



# The CPA (M-L) and the Theory of the Three Worlds

by Nick G.

*This article expands on some points made in our Executive Committee's reply to a reader's questions about the Theory of the Three Worlds. That reply was published on our website on June 10 2020. It prompted some comments that require further explanation.*

From time to time, questions are raised about what came to be called, in the mid-1970s, the Theory of the Three Worlds (TTW). Specifically, allegations are sometimes made about our Party and its support for this theory.

For example, it has been alleged that our founding Chairperson, Comrade E.F Hill said we should support US imperialism because Soviet social-imperialism had become the main enemy of the people of the world. It was also said that in advancing the great cause of Australian independence, as suited a Second World nation, our Party had abandoned the goal of socialism, and we had become narrow bourgeois nationalists. These and similar allegations are still directed at us occasionally, despite decades having passed since the heyday of the TTW.

The TTW also saw open differences emerge between the Albanian Party of Labour, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the Chinese Communist Party.

More broadly, some raise doubts about whether Mao had even been the source of the TTW.

The evidence suggests that this theory *was* developed by Mao Zedong on the basis of his study of, and reflections on, the various contradictions in the post-WW2 world. A contrary view, critical of China's foreign policy directions supposedly emanating from the adoption of the TTW, but seeking to hold high the legacy of Mao Zedong, describes it as the policy of the capitalist-roader Deng Xiaoping.

## Who developed the Theory of the Three Worlds?

Let it first be said that there is nothing unusual about a phenomenon, qualitative or quantitative, being divided into thirds. There are solids, liquids and gases. There are the old, middle-aged and the young, the rich, the middle class and the poor.

Communists are interested in the contradictions between things. Stalin spoke in 1928 of a "classification of countries into three types – countries with a high capitalist development (America, Germany, Britain) countries with an average capitalist development (Poland, Russia before the February Revolution etc.), and colonial countries..." (Stalin, *Collected Works Vol 11 p. 162*).

Previously, in the *Foundations of Leninism* (1924) he had written that "the world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of civilised nations, which possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe; and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, which constitute that majority."

Was Stalin right in 1924 and wrong in 1928? Or right in 1928, but wrong in 1924? Actually, he was right both times. The fundamental division is the two camps, and the three types is a refinement of that. It is a basic tenet of materialist dialectics that one divides into two, and that contradictions exist in all things. In the decade of imperialist development that occurred after Stalin penned the *Foundations of Leninism*, the nations



possessing finance capital had developed unevenly into those with a higher degree of capitalist development and those with a lesser degree of development.

In the 1930s and during WW2, there were the two basic camps of the Axis powers and the Allies. But the Allies consisted of the socialist Soviet Union and the capitalist bourgeois democracies, while the Axis consisted not only of its major partners (Germany, Italy and Japan) but also of minor allies in Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, with Franco's Spain as a non-combatant fellow fascist state. There were contradictions between the Axis and the Allies, but also contradictions within each of the two major camps.

In 1977, *after* Mao's death, the Chinese communists published a lengthy document ascribing the TTW to Mao Zedong (*Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism*). The first half of the book examines previous differentiations of global and systemic contradictions made by Lenin and Stalin, and bases the ownership of the TTW to Mao Zedong largely on his February 22, 1974 talk with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda (see below).

The Chinese booklet did not trace Mao Zedong's earlier attempts to develop a theory around global contradictions. However, in 1998 the Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, published *Mao Zedong On Diplomacy*, a book containing many of Mao's speeches and discussions on foreign policy.

On January 3, 1962, in a discussion between Mao Zedong and Yasui Kaoru, chief director of the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs, Mao made the following observation:

"The socialist bloc can be counted as one side, and the United States, the other. Everything in between can be counted as part of the intermediate zone. However, countries in the intermediate zone are different in nature: countries like Britain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands

possess colonies. Other countries have been deprived of colonies, but have strong monopoly capital, such as West Germany and Japan. Some countries have gained genuine independence, such as Guinea, the United Arab Republic, Mali and Ghana. Other countries are independent in name, but dependent in fact. The countries of the intermediate zone are varied in kind and different in nature, but the United States wants to swallow them all up." (Mao Zedong, *On Diplomacy*, "Countries in Intermediate Zone Vary In Nature", Foreign Language Press, Beijing, 1998 p. 372)

This saw the primary contradiction as one between social systems, with the capitalist system headed by US imperialism. Every other capitalist and semi-feudal country was seen as constituting an intermediate zone, although differences were noted between the countries in that zone. What determined their place in the zone was that they were all targets for attempted control by US imperialism.

Very little had changed eighteen months later when, on August 9, 1963 Chairman Mao made the following comment in talks with Somali Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Shermarke:

"The main target of our struggle is the United States, while Britain, France, Italy and West Germany come behind." (ibid. p.381 "The Oppressed Will Finally Rise Up")

A month later, however, at a talk by Mao Zedong at the Working Conference of the Central Committee of the CCP in September 1963, Mao had begun to talk of two intermediate zones:

"In my view there are two intermediate zones: the first, Asia, Africa and Latin America and the second, Europe, Japan and Canada are not happy with the United States. The six-nation Common Market, represented by De Gaulle, is made up of powerful capitalist countries. Japan in the East is a powerful capitalist country. They are unhappy with the US and the Soviet



Union. Are the Eastern European countries that satisfied with Khrushchev of the Soviet Union? I don't believe so. Things are evolving and contradictions are revealing themselves." (ibid p. 387)

The contradictions that were unfolding globally were developing into an obvious trend. Mao referred to this in his talks with Kikunami Katsumi, Politburo member of the Japanese Communist Party on January 5, 1964:

"We have diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union; we are two countries in the socialist camp. But the relations between our two countries are not as good as those between China and the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party or China and the Ikeda faction. This is something we should think about.

"When we talk about intermediate zones, we refer to two separate parts. The vast economically backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute the first. Imperialist and advanced capitalist countries represented by Europe constitute the second. Both are opposed to American control. Countries in Eastern Europe, on the other hand, are against control by the Soviet Union. The trend is quite obvious." (ibid p. 388)

Mao again referred to the two "intermediate zones" in talks with a Japanese Socialist delegation on July 10, 1964:

"We now put forward the view that there are two intermediate zones: Asia, Africa and Latin America are the first, and Europe, North America and Oceania, the second. Japan belongs to the second intermediate zone too." (ibid. p 389)

Despite the criticisms of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin and of the revisionism characteristic of Khrushchev's leadership, Mao Zedong still referred in 1964 to the Soviet Union and those compliant states attached to it, as part of the socialist camp. Since June, 1963, the

Chinese had written and published seven of the eleven letters and documents published in 1965 in the collection titled *The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement*. Although Soviet economic policies were condemned, like the Yugoslav's, for embracing capitalist methods, there was not yet an analysis that suggested that the Soviet Union was imperialist. Its foreign policy was instead condemned as serving the interests of US imperialism through opposition to wars of national liberation, support for neo-colonialism, and the pursuit of peaceful coexistence to the exclusion of struggle against imperialism.

By the time Mao met the US journalist Edgar Snow on January 9, 1965, the concept of a Third World comprising the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America had become relatively common. Snow broached the concept in a question he put to Mao:

"United States intervention in Vietnam, the Congo, and other former colonial battlefields suggests a question of some theoretical interest as seen within Marxist concepts. The question is whether the contradiction between neo-colonialism and the revolutionary forces in what the French like to call the 'Third World' – the so-called underdeveloped or ex-colonial or still colonial nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America – is today the principal political contradiction in the world? Or do you consider that the basic contradiction is still one between the capitalist countries themselves?" (Edgar Snow, *The Long Revolution*, Hutchinson and Co, London, 1973, p. 200)

Mao's reply indicated that he was far from certain about the matter, and had not yet arrived at a consistent theory of differentiation. Snow records Mao's response:

"If one looked at France one saw two reasons for de Gaulle's policies. The first was to assert independence from American domination. The second was to attempt to adjust French policies to changes occurring



in the Asian-African countries and in Latin America. The result was intensified contradiction between the imperialist nations. But was France part of its so-called “Third World”? Recently he had asked some French visitors about that and they had told him no, that France was a developed country and could not be a member of the “Third World” of undeveloped countries. It seemed that the matter was not so simple.” (ibid p. 201)

Whilst Mao was puzzling over how to best define the principal and secondary contradictions on the global stage, the so-called “elder brother” of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union, had seen its capitalist measures create a Soviet bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie within the CPSU itself.

Strikes by workers, ethnic unrest and vandalism and riots by unemployed and semi-professional criminal elements were growing in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Vladimir A. Kozlov, in his study of mass uprisings in the post-Stalin USSR, quotes a pamphlet by decorated war hero and CPSU member Ivan Trofimovich Zhukov in early 1956 that articulated proletarian resistance to Khrushchev’s changes:

“Comrade miners, workers! The workers of Kemerevo went on strike in September. Why did they go on strike? They struck against illegal actions and the tyranny of the soviet bourgeoisie, and not against Soviet power.

“The basic law of Soviet power is that everything is for the good of the people. So they say in lectures and write in the newspapers. What does this mean in reality? The reality is quite different. The riches in life are enjoyed by a small clique of people – the Soviet bourgeoisie and their toadies...

“Workers do not have flour, or there is one bag for 1,000 people, but for the city party committee there is a closed distribution of goods. Here is the so-called free trade...

“Comrades, criticism at meetings will not help. Read our leaflets and relay their contents to your comrades. Expose the Soviet bourgeoisie, their arbitrariness toward you and write leaflets. Reach out and contact us.

“For Soviet power without the bourgeoisie. Signed ‘The Union of the Just’.” (V.A. Kozlov, *Mass Uprising on the USSR: Protest and Rebellion in the Post-Stalin Years*, M.E. Sharpe, New York, 2002, p. 71)

The privileges on display by the newly-emergent Soviet bourgeoisie contrasted with the consumer shortages and growing impoverishment of the workers. In 1961-2, Khrushchev raised prices for basic foodstuffs and simultaneously increased work norms, or production quotas, thereby making it harder for workers to increase their earnings through bonuses. In fact, earnings were actually lowered for many workers through these measures.

Not satisfied with what they could rip-off from within the system, and from legal and illegal private businesses, the new bourgeoisie needed foreign markets, new sources of raw materials and external investment opportunities to reverse the stagnating economy, increase their capital accumulation, and help to placate the losers in the new social polarisation taking place throughout the area once under proletarian dictatorship.

This was no longer an “elder brother” lording it over a small number of compliant allies, but a globally expansionist power backed by a nuclear-armed military. Khrushchev outlived his usefulness to this expanding capitalist power: he was deposed in October 1964 and replaced by Brezhnev under whom the tendencies towards expansion into areas previously dominated by the US and European imperialisms developed much more quickly.

Analysis of these developments within the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party culminated in the publication by three Chinese newspapers on April 22, 1970 – the centenary of



Lenin's birth - of the seminal critique of Soviet social-imperialism, *Leninism or Social-imperialism*.

Mao now began to warn leaders of "intermediate zone" nations of the ambitions of the Soviet Union. On July 10, 1972, he gave the following warning to French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann:

"You must watch out for the Soviet Union, whose policy is just a feint to the east and attack in the west. It talks about attacking China, while actually it intends to gobble up Europe. That's dangerous!" (op cit, *Mao Zedong On Diplomacy*, p. 452)

On September 27, 1972, Mao equated the US and Soviet imperialists, placing them in a class of their own. He told Tanaka Kakuei, Prime Minister of Japan:

"This visit of yours to Beijing makes the whole world tremble with fear, chiefly the two big powers, the Soviet Union and the US. They are rather anxious about this." (ibid p. 453)

However, it was his conversation with Kenneth Kaunda on February 22, 1974 where Mao first made clear his differentiation of countries and nations into three distinct worlds:

Mao: Who belongs to the First World?

Kaunda: I think it ought to be the world of the exploiters and imperialists.

Mao: And the Second World?

Kaunda: Those who have become revisionists.

Mao: I hold that the US and the Soviet Union belong to the First World. The middle elements, such as Japan, Europe, Australia and Canada, belong to the Second World. We are the Third World. (ibid p. 454)

#### What did the Albanians say?

The Albanians rejected the TTW and did so publicly at their 7<sup>th</sup> Congress (November 1-7,

1976). E.F Hill, who attended the Congress, dissociated himself from their attack in preliminary comments written on November 11. Those comments were published in the previous issue of *Australian Communist* (Autumn 2020, see p. 29).

Hoxha attempted to establish a theoretical position for an attack on Mao Zedong's alleged revisionism, including the TTW, in the book *Imperialism and the Revolution*, published in 1978.

Far from having a coherent theory, the arguments put forward by Hoxha were illogical, exaggerated and abusive. He said, for example:

"The notion of the existence of three worlds, or of the division of the world in three, is based on a racist and metaphysical world outlook, which is an offspring of world capitalism and reaction....the racist theory which places the countries on three levels or in three "worlds", is not based simply on skin colour. It makes a classification based on the level of economic development of the countries and is intended to define the "great master race", on the one hand, and the "race of pariahs and plebs", on the other to create an unalterable and metaphysical division in the interests of the capitalist bourgeoisie....The Chinese revisionists accept and preach that the "master race" must be preserved and the "race of pariahs and plebs" must serve it meekly and devotedly." (pp.253-4)

"Only according to Mao Tsetung's theory of "three worlds", classes and the class struggle do not exist in any country. It does not see them because it judges countries and peoples according to bourgeois geo-political concepts and the level of their economic development." (p. 256)

"Now as before, there are only two worlds, and the struggle between those two worlds, between the two antagonistic classes, between socialism and capitalism, exists not



only on a national scale but also on an international scale.” (p. 258)

Hoxha’s attempt to claim some sort of continuity with a Leninist-Stalinist theory of “two camps” based solely on social systems and class was pure sophistry. We have seen, earlier, Stalin’s 1928 differentiation of countries into “three types” according to their levels of development. Even his earlier reference to “two camps” was based on levels of economic development, with being an exploiter nation or an exploited country dependent on ownership of finance capital. In the context of imperialism, Stalin noted that “The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a *revolutionary* struggle, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates...” (*Foundations of Leninism*).

Mao’s TTW more convincingly fits within Stalin’s development of Leninism in the imperialist era than does Hoxha’s repudiation of it.

#### Where does Deng fit in?

The TTW is wrongly ascribed to Deng Xiaoping by some erstwhile supporters of Mao Zedong’s legacy. It enables them to blame Deng for certain foreign policy decisions of the CCP which were arrived at under the influence of a policy that saw Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger of a new world war. China under Mao and Zhou Enlai sought a broad united front with governments loyal to US imperialism, and with US imperialism itself, against the social-imperialists. This was evident in very frank talks between Mao and Nixon on February 21, 1972; with Kissinger in 1972, 1973 and 1975; and also between Mao and Nixon’s replacement, Gerald Ford on December 2, 1975. With Kissinger, Mao discussed US willingness to use nuclear weapons to deter Soviet encroachment into Europe, whilst with Ford discussions centered on arrangements to defeat the social-imperialists and their proxies in Africa.

Mao’s pursuit of cooperation with US imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism was conceived against a backdrop of Soviet hostility towards

China. More Soviet troops faced China along their mutual border than faced Europe. The Chinese were convinced that a Soviet attack was likely and had undertaken a massive campaign of building tunnels and storing grain. They were concerned that the US would “do a Dunkirk” and withdraw its troops and missiles from Europe, allowing the Soviets to build up their forces in the east for a push into China.

Under these circumstances, a united front with US imperialism was no more outrageous than had been Mao’s pursuit of a united front with Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) during the War to Resist Japan.

This was Mao’s idea, not Deng’s. It does nothing for historical accuracy to “blame” Deng for a policy that some supporters of Mao Zedong do not wish to have associated with him.

Some people say that the TTW was spelled out by Deng Xiaoping when he spoke at the United Nations on April 10, 1974. This was also the speech in which Deng said that China would never become a superpower, and that if it did, the people of the world should rise up against it and defeat it. Nowhere else had Deng made such



*Deng Xiaoping speaking at the UN General Assembly, April 10, 1974, in which he said, “If one day China should change her colour and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation, the people of the world should identify her as social-imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it.*



a statement. The whole speech expressed Mao's, not Deng's, view of the world.

Jennifer Altehenger's *Social Imperialism and Mao's Three Worlds: Deng Xiaoping's Speech at the UN General Assembly, 1974*<sup>10</sup> agrees with that view:

Deng was the first Chinese leader to speak at a UN General Assembly since the PRC had taken over China's UN seat from the Republic of China in October 1971. Because of this, and because Deng would several years later lead the PRC into the era of 'reform and opening' and a momentous social and economic transformation, this speech has been associated closely with his person. Yet, his appointment as chairman of the Chinese delegation was rushed and not as carefully planned as later interpretations of his speech might suggest. A couple of weeks before the delegation was to travel from Beijing to New York, Mao Zedong had ensured that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would select Deng to represent China at the UN.

At short notice, the responsibility for drafting the speech was transferred from the Ministry of Trade to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and it was decided that Deng would speak. Deng, with his international experience of living in France during the early 1920s, seemed a good replacement for premier Zhou Enlai who was battling cancer. With this shift to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the man responsible for drafting the speech, Qiao Guanhua, then vice-minister and soon-to-be minister of Foreign Affairs, infused a strongly political and ideological component into the text, outlining not merely an economic policy but also an international and developmental vision

along the line of Mao's 'Three Worlds Theory'.

The speech is not a classic example of one man's revolutionary thought, delivered to an audience and later canonized in his works. It is not a classic revolutionary text. It is instead an example of a revolutionary concept conceived by one man, Mao Zedong; a text written by another man, Qiao Guanhua; and a speech presented by yet another, Deng Xiaoping. It gained fame by its association with the venue, the United Nations, and by its association with a crucial moment in time, 1974, the last years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and an age of profound global realignments as part of the late Cold War, decolonization, national liberation movements and popular protests of 1968 and after. An interpretation of the speech, I argue, must account for the impromptu historical decisions that led Deng to travel to New York, for the setting in which the speech was presented, for the domestic Chinese context in which Mao thought up the Three Worlds Theory and for the international context which this theory was supposed to explain and influence. Because the ideas Deng presented at the special session were Mao Zedong's, Deng was merely a messenger. But the significance of the speech lay both in its content and in its historical symbolism as an event, in 1974 and for years after. Here Deng became China's international representative and, though it was far too early to call in 1974, positioned himself as China's future leader. As Deng's power grew following Mao's death in 1976, he eventually sought to disassociate himself from much of the content of his UN speech, while at the same time trying to profit from the symbolic status it had provided.

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<sup>10</sup> Altehenger, Jennifer. "Social Imperialism and Mao's Three Worlds: Deng Xiaoping's Speech at the UN General Assembly, 1974." *Revolutionary Moments: Reading Revolutionary Texts*. Ed. Rachel Hammersley. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. 175–182. Bloomsbury Collections. Web. 26 Jun. 2020. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781474252669.0028>>.



Whereas the images of Deng at the speaker's podium below the United Nations insignia proliferated decades later, the actual speech was less frequently mentioned after the early 1980s and not included in Deng's *Selected Works*.

An authoritative Chinese exposition of so-called "Deng Xiaoping Thought"<sup>11</sup> certainly distances Deng from Mao's TTW. In a section headed *From Differentiation of the "Two Major Camps" and the "Three Worlds" to Cooperation and Common Progress* we read:

Back in the mid-1960s, Mao Zedong pointed out that the world political scene was no longer a simple division and confrontation between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp as had been the case in the 1950s. The world was facing great turmoil, division and realignment...In view of this, China stopped subscribing to the concept of "two major camps" after the Sino-Soviet polemic and advanced a new theory of "three worlds."

On November 5, 1971<sup>12</sup>, Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Qiao Guanhua for the first time stated China's view on the three worlds in a speech delivered at the United Nations:

Without economic independence, a country's independence is incomplete. The economic backwardness of the Asian, African and Latin American countries is caused by imperialist plunder. To oppose economic plunder and protect its resources is the inalienable sovereignty of an independent country. China is still a country with a backward economy. It is a developing country. Like the majority of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin

America, China belongs to the Third World.

Deng Xiaoping not only inherited but developed the theory of peaceful coexistence in light of a changing world...

The proposition of Deng Xiaoping not only enriches the theories of Lenin and Mao Zedong, but also provides the theoretical underpinning in international politics for filling a historical gap and ushering in a new era. It represents a breakthrough in the traditional theories, ranging from violent revolution to the two major camps and the three worlds.

This new theory provides both the possibility and necessity for cooperation and development between two different systems, among countries, parties and organisations, both in the international arena and among different regions and ethnic groups in the same country.

On this basis Deng Xiaoping put forward the theoretical proposition of cooperation and common progress to replace the theory of world revolution and the theory of taking class struggle as the key link.

This publication makes it clear that Deng Xiaoping saw no value in Mao's TTW, in Mao's theory of world revolution, or in Mao's theory of class struggle. Deng's "breakthrough" - his theory of cooperation and development - had an entirely different aim and objective to Mao's pursuit of unity against Soviet social-imperialism.

#### **How did the CPA (M-L) respond to the TTW?**

Reference has been made to Hill's defence of the TTW in the days following Hoxha's attack on it at the Albanian Party's 7<sup>th</sup> Congress. That was towards the end of 1976.

<sup>11</sup> Wu Jie, *On Deng Xiaoping Thought*, FLP, Beijing, 1996 pp 77 – 84

<sup>12</sup> In 1971, Deng was still working at a tractor repair plant at Xinjian County, Jiangxi Province, having been dismissed from all his posts as the "No. 2 capitalist roader in China". This was at the same time that Mao was developing his TTW.





Previously, a minor difference emerged within our Party when a group of members whose enthusiasm for revolutionary struggle ran away with them, argued that Australia was part of the Third World which was the main centre of revolutionary storms. An article was published in Australian Communist no. 72 in mid-1975 titled "Australia is part of the Third World", and proposing the adoption of the slogan of Australian national liberation. This was a position that should have been raised for internal discussion. It was wrong, was not the majority view, and should not have been published. It was repudiated in Australian Communist no. 74, although a consistent exposition of an Australian TTW did not appear until Australian Communist no. 83 in June 1977 ("Theory of Three Worlds Enriches Marxism-Leninism"). This article was also published as a pamphlet and reproduced by several other parties, including the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist).

The "Enriches" article defined Australia as "a country of the second world...a developed capitalist country which is plundered and controlled by one superpower, and threatened with plunder and control by the other, more aggressive superpower." It stated that Mao's TTW had helped the Party to develop its strategy not just on the basis of the theory of social systems, but on the basis of an analysis that confirmed the line of continuous revolution by stages.

If a left error had been made by claiming that Australia was part of the Third World, a rightist error emerged with the suggestion that the maximum unity required in the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism meant that it was

inappropriate to raise the question of US bases in Australia. It was argued, in an article in Australian Communist no. 98 (Feb/March 1980) that this was because US imperialism had been compelled to adopt an objectively progressive stand against the social-imperialist superpower. Again, the proper place to raise such a suggestion was through internal discussion, and even then, it should have been immediately knocked on the head. Issue 101 of the Australian Communist (Aug/Sept 1980) clarified that this was not Party policy.

### Conclusion

Mao's Theory of the Three Worlds had a background in, and was a development of, the Marxist analysis of global social, political and economic contradictions. That underlying approach of attempting to analyse the full range of global contradictions, and to sort them into a primary contradiction and other secondary contradictions, remains valid today. However, the booklet on Mao's theory published after Mao's death by the Chinese in 1977 (*Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism*), elevated Soviet social-imperialism to the greater danger to world peace and the greater threat to revolutionary struggles throughout the world, and became a source of a right-opportunist trend towards cooperating with US imperialism, not just in China, but in the revolutionary ranks worldwide.

Our Party saw the emergence of left and right errors in relation to the TTW. There was never a call to support US imperialism because of the TTW, but the errors mentioned illustrate the fact that correct theory emerges according to the law

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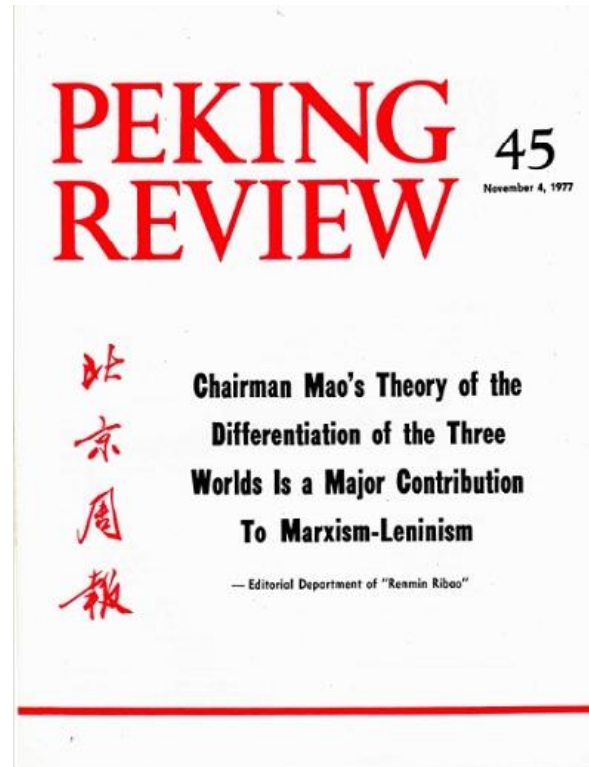


of uneven development and is a process which requires internal discussion conducted along the lines of democratic centralism.

The importance of the TTW declined with the abolition of the Soviet Union and the incorporation of its European satellites into US imperialism's sphere of influence. US imperialism appeared, for a time, to be a sole superpower capable of aiming for, and achieving "full spectrum domination". The contradiction between it and the world's people, is the main contradiction and it is clearly the Number One enemy. Complex additional contradictions continue to exist and US imperialism is challenged on a number of fronts, not the least by the growing strength and influence of Chinese social-imperialism. China is not yet, however, a superpower on a par with US imperialism and should not be elevated, as Soviet social-imperialism was, to "the greater danger to world peace".

There will be, among our members and supporters, some who are bemused by the attention we have given to the TTW. It has not been seen as a defining issue for forty years, and is not today. In so far as it is discussed at all, it is as a response to attacks on our Party based on misrepresentations of our prior approach to it, and the need to clarify the historical record.

Within the Party there are divergent views. Some argue that aspects of the Theory of the Three Worlds still hold some relevance. Particularly, the view that Australia can be described as a part of the Second World, that is the countries that have advanced capitalist systems whether they are themselves imperialist powers (Britain, some of the western EU, Russia, China) or under the control of imperialist powers (Australia, Canada, NZ, others in the EU including former members of the Eastern bloc). On the other hand, some argue strongly against the Theory of the Three Worlds. Today, adherence to or rejection of the Theory of



Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism-Leninism  
*published in Peking Review November 4, 1977 –  
 published after Mao's death, the essay became a  
 source of a right-opportunist trend in the revolutionary  
 movement world wide*

the Three Worlds is not a defining question for our Party's ideology and practice. Discussion of these (and any other) differing views are a welcome contribution to the ideological liveliness of our organisation and will contribute in time to a better and more unified overall understanding.

Mao Zedong and the experience of the Chinese revolution strengthened, clarified and made many indispensable contributions to Marxism-Leninism. Among those are the theory of the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the mass line, and his works on contradiction and dialectics. His Theory of the Three Worlds is not a major component of his theoretical contributions, but rather a subset of his approach to an analysis of contradictions.