

Australian Marxist Review

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

- ★ *60 years of scientific socialism*
- ★ *Afghanistan*
- ★ *Australian realism*
- ★ *International Womens Day*
- ★ *Petty bourgeois role in China*
- ★ *Rabbit sized imperialism*
- ★ *Book review*

Australian MARXIST Review

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Published by New Age Publishers
392 Sussex St Sydney
Phone 233 1722

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60 Years of struggle for scientific socialism

by W.J. Brown

This year marks six decades of struggle for scientific socialism in Australia...sixty years of struggle to build a Party of the working class soundly based on the science of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the basic principle of proletarian internationalism.

The history of this struggle encompasses the outstanding role of the Communist Party of Australia from the 1920s to the 1960s and the role of the Socialist Party of Australia founded in December, 1971 as the continuer of all that was best and basic in the CPA.

The Communist Party of Australia was founded on October 30, 1920. Characterising this important event, the late General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, L.L. Sharkey wrote: "The formation of the Communist Party was one of the decisive revolutionary acts of the Australian working class. It was the outcome of the experience gleaned in the struggles and growth of the labor movement from 1890 to 1920."

Objective analysis of the history of the CPA across the 1920s and 1930s must give high credit to the role of the CPA in the fight against capitalism's ruthless policy of unloading the burdens of the

Great Depression onto the working people; the Party's leadership in the unemployment struggles; in big industrial battles of the trade union movement; the solidarity fight to preserve democracy in Spain and its fundamental role in the Movement Against War and Fascism that made such distinguished contribution to the international effort to prevent the outbreak of World War II.

In the 1940s, both in the "phoney war" period when efforts were still being made to make common cause with Hitler and switch the war against the Soviet Union and in the subsequent period of peoples war against fascism the Party played a sound, internationalist role. In the war years the CPA grew from some 5,000 to about 20,000 members and displayed a capacity to work in a broad yet basic principled way that reflects great credit on the CPA.

Similarly, in the post-war 1940s the CPA showed itself capable of self-critically analysing its work and corrected a recurrence of left-adventurist and sectarian tendencies and set a firm course based on building the broadest possible united front while steadily advancing basic socialist principles.

In the 1950's, the CPA stood up to the extremes of the Cold War. It faced security raids, phoney "spy plot" hysteria and rabid anti-communism patterned on the notorious McCarthyite attacks in the USA. Membership losses were suffered, but the Party conducted itself with a high level of political maturity, revolutionary firmness, courage and dignity.

Of course there were errors and shortcomings and ideological struggles for a correct course over these first four decades. But the Party leadership of this period did not make any serious departure from overall basic principles of Marxist-Leninist science.

Internationally, particularly in the years of the leadership of J.B. Miles and L.L. Sharkey, the Communist Party of Australia won well deserved high regard in the international Communist movement. It was widely recognised as a party which, while basing itself on the specific conditions of Australia also observed and applied the universal principles common to revolutionary class struggle in all countries. It won a reputation of being a Party which shunned nationalist and opportunist attitudes and took a consistently firm stand on the fundamentals of working class internationalism.

It is now an acknowledged part of the history of the struggle for Marxism-Leninism or scientific socialism in Australia that serious ideological divisions arose within the CPA in the 1960's.

Serious differences arose in regard to the mixture of "left" and right opportunist tendencies which emanated from a central section of the leadership in this period side by side with lapses into nationalist standpoints and development of attitudes of an antagonistic character towards the international Communist movement, the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries.

The real source of what happened to the CPA in the sixties is, of course, to be found not only, nor mainly, in the subjective errors of a group of leading individuals. The real source lies in the material conditions of life in Australia and the pressures of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology. This anti-working class ideology has strong roots in Australian society and finds expression in both right and "left" opportunist tendencies pressing in on the trade union and labour movements generally.

The sources of these errors therefore, had both an objective base in the strong social roots of bourgeois ideology existent in Australia and a subjective base in conscious, subjective efforts by bourgeois agencies to penetrate and subvert Communist Parties from basic Marxist-Leninist science. It is now established that in this period, US imperialism in particular, intensified its conscious efforts to penetrate, divide and destroy where possible, various left-wing movements, organisations and even political parties.

Specific evidence indicates that leading ideologues in America and other countries, including Australia, took part in high level seminars and discussions in the mid-sixties which were of obvious value (and which met quite marked success) in developing sophisticated methods of diverting and dividing the left from basic socialist orientation both nationally and internationally. ★

Many of these diversions emerged in the attractive guise of being "creative" and an application to "new" conditions and to specific national features. While creative not dogmatic application of Marxist-Leninist science is essential, it is an old device to impose or excuse non-scientific socialist concepts or anti-Marxist standpoints behind the pretence of "creativity."

What happened to the once politically sound Communist Party of Australia is an important historical study in itself. This study should be a

particular feature in this year marking sixty years in struggle for scientific socialism in Australia.

Today, the Socialist Party of Australia has won extensive and decisive international and national recognition as the continuer of the struggle for the Communist science of Marx, Engels and Lenin in Australian conditions. It has won wide recognition among parties leading the socialist countries and among a very large number of parties in the international and communist and workers' movement generally.

The SPA was founded in December, 1971. It was founded only after repeated offers were made by substantial opposition forces, particularly from basic trade union areas, to establish some form of "unity seeking" commissions to calmly discuss and seek to resolve basic ideological divisions. These were met with expulsions and outright rejection, backed by declarations by certain central CPA figures that opponents of the central leaders' line should "get out and form their own party." ★

Since its foundation, the SPA has grown in strength numerically and organisationally and its Central Committee has shown unity and maturity in developing basic scientific socialist policies both nationally and internationally.

The SPA stands for and seeks to develop in every possible way united action for the immediate and long range interests of the Australian people with the Labor Party and the Communist Party of Australia. Despite ideological differences, the standpoint of the SPA is that every effort must be made at all times to build the broadest possible united front and people's front of all forces for world peace and social progress in Australia.

At the same time, a distinguishing feature of the SPA is its firm stand with the international communist movement, its firm solidarity with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which are daily advancing to new successes in developing an alternative life-style in a society free of economic crises, with no unemployment and a better, more cultural life for all.

The SPA hails the 60th anniversary of the founding of the first Party to set itself the course of bringing consciousness of scientific socialism to the Australian labor movement.

The SPA will seek to mark the 60th anniversary as the opening of a new decade of effort to build a strong and influential party firmly guided by communist science and capable of leading the struggle to build the socialist Australia of the future.

★ See data in *Australia and the Struggle Against Opportunism*, W.J. Brown, AMR, Vol 7 No 3, March, 1979

★ See J. Sendy, *Comrades Come Rally*.

CIA-Peking subversion of Afghan revolution

On July 3, 1979 the Paris-based newspaper *Le Figaro* wrote: "The United States wants to use the developments in Afghanistan as a lever for making the countries and parties deeply committed to the Moslem political concept join the camp hostile to the Soviet Union. Such is its aim. To achieve it the United States is undoubtedly giving all possible assistance to the rebellion in Afghanistan."

Now the CIA, which had long displayed interest in Afghanistan as another potential bridgehead for subversion and espionage against the USSR, became occupied with Afghanistan in earnest. According to *Le Figaro*, Pakistan was chosen as the main base for an undeclared war against Afghanistan, and the regional CIA headquarters moved there from Tehran .

CIA associated great hopes with H. Amin, whom it had, as Member of the PDPA Central Committee M. A. Vatandjar testifies recruited during his studies in the United States. It is authentically known that Amin continued to collaborate with the CIA even after the April, 1978 revolution. After seizing leadership in the party and the country, Amin held confidential meetings with American officials and, sending his emissaries to the US, conveyed personal oral messages to President Carter. It is by no accident that in September-November 1979 American officials expressed their joy over the fact that "the spirit of cooperation with the US features the Afghan leader and his entourage" and that Amin "follows the same course as Egyptian President Sadat."

At the end of November 1979, in Munich, there took place a meeting of political representatives of emigrant groups and military leaders of the "revolt," which discussed coordinating and expanding interventionist actions. An "Islamic council for the salvation of Afghanistan" was formed from both military and civilian persons opposed to the April revolution. The site of the assemblage unambiguously showed who stood behind all these people: Munich has long been known as one of the CIA's chief stations abroad. At about the same time it transpired that seasoned US intelligence agents, such as Rogers Brock, Louis Robinson, Venan David and others, had appeared on the territory of Pakistan. Up to thirty special "bases" and 50 centres for the training of counter-revolutionary bands were set up there. In the period between July 1978 and November 1979 alone no fewer than 15,000 terrorists underwent training in Pakistan.

The American intelligence officers, according to *Counterspy* are highly active in the Afghan border area, using as a cover, in particular, the anti-narcotics agency and the US Asian Fund organisation.

Peking joined in the anti-Afghan game almost simultaneously with the US. It has a special interest in Afghanistan. The modern Chinese mandarins long ago entered the eastern areas of Afghanistan in the list of so-called "lost Chinese territories." True, when the King still ruled they seemed to have given up these claims, but that was done only temporarily, "for show." Their appetites flared up with new force after the April revolution.

In particular, Peking linked its calculations with the activity of pro-Maoist groups of the Sholee Jawid and "Sorha" type. The Afghan Maoists launched vigorous anti-government propaganda, and then proceeded to acts of open terror, sabotage and subversion against the PDPA. Pro-Maoist groups actively participated in the well-known events in Herat in the spring of 1979, and attempted to stage a revolt in Kabul. With help from the PRC bands including Maoists developed an armed struggle against the government in the areas of Kunar, Nangarhar, Paktia, Kandahar, Ghor and others.

Trying to give this struggle greater effectiveness, the Peking politicians took pains to consolidate the scattered anti-government pro-Maoist groups. Aided and abetted by China, their congress was held in Herat in January 1979. It openly called on all anti-government organisations to intensify the armed struggle against new Afghanistan, "using Chinese instructors and the methods recommended by China."

With the help of Chinese special services the Maoist groups established contacts with feudalists' and landowners' bands formed with Peking's

money and equipped with Chinese arms. One of these bands consisting of 500 men led by Rahmankul, a big feudal landowner, operated in the eastern part of the so-called Vakhn corridor. A large band armed by the Chinese was smashed in the area of Faizabad, the centre of Badakhshan province.

Arms and equipment with the trademark "Made in PRC" went along Pakistan's PRC-built Karakorum Highway to the anti-government forces of Afghanistan. Peking, wrote *The Daily Telegraph* supplies arms by contraband to the Afghans tribes inhabiting the villages on the border with China. The next step will inevitably be the training of small groups of Afghans in Chinese camps, after which they will return to Afghanistan as already trained insurgents.

The step was taken. There emerged several camps for the training of anti-Afghan armed formations in Xinjiang. From there trained terrorists were transferred to Pakistan, and then sent into the DRA. In addition, centres for the training of saboteurs in Pakistan itself were opened with Chinese help — in the towns of Chitral, Cherat, Kohat, Quetta, Naushahr and others.

Vigorous contacts were established between pro-Maoists groups and "Moslem Brothers." At the request of the "Moslem Brothers" leader, Ghulbuddin Ekmatiar, Peking agreed to receive up to 200 "Brothers" to be trained as terrorists.

The Peking secret services quickly found a common tongue also with the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. In terrorist training camps, the US instructors work together with their Chinese opposite numbers. According to the western press, Pakistani and Egyptian officers are also employed as instructors.

These facts lift the curtain, albeit partly, over the secrecy in which imperialism, Peking hegemonists and Arab reactionaries were hatching their "undeclared war" against the people's revolution in Afghanistan. Needless to say that the USSR's assistance to the Afghan patriots was absolutely timely and necessary in these conditions. The more so as Amin's policy aimed at repressing true Afghan patriots and disuniting them played into the hands of the imperialists, weakening the ranks of the revolutionaries and undermining their will to resist external aggression.

Soviet military assistance was rendered Afghanistan in accordance with Article 4 of the Soviet-Afghan treaty to repulse precisely this form of aggression, which, according to the UN formula, envisages the dispatch by a state or a group of states of armed bands, groups

and regular forces or mercenaries to use armed force against another state. In such cases, under the UN Charter, a victim of aggression has the right to request aid from other countries (Article 51).

Real prerequisites for rebuffing the aggression have emerged nowadays. However, the revolution is still in danger. Its enemies do not want to lay down arms. Late in January the leaders of counter-revolutionary organisations assembled in Pakistan to discuss the unity of action and more vigorous subversion against Afghanistan.

Their bellicosity is being openly promoted by their imperialist and Peking backers. How otherwise can one evaluate reports from reliable sources to the effect that Washington has produced a programme to step up assistance to the terrorists? There is no doubt that Washington's intention to resume arms deliveries to Pakistan and Saudi Arabia's promise to give its financial "aid" to the tune of 1,000 million dollars also pursue the aim of stimulating the counter-revolutionaries to continue and increase military actions against Afghanistan from the Pakistan territory. Brzezinski, the president's national security assistant and Christopher, a US deputy secretary of state, visited Islamabad with the clear aim of encouraging Pakistan to increase the scale of support for counter-revolutionary bands.

The further cooperation of the actions of Peking and Washington to support the forces hostile to Afghanistan, the foreign press reported, was discussed during the visit of Brown, the US defence secretary, to China in January.

They did not forget about propaganda cover for these actions either. They are trying to justify the course towards a broader aggression against Afghanistan by shouts about "Soviet interference" and calls "to rescue Islam." The "undeclared war" against Afghanistan continues under the smoke-screen of this propaganda.

The Renaissance of Australian Realism.....

by Jack Beasley

(In earlier sections of this paper Jack Beasley spoke of the birth, dominance and then the eclipse in the 1950's and 1960's of the Australian tradition in literature and art and of the significant features of the tradition...its humanism, militant democratic spirit and realistic response to life; how the work of communist artists, writers, poets, musicians, theatre people, folklorists, film makers, choral and dance performers etc from the 1920's on brought important renewal forces into the tradition; in the era ushered in by the work of Patrick White a non-realist and anti-humanist art is dominant, expressed in various kinds of avant garde formalism and abstractionism although film and theatre do not conform to the same extent as art and literature. The following section is re-constructed from the speakers' notes.)

A number of significant indicators suggest that the obscurant, non-realist, anti-human literature and art in our country is bankrupt. Its period of domination appears to be ending. Expressed more optimistically, this could mean that the eclipse of the Australian tradition is ending; that some light is beginning to show around the edge.

Some people probably imagined, twenty five years ago, that Patrick White was probably only the forerunner of a flow of highly creative people such as those who developed the original tradition in the Australian springtime. Great things were expected from Thea Astley, Elizabeth Harrower, Christopher Koch and Randolph Stow and they have in fact produced a body of writing. But another Patrick White won't be seen in a hurry, for all the frantic searching.

Recent years have seen an up-tempo drive for new experiments in non-realism and, while they may be collectively styled modernism, they are really varieties of formalism. Formalism, such as that of Diaghilev's Ballet Russe, used to shock the conservatives to their boot heels but doesn't fool anybody for long now.

No, matter how avant garde, no matter how talented, (and some of the formalists are extremely talented) formalism takes one aspect only, often a matter of technique, and elevates this to the whole. And the successful artist is sooner or later in the arms of wealthy collectors or publishers.

So the short story writer, poet or novelist who can express what I've called "self obsession and calculated cruelty towards others," the breakdown of human relationships, has a good chance of being favoured and an even better chance if one of to-day's cliches is used. For example achondroplastic dwarfs are very in right now, internationally, and at least two Australian writers have published successful books featuring such characters.

Or — an eccentric Texas millionaire bought new Cadillacs for years and half buried them, nose down in rows, on his ranch. A group of artists copied this, called it an environmental sculpture, and thought they'd make a devastating critique of the motor car society. But a car manufacturer, quite undismayed, used the idea to promote a new model. No doubt you've seen the television commercial.

Some playwrights of the Pram Factory who, in the early seventies launched critical shafts at aspects of capitalist society were non-plussed to find themselves absorbed into what they had called the "putrescent corpse" of the Melbourne Theatre Company. It is unfortunate, but perhaps inevitable, that they have tended to run out of steam.

From another angle let us look at some recent opinions from within the bourgeois citadels. Clement Greenberg, high priest of American modernist art and sculpture, stated on his Australian tour that excellence in painting is the essence, and although it seemed that the best of the last decades has been abstract, mostly the great art has been representational, from nature. Today's avant gardists, he said, were sheep in wolfs clothing.

An art critic of *the Age* in her signing — off article, pointed

to the necessity to restore a sense of social purpose to the forms of art and replace elitist, evasive formalism with fundamentally socialist alternatives. *The Age* also, in Australians most authoritative literary pages, subjected Patrick White's latest novel and much of his earlier work to quite withering critical analysis.

All these examples don't add up to a total rejection of obscurantist art but they do indicate that a serious re-appraisal is taking place. As for the masses, they long ago rejected modern officially endorsed art and literature and can scarcely be blamed for their philistine attitude.

It may well be time for those who believe that art has a social purpose and effect, time for those who live for the socialist transformation of our country to seriously consider and act on some of these facts. The renaissance of Australian realism is at hand, and we will be fortunate people indeed if we can play a part in this.

Realism is and ever was the aesthetic of the revolutionary class, the class with a future. For the creative artist it is also a highly moral question, a question of truth. The new realists will not dwell in the shadow of Lawson, as Katherine Sussanah Pritchard put it, and they won't dwell in the shadow of K.S.P. either, for it is a new reality to which they will respond.

The artistic methods they choose could be widely varied, not only old and well tried but satire, comedy, black comedy, fantasy, romanticism, science fiction and so on. They will not have identical political beliefs either, but they will be concerned with the life of our people in an outlook that is against monopoly, that is free of racism and sexism, that is for a genuine democracy, national independence and peace.

Organisations of writers, poets, playwrights, artists, film makers, performing artists, musicians, photographers, no matter how small to begin with, can exert a great cross-fertilising influence. Just think of the old left wing in writers organisations, or the unfortunately only temporary writing in the arts that existed in support of the Whitlam Government.

It is sad to see the Fellowship of Australian Writers without a public voice on great humanitarian issues, or even economic issues affecting writers. The Australian Society of Writers does speak up on economic issues affecting writers, but that is all.

Think of all the bush music clubs, folk lore groups, choral and dance ensembles and theatre groups which lost purpose and momentum coincidentally with the CPA. So much of the wonderful work that was done in and by these organisations didn't happen by accident or only because of favourable circumstances.

It happened also because the communists worked for it to happen. As J.B. Miles put it in his report to the 13th National Congress of the CPA in 1943 — ..“raise the level of aesthetic appreciation of the Communists and the toiling masses” and charged “those with the appreciation to work in the Party and the whole population.” Those who have the experience could be working in today's organisations to help them mobilise today's potential.

The New Theatre, for example, recently commenced a project of taking theatre to the people inspired by the Cuban Exambrey experience. The Australasian Book Society is very tentatively beginning to adopt to the quite new circumstances in which it functions.

The trade unions, which have long and honorable traditions of assisting the arts, can and do carry out this work today. Note that the A.C.T.U. conducts poetry and story competitions, and that the Victorian Trades Hall Council is now sponsoring an artist in residence. Doubtless George Seelaf, a trade unionist who has always believed in such co-operation, is involved.

The Workers Clubs which never did achieve the objective of nurturing cultural alternatives, are, in some cases, quite approachable regarding this. Migrant peoples, and, increasingly, our own Aboriginal people, are realising a need to express and find themselves through their cultural representatives.

More competitions aren't enough, even with generous prizes. Exhibitions and being published are what is needed and that doesn't happen. The trade unions could help in this way, as in the past.

The Socialist Party can play a direct part by its press carrying suitable critical and creative material. Would it be possible for *the Socialist* to three or four times a year publish lift out supplements, four pages, carrying stories, articles and art reproductions?

For those who have a consciousness regarding these matters this now becomes a question of conscience. National cultures can be stamped out or they can by fighting back enrich the under-

standing that a nation has of itself, past and future. The foreign giants and their local agents are well aware of this, of course. They'll keep bombarding us with *Apocalypse Now* and re-runs of John Wayne movies. The Literature Board will probably continue to support pusedo Marxist writers and there will be a supply of medals for those who conform and reform.

Despite all this, the state of mind of a socialist regarding the arts could only be one of optimism and confidence for after the long night we now face a bright fresh morning.

International Women's Day

an Inspiration for 70 years

by Barbara Curthoys

To fight where life is...." (Clara Zetkin)

It is now 70 years since Clara Zetkin moved the resolution at the Copenhagen conference of socialist women that March 8 be celebrated every year as International Women's Day.

Its establishment was a culmination of years of agitation to involve women in political activity around their own needs and to see this as part of the general struggle for socialism.

The resolution reads:

"That in agreement with the class conscious political and trade union organisations of the proletariat in their countries, the socialist women of all countries, every year, arrange a Women's Day serving the primary purpose of agitation for women's suffrage. The claim must be elucidated in its interconnection with the whole woman question, in accordance with the socialist approach. Women's Day must have an international character and be painstakingly prepared."

The growing danger of war was apparent at that time so at the same conference Clara Zetkin proposed that women link their struggle for equal rights with the struggle to maintain peace.

By 1911 a million men and women in Denmark, Germany, Austria and Switzerland attended demonstrations on International Women's Day and thousands of women were joining the socialist workers' movement.

From its inception in 1910 the main themes adopted for International Women's Day were equality, peace and internationalism and the socialist aim.

However, despite this principled struggle for international solidarity, when war broke out in 1914 the vast majority of social democrats sided with their capitalist governments.

Opposition to war by socialist women continued under difficult conditions, but revolutionary socialists remained firm. Clara Zetkin received a letter from British women socialists expressing solidarity with German socialist women and she replied as follows:

"We, the socialist women of all countries, recognise imperialism as the enemy which has now set one people against another... This imperialism can never make a pact with socialism. We are therefore determined to employ the full strength of our will and the fervour of our hearts to make socialism overcome imperialism..."

During the war there were sharp conflicts between social democrats and revolutionary socialists and Clara Zetkin was removed from the paper *Gleichheit (Equality)* which she had edited for 25 years and which had become an international paper in 1907 at the first international meeting of socialist women.

Only the Bolshevik Party in Russia remained a socialist revolutionary party strong enough in this period of imperialist war to overthrow its reactionary government on November 7th, 1917, to establish a socialist system and to end the war.

After the war the struggle for the principles for which International Women's Day stood was waged in an entirely new world context. One country had succeeded in ridding itself of its imperialist government and was setting out to build a socialist society.

In looking back 70 years to 1910 the three themes of International Women's Day socialism, equality and peace can be examined separately to see what has been gained and what still needs to be done.

SOCIALISM

Undoubtedly the most significant event in these 70 years was the Russian revolution of 1917. This event changed the world and in so doing changed the potential for winning liberation for women. By example it was demonstrated that with capitalist exploitation eradicated then true equality between men and women in all spheres of life could be guaranteed.

Today despite intervention and a second world war socialism has not only been firmly established in the Soviet Union but has been won in many countries. National liberation movements have grown in strength and in many cases have been successful in overthrowing imperialist oppression. Communist movements exist all round the world and are growing in influence despite constant efforts to divide and destroy them. We are in the period of changeover from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

EQUALITY

Because of these objective conditions and the many struggles of the women's movement the position of women has changed greatly in the last 70 years.

In 1919 only a few countries had won the right to vote and the suffrage movement was still at its height. Women's wages were far less than men's everywhere, illiteracy was widespread for women. Women in government were non-existent.

In capitalist countries like Australia some gains have been made:-

- ★ equal pay for equal work has been won though there are still anomalies in that the overall wage in some traditional female occupations is low.
- ★ there are no laws discriminating against women although there are attitudes that are essentially discriminatory.

However, one of women's fundamental rights i.e., the right to work is still in question. Women are still regarded as disposable to be hired or fired as the situation dictates. In the present period of high unemployment with approximately half a million men and women out of work, married women are once again the scape-goats and blamed for a situation that is inherent in the capitalist system itself.

In addition, if women have children there are few amenities provided by the government e.g., child care facilities, to make it easier for her to go to work and care for her children.

When we look at the situation in socialist countries the position is quite different.

In the USSR, within a few months after its inception legislation guaranteed equality for women. In the following period mass scale illiteracy among women was eradicated — opportunities were provided for vocational training and women began to be involved on a large scale in social production and in running the state. Recent figures indicate that, overall, five million women have been deputies to local Soviets since 1917.

Similar approaches are followed in all socialist countries. Also, there have been great changes for women in countries who have just recently achieved independence.

Women in newly-liberated countries which are adopting a socialist path and who fought side by side with men to achieve this are accepting the view expressed by Clara Zetkin in 1889 when she spoke on the platform when the Second International was founded.

“While women fight side by side with the socialist workers, they are ready to share all sacrifices and hardships but they are also firmly resolved to take as their due after victory, all the rights that belong to them.”

Women in countries like Ethiopia, Zambia, Mozambique, Yemen and others are helping to build their countries but are claiming the fruits of their victory in the form of equal rights in law and in practice.

Women in other countries who have thrown off the yoke of imperialism but who have not yet moved firmly in a socialist direction find that while there are some gains there is much to be done before equality, guaranteed in their constitution, can be fulfilled.

In India, for example the women’s movement is still struggling against feudal ideology and at the same time confronting the problems faced by women in capitalist countries. Women are still regarded as a source of extra profit to be dispersed with in times of unemployment.

PEACE

The third and final theme for International Women's Day as proposed 70 years ago was the maintenance of peace.

Since then there has been World War I, followed by the rise of Hitler fascism and a Second World War.

In the thirties women took part in the international anti-fascist movement to try and stop the fascist advance. In 1932 Clara Zetkin, near the end of her life had the right, as the eldest member of the German Reichstag, to open Parliament. She used this right with courage and denounced Hitler fascism from the rostrum.

Shortly before her death, Clara Zetkin made this appeal to German women.

“Working women! Remember that fascism takes away your rights, rights you have obtained for yourselves in a bitter struggle. Remember that the third Reich wants to degrade you to be a man's slave and a machine for bearing children. Don't forget the courageous women, the fighters whom fascism holds in prison.”

Despite courageous anti-fascist fighters the movement to stop Hitler failed and nations were embroiled in a second world war. In the six terrible years it took to defeat the German armies women participated to the utmost in the war effort to defeat fascism.

Since the end of the second world war, through the Cold War of the fifties and the period of the Vietnamese struggle for liberation the peace movement has worked consistently for peace and disarmament.

Now there are new attempts to revive the cold war thereby creating a further arms race and a drift to war. Leading circles of the United States supported by the Fraser Government have used the events in Afghanistan to embark on a dangerous course.

The need to fight against the trend to war is as urgent for us today as it was 70 years ago when Clara Zetkin moved the resolution which established International Women's Day and asked that peace and friendship between women of all countries be one of its aims.

Once again it is necessary to push back the efforts of those who would lead us into a third world war. The need for the women's movement to fight around the central issue — peace — is never more urgent.

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Role of petty bourgeois ideology in China

by Alan Miller

Petty bourgeois ideology has played a big role in the history of the Communist Party of China and consequently on the history of the People's Republic of China.

This ideology reflects the outlook of the small producer, caught between the contending working class and capitalist class. It is understandable that it is strong in China. In 1949, when the People's Republic of China was established, there were only two and a half to three million industrial workers in an estimated population of 475 million. The peasantry accounted for nearly 90 per cent of the population. The petty bourgeoisie not only dominated the countryside but also the urban areas.

The Communist Party of China (CPC) was formed in July 1921 under the influence of the October socialist revolution in Russia. The CPC was based on Marxism-Leninism and stood for the principle of working class leadership of the peasantry.

The party was strongly connected with the working class and played a significant role in the working class struggles of the twenties, struggles which reached a very high level in 1927, particularly in South China, where in December of that year, the Canton Commune was established, the first example of the dictatorship of the proletariat on Chinese soil. It was interesting to note that in 1927 the CPC had 58,000 members, more than 50 per cent of them industrial workers and 19 per cent peasants.

The party, however, also paid attention to the peasantry.

The Communist International, in which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union played a significant part, helped the CPC which was affiliated to the Comintern.

When the workers' movement was suppressed in 1927, the CPC lost many members killed and the revolutionary forces had to retreat from the big cities. This did not mean, however, that the Marxist-Leninist theory of working class leadership lost its value. One of the main reasons for the proletariat's defeat in South and Central China was its isolation from the peasant movement which had entered the democratic revolution late, although strong movements of peasants developed later, inspired by the working class movement.

After the defeat of the workers, and the isolation of the party from the industrial centres, mainly peasants joined the party. The recruitment of industrial workers practically stopped. This provided a social base for Mao's petty bourgeois ideas in the party.

Official Chinese figures in 1956 showed that industrial workers constituted only 14 per cent of the party membership while peasants comprised 69 per cent.

The Comintern in the 20s and 30s emphasised the importance of the peasant struggle but in alliance with the working class. The Comintern said it was necessary to continue the work among the proletariat in the cities but also to build up the revolutionary movement in the rural areas. This line was clearly in opposition to the Maoist approach.

As early as 1927, Mao, in a report entitled *Study of the Peasant Movement in Hunan Province*, idealised the peasants and, in fact, made no mention of the working class.

Mao's petty bourgeois line became apparent in the 1930s. In his article *The Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist Party* written in 1939, Mao openly denied the working class leadership of the revolution and named the peasantry as the decisive force.

Later, Mao spoke about working class leadership, but his whole line showed this was mere lip service.

Mao has been presented as being the creative Marxist who correctly put forward the idea of the village marching on the city to bring about a revolution, but the march on the cities ideas was part of Mao's

petty bourgeois ideology, part of his anti-working class attitude. His practice too was anti-working class. In fact, Mao was in charge of a peasant army during the Canton Commune and refused to go to the assistance of the Commune. So much for Mao's marching on the cities.

Mao was supposed to be prevented by the Comintern from carrying out a correct line. The fact was that Mao, from incorrect positions, attacked the correct position of the Comintern.

Just when did Mao's line win in the party? During the long march, in January 1935 Mao's group called an "Enlarged Conference of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Committee" in the remote town of Tsunyi and this conference removed all opponents.

In 1941 the "Campaign for Ordering the Style of Work" was launched and Mao's reactionary ideas were consolidated in the CPC. By 1943, the Maoists were well entrenched and the internationalist comrades were well and truly defeated. However, the internationalist trend had not disappeared. The Eighth Congress of the CPC in 1956 proclaimed a Marxist-Leninist program and indicated that the internationalist trend in the party was a rising force. This was in contrast to the Maoist dominated Seventh Congress in 1945. However, after a bitter struggle, the Maoist trend was victorious and its victory was made very clear at the Ninth Congress in 1969.

What effect did petty bourgeois ideology have on the 1949 revolution and subsequent events? To answer this we should look more closely at this ideology.

"Being incapable of producing an objective scientific theory explaining the processes of social development, the petty bourgeoisie produces a fancy quilt of ideological conceptions, eclectically borrowing various ideas taken at random from various bourgeois doctrines, and also from the Marxist ideology of the proletariat, when it has emerged." (B. Leibzen. *Anarchism, Trotskyism, Maoism*. Novosti. USSR).

Thus petty bourgeois ideology has a dual class character.

The struggle between the internationalist comrades and the Maoists, along with the dual class character of the petty bourgeois ideology of the Maoists themselves, have together played a big role in the complex class situation associated with the 1949 revolution.

In this situation, there is evidence to suggest that the 1949 revolution led to only partial success in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out the main task of working class power — the building

of socialism. The situation became one of neither the working class nor the bourgeois being completely in power. Elements of socialism have been developed, but socialism has not been built. Side by side, elements of capitalism have developed but not yet been fully consolidated. The bourgeois content in the petty bourgeois thinking of the CPC leadership has been strengthened. This is connected with the general growth of capitalism in China and a weakening of socialist elements in what can be described as a Chinese variety of a quiet counter-revolution.

Lenin he said that "...small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale..." (Lenin. Vol. 10. *Selected Works*).

Public ownership does exist in the People's Republic of China. But as Engels shows in *Anti-Duhring*, public ownership only provides the possibility for resolving social contradictions, that under various social conditions the conversion of property into state property can produce different results and have different social consequences. It is the social nature of the state that plays the decisive role in this.

There is much state ownership under state monopoly capitalism but it serves the monopoly class.

What we have to ask ourselves is whether the working class is really in power in China and whether China is building, or has built, socialism.

There is considerable evidence to show that this is not the situation. The communist party, under normal conditions as a Marxist-Leninist party, expresses the ideological position of the working class and when the party directs society, we can talk in terms of working class power. But the international communist movement has pointed out that for a long time the Communist Party of China has not functioned as a communist party. Thus the Chinese working class has lost its Marxist-Leninist political party in the form of what we know as the Communist Party of China today.

Even in the 1949 period, leaders of fraternal communist parties were pointing to the fact that the national bourgeoisie was being granted too much freedom and that workers in private factories lacked rights. The Peking leadership was saying even then that it could not allow class struggle at privately owned factories in China, that it must give the capitalists freedom of action in order to increase production and that the Chinese working class was illiterate, lacked political awareness and could not be

drawn into the class struggle. The Chinese leadership told fraternal party representatives that there was no danger that a new kulak (or wealthy farmer) was appearing in the village because this kulak received his wealth from the new regime and firmly supported it.

The 1949 revolution did not result in the expropriation of the capitalists. For a period their enterprises were owned partly by the state and in 1956, became public property. However, the capitalists were paid an annual dividend on their investments. In most cases, they controlled and managed the enterprises.

The capitalists have kept their political rights, including the right to political parties and to be elected to the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives.

Overseas Chinese capitalists are encouraged to invest in China and their property will remain private property after the building of what the Chinese leadership chooses to call Chinese socialism. These capitalists are guaranteed fixed dividends, a portion of which can be transferred to the outside countries where the capitalists live, while the remainder is deposited in their accounts in Chinese banks and can be withdrawn together with the main investment in Chinese currency after a fixed time.

The overseas Chinese capitalists have representatives in the highest legislative body in the People's Republic of China.

The petty bourgeoisie is noted for its wavering. Lenin wrote:

“This wavering flows in two ‘streams’: petty bourgeois reformism, i.e., servility to the bourgeoisie, covered by a cloak of sentimental democratic and ‘social’ democratic phrases and fatuous wishes; and petty bourgeois revolutionism — menacing, blustering and boastful in words, but a mere bubble of disunity, disruption and brainlessness in deeds.” (Lenin. Vol 33, p 21. *Collected Works*).

How has this wavering been displayed in China? In 1956, the Maoists proclaimed “prolonged co-existence between the communist party and the bourgeois democratic parties and of reciprocal control between them.” This opened the way for the attacks by the capitalist parties. This was associated with the slogan “let all flowers bloom” which gave a green light for capitalist ideas to be openly advanced. This, in turn, was associated with the theory of “contradictions among the people” which classified the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie as being non-antagonistic. This, again, made it easier for the national bourgeoisie to go on to the offensive.

Obviously, the Maoists in this case were guilty of petty bourgeois reformism.

After this, they veered sharply in the direction of petty bourgeois revolutionism. In 1958, the great leap caused industrial production to slump. Even in the mid-sixties, i.e. just before the cultural revolution, industrial production was still below the level it was in the late fifties.

The cultural revolution itself and the activities of the gang of four were examples of petty bourgeois revolutionism. This is the period when the party, the youth league and the trade unions were openly attacked.

The latest developments in China, the so-called modernisation period, is yet another swing to petty bourgeois reformism, only this time with a greater bourgeois content.

The point is that whether the swing has been to the right or to an ultra-left position, the national bourgeoisie hasn't suffered. Indeed it has grown stronger. It is the working class which has suffered. The fact is that the essence of reformism and revolutionism is anti-working class, anti-communist.

Another characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie which communist theoretical research has noted is the tendency to embrace nationalism. Take Nazi Germany, for example. Although Hitler's national socialism served the interests of the monopoly capitalists of that country, it is well known that the middle classes of Germany gave strong support to Hitler on the basis of nationalism.

Chinese nationalism is well expressed in the openly expansionist aims and actions of the Peking leadership.

Even with the influx of former small property owners into the party, the proletarian character of the party could have been preserved if the Marxist-Leninist internationalist leadership core had remained securely in charge. But this leadership had been destroyed by the Maoists.

It is a fact that a party can cope with the petty bourgeois danger, if it bases itself strongly on Marxism-Leninism, strengthens working class leadership of the petty bourgeois masses. But Mao and his group were themselves based on petty bourgeois positions. Instead of a proletarian party influencing the petty bourgeoisie, the reverse happened with terrible consequences for the Chinese working class and people, the international working class and the progressive movement throughout the world.

It has been a correct policy of the international communist movement to assist the CPC and the People's Republic of China in the hope that the Marxist-Leninist internationalist trend will come out on top and that working class ideology will defeat that of the bourgeoisie.

The present domination of petty bourgeois forces in the Communist Party of China and the movement towards capitalism in the People's Republic of China have thwarted this internationalist assistance. Indeed now the leadership in China is in open alliance with imperialism.

It must be said that in the present situation, the socialist gains in China are in serious jeopardy.

But the overall world trend is towards socialism. It is a law governed process. Sooner or later life will assert itself, and the great Chinese working class and people, led by a Marxist-Leninist political organisation, will move forward and join the international working class movement in defeating capitalism, the imperialist system and moving on to world communism.

A Rabbit-sized Imperialism

by V. Williams

The coup of 1975 and other events and pressures continue to raise the question of who is the main enemy of the Australian people. These circumstances raise a fundamental strategic question — the direction in which the main blow of the Australian working class should be directed.

The World Communist Movement (Progress 73) Page 241 writes “In the developed capitalist countries, the Communists main demands are directed against the domination of their own national monopolies in all spheres of life and against Government policies pursued in the interests of big business. In countries with a medium level of development, slogans for the struggle against local capital, against the domination of oligarchies go hand in hand with calls for a struggle against oppression by foreign monopolies, those of the USA first and foremost.”

Problems of the Communist Movement (Progress 75) goes further.

“While being formally, legally independent, they are financially, economically, militarily and politically and ideologically dependent on the international monopolies and comprise subordinate elements of the world capitalist system (they include most of the Latin American States and some European countries like Portugal and Greece.) Page 253.

“From the standpoint of methodology the definition is extremely important because in its neo-colonial policy international imperialism pursues not only purely economic but also strategic aims, one of which is to keep the states of dependent capitalism within the orbit of its socio-economic and military strategic domination.” Page 254.

“Since all these countries are in one way or another dependent on the imperialist states and international monopolies economically, financially, and politically, one of their main contradictions is with imperialism... The revolutionary struggle acquires anti-imperialist orientation.” Page 255.

A continuing examination of the position of Australia in relation to world imperialism is essential.

The Program of the Socialist Party, not altered by the 1978 Congress says “Australia is herself a middle-sized imperialist power with considerable and growing overseas investments. It has a whole continent as its base. Because of its advanced industry, food production and abundant natural resources, Australian imperialism holds the promise of becoming stronger.”

However, the Political Resolution 1978 Congress page 29 writes “Today the Fraser Government serves the Australian monopoly capitalist class and the big landed interests and while advancing their interests, it also plays the role of lackey for the foreign imperialists and the multinationals who hold large investments in industry, land and resources.

“They betray the genuine national interests of Australia by their exploitation of the Australian people and resources and by their subservience to the political, economic ideological and military interests of imperialism, particularly those of USA.

“To fulfil the aspiration for national independence, a struggle must be waged against the foreign economic encroachments and the policies of the government which tie Australia to the global strategies of imperialism.”

While the Program says that Australian imperialism holds the promise of becoming stronger, the Political Resolution 1978 Congress Page 24 examined the world situation and concluded.

“All of these factors are affecting Australia and are the cause of the unstable and even retrogressive economic developments.”

The Political Resolution Congress 1978 Page 19 assessed the coup of 75, putting imperialism and the CIA as the main forces.

“It (foreign imperialist forces) also uses more clandestine tactics and manoeuvres and does not hesitate to enlist the militarist and fascist forces in countries to bolster its positions. It was this type of activity by the CIA and the multi-nationals which was behind the political coup which placed the Fraser Government in office in Australia.”

The Socialist Party Program 1975 and 1978 notes that at no time in its history has Australia been free from economic domination and exploitation.

“Australia’s independence would be advanced by ending the American alliance, extending relations with all countries, particularly the socialist nations, removing foreign military bases from our soil, taking over foreign investments and support for the principle of peaceful co-existence.”

The Political Resolution Congress 1978 assessed:

“The Australian struggle for national liberation is part of the worldwide movement against imperialism.”

Political Economy: Capitalism (Progress 77) Page 427 examines the essence of neo-colonialism.

“Neo-colonialism is the aggregate of the economic, political and military methods employed by imperialist states to maintain the economic exploitation and dependence of the peoples of developing countries that have gained state independence.

“The economic foundation of neo-colonialism in developing countries is foreign monopoly capital and the property of the local comprador bourgeoisie. The ideological foundation of neo-colonialism is anti-communism, nationalism, racism and other reactionary theories.

“Neo-colonialism is the colonialism of the present period of the general crisis of capitalism, when imperialism is trying to adapt to the changing conditions of historical development.”

On page 430 it examines the method of control by foreign capital.

“Foreign monopoly capital is merging with national capital in order to use the later as a junior partner in intensified exploitation of the working people of developing countries, mainly though setting up “joint” companies with a national facade, but really under the control of foreign monopoly capital.”

Imperialisms, and their agencies like the CIA, set out to hide and camouflage their intervention and control of dependent countries.

Figures on the import and export of capital show the main direction of imperialist penetration. Treasury Economic Paper No 1 May 72 showed Australian investments overseas from 1947 to 1971 as \$625

million, compared with \$10,260 million of foreign capital invested in Australia in the same period, only 6 per cent of foreign investments. From 1971 to 1975 Australian investments overseas rose by \$220 million to a total of \$845 million.

In the period from 70-71 to 75-76, the *Australian Year Book* showed foreign investments in Australia as \$5,900 million, about twenty three times as much. By the early seventies 55 per cent of the profits made in Australia were payable overseas.

Even the figure of \$845 of export of Australian capital is suspect. Australian money in Papua-New Guinea is estimated at \$232 million. A big increase from \$50 million in 68-69 to \$149 in 69-70 happened at the same time as Conzinc Rio Tinto Australia invested in Bougainville Copper. CRA borrowed \$US177 million from an international syndicate of banks, including \$US67 from Commonwealth Trading Bank of Australia. Other money came from the Bank of America. CRA holds 54 per cent of Bourgainville Copper shareholds funds of \$330 million. (CRA 1978 Annual Report). Approximately \$125 of this is therefore held by Rio Tinto Zinc of Britain. How much of Bank of America and RTZ money is counted in the \$232 million of "Australian" money invested in Papua-New Guinea?

Communist Review (Feb. 54) pointed out that gold was then the chief mineral in New Guinea. Bulolo Gold Dredging was controlled by US and Canadian money. Who was then the main exploiter of New Guinea? Who is now?

If Australian imperialism is to become stronger, it must not only increase its industrial production, it must increase faster than other imperialisms. The Treasury Economic Papers No 3 and the *Australian Year Book* 78 show that from 68-69 to 75-76, employment in industry fell from 1,330,000 to 1,200,000 and the number of factories fell from 63,000 to 27,500 and its production of industry fell from 30 per cent of Gross National Product in 1970 to 25 per cent in 1976. The value increased by 24 per cent.

On the other hand, in the same period employment in mining increased by 27 per cent and the value of production went up 260 per cent, and its percentage of Gross National Product went up from 1.9 per cent to 4.11 per cent. From 70-71 to 74-75 exports of mining rose from 26 per cent to 29 per cent of total, while products of manufacturing exports fell from 22 per cent to 20 per cent. Australia imports far more manufactured goods than it exports.

Imperialism is trying to push developing countries and dependent

countries into become markets for their manufactures and a cheap source of raw materials. There are succeeding with Australia, with more and more of the production in the hands of foreign capital. By 71-72 60 per cent of mining was foreign controlled. Some idea of the exploitation of Australia the biggest bauxite producer, is shown by the fact that Australia gets \$1 a tonne royalty for bauxite, Jamaica, \$17 a tonne.

The proportion of GNP from industry is one of the barometers of the industrial development of a country. Australia's industry in 1976 produced 25 per cent, with the average of developed countries around 33 per cent, with West Germany at 36 per cent. The thesis of the Communist Party of Greece gave industrial production in GNP at 32.8 per cent, with manufactured goods at 64 per cent of exports in 1976. Mexico, Brazil and Argentina now get approximately 30 per cent of GNP from industry. The Treasury Economic Paper No 3 issued Oct. 78 noted a most severe fall in manufacturing in Australia. In 1976 other OECD countries returned to the 1974 level in industrial production but in Australian the rate of manufacturing in GNP continued to fall. While Australia in the period after World War II would have qualified as an advanced industrial country, in the last ten years it has fallen behind in the race.

The characterisation of Australia as a middle-sized imperialist power with considerable and growing overseas investments and a country with an advanced industry is now open to question. The sale of most of CSR assets in Fiji to the Government, and the penetration of other foreign capital there has meant the weakening of the influence of Australian imperialism in that area.

The foreign economic encroachments into Australia are also political encroachments by imperialism by which they dictate much of the policies of the Australian Governments. The policy laid down by Carnegie, Chairman of CRA in their 1978 report, "we believe that the economy will operate most effectively for all if there is a minimum of Government intervention, especially in the direct business affairs of enterprises," was aimed against guidelines of Deputy Prime Minister Anthony on the sale of minerals overseas. Premier Court of WA took up the issue for CRA at the Liberal Party Conference and won it.

Australian imperialism has now the appearance of running the rabbit for the major imperialisms.

I think that Australia is moving closer to the position of dependent

countries of medium capitalist development than a developed capitalist country, one of the imperialist states.

It is valuable to examine the policies and the strategies of Communist Parties in such a position.

The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece said that Greece was already an industrial-agrarian country, with the medium level of development of productive forces. The World Communist Movement Page 336 “In...Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, capitalism has reached a medium level of development and has emerged as the main mode of production...There is a marked trend towards state-monopoly capitalism system of rule.”

The main revolutionary motive force in these countries is the proletariat (which is 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the gainfully employed). Between one quarter to one third are employed at large enterprises with 500 and more workers. Between 40 per cent and 60 per cent are in the trade unions. A considerable part of the industrial and other workers follow the lead of national populist parties which have a reformist stand. These countries are dominated by US monopolies and US imperialism.

Florakis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece in World Marxist Review Sept. 78 wrote:

“Problem of national independence has acquired special urgency in connection with the manifold economic, military, political, technological and cultural dependence of Greece on American imperialism and NATO.”

Pharakos, of the Communist Party of Greece in World Marxist Review No 78 criticised the revisionists who “underestimate dependence on foreign, chiefly US monopoly and imperialism. They believe that Greece has all the characteristics of a developed country.”

Their 10th Congress agreed with their Thesis that saw the revolutionary transformation in two stages — an anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly, democratic one and a socialist one. The program of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly Government is anticipated to be:

- A. Democratise all sections of life of the community.
- B. Free country from imperialist domination, remove foreign bases, establish peaceful foreign policy.
- C. Nationalise foreign monopolies and home monopolies of national importance.

The Communist Party of Argentina at the Congress 1969 defined the future revolution as democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist with the prospect of developing into a socialist revolution. In the program of the Mexican Communist Party the impending revolution is characterised as national-democratic and anti-imperialist. The Communist Party of Chile 1970 defined the revolution as anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and agrarian with socialism as the ultimate objective. These were reported on Page 257 Problems of the Communist movement.

The anti-imperialist revolution, while it has limited objectives, has great significance in the way forward. Problems of the Communist Movement Page 258 writes.

“It is obvious that by restricting and abolishing monopoly rule the anti-imperialist revolution undermines the foundations of present-day world capitalism and changes the content of the bourgeois socio-economic system.”

Lenin warned of the danger of trying to by-pass stages of the revolution determined by objective conditions. I think there is need for a thorough examination of the national and international situation of Australia to assess if the first step will be an anti-imperialist revolution.

It will not be decided by the Socialist Party, but by objective conditions, and a wrong decision can mean wrong leadership.

There are very considerable forces in Australia that can take an anti-imperialist stand, and among them are sections of the Australian capitalist class. Part of this reaction is the formation of the Australia Party and the Australian Democrats led by Chipp. The Australian Labor Party from its historical role in Australian independence and its present position, is anti-imperialist in its general direction. K. Brutents, in National Liberation Movement Today Vol 1 Page 263-264 warns of the confusion and identification of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary potential of the national bourgeoisie of developing and dependent countries.

“When no dividing line is draw between the revolutionary and anti-imperialist potential of the national bourgeoisie, it is easy to slip — under the influence of its obvious refusal to take part in the revolutionary struggle and even its resistance to that struggle — into a denial of the later as well.” The Australian Labor Party should be assessed from this viewpoint. The anti-uranium mining movement has objectively an anti-imperialist position, and among it is a growing realisation of the role of imperialism.

It is of course necessary to recognise that the core of the struggle against foreign imperialism is the Australian working class and the instability of the national bourgeoisie and middle class in this resistance.

The Revolutionary Movement of our Time and Nationalism (Progress 1975) defines the difference between national feeling and nationalism and shows how national feeling is a part of the anti-imperialist revolutions. There are many people and forces in Australia that can be drawn into an anti-imperialist struggle on the basis of their national feeling, and so could help to take Australia out of the orbit of aggressive American and British imperialism, and play a significant part in the strengthening of the struggle for world peace.

At the present time, in striking the main blow at foreign imperialisms the working class would be in the best position to gain the most allies.

Monopoly forces and Governments within Australia who defended the imperialists would, as the Political Resolution assessed, be exposed as lackeys of imperialism. To do this, however, calls for a thorough and detailed study of all the links and pressures of foreign monopolies and Governments on local monopolies and Governments, and a constant political exposure of these inter-relations. Whether it be Bjelke-Petersen and UTAH, Court and CRA, or any others that show up or are covered up.

It is the task of the Socialist Party to assess the next revolutionary step, and if it is the anti-imperialist revolution, to give leadership to it.

NOTE: In his article V. Williams raises the question of the direction of the main blow. The Political Resolution adopted by the Third Congress of the Socialist Party of Australia speaks of the development of an anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly movement and the SPA program calls for the rallying of the widest support "against the local and overseas monopolies and their power."

Readers are therefore urged to read the program in conjunction with the article which is published in the interests of a critical examination of an important aspect of the party's policies.

The Destiny of the World.....

Socialist Shape of Things to Come

by G. Shakhnazarov

Review by Ray Clarke

Is it possible to predict the future of mankind....“The Destiny of the World?” If so on what basis? The author suggests there are three approaches to the problem;

“The oldest and best known method is Utopian, that is, constructing some ideal social project.

“The next method of forecasting may be called hypothetical, for here the outlines of the future are based on some particular hypothesis.

“The third and most trustworthy method of forecasting is that of prognosis. Ultimately it reposes on the determinateness of the process of history and the cause-and-effect connection of events in space and time.”

The author settles for prognosis and devotes his work to a detailed analysis of contemporary reality in its dialectical and complicated processes.

Most bourgeois analysis and forecast base their predictions on some hypothesis. For example, they consider that the world will continue to be divided basically between socialist and capitalist forms of social organisation with most of the underdeveloped nations remaining within the orbit of imperialist influence. He notes that Herman Kahn, whom he describes as the “optimist of futurologists” predicts that unemployment will prevail for the next 200 years.

At this critical point in history with the upsurge of warmongering hysteria because the USSR, honouring its treaty obligations, comes to the assistance, as requested, of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, one could be forgiven for thinking that if certain forces in the camp of imperialism had their way a nuclear war would wipe out mankind, including the unemployed, long before 200 more years were to pass.

Marxist have never pretended to emulate *Nostra Damas* or any of the current crystal ball gazers but have a record of being very close to correct on many occasions.

“A scientifically grounded vision of the future was first set out by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto....which showed that socialism was not only the ideal of the working class....but also the necessary and natural result of the process of history governed by the objective laws of social development,” writes Shakhnazarov.

The first major confirmation of this thesis, which shattered many of the illusions of detractors of Marxism, both left and right, was the victorious Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 and of course the rapid expansion of Socialism to a world system after World War II.

Attention is also drawn to Engels prediction in 1887 that “The only kind of war now possible for Prussian-Germany is a world war... eight to ten million soldiers will massacre one another....strip Europe bare than any swarm of locusts has ever done....and only one result is absolutely certain....the establishment of conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class.”

Lenin in an article “Prophetic Words” written in 1918 commented“Some of Engels predictions turned out differently....but what is most astonishing is that so many of his predictions are turning out to the letter....for Engels gave a perfectly exact class analysis and classes and the relations between them remain unchanged.”

Shakhnazarov, basing himself on the same scientific method dares to draw the conclusion “that the passage from socialism to capitalism is spreading across the world” and of course will continue to do so.

He produces facts and figures to show the increasing upward rate of progress in economic, social, cultural achievements in the socialist countries in the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). He suggests the level of co-operation in science and technology may be illustrated by the programme of joint space flights in Soviet space

ships. But he is quick to point out that while the level of co-operation in all fields will continue to rise and scientific planning in industry, energy, economic and other fields is projected for 10, 20 or even more years ahead this does not imply identity of forms of social life. "A Standardised socialism is a figment of dogmatic or anti-communist thinking," he warns.

Concluding his examination of the outlook of the socialist system the author writes that in the foreseeable future it will follow these basic tendencies:

Stable, plan-governed growth, steady elimination by most socialist countries of the still existing lag behind the developed capitalist countries in the productivity of social labor....progress in eliminating class distinctions.... ever fuller social equality...

The analysis of contemporary capitalism sets out basic assets of capitalism. He shows that capitalism has retained its grip on a group of the most economically, scientifically and technically developed countries and many advantages that flow from this. But, the author then analyses the crisis of capitalism, including the present crisis (the book was published in 1979) and one is left with the thought that Lenin was profoundly correct when he defined imperialism as decaying and dying capitalism.

The final chapter "Forces of social Renovation" examines the role of the working class, the world Communist movement and the national liberation movements and provides a brief summing up.

This book in its presentation and formulation is directed to the ever growing section of thinking people who would find some agreement with Marx that it is not only a question of understanding the world but finding out how to change it.

I highly recommend it to all readers of the A.M.R. It is available from any New Era Bookshops or posted from New Era Books, 118 Sussex St., Sydney (\$5.95 plus postage).

G. Shakhnazarov is President of the Soviet Political Science Association and Vice-President of the International Political science Association.