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COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALISM IN AN ERA OF CAPITALIST GLOBALISATION



**IDEAS
THEORY
POLICIES
EXPERIENCE
DISCUSSION**

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Editorial Notes

For the working class and other exploited people of every country, international crises are pressing in with greater and greater force. Climate change, imperialist wars, proxy wars and masses of refugees, an economic crisis and moves to cement global corporate dictatorship through trade and investment pacts – these are the matters negatively impacting upon billions of people’s lives. The size of the challenge is growing and millions upon millions of people are being drawn into struggle but, generally speaking, the struggles have been slow to link up. Solidarity with an international vision is required and this includes among the parties that make up the international Communist movement. This issue of the *Australian Marxist Review* is a contribution on the theme of internationalism, the obstacles it faces in this era of capitalist globalisation and the many opportunities to rally the forces working for socialism.

Issue 60 of the *AMR* opens with General Secretary Bob Briton’s: *Alternative to global capitalist offensive: Asia’s response*, a contribution for a seminar hosted by the Communist Party of India. Bob characterises the current international situation as one of capitalist military, economic and ideological offensive towards corporate dictatorship. He also explores possible Asian alternatives while stressing that the only final guarantee for the liberation of humanity is Socialism.

In his welcome to delegates of the 17th International Meeting of Communist and Workers’ Parties, Kemal Okuyan, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey explained the local struggle of the Turkish working class and its significance internationally. His inspiring speech includes such insights as: “patriotism is the will to liberate one’s country from the exploiters! Not the foolishness of showing empathy to the bourgeoisie of the country.”

In any discussion of internationalism among Communists, the name “Lenin” will inevitably be mentioned. Lenin’s theoretical contributions were drawn mostly from the experience of the Russian proletariat as it strove to achieve state power in Russia, but the lessons about revolutionary change were truly international in their scope and significance. His explanation of the role and significance of the three Internationals and the difference between proletarian internationalism and social chauvinism ring just as true today as they did almost 100 years ago. Lars Thomsen of the Communist Party of Denmark defends this legacy of Lenin in his piece *Lenin’s analysis of imperialism – a pioneering work*. He argues that Lenin’s theory of imperialism has stood the

test of time and remains the best way of understanding modern capitalism, despite the claims of Marxist scholars who believe the peculiarities of current transnational capitalism render Lenin’s analysis obsolete.

In the face of capital’s renewed international assault on working people, it is necessary for communist parties to strengthen their fraternal bonds. Michael Hooper’s article *Communist cooperation: building links between fraternal parties* emphasises fundamental principles that should guide links between communist parties, presents areas in which we can learn from comrades abroad and explores the possibility for deeper practical cooperation on an international scale.

Wadi’h Halabi, from the Economics Commission and the Centre for Marxist Education in Cambridge, Massachusetts and member of the CPUSA, writes on the continuing need for the working class to be educated in his article *For an International University of Marxism*. In times past, the Soviet Union generously hosted comrades from around the world and trained them through schools such as the early University of the Toilers of the East. Guided by this spirit, comrades from China and the US are working together on proposals to establish an international university of Marxism in China. Following the theme of inter-party cooperation, Michael Hooper’s speech at the 6th World Socialism Forum, hosted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPC proposes a novel way for communist parties to assist the CPC in regard to the political education of Chinese students abroad.

Finally, we have a special treat for readers in the form of Yang Chengguo’s *The post-war Communist Party of Australia and its Prospects*. This contribution by a guest researcher at the Research Centre of World Socialism of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is a rare opportunity for Australian comrades to read an outsider’s perspective of our Party’s history and future prospects. Although the article’s analysis is limited by its length, the author shows a keen understanding of the circumstances of the communist and labour movements in this country. Dr Yang’s identification of religious belief in Australia as one of the significant obstacles facing the CPA is itself a window into the Chinese experience, where foreign-funded terrorists regularly use religious belief as a cover for their anti-communist activities.

From the Editorial Board of the *Australian Marxist Review*, we wish all readers a happy holiday season. See you in 2016!

Alternative to global capitalist offensive: Asia's response *

Bob Briton

The background – war and disruption

The international situation remains highly charged with potential for new wars in several spheres. US imperialism is desperately pursuing its unchanged strategy for global domination despite economic crises at home and in the economies of its traditional allies, including Australia.

The US is relying on its allies to fund a substantial part of its military interventions through increased military spending, closer “interoperability” of their militaries and the hosting of more bases and facilities. Japan is being prepared to take a more active role in the world, in East Asia in particular. Proxy wars, such as those being conducted in Syria and the Ukraine are being used more widely. The US is working with Israel to re-draw the map of the Middle East to reduce existing sovereign, independently minded countries to warring fiefdoms posing little threat to Israeli and US interests.

This is a dangerous strategy with a number of predictable consequences such as the need for a more or less permanent military presence, as in Afghanistan; the proliferation of terrorist organisations; and a massive refugee crisis. The US and its NATO allies are continuing their eastward push with a coup in the Ukraine that has led to a state of simmering civil war.

The objective is to dismember Russia in order to neutralise it as a power and gain open access to its resources. Russia has resisted these attempts effectively to this point. In the South China Sea a territorial dispute between the People's Republic of China, the Philippines and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has become a flashpoint for US aggression. Chinese actions are being presented, without evidence from the US, as an attempt to limit free navigation of the seas in the region. There is no doubt events in Hong Kong last year were instigated by forces cultivated by the US. This was another attempt at a “colour revolution” of the sort carried out in the Ukraine, Georgia, Serbia and elsewhere. Separatists of all sorts are encouraged in order to weaken China.

The US continues to threaten progressive change in Latin America. Despite the easing of tensions with Cuba, the destabilisation and even military posturing against Venezuela continues. Hostility towards other progressive governments in the region, such as in Ecuador and Bolivia, continues unabated.

The economic assault – towards corporate dictatorship

Military aggression is one aspect of the global capitalist offensive. It is the most obvious one, responsible for the most appalling images and headlines in the media. But for a long time it has been accompanied by an economic assault begun with the shift from relatively discreet national economies to a global economy. In the more developed countries, national economies were protected and social security provided for citizens. There was a sizable public sector. Some economies were described, inaccurately, as “mixed economies”, sharing capitalist and socialist features.

The error of this definition was shown with the rapid shift towards “globalisation” in the late 1970s. Governments, including Australia's, privatised public assets and “outsourced” services to private operators, deregulated markets and eased or removed controls over the operations of transnational corporations. The natural resources of the country, once thought to be strategic and requiring protection from plunder by overseas investors, were declared open for exploitation.

Tariffs, import quotas and other barriers to “free” (i.e. monopoly dominated) trade were removed or sharply reduced. The objectives of the multilateral General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, first signed in 1947, shifted from a distant goal to an immediate reality. The development of “globalisation” saw the establishment of the World Trade Organisation in 1995. Bilateral and multilateral “free” trade agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement between the US, Mexico and Canada proliferated. Assisted by developments in production and communications, manufacturing began to shift to low wage centres, particularly in Asia.

What was presented as bilateral and multilateral economic “liberalisation” was, in fact, a massive assault by US corporations. While the relocation of manufacturing



to countries of the economic South brought about improvements in the living standards for sections of local populations and caused sudden, major internal migration in those countries. The blessings were mixed. Jobs were created but brutal, super-exploitative methods were applied in workplaces. The environment was ravaged. Disruption and insecurity ruled. Traditional farming was replaced by agro-industrial enterprises.

The punitive aspects of the agreements came to the fore. The possibility of “violating” undertakings under the new economic order limits legislators seeking to serve the interests of their own populations. The latest wave of multilateral trade and investment deals takes this to the point of corporate dictatorship over previously sovereign countries.

The Trans Pacific Partnership comprises 12 signatory countries – the US, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Canada, Japan,

Brunei, Singapore, Vietnam, Malaysia, New Zealand and Australia. This accounts for roughly 40 percent of the world’s economy. If and when it comes into effect and combined with the corresponding Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), 85 percent of the global economy would be operating under a new, very different order. The related Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA) would complete the transformation to untrammelled corporate dictatorship.

These agreements trump other international commitments such as any flowing from the 2015 Paris climate change talks. They contain a legal mechanism called the Investor State Dispute Settlement that allows a small club of investment lawyers, with no effective control of conflict of interest rules, to adjudicate disputes between national governments and transnational corporations with a heavy bias towards the latter.

The case of Oceana Gold versus El Salvador, which has the mining giant suing the Central American country for affecting profits through a moratorium on mining activity, is a foretaste of the sort of corporate bullying to become widespread under the TPP and other such pacts.

The ideological assault and “austerity”

These developments since the 1970s have been accompanied by a massive ideological assault against the alternative, peaceful, mutually beneficial socialist path. The ideological pillars of the state, including what is now being called the “media-industrial complex” and the education system have been directed towards convincing workers and other exploited people that there is no alternative to capitalism. This includes the prescription for its economic “health” – unfettered markets, balanced national budgets, the sale of public enterprises, self-provisioning for health, education and aged care. The message is delivered unrelentingly – private enterprise is superior to social ownership and control. The activity of trade unions “distorts” the market for labour - a cardinal sin. Communism was buried with the Soviet Union. The new global capitalist order is so natural that it is said to be “non-ideological”. So they claim.

The new order was never designed to deliver benefits to ordinary people. The beneficiaries have been what was described by the Occupy movement as the “one percent”, the capitalist ruling class. Their wealth has increased astronomically at the cost of the millions and billions of workers, peasants and family farmers and those excluded from economic activity. The global economy is not a “zero sum game” while it grows but when it stalls or crashes, as it did dramatically in 2008, the enrichment of the already wealthy must come at the expense of the masses. Wages, conditions and services that once were taken for granted, were reduced or removed. People’s ability to defend themselves had been weakened by the ideological warfare carried out against them in recent decades. Trade unions were trussed up and immobilised by legislation or even more direct assaults. Terrorism, a by-product of US and NATO military aggression, has been used as an excuse for the stripping of long-standing civil rights.

This grab-back of the rights, income and property of the people is called “austerity”. It is not some shared tightening of the belt such as was carried out by the people of London during the blitz, even though it is presented that way. People are waking up.

More and more people are resisting the imperialist agenda, even in the heartlands of imperialism. The situation in crisis-wracked Europe is full of potential for radical

change. While the revolutionary forces in countries like Portugal and Greece are not yet strong enough to force a major shift in the austerity policies of their national governments, change is clearly in the wind. We note that the Portuguese Communist Party is to become part of the governing coalition. The ruling class is not looking to fascism yet but those forces are being developed.

The alternative and Asia

It is basic to the ideology of Communist parties that the interests of the working class (and other exploited people) are irreconcilable with those of their exploiters in the capitalist ruling class. The contradiction between the social nature of production and the private appropriation of wealth gives rise to the class struggle. The contradiction will only be resolved with the creation of a socialist society, which is the state power of the working class and the social ownership and control of the means of production. The struggle for socialism is a revolutionary process. Unfortunately, while promising developments are taking place in a number of centres as noted above, there are no immediate prospects for the triumph of a new socialist revolution. This assessment includes Asia.

Asia is home to four socialist countries, the People’s Republic of China, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People’s Democratic Republic and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. They are all subject to economic assault from the imperialists and quite real military threat, particularly in the cases of China and the DPRK. In spite of this, China’s economic power and influence continues to grow.

It has caused a rift among the allies of US imperialism. Australia’s economic fortunes are bound closer and closer to those of China, its major trading partner. At the same time Australia is becoming more and more integrally tied to the US war machine with expansion of US bases and deployment of US forces in Australia. This is creating divisions within the Australian ruling class, some of whom are questioning Australia’s military alliance with the US, fearing it might harm their economic relations with China.

When China took the initiative to create the Asian Investment Bank (AIIB), the US rightly saw it as a challenge to its economic stranglehold by means of the World Bank over its “friends” and actively discouraged them from joining. The US alliance and economic relationship is sacred to leaders of both major political parties in Australia but, after much agonising, the Australian government signed on to the AIIB in March of this year.

The government is, no doubt, seeking a lifeline for the ailing economy, which has been battered by plummeting mineral resource prices on world markets. It



IMF Headquarters

is, regardless of motivation, a good move in terms of Australia's sovereignty.

China is also part of BRICS – the economic co-operation framework established between Brazil, Russia, India and China. This development is another challenge to the enforced, post-WW2 military and economic dominance by the US and its currency. It is made up of countries at different stages of development and with different social systems. India has been courted into a closer relationship with the US following the election of Prime Minister Modi last year, but BRICS appears secure.

ASEAN already plays an important role in the region. Its principles for cooperation – peaceful co-existence and non-interference among member nations – don't sit well with outsiders such as the US and its deputy sheriff in the region, Australia. It has reached beyond its member states to the hold meetings of "ASEAN plus three", i.e. the People's Republic of China, Japan and South Korea. ASEAN's cooperation goes beyond basic questions of trade to collaborate on achieving food security and raising of education levels among member states.

These developments are undoubtedly in the interests of the working class internationally and in Asia. The break-up of the dominance of US imperialism and its efforts to keep Asia subjugated play a critical role in the region.

The US is paying attention. This focus is evident in the "Pivot" or "Rebalance" of its military forces to the region and the TPP. Developments that present the people of the world and the region with an anti-imperialist alternative must be welcomed and encouraged.

The drawing of countries away from the grip of US imperialism will continue as its economic power declines. The idea that "there is no alternative" is coming under pressure but it is not yet pressure of a sort that will produce new socialist societies in the region. The economic realignments are not as radical as those in Latin America, where the Bolivarian Alternative for Latin America and the Caribbean (ALBA) brings the more progressive countries of the region together in an agreement to promote fair trade, solidarity and mutual development.

ALBA has a pillar of mutual defence. This is an important model that could serve the future alternative for Asia. At the same time, the reduction of tensions and moves towards a nuclear-free region should be taken. The current stand-off between nuclear weapon states India and Pakistan is an intolerable threat to the security of the people of the entire region. Such moves to nuclear disarmament would have the overwhelming support of the people of the region. Of course, the special circumstances of China and the DPRK, who are under threat from the world's largest nuclear weapons power,

the US, must be taken into consideration. The alternative for Asia would become a force for global nuclear disarmament.

A new Asia would cooperate in the area of food security and would work against the dominance of transnationals to impose GMOs. Healthier and traditional agricultural practices would be encouraged and the destructive, land-grabbing role of agri-business rolled back. Cooperation in the area of health and medicine would go way beyond the current levels and would work to overcome the grip of big pharmaceutical companies over vital medicines.

The rights of Indigenous people would be made a high priority. The theft of traditional lands by mining, agri-business and other transnationals, including in Australia, would be reversed. Languages and culture would be preserved. Self-government would be encouraged.

Trade union rights would be enhanced. The current agenda to drive trade unions out of workplaces, making them unsafe and insecure in every sense, would be thrown into reverse. Trade unions are under attack as never before in Australia. The trade union movement has been seriously weakened both ideologically and in density to its lowest level for over 100 years. International solidarity in the trade union sphere, as currently practised through bodies like the Southern Initiative on Globalisation and Trade Union Rights (SIGTUR), would be expanded dramatically.

Major progress towards all these goals has been made by the countries of Latin America. The establishment of an Asian ALBA would require stronger left forces and new left governments in Asia. This won't happen without a major strengthening of the left political forces in the region, including in the more developed countries such as Australia. And this won't take place without an improvement in the position of the Marxist-Leninist party in the country, the Communist Party of Australia. The current relative weakness of the left in Australia is not just a frustration for Communists in Australia and a handicap for the workers in their struggles here, it is an obstacle in the way of the socialist future for Asia.

Of course, given the description of the antagonistic contradiction between the interests of the working class and the capitalist ruling class above, genuine and lasting improvements in the conditions and political engagement of working people will only come with socialism. An Asian ALBA, a further erosion of the power of the US over nations in our community will bring major benefit but will be resisted at every step by reactionary forces. The problems to be addressed by the alternative are all subject of vigorous mass action right now. But the ultimate solution to the many problems of development will require the transformation of current capitalist societies into socialist ones.

We don't have endless time to resolve this problem. As representatives participate in the seminar "Alternative to Global Capitalist Offensive: Asia's Response" hosted by the Communist Party of India, world leaders are gathering in Paris to consider the question of climate change. Countries in Asia are already under threat from rising sea levels and the salination of water and agricultural land. Catastrophic weather events are becoming more frequent. Average temperatures are climbing towards a point of no return. It should be noted that in Australia there is a growing movement taking on the mining corporations in defence of farming land and the environment. But, again, these struggles need to be taken to a much higher level of effectiveness.

It is unlikely the representatives of mostly capitalist countries will come up with an agreement for changes commensurate with the problem. Their efforts, so far, have indulged the worst of the polluting transnationals and focussed on "market" mechanisms ignoring the fact that capitalist markets got the planet into the current predicament in the first place. Socialist forces must come to the fore in Asia and globally if disaster is to be averted. And this must happen soon. Cooperation among the socialist forces and mutual assistance is crucial to the future well-being of its peoples.

Finally, while we were regrettably unable on this occasion to participate in the conference, the CPA believes such regional conferences are important in building relations between parties, for the sharing of ideas and the development of joint campaigns. We look for closer cooperation, more communication, including seminars and conferences, and other measures of mutual assistance.

* This essay was a contribution from the Communist Party of Australia to a seminar with the theme "Alternative to Global Capitalist Offensive: Asia's Response" hosted by the Communist Party of India in Delhi on 28-29 November, 2015.

Opening speech of the Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Turkey, Kemal Okuyan, at the 17th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (IMCWP)

Dear comrades,

I welcome you to the 17th International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. As the Communist Party in Turkey, we are very glad to see our comrades from all over the world here in Istanbul. I assure you that we try our best for a productive, secure and comradely meeting that is realized under continuously changing and quite challenging circumstances. Yet all we can do is to apologize in advance for any sort of possible inconveniences.

I prefer not to start with the cliché phrase that “in these difficult times we've been passing through ...” There has never been an easy time for the working class movement. It is not surprising that today capitalist classes attack on labor movement and strive to abolish all the gains that working classes have gained along centuries, they have done each time when capitalism passed through successive economic and political crisis. It is not surprising that contradictions among imperialist powers deepen and the threat of war and fascism rise.

It is true that this threat implies additional difficulties for the communists. Restrictions, bans, arrests, persecutions, murders ... We have countless examples of such aggressions by the bourgeoisie in the history of communist movement. Right here, in our country, communists were forced to engage in clandestine struggle for decades. Today is no exception. There is only one meaning of the unjust implementations that we do and will protest against in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Hungary, Baltic countries and others: we cannot speak of any real freedom or democracy under capitalism!

Comrades,

There are no reasons to tell that certain periods provide “smoother” conditions for the communists. And, I mean the periods when capitalism gains relative stability and extend the scope of bourgeois democracy due to one reason or the other. Of course, this can be asserted only if we are still committed to our only reason for being: the

claim to establish a classless society free from exploitation. A stabilized capitalism would not and does not resolve exploitation, unemployment, inequalities, poverty and the possibility of crisis. The stability of capitalism provides dominant class with additional opportunities to deceive working masses. In that regard, the difficulties for the communists increase in certain ways.

Dear comrades,

We must get rid of capitalism. Humanity can no longer put up with this barbarism. I dare to declare this in a country where we faced with one of the worst electoral results a communist party can get, just four months ago.

I dare, not because we are dreamers, utopians, adventurers or fools, but because we are communists!

It is clear that the struggle for socialism demands patience and persistence. We would not make a revolution but create caricatures, with a voluntarism that does not take into account objective conditions, nor we would without taking pains. Caricature is an impressive, creative and cheerful art; yet those who become caricatures themselves in politics would cheer no one but our enemy.

And this is not all! What would cheer our enemy, the capitalist class, is the claim to socialism being sunk in the oblivion.

Comrades,

The history of the communist movement is full of great victories and achievements. Taking it further, I can say that if the communists were taken out from the history of last 160 years, the world would not only turn into a hell, but it would become barren in every sense of the word. The communists left their mark on their epochs in the fields of science, art and culture.

Then why are we less influential today?

We must bravely ask this question. We must do so, in order that our enemy cannot cheer up anymore.

We are less influential today, since the very idea; the very hope that another world is possible has been on the wane. It is a deadly blow for the communist movement if the goal for socialist revolution loses its actuality. Although it is true that the communists take sides with peace and freedom; their historical legitimacy stems from nothing but their goal for a classless society.

The goal of socialist revolution was on the first rank in 1919, when the Comintern was established, not because the member parties were powerful. We all know that many of the parties, which took the name of “communist” then, were not any stronger than the parties that we call “small” today. The advancement of the October Revolution proved the intermittent and surging features of the struggle for socialism. The Russian revolutionaries won a victory, in which no one would believe a couple of years prior to 1917. Today, socialism is not any farther away than in 1914, and it cannot be so!

We know this by our experiences in this country.

Dear comrades,

If I ask you what comes to your mind as revolutionary politicians when you hear the name Turkey ... It is a beautiful and lively country both with its historical and natural riches. It is the homeland of the great poet Nazim Hikmet, and it is the homeland of dedicated revolutionaries. Yet that is not all. You would definitely think of military coups, fascists, militarism and religious fanatics. Today, many tell us that it is meaningless to speak of socialism in such a country. They tell us that our priorities must change when the freedoms are overridden to such a great extent.

Yet we know that military strikes happened in our country, precisely for this reason; that is to secure the capitalist order as a whole. When the pro-NATO generals staged the coup in 1980, one of the prominent capitalists in Turkey declared: “it is our time to laugh now.”

The same goes for the religious fanaticism. Yes, the religion itself is much older than capitalism, but it invaded the political sphere of Turkey via US dollars and German marks. The rational was to prevent the social revival in Turkey. In that regard, it is a great mistake to count the Islamist movement only as an anachronistic phenomenon. You can only come to a correct interference if you use the term “anachronistic” for capitalism as well. We must understand that today, the most prominent monopolies in the world are waging a war against modernity.

Dear representatives from fraternal parties;

Our party’s struggle is based on three inseparable and fundamental elements.



Flags being waved at IMCWP.

First is the fact of imperialism. What should we understand by that? First of all, we do not regard imperialism as a matter of foreign affairs for Turkey. Nor imperialism means simply a problem of dependence for the country. We have no doubt that Turkey is open and fragile to the influence and interventions of powerful imperialist centres, notably the USA and Germany, in terms of economy, politics, military and culture. We struggle against that and we defend an independent and sovereign Turkey. We do so, not because of tactical reasons but because we are communists, and we are patriots. In connection with this, we fight for the annihilation of imperialist institutions such as NATO and EU, which afflict not only Turkey but all the oppressed of the world.

But how can one distinguish this struggle from the one against domestic and foreign monopolies, and against the very foundational order of those monopolies: capitalism? How can we continue to struggle against imperialism, unless we also stand against the regional claims of the bourgeoisie of Turkey, and its efforts and intentions for becoming an imperialist power itself? A capitalist but independent country, a capitalist but sovereign country, a capitalist but dignified country is a pipe dream.

There are more than enough examples in the history of the communist movement, which show what we would be faced with, when we take out the class perspective and the goal for socialism from the anti-imperialist struggle. History teaches us that after the goal for socialism had been forsaken, came the withdrawal from the struggle against NATO, and finally from the objective of breaking ties with it!

We define patriotism as such: patriotism is the will to liberate one's country from the exploiters! Not the foolishness of showing empathy to the bourgeoisie of the country.

It is the same reason, the same necessity why the communists can and must not prefer one imperialist power over another. The most powerful enemy today may be the USA or another imperialist centre. Moreover, the clash of interests among imperialists may provide certain opportunities to the communist movement. But all these can attain a historical meaning only and only if we take a firm stand in our independent class position and restrain from prompting the working class to make peace with this or that faction of the capitalist class.

The second element of our struggle is the enlightenment. We have here many comrades from Islamic countries. The same experience that we all share shows that, the communists will never be able to gain real strength unless they adopt a secularist attitude. No doubt that by enlightenment, I refer to the beyond of the limits of bourgeois sense of the term. The historical legacy of bourgeois revolutions since 1789 passed with a changed content to the working class, which today waves the flag of the progress on its own. We need to put up an unhesitant fight against the reactionary forces and against religionization of the society and politics, not solely in Islamic countries but in all over the world. Let us not forget that religious terror today is the product of religionization of the political sphere, be it in a moderate or radical way.

This invasion of political sphere is not simply a matter of geopolitical interest of the imperialists. Religionization as a whole helps to the persistence of the dominance of capitalism. Thus, it is unacceptable for the communists, who have always defended the freedom of belief and worship, to abandon the principle of keeping the religion out of political life.

We object to the reduction of struggle against religious fanaticism to a struggle solely against the ISIS. We also object to the pursuits for meeting in the same ground with imperialist countries for the sake of struggling against this bloodthirsty organization. We not only decline the tendencies to accept any lesser of evils, but also know who created all these.

Dear comrades,

The third essential element of our struggle, anti-capitalism, is undoubtedly the determining feature of a communist party. However, we do not take this as an often-repeated cliché pending for the right time to be brought into play. Nor we see the struggles for peace, freedoms and enlightenment as prior steps to help a future struggle for socialism. For us, the perspective of socialist revolution must be the fundamental principle of communist parties in every issue and in every moment.

Comrades,

Allow me to explain what I say more clearly, in connection with the concrete situation in Turkey.

When the AKP (Justice and Development Party) came to the power almost 15 years ago under the leadership of Erdogan, the majority of the left in Turkey gave their direct or indirect support to the AKP; justifying it with the need for democratisation, demilitarisation and development of civil society in Turkey. Some parties in the European Left also got involved in this process. We are able to document that they declared Erdogan to be revolutionary, reformist and progressive. We, on the other hand, assessed the developments from a class point of view, and are justified over and over again. Those who anticipated democracy from the capitalist class, and those who hoped for freedom from Islamist fundamentalists deceived the people of Turkey.

Later on, as the AKP government attacked the working class, women and youth, indignation and reactions accumulated in the society. The influence of communists who had waved the flag of anti-AKP struggle almost by themselves before, expanded. As Erdogan polarised the society more and more, significant factions of bourgeoisie became disturbed too. At that moment, in 2013, a great social uprising known as the Gezi protests broke out. Millions took to the streets against the government. The capitalist class attempted several times to influence it through several channels to the extent of turning it into a color revolution. Yet, presence of revolutionary forces and ideological tendencies of the participating masses did not give passage to any liberal, pro-US or pro-EU intervention. Kurdish movement, on the other hand, abstained from participation, accusing the movement of an attempt at a coup against the AKP.

Dear comrades,

If asked about how our relations are with the Kurdish Nationalist Movement, our answer would be as such: Kurdish people are oppressed. We cannot turn our back to their requests of equality and freedom. We struggle for a country where Kurds, Turks, and all other peoples can live together in peace and brotherhood. There are many

Kurds in our party who struggle for this purpose. Having said that, dear comrades, we cannot approve pragmatic choices of a nationalist movement based on class collaboration, or their relations with imperialist centres. Nor can we forget how they have supported the AKP government for years. Socialism is necessary for Kurds as well, unless they think of liberation as the dominance of Barzani and the like.

Comrades,

The Kurdish Nationalist Movement saved Erdogan from toppling down in 2013. This is not our claim. The leaders of the movement expressed it explicitly and repeatedly. And then ... What?

And then, the bourgeoisie and leading imperialist states, which distrusted the millions who took it to the streets, initiated a comprehensive intervention, what we called "an attempt of restoration" since then. The aim was a broad coalition with an AKP without Erdogan, a renewed and reformed CHP (Republican People's Party), and the HDP (People's Democratic Party) as a Kurdish party integrated into the system. Today, Erdogan resists this alternative, which would mean his exclusion. The attempt did not succeed in the elections in June, and now, powerful factions of the capitalist class try the same once again in the upcoming elections.

Almost all the factions in Turkish left stand behind this project. Their justification goes like this: "Erdogan shall go first, so that we can heave a sigh of relief"

Dear comrades,

It shall not surprise you that our party received votes only from its grassroots in the past elections. We were not affected negatively by the results since we are aware of the existing intellectual terror. Today, there is not an organisation left that mentions the working class or labour-capital contradiction! HDP, which turned into a social democratic party, keeps receiving support from certain media monopolies. Some politicians of the HDP who account themselves as "Marxists" visit organisations of capitalists, posing gladly in the same photo frames.

In fact, the capitalist class as well needs the left. The system in Turkey is in the rush of making its own left persuasive, since otherwise it will turn into a big risk. Without SYRIZA, the system in Greece would also be under threat. The same goes for the other countries. Podemos in Portugal, latest developments in the Labor Party in Britain ... Can all these be unrelated to the need for managing the crisis and sustaining capitalism?

Today, similar developments take place in Turkey. Those who have kept Erdogan safe from people until now put the pressure on us to participate in anti-Erdogan

coalition. But why do they attach such importance to a party, which receive less than one percent of the votes?

Because, they are afraid! I am not exaggerating. They are afraid of our being well organised, our political wisdom, our influence, our cadres, and our militants who waved the red flag of the working class in Taksim Square on May Day, when it was occupied by tens of thousands of policemen. The very day after the elections, in which we received a ludicrously insignificant rate of votes, 780 thousand people visited our party's online publication.

Why is it so? How come an election failure does not cause distress?

Because, we are sure of ourselves! Our party protected itself and gained good reputation by often taking the risk of standing alone. We always took stances, which would be justified later on, about the EU, NATO, and AKP government. When the process called the Arab Spring shook the Middle East, we immediately announced that they were hijacking the anger of the poor Arabian masses. The hijackers were international monopolies. Those who said, "let the democracy develop first", and those who supported Islamist parties setting forth the reason that "it is all that a revolution can be in the Arab countries" became disappointed. Mursi, Sisi, Erdogan, or Tsipras ... These are the representatives of different factions of bourgeoisie and they always will frustrate those who rely upon them in the name of democracy, freedom or progress.

Yes, dear comrades, our party, which was blown into a crisis last year by the liberal-reformist wind proceeds in its own way. My intention is not bragging. We are all members of the same family here. We intend to show our comrades that they do not need to worry about how the communists can succeed in this difficult country.

Dear comrades,

It is possible that we can receive insignificant votes again in the coming elections. Of course we always take some lessons from such results. But we never base our plans on increasing our votes. We organise, strengthening our units in factories and workplaces. As a working class party, we fight a severe ideological battle with those who try to besiege us.

We have no doubt that we will eventually succeed in our struggle in this problematic and surprising country. We also have no doubt that you too will triumph in your struggles. Together, we will get rid of this barbaric order called capitalism. All we need is Marxism-Leninism; not as a worn-out slogan but as a living guide that enlightens our path.

Once again, we welcome you comrades ...

The Third International and its place in history

V.I.Lenin

Translated by George Hanna and uploaded to Marxists.org

Editorial note:

This article by Lenin was published in May 1919, just two months after the creation of the Third International. It explains the historical significance of the First, Second and Third Internationals, the reasons why socialist revolution took hold in Russia before other countries and the ideological struggle between Marxists and the social chauvinists of the Second International.

The imperialists of the Entente countries are blockading Russia in an effort to cut off the Soviet Republic, as a seat of infection, from the capitalist world. These people, who boast about their “democratic” institutions, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Republic that they do not see how ridiculous they are making themselves. Just think of it, the advanced, most civilised and “democratic” countries, armed to the teeth and enjoying undivided military sway over the whole world, are mortally afraid of the *ideological* infection coming from a ruined, starving, backward, and even, they assert, semi-savage country!

This contradiction alone is opening the eyes of the working masses in all countries and helping to expose the hypocrisy of the imperialists Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson and their governments.

We are being helped, however, not only by the capitalists’ blind hatred of the Soviets, but also by their bickering among themselves, which induces them to put spokes in each other’s wheels. They have entered into a veritable conspiracy of silence, for they are desperately afraid of the spread of true information about the Soviet Republic in general, and of its official documents in particular. Yet, *Le Temps*, the principal organ of the French bourgeoisie, has published a report on the foundation in Moscow of the Third, Communist International.

For this we express our most respectful thanks to the principal organ of the French bourgeoisie, to this leader of French chauvinism and imperialism. We are prepared to send an illuminated address to *Le Temps* in token of our appreciation of the effective and able assistance it is giving us.

The manner in which *Le Temps* compiled its report on the basis of our wireless messages clearly and fully reveals the motive that prompted this organ of the money-bags. It wanted to have a dig at Wilson, as if to say, “Look at the people with whom you negotiate!” The wisecracks who write to the order of the money-bags do not see that their attempt to frighten Wilson with the Bolshevik bogey is becoming, in the eyes of the working people, an advertisement for the Bolsheviks. Once more, our most respectful thanks to the organ of the French millionaires!

The Third International has been founded in a world situation that does not allow prohibitions, petty and miserable devices of the Entente imperialists or of capitalist lackeys like the Scheidemanns in Germany and the Renners in Austria to prevent news of this International and sympathy for it spreading among the working class of the world. This situation has been brought about by the growth of the proletarian revolution, which is manifestly developing everywhere by leaps and bounds. It has been brought about by the *Soviet* movement among the working people, which has already achieved such strength as to become really *international*.

The First International (1864-72) laid the foundation of an international organisation of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary attack on capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organisation of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International.

The Third International actually emerged in 1918, when the long years of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, especially during the war, led to the formation of Communist Parties in a number of countries. Officially, the Third International was founded at its First Congress, in March 1919, in Moscow. And the most characteristic feature of this International, its mission of fulfilling, of implementing the precepts of Marxism, and of achieving the age-old ideals of socialism and the working-class movement – this most characteristic feature of the Third International has manifested itself immediately in the fact that the new, third, “International Working Men’s Association” *has already begun to develop*, to a certain extent, into a *union of Soviet Socialist Republics*.

The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries.

The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international alliance of the parties which are leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, the movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, now rests on an unprecedentedly firm base, in the shape of several *Soviet republics*, which are implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and are the embodiment of victory over capitalism on an international scale.

The epoch-making significance of the Third, Communist International lies in its having begun to give effect to Marx’s cardinal slogan, the slogan which sums up the centuries-old development of socialism and the working-class movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

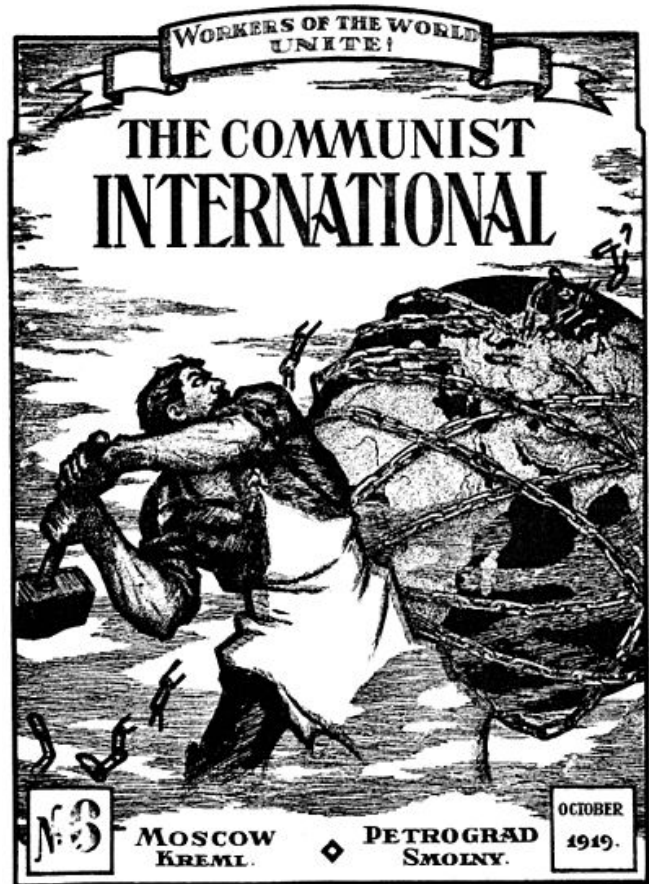
This prevision and this theory – the prevision and theory of a genius – are becoming a reality.

The Latin words have now been translated into the languages of all the peoples of contemporary Europe – more, into all the languages of the world.

A new era in world history has begun.

Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery.

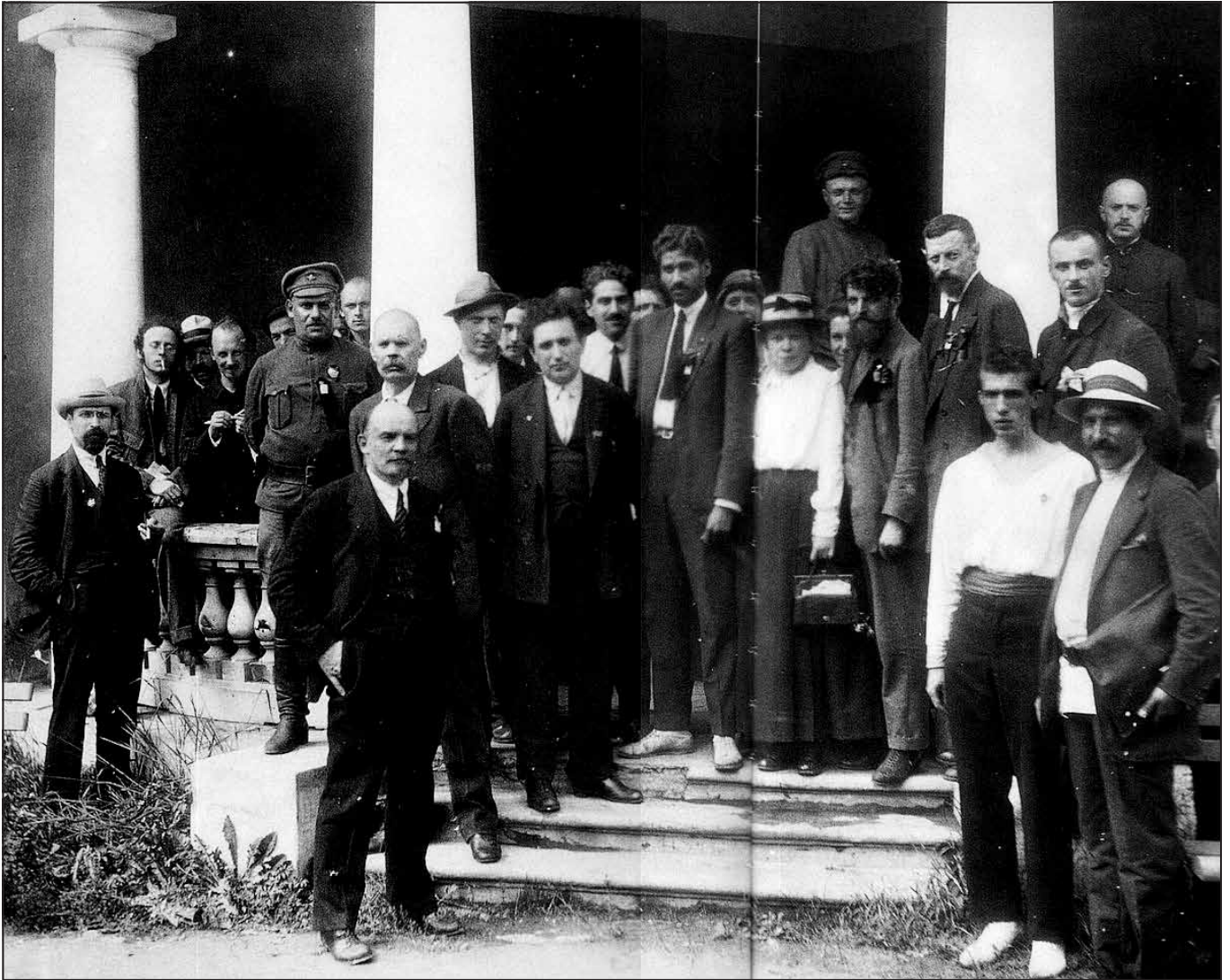
By emancipating himself from slavery, man is for the first time advancing to real freedom.



How is it that one of the most backward countries of Europe was the first country to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to organise a Soviet republic? We shall hardly be wrong if we say that it is this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and the “leap” she has made over bourgeois democracy to the highest form of democracy, to Soviet, or proletarian, democracy – it is this contradiction that has been one of the reasons (apart from the dead weight of opportunist habits and philistine prejudices that burdened the majority of the socialist leaders) why people in the West have had particular difficulty or have been slow in understanding the role of the Soviets.

The working people all over the world have instinctively grasped the significance of the Soviets as an instrument in the proletarian struggle and as a form of the proletarian state. But the “leaders”, corrupted by opportunism, still continue to worship bourgeois democracy, which they call “democracy” in general.

Is it surprising that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat has brought out primarily the “contradiction” between the backwardness of Russia and her “leap” over bourgeois democracy? It would have been surprising had history granted us the establishment of a new form of democracy *without* a number of contradictions.



Delegates of the 2nd Congress of the International, 1920.

If any Marxist, or any person, indeed, who has a general knowledge of modern science, were asked whether it is likely that the transition of the different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat will take place in an identical or harmoniously proportionate way, his answer would undoubtedly be in the negative. There never has been and never could be even, harmonious, or proportionate development in the capitalist world. Each country has developed more strongly first one, then another aspect or feature or group of features of capitalism and of the working-class movement. The process of development has been uneven.

When France was carrying out her great bourgeois revolution and rousing the whole European continent to a historically new life, Britain proved to be at the head of the counter-revolutionary coalition, although at the same time she was much more developed capitalistically than France. The British working-class movement of that period, however, brilliantly anticipated much that was contained in the future Marxism.

When Britain gave the world Chartism, the first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement, bourgeois revolutions, most of them weak, were taking place on the European continent, and the first great civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had broken out in France. The bourgeoisie defeated the various national contingents of the proletariat one by one, in different ways in different countries.

Britain was the model of a country in which, as Engels put it, the bourgeoisie had produced, alongside a bourgeois aristocracy, a very bourgeois upper stratum of the proletariat. ^[1] For several decades this advanced capitalist country lagged behind in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. France seemed to have exhausted the strength of the proletariat in two heroic working-class revolts of 1848 and 1871 against the bourgeoisie that made very considerable contributions to world-historical development. Leadership in the International of the working-class movement then passed to Germany; that was in the seventies of the nineteenth century, when she

lagged economically behind Britain and France. But when Germany had outstripped these two countries economically, i.e., by the second decade of the twentieth century, the Marxist workers' party of Germany, that model for the whole world, found itself headed by a handful of utter scoundrels, the most filthy blackguards – from Scheidemann and Noske to David and Legien – loathsome hangmen drawn from the workers' ranks who had sold themselves to the capitalists, who were in the service of the monarchy and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

World history is leading unswervingly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but is doing so by paths that are anything but smooth, simple and straight.

When Karl Kautsky was still a Marxist and not the renegade from Marxism he became when he began to champion unity with the Scheidemanns and to support bourgeois democracy against Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, he wrote an article – this was at the turn of the century – entitled “The Slavs and Revolution”. In this article he traced the historical conditions that pointed to the possibility of leadership in the world revolutionary movement passing to the Slavs.

And so it has. Leadership in the revolutionary proletarian International has passed for a time – for a short time, it goes without saying – to the Russians, just as at various periods of the nineteenth century it was in the hands of the British, then of the French, then of the Germans.

I have had occasion more than once to say that it was easier for the Russians than for the advanced countries *to begin* the great proletarian revolution, but that it will be more difficult for them *to continue* it and carry it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organisation of a socialist society.

It was easier for us to begin, firstly, because the unusual – for twentieth-century Europe – political backwardness of the tsarist monarchy gave unusual strength to the revolutionary onslaught of the masses. Secondly, Russia's backwardness merged in a peculiar way the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landowners. That is what we started from in October 1917, and we would not have achieved victory so easily then if we had not. As long ago as 1856, Marx spoke, in reference to Prussia; of the possibility of a peculiar combination of proletarian revolution and peasant war. ^[2] From the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks advocated the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Thirdly, the 1905 revolution contributed enormously to the political education of the worker and peasant masses, because it familiarised their vanguard with “the last word” of socialism in the West and also because of the revolutionary action of the masses. Without such

a “dress rehearsal” as we had in 1905, the revolutions of 1917 – both the bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October revolution – would have been impossible. Fourthly, Russia's geographical conditions permitted her to hold out longer than other countries could have done against the superior military strength of the capitalist, advanced countries. Fifthly, the specific attitude of the proletariat towards the peasantry facilitated the transition from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution, made it easier for the urban proletarians to influence the semi-proletarian, poorer sections of the rural working people. Sixthly, long schooling in strike action and the experience of the European mass working-class movement facilitated the emergence – in a profound and rapidly intensifying revolutionary situation – of such a unique form of proletarian revolutionary organisation as the *Soviets*.

This list, of course, is incomplete; but it will suffice for the time being.

Soviet, or proletarian, democracy was born in Russia. Following the Paris Commune a second epoch-making step was taken. The proletarian and peasant Soviet Republic has proved to be the first stable socialist republic in the world. As a *new type of state* it cannot die. It no longer stands alone.

For the continuance and completion of the work of building socialism, much, very much is still required. Soviet republics in more developed countries, where the proletariat has greater weight and influence, have every chance of surpassing Russia once they take the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bankrupt Second International is now dying and rotting alive. Actually, it is playing the role of lackey to the world bourgeoisie. It is a truly yellow International. Its foremost ideological leaders, such as Kautsky, laud *bourgeois* democracy and call it “democracy” in general, or – what is still more stupid and still more crude – “pure democracy”.

Bourgeois democracy has outlived its day, just as the Second International has, though the International performed historically necessary and useful work when the task of the moment was to train the working-class masses within the framework of this bourgeois democracy.

No bourgeois republic, however democratic, ever was or could have been anything but a machine for the suppression of the working people by capital, an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the political rule of capital. The democratic bourgeois republic promised and proclaimed majority rule, but it could never put this into effect as long as private ownership of the land and other means of production existed.

“Freedom” in the bourgeois-democratic republic was actually freedom *for the rich*. The proletarians and working peasants could and should have utilised it for the purpose of preparing their forces to overthrow capital, to overcome bourgeois democracy, but *in fact* the working masses were, as a general rule, unable to enjoy democracy under capitalism.

Soviet or proletarian, *democracy* has for the first time in the world created democracy for the masses, for the working people, for the factory workers and small peasants.

Never yet has the world seen political power wielded by the *majority* of the population, power *actually* wielded by this majority, as it is in the case of Soviet rule.

It suppresses the “freedom” of the exploiters and their accomplices; it deprives them of “freedom” to exploit, “freedom” to batten on starvation, “freedom” to fight for the restoration of the rule of capital, “freedom” to compact with the foreign bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants of their own country.

Let the Kautskys champion such freedom. Only a renegade from Marxism, a renegade from socialism can do so.

In nothing is the bankruptcy of the ideological leaders of the Second International, people like Hilferding and Kautsky, so strikingly expressed as in their utter inability to understand the significance of Soviet, or proletarian, democracy, its relation to the Paris Commune, its place in history, its necessity as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The newspaper *Die Freiheit*, organ of the “Independent” (alias middle-class, philistine, petty-bourgeois) German Social-Democratic Party, in its issue No. 74 of February 11, 1919, published a manifesto “To the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany”.

This manifesto is signed by the Party executive and by all its members in the National Assembly, the German variety of our Constituent Assembly.

This manifesto accuses the Scheidemanns of wanting to abolish the *Workers’ Councils*, and proposes – don’t laugh! – that the Councils be combined with the Assembly, that the Councils be granted certain political rights, a certain place in the Constitution.

To reconcile, to unite the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat! How simple! What a brilliantly philistine idea!

The only pity is that it was tried in Russia, under Kerensky, by the united Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, those petty-bourgeois democrats who imagine themselves socialists.

Anyone who has read Marx and failed to understand that in capitalist society, at every acute moment, in every serious class conflict, the alternative is either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat, has understood nothing of either the economic or the political doctrines of Marx.

But the brilliantly philistine idea of Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. of peacefully combining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat requires special examination, if exhaustive treatment is to be given to the economic and political absurdities with which this most remarkable and comical manifesto of February 11 is packed. That will have to be put off for another article.^[3]

Moscow, April 15, 1919.

Endnotes

[1] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 110.

[2] Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 92.

[3] See pp. 392-401 of this volume.

Opinion

Lenin's analysis of imperialism - a pioneering work

Effective international cooperation relies on a proper understanding of the international social and economic situation. In this article, Lars Ulrik Thomsen defends Lenin's analysis of imperialism and state monopoly capitalism from those who believe it obsolete. The editorial board would appreciate contributions on this topic for our opinion section.

Lars Ulrik Thomsen

Summary

Currently fashionable theories on the left, such as the concept of transnational capital, propose that the concept of imperialism, and more specifically Lenin's theory of imperialism, is out of date and irrelevant to the worldwide labour movement. However, careful consideration shows that Lenin's theory of imperialism, which sees it as a stage of capitalist development associated with the rise of monopoly capital and an enhanced role for the state, is still the only solid foundation for grasping the nature of today's capitalist world economy, even with all of the changes that have taken place since Lenin's time.

Prologue

The process of dialectical materialism can be compared with the work of an artist. He renders his motive on the canvas, and – if he is a gifted artist – he will not be satisfied by just reproducing that motive. He will try to get to the essence of his motive, either by emphasising or pitching part of it. In a figurative sense, what happens between the artist and his motive is the material process. Dialectical logic is the process in the head of the artist and, together with the reflection of reality, constitutes dialectical materialism.

This is beautifully expressed in one of Shakespeare's sonnets (No 24):

"Mine eye hath played the painter, and hath stell'd
Thy beauty's form in table of my heart;
...



"Mine eyes have drawn thy shape, and thine for me
Are windows to my breast, where through the sun
Delights to peep, to gaze therein on thee;"

This is dialectics in arts at its best. It gives the full richness of reflection and one that we can also find in the theoretical works of the classics.

The American author Francis Fukuyama predicted in the 1990s that history had reached an end. Capitalism had prevailed as the final answer to all modes of production. But history in general is unpredictable and is not governed by fortune-tellers.

The major changes in capitalism, and the collapse of the socialist system in 1991, have led to political reaction and a major set-back for labour movement and democratic forces. But there is no reason to distrust the future or to fear the great changes which our time will experience. Capitalism and imperialism create the foundation for the coming socialist societies, not in a steady and evolutionary way, but in catastrophic leaps and through revolutions, from one type of formation to another.

Class struggles of social forces are the makers of history. If we look at the history of capitalism, we see that the French revolutions of the 19th century evolved in a contradictory fashion. The feudal system that collapsed in 1789 was reinstated with the restoration of the monarchy in 1814, but the bourgeois revolution still prevailed. We know similar events from all the other major European countries. What we see now in Russia and Eastern Europe is a capitalist restoration, with fatal consequences for the working people. But, like the French Bourbons, the power of the Russian oligarchs is only temporary.

1. Positivist and scientific analysis

In the late 1990s and with the beginning of the new millennium, a number of new works on imperialism were published, primarily written by American, English and German authors. These writers are characterised by a positivistic outlook and, in contrast with Lenin, by a lack of understanding of dialectical materialism. Their analysis gives a picture of new tendencies in imperialism, but not in a scientific way. It is as if Lenin's works, which were popular in the 1970s, have almost disappeared from the present debate. With a few exceptions, they are seen as irrelevant for contemporary analysis.

So anti-communism has achieved its goal of undermining the theoretical foundations of the labour movement. Our job must be to use the new publications on imperialism, as far as possible, and link them into a new analysis. The lack of investigation using Lenin's method has had perceptible consequences for the labour movement. It leads to miscalculations, as for example in the concepts of liberalisation and globalisation.

In a scientific sense, these authors are giving an incorrect picture of the present stage of capitalism. The same applies to the theory that transnational capitalism has replaced state monopoly capitalism.

In contrast to these recent publications, a very interesting book appeared as long ago as 1968: Fritz Kumpf's *Problems of Dialectics in Lenin's Analysis of Imperialism*. At that time Kumpf was a lecturer in philosophy at the Humboldt University in Berlin.

In his book Kumpf investigates Lenin's work and method, contributing to the development of the scientific analysis of imperialism. He starts by evaluating the most recent results in dialectical logic, and presents various opinions of Marxist lecturers on the subject. This is a very valuable approach, because every new investigation has to verify its concepts and categories.

Kumpf studies the process that has to be followed in the analysis, if the result is to be in accordance with philosophical logic. This includes the transition from the abstract to the concrete, and the relation between formal and dialectical logic in the investigation. The book gives us a clear impression of the depth and quality of Lenin's work. It emphasises that every step in the analysis must follow a special procedure to make the laws of motion visible in capitalism.

This is the important difference between Lenin's analysis and those of other authors. Lenin does not just deliver a number of pieces of factual information, but the actual substance of the matter is discovered and elaborated.

Kumpf also investigates the works of authors like Hilferding, Kautsky and Bukharin who were contemporary with Lenin. Kautsky came to quite different conclusions from Lenin, leading to a split in the labour movement, with consequences for our own time.

In the third chapter of his book, Kumpf analyses the new forms of state monopoly capitalism. He shows how – despite the efforts of the bourgeois parties – it is impossible to solve the inner contradictions of the system. His main thesis is that, although the monopolies undertake a form of planning, overall production is still anarchical. This is an important conclusion, because it gives us the key to understanding why society must change into a new formation.

Kumpf's work has to be seen in the critical light of later philosophical writings. The way he examines the relationship between natural science and logic requires closer analysis. His apology for making dialectical logic into a separate discipline is in contradiction with the work of E V Ilyenkov and his *Dialectical Logic*.

2. Lenin's work

What distinguishes the Marxist analysis from other methods? It does not simply register the eventual changes, but goes deeper and tries to show connections that are not visible to the naked eye. This was the method which Lenin developed in *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

Before he started his analysis of capitalism, Lenin studied the development of philosophy from antiquity to his own time. In particular he studied Hegel's dialectics, which enabled him to develop a materialistic standpoint. Without these investigations, he would not have been able to solve the analysis of imperialism. One of his great achievements was the definition of dialectical logic:

“Logic is the science not of external forms of thought, but the laws of development ‘of all material, natural and spiritual things’, *i.e.*, of the development of the entire

concrete content of the world and of its cognition, i.e., the sum-total, the conclusion of the *History* of knowledge of the world.”

Lenin wrote *Imperialism* in the first half of 1916, claiming a number of developments in capitalism, which would have a decisive impact on the labour movement in the 20th century. His most important discovery was that the centralisation and concentration of capital leads to the formation of monopolies, which due to their position in the society become decisive in the general development of social production. As a result Lenin gave the following short definition: *Imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism*.

This definition was elaborated in the well-known 5 points which followed, rooted in the economic categories of those days. The condition for reaching this conclusion was a comprehensive theoretical study. This meant collecting bourgeois statistical data, studying bourgeois authors and making a thorough study of philosophy. New scientific discoveries had to be part of the definition and decide the content of our terminology. This, Lenin concluded, was the only way to present an adequate analysis.

In *Imperialism*, Lenin investigates the preceding period in the history of capitalism, i.e. the transition from free competition to the emergence of monopolies. Subsequently he analyses the changes in monopoly capitalism and the dominance of finance capital. By examining the accessible data, he shows how these changes in capitalism will have far-reaching consequences for labour. He concludes that the labour movement should not submit to imperialism, but on the contrary, sharpen its inner contradictions to the utmost. Only in this way can imperialism be fought and the transition to a higher level of society be accomplished.

3. The theory of state monopoly capitalism

Currently, the theory of state monopoly capitalism has almost been forgotten. Only a few economists, such as Gretchen Binus from Germany, are analysing the present economic crisis by using this method. By accepting the theory of neoliberalism and globalisation, most economists have concluded that it meant the termination of state monopoly capitalism. The misunderstanding arises because this theory was perceived in a narrow way and only seen in a specific form.

Monopolies and finance capital do not follow the same course under all political conditions. They are subject to the laws of development of capitalism, and the changes in the relative strength between the classes.

The present crisis in the world economy confirms that the theory of state monopoly capitalism is still valid. It is national governments that promote subsidies, political intervention and bailing out of the banks. They are trying to mitigate the consequences of the crisis. If the philosophy of neoliberalism were still in force, then national governments would not interfere in the way they do today.

What can we learn from Lenin’s work on imperialism? All the questions discussed in it became the substance of the most important questions which dominated the 20th century. That is why a new investigation has to build on the method of his work.

In today’s society the new forms of state monopoly capitalism are one of the central issues for the labour movement. These new forms are no longer limited by national borders, but defined by regional cooperation of states. That is why internationalism is so important for the labour movement and has to be developed in qualitatively new ways. Only by international cooperation will it be possible for the labour movement, to become a counterweight to imperialism and state monopoly capitalism. It must visualise the difference between the specific and the general: what is nationally conditioned and what has to be raised through common claims in international fora.

The present crisis is also the crisis of the state monopoly capitalist system. It is symbolised by the legendary Greek King Tantalos, who was chained in water up to his neck. Every time he wanted to drink, the water level sank. Today capitalism has generated unbelievable productive forces, which submerge the markets with commodities. But, if there is no purchasing power to keep the wheels running, millions of workers become redundant.

The depth of the present crisis is also rooted in the deregulation and liberalisation of the economy. This deregulation has been claimed as the proof that the state no longer has the same role as previously. In reality this policy was a means by which the imperial powers dominated smaller countries.

The critical reader will object that state regulation had already been replaced by monetarism in the 1980s. But the promised free competition and liberalisation of the markets is refuted by economic facts. In the European Union, 40 banks control 60 percent of the capital market. Given the close connections between the big banks, there are in fact roughly 10 banks that control 60 percent of the market.

This kind of monopolisation is to be seen in all vital sectors of the economy. It has been advancing by leaps and bounds, prohibiting effective competition and price control, to the detriment of consumers. Monopolisation

has also been used to redistribute wealth in the society, which also tends to escalate the economic crises.

As a consequence of the current crisis, parties in the labour movement are proposing state intervention and subsidises for banks and private enterprises. In reality this is an attempt to reinstitute Keynesianism. But the relative success of that policy was under the quite different circumstances of the 1930s and the period after the Second World War. Just to take one aspect, the scientific and technical revolution makes many of his predictions for the economy non-applicable. In contrast to Marx, Keynes did not consider new inventions as part of his theory.

An alternative approach could be the anti-monopoly strategy, which was launched in the 1970s. The idea was to connect all democratic demands with control of the big monopolies, giving new rights to the people, and strengthening democratic influence on all decisions in society. This kind of policy is still applicable, but needs to be combined with a new analysis of the contradictions in state monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

4. A new analysis of imperialism

The present conditions promote Lenin's work on imperialism, and give us new inspiration for a contemporary analysis. Lenin emphasised that his work was dominated by Tsarist censorship. Therefore he limited himself to the economic analysis of the war powers, and the world economy as a whole.

Since his time roughly 100 years have passed, with rapid developments in the economy and politics, which have changed the world decisively. One example is the emergence of a socialist camp, which in the 1980s comprised one third of the world's population. Another is the scientific-technological revolution, and a third is the dislocation between the imperialist powers since Second World War.

The greatest achievement in science in the 20th century was the splitting of the atom. The communist and labour movement, together with the peace movement, made a tremendous effort in the 1950s to prevent an atomic disaster. This effort is an example to follow in the present fight against imperialism and its barbarism. On the matter of developing our theory according to the new productive forces, the international communist movement fell short, it was not able to develop our theory and methods accordingly.

The task that we face today is even greater, because the tensions in the state-monopoly capitalist system have accelerated immensely. All these conflicts, and the collapse

of the socialist system, lead to new formations and currents in the labour movement.

In the preface to the French-German edition of *Imperialism*, Lenin mentioned a new international ideological current – Kautskyanism. Lenin's criticism was directed towards Kautsky's role in the Second International and its collapse in 1914.

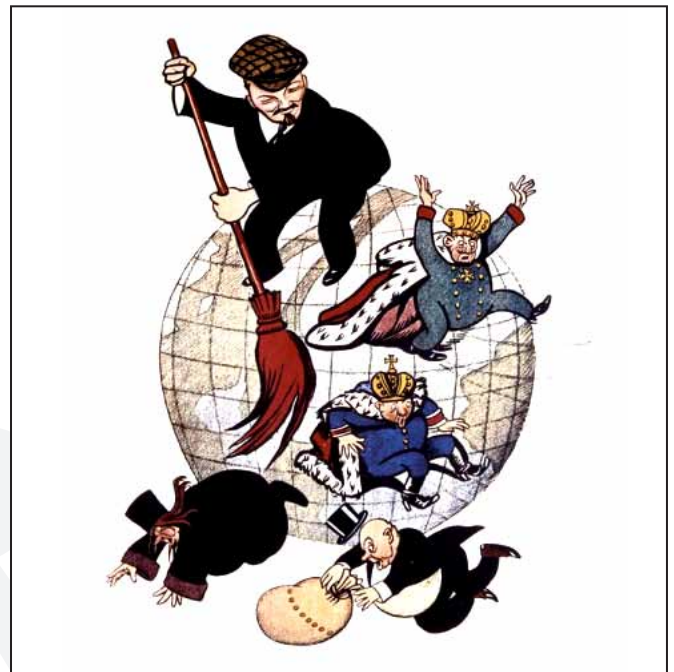
Today we experience a new current in the labour movement – a relapse to *utopian socialism*, an idealistic current which has gained widespread influence. It is known by the name 'New Left' and emphasises the moral and ethical aspects in the movement, depreciating the socialist goal. Taking its inspiration from former Marxists, like the French philosopher André Gorz and others, it is hardly distinguishable from the revisionists of Eduard Bernstein's time.

As Lenin had to fight Kautskyanism at the beginning of the 20th century, so we have to fight the utopian socialism of our century. A new analysis of imperialism can mean that the dialectical method will experience a rebirth. Only by developing new forms of dialectical materialism will it be possible to accomplish a true understanding of the laws of motion in our society.

Lars U Thomsen was born in 1946. After school days travels in Europe, Middle East and Africa he took up an apprenticeship as a mechanic, obtaining a certificate in 1973. He became a member of The Communist Party of Denmark in 1971 and undertook Party training in Czechoslovakia.

His first book was published in 1998. *The Tree of the people – The Tree of Fighting* dealt with Communist Party history in WW2. Then followed a series of books on Danish and international history of capitalism, philosophy and class analysis.

In 2015 he became a member of the editorial board of the *Communist Review*, Britain.



Communist cooperation: building links between fraternal parties

Michael Hooper

Proletarian internationalism is one of the unique features of Marxism-Leninism and a guiding principle for the theory and practice of communist parties. Marx and Engels expounded the idea that it is not enough for the proletariat of one country to rise up and depose their own bourgeoisie. It is absolutely essential for them to wage a common struggle with the international proletariat for the complete defeat of all exploiters and the final liberation of all humankind.

The Communist Party of Australia (CPA) has a long and glorious tradition of waging struggles in common with the proletarians of other nations. Our members have opposed the actions of Australia's national bourgeoisie when they harm the workers and peasants of other countries, supported anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles, defended the socialist countries and fought against racism and jingoism domestically. The CPA's leadership in the Dalfram dispute, against the export of pig-iron destined to fuel the Japanese war-machine and its slaughter of the Chinese people, and the anti-Vietnam war movement are just two examples of the party's internationalist pedigree.

Proletarian internationalism can also be measured by the level of cooperation we engage in with fraternal communist parties. This article will emphasise the fundamental principles that must govern inter-party relations, explore some of the ways that fraternal parties can learn from each other and show how cooperation on joint campaigns is possible. As capitalism's global assault on working people increases in intensity, so too must our cooperation with fraternal parties.

Potential areas of cooperation

Communist Parties abroad have a wealth of knowledge earned through decades of struggle that we would do well to learn from. Where better to start our search for knowledge than on the theme of education? Education is a task central to the efforts of all communist parties because it equips comrades with the theory necessary to successfully carry out the struggle of the working class. Kalinin, Soviet head of state from the 1920s to the 1940s and responsible for education, wrote that: "We study

Marxism-Leninism as a method, as an instrument with the aid of which we correctly determine our political, social and private conduct". Without Marxism-Leninism as our guide to action, comrades will make serious errors that harm our work. Chinese revolutionary and theorist Liu Shaoqi criticised an anti-education trend among Chinese comrades in the late 1930s when he said: "At the same time, we should add that no Party member can maintain a proletarian stand and express a proletarian ideology concretely in every revolutionary struggle unless he studies the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism diligently and guides his thinking and action accordingly". So it is clear that inner-party education work is vital.

Our Party has achieved its own victories and suffered its own defeats when it comes to education work. We have learned lessons based on our own specific circumstances and special conditions, however there is still much we can learn from the experiences of others. What could the CPA stand to learn from others in terms of education?

Firstly, we should find out how other parties organise their education work. Is there a more effective way to distribute responsibilities for education such as curriculum development and national school schedules? How do other parties carry out systematic education when students join classes at different stages? The teacher training regimens of other parties can also provide valuable insights for our own education work. Aside from organisational problems, we should pay attention to the specifics of andragogy (adult education). What teaching methods do tutors and teachers use in the classroom? Are students simply being lectured or is learning student centred? Are we allowing comrades to "pool their ignorance" too much or have we found the sweet spot between exposition and participation?

Comrades engaged in education work for fraternal parties may also share other useful practical information with us such as the best way to integrate visual aids into the classroom or which programs are the most useful for supporting tutors. Finally, we need to learn more creative ways of expanding education beyond the classroom. Generations of Marxist educators have stressed the link between theory and practice and the need to combine theoretical book learning with practical application of that learning.



Patrice Lumumba at Peoples friendship university.

Our education cadre have already begun to learn from the experiences of communist parties abroad. As a result of person to person inter-party diplomacy, links have been established between cadre of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCdoB) and the CPA. The PCdoB has developed a well organised system of education for all levels of comrades and an impressive series of educational videos. They have provided basic information about their education system and have agreed to further interviews and sharing of educational materials. Cooperation with the Communist Party of Germany has also been raised, with initial contact already established. Finally, on an even more exciting note, members of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) and the Chinese Academy of Marxism (CAM) have been holding discussions on the establishment of a “University of Marxism” in China. Participants envisage the university as an international school for the training of cadres, the likes of which hasn’t been seen since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Education helps our comrades to develop the right ideas, while propaganda helps us to bring our message to the masses. Propaganda is an area in which we are seriously lagging behind the class enemy. As times and conditions change, the methods that proved so effective in the past no longer carry the same weight with modern Australians. How do we produce propaganda that not only carries a good political line advocating policy that workers will support but also attracts attention through its high production values and creative implementation?

Communist parties abroad can provide valuable insights into this question. While each party faces a unique national situation that requires specific propaganda techniques

or content that may not be suitable in Australia, there is still a lot to be learned. Creative adaptation of foreign experience will serve us well. When casting our eyes abroad, it would be wise to start with parties in similar situations to our own such as the CPUSA or communist parties in the so-called commonwealth countries. To that end, I recommend that our Party strengthen person to person and party to party links with these parties so that we may better learn from their successes and failures.

Internationalism is not a one-way street. Our party also has successful experiences to share with overseas comrades. To cite one small-scale example, Freeway Blogging is a technique where simple yet eye-catching banners are hung up along high traffic locations where tens of thousands of people will see them before they are taken down. Depending on the stretch of road, banners have stayed up for weeks. This is a technique that comrades in Adelaide have been employing for a number of years to great effect. It is cheap and relatively easy to do. A little dumpster diving provides the cardboard while a few tins of paint will last you many banners. This affordable yet effective technique was originally developed by a comrade in the US and has since been successfully adapted by Australian comrades. If our members are successful in building greater international links then we may be able to inspire other parties to adopt techniques that we found useful such as freeway blogging.

While sharing experiences and trading techniques with fraternal parties is helpful, we also have countless opportunities to cooperate on joint campaigns. There are ways that we can work together that are mutually beneficial, regardless of the situation of our international colleagues. One potential form of cooperation is comrade exchanges. Cadre who are responsible for some aspect of the party’s work could trade places with a comrade from a fraternal party for a reasonable length of time. During this exchange, cadres would learn more about how work in their area of responsibility is conducted overseas, determine what aspects are suitable for application in their home country and provide a fresh, outsider perspective on problems regarding their host party’s work methods. The CPUSA and the Communist Party of China (CPC) have already begun a similar exchange process, where academics from CAM visit the US for research or exchange purposes on an official level but also join US comrades in their party activities. Even in our current financial and organisational situation, a short-term exchange program between our party and comrades from countries where it is easy to obtain an Australian visa would not be difficult to carry out. If comrades are willing to self-fund their airfares while host parties provide accommodation this would effectively cost our organisation nothing yet provide invaluable cadre development opportunities.

Solidarity is one of the cornerstones of proletarian internationalism and our party has a strong tradition of solidarity work. Our comrades have led unions and solidarity organisations in carrying out activities in support of disposed, victimised and oppressed peoples all over the world. Despite our size and means, we dedicate cadre to organisations such as the Australia Cuba Friendship Society (ACFS) and play our part in supporting socialist countries. This is something we can be proud of. Sending money and attempting to raise public awareness about overseas causes is helpful in its own way, but we should begin to explore new ways of expressing solidarity. We should improve our links with parties in the socialist countries so that we can discuss ways of working together that are mutually beneficial. Can we facilitate the propaganda work of these parties in Australia? Can we use our better understanding of Australian culture and social psychology to help Cuban or Chinese comrades craft better publicity material? Can these parties in return provide design experts, training or equipment that helps us raise the level of our own propaganda work? All of these wonderful opportunities require the first step of improving party-to-party links and discussing how best we can help each other.

Our party has long held the view that migrant comrades should not cling to their home parties but should instead participate in the struggle of their new homeland and join the local communist party. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) has historically insisted that Greeks migrating to Australia participate in the local struggle and join the CPA, however the same can not be said for every fraternal party. Where possible, we should carry out propaganda work among migrant communities to encourage communists who have come from overseas to join our own party. Posters in migrant areas and online posts in migrant forums in the language of these communities may help us to recruit overseas comrades living in Australia.

We should also reach out to comrades from fraternal parties who are in Australia temporarily whether for work, study or travel.

General recommendations for our work

International cooperation isn't something that only an international sub-committee or party leaders can engage in, it is something that comrades at all levels can promote. How can comrades contribute to the international work of our party and to the formation of closer links between fraternal parties?

Individual comrades should take advantage of every opportunity they can to cultivate links with comrades from

fraternal parties. Person-to-person links may form the foundation for later formal cooperation. A colleague in a fraternal party may share their personal experiences and provide insights into the work of their own party. Their branch might have come up with a creative new way to carry out propaganda work or they may have found that certain traditional methods simply don't work in their area. By communicating one-on-one with overseas comrades, individual members can learn valuable lessons from the experiences of others and bring these accounts to their branches, improving the overall work of local organisations. Information sharing and potential future cooperation on educational matters between the CPA and the PCdoB began with informal person-to-person contact between ordinary party members. The members in question maintained contact, shared ideas and reported to higher party organs. If every member of our party seeks out international contacts and works on those relationships, we will have a wealth of connections with fraternal parties that can be developed into practical cooperation.

While these links are very useful, it is still important for our leadership and international sub-committee comrades to continue to carry out formal relationship building with other parties. Wherever possible, relationships should be built with a view to promoting concrete cooperation between fraternal parties. Of course this doesn't mean that we must have a project on the go with every communist party in the world. What it does mean is that we are always mindful of how to develop relationships with fraternal parties from formalistic exchanges of greetings into practical cooperation that supports the cause of communism in both countries. Since our leadership cadre is not unlimited, it may be worthwhile for the maintenance of relationships with specific parties to be delegated to particular branches or comrades on both sides, resulting in a kind of "sister-branch" relationship. The branches and comrades involved could act as bridges between our parties that keep the relationship alive with regular contact and cooperation.

Building strong links of trust and friendship between parties in wildly different circumstances requires adherence to basic principles of inter-party relations and a mature understanding of the best ways to cooperate despite differences. Mutual respect and mutual benefit are two principles that must be applied in modern inter-party relations. The days of the Soviet Union as a centre of world revolution are long gone and none of the existing communist parties in power appear willing to take on that responsibility. Comrades seeking to build person to person links with members of parties leading socialist societies such as the CPC or powerful communist parties in capitalist countries such as the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), should be mindful of inherent

disparities without being cowed into inactivity. Branch-to-branch exchanges could be very useful as mentioned earlier in this article. At the official party-to-party level, cadres should focus on ensuring a relationship of mutual respect by not merely asking for support or funding but by seeking out ways that we can help those parties. By demonstrating our ability to act and to perform beyond our numbers, we will earn the respect of larger parties and will be more likely to secure opportunities for meaningful cooperation.

The natural candidates for inter-party cooperation are parties in very similar conditions to our own, such as those with relatively small memberships, limited income, and similar operating conditions. That is not to suggest that we cannot learn from the experiences and methods of struggle of other parties working in very different conditions. Individual comrades, branches and leadership cadres should prioritise working relationships with these parties so that we can learn what tactics are effective and find ways to work together on common campaigns.

Special care must be taken when attempting to communicate and establish links with fraternal parties engaged in underground struggles. These comrades will be endangered if we fail to take adequate security precautions, but the potential benefits for both sides make cooperation especially rewarding. One of the unfortunate illnesses of communist movements in countries like Australia is the prevalence of petty-bourgeois individualism. The unlikelihood of an imminent socialist revolution combined with the relative political safety and freedom of our membership provides fertile breeding ground for a lack of discipline and dedication to the realisation of communism. All too often we see members shirking their

responsibilities by regularly putting their own interests above those of the party. Examples of this trend include people who: ignore democratic decisions that they disapprove of, boycott the implementation of Party policy that they disagree with and sabotage the work of party committees out of petty vengeance against comrades who rightly criticised their unacceptable behaviour. Contact with parties fighting life or death struggles could be an effective method of instilling the discipline and commitment required of a communist. Exposing our members to international comrades who face imprisonment, torture and death as the consequences of their party activities might be the slap in the face they need to improve their work style. Underground parties can share real life accounts, anecdotes and writings about their struggle with us, while our members can organise solidarity and fundraising activities to free jailed activists or to facilitate the underground struggle.

Conclusion

Through informal person-to-person and formal party-to-party links, fraternal parties are able to learn from each other by sharing their experiences and techniques. Person to person contact between comrades has become increasingly convenient as communications technology improves, opening up new possibilities for information sharing and greater cooperation such as cadre exchanges. As capitalist globalisation speeds up and the despotic rule of transnational corporations is felt by more and more people, joint struggle by fraternal parties must also be strengthened. In the spirit of Marx's resounding call to action in the Communist Manifesto: fraternal parties of the world, unite!

AMR

For an International University of Marxism

Wadi'h Halabi

Economics Commission of the CPUSA and the Center for Marxist Education in Massachusetts (USA)

Completing humanity's historic transition from capitalism to socialism is not rocket science, it is more complicated. It will demand dynamic mobilizing of the international working class under rapidly changing conditions and enormous social, political and environmental pressures.

Marxism is the activist "rocket science" of the working class, the class charged with leading the transition. Marxism itself constantly changes, as it integrates labor's experiences and achievements in order to advance revolutionary practice. Marxism has progressed by relentless self-correction, drawing lessons from our movement's failures and errors as well as victories.

If scooting a rocket past Mars requires comprehensive integration of physics, math, engineering (and much more), is it not evident that completing the historic transition requires comprehensive education in Marxism?

Such education demands everything from "elementary" schools to colleges and universities of Marxism, with plenty of teachers, teaching materials and practice. (In addition, because capitalism fails "ordinary" workers, many scientists of the transition may also need lessons in reading and writing.)

Who could start a University of Marxism?

The necessary schools, universities, teachers and materials of Marxism are sorely lacking in the capitalist world. Even in states formed by socialist revolutions, such as China or Cuba today, teachers of Marxism often express frustration. So how can we advance effective learning of Marxism? Where can we start?

Part of the answer may be found by asking, who has both the interest and the resources to champion learning of Marxism worldwide? Imperialist states, for example, certainly have the resources – but their interest lies in strangling Marxism, not promoting it! Communist Parties have an interest in advancing Marxism, but many lack the resources. The major exceptions are the Communist Parties in power, which have the resources



Moscow State University.

and the interest, although internal tasks and struggles, difficulties in governing, and pressures from the exploiters, have often throttled the task.

Changes in the world political economy

A longer response to the question can be developed by assessing objective changes in the world political economy, and in the strengths and weaknesses of the international working class. With the decline of capitalism, we find a problem of decomposition of the working class in capitalist countries, and recomposition on an unfavorable basis (and sometimes not at all). By contrast, there has been development of the working class in states formed by socialist revolution.

Let's start with capitalism. Since the mid-1970s, growing contradictions of the old social system have led to a sharp rise in unemployment, under-employment, informal and self-employment in most (not all) capitalist countries. Self-employment can now be found even in mines and industry. This rise in unemployment and under-employment is a driving factor of decomposition.

The capitalists have used rising unemployment and improvements in communications and transport (and "free trade" treaties) to increase competition among the workers of the world. They have also generally reduced the size of new factories and taken to scattering them – they have learned that large industrial concentrations encourage labor militancy. And they rarely offer permanent employment to youth – the energy of revolution.

One result is unparalleled insecurity of life in most capitalist countries. Such insecurity is a revolutionary



Students of Sun Yat Sen University in the USSR.

factor. But the constant labor turnover and rising competition among workers and the oppressed also makes it more difficult to organise – and advance education in Marxism. The collapse of the Soviet Union (and eleven similar states) has not helped, introducing confusion in the Communist movement – and millions of newly unemployed. But it has also served as a clear warning.

It's different in the states formed by socialist revolutions

Conditions differ in the five remaining states formed by socialist revolutions (China, Vietnam, Laos, People's Korea and Cuba). In the past two decades, these states have recorded significant economic growth, expansion of the working class, rising concentrations of industrial workers, and improvements in education and culture.

China and Vietnam in particular have experienced considerable economic development while the capitalist world suffered multiple crises. In just four years, 2007 to 2011, China's industrial production jumped from 62 percent of US levels to 120 percent, according to UN accounting (which exaggerates "value-added" in imperialist manufacturing). China's rise since 2007 has been even more pronounced compared to Europe or Japan, where industry continues to suffer.

One result is that the productivity of labour in manufacturing in China appears higher now than in any capitalist country, rich or poor. (Productivity in basic industry and especially agriculture remains lower in China.) This could be a historically-decisive development – labour productivity in the Soviet Union unfortunately lagged behind that in capitalist countries.

Changes in the working class – and Marxism – in China

China today probably accounts for as many regularly-employed industrial workers as the rest of the world combined. The number of industrial workers in Vietnam has also zoomed, especially since reunification in 1975. (Marxism has historically placed an emphasis on industrial workers, in part because conditions in industry facilitate organisation, discipline, class consciousness and solidarity, and internationalism; furthermore, there are thousands of ties and common interests between industrial workers and all workers and oppressed.)

Along with economic development, China has also seen significant strengthening of Marxism. Critical was a deepening understanding of internal and external factors that facilitated counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, and the real reasons behind the seeming stability of imperialist countries (from 1945 until 2007, that is). These two developments had superficially appeared to contradict Marxism.

One reflection of Marxism's resurgence in China is the elevation of the Institute of Marxism of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) to the Academy of Marxism. From the 1980s into the early 2000s, the Institute of Marxism was a relatively small component of CASS, with bourgeois think-tanks and thinkers a larger component. This began to change in 2005, when China's leaders elevated the Institute to the status of Academy.

By 2014, the Academy of Marxism had become the largest component of CASS, and many of those bourgeois thinkers were expelled from CASS. Leaders of CASS and of the Academy of Marxism increasingly committed themselves to advancing the cause of Marxism internationally, along with international unity among Communist and workers' parties.

Nearly a decade ago, the World Socialism Research Institute, headed by Li Shenming, a former president of CASS, began to host regular World Socialism Forums. Initially, forums included only handfuls of participants from Communist Parties worldwide. But in recent years, the number of CPs has increased sharply. CPs from all the ruling parties – China, Cuba, Vietnam, People's Korea, Laos – have been represented. Also present have been members of CPs from Australia, France, Italy, Japan, Lithuania, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, India, Tunisia, Egypt, Brazil, Colombia, Portugal and the US, among others.

AMR

Migrant workers also increasingly embracing Marxism

Based on some remarkable work by Marxists in the 1950s, China's leaders realised that to "grow the productive forces", China had to "go to capitalist school". Market changes and "opening up" followed, starting in the late 1970s.

This has brought millions of migrant workers from farms into industry – and face to face with capitalist exploitation, often in the most naked forms. A growing number of migrant workers are embracing Marxism, along with their children, many of them also migrant workers with varying education past high school.

China's colleges and universities sport well over one hundred Marxist Student Associations, with migrant workers and their children often participating. A major task today is to overcome the gap that has developed between China's leaders and the mass of these workers. By drawing the lessons from the collapse of the Soviet Union (and the important Soviet miners' strikes in the summer of 1989, which led workers to repudiate Communist Party leadership), or from the rise of Solidarnosc in Poland in 1980, Marxism can close this gap. That would certainly be a productive course for an International University of Marxism.

The 2015 proposal for an International University of Marxism

At the 2014 World Socialism forum in Beijing, Wu Enuyan, a CPC leader, historian of the Soviet Union, and teacher at the Academy of Marxism, displayed pictures of the Moscow-based Communist University of the Toilers of the East. The young Deng Xiaoping had studied there, as had Zhu De, who studied Marxist theory – and military science. (A decade earlier, Cde. Wu Enuyan, at the time Party secretary at the Academy of Marxism, had expressed great frustration to this writer with the ineffectiveness of education in Marxism in China.)

The pictures of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow brought memories of the emphasis that Soviet leaders had placed on international education in Marxism. Discussions followed with Richard Levins, the great Marxist ecologist at Cuba's Institute of Ecology and Systematics and Harvard University, who suggested an international university of Marxism.

In May 2015, the president of the Academy of Marxism, Deng Chundong, briefly visited the US, meeting with CPUSA members and making a presentation at the Center for Marxist Education in Boston. CPUSA comrades in Boston proposed that the CPC consider creating an international university of Marxism, with a physical campus, course materials ("in 200 languages, please"), as well as an online presence. Comrades renewed the proposal at the World Socialism forum in Beijing this past October. Cde Deng promised to pursue the proposal. (A young leader of the Academy suggested that a summer school might be a good starting point.)

The potential of a University of Marxism

"Marx U" courses could range from the ABCs of Marxism to discussions of general and specific challenges facing Communist parties, labor union policies, and much more. Correction of errors our Movement has made could take the form of describing the panoply of problems that leaders faced at the time, the various possible solutions, and how to assess them. Course materials could be used internationally, and at least some presentations and the ensuing discussion could be recorded and broadcast.

An International University of Marxism would also allow comrades from Communist Parties worldwide to meet, expand our horizons, test ping pong skills – and better understand the common and particular challenges we face.

Development of an International University could thus help strengthen not only Marxism, but its living embodiments, Communist Parties worldwide. It could help advance conscious unity among our Parties, and in the international working class movement. Since 1848 and 1917, this part at least is no longer rocket science.

Wadi'h Halabi works on the Economics Commission of the CPUSA and the Center for Marxist Education in Massachusetts (USA). The ideas expressed in this paper do not necessarily represent those of the CPUSA or CPA. Special thanks are due Cdes. Jin Huiming, Li Shenming, Deng Chundong, Wu Enuyan, Cheng Enfu, Liu Shuchun, Ding Xiaoqin, Zheng Zhifa, Richard Levins, Sandy Rosen, Gary Hicks and Al Sargis. Reasons why Marxism has placed such importance on industrial workers are drawn from a summary in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia. Sea changes in the world political economy since 2007, and why the future of humanity will be written in China, are assessed in an article by the author in Political Affairs, the theoretical journal of the CPUSA, available at politicalaffairs.net or cpusa.org.

The "Two Sea Changes" article can be found at <http://www.politicalaffairs.net/two-sea-changes-and-the-most-difficult-problem-in-working-class-political-economy>

Speech at the 6th World Socialism Forum in Beijing

Michael Hooper

Scholars and comrades, it is an honour to be here today. More, now than ever it is vital for Chinese and international comrades to meet and find ways to cooperate in the international struggle of the working class.

It is fitting that the topic of our conference today is cultural hegemony and colour revolutions, two methods by which capital attempts to not only crush opposition but ensure that it never occurs again.

Colour Revolutions are the refinement of earlier forms of anti-popular strategies. They focus on the need for an authentic “grass-roots” appearance and the holding up to ridicule of the government and leading figures, regardless of whether they were elected or not. Students and other upwardly mobile social groups are targeted for the simplistic, sloganised messages concerning “democracy” and “freedom”. The use of these terms is based on bland, class context-free assumptions that are never questioned in the documentaries sponsored by the Ford Foundation, the essays receiving prizes from the National Endowment for Democracy, the handbooks published by the Albert Einstein Foundation or interviews with the founders of the Otpor organisation in Belgrade.

Decades of experience have provided us with ample examples of how imperialism uses counter-revolution and ideological warfare. Comrades here today have mentioned examples and Bob Briton’s paper which is part of the conference proceedings document goes into more detail.

Instead of listing the crimes that imperialism has committed, I want to pose a question on behalf of Bob and I sincerely hope that comrades will find me later to discuss it. The question is: “Why are these methods so effective?”. Especially in the case of socialist or former socialist countries. Why would such a facile approach to the questions of “democracy” and “freedom” be successful? Why does an education grounded in the world outlook of socialism fail to provide effective immunity from the manipulative propaganda of these so-called “revolutions”?

Despite uncountable crimes against humanity, modern capitalist hegemony in the imperialist world seems unassailable. The Watergate scandal in the US caused such an

outray not because of the nature of the crimes taking place but the cover-up itself. When Nixon was forced to step down to avoid impeachment, the system of capitalism in the US was not challenged, instead media organisations hailed the whole debacle as proof of the effectiveness of US democracy. When evidence of mass surveillance by the NSA was uncovered, a certain period of public outcry was followed by exactly zero uprisings against the US government. Outrage against these crimes never turned into outrage against capitalism and never manifested into mass action for real social change. Why is it so hard to organise people against an exploitative system that time and again shows its inhuman nature? And yet it is so easy to carry out a colour revolution?

While there are many potential reasons or contributing factors such as the media power of imperialist countries and problems with ideological education in socialist countries, there is one particular vector of infection affecting China that I would like to draw attention to today: Students who study abroad.

When Chinese students go abroad to study, they are being sent right into the jaws of the class enemy. They leave the protective environment of socialist construction and arrive in a land drenched in anti-communism. Research has proven that Chinese students who study in the US are more likely to support US government policy and develop an affinity for US values. Local media and interactions with locals all act upon the impressionable minds of Chinese youth, planting the seeds of bourgeois ideology.

Universities in the imperialist countries are institutions designed to produce the guardians of bourgeoisie ideology. So of course, they have their own special techniques for indoctrinating international students. Let me give a real world example of one particular technique. A university in Finland currently offers a subject called: “Understanding East Asia”. In one lesson about colonialism in Asia, students were told to hold a debate where the topic was basically that western countries were right to colonise Asia and that it was a benefit to the ungrateful locals. The debate was presented as a fair and neutral event with the teacher as an unbiased arbiter. Of course, the debate process was highly biased against Chinese students attempting to defend the truth. Chinese students usually do not have much experience with debating and were at a disadvantage compared to local students due



to English difficulties. The lesson content also heavily favoured the affirmative team in the debate. A biased question, process and umpire unsurprisingly lead to a biased outcome. The Chinese side lost the argument. These debates are a weekly occurrence and serve a deeply ideological purpose. They serve to undermine the worldview of international students. Students are tricked by the facade of impartiality and the fable of academic freedom into believing that what they were taught in the home country is not true and that what they are being taught now is a kind of previously censored truth. Guess what next week's debate topic is? "The US involvement in Vietnam was the right thing to do and China is a real threat!". You can't make this stuff up.

This is just the tip of the iceberg. Using method after method, Chinese students who study in capitalist countries, particularly the imperialist countries, are carefully indoctrinated in the world-view of the capitalist class. Once so programmed, they become trojan horses, ready to return to China and take up important positions in the Party, government and society. Once there, their actions are coloured by what they learned overseas. It should be clear to everyone present the danger that this presents.

As the number of students going overseas increases every year, so too does the danger. But not all is lost. My own decade-long experience with Chinese students here and in Australia has shown me that there are ways that we can fight back on this front of the ideological struggle.

Today, I am offering the Communist Party of China, The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and anyone who will listen, the chance to cooperate to protect Chinese students from capitalist indoctrination abroad.

Close cooperation between Chinese organisations and Communist Parties in the capitalist countries can form the basis for active resistance.

How can foreign parties help? There are many ways. Person-to-person contact with foreign party members helps to show Chinese students that Marxism-Leninism is an international trend, it shows them that despite the propaganda they are surrounded by, capitalism is a deeply flawed, exploitative system. Local members can immunise international students by explaining techniques or arguments that universities and the media use. Forewarned is forearmed!

These are just a few of the many ways that communist parties in capitalist countries can help to protect Chinese, Vietnamese, Cuban or Korean students from the insidious forces seeking to corrupt them. Through further discussion, research and practice, we can find the right combination of methods to succeed.

At the end of his article: "War on Progress by Other Means", Bob Briton concluded by posing the question: "What can be done about the massive cultural and ideological hegemonic power of imperialism and how can socialist societies defend themselves against such destabilisation"? One part of such a defence must be the protection of international students from ideological contamination. Their time abroad should help them to see the bankruptcy of capitalism and build their faith in socialism, not the other way round. The ticking time bomb of ideologically corrupt returnees must be stopped before they become the Gorbachevs of tomorrow.

Thank you comrades, I look forward to working out practical measures for cooperation after today's speeches.

The post-war Communist Party of Australia and its prospects

Yang Chengguo

Editorial Note:

It's quite rare for a sympathetic overseas researcher to publish an assessment of the circumstances and the work of the CPA. Given the remoteness of the author from the subject, the following is a very insightful piece. While the influence of religion on the thinking of the masses in Australia might be over-estimated, the observations of the anti-Communist repression from the 1950s onwards, the disorientation of many after Khrushchev's "secret speech", the dominance of social democracy over the labour movement, the demobilising effect of the Accord, the splits in the Communist movement and more are all there. While the analysis is brief, particularly regarding the splits in the movement, it's hard to disagree with one conclusion that "there is still a tortuous and bumpy journey ahead for the Communist Party of Australia to explore the socialist path."

From the date of its establishment, the Communist Party of Australia has been adhering to the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism, seeking to unite the working class and the working people of Australia, opposing the reactionary rule of monopoly capital, maintaining political and economic interests of the Australian people, and struggling heroically for social progress. However, after WW2, under the impact of a variety of factors, the Communist Party of Australia has gradually faded.

An analysis of the decline of the post-war Communist Party of Australia

The power of the Communist Party of Australia has been constantly undermined since World War II. The number of members of the original Communist Party of Australia had dropped to 5850 by 1958, 2500 by early 1972, 2000 by 1982, and finally the party was dissolved at the end of 1990 under the impact of the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

(A) the post-war suppression of by the bourgeoisie and its government

After World War II, the Australia bourgeoisie stepped up its attacks on the Communist Party and other left-wing parties. They persecuted Sharkey, attempted to outlaw the Communist Party of Australia, and demonised the Communist Party through manipulating public opinion. The Labor Party undertook a variety of anti-communist or limiting measures from within, and supported the reactionary policies of the then Menzies government to combat the Communist Party of Australia.

(B) The impact of the setbacks and failures of the world socialist movement

Khrushchev's "secret report" has led the governments of the Western developed countries, including Australia, to take the opportunity to discredit socialism and set off a new round of anti-communism. The incident also caused ideological confusion within the Communist Party of Australia, shook the faith of some party members and cadres towards socialism, and even led some party members to quit the party. Ultimately, the drastic changes of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe led to the dissolution of the former Communist Party of Australia, and a lack of confidence in the socialist system among the Australian people.

(C) The weakening of the party by repeated splitting

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Communist Party of Australia was split several times. In 1963 some party members headed by Hill split from the party and formed the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). In 1971, some party members thought that the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia were anti-Soviet, so split and established the Socialist Party of Australia. In March 1983, the Socialist Party of Australia encountered a major split, which reduced the number of party members from near one thousand to about 500. In 1984, the



May Day rally 1966.

Socialist Party of Australia split again and was further weakened.

Under the shock of the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the former Communist Party of Australia was disbanded at the end of 1990. The Socialist Party of Australia changed its name to the Communist Party of Australia at its Eighth Congress in 1996. As a result, there are still in existence the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Australia. This division has limited the development of the two parties and is a major challenge faced by the communist movement in Australia.

(D) The decline of the labour movement and the trade union movement in Australia since the mid-1970s

Due to a decline of the workers' interests in joining the trade union, the membership rate of trade unions also declined. Before 1974, approximately 70 percent of the workers joined trade unions, but the rate is only about

18 percent of the total working population of Australia today. There are several reasons for this.

First of all, due to the suppression of the Australian unions, the Australian working class has been more and more dis-organised. The Australian bourgeoisie has constantly fought against the trade unions, and has weakened them. The Australian government has also adopted many harsh anti-union and anti-worker laws, almost banned workers' strikes and other labour movement activity.

Second, the Australian bourgeoisie has constantly sought to inculcate class collaborationism among the working class and weaken their fighting spirit. In 1983, the Australian Labor government signed with the Australian Council of Trade Unions the Prices and Incomes Accord, which, together with other class collaboration policies, have caused a decline of many workers' living standards as well as many other changes not in the interests of the working class, such as the increase of working hours, ignoring of health and safety rules, work acceleration, frequent accidents, the spread of part-time jobs, rising unemployment, etc. For example, Australia's unemployment rate was 8.1 percent in December 1995 and 8.5 percent in 1995.

Third, the Australia bourgeoisie holds ideological dominance, and has launched repeated ideological attacks on the workers' movement through a variety of means such as instilling individualism and classless or ultra-class ideology to the working class, etc. which have consequently obscured the class consciousness of the working class.

Fourth, the bourgeois chooses contractors for service and induces the workers to move away from the unions. They have also sought to undermine the basic working conditions of the workers, divide the working class, and weaken the trade union movement. The decline of post-war Australian labour movement and trade union movement has led to a decline of the radical workers supporting radical left-wing political parties such as the Communist Party of Australia. This is an important factor for the continuing weakening of the post-war Communist Party of Australia.

The prospects of the Communist Party of Australia

The outbreak of the economic crisis of capitalism has greatly changed the adverse situations of the Communist Party of Australia and brought a rare opportunity for the development of the party. At the same time, however, the Communist Party of Australia also faces many challenges.

First, the flooding of reformism in Australia.

After the war, reformism has gradually flooded in Australia with the following main reasons: first, in order to eliminate the impact of the Communist Party on the working class and maintain its long reign, the Australia bourgeois established the welfare system and social security system, which to some extent have improved the lives of working people, hence alleviating the internal class contradictions and crises; second, the post-war Australia witnesses a "new middle class" (including managers, supervisors and experts), who favor the status quo and fear social unrest, so tend to accept reformism; third, Australia is a country of immigrants, so the unionism and social reformism of the migrants also have an impact on the working class.

Second, the limitation of Australian electoral system for small parties and the Labor Party.

The lack of funds renders the Communist Party in a very disadvantageous position in the election campaign. The election of members of the Federal House of Representatives adopts a single-seat constituency method, which means that the winner would take all the ballots of a district. As a result, while some small parties or independents non-partisan candidates get certain votes in the constituency, it is meaningless if they did not win the relative majority of votes.

Third, the liquidity of the working class is disadvantageous for the Communist Party to recruit new members and strengthen party building.

There are a lot of temporary and part-time workers within the Australia working class. They often work in unstable jobs and constantly change positions, with very low wages and strong liquidity. They are the most exploited stratum of the working class. This situation certainly poses a challenge for the recruitment and development of the party.

Fourth, the majority of Australians believe in religion, which is not conducive to the spread of Marxism.

Australians have a variety of religious beliefs. The 2001 census data show that the ratio of Episcopalian is 21 percent, Roman Catholic 27 percent, other Christian sects 21 percent, and the religion of Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism and Judaism 5.9 percent; the population of no religion or religious beliefs accounts for only 20.2 percent of the total. This situation certainly is a barrier for the spread of Marxism in Australia, which is founded on dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

Overall, at present, the challenges faced by the Communist Party of Australia are greater than the opportunities, and there is a long way to go for the Communist Party of Australia to grow into a significant mass political party. Consequently, there is still a tortuous and bumpy journey ahead for the Communist Party of Australia to explore the socialist path.



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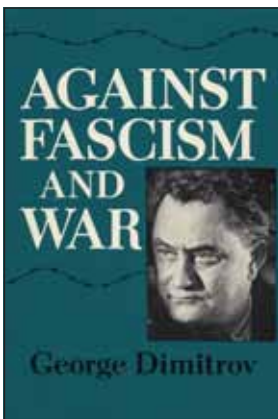
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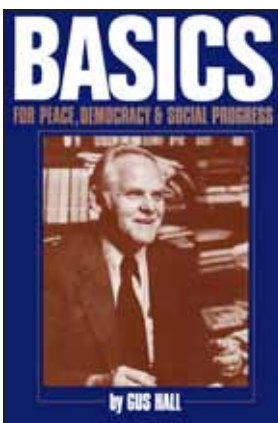
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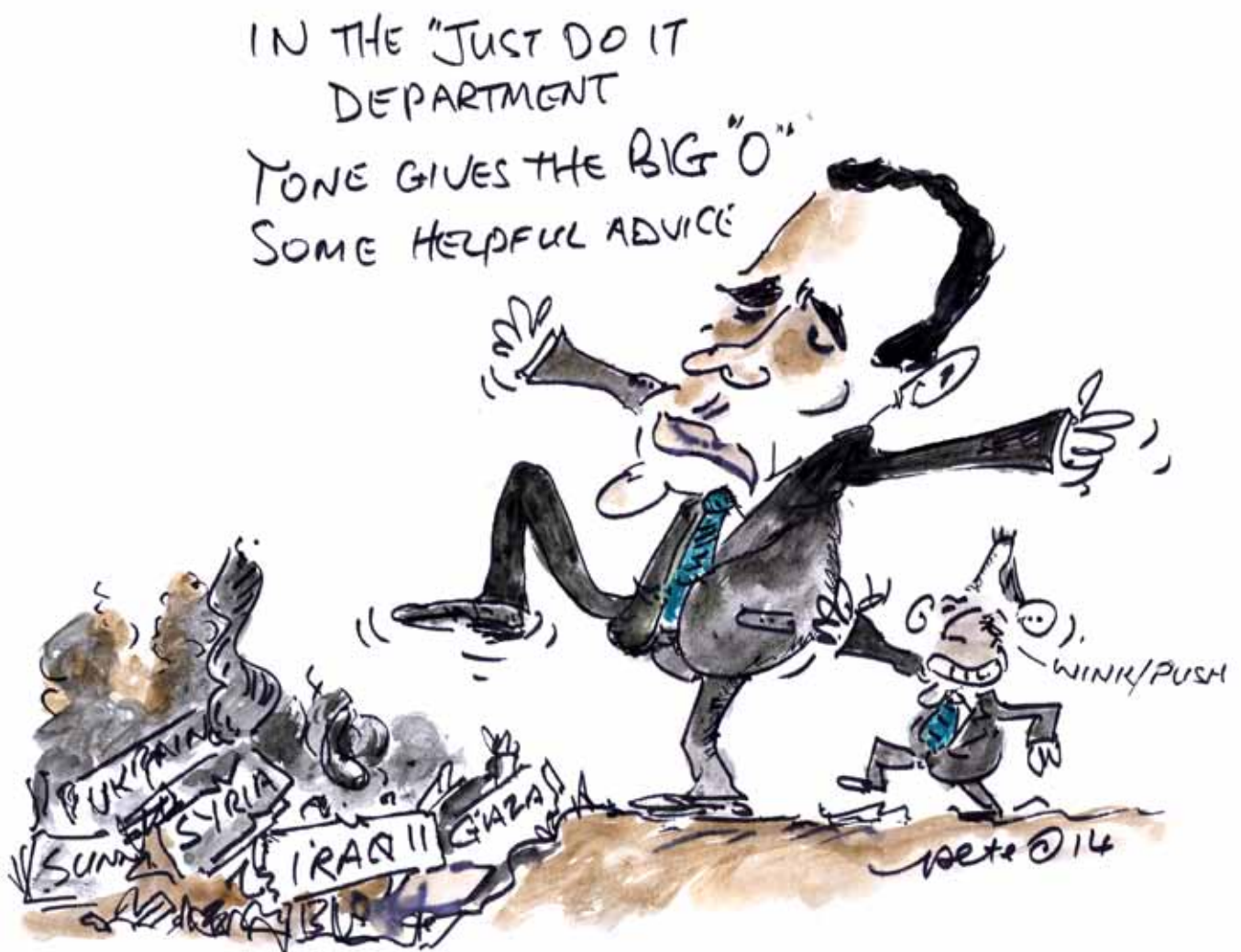
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