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THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



Socialists Australian **Nationalism**

Unemployment and the labor movement

Organisational principles of the SWP

Trotsky on party building • Nationalism

in Australian literature • Timpanaro's

PER defence of materialism • Story of a 320.532205woman rebel in 1920s China

socialist worker

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In this issue

The third issue of Socialist Worker again takes up the question of Australian nationalism, an issue which remains one of the most important questions facing the radical and workers movement. Our cover article, "Why Socialists Oppose Australian Nationalism" by Doug Lorimer, examines some basic fallacies in the Maoist approach to this subject.

We also carry another article which touches on the standpoint of the Australian nationalists. Gordon Adler's "Nationalism in Literature" makes an important contribution to lthe discussion of the role of writers like Henry Lawson and explains the limitations of their viewpoint, shaped as it was by the early Australian labor movement with all its weaknesses.

Chen Pi-lan's memoir, "Rebel in a Chinese Cirls School," provides a valuable insight into the struggle for women's liberation in the colonial and semicolonial countries as well as showing some of the roots of the second Chinese revolution of 1925-27 as well as that of

We can safely say that the "Organisational Principles of the SWP" is unique in Australia. No other leftwing organisation has so thoroughly laid down its basic principles in this field. This document contrasts with the methods of the various Stalinist and Maoist groups in this country. To put it in fuller perspective we have included with it a short article giving some of Trotsky's views on party building.

etters

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer initials instead.

Working class and allies

I've found issues nos. 1 and 2 of Socialist Worker most informative, especially in view of the clarity of the arguments being expounded. But the fuzziness of one concept is bothersome-"the working class and its allies." Perhaps you could explain the meaning of "its allies," particularly in the Australian context, in a short

Looking forward to No. 3.

Adelaide:

Brisbane:

Paul Scott Melbourne

WILPF

Since its foundation in 1915, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has always maintained a "non-party-political" (as distinct from "non-political") stance. Indeed, one of our aims is to bring together women with different political and philosophical ideas so long as they are all determined "to help abolish the political, social, economic and psychological causes of war and to work for a constructive peace". While we can and do work with other bodies with a similar aim, we remain unaligned to any political party.

We were therefore disturbed when our attention was drawn to the March issue of your journal, Socialist Worker, where on page 8 (top of second column) it says "the SPA is still trying to pretend it doesn't exist and continues to support the old traditional women's organisations supported by the Stalinist movement such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Union of Australian Women". We in WILPF are not supported by the Socialist Party of

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Australia, nor were we ever supported by them, nor by in a most profound manner and opens up new vistas of would inform us on what grounds you based your statement. Failing this, we would appreciate it if you would print a short correction in a subsequent issue.

Yours for peace and freedom M.J. Holmes (on behalf of NSW Branch, WILPF)

Reply - The point is taken. The editorial in the March Socialist Worker mistakenly referred to the WILPF. The references should have been to the WIDF, the Women's International Democratic Federation. We regret the

"In Defence of Engels"

With reference to George Novack's article, "In Defence of Engels." (Socialist Worker, March, 1977) I challenge just some of the many polemical assertions:

1 Novack claims that the praxis-oriented thinkers introduce a sharp break in the work of Marx. This is not entirely true. While the Parisian school (Althusser) contend a definite epistemological break with Hegel in Marx's works, the more influential Frankfurt school argue the exact opposite, that is, that there is a continuity. an Hegelian continuity, in all the works of Marx.

2. Novack claims that the Western Marxists abandon the materialist premise of Marxism, again this is not correct. Engelian materialism with its crude and mechanistic epistemology is abandoned and in its place is posited a truly dialectical materialism in which human activity-revolutionary praxis- becomes the motive force of historical movement, not immutable and inexorable laws of development("the negation of the

3. The truly dialectical materialism, revolutionary praxis, has as its primary textual justification the first third, eighth, and eleventh theses on Feuerbach. There is no serious attempt by Novack to justify his materialism in the light of this text. This grave shortcoming in

4. Novack, continuing with the classical philosophical dichotomy of idealism/materialism, crudely and rather anachromstically regards all philosophy as either idealistic or (Engelian) materialist; a view which is the result of essentially bourgeois ontology: the arbitrary separation of subject and object. This ontology is the philosophical take off point for his crude mechanisticepistemology, the reduction of Marxism to the status of sociology and the subsequent devaluation of creative human activity (political action).

5. As a consequence of the above, Novack fails to understand revolutionary praxis as truly dialectical materialist philosophy. It does not let idealism "in through the back door's or invite the intrusion of voluntarism." It dialectically unifies theory and practice revolutionary struggle (Gramsci).

6. Novack failed to come to terms with the contention that the theorectical weaknesses of Engelian Marxism is ultimately responsible for the fatalism and subsequent failure of the revolutionary movements of the first quarter of this century.

There are many misrepresentations and unjustified assertions that I would challenge but space does not nermit it. In general however, if there is one other detested aspect of capitalist society besides its exploitation, oppression, irrationality and dehumanisation it is its abandonment of truth and honesty. Socialists, as critics of this system, must brandish truth unnervingly and unceasingly. Novack's ideological polemic, sadly fails to

> Peter Daly Melbourne

Reply-Peter Daly raises a number of complex and important points to which only a brief reply is possible

1. George Novack does not contend that all the "praxis." philosophers" (of which Althusser is certainly not one) introduce a "break" into the works of Marx. As he states, many of them try to do the same thing by separating Marx from Engels,

2. The assertion that "revolutionary praxis" is the motive force of history obscures the role played by objective conditions-dialectical laws of history-and leads to voluntarism. As Marx said. "Men make their own history—but only under the given historical conditions."

3. Daly contends that Novack is the prisoner of a bourgeois ontology; the view that it is possible and necessary to seperate subject and object. In Daly's opinion the idealism/materialism dichotomy is an anachronism. Yet, ironically, to deny the possibility, indeed the necessity, of distinguishing between the conscious subject and the object is to precisely leave the door open to idealism, for to deny this separation one has to deny the independent existence of the objective material world.

4. When Daly asserts that "Engelian" Marxism is responsible for the "failure of the revolutionary, movements of the first quarter of this century, presumably he means the betrayals of the Second International. However, he fails to come to terms with the fact that the only group which adhered solidly to "Engels" (ie Marx's) Marxism and applied it in the form of a political program was the group which lead the Russian Revolution. He also fails to come to terms with the fact that Revisionism's philosophical basis was, in

fact, not "Engelian" materialism, but Kantian idealism. These are obviously only a few brief points. For a much fuller discussion of the materialist view of the praxologists" the book reviewed by Novack in this. issue, Sebastiano Timpanaro's On Materialism, is.

Editorial

Unemployment: A Central Issue for the Whole Labor Movement

Mass unemployment is today a fact of life in all the leading capitalist countries. Some 15-20 millions of workers are jobless in the imperialist countries. Unemployment in Australia is admitted by the government to be over five per cent and in reality is probably over six per cent. This figure represents some half a million workers. Leaked Treasury documents have raised the possibility of a seven per cent jobless rate in

Unemployment has always been a spectre facing the masses under capitalism. This reality, which was so apparent during the Depression and the 1930s, was obscured by the exceptional boom conditions following World War II. But the continuing capitalist economic crisis has recreated a massive pool of unemployed. This pool of jobless constitutes an "industrial reserve army" which exerts a strong pressure against wage rises and militant working class struggles.

competition confronts the capitalists with the imperative necessity to drive down wages in order to boost their competitiveness and profitability, the creation of this industrial reserve army becomes a deliberate policy of the capitalist class.

Life or death question

The "Transitional Program," the document drafted by Leon Trotsky for the founding conference of the Fourth International, devotes a special section to the struggle against unemployment and high prices. [See The Transitional Program for tariffs to preserve the jobs of

Socialist Revolution (New York: Australian workers from low-priced Pathfinder Press, second edition) pp 76-771 Although this document was written in 1938 and we have no wish to hold to every purely conjunctural point in it, it is true to say that the basic policy outlined by "Transitional Program" for the fight against unemployment remains the only possible one for the working class.

The fight against unemployment must be a central concern of the labor movement. At stake is the very existence of the working class as an organised cohesive force. Trotsky points this out: "Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the slops of a crumbling society. The right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right is being shorn from him at every step The question is one of guarding the In a period of crisis, in which fierce proletariat from decay, demoralisation, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind."

No responsibility for crisis

How to fight unemployment? The reformist misleaders believe, or pretend to believe, that this question can be solved within capitalism, by the ruling class adopting this or that policy. These proposals invariably, are either reactionary or timid and hopelessly inadequate. Some union leaders, for example, call for higher

foreign goods. The recent ALP Federal conference in Perth restricted itself to calling for a little more governent spending on public works and retraining schemes.

We reject this miserable approach right along the line. Unemploymenresults from the crisis of the capitalist private property system. The working class has absolutely no interest whatsoever in preserving this system. The working class will never be free from the scourge of unemployment until it does away with this irrational system and establishes in its place a rational socialist society. In the meantime it can accept no responsibility for the capitalist economic crisis but instead must demand the preservation and improvement of its conditions of existence. The "Transitional Program" outlines these considerations very clearly.

"The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists which, to a considerable degree, like the politics of their agents, the reformists, aims to place the whole burden of militarism, the crises, the disorganisation of the monetary system and all other scourges stemming from capitalism's death agony upon the backs of the toilers. The Fourth International demands employment and decent living conditions for all.

"Neither monetary inflation nor stabilisation [austerity] can serve as slogans for the proletariat because these are but two ends of the same

35-hour week with no loss of economy. But these reforms were advanced by the Right to Work

The central demand in the struggle against unemployment is the call for a shorter working week with no loss of pay. Concretely, at the moment this means fighting for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay for all important demand of the Australian trade union movement but only a handful of workers presently enjoy the 35-hour week. Can this demand be won? Can the power of the whole working class movement be organisto compel the bosses to grant this

time the movements for the eight. ty of liquidating capitalist slavery." hour day and the 40-hour week were violently denounced by the Uncompromising campaign introduction would ruin the

won. And the 35-hour week can be campaigns around the country will

lawyers will prove the 'unrealisability of these demands. Smaller, esworkers. This has long been an pecially ruined capitalists, in addition will refer to their account ledgers. The workers categorically denounce such conclusions and references....If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities ed and mobilised in sufficient force generated by itself, then let it perish. 'Realisability' or 'unrealisability' is in demand? This is a matter of the given instance a question of the leadership which has hitherto been relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By Is the 35-hour week actually means of this struggle, no matter realisable in an economic sense. The what its immediate practical capitalists say that its introduction successes may be, the workers will useful public works would ruin the economy. In their best come to understand the necessi-

All the demands presently being

won if a powerful campaign is doubtless appear "unrealisable" to developed, even if the capitalists the employers and their agents. But it have less room to manoeuvre than can be confidently predicted that what appears unrealisable to them Property owners and their today might appear in a very different light tomorrow when hundreds of thousands, even millions of workers take up these demands in a vigorous and determined way. But however the bosses view these demands they correspond to the urgent needs of the working class, The Labor Party and the trade unions must embrace these demands and organise an uncompromising campaign to win them, to force their will on the capitalists. In addition to the 35-hour week with no loss of pay, these demands include:

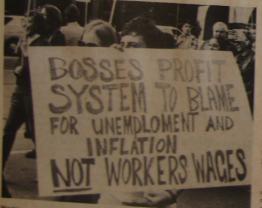
•A living wage for all unemployed ·A massive program of socially-

•No discriminatory layoffs of women and other minority groups •Nationalise firms which threaten

Such a campaign would mean that the Labor Party and all its branches, the ACTU and ACSPA and their affiliated unions and trades and labor councils would adopt these and other relevant demands and bring them. right up front in their daily work. Meetings, rallies, and demonstrtions of unemployed workers would be organised. These would also involve workers still in jobs. Special publications could aid, refuting the predictable arguments of the bosses.

Organising the out of work in special leagues would be an important task of the union movement. Unless the unemployed see the solution to their plight in terms of action initiated by the labor movement they will run the risk of becoming demoralised and may look to the right for leadership with potentially disasterous consequences. r the labor movement.

As Tropky pointed out such a compaign, whatever the interestints results, winded serve to consince more and more workers that capitalism is incompatible with elementary human dignity and most be ended once and for all.



Working people cannot accept responsibility for capitalist crisis. Labor must

Why Socialists Oppose **Australian Nationalism**

by Doug Lorimer

An important aspect of the developing political radicalisation of the last fifteen years has been a growing understanding of, and opposition to, various manifestations of imperialism around the world. The Cuban revolution, the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, the Vietnamese revolution, the Black revolt in the United States, the Palestinian resistance movement-each in turn has awakened a significant sentiment of solidarity. particularly in student circles, and has sparked powerful actions in opposition to imperialism and its wars and oppression of whole peoples.

As the United States stepped forward as "world cop" for imperialism in Vietnam and elsewhere, massive mobilisations developed against the crimes of US imperialism around the world. This helped press forward the break of millions of Australians with the Cold War ideology, built up around the identification with the United States as the defender of the

A significant layer of Australian radicals. above all those influenced by Macinus, concluded that actions against US domination of Southeast Asia must be extended by building a campuign against what was thought to be US domination of Australia. Just as Latin Americans must fight Yanker imperialism, so it is claimed. Australians must fight US penetration of Australia in its various forms. The vast majority of Australians are supposed to share a common interest, a national interest, irrespective of their different class positions, in opposing the supposed hegemony of US imperialism over this country.

This completely false analysis has served to bring a section of radical youth into an objective alignment with their own capitalist ruling class and their reformist lieutenants in

Nationalism, the idea that all Amstralians, workers and employers alike, have a common interest, is a basic weapon in the ideological arsenal of the bourgeoiste. This ideology is shared by the reformist leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions.

During the period of the Whitlam Labor government, surtomilion gained a new currency. The ALP leaders demograpically used the issue of foreign ownership of the Australian economy and promoted a cultural nationalism as an attempt to divert the working class from a determined fight against all its capitalist exploiters, Australian and overseas.

The Australian surjounded viewpoint is most clearly, and crudely, expressed by the Australian Independence Movement, the front group of the Maoist Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist). Arguing by analogy with the impact of US investment in Latin America, Africa, and Asia the Maoists claim that Australia is a colonial country under the domination of the US multinational corporations. The CPA (M-L) through its Australian independence campaign seeks to establish an "anti-imperialist peoples democratic independent Australian republic." They consider Australian nationalism to be a progressive force and actively seek to promote it.

There are two basic errors behind this view. One is to assume that US imperialism has established the same form of superexploitation and oppression in its relations with advanced capitalist countries like Australia that it imposes on its colonial and semicolonial subjects in the underdeveloped countries. The other error involves the failure to distinguish between the progressive nationalism of the oppressed people in the underdeveloped countries and the reactionary nationalism of the imperialist oppressor powers like the United States and Australia.

Historical origins of nationalism

Nationalism first came on the scene in the period of the rise of capitalism. The rising bourgeoisie, out of its own class interests, which at that time corresponded to historical progress, had to establish a unified national market and break down all of feudalism's economic, political and cultural barriers to the capitalist system. It promoted the idea of the nation (a new historical idea) and the identification with the integrity, independence, values, culture and language of the nation.

Nabonal movements were a historical necessity to open the road for the productive forces which had no from for development under the old feudal system. The oppressed classes, having become nationally conscious, were set in motion to fight against the old possessing classes and to fight for the formation of the nation state. Nevertheless, the national movements were not homogeneous from the verypoint of class composition and class interest. Each class was, however, while to express its own interests to some extent through its nationals.

In his article on "Marsism and the National Question" in the May-June issue of *bocalist* Worker, Dave Holmer describes how both the bourgeoise and the phebian masses could identify with this bourgeons nationalism.

"The lower classes were aroused and drawn into national political life by the struggle against the old order. They saw in the democratic nation the origin of their freedoms. and the greatest opportunities for the development of their own language and culture. The peasants and other small property owners felr they had a private share in the national territory. Indeed, the concept of nationalismwas objectively necessary for the bourgeoisje to mobilise the masses against the old order. The lower classes had to feel that their destinies were tied to those of the new national order. One of the currents in the borgeois nationalism that arose out of the struggle against the old order is that of popular sovereignty, of a fatherland which defends the interests of the whole people alnd in which all have a stake."

In the advanced capitalist countries today however, nationalist concepts do not correspond to any progressive national tasks. On the contrary, in the advanced capitalist countries, nationalism is the ideology of the ruling class. Here nationalism is used to line up the working class behind imperialist exploitation and wars pitting one section of the oppressed against another. Nationalism is the recruiting drum forimperialist war, calling on the workers to "diefor their country," and slaughter their brothers and sisters who live under a different flag. Nationalism is the classic justification for imperialist exploitation of colonial peoples, the "lesser breeds." In fulfilling this function, it takes the particular form of racism-theideological justification of the pillage and enslavement of the non-white world by the "master race." In its most virulent form, nationalism is the ideological weapon of fascism, the method of rule resorted to by the capitalists to obliterate the social gains and organisations of the working class.

Matters stand completely differently for the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semicolonial contries in the colonial and semicolonial contries in the colonial and semicolonial world imperialist domination has incided the completion of the bourgeois national resultation, the freeing of the country from foreign control the establishment of a centralised state countrolled by the ruling class of that matom, etc. Imperialist domination has foliosised the establishment of the political social, and economic preconditions for the development of the local economy through industrialisation. The result is economic hackwardness and impenalist supercyploits.

The term 'semiculony' is normally used in formal political independence, but seman subject to the strangleheid of lureup inperialism. In a semicolony, the national bourgeoisie normally has only a very weak economic base. It is largely excluded from the modern, industrialised sector of the economy. It has typically not been able to establish firm control of the state, or to use the state as an effective means of controlling the economy, or defending its interests against imperialism. It is unable to drive through the changes necessary to lay the basis for the self-sustaining growth of local capitalist industry. The land question remains unresolved, and feudal conditions persist in the countryside. There is no cumulative growth, no diffusion of industrial techniques to increasingly large sectors of the economy. These countries are typically characterised by industrial underdevelopment caused by the refusal of foreign capital to invest in the development of manufacturing industry and the fact that the indigenous ruling classes prefer to invest in the land, trade, or usury. The ruling classes in the colonial and semicolonial countries thus take on a special character, that of the landowner-merchant usurer, the landowner-usurer or the merchantusurer, that is, thehourgeoisie of the comprador type.

Thus in the colonial and semiculouid countries national tasks of progressive character remain to be accomplished. Because it corresponds to real national tasks nationalism in these countries has a progressive role to play. In such situations, nationalism stimulates and promotes the struggle for national liberation.

Who rules Australia?

To argue, as the Maoists do, that Australian nationalism is progressive one must first prove that Australia is an oppressed, colonial or semicolonial nation. This is clearly not the case The Australian bourgeoisie is not excluded from the modern, industrialised sector of the economy. On the contrary it holds a massive block of highly monopolised capital, concentrated in highly advanced and profitable sectors of the economy. According to a 1976 study of manufacturing industry by the Buccau of Statistics, 40 per cent of company profits went to the 200 largest companies. These companies produce 50 per cent of all manufac duced goods to Australia and employ 580,000 workers. Of these 200 companies 113 are Australian owned or controlled. Of the largest dweller companies, time are Australian conscolled. Australian holdings in manufacturing and annuing are substantial and highly concenstrated including a 90 per sount share in Australia's new and steel industry and 70 per cent of Australia's heavy engineering

Australian capitalism has launched such monopolises of world stature as Broken Hill Proprietary and CSR, both of which rank among the world's top 100 companies.

The Australian bourgeoiste has forged a strong, contradiced state machine, independent of foreign importains rate, and constituting a powerful instrument for the defense of its class interests. It has used its state to actively intervene in the economy to promote the accumulation of capital in Australia, through mechanisms such as protective families subsidies to husiness. The state has acquired considerable industrial holdings in transportation and public artilities to supply efficient and low cost services in Australia.

The imperialist character of Australia is constrained by the growing participation of the Australian bourgeoiste in the imperialist of plotterion of the securical countries in the South East Asian and Pacific region. According to the April 18, 1977 Bulletin: Between 1970-71 and 1974-75 Australian manufacturing investment in the South Pacific (annuly in New Zeuland and Papur New Caunes) has troited, rising from \$1/21 autilian a year to \$5.17 autilian Moves significant was the rise in investment in Asia which increased eightfold. Iron \$3.6 autilion to \$2.87.5 autilion a year to \$2.5.

Even the role of locaign investment in the development of the Australian scommy demonstrates the impeculier character of that economy in colonial and semiculonial com-

Soweto, S Africa: netlor of oppressi progressive; nationalism tionary. tries foreign investment has the the effect of blocking the industrialisation of the economy. thus producing the characteristic features of colonial economies: industrial underdevelopment and masssive poverty.

Foreign investment in Australia has had precisely the opposite effect. The largest expansion of Australia's manufacturing industry in the years after the Second World War was greatly stimulated by foreign capital investment, in much the same way the British investment in the years prior to the First World War stimulated the growth of America's industrialisation. The emergence of West-European and Japanese capitalism after the destruction of the Second World War as major imperialist competitors of the United States was also facilitated by foreign investment. US corporate investment in Western Europe and Japan increased from \$7 billion to \$60 billion between 1949 and 1965. These investments didn't transform Western Europe and Japan into semicolonial countries dominated by US imperialism any more than they did Australia.

By every criterion, Australia exihibits none of the characteristics of the underdeveloped colonial countries. Australia is an imperialist power in its own right-comparable to many of the medium-sized imperialist powers in Western Europe.

Hill admits Australia imperialist

In some of their "theoretical" writings the Maoists obliquely admit this fact. For example, in his booklet Australia and the Superpowers CPA(M-L) chairman Hill writes: "Australia has evolved to the position where she falls into the group of nations between the superpowers on the one hand and the Third World on the other hand. The Third World consists of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin-America and other regions. For example, Papua New Guinea falls into the Third World. The superpowers are the Soviet Union and the USA. What is meant by the term 'superpower'? It means a very highly developed imperialism standing above all other countries in capitalist development and characterised by intense striving to bring the world under its domination. Qualitatively the superpowers standabove all other imperialist powers. As to 'imperialism' there will be occasion to dealwith it in more detail later. However, it is inthose countries between these superpowers and the Third World that Australia falls.

"Australia is a comparatively developed country. It is not anywhere near a superpower nor yet within the Third World. It is a developed capitalist country with a developed industry and developed agriculture. Nontheless it is subject to the domination and exploitation of the great imperialist powers.

While admitting that Australia is an developed capitalist country and not part of the underdeveloped Third World, and alluding to "other imperialist powers" situated between the "superpowers," Hill nevertheless still tries to obscure the obvious conclusion that Australia is one of those "other imperialist powers.

This obscuring, and more generally, denying of the imperialist character of Australian capitalism is necessary to the Maoists because they wish to portray the Australian capitalists as being more "progressive" than the "multinationals." The Maoists consider the Australian bourgeoisie to be a potential ally in the struggle for an "anti-imperialist" Australia. Hill is quite open about this.

"The national capitalists do have these ideas of independence, ideas of an independent capitalist Australia. And those ideas and this objectively progressive stand of the national capitalists are important. But the national capitalists do not have the strength to realise their ideas of an independent Australian capitalism. They fear to rely upon the workers and working people as allies in the struggle for independence.

"On the other hand, the workers and other working people who can unite the whole people except the comprador monopoly capitalists, do have the strength to win Australian independence....They have the strength, capacity, consciousness and sense of direction, to carry through the expulsion of the multinationals and to replace what was the private appropriation by these multinationals of products socially produced with their own socialised appropriation. This is the scientific basis for the expulsion of the multinationals from Australia. To get rid of them is to get rid of the very core of imperialism in Australia. It is to take a decisive and critical step in winning Australia for Australians.... That process contains the foundation of uniting all sections of Australians, except the handful of imperialist collaborating monopoly capitalists. The working farmers want independence from the multinationals food processors, multinational fertiliser producers, multinational producers of farm machinery, multinational financiers and pastoral companies and the multinational ownership of huge farms which threaten the small farmer with extinction. The smaller shopkeepers, and ever the bigger shopkeepers, want independence from the multinational supermarkets and department stores. Bigger manufacturers want freedom

from ties to the multinational manufacturers. Public servants, intellectuals and a host of others all want independence. Thus there is a wide scope indeed for unity." (Australia and the Superpowers, p 196)

Obviously, the Australian "national" capitalists will not participate in the "antiimperialist peoples united front" projected by the CPA(M-L) if such a front was anticapitalist in character. Thus the Maoists do not project the aim of their "anti-imperialist" struggle as being the overthrow of capitalist property and the establishment of a socialist republic. Instead, they project a "peoples democratic republic" in which the "patriotic" capitalists would be allowed to preserve their capitalist interests.

The use of this term to designate regimes that in the Maoists' view are neither capitalist nor "socialist" can be a deadly trap for revolutionists in the colonial world, let alone in imperialist countries like Australia. It flies in the face of the whole Marxist position that the state constitutes the instrument of rule of a single ruling class.

"The Australian bourgeoisie has forged a strong, centralised state machine, independent of foreign imperialist rule, and constituting a powerful instrument for the defence of its class interests."

In Indonesia the Maoists put forward the idea that the limited anti-imperialist actions of the bourgeois nationalist Sukarno regime and its diplomatic ties with Peking had turned it into a "peoples state" that was neither capitalist nor socialist. The massive Indonesian Communist Party continued to propogate this notion until Sukarno's bourgeois army turned on it and massacred hundreds of thousands of its members and supporters in 1965.

Theoretical basis of Maoist line: Chinese example

The theorectical basis for the Maoists policy both in Indonesia in the 1960s and in Australia today is the Stalinist theory of revolution by stages. In the first "stage," the working class is supposed to unite with the "democratic" or "patriotic" forces, including the "patriotic" national bourgeoisie, against the foreign monopolies and achieve demands for a bourgeois democratic republic. This prepares the conditions for the overthrow of



capitalism-at some unspecified later date.

The Australian Maoists, of course, look to the Chinese Revolution as a successful model of the application of this class collaborationist schema. What is the truth of this? It is worth looking at this example in some detail. The Chinese Communist Party certainly tried to implement a bloc of four classes (the workers, peasants, urban middle class, and national bourgeoisie) to carry through the "anti-imperialist new democratic" revolution.

In his report "On Coalition Government" to the 1945 congress of the Chinese Communist Party Mao outlined the aim of the party as being the establishment of a "provisional coalition government composed of representatives of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, the Democratic League and people with no party affiliation." Mao justified this perspective of class collaboration with Chiang Kai Shek's regime thus: "Some people cannot understand why the Communists, far from being antipathetic to capitalism, actually promote its development. To them we can simply say this much; to replace the oppression of foreign imperialism and native feudalism with the development of capitalism is not only an advance, but also an unavoidable process; it will benefit not only the capitalist class, but also the proletariat. What China does not want is foreign capitalism and native feudalism; it does not oppose native capitalism." (The Fightfor a New China, New Century Publishers, 1945 p.

However, Mao's attempt to cement a bloc with the Chinese bourgeoisie fell apart when Chiang launched a massive military assault on the Communist Party held territories in July 1946. Faced with the choice of fighting or being annihilated, the Maoists decided to fight. To win peasant support they dropped their ten-year-old opposition to land reform and gave formal approval to the land seizures that peasants had spontaneously undertaken without the Communist Party's authorisation.

Even after the collapse of the rotten Chiang regime in 1949 brought the Maoists to power, they still sough to hold the revolution within a bourgeois-democratic stage. Mao did not proclaim a socialist republic as the Bolshviks had done in Russia in 1917, but a "New Democratic" state in which capitalist property relations were preserved. The Maoists limited the land reform to the expropriation of the landlord class while rich peasants were, by and large. exempted (especially in southern China). Civil servants and government functionaries, including judges and police, were kept on in large numbers from the old regime.

Extensive capitalist holdings in light industry were left intact and even provided with state aid. It was not until a few years later, after the US imperialist invasion of Korea had spurred massive sabotage of the Chinese economy by the factory owners, rich peasants, and ex-Kuomintang civil service functionaries, that Mao decided in 1953 to abandon the policy of "New Democracy" and oust the capitalist opposition by nationalising industry and instituting the planned economy of a workers state.

What prevailed in China was not Mao's program; not the line of coalition with the national bourgeoisie; not the solution of democratic tasks hand in hand with Chiang Kai-shek; but a struggle against Chiang, against he landlords, the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie, leading to the overthrow of capitalism in China. Despite Mao's schema that "New China" would follow a course different from that of the Russian Revolution, in China, as in Russia, the belated bourgeois-democratic revolution could not be kept within a capitalist framework, but developed simultaneously

"By every criterion, Australia exhibits none of the characteristics of the underdeveloped colonial and semicolonial countries. Australia is an imperialist power in its own right—comparable to many of the medium-sized imperialist powers in Western Europe."

into a socialist revolution.

The Chinese revolution, despite its hesitating and bureaucratic leadership, was a great blow to world imperialism and a momentous advance for the Chinese people. Revolutionary socialists defend the planned economy established in 1953 against any effort, internal or external, to restore capitalism. But the Maoregime clearly hoped to harness the Chinese masses to the cart of a reformed capitalism in China. Even today one star of the four in-China's national flag still symbolises the national bourgeoisie that was supposed to be included for a whole period in the post- 1949 "bloc of four classes" regime. Having failed in this, the Chinese Communist Party participated in the creation of the economic substructure necessary for an eventual advance toward socialism.

At every step the Chinese CP has acted to prevent the emergence of the kind of temperatic organs of workers self-government that were the bedrock of the Russian Revolution before Stalin. It has used its bureaucratic power to consolidate a privileged parasitic caste that can only be replaced by further struggle and sacrifice. The Chinese workers, peasants and students can only proceed further on the road to socialism by removing the bureaucratic obstacle in their way through a political revolution.

Struggle for socialism

The example of China shows very clearly that even in a semicolonial country the Maoist theory of revolution by stages does not work. The only result of the Maoists faithful attempt to adhere to this schema was years of extra soffering and struggle by the Chinese people and the placing in jeopardy of the whole revolution.

The Chinese revolution confirmed once again the main thesis of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution: that the struggle for national liberation in the backward countries can only be successful insofar as this struggle grows over into the struggle for socialism—tuere are no bourgeois and socialist "stages" separated in time.

And this is where the Maoist Australian nationalists are dead wrong. Even if their analysis of Australia were correct, if Australia was a semicolonial country subjugated by imperialism rather than being a middle-rank imperialist power in its own right—even in this case their strategic prescriptions for the labor and radical movement would be wrong. The struggle would still be a struggle around a program of decunands that would point to the socialist reorganisation of society.

Not only Marxist theory based on an analysis of a rich historical experience confirms this view but simple common sense as well. For what reason does the Australian working class, which constitutes the vast majority of the population of a highly industrialised, urbanised society, need to subordinate its interests to a section of the capitalist class?

In some future Australia where the national capitalists had triamphed over their supposed US imperialist overlords, would the workers be any better off? Would they be less exploited? Does it matter to a worker in a factory whether his or her employer is BHP or Ford? It does not matter in the least.

The Australian labor movement has the indoubted potential to abolish capitalism, national and foreign, in this country and begin its socialist transformation. It has not the



slightest need to be diverted from this urgent task into the dead end of Maoist Australian nationalism and its reactionary goal of some "new democratic" form of capitalism which would, in all essential aspects, be exploitative, oppressive capitalism just the same.

oppressive capitalism just the same.

Soviet "social-imperialism"?

The decisive determinant of the political line of the Australian Maoists is the needs of the Chinese bureaucracy. Like its Moscow counterparts, this reactionary, privileged caste is not interested in socialism but in maintaining its position. For this reason it is firmly against revolutionary developments anywhere in the world. Peaceful coexistence with imperialism one of the main goals of its foreign

policy.

In the last few years, Peking's rivalry with Moscow has become just as important. Opposition to the "social imperialists" in the Soviet Union is the main content of Maoist propaganda these days. (We shall not deal here with the utterly reactionary idea that the USSB is "imperialist" nor with the reactionary nature of a policy that makes the struggle against another workers state its main objective.)

Thus the Australian Maoists have "reformulated" their nationalist campaign. Australia

Australian bourgeoisie h jor share of in steel product



is threatened less by US imperialist domination these days, it seems, than by the growing threat of Soviet "social-imperialism." The activities of the Moscow Narodny Bank in Woolloomooloo

or the Soviet trawler fleet on the coast of Western Australia are seen as major problems facing Australian workers. This would be laughable were the Maoists not dead serious about it.

But, irrespective of whether the Maoist Australian nationalists train their weapons on Wall Street and the Pentagon or on the Kremlin, they still press for an alliance with a section of the Australian capitalist class. Rightwing bourgeois leaders like Fraser, with their strong anti-Soviet (anti-communist) views look more and more attractive to the Maoists.

Only road

From revulsion at the crimes of US imperialism in Vietnam to approval of Malcolm Fraser's anti-Soviet stance—this is the tragic road a section of Australian radicals have travelled under the tutelage of the Maoists.

Socialists have to reject this false road. The socialists have to reject this false road. The struggle around a program of democratic and transitional demands that answer their pressing material needs and which in their totality point to the abolition of capitalism in toto and the socialist transformation of society.

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For a movement to build a

The story of a woman rebel in 1920s China.

Rebel in a Chinese Girls School

by Chen Pi-lan



Chen Pi-lan

[The following article is reprinted from the September, 1976, issue of the International Socialist Review, ISR is published as a supplement to the Militant, a weekly socialist newspaper published in New York.]

Introduction

Chen Pi-lan joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1922, at the age of twenty. In 1924 she was among those selected to attend the Communist University of the Eastern Toilers in Moscow_a school run by the Communist International. The following year a revolutionary upsurge broke out in China, and Chen returned to participate. From 1925 to 1927 she served as a member of the Shanghai municipal committee of the Communist Party, in charge of the women's bureau.

This article will be followed by a second, in which Chen will recount her experiences as a leader of the All-Shanghai Women's Federation during the Shanghai uprising of 1927.

After the defeat of the 1927 revolution, the result of opportunist policies dictated to the Chinese Communist Party by Stalin, Chen Pilan and her husband, Peng Shu-tse, were expelled from the party. They were accused of "Trotskyism" for raising criticisms of Stalin's policy of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintage.

Later Chen was a founder of the Recolutionary Communist Party of China, and served on its political bureau. In 1949 Chen and Peng were forced to flee China as the Maoist regime launched a compagin of persecution of Trotskists. Some disappeared, some are known to have been killed, and others were imprisoned and remain in Mao's prisons to this day. Chen and Peng have lived in exile ever since.

Chen is currently engaged in writing her memoirs. She has followed with great interest the resurgence of women's liberation struggles on a world scale.

The translation of this article from the Chinese is by Jane Tom.

In the winter of 19721 read an article entitled Feminism and the Marxist Movement, written by Mary-Alice Waters and published in the October 1972 issue of the International Socialist Review.

This article was of great interest to me, especially the following part, which I will

"At the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held a year and a half later at the end of 1922, the main line of the 1921 resolution was

reaffirmed. The Congress called attention to the fact that some sections—unspecified—had not implemented the decisions of the last congress, and urged them to rectify the default. Special mention was made of the effective work among women being done by the Chinese comrades, who had organised themselves along the lines indicated at the Third Congress. The Comintern attached great importance to work among the particularly oppressed women of colonial countries. They realised that there was no possibility of transferring power to the working class in an underdeveloped country any more than in an advanced capitalist country without mobilising women in struggle for their liberation.

"Especially pertinent to this question is an article that appeared in the June 1970 issue of the International Socialist Review on Women in the Chinese Revolution." It is an interview with Chen Pi-lan, today a leader of the Chinese section of the Fourth International, who was recruited to the Chinese Communist Party in 1922 after a CP leader came to her girls boarding school and gave a speech on 'Women's Position in Society.' She is an outstanding example of the kind of women who were won to the Marxist movement by the correct policies of the communist International during its revolutionary years. Chen describes how they organised the girls school, demanding the right to cut their hair, to have coeducation, to hold discussion circles on questions such as freedom to love and freedom of marriage, in addition to participating in strikes, May Day demonstrations, and forming working women's clubs.

Ever since reading the above quotation, I have wanted to describe in detail how I came to socialist ideas and then became active in the women's movement. I believe that my experience demonstrates and confirms the correctness of Mary-Alice Waters' study about the Comintern in its earlier period—attaching "great importance to work among the particularly oppressed women of the colonial countries."

In describing my experience in the redutionary movement, it is expecially my activities and role in the women's movement, I cannot separate it from the earlier history of the Chinese Communist Party, because the women's movement was part of the CCP's work, and the women's movement in each period has its different historical and political background. (Of course, here I only cite some main events, emphasising particularly the women's movement.

Chinese communism was the direct product of the May Fourth Movement in 1919. Beginning in the spring of 1920, communist groups were established in major cities such as Shanghai, Peking, and Canton, and in Hupeh, Honan, and Shantung provinces. Two main factors pushed forward the communist movement in that period: First, having totally committed themselves in the First World War, the imperialists had to leave the East alone; therefore, Chinese native capitalism could develop rapidly in the resulting vacuum, and the size of the proletariat increased. The newly rising working class demonstrated its power in its strike to support the student patriotic May Fourth Movement, which in turn raised the workers' political consciousness.

The second significant influence was the Russian revolution in October 1917. Owing to the combined social development in China. some radical nationalists, the leaders of the May Fourth Movement, such as Ch'en Tu-hsiuand Li Ta-chao, were quickly won to communist ideas and were active in founding the CCP. The founding congress of the CCP was held in July 1921. Of the twelve participants in this founding congress, four came from Hupeh. After the congress, the four Hupeh participants immediately returned to Wuhan to engage in all kinds of activities. They were Tun-Pi-wu, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu (of Hupeh), Li Hanchun (of Shanghai), and Pao Hui-sung (of Canton), all founders of CCP sections in different areas who held prominent positions.

Tung Pi-wu, an overseas student in Japan, was the principal of Hunan High School. (He was vice-chairman of the Chinese People's Republic from 1949, when the CCP took power, until last year when he died at the age of ninety.) Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, a graduate of the Wuchong State Teachers College, was the chief secretary to the Wuhan CCP from 1921 to 1926. However, it was Li Han-chun who held the most prominent position and therefore made the greatest impact on the movement. Li, a graduate of the Japanese Imperial University, which had the highest prestige among all universities in Japan, wrote many articles in the then famous Shanghai Weekly Review in the period of the May Fourth Movement. He was also one of the founders of the CCP section in Shanghai, and the best known theoretician at the time. After returning to Wuhan in the early autumn of 1921, he toured all the schools there making speeches, while becoming the chief editor of the Wuhan Weekly Review. In short, he played a tremendous role in the Wuhan communist movement.

Afterward, La Han-chun, together with the others, planned the workers, students, and women's movements in Wuhan. In preparing to organise the women's movement, Li visited the principal of the Hupeh Girls Normal

School, the school I was attending. Since Li was a renowned scholar, the principal was very pleased to have him make a speech at our school.

The Girls Normal School was the only provincial girls school in Hupeh, It had a few hundred students who were selected from every hsien (county). It also had an annex, the Elementary School for Girls, whose graduates were qualified to take the entrance examination for the Girls Normal School.

After announcing the title of his speech, "Women's Position in Society," Li went on to describe the different positions of women in different societies, beginning with the primitive communist society, through feudal society, capitalist society, and coming finally to the future socialist society. His conclusion was

if women wanted equality with men, they must first have economic independence, and the prerequisite for achieving complete liberation was a change in the social system. Only after the proletariat had been freed would women have their liberation. His speech affected me greatly. Later I found that his speech was a condensation of Women and Society by August Bebel. I read the Chinese translation of this book three or four times. (At that time the Chinese translation by Li Han-chun, was from the Japanese condensed edition, The Past and the Future of Women, translated by the famous Japanese socialist Shunchingwun. The Chinese translation from the original text did not appear until a few years later.) My first socialist ideas came from this book. Later I read the Chinese translation of Women and Society



Peking students demonstrate May 4, 1919. Nationalist movement contributed to development of Chinese Communist Party.

from the original text, therefore I was particularly interested when Bebel was mentioned by Mary-Alice Waters.

Antifeudal bombshell

Li's speech was like throwing a bomb against a feudal bulwark: the Girls Normal School. Following this, he introduced Liu Sze-tung, a founder of the Wuhan Communist section, who was to teach Chinese to our class. Accompanying Liu were the new ideas of the May Fourth Movement. In order to promote the greatest achievement of the May Fourth Movement—the reformation of the archaic Chinese literary style?—he vigorously attacked the literary idioms of the ancient language and promoted pai-hua (plain talk or spoken language). The texts in our school were all in the classical literary idiom.

Meanwhile, he selected and mimeographed essays and literature from progressive magazines and special editions of newspapers for our texts. In addition, he used his own salary to buy magazines, books, and newspapers that expressed new ideas for our reading

materials outside the curriculum.

Thus in only a few months, there was a significant increase in the number of students accepting his ideas. (At first, only I and one other student, named Yung, out of fifty in our class accepted his ideas.) We first organised a Chinese Study Club for the whole school. Owing to the eloquence of Li, some students other classes also embraced his ideas. Like a fresh breeze, the new ideas were opening our minds—the equality of man and woman, open socialisation between sexes, coeducation, freedom in marriage etc.

We organised meetings and symposiums centering on the new ideas. We always won arguments with the opposition because we had read many articles and were fully equipped theoretically. Besides this, we organised a Women's Study Club for women outside the school. We rented a house and collected some books for our library. The instructors were Li Han-chun, Liu Sze-tung, Ch'en T'an-ch'iu; of course, the main one was Li. We learned a lotfrom this Women's Study Club. We not only constantly discussed women's problems, we also read books on social sciences and socialism, such as Historical Materialism, the Origin of Species by Darwin, The Past and Future of Women, The Communist Manifesto, and the biographies of Lenin, Karl Liebknecht Rosa Luxemburg

In that school term we were very active, especially in the organisation of a Student Governing Committee, which presented a





Li Ta-chao (top) and Ch'en Tu-hslu: founders of Chinese Communist Party.

series of demands and proposals to the school. The principal and the old-fashioned teachers who taught Chinese in the classical literary idiom were alarmed. They thought all of our chinese teacher, Liu, and they decided to get rid of him at the end of the term.

At the beginning of 1922, when the winter holiday came to an end and the school reopened, the news of the firing of our Chinese teacher was amounced. Our whole class was angered (except a few who were related to the principal and were reactionary). We convened an emergency meeting, passed a resolution to retain our Chinese teacher, and sent represent

tatives to the school authority demanding the reinstatement of Liu. However, the school authority ignored our demand, so we announced that our class had gone on strike, because we were extremely upset. This was the first protest of the Hupeh Girls Normal School since its founding. The bomb of the May Fourth ideology had exploded against this feudal fortress.

Taking advantage of our innocence and inexperience in social struggle (this was our first), the crafty principal, old-fashioned teachers, and the administration staff succeeded in breaking the strike through intimidation and the collection of signatures. As a result only twelve out of fifty, in our class signed up to continue the strike. Our Chinese teacher stayed fixed, and our strike was defeated. Feeling that we were betrayed by our schoolmates, we

were miserable.

After consideration of the reasons for the strike's failure, we believed that although our numbers were small, we could, with an appropriate opportunity, still influence class thought. Therefore, the will to continue the struggle was revived. From this first struggle, we learned a lesson: victory was conditional upon preventing the enemy from breaking our unity. Thus, we were later able by our united efforts to get rid of quite a few incompetent teachers during that term. Meanwhile, a few of us radicals wrote articles for sympathetic newspapers, exposing the irrational regulations in our school, such as censorship of the students' mail, the prohibition of freedom of movement, the nepotism present in the hiring practices, and the feudal sermons of the principal.

In addition, we participated in the activities among progressive organisations-the Wuhan Women's Study Club, Wuhan Students Alliance, Marxism Study Club, etc.(Five among us had joined the Young Socialist League, the youth group in agreement with the Communist Party.) We were also involved in socialist activities, such as attending various meetings in the Hankow workers' district—the March 8 International Women's Day rally, the memorial meeting for Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, etc. Especially during the period of the textile mills strike, we went to the workers' district to make speeches, encouraging them to continue the struggle until victory was won, because there were many women workers there.

On May 1, Labor Day, of 1922, five of us, members of the Young Socialist League, got together with sympathisers and under the leadership of the party organised a hoge memorial meeting held at the auditorium of the YMCA. This was an unprecedented event in

Hupeh, and the meeting lasted the whole afternoon. With the exception of a speech given by an inconspicuous male comrade sent by the party, the programs, speeches, dramas, music, dancing (group dances) were all performed by the students of our school. The militant words of the May Day song were written by us, and the melody was by our new music teacher. (We had gotten rid of the old one.) This new teacher played the music and we sang. The new teacher was a graduate from Peking University, majoring in music. A former overseas student, he was at that time a professor of Wuchong State Teachers College. Coming from the tradition of May Fourth, he was friendly with us five and sympathised with our ideas.

Student movement emerges

The Wuhan Party at that time developed rapidly in every aspect-student movement, workers' movement and women's movement. The student movement was the first to emerge. In the spring of 1922, the headquarters of the National Students Alliance in Peking sent three delegates to Wuhan to get in touch with the students there in order to organise the Hupeh Provincial Students Alliance. This showed that some schools already had student associations. These three delegates were members of the CCP. Two of them, Li Chun and Chu Wu-shan, were male. The other was Mao Pei-ying, a student of Peking Teachers College and the only active woman comrade at that time. They held discussions with the five of us several times. Mao later became my intimate friend.

The special emphasis put on the workers' and women's movements by the CCP was the result of a resolution of the Comintern Third World Congress in 1921. (The International representative, Gregory Voitinsky, came to Huhan after the congress.) Hence the workers' and women's movements surged rapidly ahead of the student movement.

of the student movement.

In 1922, as the summer holiday drew near,
we did not go home for vacation, as we
planned to continue our struggle. In the name
of the Women's Study Club, we organised a
summer school, which was located at Wuhan
High School, whose principal was Tung Pi-wu
mentioned above. (At the time, we had not
knowledge that he was a member of the CCP:
as a farmous principal he thought it wisest not to
acknowledge his membership.) Although the
principal of our school (Girls Normal School)
tried very hard to break up our summer school,
urging parents not to send their daughters to it,
we still had eighty-nine students. In addition to
It Han-chun, all teachers in our summer school

nad a progressive ideology. They were students or professors from Peking University. During these months we progressed considerably in ideology as well as academic knowledge. The most fruitful result was the embracing of our ideology by a group of students who had come from all classes of our school. Thus, a solid foundation was laid for the next stage of struggle with the school

A few days before the reopening of our school in the fall, the parents of five of us received notices stating, "Student so-and-so has frequently indulged in inciting turmoil, thus breaking school discipline. Please send her to another school, because we cannot be held responsible for her conduct...

The five of us who had been dismissed went to school together on the opening day. We tried to estalish a place for ourselves, since the school had made reservations for us. First, we occupied a bedroom and fixed up our beds, then went to all the other facilities. We also planned to enter the classroom together. However, this frightened the principal badly, because the rejection of his notice was tantamount to a challenge of his authority. So he had no alternative but to cancel the whole class. We had the right to be in the class, for the notices had not mentioned the dismissal, but had advised our parents to send us to other schools. This stalemate lasted about two months, during which time we stayed in school, reading books and magazines every day. Unlike the last term, we had become more prudent in manner, so the number of students in accord with us grew, and they covertly engaged in activities on our behalf. On the other hand, as our class was to be graduated the following year, the parents were very anxious. and wrote letters to the school expressing their dissatisfaction with the principal for holding up the whole class for five students. This disturbed the principal greatly, and led him to change his tactics

First he talked with us individually. He cajoled me by saying that I was very intelligent, and since there was room in Peking Girls Teacher College, he would like to recommend me there with all my expenses paid by our school. He also told me that in the past he had sent some honored students there, and at present there was still one there.

I answered him: "Thank you for yourkindness, but I have to consult with my friends." He understood I would not fall into his trap, and said no more

Later, we found that the principal's talks with all of us were basically the same-he tried to beguile us one by one, and we decided to

After the failure of his first maneuver, he invited some prominent people-the commissioner of the Hupeh Board of Education and the presidents of colleges-to negotiate with us. We were each assured a place in Wuchong State Teachers College (the board of education had recently granted coed status to the WSTC) by the president of the WSTC and the president of the Chinese College, Ch'en Shih. They also promised employment for the famous scholar Li Han-Chun. Ch'en Shih was my second uncle. (He later wanted me to take refuge in his house to avoid arrest.)

We immediately declined their offer, but thanked them. The reason we gave was that we were still one year from graduation, and so far there had not been any class . this term. Even if we could pass the entrance exam, we could not possibly eatch up with the courses there. In fact, we sacrificed our individual interests for the struggle, and were reluctant to see the only national girls school mismanaged by persons with feudal ideas.

We were five persons altogether. The question arose: Why did the principal have to use such elaborate efforts to send us to Peking

Girls Teacher College?

First, if the principal did not settle the dispute, there could be no class. Second, he knew that we were very determined and courageous. We not only had our hair cut, but also wrote articles under pseudonyms in Kiang Sing Daily of Hankow exposing his irrational practices in our school.

Views on marriage

I myself had used my real name to write a short novel describing the breakup of a parent arranged engagement by a conscientious girl student, because I knew my so-called fiance was in Hankow. He would, therefore, understand my views on marriage and, hopefully, this would lead to the dissolution of our engagement. His reaction upon reading my article was to cancel the engagement, a very dramatic affair, which I describe in the third chapter of my memoir, and I will not repeat it here. However, my article caused a small disturbance in our school. All the Chinese teachers inclass critised me as too radical, saying that China was not ready for freedom in marriage, etc. All these criticisms were repeated to me by

The worst part was that the school assumed. that all the past articles in the newspapers critising the school had been written by me. This increased the mounting rescutment toward me by the principal. (In fact, not all,

but most of the articles were written by me.) Particularly for this reason, Liu Sze-tung and Ch'en T'an-ch'iu had a talk with me saying in a lightly critical manner but with an accusing tone: "In the past you always used pseudonyms for your articles. Why do you use your real name this time? It is unnecessary to be so ostentatious as to induce more hatred toward yourself from the principal.

I answered them: "There have been too many incidents that provoke his resentment against me. The most bitter one was when he was explaining to all the invited parents of our class in the meeting room why he could not have a class for us, and Shek Che-chang and I suddenly went in with leaflets. While Shek distributed the leaflets to the parents, I said, 'I urge you to read the leaflets signed by five of us carefully, and not just listen to the one-sided story of the principal.' Then we left.

"The next day, the principal told the whole school in our early morning meeting: 'It is a mutiny! I-the principal-invited the parents to have a talk yesterday, and somebody dared to interrupt it by distributing leaflets and making a speech. It is really outrageous!' Since you have already known of this episode and approved of it, you can understand that the principal's resentment of me has already reached a breaking point. It really doesn't matter if one more item is added."

Then I went on explaining to them the purpose of my using my real name this time. After listening to all this, they did not say another word but only looked at me with

approving smiles.

Third, the school was not only annoyed but also threatened by our audacious activities. Therefore, they tried very hard to kick us out of the school. Since the education commissioners, the presidents of colleges, and even the military governor and provincial governor all had the same interest as our principal, who was their friend, they were all threatened by the students' revolt, particularly the affiliation of the students' and workers' movements. At the beginning of 1922, the workers' movement had been developing at unprecedented speed, especially among the Kinghan (from Peking to Hankow) Railroad workers and Urn Yuen mine workers. The authorities and the school knew that we had done to the meetings in the workers' district, Sze Chai Pang in Hankow, making speeches at their strikes, and had gotten in touch with the student associations in other schools and distributed countless leaflets to schools, newspapers, associations, unions, etc. They thus tried to bribe us with the rare maximum benefits that were generally hoped for by all the graduates in our school.

After all these schemes met with our rejections, the school asked the Hupeh general to send armed soldiers to arrest the five of us. Ch'en Shih, my second uncle (the president of the Chinese University), got this news first from Sze Shao-nan, the military governor. Before the armed soldiers arrived at the school, I had personally had a big fight. All but a few of the Ch'en clan were big landlords whose descendants in general had a very strong sense of traditional feudal ideology, and they tried to separate me from the other four students in our group, luring me out of the school so I could stay in Ch'en Shih's house to avoid the arrest.

Battle with relatives

They succeeded by lying to me, saying that my father had sent some money for me to my second cousin, Ya Chiao. As I had just run out of money, I immediately informed the school superintendent and ran to Ya Chiao's house, which was a short distance from our school. Three of them, Ya Chiao and his wife and sister (all teachers), had waited impatiently for me there. They said in unison, "Uncle Shih asked us to lie to you, otherwise you would not come out. He got news that five of you are going to be arrested, and he wanted you to immediately take refuge in his house."

I answered, "Under no circumstances will I go to his house. We five will stick together. To hide from danger is cowardly and immoral. I

am not afraid of arrest."

"Not afraid of arrest?" Ya Chiao screamed furiously, "You are a fool! I don't blame them for saying you are the most stupid one among the five. You have done what the others dare not do. We mean good to you, and so does your second uncle!"

"I know you mean the best for me," I said with determination, "but I will not agree to

take such a step!"

"Muddlehead!" Ya Chiao upbraided, "Our Ch'en family has included distinguished people from generation to generation. Your grandfather and father ranked honorably under the old examination system. At present, our Ch'en family has the highest prestige in the educational field here in Hupeh. Your second uncle and we too will not allow you to ruin our reputation. It is not decent for a girl student to be arrested by soldiers.

"Rubbish. You have your Ch'en, and I have my Ch'en. At the most I don't want to be named Ch'en. Why do you have to interfere with my activities? Even my father leaves me

alone," I angrily retorted.

"Your father is too feebleminded. He doesn't care. We care. We will never let you lose our Ch'en family's face," Ya Chiao said staunchly. I raised my voice and said indignantly, "Nonsense. What do you mean by losing family face? What I have done is open and right. To be arrested because of striving against the old forces and feudal ideology will be the glory of the Ch'en family. It would be a great disgrace to run away from such a battle. I would rather be killed than be a traitor!"

Following this altercation was a savage fight among us. They closed the outside door. Three of them got hold of me and pushed me down on a sofa. As they tried to tie me up with a rope I was furious. Like a wild animal, I punched and kicked. Finally getting rid of them, I ran to the gate, broke it open with all my might, and ran to the school, crying all the way. I could not have conceived that I would have had such strength as to break down the huge and solid gate, which was high, and strong, and well built. After I reached my bedroom, my head whirled and I was dazzled. After throwing up a mouthful of blood, I fell down on my bed and could not move. My four comrades surrounded me by my bed and cried when I told them my story. They declared that they would not leave the school until our goal had been achieved. Other sympathetic school-mates also came to visit me. They were all moved when they heard my story

Soon after, my second uncle came to visit me. Of course, he wanted to win me over to ins side. Nonetheless, I refused to see him by making a pretext that I was ill. Before I embraced a progressive ideology, he had been the most respectful man to me, and had always liked me. My respect for him also gradually altered. I considered him an enlightened president of a university that tolerated all schools of thought, and hence the Chinese Cuiversity had the largest number of GCP members in its student body. But after all, he belonged to a group of bureaucrats and politicians.

My father, on the other hand, was a comparatively open-minded man. He was at that time a small landlord. The land had been distributed among many sons in my grandfather's generation. In addition, as a student in Japan, he had been influenced by Western ideology, and he had a reformist tendency. When I was active in the student movement, I sent him a long letter explaining my reasons. He understood me. He not only approved of what I did, but also showed my letter to some of his friends.

One influential sympathizer told me that my father was very astonished after reading my letter. He said, "Before, I thought this girl was reckless, but this letter shows that she has a

Lenin (far left) and Zinoviev (third from left) freet delegates to Third Congress of Communistinternational. Congress adopted resolution on work among women,

good head." Thus, unlike the other eleven school-mates' parents, who had locked their daughters home for a year, after the defeat of our class strike for reinstatement of our Chinese teacher, my father let me continue my covert activities in school.

This influential sympathizer was Lan Shuwun, one of my schoolmates. She played a great role in the victorious student struggle in our school. When the Northern Expedition Army occupied Wuhan, she joined the CCP and became active in the Wuhan Women's Association.

Weapons to oppress women

As to why my second uncle and second cousins so stubbornly tried to interfere with my activities, it was owing to the influence of the long tradition of feudal-clan ideology, as the Ch'en family was the most distinguished in my native village. From generation to generation we had been big landlords, and under the former examination system some of us had been graduates of the First Degree (equivalent to BA), Second Degree (equivalent to MA), and Third Degree(equivalent to PH.D). The progenitors of big landlords usually had a very strong feudal ideology, and particularly adhered to old rituals. These so-called rituals and morals were the ideological weapons to oppress women.

The collective interference with my activities did not mean they cared for me, but cared for the protection of the long feudal tradition of the Ch'en family. For example, all the progeny of the Ch'en family as well as their relatives stopped talking with me as soon as I became involved in the struggle. This shows how powerfully that feudal tradition and ideology controlled the society at that period especially in their control of women. If I had not desperately and adamantly fought my way out of my cousin's house, our struggle would have been crippled and might have ended. The elimination of the staunchest one among us not only would have demoralised the rest, but also would have put the rest in the same boat. From this episode, we easily understood that in the critical moment, intransigence and courage are the qualities most needed in a struggle. This had really been a profound lesson to us.

Since we got the news that the authorities wanted to arrest us, we distributed leaflets in the name of us five, to schools, associations, and newspapers, exposing the high-handed dismissal of us by the principal, and his despicable methods of intimidation and beguilement. We sent delegates to all student

associations asking for assistance. The Wuhan Provincial Students Federation immediately called a meeting, in which a resolution was passed: if we five were arrested, a general student strike would take place. As soon as the authorities heard this, they withdrew the order for arrest. This demonstrates that a reform movement in one school cannot be isolated, but must unite with the whole student movement. The help of the Provincial Students Federation, which we contacted at the beginning of our struggle, saved us from arrest.

After both soft and hard measures failed to bring the desired result, the school used its last resort—our dismissal. When we discovered the wooden plaque for dismissal hanging on the door of the auditorium at 7:00 in the morning, we ran to the principal's office and caught him at the door just as he was trying to dash out to avoid the confrontation. We questioned him about our dismissal. At that time he was very arrogant, saying, "Since you have already been dismissed, you are not entitled to speak to me." However, we would not leave. As he had had enough of us-the harassment and sufferings that we had bought to him during the past year-he sat down and tried to argue with us. He considered that five dismissed students would not be a big deal and could not do too much harm.

But he did not expect that at this time a few hundred students were attending a morning meeting in the yard, and a few of our sympathisers took this opportunity of making emotional appeals to them, severely attacking our high-handed dismissal by the principal, and his other odious regulations, etc. As a result, the majority of the students (who were drawn from every class in our school) were all seething with indignation. They marched to the auditorium like an angry wave, and took down the wooden plaque for our dismissal. They then swarmed to the principal's office with the plaque held by Li Che-sheh, a student, walking in front. They threw the plaque in front of him and stomped on it with their feet. At that time the mass was hysterical: yelling, screaming, and cursing. Some of them were for striking the prinicipal, who was terrified into a stupor, his face ashen, his body trembling like a leaf, and incapable of uttering a single word. He was finally escorted by several women staff members to his office and locked up there for protection. A score of us then staged a sit-in outside his office demanding his resignation.

Miniature of revolution

The situation at that time was like a

miniature of a revolution. On the gate outside the school was hanging horizontally a long white flag on which was written in dark ink, "Remove the Criminal Educator, Wang Sekyuk!" In addition, several tall and husky students were on guard. They permitted no free movement to those who were not on our side. We also controlled the phones. Fearing that they might be beaten, some male teachers stealthily climbed up the outside wall and fled. (In fact, our decision was not to strike anyone, for it would hurt our cause.) Since we were a defiant majority, those students who were for the principal shunned us.

The turmoil lasted from 7:00 in the morning till 7:00 in the evening. First, two officials were sent by the board of education to negotiate with us They asked what we wanted. We demanded that the principal should resign and take all the blame upon himself. As they could not make any headway against our stubborn attitude, they left. Then came the former negotiators, the eminent educators: Li Linfeng, president of Wuchong Teachers College, Ch'en Shih, president of Chinese University. and Li Han-chun, distinguished scholar. Werejected the offer of the annulment of dismissal and the retention of the principal. Wemaintained that the principal should resign and take the blame himself in his letter of resignation. So the situation was deadlocked. After a consultation among themselves, they sent Li Han-chun to ask the surrender of the principal, who reluctantly agreed, as there was no other alternative for him. Amid our victorious smiles, the principal dejectedly came out of his office.

In short, our courageous and intransigent struggle against the traditional feudal ideology and irrational system shocked the Wuhan area and the whole country. Despite many adverse turns and despicable bullyings, we, inspired by the new idelolgy, finally won an unprecedented and astonishing victory. The Guide, a CCP newspaper, mentioned the significance of this struggle, saying that it opened up the women's movement, developed the new ideology, and gave impetus to the socialist movement. In April 1922 we five, in the midst of our struggle, joined the Young Socialist League; and in October the same year we joined the CCP. After this struggle, the students in Cirls Normal School continued to be the forerunners in the women's movement. and many of them became members of the

One of the main reasons for this victory was the adoption by the CCP of the 1921 resolution of the Third International.³ The International delegate, Gregory Voitinsky, came to Wuhan

after the First CCP Congress in the autumn of 1921. He discussed the Wuhan revolutionary work with the party leaders and cadres who then accelerated the development of the workers' and students' movements. After the crushing of its feudal citadel, the Girls Normal School became the most militant and powerful force in the ensuing struggle. Of course, the political background and objective conditions for our victory were the growing of the Wuhan revolutionary movement at that time and the CCP's leadership. Especially valuable to us were three members, Li Han-chun, Liu Szetang, and Ch'en T'an-ch'iu, who constantly kept and eye on us and gave us advice and direction. From this, we learned a lesson: for victorious revolutionary struggle a correct party leadership is necessary as well as the solidarity of the movement as a whole through the alliance between the student and workers

This episode was one of the most prolonged and widespread struggles for women's emancipation in China. It proved the correctness of Mary-Alice Waters' study of the Comintern's history, and it also marked the beginning of my revolutionary career.

In addition, in the early part of the following year, after the end of our struggle, the Third International, Women's Section published a letter, "To Chinese Students" in the CCP's newspaper, the Guide, May 9, 1923. From this letter I select several paragraphs concerning our struggle, as follows:

"Dear Chinese Student Comrades:
"The persecution of the Chinese revolutionary students by the Chinese warlords under their foreign commanders provoked your struggle for democracry and independence. We sympathise with your difficult struggle and give you our heartfelt approval.

We saw that you actively participated in the latest railroad workers' struggle. We grieve at the peremptory killings of the workers by the treacherous warlords whose sole purpose was to please the English and French imperialists.

The warlords as well as the foreign capitalists resented you deeply. They ordered the prohibition of your propaganda and gunned down your workers. At the beginning they forced the removal of your respected college president and made up all kinds of rumors in the foreign press. All these significance of your movement which frightens the internal and external reactionaries. Now we know that Chinese students are the great motivating force for the workers and the national revolutionary movements.

Lately you have had the most heroic strikes; in the future you will remove the occupation by imperialists.

"However, this struggle even at its inception, if without the participation of the women workers, will not have complete victory.

"The lack of organisation and political consciousness among women workers will make them easily deceived. At the critical moment, they might not be able to unite and join the struggle against the oppressors. Therefore, the great responsibility falls on the Chinese revolutionary students—to organise millions of women workers to struggle against the capitalists and imperialists. They should realise that their struggle is closely related to the workers' and students' movements. Only through the victory of the workers over the external oppressor can the exploited women of China be emancipated..."

From the Comintern Women's Secretariat,
Eastern Section

The Third Congress of the Comintern in June 1921 adopted a resolution called Theses on Propaganda Work Among Women." It explained why a socialist revolution was needed to achieve women's liberation, and the necessity for the Communist parties to win the support of the masses of women if they were to lead the socialist revolution to victory.

The May Fourth Movement of 1919 began with student protests against concessions of Clinicse territorial rights to Japan under the Versailles treaty that ended World War I. Under the slogans "science" and "democracy" it became a nationwide cultural movement aimed at the reactionary ideology of Confucinism.

At that time written Chinese used a classical vocabulary and style as far removed from actual daily speech as Latin is from modern European languages. The intellectual leaders of the May Fourth Movement demonstratively wrote and published newspapers and magazines in the vernacular tongue, pai-hua, using common slang and a highly restricted number of characters. This made the written language accessible to millions of people who had been unable to read the classical style of books and periodicals used up to that time.

In July 1922 the CCP Second Congress
passed a Resolution on the Women's Movement. There were three main points in this
resolution, the gist of which is as follows:

(1) Under capitalism, women could not achieve equality with men and freedom

economically, politically, educationary, or occupationally. These goals could only be realised after a victorious socialist revolution.

(2) Under the then existing system, the CCP, in addition to the fight for equal pay for men and women, and special labor legislation for women and children, was also fighting for the emancipation of all oppressed women.

(3) The Third Congress of the Third International decided that the CP in each country should form a special bureau to lead the women's movement. A comrade should be assigned to each section of these special bureaus. The CCP decided to adopt this plan as soon as possible (Pp. 55-68, The Draft History of the CCP by Wang Chun-min.)

- Really a Chinese teacher, Liu Sze-tung, not the college president.
- ⁵ I and other schoolmates had received a Chinese newspaper full of rumors concerning our struggle in the fall of 1922, after returning to Girls Normal School from summer vacation.

More about China

Leon Trotsky on China

38.00 paper, 688 pp. This collection includes. Trotsky's writings on the 1925-97 revolution in China with his criticisms of Stalin's policy of support to the Kuomintang. Other items present Trotsky sview of the ultra-left Canton uprising of 1927-29, an analysis of the Chinese Communist Party's role in organism presant guerilia warfare, and explanation of Trotsky's opposition to the "anti-Japanese united front' formed by Mao and Chiang Kai-she'k in 1937.

The Chinese Revolution

By Peng Shu-tsu and Peng Pi-lan. 3 volumes. Education for Socialists publication. \$2.85 the set.

Peng Shu-tse was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party in 1922. Peng Pi-lan joined shortly afterwards. Both were leaders of the struggle against the non-revolutionary policies struggle against the non-revolutionary policies imposed on the CCP by Stalin during the 1925-27

Becludes Peng Fi-lan's remuniscences of 50 years in the Chinese revolutionary movement, and Peng, Sho-ties views on the consolidation of Man spower in 1949, the "Creat Leap Forward" and excepted communior established in 1950, the "Creat Cultural Revolution" of 1969, and his strategy for an antiburgascent revolution in China.

Order from Pathfinder Press, PO Box K208, Haymarket, 2000 (cheques etc., to Pathfinder Press)

Organisational Principles of the SWP

Resolution adopted by the Fifth National Conference of the Socialist Workers Party, January, 1977.

For revolutionary Marxists, questions of organisation normally are subordinate to questions of program. The great debates in the history of the socialist movement have, as a rule, been centred around opposing political positions and have only secondarily concerned disputes about organisational practices.

This tradition does not mean that revolutionaries can afford to dismiss organisational principles as matters of no importance. Rather, what it reflects is the understanding that, in the last analysis, questions of organisation are themselves questions of program. A party that is serious about achieving its professed goals requires an organisational structure which can really advance those goals. Thus, any serious organisational dispute within the party is likely to reflect a disagreement, whether expressed or not, over the direction in which the party ought to proceed politically.

The classical illustration of the close interconnection between program and organisation
is the 1903 split between the Bolshevik and the
Menshevik factions of the Russian Social
Democracy. The split occurred purely over an
organisational question: the definition of party
membership. But with the passage of time, it
was revealed with absolute clarity that this
difference over organisation was only a
reflection of a most fundamental difference of
program. The Bolsheviks were serious about
leading a socialist revolution in Russia, the

Mensheviks were not. Each faction sought the type of party organisation most suited to its real goals.

It is with this understanding of the dialectical interrelationship of program and organisation and of the subordination of the latter to the former that the Socialist Workers Party adopts this resolution on its organisational principles.

1. The sources of our organisation principles

The organisational principles of the Socialist Workers Party derive from the goal we have set ourselves leading the overthrow of capitalism in Australia. This goal and the strategy by which it will be achieved created the Socialist Workers Party. It was in order to fulfill the program that the organisation was founded. All of our organisational principles flow from this fact.

Fortunately, our party has not had to determine solely by trial and error the basic organisational principles which are best suited to our program. As part of the international tendency which traces its origins from Marx and Engels and draws on the revolutionary experiences of four internationals, we are provided with a rich foud of lessons upon which to base our organisational dicas. And, despite its brevity, our party's history has repeatedly confirmed these lessons.



Fifth National Conference of SWP.

History has taught us, by both positive and negative examples, that capitalism will not simply collapse because of its own contradictions, nor will it be overthrown by a collection of individuals, acting as individuals, no matter how numerous they might be. The bourgeoisie rules, not because of its numbers, but because all the institutions of the capitalist state are designed to perpetuate bourgeois power. In order to achieve its historic mission of instituting socialism the working class must be united and conscious of its goals. This unity and consciousness can be brought about only through the medium of the revolutionary party, whose homogeneity and singleness of purpose enable it to provide the class as a whole with the necessary leadership.

In the construction of such a party, the history of the revolutionary movement has yet to provide a better example than that of the Bolshevik party of Lenin. By leading the Russian Revolution to victory, the Bolsheviks provided an unsurpassed example of the kind of party which is needed in order to realise the program of sucialist revolution. While the SWP cannot hope to be successful merely through a slavish initiation of some model, and while we draw on the experiences of the entire revolutionary movement, our aim is to become a democratic-centralist combat party of the sort that was constructed by Lenin.

The Lemnist model of the revolutionary party is not at all popular with "socialists" who,

in their spare time, play at being revolutionaries. This is because the Leninist model is the one best designed to realise the program of socialist revolution. For the "revolutionary" dilettantes, program and party are distinct, and even conflicting, worlds: "I agree that your position is better than that of the CPA or ALP, but an organisation as small as yours can't change anything." Or: "I support most of what you say, but I couldn't join a party which denied me the right to say so publicly if I disagreed." To Trotskyists, such distinctions are false to the core, the creation of dabblers at revolution who want to be free to talk about socialism without obligating themselves to do anything about it. True, our party is small in size at present, but to become a mass party on any other basis than our program would be self-defeating. Yes, members are obligated to defend the party's positions in public; if they were not, the party would not have a real

position.

In short, the SWP is based upon Bolshevik organisational principles because it is based upon a Bolshevik program.

2. A party of professional revolutionaries

The SWP is a voluntary organisation, composed of individuals who have freely chosen to devote themselves to the task of

aiding society's transition from capitalism to

The members have chosen the SWP as the instrument best suited to effecting that transition. Because of their belief in the correctness of its program, members of the SWP are loy at to the party. They work selflessly to build it, because the party is indispensable to the future which they desire for humanity.

As a voluntary union of revolutionaries, the party has both the right and the obligation to demand an unconditional loyally to its program and organisation from all present members and all those persons seeking membership. Those who doubt the correctness of the Trotskyist program, those who deny the necessity of a democratic-centralist party; those who regard it merely as a means of advancing their personal ambitions—all such individuals are, of course, entitled to their views. But they are not entitled to membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Loyalty to the SWP is the primary condition for membership.



Lenin, founder of Russian Communist Party,

The party selects its members on the basis of their adherence to its program and willingness to work for its implementation.

This means that the party is, or strives to become, an organisation of professional revolutionaries. Professional revolutionaries are not only people who have full-time assignments from the party—on the staff of Direct Action or as branch organisers, for example. A professional revolutionary is someone who sees the highest purpose of his or her life as advancing the socialist revolution, that is, building the party, and is willing to accept any assignment within his or her capacity that will contribute to this goal.

The very act of founding the SWP-then called the Socialist Workers League-required a factional struggle in the Australian Trotskyist movement around this question of the need for a party composed of professional revolutionaries. Gould and his grouping denied the need for and/or the practicability of creating an Australian party on the Bolshevik model. They preferred the Resistance's amorphous structure, which allows the leaders to escape any democratic control by the ranksand did not promote the development of a selfconfident politically educated cadre. There can be no doubt that the absence of a party such as the SWP during the late 1960s resulted in numerous missed opportunities for Australian Trotskyism. Because there was no party of professional revolutionaries on the scene, many individuals who could have been won to the perspective of socialist revolution were lost to the movement, and Trotskyism was unable to break the hold of ALP and Stalinist reformism on wide layers of radicalising youth, despite the attractiveness of ourprogram in such areas as the anti-war move-

A party of professional revolutionaries not only exercises the right to select new members on the basis of their compatibility with its program and organisational norms. All members of the party are subjected to a continual selection process, which determines whether or not they are capable of functioning as cadres of the mass revolutionary party we. plan to construct. This process of selection is not imposed by the party, but is created by the capitalist society in which we live. All revolutionaries are subjected to the pressures of the hostile environment of capitalism. Inevitably, some succumb. When this happens, it becomes necessary for the SWP to part ways with those whose continued presence in the organisation would debase our program or standards of membership.

3. Democratic centralism

The Socialist Workers Party is a democratic centralist organisation. Democracy, centralism, and the dialectical unity of the two are all made necessary by the task we have set ourselves of overthrowing Australian capitalism.

Democracy within the party does not exist for its own sake, because democracy is considered to be a transcendental good. Nor do we practice democracy because the socialist society of the future will be democratic; our job is to act as midwives for the birth of the new society, not to provide a model of what that society will be like.

The plain fact is that a really Bolshevik party cannot exist without internal democracy. Even in the midst of a civil war, even when the party felt forced to take the exceptional measure of banning factions, members of the Bolshevik Party continued to enjoy a broad freedom to discuss, criticise, and oppose party policies and tenders.

The stifling of every hint of dissident thought, the obligation of members to worship every Thought of the Leader, are not Bolshevism but the very antithesis of Bolshevism but the very antithesis of Bolshevism. The strangulation by Stalinism of party democracy in Communist Parties all over the world was a necessary accompaniment to the process of converting them from revolutionary proletarian organisations into counter-revolutionary, class-collaborationist, lickspittle servants of the diplomatic needs of the petty-bourgeois caste which had usurped power in the first workers state. The Stalinist program of subservience to imperialism could only be carried out by a party accustomed to

slavishness. Unfortunately, many of those won to the idea of socialism during the radicalisation of the 1960s and who rejected the reformist politics of Stalinism nevertheless uncritically accepted the Stalinist caricature of Bolshevism for good coin. Around the world today, there are countless groups supposedly standing to the "left" of the CP in which the only right of members is to do as they are told by the infallable leaders, and whose members accept such a situation because they believe it represents a norm of Bolshevik organisation. Occasionally the leaders of such groups, totally cut off from reality by long years of being treated as something approaching divinity, will even try to apply their own organisational norms by force to other parties, as the Australian Healy ites have recently begun to do. A revolutionary Marxist party practices

A revolutionary Marxist party place and internal democracy and advocates and

defends it in the workers' movement generally for essentially the same reason. Just as the proletariat must be able to hear and evaluate the claims of competing tendencies if it is to be really won to the revolutionary party, so the party itself requires the maximum possible discussion and democratic exchange of ideas at all levels if the party is to be able to chart a correct course through the abrupt shifts of the class struggle.

"In the construction of such a [revolutionary] party, the history of the revolutionary movement has yet to provide a better example than that of the Bolshevik party of Lenin. By leading the Russian Revolution to victory, the Bolsheviks provided an unsurpassed example of the kind of party which is needed in order to realise the program of socialist revolution."

No leadership, of any party, has ever been infallible. The best leaders are those who are most capable of learning from the experiences of the entire party and the current stage of the class struggle and the mood of the working class and using this knowledge to determine whatever changes may be necessary in the party's program or activity. But there is no way in which the leadership can obtain reliable feedback from the ranks if all levels of the party do not feel free to express their criticisms when the line or the method of implementing it appears to conflict with the requirements of the class struggle.

Our party is a voluntary union of revolutionaries, which solves its problems and sets its course by pooling its experiences and ideas and arriving at a collective decision. We join the party because we realise that a union of revolutionaries is more effective than the sun total of the efforts of individuals would be. But a party lacking internal democracy sacrifices one of the most important benefits of such a union: the opportunity to chart its political course on the basis of the collective knowledge of the leadership available to it.

Not only is party democracy the sole means by which the organisation of revolutionaries can ensure that it responds correctly to the demands of the class struggle. It is the only guarantee the party has of obtaining the best leadership available to it. As the party grows and develops, it is inevitable and desirable that new leaders will rise from the ranks. Indeed, the development of new leaders is one of the chief means by which the party grows, provided that election to leading positions is recognition of the cadre's attainment of a high level of devotion to the organisation and of the skills and understanding necessary to a professional revolutionary. We are a cadre organisation. That is, ideally, every member is potentially a leader of the mass party we intend to build and of the mass movement which will overthrow capitalism in Australia. Every new recruit to the party who develops leadership ability represents another sten on the road to our goal.

But new leaders who meet these conditions can arise only in a party in which the leadership is answerable to the ranks and the ranks periodically exercise their prerogative to decide which eaders have shown the ability to best fill leadership positions. The only alternative to a democratic process of leadership selection is the bureaucratic method in which new leaders are appointed from on high by the existing leadership. In organisations which operate in this fashion, "natural selection" raises from the ranks not those who best represent and carry out the program of the whole organisation, but those who are quickest to applaud every move of the existing

leadership, no matter how wrong it might be. But a war to the death against an entrenched ruling class cannot be led by a party which trains its members primarily in toadyism and following orders without question. In "normal" times, bureaucratically-run parties may appear to function with a certain degree of efficiency and cohesion. At important turning points in the class struggle, during upsurges in the mass movements, etc., they tend either to fly apart or to paralyse. The ranks fear to do anything without explicit instructions from the leaders: the leaders, used to giving orders but not to listening and learning, can't decide what to do next. If they do reach a decision, they may lack sufficient authority with their ranks to have it

In the final analysis, the leadership of a revolutionary party such as ours derives its authority not from the constitution or the formal structures of the party, but from the fact that it is democratically selected by the entire party. The leadership is able to speak and act in the name of the party only because the party has chosen it for that purpose.

Thus, the centralism of a revolutionary party is made possible by its democracy.

Centralism is implicit in the very existence of a revolutionary socialist party. We are a voluntary union of revolutionaries precisely because united action is more effective than the uncoordinated efforts of individuals. Centralism is united action, the principle that all the political activity of party members is carried out under the overall direction of the party.

There are no exceptions to this rule, apart from those which the party tistelf may explicitly decide upon. Whether they are selling Direct Action, working in the unions or other mass movements, functioning in a fraternal organisation like the Socialist Youth Alliance, discussing political questions with friends, or whatever, party members are obliged loyally to defend the party and its program and to attempt to apply its decisions. Centralism also means the right of the party to determine the areas in which each member will be politically active.

Centralism is the other face of the coin of party democracy. Democracy is not only the protection of the rights of individual party members. It is, above all else, the right of the majority to decide and to have its decisions carried out.

The most rigorous centralism is indispensible to a revolutionary combat party. Centralism is what makes it possible for the party to act with the disciplined, united force of all its



Stalin: strangled party democracy in CPs in process of making them agents of his dictatorship.

members. Violations of centralism not only violate the right of the majority to decide, but, weaken the party's effectiveness and make it difficult for the party to judge the correctness or otherwise of its political line, since a line that is applied only half-heartedly or by only a part of the membership has not really been subjected to the test of events.

"... contrary to the mythology peddled by the Stalinists, the existence of factions is not a contradiction of Bolshevik organisational practices. The Bolshevik Party itself originally was formed as a faction within the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party-an indication that Lenin, at least, did not regard factions as contrary to Leninism....A revolutionary party can no more get along without the occasional appearance of factions than it can get along without free and open discussion among its members, for the possibility of differences developing to the point where factions are formed is implicit in every discussion of the party's political line.

Obviously, a high degree of centralism implies a high degree of political homogeneity within the party. Individuals or groups who have fundamental disagreements with the party's goals, who are not loyal to the party itself, cannot be expected to work loyally and in a disciplined fashion to advance the party. Adherence to the fundamental principles of our program is therefore a basic condition of party membership. There is no such thing as a "right" to belong to the party for people who are disloyal to the SWP or whose first loyalty is to some other political tendency. Only a party that was not serious about its socialist goals could knowingly permit within its ranks agents of other parties assigned to raiding or wrecking

operations.

The revolutionary combat party has the right to regulate all its affairs, either by means of majority vote or by delegating decisions to the elected leaderships. This includes the right to

regulate the manner in which the party reaches its decisions: to set the form, the time and conditions of discussions prior to national conferences, to require that discussion cease once the conference has decided disputed questions or to permit continued oral or written discussion on specific matters if that seems best, or perhaps to require the dissolution of factions or restrict their activities once a pre-conference discussion period has ended, and so on.

This conception of the rights of the majority has been challenged in the SWP in the past by the opportunist Barnes group. This grouping, which considered the public existence of our party as a section of the World Party of Socialist Revolution to be an obstacle to a comfortable political existence in Social Democratic circles, sought an organisational form in keeping with its program. In the place of a united, revolutionary centralist party in which all members loyally apply the decisions of the majority, the Barnes clique sought a federation of groupings, each carrying out its own activities and only uniting upon those projects agreed upon in negotiations between the leaders of these groups.

The Barnes clique could have been retained in the party on those terms only by a betrayal of socialism. It would have converted the SWP from a revolutionary centralist party into a "broad," "inclusive" party on the model of the ALP and the Social Democracy in other countries. The incompatibility of such an organisational form with our revolutionary goals has been well explained by the US Trotskyists in their 1965 resolution: "The Organisational Character of the Socialist Workers Party".

"The revolutionary Marxian party rejects, not only the arbitrariness of the Communist Party, but also the spurious and deceptive 'allinclusiveness' of the social-democratic variety, which is a sham and a fraud. Experience has proved conclusively that this 'all-inclusiveness' paralyzes the party in general and the revolutionary left wing in particular, suppressing and bureaucratically hounding the latter while giving free rein to the right wing to commit the greatest crimes in the name of socialism and the party. The SWP seeks to be inclusive only in his sense that it accepts into its ranks those who accept its program and principles; and that it denies admission to those who reject its program and principles."

It is that sort of inclusiveness which provides the basis for a revolutionary democratic-centralist party.

There are no hard-and-fast rules which can prescribe in advance the proper balance between democracy and centralism in any given situation. This is something which must be decided by the party as a whole or its delegated leading bodies in the concrete circumstances. The decision, however, should be conditioned by the understanding that in a revolutionary party discussion is not an end in itself. We discuss in order to arrive at a majority decision and to act upon it.

This means that in periods set aside for discussion, generally in the months immediately before a national conference, democracy tends to outweigh centralism. During a preconference discussion period, every member should have the greatest possible freedom to criticise any aspect of party activity, from the most trivial to the most important, which seems amiss. During such periods, democracy extends even to the point of permitting the formation of organised groupings to defend a particular viewpoint, that is, to the creation of an organisation within the organisation, although even in this case such groupings remain subordinate to the discipline of the party as a whole.

But once the national conference has reached a decision on any issues that may be in dispute, the other aspect of democracy, the rights of the majority and the centralist side of our organisational norms come to the fore. All members, regardless of whether they were in the majority or minority on disputed questions, are bound loyally to carry out the decisions of the national conference, and to refrain from reopening the discussion until this is authorised by the national committee.

4. Party, faction, clique

Political homogeneity and centralism do not at all imply that the party is or should be monolithic, that there should be a unanimity of views on all questions. On the contrary, it is inevitable that in a party of critical-minded revolutionaries, differences over the course the party ought to follow will arise from time to time. Such differences may range from disagreements over such questions as where the best sales of Direct Action can be obtained. through debates over the best tactic to achieve an agreed-upon strategic objective, up tofundamental disputes over strategy or basic programmatic questions. Differences amongrevolutionaries are not at all to be condemned or regretted; they are part and parcel of the democratic-centralist process by which the party chooses its course and modifies that nourse when events show this to be necessary. Discussion and debate are a method of partybuilding, so long as the participants to a dispute maintain their 100 per cent loyalty to the party. its program, and its democratic-centralist

In a bureaucratically run party, the obligation of members who feel that something is amiss in program or practice is to shut their mouths and behave as though they believed the leadership to be infallible. In the SWP, it is the duty of members who believe that something is wrong to present their objections for consideration by the party. It would be an act of disloy alty to allow the party to continue on a course one believes to be incorrect without trying to change it. It is necessary, of course, to keep a sense of proportion as to the relative importance, or lack of it, of any such disagreement.

Naturally, disagreements must be raised at appropriate times before the appropriate bodies, in a manner that recognises the majority's right to decide rather than attempting to disrupt or evade majority decisions. We do not try to revise the party's political resolution during a branch discussion of Direct Action sales or to smuggle in changes of program by proposing a particular speaker for a forum.

"Centralism is implicit in the very existence of a revolutionary socialist party. We are a voluntary union of revolutionaries precisely because united action is more effective than the uncoordinated efforts of individuals. Centralism is united action, the principle that all the political activity of party members is carried out under the overall direction of the party....Centralism is the other face of the coin of party democracy. Democracy is not only the protection of the rights of individual party members. It is, above all else, the right of the majority to decide and to have its decisions carried out."

In short, differences must be raised in a manner which respects the democratic right of the entire party to weigh all the evidence and decide the question in dispute. It is an impermissible violation of the rights of the party as a whole to attempt to "line up." members on one side of a question before the authorised party body has formally opened discussion on the subject. This does not mean that party members may not discuss political issues with each other, nor even that they may not organize to advance a particular view. But it does mean that all such discussions and activity must be carried out in accordance with the conditions established by the majority of the party bodies to which it has delegated its powers, and most be carried out openly, with the knowledge of the party as a whole.

There are two general types of formations within the party that may arise to promote a particular political line at times permitted by the party - generally during the preconference discussion period. One is a tendency. This is an unstructured formation which attempts to persuade the party to adopt a particular course which is expressed in one or more documents. Party members may join the tendency merely by declaring to the party their adherence to the political line of the documents on which the tendency is based. Members of the tendency are not bound by any sort of agreement, for example, on the best way to advance their viewpoint within the party. A tendency is an ideological, but not an organisational group-

The other type of formation is a faction. Unlike a tendency, a faction is an organisational as well as an ideological grouping. A faction has the right to accept or reject party members who apply to join it, and the faction is bound by its own disciplinealthough this discipline is of course subordinate to the discipline of the party. The formation of a faction is a serious action, one that ought not to be undertaken lightmindedly. It amounts to a declaration of war within the party. The fact that a separate organisational structure within the party is necessary to defend the faction's views means that party leaders in disagreement with the faction cannot be relied upon to loyally carry out those views should they be adopted by the party majority; the faction leadership is thus necessarily put forward as an alternative leadership for the party.

The organisers and members of a faction. The organisers are suppossibility to the party to ensure that the faction's activities are discussed towards chardying, rather than obscuring, the issues in dispute. A faction should be formed only upon a clear program, which is accepted only upon a clear program, which is accepted only its members. The formation of augminique factions, in which political differences are glossed over in arther to attain a larger number of source on the basis of a factions and source of source on the basis of a faction unit, saw indution of recognition products Cuprincipled factions are a direct



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importation into the party of alien class influences, namely the confusionist numbers game of petty-bourgeois parliamentarism. But contrary to the mythology preddled by the Stalinists, the existence of factions is not a contradiction of Bolshevik organisational

the Stalinists the existence of factions is not a contradiction of Bolshevik organisational practices. The Bolshevik Party itself originally was formed as a faction within the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party—an indication that Lenin, at least, did not regard factions as contrary to Leninism. Trotsky in 1939 wrote of the Bolshevik Party's attitude to factions:

"The entire history of Bolshevian was one of the free struggle of tendencies and factions in different periods. Bolshevian passed through the struggle of pro- and anti-hoycottists. 'Ozovists,' altimatists, conciliationists, partisans of 'prodeturian culture, partisans and opponents of the armed insurrection in Octoher, partisans and opponents of the Brestlitorisk treats, left-communists, partisans and opponents of the official anlitary policy, etc.

A revolutionary party can no more get along without the occasional appearance of factions than it can get along without free and open discussion among its members, for the possibility of differences developing to the point where factions are formed is implicit in every discussion of the party's political line. It is of course preferable if differences can be settled short of the point of factional struggle, but when disagreements are too deep for this to occur, then factions become a necessary part of the process by which a democratic-centralist party determines its political line. A faction which is publicly declared to the party as a whole, which attempts to persuade the party



Proletarian orientation means SWP strives to become rooted in all sections of the mass movement and recruit militants to party.

rather than to manipulate it behind the backs of the membership, which conducts its efforts completely within the framework prescribed by the national conference and authorised party bodies, and which gives the party the same degree of loyalty that is expected from every party member, is thoroughly in keeping with the norms of a democratic-centralist organisation.

There is, unfortunately, another formation which sometimes arises within a revolutionary party. Unlike a tendency or faction, a clique is not based upon agreement with a particular political line. Nor does it openly declare its existence to the party and attempt to win the party to its views. A clique is based upon matters essentially unrelated to real political questions on friendship, wounded feelings, back-scratching, mutual likes and dislikes. It cannot attempt to win the whole party because it is exclusive rather than inclusive; its members do not think "we" and mean the party, they think of themselves at "we" and the rest of the party as "they."

A chique is the very opposite of a principled faction. Whereus a principled faction announces its existence and basis to the purty, a clique is by its very nature secretive and its program" is unspeakable. Whereas a faction deals with the organisational question of irudership only to defend its political views, subordinate to the organisational question for a chique political questions are always subordinate to the organisational question of whether the chique's members have had their feelings ruffled. A faction is a temporary grouping, to be dissolved into the party once.

the entire party has ruled on the issues in dispute, but a clique is a permanent mutualassistance society. As Cannon put it in *The* Struggle for a Proletarian Party:

Cliques and cliquism and permanent factions are abhorrent to proletarian revolutionists who seek the realisation of their socialist aims through a workers mass movement led by a mass party. The only permanent formation that can claim our allegiance is the party."

Cliquism is a cancer in a revolutionary party. Because the clique rather than the party is the formation to which its members give their loyalty, a clique inevitably becomes a transmission belt by which hostile class pressures are exerted upon the party. We have learned this from our own history. The Barnes clique became a focus of pressures to adapt opportunistically to bourgeois parfairmentarism and the petty-bourgeois milieu of the ALP bureaucracy.

5. The rights and obligations of membership

Ouly a membership which is accustomed to thinking critically, to weighing both sides of an issue, and to carrying out with all its emergies the decisions collectively arrived at will be able to construct the mass revolutionary party necessary to lead the socialist revolution in Australia. A party such as ours therefore requires the swdess possible democracy within the organisation. Membership in the Socialist

Workers Party carries with it the right to complete freedom of discussion, debate, and criticism, limited only by the provisions for such discussion prescribed by the party. Members of the party have the right to be democratically represented at all decision-making meetings of the party and the right to determine, by their democratic vote, the program, policies, and leaders of the party.

Membership of the SWP also brings with it certain obligations, the highest of which is 100 per cent loyalty to the party and the rejection of any competing loyalty. Members are bound by the program of the party and its discipline, and must be affiliated to one of the units of the party as prescribed in its constitution. Party membership includes the obligation to work actively for the goals of the organisation, in the field designated by the appropriate party body, and to carry out all such assignments in a professional manner. It is the duty of every member to contribute financially to the support of the organisation in accordance with his or her ability to do so.

The collective membership—that is, the party as a whole—has its rights too. When the rights of the party and the rights of individual members conflict, it is the rights of the party that take precedence. Party democracy means not only scrupulous respect for the rights of a minority, but also the right of the majority to insist that the work of the party not be disrupted. The party is therefore entitled to regulate the time, form, and limits of its internal discussion. The party is not a debating society, but a revolutionary combat party, which discusses in order to act with the united force of all its members.

6. Leadership

A democratic-centralist revolutionary party, if it is to achieve the unity in action for which the party exists, requires an experiesced, united and authorative leadership. Only a leadership which works together and which has won the confidence of the ranks can provide the cohesion necessary to make the party effective at times of rapid changes in the course of the class struggle. One of the key functions of democratic centralism is precisely to make possible the development of such a

leading team.

Some of the ways in which the Trotskyist some of the ways in which the Trotskyist concept of leadership differs from that of the Stalinists or the Social Democracy have strained been indicated in Section 3. We have no use for "leaders" who entreach themselves in an apparatus and who issue orders from on high as the mood strikes them. Nor do we have

any use for the sort of "politicians" who curry election to office by wheeling and dealing between opposing viewpoints, promising all things to all people in the manner of bourgeois parliamentarians.

In a revolutionary combat party such as the SWP, there can be no other basis for leadership selection than the ability to direct—by word and example—the party's activity towards its goals in a way that conforms to the state of the class struggle and to the political line democratically adopted by the party.

"A revolutionary Marxist party practices internal democracy and advocates and defends it in the workers' movement generally for essentially the same reason. Just as the proletariat must be able to hear and evaluate the claims of competing tendencies if it is to be really won to the revolutionary party, so the party itself requires the maximum possible discussion and democratic exchange of ideas at all levels if the party is to be able to chart a correct course through the abrupt shifts of the class struggle."

Leaders of the SWP are chosen, in the first place, on the basis of their support for the political line adopted by the party at its national conference. When there are disagreements on the party's orientation, it is axiomatic that the majority view, as determined by the conference, will have the majority on leading bodies. Any other arrangement would make a mockery of democracy and centralism. Our movement has no place for the unprincipled compromises and trade-offs between political views and individual leaders which characterise petty-bourgeois groups as well as the internal political infighting of the ALP.

Leadership is further selected on the basis of its demonstrated ability to understand the course of the class struggle and to orient the party to its opportunities in accordance with a realistic understanding of the party's strengths and weaknesses.

Leaders, at all levels, are expected to be exemplary in their level of activity and in their maverying loyalty to the party. An organisation of professional revolutionaries naturally chooses as its leaders those members who most consistently demonstrate a professional attitude towards party work.

It follows from a serious, professional approach to the party's goals that we strive, to the extent possible, to have members of leading bodies assigned to full-time party work. A full-time leadership is a necessity for a revolutionary party, a recognition that building the mass party which will lead the overthrow of Australian capitalism cannot be

done as an avocation. In short, the function of leadership bodies in a revolutionary party is to lead. Just as the entire party functions most effectively when it arrives at decisions through a really collective discussion, so the leadership serves the party best when its able to function as a team. We strive for a collective leadership-not a fairer distribution of ill-gotten gains among the bureaucrats, which is what the Soviet leaders mean when they use that term-but a team of leaders which understands the strengths and weaknesses of each component and works together smoothly for the common goal without concern for irrelevancies like the "prestige" or positions of the individuals

Such a team leadership is of course not an exclusive club. On the contrary, it continually attempts to include within it all party members who demonstrate their abilities to fulfill leadership roles. Nor does team leadership require monolithism in leading bodies-any more than centralism requires identical views within the party as a whole. Minorities may, for example, be represented on the national committee, provided that their representatives meet the standard of lovalty and other criteria expected of candidates for leadership. Leading bodies which can incorporate minorities as part of a real team will obviously be the stronger for the greater breadth of outlook available in their deliberations.

The value of a leadership team derives ultimately from the same fact that leads each of us to join the SWP: the superiority of collective experience, discussion, decision and action over isolated individual efforts to achieve our goals. An experienced leadership team, enjoying the confidence of the ranks, is a priceless acquisition for a revolutionary party.

7. The SWP and the Fourth International

It is impossible to be a revolutionary Marxist without at the same time being an internationalist. The program of socialism is an

international program, and no narrowly national party, no matter hosy wellintentioned, can hope to lead the working class of its own country to socialism.

Our own experience has demonstrated the truth that a revolutionary party in any country can be built only as part of an international revolutionary party. It was only when they began considering themselves as part of the Fourth International that the cadres who founded the SWP were able to begin the construction of our party. Since its foundation, the SWP has been an integral part of the Fourth International. The building of the Fourth International goes hand-in-hand with building the CWP.

The international revolutionary party is, like its national sections, a democratic-centralist party. But the democratic centralism of the International is not a mechanical transfer of the practices of national sections on to the international plane—any more than the SWP's organisational norms are a mechanical grafting of Bolshevik practices on to Australian conditions. To be real, democratic centralism—like any generalisation from the lessons of history—has to be modified to fit the concrete conditions to which it is applied.

The most fundamental difference between the situations facing national parties and the international party stems from the fact of the uneven unfolding of the world revolution. Although the objective conditions for socialism exist on a world scale, socialist revolutions occur within national boundaries, and the stage of the class struggle can vary widely even between neighboring countries.

To lead the workers and other oppressed of any country in the overthrow of capitalism requires a party that is not only internationalist but also "home grown"—a party that knows the thoughts of the country's working class intimately because it is rooted in the class. It requires a party that at the crucial point can stand on its own and have the confidence to make the correct decisions because it has learned through its own experiences and has trained and selected a leadership it can trust.

This is why the Statutes of the Fourth International specifically state that the leadership of national parties cannot be replaced by a decision of the International. The Trotskyist concept of how an international party operates is quite different from the monolithism of the Comintern under Stalin or the caricature of that model provided by some of the Maoist sects. As Gannon put it:

permit proconsuls to be imposed upon them as leaders are worth a damn. We don't think a revolutionary party anywhere amounts to much until it is able to throw up a cadre of indigenous leaders, who have grown up out of its struggles, who are known to its members and trusted by them. You can't monkey with the question of leadership."

We came out of the Comintern, as I said, and we remembered the crimes of the Comintern. Socialism in one country' was not the only crime. One of the greatest crimes was the destruction of the self-acting life of the individual Communist parties. The Stalinist Comintern overthrew the indigenous leaders everywhere. Where they couldn't overthrow them directly, they would conspire against them, set faction on foot, with secret backing, to midermine and finally get rid of all the independent characters in the leadership.

Similarly, the SWP, as a part of the revolutionary international, has the right and obligation to express publicly its views on all questions facing the international workers movement. To deny this right would be to negate the party's right to select its own leadership in an organisation in which leaders are selected first and foremost on the basis of their political program. There can be, of course, no artifical dividing line between "Australian questions" on which the SWP decides and "international questions" which are the exclusive prerogative of some body of the Fourth International. We are part of the Fourth International precisely because of our internationalist program, because, in the period of the death agony of capitalism, the questions facing Timorese or Portugese or French or Chinese or Angolan workers are the same questions facing Australian workers, however much the forms in which the questions are posed might appear to differ.

It is this understanding of the interrelation between "national" and international issues which makes it obligatory for the SWP to be part of the international revolutionary party.

8. The proletarian orientation of the

The revolutionary program of the SWP and its internationalism are based on the party's proletarian orientation. The working class is the only truly progressive and revolutionary class in modern society. Only the working class has the potential power to end exploitative and oppressive capitalism and remake society along socialist lines. To carry out this task requires the leadership of a revolutionary party. Only if the revolutionary party is deeply embedded in the working class, is composed predominantly of workers, and enjoys their respect and confidence can it lead them to victory.

The proletarian orientation of the party means a systematic and concerted effort to root the party in all sectors of the mass movement and to recruit the best militants and activists to the SWP. The party must orient to the Labor Party, the mass reformist political party based on the trade unions. It must participate in the life of the trade unions, the women's liberation movement, and the Black movement. The SWP must actively involve itself in the student movement: this work takes the form of intimate collaboration with, and support to the Socialist Youth Alliance, the independent Trotskyist youth organisation in political solidarity with the SWP.

The proletarian orientation of the SWP means the SWP must function as a homogeneous campaign party: we must concentrate our whole resources on specific and realistic objectives and thereby increase our effectiveness. We must constantly strive to professionalise all aspects of the party's work.

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Our revolutionary heritage

Leon Trotsky on Problems of Party Building

[Reprinted from the International Socialist Review, July, 1977]

In the fall of 1935, Leon Trotsky, then living in Norway, was very much concerned about the French section of the movement that later became the Fourth International. In 1934, the members of the French section had joined the French Socialist Party (Section Francaiss du Internationale Ouvriere—SFIO) and the Young Socialists. They formed a faction, the Bolshevik-Leninist Group. Having won a number of party members to revolutionary Marxist positions, they were now being expelled by the SFIO bureaucray.

A whole book on this subject, The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36), edited by Naomi Allen and myself, will be published shortly by Pathfinder Press.

To aid his French comrades, Trotsky decided to invite a young Frenchman, Fred Zeller, to visit him for political discussions. Zeller was the leader of the Young Socialists in Paris and a member of a left-wing tendency that collaborated with the Bolshevik-Leninists against right-wingers in the SFIO and the Young Socialists. For doing this he had been expelled for "Trotskyism" although he had not yet joined the Bolshevik-Leninist Group.

Zeller accepted Trotsky's invitation, and

they held many discussions between the end of October and the middle of November. Trotsky succeeded in convincing Zeller that a Fourth International was needed and that he should return to France to join with the Bolshevik-Leninists in winning the Young Socialists to that point of view.

The subjects they discussed touched almost every facet of the revolutionary movement, including the problems of organisation, which Trotsky viewed as one of the weaknesses of the French movement. The advice he gave on this was aimed specifically at the needs of the French section of that time and was not intended for all times and places. But much of it is still useful as general guidelines for revolutionary socialists today.

Zeller, who was twenty-three at the time of his visit, became one of the young leaders of the French section. He was expelled for an indiscretion at the end of 1937, rejoined at the end of World War II, and resigned from the movement in 1948. He later became the head of the Freemasons in France. The following passages (translated into English for The Crisis the French Section) are from his book, Trois Points C'est Tout (Robert Laffont, 1976), although a large part was originally printed in La Verite, September 19, 1967.

-George Breitman

Trotsky asked me my opinion of the principal Bolshevik-Leninists in Paris. I spoke of them cautiously. Then there was a silence.

"You know," he said, "there isn't much choice! You have to work with the material that you have on hand. That is not always convenient. When I arrived in Prinkipo, I received long strings of letters from enthusiastic militants who offered to come visit me. In France, I had to put my confidence in the militants who, on the whole, shared the perspectives of the Russian Opposition. I had to reject the skeptics and the dilettantes. The movement had to prove itself by marching boldly forward. We had to have a periodical, first to defend and spread our ideas and reply to the Stalinist slanders, and then, little by little, to regroup in one organisation all those who agreed with us and wanted to struggle. So, despite the friendship that I felt for Monatte, Rosmer, or Louzon, our disagreements over the role of the party and the trade unions, among others, did not permit constructive work with the anarcho-syndicalist militants of Revolution proletarienne. As for Treint, with whom I had a long correspondence, it was difficult if not impossible to gather his small group around my friends because of their determined hostility. Moreover, it is curious how Treint succeeded in making so many enemies on all sides!

"I also reveived Maurice and Magdeleine Paz, but what can you do? Although I appreciated their talent and their desire to help me, I didn't feel the spark that would have helped me to decide upon them. Something very important was lacking: the desire to act, to struggle with one's face bare, to assert oneself and, if necessary, to sacrifice everything to the independence of one's ideas. I did not feel that in those two dilettantes of communism. So...

"When Raymond Molinier arrived, a young man of twenty-five, full of plans, of faith, of enthusiasm, of drive, though he might be somewhat adventuristic, and after him Naville, Gerard Rosenthal, the young Van, and all the others, they were the ones I put my confidence in. But their difficult characters and the inevitable struggle of people among themselves did not always make collective work easy. I know it, I know it well. But what about it? Without doubt, the arrival in the French organisation of new and young fighters will cause things to fall into shape..."

Democratic Centralism

Trotsky often stressed organisational problems [in our talks]. He properly attached great importance to these.

If you do not train good, serious administrators at every level of the movement, you will not win even if you are right a thousand times over. What the Bolshevik-Leninists have always lacked—and particularly in France—are organisers, good treasurers,



Trotsky (third from left) arriving at Oslo from France.

accurate accounting, and publications that are readable and well proof-read."

The most serious difference that I had with him, if I dare say so, was over democratic centralism, whose implacably authoritarian conception seemed to me as dangerous as the Social Democratic method, which never permits ordinary branch members to influence the party leadership in decisive fashion...

Trotsky, while strongly insisting that Lenin's Political Bureau applied a "democratic" centralism while Stalin's applied a "bureaucratic" centralism, remembered having come up against this problem at the Second Congress [of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, 1903], which separated him from Lenin for several years.

"Nevertheless," he added, "Lenin was right again. Without a strongly centralised party, we could never have taken power. Centralism means focusing the maximum organisational effort toward the 'goal.' It is the only means of leading millions of people in combat against the possessing classes.

"If we agree with Lenin, that we are in the epoch of imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, it is necessary to have a revolutionary organisation flexible enough to deal with the problems of an underground struggle as well as those of the seizure of power. Hence the necessity of a strongly centralised party, capable of orienting and leading the masses and of conducting the gigantic struggle from which they should emerge victorious. Hence also the need to collectively make a loyal self-criticism at every stage."

He added that the application of centralism should not be schematic but should develop out of the political situation. He cited as an example the Russian Communist Party in 1921, passing from a military and ultracentralised type of organisation required by a civil war to an organisation based on factory cells as a function of the needs of economic reconstruction:

"Between congresses, it was the Central Committee and its Political Bureau that led the party and supervised the rigorous execution at every level of the policy decided by the majority. It was not permissible to return constantly to questions of orientation and thus to violate the execution of the policy decided on by the party."

He also returned often to one of the greatest dangers facing the workers vanguardsectarianism, which exhausts, withers, demoralises, and isolates:

That is what threatens the French section. It



Trotsky: stressed well organised movement essential to realise political program.

was one of the principal reasons that led us to urge our comrades to enter the SPIO as a 'tendency.' The experience has been shown to be a good one, in that it enabled them to work deeply among the masses, to confirm the correctness of their policy, to extend their influence and to consolidate themselves organisationally.

"All his life Lenin fought against sectarian deviations that will and have cut revolutionaries off from mass movements and from a clear understanding of the situation. Several times he had to fight against the 'Old Bolsheviks,' who were capable of nothing more in his absence than trying to make reality contorn to the 'sacred documents.'

Trotsky recalled what had happened in 1905 when the Bolsheviks played only a small role because of the sectarian position they adopted in Lennu's absence, toward the Petrograd Society.

"Theoretical routine, this absence of political and tactical creativity, is no substitute for perspicacity, an ability to size things up at a glance, the flair for 'feeling' a situation while sorting out the main threads and developing an over-all strategy. In a revolutionary and especially an insurrectional period these qualities become decisive."...

Concern for Comrades

Trotsky frequently returned to the need to strengthen the fraternal bonds among the comrades in struggle:

"It is necessary to preserve, encourage, and watch over those bonds," he would repeat. "An experienced worker member represents an inestimable capital for the organisation. It takes years to educate a leader. We therefore should do everything possible to save a member. Don't destroy him if he weakens, but help him to overcome his weakness, to get over his moment of doubt.

"Never forget those who 'fall' by the wayside. Help them to return to the organisation if you have nothing irremediable to reproach them for on the level of revolutionary morality."

When we walked along the mountainside in the evening, it occurred to him to discuss the physical well-being of the members, what today we call the "shape" they are in. He was very concerned about this. He thought about looking out for those who had become exhausted, about conserving the strengths of the weakest people:

"Lenin was always concerned with the health of his collaborators. 'It is necessary to go as far as possible in the combat and the road is long,' he would say."

The internal atmosphere of the organisation worried him. In the small vanguard movements which fight against the stream, internal disputes are often the most severe and heated. After being expelled from the SFIO, the Bolshevik-Leninist Group was divided into many hostile factions:

"If the comrades were to look a little beyond themselves and direct their efforts to outside and practical work, the 'crisis' would resolve itself,' Trotsky said. But it is always necessary to see to it that the atmosphere remains healthy and the internal climate acceptable to everyone. Comrades should work with all their heart and with maximum confidence.

"Building the revolutionary party requires patience and hard work. At any price, the best should not be discouraged, and you should show yourselves capable of working with

everyone. Each person is a lever to be fully utilised to strengthen the party. Lenin knew the art of doing that. After the liveliest, most polemical discussions, he knew how to find the words and the gestures that would soften unfortunate or offensive remarks."

For Trotsky the essential thing in the period ahead consisted of creating an organisational apparatus. Without an apparatus there is no possibility of applying a policy: everything is limited to empty boasts without real weight. The difficulty in great human constructions is the judicious choice of the personality suited to a given function. The art of the organiser consists in accustoming a number of individuals to work together so that each one becomes the complement of the others. An "apparatus" is like an orchestra in which each instrument expresses its own voice in order to blend unobtrusively into the harmony that is thus created.

"Avoid placing members of equal ability and similar temperament on the same work committees," said Trotsky. "They will nullify each other's work and the results counted on will not be obtained.

"Learn how to choose comrades suited for a given task; explain patiently what is expected of them; act with flexibility and tact—that is the way a true leadership is built.

"Leave maximum initiative to the responsible comrades in their own field. If errors are committed, correct them by explaining in a comradely fashion how they are harmful to the party as a whole. Do not take administrative measures except in unusually serious cases. As a general rule everyone should be allowed to advance, develop, and improve.

"Don't lose yourselves in secondary details which conceal the total situation. Do only what you are able to do with the forces at your disposal. Never more, except, of course, in decisive situations."

The Old Man added that the nerves of the comrades must not be strained indefinitely. After hard efforts, one needs to catch one's breath, get one's bearings, restore one's energies, and rest.

At the level of organisational work, one must be methodical and precise, leaving nothing to

"Whatever you do, set yourself an objective, even if very modest, but strive to attain it. Proceed this way in every phase of the organisation. Then you should elaborate a short- or long-term plan, and apply yourself to it without weakening, with an iron hand. This is the only way to move forward and make the whole organisation progress."



Trotsky reading Militant, paper of US

Revolutionary Literature

One morning the courier brought leaflets and an internal bulletin of the French Bolshevik-Leninists. Reading them, Trotsky exhibited impatience and annoyance. Equipped with a red crayon, he crossed out and underlined without stopping, and then be

Your mimeographed bulletins are very bad. It is very annoying to read them. Like your other journals and publications. I ask myself how, with modern machines, you manage to get out documents that may be good politically but are unreadable. Consult experts in this field. I assure that the worker will not make an

I remember my first leaflets, issued by our circle in Odessa. I wrote them in purple ink. hand-printing the letters. They were then transferred to a gelatin short and published in many dozens of copies. We certainly used primitive means, but our leaflets were very and they made their way!"

His strongest criticisms were about our

"A revolutionary paper should address itself primarily and above all to the workers. But your way of concerning and editing La Vertte which was then the paper of the Bolshevikbut not the worker. On the other hand, won

have put out some good issues of Revolution.

"But what is inadmissable and scandalous is to let the papers come out with so many typographical errors and transpositions of type, which give the impression of intolerable and criminal carelessness.

"The paper is the face of the party. In great measure the worker will judge the party on the basis of the paper. Those for whom it is intended are not strongly with you or even your sympathisers. You ought not to repulse anybody with language that is too highbrow, Your occasional reader should not be made to think: These people are way over my head, because then he will no longer buy it.

"Your paper ought to be well laid out, simple, and clear, with slogans that are always understandable. The worker does not have time to read long theoretical articles. He needs You have to write with your heart in order to have a good paper.

"Stop thinking that you are writing for yourselves or your members. For them there are theoretical magazines and internal bulletins. The workers' paper should be lively, also humorous. Workers like to have the powers that be ridiculed and exposed with

"Also make the worker courades in your organisation write in the paper. Help them in a friendly way. You will see that very often the short and simple article of a worker, on a particular fact of capitalist exploitation, is very superior to an article that is academic and erudite. Take Lenin's articles in Provdo as a model. They are simple, lively, readable, appealing as much to the worker in the Putilos plant as to the student in the university."

As I had told him about our financial worries. the problems raised by the regular publication of Lo Verite or Revolution, and everything that concerned factory newspapers, leaflets, and personnel shifts, the Old Man said to me:

"What is well thought out is clearly expressed and ... the means of saying it are easing found. To the degree that you have a clear theoretical vision of things, you will also have the political will to put it into effect. Hyou want strongly to succeed in what you understand elearly, then you will also be equible of

Review



Sebastiano Timpanaro

On Materialism, by Sebastiano Timpanaro. London: New Left Books, 1975, 260 pp

Reprinted from Intercontinental Press, March

foundations, much time and effort are required to put everything back in its proper place. So those Communist thinkers who were jolted loose from Stalinist orthodoxy by the political upleavals of the past two decades have, after casting off their former beliefs, found it difficult to recricut their ideas in accord with

Two contemporary Italian Marxist differephers. Schustiano Timpanaro and Lucio Colletti, have intersened in this painful process of readjustment in Western Europe Their contributions have been translated into English by New Left Review, the London amouthly and its publishing firm which have taken the lead in publicising the views of

heterogeneous band of ideologues, who are linked together and so smuch by common

Timpanaro's Defence **Materialism**

by George Novack

their abundonment of essential elements of dialectical materialism. According to Timpanaro: "the common denominator of all these philosophical pasticles is anti-materialism." (p.

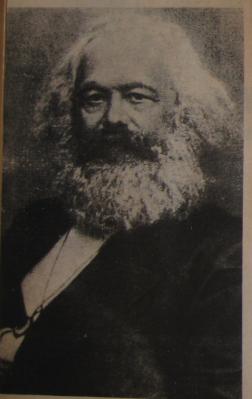
Timpanaro and Colletti are, each in his own way, sharply critical of these aberrations and have set about to correct them. Timpanaro is a classical philologist of international repute and a student of eighteenth and nineteenth century European culture. He has also written a critique of Freud's Psychopathology of Exerday Life. From 1945 to the present he has belonged to a series of left socialist organisations, evidently escaping the ill effects of Stalinism that have mangled the minds of so many of his contemporaries. The emancipated mentality that irradictes his writings enables him to cope more effectively with the complex theoretical problems posed to Marxists since the Second World War.

He is, above all, a stalwart anatomalist. As such he stands i refreshing contend to the borde of fugitives from phillosophical materialism among the Western scinterpretors of Marsion and their East European counterparts. His fidelity to the foundations of scientific socialism is rure enough to merit special commendation.

The essays in his book are a sustained polemic against the more prominent antimaterialists who profess allegiance to Marxism but sacrifice some of its principles in their writings. These include such fig. are as Althusser, the early Lukaes; Korsch; Marcuse, Alfred Schmidt, and other luminaries of the Frankfurt School; and Sartre. In connection with them he takes up the position of Levi-Strauss and Chomsky.

Strauss and Chomsky

He states his own intellectual affinities in this way: "Hence the author's unconcealed sym-



pathy for Eugels, Lenin and Trotsky, who do not receive a very good press these days from the revolutionary left in the West, which prefers to go back to the early Lukaes, Korsch or Rosa Luxemburg (interpreted in a voluntarist sense which does not correspond to her real thought." In 22)

Timpanaro sets his criticism of the current adulterators of Marsist theory in the broad historical context of intellectual development over the past century. Marsism, as the scientific outlook of the revolutionary working class, has had to make its way through a cultural and political terrain occupied by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces and ideas that have exerted unremitting pressures upon its adherents. Consequently, from one generation to the next, the propagators and defenders of dialectical materialism have been obliged to counter attempts to introduce incongruous ideas, derived from alien class sources, into its structure.

The deviators have been most strongly influenced by two opposing trends of bourgeois thought. One has been recoided lism, the other neopositivism. Despite their very different standpoints and methods, they have in common a hostility to madern materialism, as elucidated by the creators of Marxism and their most qualified disciples. Most of the Western Marxists have gone astray by succumbing to certain attractive tenets of one or the other of these types of thought.

Just as Lenin took up the cudgels against empiriocriticism in 1908, so his true followers must nowadays ward off the eneroachments of a comparable eelecticism. They have to conduct a two-front campaign: against a relapse into semi-Hegelianism by exponents of the praxis' school on one side, and against the formalistic structuralists on the other. Timpanaro subjects both of these fashionable currents of thought to searching examination.

Their three-sided controversy revolves around the question: how is the relation between objective reality and social life to be conceived? The mechanical materialists who espouse behaviorism or biologism try to shar over or obliterate the qualitative distinction between animal and human behavior. The praxologists, on the other hund, assert or imply that the 'second nature,' the artificial environment created by humanity in the historical development of social life, has entirely absorbed primordial nature into itself. They thereby head toward some form of a voluntaristic spiritualism.

Timpanaro steers clear of both errors. He writes:to reduce man to what is specific about him with respect to other animals is just

nature over 'mind.' or if you like, of the ohysical level over the biological level, and of chronological priority (the very long time which supervened before life appeared on earth, and between the origin of life and the origin of man), and in the sense of the conditioning which nature still exercises on man will continue to exercise at least for the foreseeable future. Cognitively, therefore, the materialist maintains that experience reality by a subject (however such production deny or evade the element of passivity in experience; the external situation which we do by making it a mere negative moment in the activity of the subject, or by making both the subject and the object mere moments, distinguishable only in abstraction, of a single effective reality consituted by experience." (p 34) (Objectivity would be a better term than passivity for designating the active role of the external world in human experience -G.N.)

The praxis theoreticians, from the Lukacs of Historn and Class Consciousness to Gramsci and Sartre, commit the unpardonable transgression of shuffling away the existence of nature independent of humanity by insisting that the object is inseparable from the subject. However, humanity's action and effect upon nature does not eliminate the priority of nature's action and effect upon humanity. For all materialists, pre-Marxist and Marxist alike, the objective world unted-stee humanity and underhes its history. Any indecisiveness on this cardinal proposition inexorably pulls the wobblers toward antimaterialist conclusions of one sort or another.

Such a breakaway from the first premise of materialism is the impetus behind the attacks upon the philosophical traditions upheld by Engels, Plekhanov, and Lenin. The negative evaluations made of Engels by various thinkers from Lukaes to Colletti have a logical outcome. It is no matter of chance. Timpanaro says, that those who have embarked on a 'Marxism without Engels have arrived, coherently enough, at a Marxism without Marx.' (p. 132) The theoretical views of the cocreators of a descript of materials are seen fund, welded

together that the positions of the one cannot be

disayowed without discarding those of the

other

One line of argument invoked by the praxisand pragmatic indicters of Engels is that Marxism is purely and simply a method of inquiry that would retain its value and validity regardless of the sum and substance of its specific doctrines. It is, so to speak, a kind of intellectual activity, a technique of criticism, detachable from the body of its principles and conclusions. This approach fails to distinguish. between what is absolutely essential to a particular philosophy and what is dispensable and episodic in its expressions. To reject the primacy of nature in particular, and objective conditions in general, is to cut the heart out of Marxist philosophy. Timpanaro protests against reducing Marxism to a revolutionary sociology by purging it of all aspects of a general conception of reality.

"Marxism, as the scientific outlook of the revolutionary working class, has had to make its way through a cultural and political terrain occupied by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces and ideas that have exerted unremitting pressures upon its adherents. Consequently, from one generation to the next, the propagators and defenders of dialectical materialism have been obliged to counter attempts to introduce incongruous ideas, derived from alien class sources, into its structure."

Such an abridgement enables its practitioners to discard whatever elements of dialectical materialism are uncongenial to them or unsuited to their purposes. Timpanaro emphasises that scientific socialism can no more be reduced to its methodology alone than can science in general. Its adherents must attend to the results of its researches which reflect objective robities, since its verified conclusions about the nature of things exist in organic unity with its postulates and procedures.

As a rule the antimaterialists are repelled by science, which some even regard as a form of "bourgeois false objectivity", just as existentialists dismiss it as an unauthentic perversion of real being. Timpanaro scorns such trationalism as obscurantist. He asserts the

need for a philosophy that is a vision of the world based on the results of the sciences. He is keenly aware that Marxism must keep in step with all advances of the natural and social sciences and integrate their acquisitions of knowledge into its system—without, however, forsaking its own dialectical and materialist standpoint.

While nature, and humanity as a biological being, can be treated as constants in respect to the more rapid transformations of society, this does not negate humankind's dependence on nature and its ever-present activity. To deny this is to give a finger to the idealists and subjectivists. "To maintain that, since the 'biological' is always presented to us as mediated by the 'social,' the 'biological' is nothing and la 'social' everything, would once again be idealist sophistry." Timpanaro points out. "If we make it ours, how are we to defend ourselves from those who will in turn maintain that, since all reality (including economic and social remity) is knowable only through language (or through the thinking mind), language (or the hinking mind) is the sole reality, and all the rest is abstraction?" (p

Timpanaro evaluates the impact of structuralism, with its of ending of linguistics, psychoanalysis, and anetaphysical idealism, upon Marxism as perspicaciously as he refutes attempts to sever historical materialism from its roots in physical are piological phenomena. His extensive disc soon article on "Structuralism and Its Successors" is the most concise and cogenitization of this antimaterialist and unhistorical methodology by a Marxist scholar.

As a philologist by crofession, Timpanaro is especially qualified to discuss the achievements and slactcomings of the diverse tendencies in the devolopment of linguistics as an autonomous his rical science during the nineteenth and twee eth centuries. He pays tribute to the merits while recognising the ambiguities of the celebrated Swiss linguist Saussure, who introduced the sharp distinctions between speech and language and between synchrony and diachrony that form the theoretical pillars of the structural method. However, he absolves Saussure himself from the rigid mathematical-Platonist idealism of his disciples in this field who have subordinated the changing empirical data of language to the system of abstract concepts derived from or imposed upon it. What were flexible dichotomies in Saussure's thought have hardened into a one-sided system of timeless. polarities in the more formalist currents of structural linguistics. Timpanaro insists that while language functions synchronically it evolves diachronically. These two interactive aspects cannot be separated from or counterposed to each other in the study of language. He holds that there is "a great ideological distance between Marxism and structural languistics." (p. 169)

Timpanaro praises the noted linguist Noan stands and crusades for civil liberties at home and abroad. And he acknowledges the worth of his researches in transformational grammar. At the same time he consures the MIT professor for reverting to the device of "innate ideas" (inherent structures of the mind) as the source of language. This kind of explanation was long ago discredited by empiricism and is by now too antiquated even for bourgeois thought, he ence be Cart sian philosophy is anticropirical, antimaterialistic, and nonrevolutionary. Its dualism introduces a hiatus between the human and other animals that no intermediate steps can bridge. Chomsky's effort to overcome this gap by turning innate ideas into hereditary predispositions "wavers between an antediluvian spiritualism and a genuinely "vulgar materialism...." (p 208)

"Althusser's antipathy to dialectics strikes at the historical-mindedness that is essential to scientific socialism. The distortion of Marxism resides in his structuralist procedure of analysing capitalism, which is a transitory and contradictory socioeconomic formation undergoing continual change, in a purely synchronic and static manner, whereas Marx sought to explain its laws of motion and the dynamics of its development from birth to death."

In any case, Chomsky does not claim to be a Marstel, he is a libertarian. Timpanaro draws a clear line between the scientific gains made by the leading structural linguists in their specialty, from Saussure to Chomsky, and their French extralinguistic imitators who have extrapolated their conceptions in an illegitimate manner. He reserves the most scathing criticism for 'that melange of linguistics, ethnology and psychoanaly six which began to take shape in French culture during the nineteen fifties and sixtes, and which has increasingly shown, in the works of



Louis Althusser

Levi-Strauss, Foucault and Lacan, an ambition to elevate itself to the status of philosophy, of a 'science of man in general.'" (p 171) He charges them with charlatanry.

Though Levi-Strauss rules like an emperor over Western anthropology today, Timpanaro reveals the shoddiness of the theoretical garments he sports. While Levi-Strauss tips his hat in the direction of Marxism, his method of investigation and exposition turns historical materialism on its head. It is a primary postulate of Marxism that social being deternines social consciousness; Levi-Strauss makes out social his to be a product of the collective consciousness, albeit a special sort of hidden unconscious, and invariant universal mind.

His major work, apart from his later analysis of myths, is *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. This is built around the thesis that the most primitive and fundamental form of kinship groupings comes from the reciprocal exchange of women by men to cement social solidarity. This explanation takes for granted the predominant role of the male sex in

Levi strains's male bias is woven into a highly idealistic method of a procedure. It is of course necessary to search for the elementary forms of things, as physicists have looked for atoms and nuclear particles and biologists for genes. Similarly, Marx singled out the commodity form as the nuclear unit of capitalist relations. However, complex and multifarious phenomena can be reduced to the essential structural elements that underlie and cause them along two different paths that give very different results.

One relates surface appearances to real though unevident components and forces, as chemists reduce molecular components to combinations of elements. The other way is to combinations of elements. The other way is to construe the outward show of events as the incarnation of universals that are in principle unverifiable by empirical means. The first is a genuinely scientific and materialistic practice; the second method gravitates toward Platonic idealism.

Thus Levi-Strauss attributes the basic unit of kinship he claims to have discovered to invariant structures ingrained in the human mind, which has a propensity to construct logical categories by means of binary contrast. These polarities are responsible for the forms of reciprocity found in primitive society. His structures emanate not from the material conditions of savage life but from mental predispositions and universal logical categories. Like Chomsky, Levi-Strauss ultimately relies upon the untenable doctrine of innate ideas for the explanation of language and other social phenomena.

The notions of the linguistic structuralists and Levi-Strauss have heavily influenced the French Communist philosopher Althusser, of whom Timpanaro has a low opinion. "... his terminological acquisitions were far more numerous than his actual conceptual advances," he says. (p 193) And his structuralism "emerges most prominently in his concept of science (anti-empiricist ...), in his low estimation of diachrony, and in his expulsion of man from the human sciences." (p 193)

Althusser's antipathy to dialectics strikes at the historical-mindedness that is essential to scientific socialism. The distortion of Marxism resides in his structuralist procedure of analysing capitalism, which is a transitory and contradictory socioeconomic formation undergoing continual change, in a purely synchronic and static manner, whereas Marx sought to explain its laws of motion and the dynamics of its development from birth to dooth.

Timpanaro does not touch upon Althusser's peculiar conception of dialectical materialism as the theory of successive stages in the production of scientific thought. While Marxist philosophy aims to base itself upon a strictly scientific explanation of the changing world, it



Frederick Engels

has its own specific content and orientation that transcends the limits of the specialised sciences and answers questions about the nature of reality and its knowability beyond their terms of reference. Marxism propounds not only a theory of knowledge but a theory of being. The substance of its philosophy comprises the most general laws of the development of nature, society, and thought and its method of inquiry is guided by them. Althusser's definition severs the science of thinking and the thinking of science from the study of the nature of reality.

The Western Marxists can be classified into two camps: the champions of Thumanism and the advocates of "scientism" in France today Sartie exemplifies the first and Althausser the second. However much they contend with one another, they represent equally one-sided deformations of socialist theory. Marxism is both humanistic and scientific; it does not recognise any insurmountable opposition between human activities and aspirations and the researches into reality that are indispensable to their realisation.

Timpanaro judges the Hawed ideas of many reigning idols among the left intellectuals by strict Marxist standards. Any one of his essays is worth dozens of the executed treatises rolling from the academic presses on Sartre, Adorno, and the like. Nonetheless several of the ideas he

advances seem open to question. While stannelly upholding one the the two main pillars of the Marxist world view, its materialist foundation, he displays a more ambiguous attitude toward its dialectical conception of reality. In defending Engels against Colletti's unfounded criticism, for example, he states: "The intrinsically idealist character of the dialectic was not clearly recognised by either of them [Mary and Engels]." (p 89) More specifically, he recommends that "the Hegelian residues in Dialectics of Nature" (p 132) be screened out. although he acknowledges the importance of the attempt to unite the natural with the social. He proposes that the heritage of Marxism be updated and reformulated in more precisescientific concepts.

Marxists have to tread a narrow line between assimilating the valid achievements of modern science and becoming swamped by some unassimilable ideology that exploits them. It is unclear from Timpanaro's remarks whether he is simply urging that Marxist. thought keep abreast of all major advances in science and knowledge, to which no exception can be taken, or whether he seeks to narrow the scope of dialectics and deny that its laws apply to natural phenomena. His assertion that the dialectic is essentially idealistic conflicts with the off-stated opinion of Mary and Engels that the dialectical conception of reality has historically taken two very different philosophical forms and that its materialist version is not only compatible with but necessary to a fully scientific interpretation of the universal laws of development.

The rigid antifliesis between nature and a changing human history, which even Hegel sharted, was transcended when Lyell. Darwin, and others historicised the miderstanding of nature in the nineteenth cestury. Thereupon the question was posed what have and categories are operative in the messant movement and transfortunations of the universethat are reflected in the mind and can be formulated in logical terms! Macs and Engels alike agreed that only the layer of idadectical development, materialistically understood, car satisfy this demand of modern scientific thought. Others ise it is not possible to arrive at a unified and integrated world outlook with its proper logic. When Timpanaro says that "attempts to salvage a materialist failectic are of rather doubtful atility in relation to the tasks facing Marxists today" (p 129n), he is making unwarranted concessions to the standpoints of Aldinesser and Colletti on this controversial

Further, in the area of historical materialism. Timpanaro retreats too much before the attacks of the Gramscians in the dispute over the relationship between the material basis of society and its superstructure. This "is still largely an open question within Marxism," he says. (p 113) Again it is uncertain what this remark is intended to imply. When the mtideterminists refer to the unsettled relation between the base and superstructure, they mean that there are no coercive laws of socioeconomic development, and the generalisation that the mode of production of he means of life fundamentally shapes and limits all other social-cultural phenomena and processes has no categorical character. Since l'impanaro obviously would not go along with this, it is difficult to tell what to his mind is in principle left indeterminate in regard to this

Apart from considerations of abstract analysis, one concrete way of refuting unjustifiable complaints about the alleged doctrinaire, one-sided, and mechanical character of the method expounded by Engels is to refer to the best productions of the most qualified practitioners of historical materialism extending from Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparie to Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution." By their fruits shall ye know what the method really is and can accomplish in skallful hands.

In regard to Trotsky's masterwork of historiography we should challenge the critics what essential aspects of that world-transforming event were ignored or slighted? What mainsprings of its development from the international framework to its national background were left unexplained? Was the role of ideas or the influence of the individual ommutted? What other work is superior to its insights into the operations of twentieth century history?

Troisky had something else to his credit. In his History of the Russian Recolution, he employed the same Marxist method in analysin; the actual course of events after the fact as he shall in predicting the main line of their developme its too band through his theory of permanent revolution. What historian of our time has harmonised theory and practice in so decisive a fashion? Agnosticism about the correctness of historical materialism can be dispelled and its scientific adequacy weighed in the light of such literary works and political deeds.

Timpanaro is suspicious of any embrace of humanism, which he attributes to an aversion to the theories of technological conformity. He opposes the humanists in too sweeping a manner by identifying all expressions of the humanistic outlook with its nonscientific and petty-bourgeois versions. He thus falls in behind the secturian attitudes of the Maoists and Althusser toward the humanistic element in Marxism.

"To reject the primacy of nature in particular, and ojective conditions in general, is to cut the heart out of Marxist philosophy. Timpanaro protests against reducing Marxism to a revolutionary sociology by purging it of all aspects of a general conception of reality."

It is as wrong to condemn humanism en bloc and surrender its designation and valid content to the adversaries of Marxism as it is to hand over democracy per se to these forces because of their deceitful abuse of the term. The revolutionary materialism of scientific socialism has to realise the fullest and finest promises of a genuine humanism. This viewpoint has been formulated as follows in my book on Humanism and Socialism: "Scientific socialism is retrospectively humanistic because it views humanityas the author and re-creator of itself without assistance from any supernatural being. It is presently humanistic because the movement for a better world it speaks for is the only one capable of lifting humanity out of poverty and inequality and safeguarding its further existence. It is prospectively humanistic in the highest sense because it aims to eradicate all the oppressive institutions and alienating relations bound up with class society, which have prevented the bulk of humankind from fulfilling its potential for creative practice." (p 123)

Timpanaro has nothing to do with the ultraleft stopidities of Maoist-influenced theorists like Bettelheim, Sweezy, and Nicolaus who regard the Soviet Union as a capitalist economy and an imperialist state. He explicitly condemns the "typically Stalinist" (p

24) techniques of Maoist domestic policy (the cult of the individual, the suppression of dissident views, and the accusations of being "capitalist-roaders" hurled at Mao's former associates in the leadership).

At the same time he appears overindulgent toward the Peking regime. He says that because of its reactionary immobility, Moscow no longer constitutes a point of reference for the revolutionary forces of the world. While this is correct, he claims that in a certain measure the People's Republic does constitute such a point of reference, because "China is a reality still in movement" (p 23) and, despite the authoritarianism at the top, Mao's regime desired "to create a communist democracy at the base." Possibly Peking's recent alignment with the most bellicose imperialist forces in the West would lead him to revise this judgement.

Timpanaro believes that Marxism remains underdeveloped in certain areas, and he discusses three of its supposed deficiencies. One concerns the materialist theory of the role of the individual in history, a subject that has been thrust to the fore by the combined impact of technological conformism under capitalism and the totalitarian steamroller of Stalinism. This problem has been treated by the French writer Lucien Seve in Marxism and the Theory of Personality and by the Polish philosopher Adam Schaff in Marxism and the Human Individual. Timpanaro decries the tendency to subordinate the ever-present biological constitution of humankind to the social aspects of the human condition in such a way as to compromise materialism.

He suggests two further improvements in Marxism with pleas for a larger place for hedonism and pessimism. Both proposals seem of dubious value.

He maintains that the pleasure-giving experiences and enjoyment of life that should accompany a materialist outlook have been scanted, not only by the distorters of Marxism, but by its founders. It is indubitable that, because of their backwardnesses and bureaucratic rulerships, all the postcapitalist regimes to date have frowned upon hedonism in principle and in practice (except for their own circles). They are repressive on many levels. What needless suffering is caused by the restrictive sexual code imposed upon the Chinese youth today and how little it accords with democracy down below?

The teachings of Marx and Engels can scarcely be held liable for that. The early learned from direct experience and from Rousseau. Diderot, Fourier, and others the making consequences of religious morality and the positive good in satisfying the natural needs.

of human beings, their instinctual drives, emotional urges, and need of love. Marxism is opposed to asceticism as a pattern of moral life. It envisages the cultured fulfillment of the needs of every individual, whether these are sexual, gustatory, or sportive. It aims to aboilsh class relations because, among other evils, their repressive domination inhibits or prevents the satisfaction of the imperious desires and demands of normal human beings. The conditions of life under socialism will foster the rounded development of each person's potential, from biological impulses to intellectual, artistic, and inventive capacities.

Despite this historical perspective, Timpanaro urges contemporary Marxists to "reconsider an entire tradition of hedonistmaterialist thought which culminates in Leopardi." (p 217)

Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837), the tormented Italian philosophical poet, himself bemoaned "the inevitable unhappiness of all mortals" and complained that "Tam nothing in this globe, which is nothing in the world." He walled to liberate humanity by demolishing its illusions.

Marsism, in contrast to Christianity or existentialism, is an optimistic credo based upon the vista of a qualitatively accelerated and illimitable progress once the impediments of class society and the inadequate powers of production are removed. Is it really necessary to inject a dose of pessimism into its outlook as an inoculation against a too facile optimism or a superficial conception of progress?

Apparently Timpanaro's brief for the importation of pessimism does not have a socialpolitical motivation. He is not defeatist in respect to the proletariat's capacity to triumph over capitalism and go forward to create egalitarian social relations. His pessimism has not a short-term but a long-range basis. He doubts the possibility of overcoming the ills that people are naturally heir to, such as sickness, death, disappointment in love, frustrated ambitions.

Futurology is a nascent offshoot of social science and the problem Timpanaro poses comes under its jurisdiction. To what extent can the limitations nature imposes on us be overcome in the far future? Thomas Huxley asked this same question in the last century: "What are the limits of the powers of man over mature and nature over man?"

Presuming the survival of our species and establishment of a planned world economy, it would indeed be foollandy at the present state of our knowledge and powers to say what will be insurmountable for posterity. The soarins of our imaginations is as historically restricted. as more physical flights. Aristotle, the greatest mind of antiquity, believed that civilised peoples could not get along without social servitude. Most Americans today consider the coming of socialism to their country, which we envisage as a realistic prospect, to be an absurd eventuality.

The fantasics of one generation, like landing on the moon, may become the realities of the next. Most of the inventions that have revolutionised technology in the twentieth century were not only unattainable but unimaginable a hundred years ago. The search for the presence of life on distant planets, which was formerly the province of science fiction, is now pursued by sober government agencies. The gene, the building unit of the cell, which was not thought of until this century, has just been completely synthesised—a triumphant vindication of the materialist conception of living organisms that Timpanaro espouses.

"It is as wrong to condemn humanism en bloc and surrender its designation and valid content to the adversaries of Marxism as it is to hand over democracy per se to these forces because of their deceitful abuse of the term. The revolutionary materialism of scientific socialism has to realise the finest and fullest promises of a genuine humanism."

This indicates that the biological characteristics and capacities of human beings are no more fixed and finalised than their social behavior and cultural traits. Genetics can become as potent an instrumentality of change as nuclear physics, holding out the same tremendous promise—and perils. Scientific medicine and knowledge of psychic disorders are still in their infancy.

Of course, a realistic revolutionist must face the facts as they are and not indulge in cheap optimism about a smooth, uninterrupted pathway of progress without setbacks, detours, and disasters. However, this is scarcely a temptation for generations that have gone through two world wars, fascism, the terrible retrogression of Stalinism, the counterrevolutionary resistance of monopoly capitalism, and the defaults of the leaderships of the major working-class parties. The evolution of the Soviet Union shows what difficult and unexpected pitfalls can beset the world socialist movement.

Mars and Engels stressed the contradictory nature of all progress and the price that must be paid for every historical advance. Certainly twentieth-century experience has confirmed that truth to the hilt. The course of development is bound to be contradictory all along the

Current conditions provide more than enough reasons for pessimism and defeatism. The progressive outlook of the revolutionary proletariat bends the stick in the opposite direction. Marxists are the partisans of the victory not only of the working masses over all exploiters and bureaucrats but of associated humanity over further obstacles, near and far.

The existentialists, infected with the sense of fatalism pervading bourgeois circles, allege that the human situation on earth is inherently senseless and that all collective and individual projects end in failure and disappointment. Marxists take exception to any such philosophy of gloom and doom. The present state of affairs as well as our previous history can be rationally explained and a way out of our agonising predicaments be shown. What humanity unconsciously created can be consciously reconstructed to come closer to satisfying our needs and aspirations.

Our forerunners refused to submit to nature's tyranny, and we have far less reason to do so. Having overcome the sources of social oppression, our socialist successors will tackle with renewed vigor and success such causes of nature's oppression as sickness and premature death.

Timpanaro is skeptical about the long-run possibilities of alleviating and eradicating the pains of these biological afflictions. His pessimism flows from a tacit assumption that the biological make-up and destiny of our species will forever remain the same and nothing can be done about it.

Since humans are not immortal, nature wins out over all individuals in the end. As Leopardi wrote in his Dialogue Between Nature and an Icelander: "The life of the universe is a perpetual circle of production and destruction, each of which is linked to the other in such a way that each constantly serves the other." But humans do not passively submit to this circular process, they seek to gain more and more control over it for their own purposes.

We could append the following argument to the Leopardian dialogue between the two antagonists.

Nature: "Vain creature! You can command me only by obeying me." Humanity: "To be sure, but we have the better part of the burgain. We shall continue to trick you and turn you into an obedient servant through science and technology. We'll see whether blind nature or conscious collective humanity gets the upper hand. Up to now, despite everything, we've come a long way from the primate condition. That's not valugiorious boasting but the plain truth. And our learness into the future has barrely begun!

Natural selection favors successful reproduction of the plant or animal population and not necessarily of any or all particular individuals within it. Until now social selection has largely operated in a similar naturalhistorical manner. It has favored the most productive and thereby the most amply reproductive groupings. Individuals have been cruelly treated and sacrificed as history has proceeded at their expense. With the raising up and leveling out of the powers of production of the entire global population made possible by socialism, this animal-like mode of development can be reduced and eliminated so that every person will have an equal chance and the least favored be given the utmost aid to overcome their handicans.

Tunpanaro's proposed philosophical pessinism is closer in spuri to existentialism than to the perspectives of modern materialism. It is out of phase with the psychology and outlook of an ascending class which has the mission of remaking the world and changing the course of human development.

Have taken up these more debatable themes in Timpanaro's book at some length because in the main its positions are so convincing and correct. This collection of essays advardely altitude the goal Timpanaro set himself of being a stimulus to rethinking Marvism in the light of everything new that has occurred since W orld War II in the capitable world, in Chima, and elsewhere, Every page of his book to stiles that the critical spirit of genuine Marvism is very much alive in the Indian left.

January 26, 1977

Glossary

Althurser, Limis (1948) is professor of philosophy at Ecole Normale Superiorms in Paris and member of French Communical Paris from the Bibs. Reports both disherence and humanism, seeking to adapt May some to the artists of the control of the bibs of the control of the bibs of the control of the bibs of th

existing parts and not as an evolutionary process containing intrinsically contradictory forces. Leans toward Maoisin.

behaviorism—doctrine that psychological science can be reduced to measurable physical behavior of an organism.

biologism—belief that social behavior can be explained primarily by biological conditioning and causes.

Cartesianism—philosophical school founded by Rene Descartes (1596-1650); held that only mind was knowable while qualities of matter remained unveriliable. Stressed abstract reason based on model of mathematical thought.

Chomsky, Noam (1928-)—American Inguist and radical social activist. Developed system of transformational grammar (see entry) in his book Syntactic Structures (1957). Also known for his theory that underlying logical structure of language stems from biological patterns of perception innate in the brain.

diachrony—analysis of an object through examination of change over time.

dialectical materialism—philosophical world view of Marx and Engels, encompassing both nature and society. Materialist in that it postulates the priority of matter as underlying cause and determinant of society and mind; dialectical in that it postulates study of matter in motion and transformation by way of contradiction from one form or state to another.

dualism—philosophical view that world is composed of two mutually exclusive types of phenomena mand and matter, neither of which is cause or basis of the other.

empiricism—philosophical school founded by John Locke (1632-1704) standing midway between materialism and sdealism. Holds that all knowledge originates in experience. Emphilosom generally rejects supernatural explanations of physiotismus, but its agnosticism as to control of switching (experience) makes a hostile to general theories of canadion.

empiriscriticism—philosophical school founded by physicist Erint Much (1838-1916) that sought for solure all issues feetige to anole so of physical security.

existentialism—a humanistic and proximitate philosophy that helds human existence cannot be understood through either tensor or material canazion. Convenes of material canazion Convenes of material and secrets as dominated by actional and chance and streams as or self to recapture humanitism them. Fugularised in the case the century by through platescenter for the content continue by the neb platescenter for the content of the content of

Frankfurt School gregorier name for he strate of Social E-search founded in

Frankfurt, Germany, in 1923. Developed a Hegelian form of Marxism stressing dialectics, psychology, and debumanising effects of hourgeois mass culture. Rejected application of dialectics to nature, and downgraded importance of materialism and economic relations in society. Sought to substitute reason and revolutionary will for material interests and class struggle as motors of social change. Prominent members included Max-Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and Erich Fromu.

Gramsci, Antonio (1591-1937)—a founder and central leader of Italian Communist Party until his arrest by Mussolini in 1926. Wrote voluminouslyuntil his death in prison, developing a subjective Marxism emphasising the role of praxis (see entry), changing of mass consciousness through training of protestrain intellectuals, creation of protestrain culture to contend with bourgeois culture, and organisation of workers committees and councils as a courtal tactic of class struggle.

Hegelianism—within Marxist movement, a current that seeks to minimise or discard Marx's materialism and to place human reason and activity at centre of its analysis of society in the manner of pre-Marxist Young Hegelians. Prominent representatives of this tendency include the young Georg Lukacs, Karl Korsch, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse.

historical materialism—the application of dialectical materialist method to study of the development of society. Holds that ideas and institutions are the product of a definite material and technological base and that the motive force of historical change, after the appearance of governments, is struggle of contending classes with opposed material interests.

historicity—general view that societies can be understood only as product of definite laws of historical development and should be studied from standpoint of process of change over time. leading into the future. (This is contrasted with view that societies should be seen as a fixed structure or organism in which only the relation of parts to the whole need be considered.) The evolutionary outlook of Marsiam places it aguardy in the historicist cause.

idealism—in philosophy, the view that mind, spirit, or God is dominant feature of reality and that matter is either caused by these spiritual feature or that its nature is inherently attaction able.

Kersch, Karl (1971-1991)—a founder, with Georg Lukacs, of Hepdian current in twentieth-century Marxism, stressing revolutionary will over objective conditions. Member of German Communist Party until 1926. Best known for his book Marxism and Philosophy (1923). In eather in United States after 1936. Korsch renounced Marxism.

Levi-Strauss, Claude (1908-)—a founder of structuralist school of anthropology and director of studies at the Eorde pratique des hautes etudes in Paris. Rejected historical and evolutionary approach to study of social development, resting his analysis on function of existing structures and role of psychological factors, particularly in formation of primitive myths.

Lukaes. Georg (1885-1971).—Hungarian Communist philosopher, beet known for his book History and Class Consciousness (1923). Principal originator of Hegelian current in twentieth-century. Marxism, stressing revolutionary will over objective conditions. The young Lukaes rejected dialectical materialism as a general theory of reality, while in social analysis he placed major emphasis on alienation and cultural phenomena at the expresse of productive relations as determinants of social change. Renounced his views in 1923 and conformed to Stalioism. In his later years became a dissident in Stalinist circles in Hungary and returned partially to orthodox Marxist nositions.

Marcuse, Herbert (1988—)—German Marcust philosopher and long-time staff member of Frankfurt School (1933-49), Best known for his book One-Dimensional Man (1964) written after his break with Frankfurt School when he moved to incorporate elements of anarchism and existentialism with his previous views. An ideologue of the "New Left" in 1900s.

materialism—philosophically, view that all of reality is composed of agatter in motion, including mind, which is product of the physical brain. Materialism rejects all supernatural explanations of phenomena. In contrast to voiger materialism, Maraium does not reduce phenomena to mechanical motion but postulates distanct sets of laws for matter, society, and thought it holds, severtheless, that meture and matter in general have causation priority in explaining development of society and thought.

metagleysies—philosophical system or method based on deducing characteristics of nature or phenomena from a set of previously, hypotheses no exilied by empirical fact and not subject to instorical change.

abject—something that exists independently of mind, as the world of nature or society in relation to the will of its individual members. Platonic idention—after the Greek philosopher Plato (427?-347 BC), an idealist school that holds that material phenomena are the reflection of eternally existing nonmaterial forms and qualities (ideas) that predate the material universe and whose combinations make up the perceptions available to the senses.

positivism—philosophical school founded by Auguste Comte (1798-1857), an offshoot of empiricism, which holds that the only valid knowledge is "positive," ie, immediately empirically verifiable. Comte envisaged discovery of laws of social development based on projecting existing trends mechanically into the future. His followers, the neopositivists, reject any general social theories or "value judgements" beyond simple description of actual events and social institutions.

praxis—term popularised by Hegelianised Marxists to designate social action based on and integrated with theoretical understanding. As generally used, term implies ability of "revolutionary will" to substitute for a lack of propitious objective opportunities.

Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905-)—best-known twentieth century philosopher of nonreligious existentialism (see entry). Proposed doctrine of personal responsibility for human action in a universe without purpose. Originally considered existentialism and Marxism incompatible, but in his Critique of Dialectical Reason (1960) sought to reconcile the two world views.

scientism—belief that methods of natural sciences are directly applicable to solution of social and philosophical problems.

Schmidt, Alfred (1931-) succeeded

Theordor Adorno in 1971 as director of Institute of Social Research in Franklint, Germany the Franklint School), Author of The Concept of Nature in Marx (English edition, 1972), a polemic against position that laws of nature are dialectical.

spiritualism—doctrine that spirit and not matter is actual substructure of perceivable universe.

structuralism —view that in social analysis the question of historical evolution is greatly subordinate to examination of existing interrelationship between various institutions and social structures.

structural linguistics—tendency in language analysis founded by Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) that rejected study of evolutionary origins and development of language in favor of examination of different elements within a given linguistic system.

subject—philosphically, that which is capable of conscious thought or action, as contrasted to object (see entry).

synchrony—concern with events at a given time only, ignoring their historical development.

transformational grammar—a system in linguistics developed by Noam Chomsky (1928—) that seeks to extract from surface patterns of speech the underlying logical structures of language, and to generate mathematical rules that can describe transformations of logical "deep structures" into varied surface speech forms.

voluntarism—view that human will is dominant factor in social change.

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Nationalism in Australian Literature

by Gordon Adler

"Ben Hall Rides Again in Carcoar." Thus reads the headline of an article in the March 1977 issue of the new cultural magazine The Independent Australian. devoted to the promotion of Australian national culture.

This revival of interest in the exploits of the folk-heroes of the colonial era is not accidental, nor is it solely the preoccupation of history scholars. It is part of a broader campaign to rally support for Australian independence on the theory that Australian culture, Australian living standards and Australian independence are under threat from foreign interests, and that all social classes have an interest in defending the national state against these foreign imperialist forces, specifically United States-based multinational corporations. (The most vociferous Maoist-inspired Australian nationalists see the Soviet Union as an even greater threat.)

Since the dismissal of the Whitlam Labor government on November 11, 1975, the promoters of this "Australian independence" movement have been particularly active, drawing on all the symbols of Australian mythology to advance their aims. In their view, the fight against foreign domination is at the centre of all political struggles in Australia today, and the defence of Australian culture is seen as an integral part of that fight. Hence the romotion, of all the emblems of Australian

culture from the koala bear to the stump-jump plough. The most hallowed of all these icons is the dark blue and white flag with the southern cross, first raised on the goldfields of Ballarat in the Eureka insurrection of 1854.

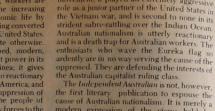
In the context of this analysis of Australian political life the adventures of the bushrangers Ben Hall, Ned Kelly, John Gilbert and others assume a special significance. They are seen as having a part in the creation of an Australian tradition of democracy, independence, and rebellion against tyranny. The Eureka stockade is seen as an event of decisive importance in the creation of this tradition.

What are the origins of Australian nationalism? Did it, at any time, have a progressive character? Is there an Australian tradition? What is the historical significance of the literary work of nationalist poets such as Henry Lawson, Joseph Furphy, and Bernard O'Dowd? What part, if any, did the Eureka stockade have in the development of the Australian labor movement?

Australian nationalism

For the champions of Australian independence the progressive character of Australian nationalism is beyond dispute. According to this schema Australian industry is relatively backward, it is unable to compete effectively with foreign capital, workers are being laid off because of the increasing domination of Australian economic life by foreign interests. Australian is being converted rapidly into a neo-colony of the United States.

The truth is, of course, quite otherwise. Australia is a highly developed, modern, capitalist state. It is an imperialist power in its own right. It exploits New Guinea; it gives material and political assistance to reactionary regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America; and it acts as an accomplice in the suppression of the independence struggle of the people of East Timor. Australia sent military forces to the assistance of US imperialism in Korea; it helped to suppress the Malayan independence



the first literary publication to espouse the cause of Australian nationalism. It is merely a modern expression of the views held by representatives of Australian Stalinism and its sympathisers during the decades of the

movement; it played an extremely aggressive

nincteen thirties, forties and fifties.

According to Stalinist theory the ruling class becomes divided in priods of social crisis. splitting into a national-democratic, progressive wing and a more aggressive imperialist wing. The progressive section is supposed to lead the struggle for the preservation of the national culture, democratic rights, and independence from foreign domination. The working class has to abandon or postpone its socialist goals in these times in order to form an alliance with this "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, to preserve "democracy" in the face of the grave menace of fascism.

This gobbledegook has, of course, absolutely nothing in common with Marxism. Historical experience, from the time of the French Revolution of 1789, the Paris Commune of 1971, to the Russian Revolution, has shown that the interests of the broad masses can be realised only through the pursuit of revolutionary aims. The Australian Stalinists, like their original mentors in the Kremlin, used this theory simply as a figleaf to conceal their class collaboration and surrender to the bosses.

The Communist Party to Australia, during the Second World War, was amongst the most servile of the social-patriots, giving unreserved support to the imperialist aims of the Australian ruling class, and pledging to do its utmost to curtail strikes for the duration of the war.

Socialist realism

After the war, the CPA assumed the mantle of defender of Australian cultural traditions, which became grossly distorted and exaggerated in the service of the opportunist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow. The Australasian Book Society was established to promote these aims, as was also the literary magazine Overland, which had on its masthead the words borrowed from Joseph Furphy "Temper democatic, bias Australian!"

Along with this nationalist theme the CPA ultural front organisations ABS and the Realist Writers' Groups put into practice the grotesque Stalinst theory of "socialist realism" which falsified reality and proved to be the deadly enemy of both socialism and art.

According to the theory of socialist realism applied to Australia, a sharp line could be drawn between the progressive writers, those inspired by the national-democratic heritage and the reactionary writers, those who rejected these Australian traditions, those who secretly

sympathised with fascism.

Henry Lawson and the poets Bernard O'Dowd and Banjo Paterson were considered to epitomise all that was best in the nationaldemocratic tradition. Socialists, of course, quite rightly lay claim to the heritage of all that is humane and beautiful in the art and literature of the past, whether it is the product of the bourgeois era, or of pre-capitalist forms of society. What is at issue here, however, is the glorification of national-chauvinism to serve reactionary political ends.

Wagner, for instance, was a great and powerful composer who created works of immense value to humanity. But the falsification of Wagner's historical significance by the Nazis gave impetus to the cause of reactionary German nationalism and contributed in no small way to the rise of Hitler to power in 1933. Joseph Haydn's tender and moving string quartet that provided the melody for the infamous "Deutschland, Deutschland, Uber Alles" is another case in point.

"Mateship"

In Australia, the democratic tradition was considered to have been expressed most succinctly by Henry Lawson in his philosohpy of "mateship." The literary critic A.A. Phillips, in his book The Australian Tradition, (Australasian Book Society, 1958) had this to say of Lawson's attainments. Australian writers of the nineties "achieved a revolution in nineteenth century Anglo-Saxon letters, setting fiction free from the cage of a middle class attitude and a middle class audience...

These writers were proletarian in their social attitudes and in the audience to whom writing was directed, according to Phillips. They laid the foundation of a tradition that was democratic, proletarian, and characteristically Australian.

What is the truth of these claims? To what extent did Lawson really express the asprirations of the oppressed? What did this concept of mateship mean? Did the fact that the Australian bushman refused to tip his hat to Henry Lawson

the squatter mean that a classless society had been established in Australia?

Unfortunately, this utopian dream proved illusory. The class divisions in Australian society went much deeper than these outward symbols of egalitarianism seemed to indicate The fact that the Australian boss allowed his wage-slaves to address him by his first name made no difference whatever to the inescapable reality that he was still the boss. Lawson's belief in the exceptional character of Australian society was quickly belied by history. Federation made no difference to the fundamental nature of this society, and Lawson's philosophy of mateship ran up against the brutal realities of the class struggle in a new and more violent form. Lawson was himself later to witness the imperialist nature of the Australian nation-state during the First World War, in which the Australian ruling class





Diggers at Ballarat



Banjo Paterson

was amongst the most bellicose of the warmongers in its cries for blood.

In his youth Lawson observed the great strikes of 1891-92 and the growth of militant trade unionism. These strikes represented a high point in Australian labor struggles, and led directly to the formation of the Australian Labor Party, a momentous achievement for the working class. Yet even in this the labor movement revealed its weakness. Unlike the European movement, Australian labor was deformed from the moment of its birth. The product of labor organisation in a white European settler society, it immediately excluded from its ranks the most oppressed sections of humanity. Blacks, Chinese and Kanakas were counted outside the ranks of the labor movement on the specious grounds that they represented a pool of cheap labor that threatened to undermine the wage levels of white workers. Women, while not formally excluded, had little part in the conduct of the affairs of the labor movement.

Reflects labor's weaknesses

It is because he was so close to the labor movement of his time that Lawson's work reflects labor's weaknesses as well as its strength. Lawson certainly had illusions about the classless society that would emerge with Federation. The new society would be an Australian republic built upon the ideological foundation of mateship, a democratic republic with equality for all except Blacks, Chinese, Kanakas, Greeks, Italians, and women, all of whom would have to put up with second-class citizenship.

There can be no doubt that Lawson, in his many short stories, created a truthful and colorful picture of many aspects of Australian life, nor that he bore a genuine sympathy for the poor, the outcasts, the rebels, the intinerant workers and bushment who roamed the Australian countryside in his day. It is also indisputable that he was inspired by the rise of the Australian labor movement.

He was one of the first to contribute to the development of a popular, realistic, socially-oriented literature that decisively rejected the social values of the wealthy landowners who dominated the political, cultural and economic affairs of the country. Lawson firmly believed that in fighting for the recognition of Australian literature he was placing himself on the side of the oppressed. His poems "One Hundred and Three," Faces in the Street," "Bourke," and "Too Old to Rat," all reflect his close association with the labor movement and the militancy of the rural workers of the early nineties.

"Faces in the Street" concludes with the lines:

....For not until a city feels Red Revolution's feet

Shall its sad people miss awhile the terrors of the street-

The dreadful, everlasting strife for scarcely clothes and meat

In that pent track of living death-the city's cruel street.

In "My Army," Lawson goes even further in spelling out the revolutionary mission of the working class.

My army! O my army—I hear the sound of drums

Above the roar of battle—and lo, my army comes! No creed of man may stay it—nor war,

nor nation's law—
The pikes go through the firing lines as pitchforks go through straw—

Like pitchforks through the litter while empires stand in awe.

Crippling limitations

Stirring lines indeed, which reveal Lawson at the zenith of his political evolution. However, the army of which he writes is not the army of the international revolutionary proletariat but a mythical army of dispossessed white male workers of British stock Lawson's most revolutionary instincts become warped by the crippling limitations of the Australian labor movement.

In all of Lawson's published work there is not a single example of any poem, story, or essay devoted to the problems of Blacks, Chinese or immigrants. The story "The Drover's Wife" is one of the rare instances of an appreciation of the loneliness of life for women struggling to nurture children in the bush. Even one of his best poems, "Bourke," is revealing in this respect. Expounding the concept of mateship in the strikes of 1891-92 he writes:

They drank —when all is said and done—they gambled, and their speech was rough; You'd only have to say of one "He was my mate!"

That was enough.

But hint a bushman was not white, nor to his Union straight and true—

Twould mean a long and bloody fight in Ninety one and Ninety two. (emphasis added)

Lawson's love of Australia is beyond doubt. He wrote with feeling of his sentiments, though he harboured no illusions about the harshness of life in the cities, or even in the bush. This is indeed a healthy and an admirable quality. Some of the most moving works of literature have been inspired by the love of the author for the land of his or her birth.

Consider, for example, the memorable picture of Natal and the beautiful description of the Umzimkulu valley in Alan Paton's novel Cry the Beloved Country. In giving expression to this powerful feeling for the country, however, Paton gives no credence to the claims of white chauvinism. In describing the beauty of the land of Natal, Paton sees it through the eyes of the exploited Bantu people, and in no way allows this sentiment to be used for the support of the white racist state of South Africa. The love for the land that has been stolen from the people cannot be identified with condoning the existence of the exploiting state.

Australia's Rudyard Kipling

Lawson's writing, however, knows no such limits. Because of his illusion that Federation would mean the birth of a classless republic Lawson has no hesitation in defending the new state against hypothetical foes. It is but a small



Police protect scabs on wharf during 1890 shearers strike.

step to social-patriotism in the imperialist world war that embroiled Australia in 1914. Lawson became the Rudyard Kipling of Australian imperialism, despite the factthat in this country the issue of conscription aroused a mass movement of opposition and resulted in the defeat of the Labor government on the issue.

Kipling could hardly have outdone Lawson in his 1917 poem "England Yet," a paean in defence of the British Empire.

Our own, who reck not of a King's regalia, Timel of crowns, and courts that fume and fret, Are fighting for her—lighting for Australia, And blasphemouslyhail her "England Yet!" She's England Yet, with little to regret— Ay, more than ever, she'll be England yet!

Or, if we chose, "The Star of Australasia," would be fitting for an RSL reunion on Anzac day.

From grander clouds in our peaceful skies than ever were there before. I tell you the Star of the South shall rise in the Jurid clouds of war. It ever most be while blood is warm and the sons of man increase; For ever the nations rose in storm to rot in a deadly peace. Therell come a point where we will not yield, no matter if right or wrong....

All creeds and trades will have soldiers there give every class its due— And there'll be many a clerk to spare for

the pride of the jackeroo.

They'll fight for honour and fight for love, and a few will fight for gold

Or, if the message is still not completely clear, Lawson spells it out.

And this we learn from the libelled past, though its methods were somewhat rude—A mation's born where the shells fall fast, or its lease of life renewed We in part atone for the ghoulish strife and the crimes of the peace we boast. And the better part of a people's life in the storm comes uppermost.



Henry Handel Richardson

The weaknesses and the backsliding of humanity can be redeemed only by death on the battlefield. What difference between this drivel and the vainglorious dreams of Prussian militarism!

We have dealt with the work of Lawson at some length because Lawson is the most fervent and typical of the social patriots. He is by no means the only such writer. Joseph Furphy, Adam Lindsay Gordon, Banjo Paterson, Bernard O'Dowd all to a variable degree express similar sentiments.

Convict life

One exception amongst these writers who contibuted to the nationalist Bulletin was the journalist Price Warung. Deriving his material from the archives of the Mitchell library. Warung created an imaginative series of tales of convict life in the early colonial era, illustrating the hatred of the victims of the system for the land in which they had been incarcerated.

In describing the endeavours of the convicts to retain something of their humanity in the face of the most extreme forms of deprivation and brutality, Warung creates a picture of human endurance and grandeur unequalled by any other Australian writer. The underlying sentiment that drew these prisoners together was a hatred of the expoiting system. They had no sense of nationality. They were in no sense Australian. They knew only that they were the dispossessed, that they had no country. Warung's commitment to literature enabled him to break out of the nationalist ethos of the ruling class and to create powerful stories that retain all of their appeal eighty years after their first publication.

Crippling malady

Another writer who did, for a time, make a clear break with this tradition of white, male dominated, nationalist literature was Katharine Susannah Prichard. For the first time in English literature a Black woman, Coonardoo, one of the most oppressed of all the earth's people, appears as the heroine of an Australian novel, in a tragic tale of love, fidelity and abandonment by the white settler, an experience shared by thousands of Black women who have been used by the station owners of the outback.

Pritchard wrote another novel, Haxby's Circus, published in 1930, one of the first great feminist works of fiction, which cut right across, the whole thrust of the mateship doctrine elaborated by Lawson Unfortunately Pritchard hersell soon fell victim to the malady



Price Warung

that has crippled the development of a real socialist art in this country and elsewhere. Under the pressure of the rise of world Stalinism and the lure of publication in the Soviet Union with all its rewards, she became the purveyor of Stalinist dogma and the author of a score of dull and mediocre books that signalled her abandonment of her earlier independent position as a feminist and a socialist.

Certain other writers illustrate the difficulty attempting to fit literature into the nationalist framework. Henry Handel Richardson, an extemely successful and popular writer, depicted Australian life from the standpoint of an English migrant The doctor in The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney really disliked the country. He represented the outlook of the middle class immigrant whose interests compelled him to live in the country, but who really craved the easy life of the landowner "at home" in England.

The Stalinists found Richardson an enigma. Unwilling to disown a popular writer they accorded her a grudging acceptance even though she stood completely outside the national-democratic milieu.

Vance Palmer presented similar difficulty. Since Palmer expressed sympathies towards the Soviet Union, however, he could not be excluded from the "Australian" tradition. Palmer's first book of short stories published in the Soviet Union had a print run of 300,000, a stuggering figure for an Australian writer. This alone illustrates the material incentives accorded to those who chose to align themselves with the outlook of bourgeois nationalism.

By contrast, the poet Henry Kendall, a writer who wrote with a deep love for the Australian countryside, aroused little sympathy in Australian literary circles in the thirties and forties. He did not fit into the mateship system, he was regarded as a transplanted English poet, a second-rate imitation of Shelley and Byron. Few anthologies include Kendall today, yet his poetry represents a more profound and consistent attempt at creation of a native literature.

Australian literature began with the arrival of white European settlers. The Aboriginal inhabitants possessed an ancient oral tradition, but no written literature existed before the founding of the penal settlement in New South Wales. Until quite recently, the work of Blacks rarely appeared in any literary journals, and to date Blacks have had little opportunity to exert any influence on Australian literary history. The literature that exists is essentially the literature of white European settlers. This is not to deny its validity, but only to define its limitations in order to understand the nature of Australian nationalism and its expression in Australian writing.

"Australian tradition" a myth

In summary, it can be said that the "Australian tradition" is a myth, the invention of those who stand for the preservation of the existing order of society. The doctrine of mateship represents the cultural and



Katherine Susannah Pritchard



Vance Palmer

ideological domination of Australian life by white male chauvinist influences. Australian writing cannot be arbitrarily divided into the "democratic" and the "reactionary" trends. Writers cannot be sharply divided into the "goods" and the "bads." All writers, without a single exception, reflect, in their writing, to varying degrees, the pressures of the influences of hostile classes in conflict.

Some, a small few, create a faithful picture of reality and in this respect represent a progressive trend. Many others express only the ideas of the bourgeoisie. What is certain, however, is that the working class and other oppressed social groups have no interest in supporting the cause of Australian nationalism, either in its literary manifestations or in its more overt political forms. While the bushrangers of the colonial era may represent a healthly sign of rebellion against a cruel and tyrannical landowner's regime, and deserve the sympathy of all who desire the creation of a just and humane society, their actions are essentially the response of isolated individuals to the injustice of the system, and have nothing in common with the necessites of the class struggle today, which demands the united action of the entire working class to change the system.

schol of experience, that only through their own independent class action, without relying on the goodwill of any section of the Australian capitalist class, can they achieve real social justice.

[Reprinted from the July 4, 1977 issue of Intercontinental Press]

[In our April 18 issue (pp 410-11), we published an article by Joseph Hansen entitled "Back to Secreey in Disarmament Talks," which was reprinted by the Militant, a socialist weekly published in New York.

[One of the Militant's readers, Morris Starsky, sent a letter to the editor, calling attention to what was to him a confusing passage. He explained his reasons for coming to this conclusion and asked for Hansen's comments.

[Because the subject may be of interest to our readers, we are reprinting Strasky's letter together with Hansen's reply. The documents are taken from the June 24 issue of Militant.]

Comments by Joseph Hansen

The question goes deeper than agreeing that the blame for the arms race and the failure of meaningful disarmament talks falls on US imperialism. The capitalist system is expansionist and aggressive because of its insatiable thirst for profits, whereas no such compulsion operates in a planned economy. However, the question remains—in assigning blame should the Kremlin go scot-free?

Let us recall that Stalin showed in practice how little the bureaucratic caste can be relied upon in organising the defense of the Soviet Union. Stalin in fact paved the way for Hitler.

Let us pursue this a line of thought further. The world Trotskyist movement has never wavered in its defense of the Soviet Union (and the other workers states) against imperialist attack. It has sought to make that defense as effective as possible. On that premise it has never defended the parasitism or the special privileges seized by the bureaucracy. What the Trotskyists have defended is the proletarian basis of the workers state (expropriation of private property in the means of production, monopoly of foreign trade, economic planning). This has meant opposing the bureaucracy, which explains why the Trotskyists are so feared and so savagely persecuted by the Kremlin.

The defense of the workers states occurs on two levels, political and military. Of these the political is the more important by far.

However, let us consider the military defense first, since this is the predominant level

Concerning Defence of the Soviet Union

In an otherwise clear and well-argued article by Joseph Hansen (see "Washington and Moscow return to secrecy in disarmament talks," Militant, April 29, 1977), there is a very unfusing passage. At least I am confused by it.

The passage says, "Seated on their stockpiles of nuclear arms, either of which is capable od destroying all human beings many times over, Carter and Brezhnev are haggling over items that do not affect their overall death-dealing capacities...Clearly it would be a fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."

Is writer Hansen's position with respect to nuclear disarmament "a plague on both your houses"? Let me make my question clear by stating several opinions I hold and asking writer Hansen to comment on them.

A workers state, even a degenerated or a deformed workers state, has the abstract right

to defend itself militarily from imperialist attack.

The Soviet Union has indeed the *concrete* need to arm itself fully within the limits of its resources in defense of its existence.

The United States has not and cannot abandon its long-range goal of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Although the motives of the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union are counterrevolutionary through and through, and their use of the Soviet Union's military might is premised on the policy of "peaceful coexistence" (class collaboration), the blame for both the arms race and the failure of any meaningful disarmament talks must fall squarely on the shoulders of US imperialism.

Morris Starsky Cleveland, Ohio

in the current SALT talks and in the bourgeois estimates of the meaning of these talks.

On the issue of nuclear bombs, what constitutes an adequate number? It appears to me that a stockpile large enough to obliterate humanity once marks a natural quantitative limit so far as use values are concerned.

This natural limit on military needs might be designated Armageddon One.

In the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, a process that is being advanced at a truly American pace, Armageddon One offers possibilities as the point that rational beings might select for converting quality into quantity; that is, reducing the number of bombs in consonance with their rise in destructiveness. Under this sliding scale, the total death-dealing capability of each side would remain constant. Neither state could go above Armageddon One without violating the contract.

The logical end of the nuclear arms race would thus be possession by each side of a single device capable of achieving Armaged-don One no matter where it was exploded.

But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to wipe out all human beings once. Both have stockpiles sufficient to obliterate humanity many times over. The figures may be hundreds of times over to believe some estimates.

Yet in a madness that has no equal in human history the nuclear arms race continues. "Military defense" has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable—its extinction.

To me it appears quite clear that the Kremlin, by participating in this mindless race, is dealing terrible blows against the defense of the Soviet Union. For no matter how huge the Kremlin's stockpile might be or how accuate its delivery systems, the Soviet Union cannot escape the fate of the rest of the humanity once the bombs begin to be exchanged.

Now let us turn to the political defense of the workers states. This means above all mobilising popular support.

Among the poverty-stricken masses of the world, the Soviet Union is still favored against the imperialist powers. This precious asset stems from the fact that the Soviet Union originated in a revolution that overthrew application or the strick of the status of the second strongest world power in a matter of decades. The victory over the German imperialist invasion in the Second World War enhanced this favorable image in the eyes of the masses.

The best possible defense of the Soviet



Armageddon: fatal to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt arms race.

Union (and of the other workers states) is to further establish the superiority of planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism, and to demonstrate its inherent capacity to expand democracy in a way never experienced under capitalism, making possible a great new flowering of science, literature, art.

But the bureaucracy, by blocking optimum economic planning, by diverting huge sums in the form of special privileges, by defending its position with monstrous repressive measures, stands squarely in the way of converting the Soviet Umon into a shiming example with enormous political appeal to the oppressed masses everywhere.

The injury to the defense of the Soviet Union is enormous. The Kremlin forgoes—in fact rejects—active support of the masses. It seeks

to restrain or divert them from carrying out a socialist revolution in their own countries that could bring about a definitive victory: the replacement of capitalism by socialism on a world scale.

The Kremlin favors class-collaborationist deals with the main imperialist powers in which it plays the role of leading—or trying to lead—anticapitalist forces to their doom.

The Kremlin's practice of class collaboration thus emerges as deadly sabotage of the defense of the Soviet Union.

If we now place within this political context the Kreulin's policy of baggling with Carter over relatively insignificant details in the nuclear arms race, it is clear that Brezhnev must be blanned for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament, an issue of great importance in exposing Carter's imperialist objectives. Brezhnev is to be blanned all the more because he permitted the new White House demagogue to appear as the proponent of reducing nuclear stockpiles although he is completely committed to stepping up the nuclear arms race.

Brezhnev even permitted Carter to leave the impression that Moscow—not Washington—believes that an astronomical nuclear stockpile is a military imperative.

Had Brezhnev challenged Carter to join him in reducing nuclear stockpiles to a maximum capability of destroying humanity only once, it appears to me that Carter would have had some difficulty in replying. Naturally, it would have been preferable if Brezhnev had proposed in addition a schedule leading at short intervals to a one-half capability, one-fourth, one-eighth, and so on. Why shouldn't rapid decay rates be imposed on stockpiles of nuclear arms?

But Brezhnev will not do that. Nor Carter. "Clearly it would be fatal policy to rely on either Washington or Moscow to halt the arms race and dismantle their nuclear stockpiles."

High Stakes in Conflict Over Carrillo

[Reprinted from the July 11, 1977 issue of Intercontinental Press]

With the Kremlin's denunciation of Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo as a splitter and Pro-NATO betrayer, the prolonged tug of war between Moscow and the West European and Japanese CPs seems to be rapidly turning into an open faction fight in the world Stalinist movement.

The Kremlin's attack on Carrillo is still limited. It was launched in a little-read magazine and has not been picked up in the major Soviet press.

The cutting edge of the article was also dulled by statements about the need for the CPs to adjust their line to the conditions in their own countries.

Nonetheless, charging Carrillo with being a splitter and a supporter of an "aggressive military alliance" aimed against the Soviet Union and the East European countries implies an attempt to drive him out of the Spanish CP leadership and bring the party to heel, no matter what the cost.

The Soviet attack was clearly aimed at all CPs that have been trying to clean their skirts of the taint of dicatorial Stalinist rule by criticising repression in the USSR and East Europe. However, so far only Carrillo and other such semiouteasts as the "interior" faction of the Greek CP have responded to it with any signs of determination.

The French and Italian CPs in particular have so far sought to avoid drawing fire in their direction. Despite this opportunistic wavering, all the "Eurocommunist" parties have a very large stake in the policies that have aroused the Kremlin bureaucrats. So, the conflict is likely to continue and may well escalate.

In any case, something more and more like an open faction fight has developed, directly involving the interests of hundreds of thousands of militant workers in the Stalinist parties in the advanced capitalist countries, as well as those of the workers oppressed by the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies themselves.

This conflict is potentially far more damaging to the Kremlin and to Stalinism in general than the Sino-Soviet break, in which only the state interests of the two ruling bureaucracies were involved.

By Gerry Foley

The rebel Chinese bureaucracy had neither the capacity nor the interest to make a serious appeal to workers in the advanced capitalist countries or in the USSR and East Europe. It was able to influence only the most ossifed Stalin-worshippers, stray opportunists, and some radicalising petty-bourgeois youth.

In fact, the prospect of the future disintegration of Stalinism has evidently alarmed the editors of the New York Times, which generally reflects the views of the most farsighted sections of the American ruling class. In an editorial July 1, they wrote that one reason the "West" should not "pray for their [the "Eurocommunist" CPs] accession to power" was the following:



Santiago Carrillo: denounced by Kremlin

"...because sudden—as opposed to gradual—challenge to totalitarian power in Eastern Europe would be an invitation to uprisings that the West cannot fully support without macceptable risk....."

Further on, the editorial said:

"Vigorous and striving for power, the Eurocommunists are agents of corrosion throughout Eastern Europe. Once elevated to power, and precisely to the degree that they became acceptable to democrats, they could destablise the entire continent."

The New York Times editors, in effect

 One of the things that can rapidly bring down the Stalinist dictatorships is the rise of democratic socialist movements in the advanced capitalist countries.

2. The US capitalists do not want to see revolutions against the Stalinist bureaucracies

and have no intention of supporting them.

3. The prospect of socialism freed from the spectre of Stalinist dictatorship will "destabilise" the present world order.

Assessing the implications of an internal struggle in the CPs over the issue of democratic rights, the editors of the New York Times acknowledged the points bourgeois ideologists try hardest to cover up! This is a good indication of their agitation.

The complete breakdown of Stalinist authority, of monolithic Stalinist machines, and of Stalinist mythology would, in fact, remove a major obstacle to the development and spread of socialist revolutions.

For the US imperialists, as we can see from the mood of the editors of the New York Times, the very thought of such a possibility is

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