries", and in exactly the same terms since used concerning the "three worlds".

Take Mao Tsetung's statement of 12 January, 1964, cited in note 12 of Martin's article. Did Martin miss this passage, or wasn't he looking?

The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, all peace-loving countries and all countries subjected to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite, and should form the broadest united front to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and to safeguard world peace.

(Emphasis not added)

Apart from the target being the U.S. in 1964, rather than the two superpowers and especially the Soviet Union as in the present situation, the concept of a united front of all countries subjected to "aggression, control, interference and bullying", is clearly the same as in the "three worlds".

In the Documents of the Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party we read:

All countries and people subjected to aggression, control, intervention or bullying by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, let us unite and form the broadest possible united front and overthrow our common enemies! (p101)

For a fuller explanation of this concept, we need only go back to the Chinese polemics against Khrushchov, relied upon by Martin:

Thirdly, in carrying out the policy of peaceful coexistence, Lenin adopted different principles with regard to the different types of countries in the capitalist world.

He attached particular importance to establishing friendly relations with countries which the imperialists were bullying and oppressing. He pointed out that "the fundamental interests of all peoples suffering from the yoke of imperialism coincide" and that the "world policy of imperialism is leading to the establishment of closer relations, alliance and friendship among all the oppressed nations". He said that the peace policy of the Soviet state "will increasingly compel the establishment of closer ties between the R. S. F. S. R. (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) and a growing number of neighbouring states".

Lenin also said:

We now set as the main task for ourselves: to defeat the exploiters and win the waverers to our side - this task is a world-wide one. The waverers include a whole series of bourgeois states, which as bourgeois states hate us, but on the other hand, as oppressed states, prefer peace with us.

("Polemics..." pp265-6)

Of course Lenin wouldn't dream of uniting with bourgeois "countries" as well as their peoples, no... he only talked about winning over "bourgeois states" to our side!

The Chinese polemics against Khrushchov's line on "peaceful coexistence" also give a very thorough explanation of the Marxist-Leninist attitude to the countries now known as the "Third World" (p273-4):

We differentiate between the nationalist countries which have newly attained political independence and the imperialist countries.

Although fundamentally different from the socialist countries in their social and political systems, the nationalist countries stand in profound contradiction to imperialism. They have common interests with the socialist countries - opposition to imperialism, the safeguarding of national independence and the defence of world peace. Therefore, it is quite possible and feasible for the socialist countries to establish relations of peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with these countries. The establishment of such relations is of great significance for the strengthening of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and for the advancement of the common struggle of the peoples against imperialism.

We have consistently adhered to the policy of consolidating and further developing peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation with countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time, we have waged appropriate and necessary struggles against countries such as India which have violated or wrecked the Five Principles.

These polemics continue, to explain the Marxist-Leninist attitude towards the countries now known as the "second world":

We differentiate between the ordinary capitalist countries and the imperialist countries and also between different imperialist countries.

As the international balance of class forces grows increasingly favourable to socialism and as the imperialist forces become daily weaker and the contradictions among them daily sharper, it is possible for the socialist countries to compel one imperialist country or another to establish some sort of peaceful coexistence with them by relying on their own growing strength, the expansion of the revolutionary forces of the peoples, the unity with the nationalist countries and the struggle of all the peace-loving people, and by utilizing the internal contradictions of imperialism.

Again, the continuity between this line, and the "three worlds" is perfectly obvious, although it should be noted that circumstances for carrying it out became more favourable and more Third World and Second World countries became interested in such unity or neutrality in the 1970s, as the US imperialist attempt to isolate China collapsed, and the Third World bloc emerged as an important independent force. It should also be noted that there was some serious "ultraleft" obstruction to the carrying out of this line in Chinese foreign policy during the period when Lin Piao (and not the "gang of four") was influential.

18. Likewise, there is a very real continuity between the Albanian attacks on China's unity with the bourgeois leaderships of third world countries, and similar attacks made by the Khrushchovites:

In its Open Letter of July 14, the Central Committee of the CPSU also attacks the standpoint of the Chinese Communist Party on the question of proletarian leadership in the national liberation movement. It says:

... the Chinese comrades want to "correct" Lenin and prove that hegemony in the world struggle against imperialism should go not to the working class, but to the petty bourgeoisie or the national bourgeoisie, even to "certain patriotically-minded kings, princes and aristocrats."

This is a deliberate distortion of the views of the Chinese Communist Party.

In discussing the need for the proletariat to insist on leading the national liberation movement, the letter of the Central Committee of

the CPC of June 14 says:

History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas (Asia, Africa and Latin America) the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism and for national independence and people's democracy, of standing in the forefront of the national democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future.

.....  
On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance the proletariat and its party must unite all the strata that can be united and organize a broad united front against imperialism and its lackeys. In order to consolidate and expand this united front it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological, political and organizational independence and insist on the leadership of the revolution.

In discussing the need for establishing a broad anti-imperialist united front in the national liberation movement the letter of the Central Committee of the CPC says:

The oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are faced with the urgent task of fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

.....  
In these areas, extremely broad sections of the population refuse to be slaves of imperialism. They include not only the workers, peasants, intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie, but also the patriotic national bourgeoisie and even certain kings, princes and aristocrats who are patriotic.

Our views are perfectly clear. In the national liberation movement it is necessary both to insist on leadership by the proletariat and to establish a broad anti-imperialist united front. What is wrong with these views? Why should the leadership of the CPSU distort and attack these correct views?

It is not we, but the leaders of the CPSU, who have abandoned Lenin's views on proletarian leadership in the revolution.

The wrong line of the leaders of the CPSU completely abandons the task of fighting imperialism and colonialism and opposes wars of national liberation; this means it wants the proletariat and the Communist Parties of the oppressed nations and countries to roll up their patriotic banner of opposing imperialism and struggling for national independence and surrender it to others. In that case, how could one even talk about an anti-imperialist united front or of proletarian leadership?

19. Obviously a UN speech can only deal with the united front and there is not much point discussing the strategy and tactics of the proletarian party within that united front, to an assembly of delegates from their rivals for leadership. Therefore the UN speech on "Three Worlds" may appear somewhat one-sided in failing to raise these questions.

Certainly the Chinese Communist Party was not one-sided in its own practice of independence and initiative during their united front with Chiang Kai-shek against Japanese imperialism, nor did it fail to support similar tactics by the Communist Parties in Malaya, Thailand etc, although of course a different attitude prevails since the revisionist coup d'etat.

20. If one is going to gather quotes from Marxist-Leninist documents that refer to the "people", to prove a point, there is no need to go back to the 1960s. We can contribute some more recent examples for Martin's collection.

From the Red Eureka Movement's policy statement "Opinions on Some International Questions", which is not a UN speech and therefore does deal with the question of Communist strategy and tactics:

In the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, our basic program is the complete overthrow of all exploiting classes, the establishment of working class rule (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in place of capitalist class rule (the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie) and the triumph of socialism over capitalism.

.....

As proletarian internationalists we firmly unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties and organizations, with the proletariat, the oppressed people and nations of the whole world, and fight together with them to overthrow the two superpowers - the Soviet Union and the United States, to overthrow all imperialism, revisionism and reaction and to abolish the system of exploitation of one person by another over the globe, so that all humanity will be emancipated.

.....

Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution - this has become an irresistible historical trend.

.....

All power grows out of the barrel of a gun. The imperialists are armed, so to win independence and socialism, the people must be armed.

.....

The numerous countries of the Third World are the most heavily oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism. The peoples and countries of the Third World are the main force in the fight against imperialism and particularly against the superpowers. This main force includes socialist as well as capitalist and semi-feudal countries. The working class is the leading force and the genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties are its vanguard. The people and the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history.

.....

The task of Communists is to lead the revolution. This applies whether we are at war or in peacetime, whether we are in power or driven underground and whether we are in a united front with the bourgeoisie or split with it.

.....

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED NATIONS, UNITE!**

And from the October 1976 Chinese UN speech on "Three Worlds":

Back in the early sixties, Chairman Mao Tsetung vividly portrayed the contemporary world situation in these verses:

The Four Seas are rising,  
clouds and waters raging,  
The Five Continents are rocking,  
wind and thunder roaring.

The world situation has been in a state of great turmoil... the people want revolution... This great disorder is a good thing and not a bad thing for the people. It throws the situation to develop further in a direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism and social-imperialism.

.....

... Chairman Mao's concept of the three worlds provides orientation for the workers and oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their fight in the realm of international class struggle.

In the past year, the struggle against colonialism, imperialism

and hegemonism waged by the people of the Third World countries has made great progress, though it suffered setbacks in individual places... The heroic people of Egypt, ... The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America... The great African people... the long-tempered African people...

.....  
 ... "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The destiny of mankind is definitely not to be decided by any superpower. "People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."

.....  
 We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and for national liberation... We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle... the people of Namibia in their armed struggle... the powerful mass movements of the people of Azania against racial discrimination and apartheid...

We firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples... We firmly support the Korean people... We firmly support the just struggle carried on by the people of East Timor under the leadership of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of their country against foreign aggression...

.....  
 ... The Chinese Government will continue unswervingly to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, keep the people in mind, place hopes on them, uphold proletarian internationalism, and will never seek hegemony or be a superpower. We will strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples the world over; our unity with the people of the Third World countries and our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism or social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, and particularly against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States...

.....  
 Surveying the whole world, we see that there is great disorder under heaven and that the situation is excellent. The way ahead is toruous, but the future of mankind is bright. The people of China are ready to join hands with the people of all other countries in our common endeavour.

(Emphasis in original)

It is perfectly clear that both Mao Tsetung's China, and the Red Eureka Movement, while defending the analysis of "Three Worlds" and the united front of countries, placed the main emphasis on the "people" at all times. Even if it was just a matter of words, we refer to the word "peoples" far more often than to the word "countries".

As I noted in my original article criticizing the Albanian editorial:

The editorial's real objection is not to any "omission" of the people, because no such omission is made. The objection is to the inclusion of a united front of countries as well.

21. What Martin has done, is gone through a number of documents from the 1960s and 1970s, all of which refer to peoples, nations and countries and selected quotations referring to "peoples" from the 1960s, and quotations referring to "countries" from the 1970s, in order to contrast the two and "prove" a "fundamental revision of Marxism-Leninism".

This method goes beyond the bookish dogmatic quotation mongering of the rest of Martin's article and is more than just a refusal to examine the real world in a Marxist-Leninist way instead of playing with verbal abstractions. It is straight out dishonest fabrication.

If Martin objects to the inclusion of countries as well as peoples in the united front, he should not argue about the use of words, or refer to abstract "principles", but cite facts to explain why.

If he does believe there is some "principle" requiring us to only unite with the "people", then he should develop the argument for that principle on its own merits, and not by trying to dig up quotations.

Being unable to do so and going through Marxist-Leninist documents looking for support for such a principle is not a very good idea. Naturally Martin couldn't find any support for his principle, because it is not a Marxist-Leninist principle. If he had not been so completely blinded by subjectivism, he would have noticed the clear statements of opposition to that principle, and not made such stupid blunders (the same goes for the "four contradictions" and Stalin).

But having gone fossicking through documents looking for "quotes", and having failed to understand what those documents were actually saying, the least Martin could have done is to abandon the quest and go back to straightforward dogmatic assertion.

There is no excuse for outright fabrication, although the fact that these fabrications are copied from the Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party Open Letter and other anti-"three worlds" documents, may be a mitigating circumstance.

22. The very title of this section of Martin's article, "Countries or Nations?" indicates a complete misunderstanding of this question, as is proved by the quotation from the 1966 Chinese article on "The National Question and the Class Struggle".

Martin believes it is alright to talk about oppressed nations and a united front with them, but no good mentioning oppressed countries or a united front with them. What he has in mind is that unity with an oppressed country means unity with its ruling class and Government, while unity with an oppressed nation could simply mean unity with its proletariat and other working people, and need not have such a corrupting influence on the "pure" proletarian revolution Martin would dearly like to imagine.

True enough; the term "people" is often used in a restricted sense referring to the revolutionary classes in a nation and not to its entire population. But there is no such distinction between the terms "nation" and "country". These terms are commonly used interchangeably by Marxist-Leninists, who also have no hesitation talking about unity with oppressed bourgeois states. Thus Lenin's reference to winning over "oppressed states" quoted above (and the practical diplomatic and other activity which flowed from this policy). Also note Lenin's description of Germany after the peace of Versailles as an oppressed nation.

The term "nation" refers to a historically constituted, stable community of people with a common language and culture, economy, territory, history and so on. It is elementary common sense that nations are divided into classes and that when one speaks of an oppressed nation one is talking about all the classes being subject to national oppression, and not about particular classes being subject to class oppression.

A "country" is a particular national state, although the same word may be used for the geographic territory concerned. It may be a single nation state (e. g. the Australian nation, Australia), a state embracing several nations (the Czech and Slovak nations, Czechoslovakia), or a nation divided among several states (the German nation, East and West Germany).

An oppressed nation with its own state may be less oppressed than a nation that has been denied its right to self-determination, but it is still an oppressed country. The only reason "countries" are referred to more often in the 1960s and 1970s while Lenin and Stalin referred to "nations" more often is that the post-war decolonization has brought many more independent states onto the stage of world history.

Certainly it was never the Leninist position that we unite only with the exploited classes in an oppressed nation.

Thus in "Foundations of Leninism", Stalin insists that:

The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a revolutionary struggle, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates. . . For the same reasons, the struggle that the Egyptian merchants and bourgeois intellectuals are waging for the independence of Egypt is objectively a revolutionary struggle, despite the bourgeois origin and bourgeois title of the leaders of the Egyptian national movement, despite the fact that they are opposed to socialism. . .

According to Stalin, right at the center of the Leninist attitude to the national question is "rendering real and continuous assistance to them (oppressed nations) in their struggle against imperialism for real equality of nations, for their independent existence as states."

Why on earth would we support their struggle for independent existence as states, if we believed that once formed, such states were not worth uniting with against imperialism?

23. Of course the exploiting classes in oppressed nations tend to consider the national question to be solved as soon as they themselves are no longer subject to intense national oppression - as soon as native capitalists can develop their own businesses without being treated like dirt by colonial masters.

The same applies to oppressed national minorities, where for example better off blacks in Australia or the USA may consider the problem solved when they have "equal opportunity" and are not subject to racist laws, even though the majority of blacks may continue to be sharply discriminated against in practice, even without such racist laws.

That is why the article Martin quotes is correct to point out that:

The national question is essentially one of the emancipation of the broad masses and exploited working people of all nationalities. If the working people, the overwhelming majority of the people of all nationalities, do not enjoy equality and emancipation, then those nationalities are not equal or free, and the national question can not be said to be solved.

This obviously refers to national equality and emancipation. It means we fight for the liberation of the whole nation and not just for the liberation of its upper classes from national oppression.

The national question is not solved while the working people are still oppressed by foreign imperialists. But this certainly does not mean that the national question in a country is not solved so long as there is inequality and oppression within a nation, with one class exploiting another.

The aim of the class struggle of the proletariat is not "equality and freedom", but the complete abolition of classes in a communist society.



"Equality and freedom" is the goal of the bourgeois national democratic revolution and Martin is degrading the proletarian revolution to the level of the bourgeois revolution when he imagines that the struggle against bourgeois Governments in the Third World is simply a struggle for "equality and freedom".

Perhaps Martin imagines that there are hardly any genuinely independent states in the Third World and they are mainly neo-colonial puppet regimes. If so, he should say so and prove it. All the evidence I know of suggests that there are very few really puppet regimes like South Vietnam, and they do not last long, although the degree of independence naturally varies.

But by Martin's criteria, even the United States would have to be an "oppressed nation" (although an imperialist country), because the American working people are still oppressed and exploited.

24. Even Teng Hsiao-ping has Martin completely tied up in knots because of this complete confusion about countries, nations, classes and so on, which comes from the abstract manipulation of verbal categories instead of real analysis of the real world.

According to Martin:

When Teng Hsiao-ping told the UN in 1974 that the "Third World" countries "have won political independence", he was obviously not referring to the workers and peasants. He was referring to the bourgeois governments...

Quite true of course, although it is a mystery why Martin should be so shocked about it. After all, Teng Hsiao-ping is a revisionist, not an ignoramus and nobody who is talking about "political independence" can be referring to anything but a relation between nations and states, not classes.

The state power of the workers and peasants is not called "independence", E.F. Hill and Martin Connell notwithstanding.

25. This "political independence" of Third World countries is not an invention of Teng Hsiao-ping's, but a fact about the world since the post-war disintegration of the colonial system. Of course this does not mean economic independence. In a "Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", Lenin pointed out the absurdity of claims that self-determination of nations and political independence was impossible under imperialism, citing the example of Norway, which became politically independent although its industry was largely foreign owned. As Lenin pointed out:

Big finance capital of one country can always buy up competitors in another, politically independent country and constantly does so.

Only caricature Marxists deny the importance of political independence because of this, just as only caricature Marxists counterpose the class struggle against the struggle for self-determination. As Lenin points out in the same work:

Some curious opponents of "self-determination of nations" try to refute our views with the argument that "nations" are divided into classes! Our customary reply to these caricature Marxists is that the democratic part of our program speaks of "government by the people".

26. Precisely because there is such a thing as neo-colonialism, precisely because the formal establishment of political independence does not mean the national question is completely solved, Teng Hsiao-ping is quite correct to say that the Third World countries "still face the historic task of clearing out the remnant forces of colonialism, developing the national economy and consolidating national independence."

Exactly the same idea is expressed in the Chinese polemic "Apologists of Neo-Colonialism":

A great revolutionary storm has spread through Asia, Africa and Latin America since World War II. Independence has been proclaimed in more than fifty Asian and African countries...

.....

... But can anyone assert that the task of combating imperialism and colonialism and their agents has been completed by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Our answer is, no. This fighting task is far from completed... many of these countries have not completely shaken off imperialist and colonial control and enslavement and remain objects of imperialist plunder and aggression as well as arenas of contention between the old and new colonialists...

.....

The leaders of the CPSU have also created the theory that the national liberation movement has entered upon a "new stage" having economic tasks as its core. Their argument is that, whereas "formerly, the struggle was carried on mainly in the political sphere", today the economic question has become the "central task" and "the basic link in the further development of the revolution".

The national liberation movement has entered a new stage. But this is by no means the kind of "new stage" described by the leadership of the CPSU. In the new stage, the level of political consciousness of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples has risen higher than ever and the revolutionary movement is surging forward with unprecedented intensity. They urgently demand the thorough elimination of the forces of imperialism and its lackeys in their own countries and strive for complete political and economic independence. The primary and most urgent task facing these countries is still the further development of the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys. This struggle is still being waged fiercely in the political, economic, military, cultural, ideological and other spheres. And the struggles in all these spheres still find their most concentrated expression in political struggle, which often unavoidably develops into armed struggle when the imperialists resort to direct or indirect armed suppression. It is important for the newly independent countries to develop their independent economy. But this task must never be separated from the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys.

("Polemics..."pp187-192)

If all this wasn't true, then the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism would have ceased to be a fundamental contradiction in the world today, and the concept of "three worlds" would be wrong.

In that case the national question could be said to be solved and the only historic task in all countries would be for the workers to seize power and build socialism. Martin's attempt to exclude "countries" from the revolution, confining it to the "people" (by which he probably means the Communist Parties), is in fact a declaration that the national question has been solved, ignoring the reality of neo-colonialism etc.

Instead of condemning Teng Hsiao-ping for his recent actual practice of abolishing the revolution in China and proclaiming a "new stage" with economic tasks as its core (for other Third World countries too), Martin condemns Teng for a 1974 UN speech where he correctly calls for a political struggle against "the remnant forces of colonialism" (not just in southern Africa, but throughout the third world).

Obviously Teng Hsiao-ping believes there is no "historic task" of carrying out the revolution. This is proved by his actual practice of carrying out counter-revolution in China. That is why both Chiao Kuan-hua's 1976 UN speech, and our policy statement, place so much emphasis on the people, the revolution and so on. But this is no excuse for denying that

the oppressed nations who constitute the Third World countries face the historic task of clearing out the remnants of colonialism etc, and pretending that this task is faced by their workers and peasants alone.

The working class has the task of leading this national struggle, relying on the peasantry as the main force, and it has the further task of continuing the revolution far beyond its national democratic stage. Speeches from representatives of socialist countries in the UN can assist (although not much) by supporting the national democratic revolutionary struggle. Not by ignoring it and encouraging the bourgeois governments to line up entirely with imperialism against their own people.

27. The Chinese material, and our policy statement, does make quite precise differentiations between the proletariat, the people, nations, countries and so on, pointing out the particular historic tasks which particular forces join in solving.

It is precisely the Albanians who mix everything up together, presenting the whole struggle as between "the freedom loving peoples" and "the reactionaries", completely ignoring the peasant question, or any other kind of class analysis.

As I pointed out in the section on "Classes in the Third World" (p20), this confusion, which consistently occurs in all material from the anti-"three worlds" camp, is characteristic of the way petit-bourgeois nationalists look at the revolution.

Although it sounds terribly "left", it actually means subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie in a purely national struggle.

#### SELECTIVELY QUOTING LENIN

28. Martin complains that I quoted Lenin "selectively" by referring to his emphasis on the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations as the most important and fundamental idea in our theses on the national and colonial questions. Instead of answering my explanation that this fundamental distinction is the basis of the classification of countries into "three worlds", and is rejected by the Albanian attack on this classification, Martin says "It is very obvious why A. W. neglected to quote the rest of the theses, because they show precisely the stark difference between the Leninist class approach and the bourgeois outlook of the theory of three worlds."

Martin then goes on to quote Lenin's second and third theses, which I omitted.

Had I too quoted Lenin unselectively, as Martin demands, then of course I would have gone on to include the passage saying that:

... reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia...

Since Martin has quoted the whole of the passage in question, it ought to be "very obvious" why I refrained from doing so.

Lenin was specifically talking about "the present world situation following the imperialist war", a qualification presumably inserted at the start of this passage in the (vain) hope that it would prevent people quoting it out of time and space.

It really was true that in the period immediately after the first World War, world politics was determined by the struggle waged between the imperialist nations and the Soviets. During the second World War, world politics was determined by the struggle between the Axis and the Allies. At present it is determined by the struggle between the Third World, the Second World and the superpowers, and by the contention between the superpowers.

What possible use could there be in quoting Lenin's estimation of the forces involved at a particular time to settle an argument about what forces are involved at another time altogether? This is not the same as quoting Lenin's fundamental principles back to people who claim it is "anti-Leninist"

to analyse the contemporary world in accordance with those principles.

Presumably Martin does not imagine that "the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia" are still at the head of the world struggle (although on the face of it, this is exactly what he is saying). We may perhaps be permitted a certain amount of "revision" in order to "apply" Lenin's (completely irrelevant) thesis to our own time.

Then it would read like this, and if I had quoted it unselectively, Martin would have been completely happy:

The second basic idea in our theses is that in the present situation in the late 1970s, reciprocal relations between peoples and the world political system as a whole are determined by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the communist movement headed by the only socialist state, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Unless we bear that in mind, we shall not be able to pose a single national or colonial question correctly, even if it concerns a most outlying part of the world. The Communist parties, in civilized and backward countries alike, can pose and solve political problems correctly only if they make this postulate their starting point.

It sounds like a joke, and it is a joke, but it captures the essence of what Martin is saying, and what the whole idea of "two camps" amounts to. Moreover this joke is being taken very seriously by all sorts of flunkey groups around the world who are insisting that world politics does revolve around the "genuine Marxist-Leninist parties" (one franchise holder per country) whose main activity appears to be solidarity with Albania (while Albania's main activity, perhaps unknown to some of these groups, seems to be trying to keep out of the Soviet Union's way in the coming European war, and perhaps hoping for a slice of Yugoslavia in return for disrupting the international communist movement's opposition to Soviet aggression).

In fact, world politics in no way resembles this picture, and Martin doesn't even try to argue that it does. In most countries, the communist movement is very weak and especially disoriented at the moment (and the flunkey groups always will be). There is nothing like the Soviet movement that swept Europe after the first World War, and no socialist state acting as a center and inspiration for this movement, like Soviet Russia did then.

Albania's influence on world affairs is confined to the existence of groups of co-religionists who erect shrines to what they imagine it is like, and most of whom will probably melt away when they realize what is really going on.

Maoists today have no more influence than Albania liners, although we have a future since our analysis is being proved right, while theirs is being proved wrong. But at least people have heard of Mao Tsetung and the Communist line he represents. More people have heard of the Ananda Marga sect than of Enver Hoxha's.

When China, which embraces a quarter of the world's population, was under revolutionary leadership, it was at least understandable why people inclined towards flunkeyism should tend to see the world revolution as in some sense centred around China.

The Chinese revolutionaries clearly repudiated this view, both by repeatedly warning of the defeat of socialism in China (which warnings were politely applauded as showing how vigilant they were, and studiously ignored, both by those who have now become Albanian flunkeys and by those who have remained Chinese flunkeys), and also by putting forward the analysis of "three worlds".

Despite what the flunkeys think, it was never true that the revolution was centered around China and the analysis of "three worlds" clearly explains that China is just a part of the third world and tells us that to achieve a correct "orientation... in the realm of international class struggle" (or to "pose and solve political problems correctly") one must grasp the relations within and between the three worlds, because that is how the forces that determine current history are lined up.

Since the counter-revolution in China, and the disarray in the international communist movement, assertions that current world politics is determined by a struggle between "two camps" becomes not only wrong, but quite incomprehensible. WHAT ON EARTH ARE THEY TALKING ABOUT?

One has to suspect that the people putting forward these phrases don't even understand what they are saying, while the Albanian leaders, who are initiating them, must have some other purpose in mind, since if they were that stupid, they would not be in Government.

Quoting Lenin selectively and refraining from quoting him where it would make one appear to be an idiot, is not "an entirely false and dishonest" approach.

Stalin answers this far better than I could, so please read the excerpt from "Lenin as the Organizer and Leader of the Russian Communist Party", which accompanies this article. The trend that does not "stand by" Marxism, but "lies down" on it includes Enver Hoxha as well as E. F. Hill.

29. Since it has already taken more than three times as many pages to untangle the first 5½ pages of Martin's article as it did to write them, I am going to take a rest before writing part 2 of this reply for the next issue.

Meanwhile I hope there is enough material above to confirm that my previous omission of references to the Chinese polemics of the 1960s was not because I found them disagreeable, and that any delay in further reply to Martin's comments is not because we were shocked into silence by his irrefutable logic.

Readers are invited to pick out for themselves the fallacies in the rest of Martin's article. Unsuccessful contestants may be presented with a complete set of the Collected Works of Enver Hoxha and required to read it.

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