

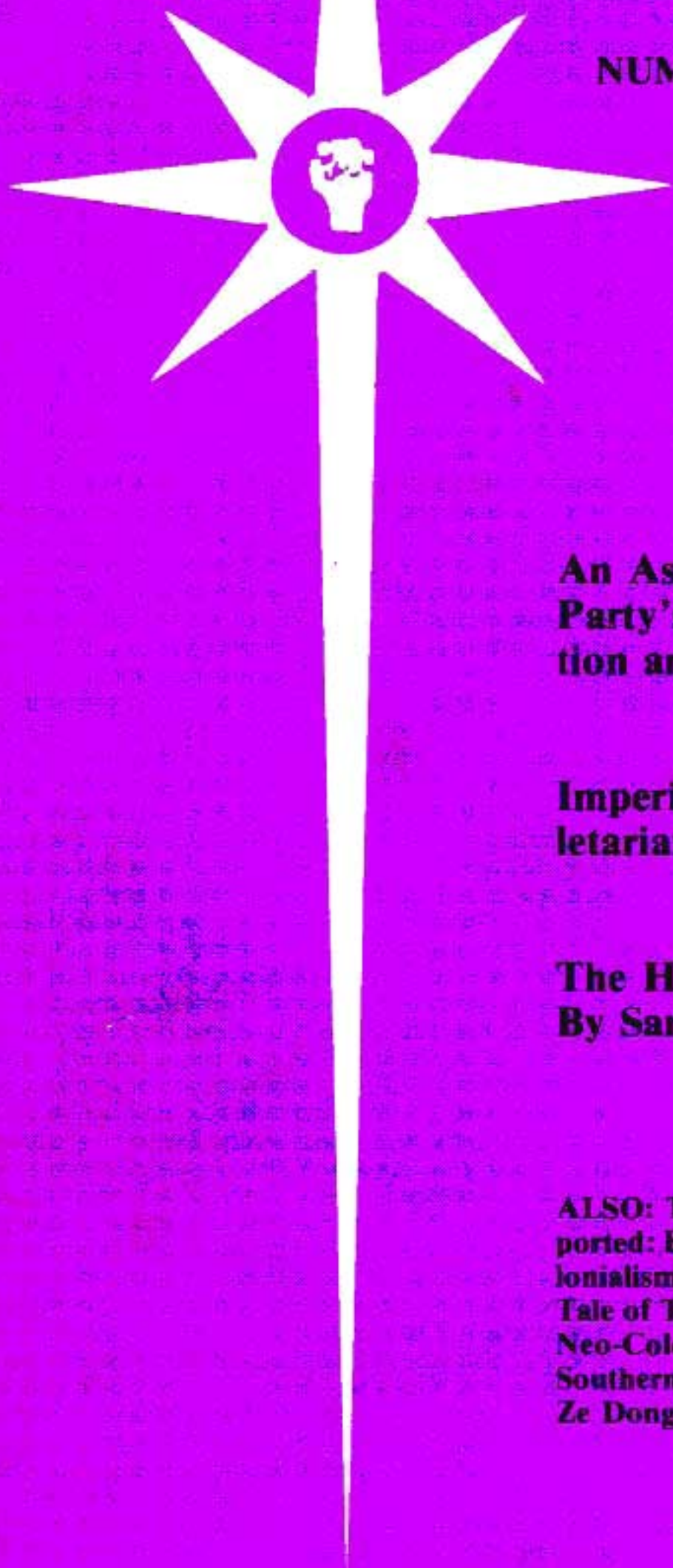
IKHWEZI

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**An Assessment of the Chinese Communist
Party's Assessment of the Cultural Revolution
and Mao Ze Dong**

**Imperialism, National Liberation and Pro-
letarian Leadership By Dan Nabudere**

**The Historical Significance of Kampuchea
By Samir Amin**

**ALSO: The Struggle for Azania – Who Should be Sup-
ported: Black Consciousness on Class, Capitalism and Co-
lonialism in Azania: Zimbabwe After Eighteen Months:
Tale of Two Constellations: The Role of the Intellectual in
Neo-Colonial Countries: Superpower Rivalry Intensifies in
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Editorial:

Superpower Rivalry Intensifies in Southern Africa

While the rivalry between the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. for world domination intensifies, with the latter on the offensive and the former now reacting aggressively to Soviet manoeuvres all over the world, Southern Africa, with South Africa as the focus, has become an intensified theatre in the global confrontation between the two superpowers which is a principal factor in world politics today. The Reagan administration pursuing reactionary policies at home and abroad has teamed up with some of the most fascist regimes in the world in an effort to counter the Soviet offensive. Whereas Reagan's predecessor, Carter, did not support the brutal Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, Reagan jumped to the assistance of the fascist reactionaries in El Salvador, leading to the wholesale slaughter of revolutionaries there. Quite obviously, in an effort to counter the Soviet offensive in Southern Africa — and the Soviet threat there is quite a grave one — Reagan has given the green light to South Africa. The recent massive invasion of Angola by South Africa could not have been undertaken without US-support. How dangerous this superpower game is to the independence and sovereignty of Southern Africa can be gauged from the fact that at the time of the invasion Soviet warships patrolled Mozambiquan waters.

Both the U.S. and the South African fascists were killing two birds with one stone. For the South Africans it was an opportunity to blast the military camps of SWAPO which is the popular movement in Namibia and which by all accounts will win a U.N. supervised election in the country. It was also an effort to give the moribund Turnhalle Alliance — a ragbag of local white racists and reactionaries and Black stooges — a chance to build up their forces in the light of such an eventual election. The U.S. fears that SWAPO is too close to the Russians and that a SWAPO victory will increase Russian influence in that part of the world. With the increase in sabotage and terroristic activities of the pro-Moscow ANC-CP set up in an effort to win the leadership of the Azanian struggle (this does not mean that the ANC-CP wishes to conduct a genuine armed struggle) there is concern by both of the net closing around them. The South Africans are very much aware that they are dealing here not with

a communist power that will justly support a liberation movement which it itself can ban and persecute, but with an imperialist power that will use every trick to intervene if it can, and which will use this intervention to impose its own new imperialist domination. In Southern Africa the main struggle of the two superpowers focusses on South Africa itself, since she is the economic linchpin of the whole mineral-rich Southern African region.

Both the U.S. and the South African fascists will eventually agree to an election in Namibia but they wish it to be one in which their puppets will come out on top. This is the real issue here. South Africa will procrastinate as long as it can but the cards are stacked against her and she cannot hold out for too long. If she poses a genuine threat to Angolan independence she will invite a reaction from the Russians and the Cubans, nor can she risk a protracted war with SWAPO that must rebound in South Africa itself where the mass upsurges intensify and where the armed struggle is slowly beginning to take shape. Already there is quite a few deserters from the Namibian front.

The South African invasion into Angola was also a chance by the U.S. to tell the Russians that they are not going to accept the kind of advances that have already been made and that they are going to hit back wherever they can. This was the meaning too of the attack on the two Libyan planes in what was clearly Libyan waters. But these are mere frantic gestures on the part of the Americans in a global confrontation they continually lose. Obviously too the South African invasion has also made the situation in Angola more favourable for UNITA which has discredited itself by collaborating with South Africa. The nature of the South African attack was also such that they did not have to embattle either the Cubans or the Russians. Their main aim was to get at SWAPO.

But while the U.S. imperialists are quite ready to standby Israel to the fullest — their recent agreement with Israel has assured this — they dare not make a similar open alliance with the South African regime, whatever tactical arrangement it might make with it. The statement by the former British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, in Johannesburg that the West will not support South Africa even in the case

of a Russian threat is closer to what most governments and peoples feel about the South African situation. South Africa itself has been taking on a gendarme role in the area. It supports the insurgency in Northern Mozambique, has trained anti-Mugabe forces, and even engaged in air attacks against Zambia. It is hardly likely that any sane U.S. regime would be foolish to give all out support to the South African regime and risk antagonising the whole of Africa, not to say the whole world. Such an alliance too would play into the hands of the Russians. The massive demonstrations in New Zealand against the Springbok Rugby Tour (to be welcomed despite the fact that the Anglo-Saxon New Zealanders also discriminate against the Black indigenous Maori population and treat them as second class citizens) has once again underlined the unpopularity of the

colonial and racist policies of the South African government amongst the peoples of the world. New Zealand was virtually plunged into civil war and it was a great gesture of solidarity with the Black peoples of Azania.

The lesson for us in Azania is quite clear. There can be no collaboration with any of the superpowers, and while our main enemy is the U.S. and other Western imperialist powers like Britain, we must be vigilant against the Soviet Union. The events in Afghanistan, Poland and Kampuchea speak out loudly about the nature of the Soviet beast. The Russian aim is domination, control. As long as we rely on our own masses no power on earth can subjugate us.

SUPERPOWERS AND OTHER IMPERIALIST POWERS OUT OF AZANIA!

Black Consciousness: Class, Capitalism and Colonialism in Azania

Mr. Kehla Mthembu, president of Azapo, delivered this address to the Hammanskraal symposium of Azapo recently where close to 200

It has become rather necessary for me to reaffirm black consciousness, a philosophy which has been the driving force in the black struggle for humanity in the past two decades.

Some prophets of doom have organised themselves into well-orchestrated choirs, unfortunately conducted by black deserters and white liberals, who sing a chorus that BC has exhausted itself or rather finished its cycle.

From the discussions and deliberations at this symposium it is obvious even to the most naive mind that BC is still viable and effective, it definitely has a room.

It is apparent that in the dynamism of the South African situation BC is the philosophy that enables us, the oppressed, to view the struggle in its proper perspective.

It is in this light that I view this symposium as a collective and joint endeavour by all progressive forces in the country to rededicate themselves to this liberatory philosophy and not to treat this symposium merely as an intellectual gymnasium 'to sharpen our minds'.

Historically BC has been defined as an attitude of mind and a way of life. Azapo fully

delegates representing a number of black bodies supporting black consciousness philosophy met.

identifies and subscribes to this definition, as we view an attitude of mind as material consciousness of a people in their existential situation, an awareness of the oppressed people of their economic, political and social position.

In our existential situation BC identifies the oppressor and the oppressed, the exploiters and the exploited, the dispossessor and the dispossessed, the dominator and the dominated and thus refuses and rejects acceptance of the myth that we are fighting the white government ONLY. It views the problem simply as white oppressing blacks through their elected government, its state machinery and capital.

I, as president of Azapo, the only overt, national and progressive political organisation in the country, commit the organisation to vigilantly protect and propagate this liberatory philosophy which reflects and expresses the interests and aspirations of the majority of the oppressed people of Azania.

To those who always shout "racism" to all black initiative, we wish to remind them that racism is nothing else but the discrimination of one group against the other for the purpose of economic, social, political exploitation and op-

pression.

BC therefore cannot be called a racist philosophy, since it seeks to eradicate such inequalities and conflicts in our society and establishes an open and egalitarian society. A society free of exploitation of man by man, a society which will hold human interest and dignity above profit-inspired motives.

Our realistic analysis of our situation presents the following stark realities; the conquering and colonisation of our land by the white settler group; the dispossession of our land and the consequences thereof being that the black nation has lost all sources of livelihood to the white dispossessor, and has thus been forced to depend for their subsistence in primarily working in the white farms, mines, factories and white service institutions.

This situation has led to fact that all means of production lie in white hands and this is further entrenched in the legislation of one white colonial government after the other.

I want to argue that colonial and capitalist societies are characterised by a hierarchical ranking of its people. Classes are inherent of all colonised and capitalist societies.

In any industrialised society we have those who own, or those who manage the productive processes on behalf of the owners on the one hand, and those who do not own.

Blacks are the most ruthlessly exploited and oppressed in South Africa for they are the dispossessed, they do not own land, they do not own the means of production, they do not wield any meaningful or significant political power, they are dominated and oppressed by the white minority settler group. The material position in which the black man finds himself in is determined in both racial and economic dimensions, thus reducing all blacks to a class of workers. Therefore in South Africa race is a class determinant.

One's position in the prevailing capitalistic society should not be viewed in terms of economic advantages only. The fact that one as a member of the black race is denied political power does not make him a member of the white group which wields both political and economic power.

On the labour front, whites consider blacks as a threat to their exclusive and protected privileges, security and welfare. Whites en masse are the perpetrators of this exploitative and oppressive status quo.

This has always made alliances between

blacks and whites laughable and impractical.

As long as the present political and economic system persists, there will be no shared ideology between black and white people who are workers – the economic backbone of a country, against their common oppression and exploitation.

We are not imposing this analysis to our situation. In both practice and theory we must reflect the basis of our class and racial struggle.

Conflicts, competing interests and white domination should always be viewed in their true perspective. It follows therefore that the liberation movement should constantly identify and resolve the emerging contradictions in their struggle.

The strengths, weaknesses and viability of the BC philosophy should be viewed in its ability to be scientifically flexible and adaptable to changing situation, circumstances and demands.

Our adaptation and flexibility has always been based on scientific analysis and approach. This shall entail the search not for absolute truths but for the fundamental facts, the material and objective condition blacks find themselves in.

This truism cannot be over-emphasised. In accordance with our policy we shall adapt all progressive thoughts of humanity to our unique situation. We therefore refuse to be puppets of any individual, group or organisation in our country.

We owe allegiance to our country to rid it off capitalism and its associate tentacles. We shall also adapt the fundamental tenets of the African culture.

Accepting that the material situation of our African life has been destroyed, influenced and disrupted by the colonial, imperialist, social economic and political forces, culture will be utilised only in as far as it is relevant and contributory to our people, for we see the white man always striving to justify his domination and position at the expense of the black people.

In order that blacks relentlessly and gallantly struggle for their liberation, they must, of necessity, have their own ideology (in this case black consciousness) born out of the common experiences.

BC in this light promotes the solidarity and unity of black national struggle.

Blacks will never fully assert their humanity

and culture before they achieve their sovereign goal and ideal liberation.

We are not a liberal nationalist organisation, but a revolutionary and progressive organisation. Therefore our allies can not be Savimbi, or the terrorists fighting to topple the People's Republic of Mozambique.

We are not fellow travellers with such retrogressive, conservative and collaborationist forces such as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, or Swapo-Democrats in Namibia. We do not share aims or outlooks with the recently humiliated shortsighted or white-sponsored and capitalist-inspired elements in Zimbabwe – the Muzorewas and associates.

Black consciousness was not a product or an invention of a genius, as white liberal press and literature would like us to believe. It was a logical and an inevitable fruition of a historical and economic exploitation of the colonial and capitalist system. This has been apparent in the history of the black liberation struggle in Azania.

It has remained the task of the BC move-

ment to give the philosophy its theoretical and organisational form. Black consciousness shall never become an obsolete philosophy in the struggle of the black people in the Azanian soil.

On the basis of black consciousness, we find it imperative for the black people to fight for their own liberation; to strive to eliminate the basic tenets of colonialism and apartheid; to usher in majority rule (blacks being the majority); to sustain and maintain the results after our liberation struggle.

The basic assumption of this being that all should live in Azania on the blackman's terms. Less than this basic assumption there will not be liberation and independence. For the land and the wealth of the country should be equitably shared and distributed to the people who owe their allegiance to the undivided and united Azania.

No force can conquer us while we continue and struggle with a solidarity and unity that is constantly and vigilantly guarded or enshrined in all of us – the black people.

The Struggle for Azania: Who Do We Support

With the international interest in Azania sharpening and a totally unwarranted bias shown by the Anti-Apartheid Movements in the West towards the ANC-CP, an Australian solidarity movement (ABOSA), Australian Bureau of Southern African Affairs, tries to answer the question who should be supported in the Azanian struggle. While we agree with the views expressed herein, nevertheless, we think that the duty of the international movement is to give support to all the liberation movements recognised by the OAU and to leave it to the Azanian masses to decide who are their proper representatives among the liberation movements. There is obviously a need at the mo-

The struggle for a free and independent Azania (South Africa) is intensifying, and the present decade likely to see it achieved. But as the struggle escalates so does the problem of identifying those forces who are the true incumbents of African aspiration who should be the custodians of power in a new and just African society. Faced with a number of different organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress, the African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement, als well as the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and

ment to put an end to the one-sided support that the Anti-Apartheid Movements gives to ANC-CP. Many of the Anti-Apartheid Movements in the West are controlled by the revisionist Communist Parties, obviously promoting Moscow's policies in the Southern Africa region. We are aware also that with the Soviet Union, an imperialist superpower, threatening the peace of the world it might increasingly become an issue amongst progressives all over the world whether organisations which are their direct agents in promoting its designs of world domination, can be supported as in the case of the ANC of South Africa.

others, the Western observer may be excused some confusion as to whom his/her allegiance be directed.

It is to clarify these differences, both in historical perspective and in present strategies, that this paper is written. If this brief summary achieves that goal, ABOSA feels this will be a contribution to the just struggle of the African majority in what is now South Africa.

**The Seeds of Black
Struggle – Lembede and Mda**

Whereas in 1912 the South African Native National Congress was set up „to seek redress for black grievances and teach the African people their rights and duties“(1), it was not until the mid nineteen forties that the first defined aims of Black African nationalism were articulated.

Anton Lembede has been called the 'father of Africanism' and it was he, a young Catholic law clerk from a Zulu village, who became the first lucid voice for African aspirations and who's teachings did so much to direct and shape the struggle within Azania.

To that time the ANC (African National Congress) had emerged only slowly from its origins as "an elitist social movement of limited membership" (2), to its near decline and collapse at the hands of the All Africa Convention at Bloemfontein in 1935. Under Pixley Seme the ANC had become almost completely moribund, and it was not until he was replaced by Dr. Alfred Xuma in 1946 that Lembede emerged on to the scene. Xuma was like Seme of elitist and urban background, and both lacked the 'common touch.'. It was thus left to Lembede and A.P. Mda to formulate and infuse the movement with a new analysis and thrust.

Lembede was responsible for the establishment of the newly formed ANC Youth League along with others like Mandela and Sisulu, but unlike them Lembede came from poor labouring parents, while Mandela was of Royal blood of the Tembu and Sisulu, the son of a headman in the Transkei.

The Youth League Manifesto of March 1946, largely written by Lembede and Mda, begins: - "Whereas Africanism must be promoted, i.e. Africans must struggle for development, progress and national liberation so as to occupy their rightful place among the nations of the world ... (and continues) ... African youth must be united, consolidated, trained and disciplined because from their ranks future leaders will be recruited ... (3) and in a paper by Lembede entitled 'Some Basic Principles of African Nationalism', published in February 1945 he writes:

"The functional structure of Bantu society is socialism. There was for instance no individual ownership of land in ancient Bantu society. There were no landlords, nor absentee landlords ... Our task is to develop this socialism by the infusion of new and modern socialistic ideas ..."

and again in May 1946, Lembede wrote in

'Ikundla ya Bantu': -

"The history of modern times is the history of nationalism. Nationalism has been tested in peoples' struggles and fires of battle and found to be the only effective antidote against foreign rule and imperialism ... A new spirit of Africanism or African nationalism is pervading and stirring African society ..."

It was in the same paper that Lembede spelt out the idea of "two stage revolution" that he saw as imperative for the liberation of South Africa - first national liberation, then socialism.

The achievement of national liberation will herald a new era, the era of African socialism. Our first task is however not socialism but national liberation ..."(4).

Lembede was concerned at the effects of white oppression, especially at the psychological inferiority that the system of white rule had engendered. He preempted the whole thrust of Black Consciousness (that was to emerge two decades later) when he wrote: -

"Moral degeneration is assuming alarming proportions and manifests itself in loss of self-confidence ... inferiority complex ... and idolization of the white man ..." and he also warned strongly against 'white liberalism' - those white progressives, as he called them. When he became the first President of the Transvaal Youth League he turned down a request from Ruth First, then secretary of the all-white Progressive Youth Council and member of the SACP, who sought affiliation with the Youth League: -

"Dear Madam, ... We fear there is a yawning gulf between your philosophic outlook and ours. We are devoting our energies to the greatest national struggle of all time ... to galvanize, organise and consolidate (our people) ... into one homogenous nation ..."(5).

'Africa is a black man's country, said Lembede, and he spelled out the rationale of his Pan Africanist vision very explicitly, speaking against the tribalism that Pretoria had engendered, and stressing the necessity for unity and nationhood for all Africans.

"Africans are natives of Africa, and they have inhabited Africa from time immemorial. Africa belongs to them. Africans are one ..."

Lembede emphasised that Africans alone could realise self reliance. "Foreigners of whatever brand or hue can never properly and correctly interpret this spirit."

In this and other speeches Lembede spoke

out against the incursion and influence of the white-dominated South African Communist Party which had been formed in the nineteen twenties and which tried and achieved a high degree of hegemony over the ANC. Lembede was adamant in his opposition to 'good whites' as some members of the ANC referred to the white liberals and CP members who wanted to lead their black brothers to emancipation . . .'

"We go it alone or we are not worth going it at all", said one of Lembede's contemporaries.

Lembede died at the age of thirty three in 1947 "worn out by illness and toil" but he had lit a flame that was taken up by supporters like A.P.Mda, and later by Sobukwe and Steve Biko.

Mda held firmly to Lembede's cardinal principle of self reliance, psychological emancipation and faith in a Black ruled South Africa. He led a small but significant faction within the ANC, the majority of whom still tagged along with a reformist, liberalistic line of faith in the old principles of "trusteeship and white liberalism". They believed that such would grant them a better deal under the existing system, and their leadership did not disillusion them.

Mda saw success in laying a strong ideological foundation which could serve as the basis for a mass movement. He saw the Youth League as a means to this end, and was, like Lembede, sensitive to the Africans' psychological plight, and the concept of two stage revolution – to break white domination, then to democratise society to avoid the emergence of an African elite. Both Lembede and Mda saw revolution as the only solution to African problems, and in this they differed widely from the leaders of the ANC. But the real divisions surfaced in the introduction of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

The Charter

The Africanists saw the drawing up of the Charter as an attempt to destroy the nation-building plans of Lembede and Mda. The multi-racialist Charter was the offspring of the SACP/ANC leadership who used it to abort the 1949 Plan of Action put forward by the Youth League to implement Lembede's ideas. The Charter was instead a plan to heed the white-led CP's plans for the retention of their

leadership over the African nationalist movement.

The Charter immediately drew tremendous fire from the Africanists, who described it as 'political bluff' – 'trying to woo all', and phrases like: – "There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and the schools for all national groups and races . . ."

were an anathema to the Africanists who saw this as a perpetuation of the apartheid system of racial distinction, and contrary to the non-racial philosophy of the Africanists. They wanted no reference to race, no divisions along ethnic lines, only allegiance to one people – one nation – South Africa.

„The Freedom Charter has avoided the correct nationalist definition of the African struggle as being one of dispossessor versus dispossessed . . ."

Sobukwe, later to become leader of the PAC, was more vehement: –

"The Africans are asked, through their spineless leaders, not to embarrass their "friends and allies" . . . and to water down their demands in order to accommodate all anti-government forces in the country. We are asked to grin and bear it so our ,friends can plead for us . . ."

The outcry of the Africanists against the Charter was to provoke nasty counter actions by the CP-ANC against them. The Africanists were labelled "anti-white", "inverted racialisists" and "Black chauvinists" by the CP/ANC leadership who felt their power being eroded if whites were excluded from the echelons of command in the nationalist struggle. African cries of "Africa for the Africans" and "Ourselves Alone" were perceived by white liberals as threatening to the vested interest and their position as "radical whites" who considered themselves as the "arbiters of political maturity".

Contrasting Strategies

Whereas the ANC were appealing to the class interests of the Indians who held an economically higher strata than many Africans, and to the educated suburban Africans and better-off Coloureds, the Africanists were trying to incorporate the most oppressed African workers, and the poorer Indians, and Sobukwe states: –

"The poor, downtrodden 'stinking coolies'

of Natal who alone can identify with the indigenous African majority in the struggle to overthrow white supremacy, were being left out ... (and not catered for in the ANC aims and policies). "We must be the embodiment of these people's aspirations", he said.

Sobukwe reiterated Lembede's cry for Pan Africanism – the unity of all Africans in an African mode of development, independence from white hegemony, and the instilling of African pride and African dignity, to lead to the creation of African socialism. The PAC was to be the vehicle for the realisation of these goals.

The Africanists emphasis on a black nation versus the settler race was considered a threat to the CP/ANC who tried to avoid this by upholding the multiracialism of the Charter. Only by appeal to multiracialism could the white part of the CP leadership be sustained in the struggle.

Similarly the ANC has long claimed a 'marxist analysis' in that the interests of the white working class was enveloped in the ANC's struggle for 'socialism'. The fact was, said the Africanists, that the white working class (predominantly in the tertiary sector) was by definition of being white, strictly aligned to the apartheid system.

The influence of the SACP has always been a strong determiner of ANC policies and direction. It remains so to this day as we shall see later.

Black Consciousness

In the closing stages of the nineteen sixties the challenge of Africanism versus multi-racialism was again taken up by SASO (the South African Students Organisation) which broke away from the white-led NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) and began the moves which led to the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement.

SASO was in direct opposition to the ANC: – "SASO was distinct in two ways; it sought to unite Coloureds, Africans and Indians within its organisation, not simply to associate their separate movements in a common front as had the ANC; and in addition its leaders made a calculated effort to instil a new Black consciousness by deliberately and openly separating themselves from the liberal whites who had long supported Africans claims. In some ways they were echoing the Africanism of the PAC ..."(7).

Steve Biko became the foremost name in the

Black Consciousness Movement, and he too spoke out against white liberalism: –

... that curious bunch of do-gooders that goes under all sorts of names – liberals, leftists, etc, – these people are those who argue that they are not responsible for white racism – who claim to feel the oppression just as acutely as blacks and therefore should be jointly involved in the black man's struggle – in short they are black souls wrapped up in white skins. These liberals arrogantly presume that the country's problems require integration as a means as well as an end ... hence the multiracial political organisations and parties." (8)

He went on to say that integration was artificial because the whites concerned had been drawn from segregated societies and had built-in complexes of superiority.

Arrogance amongst the SACP was a major factor in Black Consciousness catching on among blacks of all backgrounds, who had been wary of Communist Party interference in the decision-making echelons of the ANC. The attitudes of whites who proclaimed that 'we whites know the way, and you must follow us and do our bidding' caused strong resentment among Blacks, as did the efforts of the ANC to promote multi-racialism at the expense of nationhood among Blacks.

The land issue has always been foremost for Africanists and implicit in the land issue is the idea of a black nation versus a white settler group.

Letsatsi Masala of AZAPO was later to articulate this: – "It is logical and inevitable that the exploited Black Nation should seek redress – as a nation, and all its activities organised along such lines."

It was Biko who stated that the 'greatest mistake the Black world ever made was to assume that whoever opposed apartheid was an ally'.

Thus stemmed from Lembede the ideas and aims that were taken up by Mda, Sobukwe and Biko and others. All had a common belief and a common goal – all proclaimed the Africanist causes – the overthrow of the white colonial regime to be followed by the establishment of an independent socialist nation. It was a struggle that could only be achieved by the oppressed, the blacks themselves, not by whites, not by integration, not by the current ANC philosophy. Thus were sown and germinated the seeds of Black struggle, and from them the divergences that remain today in Azania.

Perceptions, Aims and Obstacles in the Struggle

There have emerged then two contrasting parties — on the one hand the ANC/SACP, and on the other the Africanists. The latter group now includes as well as the PAC, AZAPO and Black Consciousness, and newly formed organisations such as MWASA (Media Workers Association of South Africa). The points of divergence between these two groups are many, but as Andrew Lukele states, multi-racialism must be reemphasised: —

“The issue that is posed is Black Unity versus multi-racialism; the ANC are conceived as proponents of multi-racialism, little different from out and out liberals...” and implicit in the multi-racialist approach was one of integrationism — a clause in the Freedom Charter calls for the nationalization of banks, mines etc, but this was seen as taking place within the framework of the predominantly white capitalist system. Luthuli said at the Treason Trial: — „It is not Congress (ANC) policy to do away with the private ownership of the means of production...“

The ANC policies were formed in a very different milieu from those of the Africanists, and consequently reflect a vastly different perspective.

The South Africa of the fifties which produced the ANC leaders of today — Tambo, Mandela etc. was a place where as Lewis Nkosi puts it ... it was possible to organise marches to police stations ... possible to go to the same universities as white students ... there were racially mixed parties ...” and he added, “This was the end of one kind of South Africa and the beginning of another.“

In such a world an integrationist policy was perhaps inevitable, and as Gail Gerhardt puts it: — “the select world of writers, white universities, and multi-racial gatherings ... was the milieu where the ANC’s policies took shape“.

Democracy for the ANC meant representative government for all groups and races within the state. Did not the charter say ‘equal rights for all races etc?’ Did not the Charter say ‘all national groups shall be protected’? Did not the Charter say that ‘all peoples shall have equal rights to their own languages, customs’ etc? Nationhood seemed very far from this idea of federation of diverse groups and races.

Democracy for the Africanists meant quite simply rule for the majority. While the ANC was influenced by the apartheid-separated In-

dian Congress and Coloured Congress, and wished to draw them in under a banner of ‘shared nationhood’, they, at the same time, levelled accusations of ‘racial exclusiveness’ at the PAC and Africanists.

The failure of the ANC to perceive the colonial nature of the struggle has been expressed by others: — “The ANC denies the existence of an oppressor nation and an oppressed nation. The ANC therefore advocates the pursuit of a policy of multi-racialism — which is both historically and ideologically incorrect. The land question is the heart of the national question in Azania,“

Said Henry Isaacs of the PAC. Africanists see that the land is theirs by right, by fact of indigenous occupation and by majority status. The mere fact that white settlers have lived there for some 300 years does not give them a right to ownership nor alienation of the land.

Aims and Obstacles

Just as perceptions of the struggle differ between the ANC/CP and the Africanist groups, so do the means to achieve the ends. Both have very different aims in the use of armed struggle, which both have had to adopt.

For the ANC armed struggle appears to be a means of bringing pressure to bear upon the white administration in order to extract concessions from them. It is a means of influencing white voters to accommodate black aspirations, perhaps of attaining civil rights within a prevailing system.

For the PAC and AZAPO it is a means of attaining political power, overthrowing the white regime, and seizing power for the people. As an essential prerequisite for this, the PAC sees politicization as a necessary tool for mobilization. Thus on the one hand we see ‘random terror tactics’ employed, while on the other we see the mobilization of workers educated in the concept of nationhood and unity, being prepared for a major onslaught to seize state power, as opposed to achieving reforms.

To achieve their ends the ANC/CP rely largely upon the help of the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc nations. This alignment has grown up over the years due to the liaison between the SACP (a hard line Moscow party) and the Congress. This external relationship results in the ANC receiving large quantities of arms, equipment and supplies from the Soviet bloc. This alignment has created a high degree of dependency for the ANC as well as support. It

has also weakened the ANC's claim to represent the people of Azania.

Soviet/CP hegemony has meant that much decision making within the ANC is undertaken by white or black Moscow appointed personnel. A recent example of this is the case of Joe Slovo, a white South African lawyer and long-time leading light in the SACP. Early this year Slovo was removed from his post as supreme commander of the ANC military wing, in order to make way for a black commander. This was due to pressure from young cadres who expressed their dissatisfaction at the hegemony of the CP in the leadership.

Africa Confidential (January 1981) stated the concern. Slovo was "head of Umkonto (military wing of the ANC) largely because of what the ANC describes as a 'structural arrangement with the SACP'; in effect a pooling of technical and political resources, with the small but efficient SACP maintaining its prominence (some call it predominance) because of excellent access to money and arms from the USSR with whom it remains strongly aligned ..."

The PAC has been careful not to rely upon any one major source of external support, but they do receive support from many overseas countries, including Scandinavian nations, Yugoslavia, the People's Republic of China and many support organisations in the West. They also receive humanitarian aid from several United Nations agencies.

One of the effects of ANC dependency and alignment with the Soviets has been to play into Pretoria's propaganda hands. The Botha administration has always identified the *major* threat to white security as being that of the 'communist menace' - and due to the ANC's Soviet connection this can easily be relayed to the West when Pretoria needs help and sustenance from its external allies. Thus it has become white South African policy to label all acts as 'ANC inspired or implemented', thus removing any feeling that the truly Africanist voice is being heard in the struggle.

In fairness one must ask whether the removal of Slovo is a sign of real change within the ANC, but then the recent talks with Chief Gatsa Buthelezi's 'Inkhata' movement, when the leadership of the two groups met in London, implies that the ANC has not strayed far from its opportunist tactics, and its 'incorporation of all' in its struggle.

The Soviet Union is known to have real economic and political interests in Southern Africa as it has in the Horn of Africa. It is naive to believe as some ANC supporters do, that the Russians are altruistic in their support for the ANC. After all the Soviets have worked hard to proclaim only those groups which receive their hegemony and ignore those who fight for independence by independence. One must also bear in mind the recent evidence of Soviet collusion with Pretoria. (9)

The ANC leadership, now finding itself increasingly divorced from many rank and file cadres, is older, longer exiled and much more elitist than that of the PAC etc, which has closer 'grass-roots' links. John Pokela, new leader of the PAC has been actively coordinating cells within South Africa this year, and the PAC Central Committee is composed of younger, more recently exiled and more fired in the struggle personnel than those in the ANC. Whether younger ANC members can change and reinvigorate their leadership seems doubtful.

Conclusion

In the interests of the majority of the people of Azania, ABOSA believes that only through the fulfilment of the Africanist struggle can a just solution be achieved in Azania.

Moves currently under way to unify further the organisations that belong to the Africanist cause, PAC, AZAPO, Black Consciousness and other groups, give us hope that the will of the significant majority will be represented in the final stages, despite the machinations of Pretoria and Moscow to avert this.

References:

- (1) Mary Benson, "The Struggle for a Birthright", Penguin.
- (2) Gibson, "The Liberation Movements of South Africa".
- (3) Karis and Carter, "From Protest to Challenge".
- (4) As above.
- (5) As above.
- (6) Gail Gerhardt, "Black Power in South Africa".
- (7) Gwendolin Carter, "Southern Africa, The Continuing Crisis".
- (8) Biko, "Black Souls and White Skin".
- (9) Evidence of Soviet-South African collusion may be found in the following:
 - a. *Financial Times* (London) - Nov 13 and 26 1980. This covers covert deals between Moscow and Pretoria on prices of precious metals.
 - b. *Windhoek Observer* - 24 December 1980, quoting *Der Spiegel* refers to collusion between South Africa and the Soviet Union in support for UNITA in Angola.
 - c. *Die Vaderland* - 26 October 1978 relates to an earlier report by Andrew de Borchgarve of *Newsweek* and concerns secret visits to Pretoria by high level KGB delegates for talks about recognition of the ANC or SACP.
 - d. *Jeune Afrique* - May 1980 reports secret negotiations between the Soviets and the South African administration concerning mineral technology between the West German Kloeckner-Humboldt-Deutz and Gold Fields of South Africa through whom the deal is being initiated to obtain Soviet technology.

Tale of Two Constellations

(From Economic and Political Weekly of India)

Front Line States Confront South Africa in New Regional Association

While the struggles for political liberation in Southern Africa and racist South Africa's violent attempts to destabilise independent states in the region get considerable coverage in news and debates, equally important developments on non-war fronts do not receive enough attention. The efforts towards economic integration of Southern Africa is one such less-noticed area.

At present, two parallel strategies with fundamentally opposite objectives are proposed and pushed forward to encourage economic integration of the region. The first is racist South Africa's regional integration approach, called "Constellation of Southern African States", directed towards ensuring permanent economic dependence of its black neighbours and thus acquiring additional capability to make them 'behave'. The second strategy directed towards economic liberation of Southern Africa is proposed by nine independent states of the region (often described as 'frontline states') opposed to South African policies and its domination of the region. The nine countries are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, often described as SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference) countries.

South African Strategy

In the case of South Africa, the constellation move forms an integral part of the overall strategy for survival of racial policies. In fact, the constellation idea is the fourth attempt in 13 years by the National Party government to make a breakthrough in its relations with black Africa. The first was former Prime Minister Voster's launching of the so-called 'Outward Movement' in February 1968. Next was his 'secret diplomacy of dialogue' in 1970 and 1971, mostly with French speaking African states and Zambia. Then in 1974 came his 'detente' offensive when he met certain African leaders in a move to solve the Rhodesian crisis. Named differently at different times, the strategy has in essence remained the same; to induce African countries through economic incentives to enter into some degree of economic co-operation with South Africa thus breaking South African isolation and eventually reducing liberation pressures.

Botha's 'constellation' idea was first introduced in a parliamentary speech on April 19, 1979, as a part of 'new foreign policy course', aimed towards re-establishment of detente with 'moderate' African leaders and signing of a non-aggression pact between co-operating block of Southern African states. Officially inspired euphoric reports predicted an establishment of a 'Commonwealth-like club' of Southern African states as a forerunner of an eventual confederation of independent states forming part of a Pretoria orbit. Some theorists of the Pretoria-based Africa institute went to the extent of locating in the 'new foreign policy course' germs of a potential non-aligned South Africa playing an 'influential' role within the North-South debate as an advanced developed country within the South rather than as an actor in the stalemated East-West (cold war) rivalry.

If one ignores South Africa's apartheid system, the constellation could make sense on an economic ground. In fact, some ad hoc arrangements of this nature already exist in the form of Southern African Customs Union (involving South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland) and the Rand Currency Area (involving all above, except Botswana, but including Namibia). There also exists some economic co-operation between South Africa, Zambia and Mozambique due to sheer compulsions of geography and commerce. A vital element in the past and present moves towards Pretoria constellations has been the 'railway diplomacy'. It is one area in which states of the region have become increasingly dependent on South Africa in recent years. The South African Railways operating through Zimbabwe to Zambia and as far north as Zaire's mineral rich Shaba province have carried almost 50 per cent of Zambian and Shaba exports. The blowing up of the vital Zambesi river bridge on Tazara railway line during the later phase of the Rhodesian war pushed Zambian traffic away from Dar Es Salaam port to South African ports. Continuing South African attacks on Angola and liberation wars in other areas have rendered non South-African ports almost inaccessible. The right use of 'railway communication' is a vital element of the 'constellation' strategy.

During the spadework for the proposed 'constellation', Botha got full support and blessings of big businesses, when he along with his cabinet met in November 1979 around 350 businessmen including some black businessmen. Even the English speaking business sector which controls more than 80 per cent of the

economy and who appear to oppose the Afrikaner government's policies saw a sign of change and promised to co-operate with the government. This in turn positively influenced a number of Western countries. Hence onward propagation of the 'constellation idea' became a joint task of both the Pretoria government and private business who also looked for wide and secure pastures in black Africa once the scheme took off.

However, by early 1980 it was clear that the original grandiose idea of a constellation of states reaching from Pretoria to Lusaka was a dead duck. The election results in Zimbabwe (a vital kingpin of the proposed scheme) in February 1980 frustrated the hopes of Pretoria. Zimbabwe, under a more agreeable leadership, was expected to play a key role in the Pretoria constellation. In fact, before the elections, Bishop Muzorewa (South Africa's choice for Zimbabwe leadership) publicly hailed Botha's constellation idea.

Only a month after the elections in Zimbabwe, the Lusaka Conference signed the declaration of economic liberation of the region which crushed all remaining hopes of Pretoria. What shocked Botha was that even Lesotho, Swaziland (both virmal islands within South African territory) and Botswana, so highly dependent on South Africa, as well as Malawi (the only country in the region having diplomatic relations with South Africa and known for its pro-Western policies) joined the other Southern African states. And when on July 22, 1980, the Pretoria Constellation was finally launched, it was little more than a damb squib - some thing of a non-event.

SADCC Move

The alternative grouping of nine independent states in Southern Africa may not have the wealth and infrastructure of the dimensions possessed by South Africa, but their strongest asset is a commom desire to reduce their dependence on that country and have close co-operation for mutual economic development.

The dependence of Southern African states on South Africa is both a historical and geographical product of the region and strong efforts may be needed to reduce it. Pretoria has always treated the territories north of Limpopo as natural markets for its large and expanding industries. The unilateral declaration of 'independence' in Rhodesia and the Portuguese decision to open its colonies to foreign in-

vestment in 1965 further helped Pretoria in achieving its objective. By 1978 South African exports to 25 African countries was \$ 521 million per year. South African Capital's control over economies of independent states is illustrated by the following: a single company, the Anglo-American De Beers Conglomerate, mines diamonds in Angola, Botswana and Lesotho; copper in Zambia and Botswana; and coal in Botswana and Swaziland, quite apart from its enormous investments in Zimbabwe and Mozambique and its increasing involvement in Zambian agriculture and controlling interests in Benguela Railways in Angola.

However, the Southern nine are not equally dependent on South Africa, which at times directly or indirectly influence their individual decisions regarding sacrifices for the group (Mozambique, for instance, has refused to stop South African exports through its ports). Regarding dependence, at the one end of the scale is Lesotho, entirely surrounded by South African territory, which does 90 per cent of its trade and meets all its energy requirements from South Africa. It has a quarter of a million workers employed in South Africa, about ten times the number of workers having jobs at home. On the other end is Tanzania, a front-line state for liberation struggles in Southern Africa more by inclination than by geography, which stopped migrant labour for South Africa in 1961 and nationalised firms with substantial South African holdings. Botswana and Swaziland are hardly better off than Lesotho. The Customs Union and Rand Monetary Zone mean that they buy most of their common goods from South Africa. The latter supplies 80 per cent and 90 per cent of imports of Botswana and Swaziland respectively, which include all oil supplies. South Africa is a major export market for agricultural produce of these countries. Mozambique's colonial economy was structured solely as a source of cheap labour and communication routes to South Africa. Since independence it has not been able to break these constraints. Though South Africa has cancelled the 'Mozambique convention' which guaranteed a quota of mine workers in exchange for payment in gold the colonial government, nearly 30000 workers (compared to the quota of 150000 in the past) are annually recruited by South Africa. Mozambique's dependence on South African traffic through Maputo (for additional foreign exchange) has in fact increased. Angola, both because of its mineral wealth and absence of traffic links with it, is far less dependent on South Africa.

Of course it relies heavily on South African expertise and investment in mining. Zambia too has stopped export of labour for South Africa after independence, but its dependence on South Africa is substantial due to what is called the 'communication trap' faced by a land locked country. In 1978 it reopened its southern rail links with South Africa and within 11 months its copper exports through South African ports reached 544000 tons compared to only 272000 tons through Dar Es Salaam port, Tanzania. Unlike the other eight countries, Malawi under Banda is a fairly willing dependent of South Africa. In 1967, Malawi was the only African state to reach a trade agreement with South Africa on the plea that sanctions against Rhodesia snatched its major trading partner. In 1979, South Africa accounted for more than 50 per cent of Malawi's export earnings. Malawi resumed recruitment of migrant labour for South Africa in 1977, which has been stopped in 1974. Of the nine states, Zimbabwe's links with South Africa are most unclear. It is estimated that of the total productive investment in Zimbabwe, two-thirds is owned by foreign companies of which nearly half is by South African companies.

Transport First

The situation is thus diverse as far as economic links between South Africa and rest of the regional states are concerned. All the nine (even Tanzania, indirectly) have common links with South Africa in transport, which also explains heavy involvement in trade with it. The transport problem assumes significant proportions because six out of the nine countries are also land locked. Further, of the limited outlets to sea, some of the direct routes are either damaged or inaccessible due to continuing guerrilla wars for liberation in different parts of the region. Hence, though humiliating, many of the Southern Nine have to depend on South African rolling stocks and technicians. The consequent vulnerability of these states to South African manipulation is illustrated by South African Railway's deliberate delay in delivering fertiliser imports of Zambia during 1978. This accentuated the drought induced shortfall in production. Subsequently Zambia had to import 100000 tons of maize from South Africa.

The Nine are aware of such vulnerability

and hence the formation of South African Transport and Commission got the highest priority in their seven-point programme. The other items on the programme are: regional measures to control foot and mouth disease; greater co-operation in industrial and energy policies; a regional food and security plan; pooling of national training facilities; a regional agricultural research centre mainly to deal with drought prone areas; and regional development fund.

In November 1980, a major conference of the Nine states in Maputo gave concrete substance and content to the Lusaka constellation when the leaders of the nine countries met representatives from 30 governments and 18 international agencies. Aid of \$650 million was pledged by different funding agencies to the nine SADCC countries having a population of 60 million people, an area of five million square kilometers, a gross domestic product of some \$ 20 billion, and substantial mineral and economic potential. In keeping with the priorities, a Transport Harbour and Communication Commission (TANDC) with headquarters at Maputo was established. 97 projects involving harbours, railways, roads and telecommunications were presented for funding. Vital ports and transport links have been identified for immediate development work, to reduce dependence on South African communication facilities.

Though SADCC countries have started work in right earnest, some critics maintain that their plans fall far short of the requirements to reduce dependence on South Africa. The critics point out that there is no proposal for reducing migrant labour (which is crucial for South Africa). They see no proposal to reduce the role of the white farmer sector, about two-thirds of the total maize is grown on large white-owned farms in Zambia and in Zimbabwe, even more than two-thirds, to cite two examples. These white-owned farms could well serve South African strategy to control food in the Nine states.

The SADCC proposals may not be radical. But one can still say that given the diversity of political systems in the member countries and their respective degree of dependence on South Africa, a beginning, with the minimum possible agreement has been made.

Zimbabwe – The First 18 Months

(By a Correspondent)

“We don’t want to let the commercial farms turn into new Tribal Trust Lands”, exclaimed emphatically a Zimbabwean speaker at an international conference on rural development convened by the Zimbabwe Economic Society in June 1981 in Harare (Salisbury). Nobody in the lecture hall of the tiny academic ivory tower where the conference took place could have objected to that statement as nobody can seriously consider the congested, poor serviced and underdeveloped rural black reserves a model for resettlement and rural development. Nevertheless a hot debate had ensued at the conference. Some people currently use the slogan to defend a policy of slow resettlement of the commercial farmland which covers 40% of the Zimbabwean territory, comprises most of the fertile soil of the country and is still owned by some 6000 white farmers and a few agribusiness trusts. They argue that the Zimbabwean small-holders in the so-called former Tribal Trust Lands (TTL) are backward to an extent that if they would be allowed to freely take back the land which the white Rhodesian settlers had stolen from them the agriculture base of the Zimbabwean economy as a whole would collapse. Those at the ZES-conference who challenged this position stress the point, that the liberation war was fought by the people to regain their land. They argue that the main bottleneck of agriculture development of the black farmers is the lack of means of production, the lack of fertile land. Besides this they assert that only a very small proportion of the land in the commercial farms is effectively utilized. If 80% and more of that land would be resettled, the white farmers still would have sufficient land to keep and even increase the present level of agricultural productivity.

The Objective Conditions

Before judging the first 18 months of post-independent policy of the Mugabe government one has to analyze the objective situation that conditions the present stage of development in Zimbabwe.

After achieving independence through a protracted national liberation war Zimbabwe now faces neocolonialism as the fundamental and long lasting contradiction. In Zimbabwe the economic dependence, economic and social distortions are not shaped by a monoculture as in many other Third World countries.

However, industry, mining, plantation agriculture, banking and big commerce are fully controlled by foreign, to a great extent South African capital. The commercial farms which make up 70% of the agricultural produce and more than 95% of its marketed value are mainly owned by white Rhodesian farmers who are closely tied with South Africa and imperialist countries. Most of the key positions and skills in production, management and administration are retained by the white minorities. Therefore the social contradictions, the land question, the extreme dualism between the commercial land and the TTL’s, between urban and rural society, between labour and capital are still determined and overlapped by neocolonialist forces.

In his New Year speech to the nation on December 31, 1980, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe clearly defined this situation as follows: “Our present peace is the final stage of the national struggle for freedom and independence... Our independence, itself a former objective of our revolutionary armed struggle, now transforms itself upon attainment into a political instrument as it becomes the new political means of achieving our ultimate socio-economic goals. We employed armed struggle to achieve our political independence. Now we must employ that political independence to achieve our economic freedom. I would summarize the phases in the span of our immediate national struggle as follows: 1. National armed struggle; 2. National independence; 3. National economic independence; 4. National socialism.”

Besides the strategic aims of the next stage of the Zimbabwean national revolution as defined by Mugabe there are a number of particularly acute post-independence problems. Their solution are urgent intermediate tasks, and necessary through not sufficient conditions to achieve the strategic aims.

The state administration is still full of old Rhodesian public servants, the Rhodesian army was defeated but not destroyed, the old colonial and racist statutes still hang over and according to the Lancaster House Agreement can only be changed by irksome parliamentary procedures, some even cannot be changed within the first 7 or 10 years after independence.

The liberation war was the key instrument to achieve national independence and it also helped to overcome feudal structures in rural society. But it also caused physical and social destructions, the infrastructure, roads, communication facilities, schools, hospitals, agricultural services etc. were severely damaged. More than a Million people, about 20% of the whole population had become refugees and were displaced from their homes.

There was and still is a serious problem of external and internal security. The South African regime has not swallowed its defeat in Zimbabwe. As demonstrated in Mozambique and Angola it now escalates military aggressions and tries to instigate instability in the frontline states. It is the main enemy of independent Zimbabwe. And it is not alone. The western powers continue to provide unrestricted economic support to South Africa. Their wavering diplomatic activities and the new open support by the Reagan administration stimulate South African aggression. On the other side Soviet social imperialism takes political and military advantage of this alignment of forces and desperately tries to internationalize the conflict. The internal security problem is partly linked with the external forces. Shortly after the election victory of the liberation movements there was the acute danger of a Rhodesian army coup d'état. Many of the auxiliaries of Muzorewa have escaped to South Africa. There they are kept to infiltrate back into Zimbabwe and to provoke disorder. But for some time the contradictions between ZANU and ZAPU and their military forces have even sharpened more dangerously and still are far from being solved. The decision of ZANU to stand for the elections separately has shown itself to be wise. It put an end to the legend that Joshua Nkomo and ZAPU were key to the Zimbabwe national liberation struggle. But the problem now is that Nkomo and his followers find it difficult to accept their junior role. The bloody disturbances in November 1980 and again in February 1981 put the country on the edge of a civil war.

The Policy of consolidation of peoples' power and reconciliation

The policy of the Mugabe government since independence reflects a very cautious setting of priorities. Summarized as the policy of consolidating peoples' power the government has decided to concentrate its efforts within the next few years on the achievement of the following tasks: the assumption and effective control of the complicated state machinery, the maintenance of peace and the removal of the war ra-

vages as well as the alleviation of the plight of the broad masses mainly in the rural countryside. In this context its offer to reconcile with the former enemies has to be seen. The Zimbabwean leadership always stresses that the policy of reconciliation does not mean the acceptance of the status quo. But it clearly shows that for the time being the leadership has decided not to tackle the more fundamental aspects of the neocolonial contradiction such as the ownership of foreign capital in Zimbabwe. Even with regards to the crucial land question it is pursuing a policy of slow changes. There are good reasons for that setting: the bad experiences of Mozambique and Angola as well as of most other African countries and the particular importance of the above mentioned acute problems. The successes of the first 18 months since independence will prove the soundness of this policy.

As against other examples Zimbabwe did not have to launch emergency programmes to save the basic productivity of its economy which often have led other countries into new and even deeper neocolonial dependence. On the contrary Zimbabwe is experiencing an unprecedented economic boom, more than 10% growth of real gross domestic product in 1980. The imperialist countries have not as in similar cases overtly or covertly sabotaged the economy and tried to drain it out but have treated Zimbabwe favourably. The Zimbabwe International Conference on Reconstruction and Development held in March 1981 in Salisbury was by international standards a significant success. Almost 2 Billions US Dollars financial assistance for the next 3 years were pledged at the conference, more than half of it in the form of grants and the rest as soft loans. Zimbabwe was perhaps the first country which by itself organized and led the conference, while in similar cases the western "donor"-syndicate under the technical leadership of the World Bank takes such conferences as an opportunity to blackmail the recipient country.

During the time of UDI and the so-called international sanctions the dominant foreign capital in Zimbabwe performed as if it were national capital. It accepted tough restrictions to repatriate capital and profits and the introduction of price controls and other regimentations of the economy. Zimbabwe has a highly developed internal market with industry being the main productive sector (25% of GDP). The number of locally produced industrial products rose from 600 in 1965 to more than 6,000 in 1980. The average import component of production costs is only 11%. It would be an

illusion to hope that the foreign capital in Zimbabwe will continue to behave as during the time of UDI. Already South Africa has decided to terminate the preferential trade agreement with Zimbabwe and has withdrawn its coal locomotive engines and the aeroplanes which it had leased to Zimbabwe. But despite this and the restrictive regulations on foreign capital which Zimbabwe has inherited from the Smith regime the overall movement of private capital to Zimbabwe is positive.

On the basis of this economic stability and relative prosperity the Mugabe government can concentrate its efforts on emergency programmes to cure the war ravages and it could carry out some social measures which have substantially improved the lot of the poor, such as the introduction of minimum wages and the increase of the producer price for maize, the main staple food, by almost 50%, which according to the latest news has contributed to more than treble to the harvest this year. The government also decided to introduce free primary education and free health services for people with a monthly income of less than 150 Zimbabwe Dollars.

Moreover it is able to integrate most of the former combatants into the National Army and provide them with relatively high grants if they wish to be demobilized. This has very much improved the internal stability. In June the latest two assembly points handed over their arms, which in the case of the ZIPRA-camp included substantial amounts of heavy arms.

In the field of education the achievements are most striking. Despite the fact that many schools in the TTL's were destroyed or damaged and looted during the war, the Ministry of Education and Culture embarked on a massive expansion in the enrollment of school pupils. From 1979 until this year the total enrollment in primary education doubled. Almost every school-going child attends. The enrollment in the first year of secondary school more than quadrupled in the same period. More than 90% of the 7th Grade primary school leavers this year were enrolled in secondary schools. Last, but not least, the government also has achieved considerable progress in the nationalization of the public service. Most of the key ministerial positions are now held by black Zimbabweans.

If measured by the attitudes of the white minority the policy of reconciliation was not a success. The great majority of the whites are not willing to treat the black people equally

and give up their privileges. But a significant proportion of them politically broke away from Smith and its Rhodesian Front, rebaptized into Republican Front, and obviously for opportunist reasons founded a new white party, the Democratic Party. There are even several whites who have recently joined ZANU-PF but again mainly to secure their positions and profits. There is also a strong tendency among whites not to be involved in politics. This contributes to stabilization of security. Most important is the fact that there was and still is no exodus of white experienced professionals. The present rate of emigrants is still within manageable proportions.

With regards to foreign policy the Mugabe government stands for strict non-alignment keeping distance from both superpowers. On his trip to Asia, Mugabe also visited Pakistan. There he took the opportunity to openly denounce the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The inherited strong economic dependence on South Africa limits for the time being the possibility to materially support the Azanian liberation struggle. But when the projects to improve the communication system between the SADCC countries will have materialized and the export outlets and transport facilities for imports through Mozambique will be sufficient to replace the South African transport links, the Zimbabwe government will be able to render more support.

Problems and Perspectives

Only in the dark there is no shadow. Visitors who come to Zimbabwe and expect the daily life to reflect the recent revolutionary war are easily disappointed. The policy of reconciliation restricts the development of revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. In the cities and luxury suburbs one comes across much easy life. Social unconcern is widespread and obviously the national bourgeoisie is fast gaining ground. The beforementioned debate on different positions with regards to the resettlement policy shows that not only white technocrats and capitalists are reactionary. Of course they find strong support from abroad. At the ZIMCORD conference for instance the representative of the World Bank, Mr. Kraske, already criticized the present slow settlement schemes as too "ambitious". In its memorandum the World Bank strongly recommends the introduction of free-hold title deeds in the TTL's and in the settlement projects as a means to "develop agricultural production". Britain is the main donor for the purchase of settlement farms. The conditions it attaches to its loans

heavily contribute to the slow progress of the settlement programme and support a bias in favour of individual farming.

But this does not prove that the vigilance of the majority of the people and the leaders are lost. There are clear indications such as the timespan of the 3 years transitional development plan that the government will not wait until the special privileges of the white minority provided for in the Lancaster House Agreement will expire to find out that the policy of reconciliation is not identical with the strategic concept of the new democratic revolution. In its Economic Policy Statement, "Growth with Equity," published in February 1981, the government reiterates: "The land is a common heritage and no one should enjoy absolute ownership of it. Government will therefore entrust certain rights in the use of land to private individuals or groups of individuals for as long as such trusteeship best serves the national interest. Indeed, landowners share their property with the State, which is the sovereign custodian

of the nation's natural assets and the State can restrict the uses and practices that are carried out on that land which are contrary to the national interest." (p. 4)

As in other cases the national liberation movements, ZANU and ZAPU, also face the major problem of becoming governments. The admittance of white and other opportunists into the ranks of the party opened a tendency towards reconciliation. This of course will make it more and more difficult to keep to the strategic revolutionary line. ZANU still hasn't got an ideological school to train and orientate its cadres. The political school that existed during the time of ZIPA unity efforts was closed down after two years.

The main reason for the decrease in party activities is to be seen in the unity efforts. Mugabe now wants to come to terms with ZAPU. He announced the plan to put the question of a united party as a referendum to the people. Until then efforts to revitalize the party might be postponed.

'Imperialism and the Struggle for New Democracy Under Proletarian Leadership

* By D. Wadada Nabudere

(This paper was prepared for presentation at the Forth Bi-Annual Conference of The African Association of Political Science held at Harare, Zimbabwe, between 23-27th May, 1981, as a contribution towards the clarification of ideas on the liberation process.)

We agree with much of the arguments herein, except to point out that there is no road forward for scientific socialism, or rather Marxism-Leninism without the building of an independent and separate Marxist-Leninist Party rooted in the masses of the peasants and

workers and leading the national revolution against local reactionaries and imperialism. All talk of the socialist road separate from the building of a separate Marxist-Leninist Party is a pipe-dream. In the light of the post-liberation euphoria this is one lesson that African revolutionaries must now firmly grasp. We can quote Marx and Lenin endlessly but they will come to no avail until we start the serious and urgent business of building Marxist-Leninist Parties, and persist in it through all the problems, difficulties, obstacles, defeats and betrayals that one meets on the way. That is what proletarian struggle means in anycase.

The concept "liberation" in the modern era refers to the struggles of peoples and countries for national emancipation. These struggles are against an international system known as *imperialism*.

Analysed further in more concrete way, we come to the realisation that the peoples and countries of Africa have for the last forty years (since the midforties) been waging struggles against foreign exploitation and domination

perpetrated against them by imperialism. *First* against *colonialism* as a phase of imperialist exploitation and domination whereby the metropolitan power exercised *direct* political control of the colony through a colonial state; and *secondly*, since the sixties, against *neo-colonialism* as a second phase of continued exploitation and domination of the people of the "Third World". This it does through the objectified power of metropolitan finance capital

which exercises sway over the neo-colonial economy and an indirect political domination over the neo-colony through the agency of the neo-colonial state presided over by a local agent class.

In the prosecution of these struggles in both phases — against colonialism and neo-colonialism — the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie have played a leading role in articulating the ideas for the advancement of these struggles. Unlike the peasant and proletarian and semi-proletarian masses that constitute the bulk of the forces of liberation the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie who at the same time were the intellectual force in the liberation process, were able to develop a general awareness of the exploitative and dominative implications of imperialism over their countries. Indeed they too were victims of the same exploitative and oppressive rule of imperialism. Their capability to develop a *general awareness* of the exploitation and the capability to articulate it and express this general awareness placed them in a leading position. They fulfilled this role and continue to do so by bringing and *collecting* together grievances of the various social classes and strata exploited and oppressed by imperialism. These grievances constituted the economic and social case of these social classes and groups against the exploiters. In so doing the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie played the role of the advocate compelling a clients case in which in this regard the advocate had an interest in the brief. This was the same process that brought together and united the various social and political forces into a *United National movement* against foreign domination.

In this paper we seek to bring out the crucial importance of the necessity of articulating a revolutionary theory tailored to meet the specific need of our national struggles. This 'weapon of theory' as Cabral called it, not only helps to create a mass revolutionary consciousness which is a prerequisite to any genuine national liberation but also contributes to the building of a true national culture which must be part of the tasks that must confront us after liberation. As Lenin said:

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolution".

In trying to bring out the importance of a revolutionary theory we will try to illustrate with concrete examples the limits of petty bourgeois opportunism.

The paper will start with the articulation of

the basis for a correct theory of the liberation struggle in the two phases and how concretely the application or lack of application of such a theory led to different results. In this exercise we will use the case of Guinea-Bissau and neo-colonial examples Uganda and Kenya as case studies.

Imperialism, the National and Colonial Questions

As we have pointed out above, any meaningful liberation struggle must be based on a theory that reflects reality in the concrete situation where the struggle is taking place. We have seen that the countries of Africa that have been and countries that will engage in the struggle for liberation came under the dominant sway of an international system of exploitation and domination called imperialism. This system is based on the operations of the laws of capitalist exploitation in general and of monopoly capitalism in particular. The laws are the same except that under the laws of capitalism under monopoly the additional element of the exploitation and domination of colonial peoples based on *exports of finance capital* and reaction at home comes into play. In the colony where metropolitan finance capital is exported, the monopolist bourgeoisies who thrive on "clipping coupons" upon the fat superprofits derived from the exploitation based on these exports of finance capital, take advantage of the backward conditions in the colonies to extract a higher rate of surplus-value which enables them to engage a whole line of hangers on — bureaucratic working class opportunists and middlemen — to assert their political rule over the colonies. This enables the monopoly metropolitan bourgeoisie, which Lenin calls the *financial oligarchy* to maintain an international oppressive rule against peoples and countries.

The introduction of capitalist relations of production begins to subject the colonial peoples to a new type of exploitation where none existed before or in the place of one which was based on pre-capitalist forms of production. The capitalist enterprises begin with the building of a port and a railway and communication system. Along the coast or along the railway and roadsides, plantations or big and medium sized farms owned by metropolitan settlers begin to emerge. The colonial state is in the meantime taking shape and the colonial state begins to bring forth policies tailored towards the production of food and raw materials, export to the metropole. The plantations, big and medium sized farms emerge as part of the

ports, railways, roads, and a system of communications constitute the first exports of capital-laying the necessary overheads which establish the necessary *technical and social pre-conditions* of capitalist investment in general. The emergence of the colonial state also pressures on the need for colonial production for the purpose of raising state revenue in taxes to finance the colonial state. A series of taxes are therefore combined not merely to produce revenue but so as to act as an indirect coercion in drawing the masses of the peasantry into capitalist production based on a small peasant holding and for them to enlist as plantation and farm workers. A few who manage to get a rudimentary primary and secondary education enlist in the colonial state as civil servants while others find their way in the colonial commercial and services sectors including banks, the depositories of finance capital.

A new class formation begins to take place within the intestines of the colonial economy dominated by metropolitan finance capital. In the course of time a new *peasantry* emerges, itself stratified between the poor, the middle and the rich peasantry (where it is possible) side by side with a semi-proletarian rural mass and a tiny industrial working class. An urban petty bourgeoisie emerges at the sametime and very very marginally, the needs of an enfeebled 'national' bourgeoisie which increasingly gets thwarted in its effort to establish itself by the monopolistic activities of the metropolitan bourgeoisie begin to sprout. A completely new class structure — creating new social-economic and political forces impresses itself on the scene.

In the process of the further consolidation of this colonial economy, political contradictions based on the struggles of each of these social classes and strata begin to spell themselves out. The pressure by the colonial state on the peasantry to produce for the market and to pay their taxes — hut taxes, poll tax, rate tax, native tax, sovereignty tax, etc. etc. antagonise the peasantry and the rural poor. The rural middle strata increasingly feel the pinch of exploitation and oppression arising out of their agricultural production. The port, plantation, farm, commercial, industrial and state workers and urban petty bourgeoisie begin to pressure for higher salaries/wages and better conditions of work. The 'national' bourgeoisie begin to press for credit facilities to engage in production but which are denied to them.

Rise of the National Movement

In the course of these individual interests arising a national consciousness manifesting itself as a demand for freedom and social advancement emerges. These articulated demands put forward by the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie as a *collective demand* based on a *collective consciousness* constitute the national movement.

In correctly comprehending how imperialist exploitation and oppression brings about this result, we also understand the national and colonial question and how it can be resolved. According to Hilferding in his work on finance capital:

"In the newly opened-up countries, the capital-imported into these countries intensifies antagonisms and excites against intruders the constantly, growing resistance of peoples who are awakening, to national consciousness. This resistance can easily develop into dangerous measures against foreign capital. . . . capitalism itself provides the subjugated with the means and resources to their emancipation and they set out to achieve the goal which once seemed highest to the European nations; the creation of a united national state as a means to economic and cultural freedom. This movement for national independence threatens European capital in its valuable and most promising fields of exploitation, and European capital can maintain its domination only by continually increasing its military forces".

There arises and grows a resistance on the part of the people against the foreign intruders and that this is the result of an *awakening* of these peoples to *national consciousness*. We further learn that imperialism in this way provides the colonial peoples the *means and resources* for their emancipation with which they set out to achieve a united national state as a *means* of their economic and cultural freedom.

The urge which is created to set up a national state is generated by the interests of the new social (class) forces arising out of capitalist relations that are introduced in the colony. The weak 'national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie see an independent national state cut off from the imperialist state as the only means they can enlarge their capital and establish their own sway over the territories economy. The mass of the working people see the securing of freedom for the colony as a means of eliminating their exploitation by foreign capital. Thus while the 'national' bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie seek to eliminate foreign *domination*. In order to establish their own sway over the nation's resources, the mass of the ex-

exploited people and peasantry seek, through the establishment of an independent national state, the elimination of *both* foreign domination and exploitation.

The claim for freedom, for equality and for nationhood are universal claims of the bourgeoisie. These claims formed the basis of their own struggles against the absolute rule of feudalism. This is what led Stalin among the earliest Marxist theorists on the national question to state.

“A nation is not merely a historical category but a historical category belonging to a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. The process of elimination of feudalism and development of capitalism is at the same time a process of the constitution of people into nations.”

The existence and consolidation of nations also creates the ideological premise of equality of nations and the right of self-determination is contained in the bourgeois right of European nationhood.

But as we have seen in the epoch of imperialism, the prominent features of early youthful capitalism turn into their opposites and the dominant drive for capitalism in its old age of monopoly is to seek out outlets for export of capital and markets a fact that implies the capturing of foreign lands and peoples for exploitation. Thus within imperialism is implied the tendency to negate nationhood, under capitalism.

It is for this reason that the struggle for nationhood in the colony — unlike Europe — is at the sametime a struggle against imperialism and hence monopoly capitalism. In Europe as we have seen the struggle for nationhood was a struggle against feudalism and for capitalism. Thus as the new developments introduced by export of capital in the colony consolidate, the awakening of the colonial peoples for *identification* as a national entity also consolidates. This finally leads to the armed confrontation between the oppressive forces of imperialism and the forces of liberation. This confrontation increasingly pushes the forces of liberation into the camp of socialism, the liberated zone of the proletariat, which finally becomes the true ally of the oppressed and colonised.

Imperialist Destruction in the Colonies

The fact that imperialist penetration leads to the destruction of the productive forces of the colonial peoples in order to implant its own domination with new oppressive forces of production is important to emphasize here. When

Marx points the impact of British imperialism in India he had this point in mind:

“There cannot, however, remain any doubt that the misery inflicted by the British on Hindustan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindustan had to suffer before. . . . England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindu, and separates Hindustan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history.”

Although Marx later entertained the possibility of new productive powers being introduced by British Capital in India, he nevertheless affirmed that such new powers of production would not be of any use to the Hindus unless they asserted their freedom and independence from Britain or until the British proletariat assumed power in England itself.

The destruction of India's productive power was accomplished in Africa three times over for the destructive impact of imperialism in Africa started with the physical uprooting of the actual labour powers in form of slavery from Africa to the New World of capital. The devastation that this entailed led to large scale famines and destruction of the implements of production, the elimination of the cultural life of the people and the general destabilisation of the form of life then existing. Marx himself had observed in his *Capital* that primitive accumulation that arose on the basis of the entombment of the aboriginal peoples in the peruvian mines was the same motive force behind the trading in “black skins” that made the Capital that arose on the basis of it “dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt”.

It is recorded that when the Scottish missionary, David Livingstone arrived in the vicinity of Lake Nyasa he had noted that local districts and villages which in 1899, had been flourishing agricultural communities had some two years later, been depopulated. “Not a single human (being) for distances of as much as a hundred miles”, could be found. As we all know this exploitation through human enslavement was replaced by on the spot colonial exploitation that led to a new form of oppression and domination.

Thus it follows that the striving for liberation and nationhood against imperialism beca-

me the only way in which the people struggling against this vast exploitation founded on the destruction of the forces of production of the native people and their freedom and identity could be achieved. The liberation process meant the recapturing of the freedom of the process of the development of the productive forces at the given level of historical development. It meant according to Mao Tsetung, the building of a "new democracy" that ultimately leads to socialism. The liberation process therefore aims first in smashing the fetters and roadblocks that imperialism puts into the path of a truly national development. In this way national liberation must lead (otherwise dies off) to the *unleashing of the full potential of the entire people* to develop the national economy and advance along the road of a new culture that advances the positive aspects of the old, adding to it the most progressive aspects of the new into "a national, scientific and mass culture" — The culture of the new democratic order against imperialism.

It is in this way that we can determine and judge, in a scientific way, the success or failure of the national democratic revolution. The success or failure will depend on the kind of weapon of theory that the leadership of the liberation movement adopts and how it puts this weapon into practice. This in turn reflects the level of class struggle. Here we would like to demonstrate this by dealing with the national liberation process in the phase of colonialism and in the phase of neo-colonialism. We use, as case studies, the impact of an advanced imperialist power on a colony and the resultant struggles and that of a backward imperialist power on its colonies and show how the liberation process proceeded in each.

British Imperialism and the Liberation Process in Uganda and Kenya

Britain was the last imperialist power in the mercantilist imperialist period following Spain, Portugal, Holland, France. According to Marx these "different moments" of primitive accumulation of these imperialist powers were "systematically combined together" in seventeenth century England resulting in a system based on "colonies, the national debt, the modern tax system and the system of protection". These methods and systems of exploitation, according to Marx, depended in part "on brute force" (in the colonies) and partly "on the power of the state" to hasten as in a hothouse, the process of transformation of the feudal mode into a capitalist mode, and thereby shorten the transition.

This historical accumulation of mercantilist experience and structures put Britain ahead of the other imperialist powers turning it into the first "Workshop of the World", under modern capitalism. This experience and development also put it ahead of time in acquiring new colonies in the new phase of capitalism between 1880 - 1914. It is important also for another reason. Britain which gained from this experience of the other powers, with its economic strength, began to subjugate one of those powers (Portugal) to a status of an informal colony, thus retarding the development not only of Portugal but in an indirect way imposed a relatively backward imperialism on its colonies. We will see this when we examine Guinea-Bissau.

Uganda

From our part the entry into Uganda by British imperialism signalled a new era in that region. The impact of imperialism in Uganda was immediately felt in the rivalries imperialism had introduced previously and which now reflected themselves as religious conflicts. In fact it was a conflict between different imperialist powers — the British, German, French and Belgian. These rivalries split up local ruling classes and alliances enabling Britain to back up a fraction of local compradors called "the English" (Ba Ingleza). This clique was then depicted as having "won" the conflict in Uganda. The British imperialists then used this fraction to invade — along side its mercenary army — the other parts of the area, eventually bringing them under its control. Many stratified and nonstratified societies were brought under its control in this way. Having accomplished this task it established and declared "Uganda" to be a "protectorate" using the local compradores as "direct rulers" while it maintained (at least ideologically) a low profile of an "indirect ruler". In fact nothing was further from the truth. The colonial system was set up to establish a direct exploitative and oppressive rule over the whole country. It hid its real power by a series of "Agreements" in which it divided up the land giving portions to the local agents. These agents were then held out to be the local power.

The colonial state that was set-up now began to create the conditions for establishing a colonial enclavic economy to serve British bulging factories now facing a profitability crisis globally. However to achieve this objective the first capital exports were directed at building the Uganda Railway.

With the railway built it was possible now to grow crops for export to British industries. Cotton, coffee and rubber in that order were introduced.

The significance of this development was the introduction of new class forces in the political economy. Having disunited the old ruling classes and imposed its rule, British imperialism now began to create a new economy and build a new society "in its own image". In the course of time in place were the colonial economy took deeper root on the basis of old vertical stratified order, the landlord class, large capitalist farmers (2%), rich peasants (10%), middle peasants (15%), poor peasants (70%) and rural, landless (3%) appeared.

Thus in the development of the colonial economy new classes-bourgeois, petty bourgeois, landlords, capitalist farmers, peasants, (rich, middle, and poor) rural semi-proletariat, urban proletarian all appeared. By the 1950's coffee, cotton hides and skins and food crops had expanded tremendously. Uganda was the biggest Coffee exporter in the British empire and its cotton exports ranked only second. On the basis of this economy, the colonial state amassed a huge "reserved Fund" which was intended to be repaid to the peasantry, but which was largely capitalised for further expansion of the colonial economy. Some of these funds were ultimately used to set up a credit bank in 1950 to provide credit to the capitalist farmer, rich peasants, traders and petty bourgeois professionals to establish themselves economically.

The struggles that ensued from 1938 to the 1960s was the expression of the yearning of these new class forces for freedom in their land. By 1920s the rich peasants had begun to agitate for cooperative marketing. In 1933 a merchants association was formed pressing for room in the colonial commercial sector linking their claims to those of the peasants for "free" marketing of their crops (since many of the traders were also rich peasants). By 1938 Workers formed their first illegal trade union. — The Uganda Motor Drivers Association — to press their demands and the same year the peasants in a village called Butambala formed the first political organisation — *Bana ba Kirtu* (Sons of Kitu) — to articulate their grievances. The leadership of both the workers and peasants converged in some respects by the linkages established by the revolutionary petty bourgeois intellectual leadership which led both.

Tactics of the Colonialists

In assessing the levels of organisation and consciousness at this time, it is important to bear in mind the colonial tactics in dealing with the national revolt. The British colonialists in devising the colonial system in Uganda put emphasis in ideological terms on the intermediacy of the retained native administration structures. This had two advantages. First it enabled the compradorial chiefs and "kings" to speak on behalf of the colonialists and to defend decisions of the colonialists. Secondly, it enabled the colonialists to claim that in taking steps to crush these activities to restore "law and order", they were assisting the "Kabaka's or Mukama's Governments" in ensuring "good government". Thus for the colonialists, these native intermediary colonial structures were the buffer zone — a kind of demilitarised zone — between the anti-colonial combatants and the colonial oppressors, and this had great impact on these struggles and the path they ultimately took.

To maintain a native administrative structure a certain level of education had to be imparted to sons of chiefs and other "favoured" groups in the colony. The church of England, through a local branch called the Native Anglican Church (meaning a native English Church!) set up schools to administer this side of the matter assisted by the Catholic Church and Muslim Mosques and schools. The churches groomed the future chiefs and leaders and kept very close to them as advisers. Even the leaders of the anti-colonial struggles were themselves the product of these proceedings.

Because of the intermediaries the British were able to cushion themselves off from the political struggle in the mid-period. In the 1920 when the British land policy in Uganda came into serious trouble with the peasantry who demanded the return of their lands, the British played the role of the arbitrators between the peasants and the comprador landlords whom the colonialists were using.

By the 1950s the British colonialists realised that their colonial enterprise in Uganda and the neighbouring territories would collapse unless quick remedial measures were taken. A very astute colonial Governor was sent by the British Labour Party (then in power) to immediately address the problem. He called for a "realistic re-arrangement for the future with these new forces of nationalism because nationalists":

"provide some of the dynamic force in so-

cieties which in Africa are often static or inert (sic!) and that, in their social, educational and economic ideas and as unifying forces, the aims of the nationalists are often largely the same as our own, the main differences being the pace of advancement they wish to see."

As a result of this new approach the British imperialists tried their best to take on to their side this petty bourgeois intellectual group, give some confidence to them in channelling their complaints in a "constructive" way to the colonialists for reform. The peasantry, particularly the poor and the workers, who were prepared to take issue with the colonialists violently were side-stepped by isolating them from the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie who represented their interests.

Petty Bourgeois Intellectuals

Having separated the masses and directed them into "constructive" economic channels, the colonialists turned to the petty bourgeois intellectuals and allowed them to form "responsible" political parties in which they were to represent "the people" *in general*, at a political level. The economic grievances were to be directed through the peasants' cooperatives and workers' unions, while the petty bourgeois intellectual politicians were to specialise in politics and represent all the classes generally.

The first political party formed and led by the leading veteran organiser, I.K. Muzazi, was one of such parties. Called the Uganda National Congress, it put forward its manifesto and Freedom Charter in 1952 in which it called for "Self Government Now". The Freedom Charter however called for a "responsible" approach to independence. It stated:

"This independence cannot be achieved either by words or violence, but must be achieved by deeds and negotiations on parliamentary basis."

What is clear from these manifestos was that the colonialists had won over the intellectual petty bourgeoisie to rule out one method of the anti-colonial struggle which the people had adopted — the violent method, which the leadership up to this point had used alongside the peaceful one of petitions.

The opportunism that the colonialists encouraged and the splittist politics that this was intended to give rise to can be illustrated by the intervention in the 1953-55 period of the narrow politics of the petty bourgeoisie in the na-

tional movement. In this period the petty bourgeois having been detached from the policy of the masses, began to wrangle among themselves each claiming to represent "the people". But since each of the parties — on the basis of their opportunistic programmes could not represent *all* the people, it became necessary to play on the historical and economic contradictions among the population in order to appear to win their support.

The high water mark of this petty bourgeois opportunist wrangling very much encouraged by the imperialists was the demand by the Kabaka Yekka faction of the petty bourgeoisie for a separation of Buganda as a national entity from the rest of the country, reviving the ethnic/nationality idea of old Buganda.

Kenya

The tactics of colonisation in Kenya by the British imperialists took a different approach. Here the imperialists found no class societies and ruling cliques to collaborate with apart from the collaboration of the Arabs they encountered at the coast. Indeed at first Kenya was seen as a passage to Uganda to facilitate the exploitation of the area around the Lake (Nyanza), and hence the naming of the railway through Kenya as the "Uganda Railway". But since the area had to be administered, production had to be generated. The policy was therefore adopted to bring in colonial settlement to carry out the production to finance the colony and meet the needs of British imperialism.

This policy was to have a serious impact on the way Kenya was to be run and the contradictions that were generated within the colony for, following on this policy, ways were found to dispossess the indigenous people of their lands to enable alien settlers to occupy them. Since the African peasants, according to the colonialists, could not "within a measurable distance of time produce enough surplus goods to feed the railway", other:

"Settlers must somehow be found, attracted, encouraged (and) started off. There was no other alternative but economic stagnation and a perpetual bleeding of the British Treasury.."

The settling of whites to occupy the land of the African people and to produce as quickly as possible implied that it was the Africans who were to supply the labour force for the white farms. For this reason the colonial state went all the way out to force Africans not to work on their own lands as peasants but as labourers or squatters for the white farmers,

through use of the Pass (Kipande) system.

Thus a stage was set for the struggle by the settlers for hegemony within the colony against pressures by the African people for paramountcy of their interests in their own land.

It is for this reason that the anti-colonial struggle in Kenya focused sharply on the land and labour questions in the colony. The Kikuyu Central Association was formed in 1925 and although it arose out of the earlier East African (workers') Association it dealt with the demands of all the oppressed classes. It mobilised the people on all "burning issues" of the moment including the questions related to land, labour and other social issues such as education, forced labour, wages and demand for African representation on the Legislative Council. This association maintained its leading role until the formation of the Kenya African Union in 1944.

Although the British government made statements to the effect that Kenya was to advance along the path of African advancement, not much was done to implement this policy. It was not surprising that violent means of struggle would be examined by the workers and poor peasantry who suffered most from colonial oppression — like the Mau Mau.

The important thing to note is that despite the fact that signs pointed to a violent confrontation, the colonialists did not immediately respond to arrest the situation by reforms. The European elected members of the settler dominated Legislative Council on 8th August, 1952, demanded that the government do make a statement to the effect that "African nationalism, on the lines of West Africa" was not the policy of the British Government for Kenya. They warned that the settlers would take the law "into their own hands" unless the colonial government acted to suppress preparations for the rebellion. On the 20th October 1952, the Kenya government declared a state of emergency and began to violently repress the people. It was not until it was becoming clear that repression alone would not do that they began to make reforms to arrest the rebellion. These reforms, as we saw in the case of Uganda, were directed at addressing the interests of the urban petty bourgeoisie in order to isolate the freedom fighters in the mountains and the workers in the factories. In the words of Clayton:

"Major political and social reforms, granted by Britain, prevented any general uprising in Kenya; these reforms, in a sense victory for the insurgents, were at the same time the principle

reason for the collapse of their movement".

Within a short time, the leaders who were associated with the Mau Mau uprising like Kenyatta, were brought within a "responsible dialogue" in order to tone down the colonial crisis.

Tom Mboya noted:

It is also true that it was not until Mau Mau had erupted that logical changes began to take place towards improving African conditions in Kenya".

These new forces of nationalism who took advantage of the peasant uprising in the Kenyan highlands were the "tamed" forces of African independence which in the words of Odinga, were intended to "bring compromise" of these forces "into an association with imperialism". Thus a neo-colonial situation in Kenya, as in Uganda, gave British imperialism alongside other imperialist powers, a new lease of life in a widening crisis against foreign domination and put off the final solution for a later period unlike a more backward Portugal which lost out completely.

Portuguese Imperialism and the Liberation Struggle in Guinea-Bissau

Unlike the British imperialists, the Portuguese colonialists did not have much room for manoeuvre. They saw their only hope of maintaining its power as lying in total repression. The significance of modern imperialism, emphasized Lenin, lay in the fact that in their struggle for the economic and political division of the world, the great imperialist powers brought pressure to bear on countries which were independent, thus giving rise to a number of *transitional* forms of state dependency. This led to diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, were formally independent, but in fact, were enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence on the great powers. He gave the example of Portugal:

"Portugal is an independent sovereign state, but actually for more than two hundred years, since the war of the Spanish succession (1701-14), it has been a British protectorate. Great Britain has protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify her own positions in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France. In return Great Britain has received commercial privileges, preferential conditions for importing goods and especially capital into Portugal and Portuguese colonies, the right to use her ports and islands of Portugal, her telegraph cables etc. etc.

Relations of this kind have always existed

between big and little states, but in the epoch of capitalist imperialism they become a general system, they form part of the sum total of 'divide the world' relations and become links in the chain of operations of world finance capital".

Thus England dominates Portugal and extracts super profits from Portugal and her colonies, Portugal also dominates her colonies in order to recoup herself from British domination. But this chain of links of imperialist domination became even more complicated with new super powers coming into being like the United States after the Second World War. Portugal increasingly became subject to the control of other imperialist powers, and exploited along with its colonies, it even could not utilise its colonial labour force fully and had to export it to other equally dominated countries like South Africa in order to earn enough to maintain herself and her colonies, for what remained in the kitty for her. In these circumstances the accumulating dominating powers over Portugal's colonies was bound to be greater, and the greater it was, the more brutal and oppressive Portugal's rule became.

Amilcar Cabral pointed out the significance of this phenomenon. In his attack to the claim by Portugal that her role in her territories was a "civilizing" mission intended to bring about a "multiracial" society, Cabral pointed out that such a mission and process could not be carried out by an "underdeveloped country, with lower income than for example Ghana" and which "has not been able to solve her own problems".

Cabral gives a background to this in historical terms, pointing out how the Portuguese first began to put a stop to any meaningful autonomous development by engaging in the slave trade that devastated the country.

The Impact on Portugal

Portugal could not claim to be "civilising" the Africans or building a "multi-racial" society in which Africans would enjoy any rights. Already under her "assimilation" policy not more than 0.3% of the African population could claim to be "assimilated", while 99.7% were classified as "uncivilised" by Portuguese laws. For an "uncivilized" person to prove qualifications to the status of *assimilado*, he/she had to prove economic "stability" and standard of living "higher than that enjoyed by a large majority of the population of Portugal."

"If the Portuguese people themselves were asked to fulfil these conditions, well over fifty

percent of the population would not have the necessary requirements for becoming 'civilized' or *assimilado*.

This was because Portugal itself was backward with "40 per cent illiteracy and with one of the lowest standards of living in Europe."

Indeed it was this backwardness of Portugal determined by her internal social structure in Portugal but very much *conditioned* by British domination, that also explains her policy of settler immigration and the particular kind of settler who went to her colonies for as we have seen in the case of Kenya. In the case of Portuguese colonies, Cabral observes that racism "hardly existed" at the time of colonisation.

"It was born and increased as the size of the European population grew." Portugal spent one million escudos in order to settle one European family – all intended to flood her colonies with Portuguese settlers who would establish a kind of South Africa racial hegemony. In those circumstances, continues Cabral, Portugal saw that the only way she could survive was to establish "national unity" (sic!) with her colonies.

But Portugal was engaging in these panicky subterfuges at a time when Britain, France and the more developed imperialist powers were beginning to wake up to the changes in the world brought about by imperialist crisis and the broadening social and national revolutions. As a move towards accepting these changes in order to contain the national movements within the new limits of neo-colonialism, the imperialist powers were forced to accept the principle of self-determination and independence for the colonies – a principle which they agreed to enshrine in the Charter of the United Nations. Portugal with her backward economy and fascist political system, moved to block any moves towards change. According to Cabral:

"The Portuguese responded to strikes and demonstrations by falling upon us to kill everyone, to finish everything off. So we had to adapt our struggle to different conditions, to our land, and could not do as was done in *other lands*".

And what alternative did the oppressed have except to resort to the armed struggle as the only means of defending their rights and national existence, to win freedom and independence for their land.

The people of the Portuguese colonies saw their armed struggle as a part of the struggle of the Portuguese people to rid themselves of fas-

cism in Portugal itself. The party appealed to the Portuguese soldiers to stop playing the role of being the wheels of the old cart of Portuguese colonialism and to *become men*.

“Our people who will fight until victory for independence of our land are not the enemy of the Portuguese people, but you are being used by the colonialists as tools to kill our people, in order to prevent us being free and masters of our own land. *Follow the example of your brave companions who refuse to fight in our land, who rose in revolt against the criminal orders of our chiefs, who have deserted the colonial army and found in our midst the finest welcome and assistance.*”

Thus the war of liberation of the oppressed people of the Portuguese colonies was slowly playing a civilizing role on Portugal herself. In April 1974 the Portuguese Army revolted and overthrew the fascist rule of Salazar and the colonialists of Portugal. The soldiers of the Portuguese repressive army took a leaf from the struggles of the oppressed people in the colonies and declared in their Proclamation:

“The colonised peoples and the people of Portugal are allies . . . The struggle for national liberation has contributed powerfully to the overthrow of fascism and, in a large degree, had lain at the base of the MFA whose officers have learned in Africa the horror of fruitless war, and so have understood the roots of the evils which afflicted the society of Portugal.”

Thus the backwardness of Portugal contributed greatly to its more repressive colonial response to the forces of change and therefore led to a more radical rupture between the colonies and Portugal itself, giving a clear sign of the way forward for the oppressed people of the third world, still under colonial and neo-colonial domination. It also gave an indication of the strong civilizing bonds between the struggles of the oppressed in the colonial and neo-colonial world and the oppressed in the imperialist countries themselves.

Neo-Colonialism – the Last Stage of Imperialism

The three case-studies we have analysed above give us a basis for making some conclusive observations. First we have seen that imperialism, in an effort to stop the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples, resorts to reforms as a way of further development of the struggles to a revolutionary stage. Secondly that imperialism is also limited in scope in the way it can achieve

this aim by the level of its development and entanglement, thus permitting the liberation process to proceed further than in the first stage, thus opening the way for the liberation of man throughout the world.

In terms of the global strategy of imperialism, the second world war marked a significant stage in the crisis of imperialism in that the horizons for imperialist exploitation were shrinking. The whole multilateral strategy was in fact a reflection of this crisis in that the new arrangement sponsored by the new superpower (the U.S.) was conceived as the only way in which world monopoly capitalism, under U.S. sway, could be maintained.

In those countries where British imperialism for instance managed to establish a neo-colonial order, large amounts of “aid” were laid out by the opportunist “official socialists” of the second international and half in order to defend their “motherland” and hence their monopolies. The “socialist” Labour Party put forward a Colonial Welfare Fund to carry out the type of reforms in the colonial structures in order to contain the liberation struggle. But this “aid” was itself part of the superprofits made by the monopolies in the colonies.

In obtaining this result they relied on the class forces within the colony to back up the reforms. They found that in the developments of the colonial economy, new class forces based on the colonial economy, had emerged which demanded certain rights within the economy and it is this class to which the British imperialists addressed itself, while at the same time isolating the more revolutionary elements within the petty bourgeoisie. In this way they created a new intermediary class – a new agency that would assume political governance of the neo-colonial state on its behalf and that of itself. Such were the agents that the people in their revolutionary songs had castigated as traitors to liberation and national cause.

Ideological Basis of Neo-Colonialism

The imperialists, in exploiting the contradictions of the internal class forces to their advantage relied on diverse ideologies to divide the people. In our effort to understand the liberation process in the scientific manner, it is important to grasp the significance of the ideological basis of neo-colonialism. As we noted earlier, in the struggle for the establishment of a separate nation state, the people oppressed by an alien power seek to identify themselves as an entity by drawing on *historical factors* as part of the claim. In fact the claim for nation-

hood arises out of objective facts brought about by the introduction of capitalist relations of production in new societies. The objective fact that propels the movement is the demands made by the new social class forces for self-advancement and betterment of their lives. National independence and freedom is seen by each group as the only basis on which each social class can advance itself. The *social demands* of the various classes therefore play a very important role in this struggle based on objective claims.

Lenin, in his expositions on the national question, points out that the yearning for nation-statehood was the most natural issue under capitalism because the national state was the shell that capital needed for its expansion. But in the era of imperialism where the national issue arises under conditions in which the overwhelming majority of class forces in the colony are all poised against imperialism, it becomes necessary for the imperialist bourgeoisie to over-exploit the differences within the national movement in order to keep it under control.

The ideological strategy is therefore to exploit the subjective factors. The *ethnic factor* which under imperialism has a weakened objective basis is now over-exaggerated and the social factors are under-played by them. This ideology is quite in line with bourgeois nationalism and petty bourgeois outlook and therefore finds an easy ear within the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie of the colonies. The imperialist bourgeoisie in order to divide the people now play on ethnic, geographical, and language barriers among the people. The petty bourgeoisie in their natural tendency to over-glorify contradictions fall easy prey to these new stratagems of imperialism and become servants of the imperialist bourgeoisie assisted by the churches to weaken the national movement and bring it under control.

As we noted British imperialism was able to make a breakthrough in establishing a colony over Uganda by siding with one of the military "religious" factions (the Ingleza) which it then put into "power" — i.e. into agency to administer in its name in the villages while the muslim and catholic factions were clamped on. In the course of the emergence of the new forces of nationalism, the British imperialists were quick to seize on the old divisions to create a new agent petty bourgeoisie based on religious alliances (UPC/Kabaka Yekka Alliance). The new "nationalist" petty bourgeoisie led by Milton Obote resorted to the ethnic contradic-

tion to consolidate dictatorial power on behalf of imperialism while at the same time putting forward his "Move to the Left Strategy" in order to appease the masses as "man of the people". In this way he tried to play the typical role of a petty bourgeoisie, that of being both bourgeois and "man of the people" at the same time.

In Kenya where the patriots of the Mau Mau peasant uprising were being isolated, the comprador bourgeoisie were quick to consolidate their power with the support of the British imperialists!

To achieve this objective the colonialists encouraged splits in the national movement in order to confuse the situation and isolate the more revolutionary elements within the movement. The aim was to break down the backbone of resistance by offering bribes and by encouraging ethnic rivalries and nepotism. The British imperialists in fact started off well by paying off the leadership of the movement who had been detained for alleged Mau Mau offences; and when these leaders came into positions of authority they brought nearer to themselves Home Guard elements that assisted the British in prosecuting the war against the Mau Mau. These leaders did this because they did not want the more patriotic elements to be too close to power since they were more likely to expose their collaboration with the British. But as one Kenyan historian has noted:

"After hijacking our national independence in 1963, the remnants of these traitors, with full support of the ruling compradors began to preach 'peace and brotherhood' — 'let us forget the past', etc. — in their attempt to make us forget the blood debts they owe. Since some of these individuals are now in positions of power and wealth, they have made it their main job to silence mercilessly any Kenyan patriot who speaks or writes about this heroic struggle" (i.e. of the Mau Mau).

The Opportunism of the Petty Bourgeois

These manoeuvres of the British imperialists to groom an opportunist petty bourgeois agent class backed by local comprador forces were not available to Portuguese imperialism. For this reason the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie and proletarian elements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola were able to advance a more revolutionary line, uniting all the national democratic forces to continue the struggle to a more radical conclusive end. In his 'Weapon of Theory', Cabral pointed out the impor-

tance of scientific theory as a basis for *carrying out a struggle against our own weaknesses* in the struggle against the enemy, and this meant the expression of the *internal contradictions* in the economic, social and cultural (therefore historical) reality of each of our countries. This was because whatever the conditioning of a thing by external factors, the unfolding behaviour or development of a phenomenon depended mainly on its internal characteristics. Once we understand that there is, at a certain stage of the development, no clear line between the external and internal factors since their interaction are subject to the same dialectical process, we still find it necessary to analyse these "internal" factors in order to discover the motive forces that can assist the revolutionary process and the reactionary forces that hinder its progress. This process of analysis then becomes a very important factor at the ideological level in combating the enemy effectively. To quote him:

"The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of (scientific) ideology, on the part of the national liberation movements which is basically explained by the ignorance of the historical reality which these movements aspire to transform – constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses, if not the greatest weakness, of our struggle against imperialism."

Such social analysis of the internal contradictions enables us to identify how the historical factors we mentioned earlier intermingle with the new objective factors in order to constitute the present. But these earlier contradictions are, after imperialist intervention, conditioned and with the introduction of new mode of production and the creation of new social classes, become secondary and to a great extent subjective. This is because the social and class contradictions which arise on world scale and internally in the colony constitute the major contradictions while imperialist domination constitutes the principal contradiction.

The struggle for national liberation in turn constitutes a unity of all the new social class forces in the territory which then becomes identified with a national territory and around it develops a new consciousness reflecting the interests of the various classes.

The struggle for a scientific theory as part of the struggle for national liberation is concerned with a proper identification of national motive forces and national goals that satisfy the majority of the population. The struggle against old ideas that are not in line with the

current struggles for national liberation becomes part of the struggle itself. The need to expose the principal enemy involves the need to expose the "internal" enemy as well. The internal enemy turns out to be the agents of *disunity* and this enemy is identified with the "external" enemy who exploits the differences among the people – most of them historical – to divide and subjugate the entire people.

In pointing out the importance of scientific theory Cabral emphasised that the "most significant" weakness was the lack of proper strategic attention to the socio-economic structures in order to bring out the most revolutionary elements. He stated that factors like tribalism were secondary and minor: "Contradictions between classes, even when the latter are embryonic, are of far greater importance than the contradictions between tribes."

He refers to "old ideas" like tribalism which are exploited by the enemy *due to objective conditions* still existing in the country. It did not affect the mass of the people because the petty bourgeois opportunists exploited tribalism as a "*contradiction in the hunt for jobs, (and) for good positions*". But such exploitation of this contradiction tended to confuse the people, hence the need to fight it.

Cabral was conscious of the importance of exploiting the weakness of Portuguese colonialism to advance the struggle beyond neo-colonialism. Hence the need to create a "firmly united vanguard" – a revolutionary vanguard, "generally an active minority" which can develop a consciousness *ab initio* of "this distinction" and "through the struggle bring it to the awareness of the mass of the people".

The continued upsurge of the *working class* "whatever the degree of development of its political consciousness", Cabral continues, constitutes the "true popular vanguard" of the struggle against neo-colonialism. This scientific vision of Cabral points the way ahead in the struggle against imperialism in the neo-colony. Cabral hastens to add that such a vanguard of the working class cannot succeed "unless it allies itself firmly with the other exploited stata – the peasants, and the nationalist petty bourgeoisie."

The Nation and the Proletarian Vanguard

But the direction of such a struggle is towards socialism because the struggle against neo-colonialism "is not resolved by a nationalist solution". This is because it demands the destruction of the capitalist structure upon which

neo-colonialism is based: "There are only two possible paths for an independent nation: to return to imperialist domination (neo-colonialism, capitalism, state capitalism) or to take the socialist road."

While we agree with Cabral on this point as constituting the major historical direction, at the same time, it is important to add that there are stages even to this level of the struggle. The stage of *new democratic revolution* in the struggle against imperialism is an important one. This stage entails the *joint dictatorship* in the new democratic state of all revolutionary strata mobilised in the anti-colonial anti-neo-colonial struggles. Many of these elements involved in the struggle will not be ready for a socialist transformation. In our view so long as foreign imperialist domination is eliminated "national" capitalist elements can be accommodated in the minimum programme of the new democratic state which is so essential to the establishment and consolidation of the anti-imperialist broad united national front. Hence the need to address their aspirations in the new democratic state – a state necessary towards socialism.

The small working class vanguard in its struggle for socialism and hegemony can only succeed if it leads the entire nation. As Marx emphasized,

"No class in civil society can play this part unless it calls forth a phase of enthusiasm in its own ranks and those of the masses: a phase when it fraternises and intermingles with society in general, is identified with society, is felt and recognised to be the universal representative of society, and when its own demands and rights are really the demands and rights of society itself and it is in truth the social head and the social heart. Only in the name of society and its rights in general can a particular class vindicate its general domination."

In our countries of the "Third World", the struggle for democracy is still the cornerstone of the revolutionary struggles. National liberation is the essence of the struggle for democracy which imperialism increasingly negates in its tactics to maintain its dominating sway over the neo-colonial struggle. The working class vanguard must come out unashamedly and in clear terms make it clear to all that the present era of the struggle in the neo-colonial states is for democracy at both the political and economic levels *as a bourgeoisie right*. It is necessary through this ideological struggle to concretely demonstrate and for the masses of the people to experience the fact that in reality such bour-

geois democratic rights cannot be realised. In this way the bourgeois illusion is exposed for all to see. This is why Marx in the Manifesto again emphasized that the "first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class, (and) *to win the struggle for democracy*". Thus to "acquire political supremacy" the working class must also "rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself as the nation" though not in the bourgeois sense of the word. It does this by actively demonstrating that not only is it the "social head" but also the "social heart" of the nation.

The struggles for national liberation and new democracy in the neo-colonial world are still interlinked and these two struggles help to *clear the path* for the socialist revolution. Speaking of the old bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, Lenin scientifically observed:

"Such a revolution cannot go beyond this. By reaching its limit, it *all the more clearly, rapidly* and easily reveals to the people the *inadequacy* of bourgeois-democratic solutions and the necessity of proceeding beyond their limits, of passing on to *socialism*."

The specific content of the politics of this stage of new democracy must therefore not be confused with those of the socialist revolution. In fact within the struggle for new democracy are embodied the two contradictory elements – the struggle for nationhood and democracy in the bourgeois sense and the struggle for socialism. These two elements bring all the national force together – bourgeois elements and the proletariat – to carry out this struggle together. By being in the forefront of this struggle the working class establishes its leadership, consolidates its alliance with the peasantry and generally builds confidence in itself and confidence in the other classes and strata as a reliable leader. Not until then can the working class – let alone the working class vanguard obtain general democratic acceptability as a leader of the whole society. Because of the weakness of the "national" bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and their failure to carry out the bourgeois revolution, the working class finds it has to take "one step backward" to fulfil the national tasks before it can embark on its own mission: that of combating its own bourgeoisie, but this is done through stages. This is the crucial point of the tasks of today.

The Democratic Task and Working Class Leadership

The task of the new democratic revolution is to eliminate foreign domination and local reac-

tion at the political level. At the economic level it is to eliminate monopoly capitalism. In carrying out these struggles it aims at the nation's full potential that had been fettered by colonial and neo-colonial domination. "National" capital is now freed and is allowed an area of operation within the national plan while a state sector is promoted. Small scale industry and handicraft production is assisted and the burdens imposed on the peasantry are lifted. In this way the democratic programme is fulfilled, preparing the working class as the leader of the joint dictatorship, to move to the new stage of socialism, again as a first phase to a communist society.

Today in the struggle against neo-colonialism we have reached the stage when this theoretical position ought to be popularized among all intellectual and working class elements. Without developing this scientific world outlook the struggle for national liberation arrested by neo-colonialism cannot be advanced and consummated. Every effort must be made to expose opportunist tendencies of the petty bourgeoisie. Petty bourgeois radicalism which splits itself from the mass struggles comforting itself with the thought that it is the "progressive" force (a minority) and others "reactionary" (the majority) must be rejected. The "Progressiveness" of the vanguard must be judged in its concretely uniting and leading the entire national force against imperialism and local reaction (a minority). Neo-

Trotskyist aberrations about the "one stroke" revolution to socialism must also be rejected and exposed as anarchist. The hatred for democratic politics of the working class by the neo-Trotskyism is a cancer that has bogged down the working class movement in Latin America and many parts of Europe and must be eliminated before any advance can be made. Revisionism which sells out completely to the bourgeoisie is today's biggest disease in the working class movement. Neo-Trotskyism and revision therefore play the same role — one isolationist, the other submergist of working class politics.

The African working class and its vanguard must therefore wake up to its broad national tasks. Only when it is able to discharge these broad national tasks, is it able to move forward to ensure its hegemony as the head and heart of society. A vanguard that proclaims that it is the leader, but knows not how to lead is no vanguard. In fact, despite the adventures it may engage in the belief that it is "leading" society in the struggle for "socialism", it will be a tailing force — a rearguard force. The African revolutionary petty bourgeois intellectual has to grasp these scientific positions in order to play his role as a conscious injector of revolutionary ideas among the working class and the broad democratic masses of the people. Only then can the African liberation struggle against imperialism succeed preparing the way for a new society of the future.

Walter Rodney and the Role of the Intellectual in the Third World

E. Wamba-dia-Wamba

(A Tribute to Walter Rodney, Guyanese Revolutionary, recently killed through a bomb attack. Rodney was the author of the well known book, "How Europe Underdeveloped

Africa"). He lived in Africa for many years and played a major role in the politics of Dar Es Salaam University. He was a keen student and activist of Third World politics).

"For the only great men among the unfree and oppressed, are those who struggle to destroy the oppressor." Walter Rodney

The way Walter Rodney lived, and acted in his very short and intensely active life represents, for us the people of the Third World, the complex and demanding character of the struggles for social emancipation we are involved in. Time seems always short for the tasks which summon us urgently to take sides in the

class and national battles, intellectually, spiritually physically, Fanon used to think — and behave — as if he had for the complete transformation of the Third World we have no *right* to rest. Physical health and mental health, for us people of the Third World require that we battle *permanently*. While fighting to under-

stand these struggles, to arm ourselves better and better we must do this while at the same time struggling to keep our heads above water. Walter's life and the way he fell down in the battle remind us vividly of the enormity of our objective, the complete social emancipation and the need to *permanently* re-examine our modes of acting both individually as well as collectively. The life and death of this exemplary son of the oppressed working people of Guyana provide us with a number of lessons and questions to reflect and act upon. It is an occasion, not only to pay tribute and mourn the loss of a "brilliant scholar and historian — one whose dedication to historical consciousness and to humanity was paramount", but also to critically examine historically the now closed strategies of battling new ones open to the intellectual in the neo-colonial countries. It was Fanon, in 1961, who asked, 'what should Africa have done to save Lumumba?' This was a form of mourning which is also a recognition of social/collective responsibility for the loss, a collective self-criticism and a call for a collective formulation of a path of rectification for better modes of battling.

While the poet George Lamming compares Walter Rodney to W.E.B. Dubois, C.L.R. James and George Padmore — with whom he does share their best and profound concerns for the complete social emancipation of the oppressed Black and non-Black people his short life and the stages of his development put him more in line with M. Ben Barka (North Africa), Afana Osende and A.Cabral (West Africa), Che Guevara (Latin America), F. Fanon — to name but the most known ones. With the exception of Fanon who died in the battle but through an indirect bullet (cancer), they all died on the battlefield and at an early adult age. Ben Barka, a gifted mathematician and member of the 7 people who constituted the core of those who organized the Tricontinental Movement, died while actively trying to organize the political mobilization of the working people of Morocco. His former student — King Hassan II —, threatened by the momentum of Ben Barka's movement with the complicity of the French imperialism, assassinated him. Afana Osende, — brilliant political economist who helped draw a Cuban five year plan and active member of the Union of Cameroonian people (UPC) —, was assassinated while in the Maquis, by the neo-colonial French imperialist supported regime of Ahidjo. The stories of the agronomist engineer Cabral and the medical doctor Che Guevara and how they died are well known. It is probably

fair to call this group (Fanon — Ben Barka — Che Guevara — Afana Osende — Cabral — Rodney) part of the second generation of revolutionary intellectuals. Needless to say that while there are similarities among the members of this group there are differences as well, individual as well as epochal ones.

Rodney and Social Practice

Rodney reminds me of that group in the very way he *shifted* his *principal* emphasis from theoretical struggles as a basis for clarifying issues involved in the understanding and the waging of the struggles against imperialist and its local agencies for complete social emancipation of the oppressed and exploited people to politically organized involvement in the working people based struggles as the basis for a higher clarity and for a concrete involvement in the mass based process of transformation. This does not mean theoretical battles and work are abandoned: Like Fanon who died shortly after completing his last book and historical work, *The History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881 - 1905*, to John Hopkins University Press, U.S.A. Afana Osende died shortly before his book, *L'Economie de l'ouest Africain*, was published by Francois Maspero, Paris. The theoretical work and battles became increasingly more *specific* in their stand, viewpoint and method. This is what Rodney expressed in a lecture at Harvard University, Sept. 1979; "you must first have our feet wet before gaining clarity." Rodney has always tried to be clear and his publications are exceptionally clear, but his clarity became sharper with his politically organized involvement.

Incidentally, this is what it means to say that ideas have a social base, that consciousness is one's relationship to one's surroundings" and that languages of reality' is "practical consciousness" (Marx). The form of expression of one's ideas would reflect one's focal base: the more removed from the principal struggle within the movement of struggles for social emancipation the more abstract one's vocabulary and ideas concerning revolutionary change are.

Rodney also reminds me of F. Fanon, Ben Barka, Cabral etc. in the very seriousness with which he took his theoretical area of study: history. It was reported of Fanon's defense of his Ph.D. thesis in psychiatry that it looked as if the entire discipline was put *on trial*. Rodney made history — in the broad sense of theory dialectics i.e. of real struggles, of the move-

ment of transformation processes of reality – a focal theoretical base through which to critically analyze and clarify the social conditions of oppression, exploitation and domination our people have been struggling to live in. Being *serious* (i.e. honest or scientific) also means knowing oneself honestly and correctly, it is asking, ‘how does science transform me and my oppressed people? How, for whom and by whom is science practiced?’ This is also putting on trial – so to speak – the self-honesty of science itself. In Rodney’s historical work, one has the feeling that the ultimate criterion of validity of historical knowledge is not just its conformity to the theoretical and technical requirements of the community of historians, their scientific ideology – so to speak – but more than that its liberating impact. A historian who does not grasp the social conditions of production and reproduction of his/her profession resting on the basis of a separation of intellectual labour from manual labour for example – fails even to know himself/herself honestly and correctly. He/she does not then practice the epistemologico-historical guidelines of her/his work. It is the masses who make history and class struggle is the motive force of history. And science “sans conscience n’est que ruine de l’ame.” (Science without conscience is but a destruction of the soul) The historian must know with clarity her/his own history, her/his present as history. Rodney insists on this “historical consciousness” and it is almost this consciousness that he calls ‘being concrete.’

Criticism of Bourgeois Social Sciences

Are the theoretical assumptions, methods and results of the existing social sciences in conformity with the demands of liberation and social emancipation of our oppressed/exploited people? The present socio-economic conditions of the Third World constitute the real material criticism and refutation of the basic teaching of social sciences as they exist. The requirements of, and the practical tasks of, transforming – thus clarifying – those socio-economic conditions constitute the promise for the rectification of social sciences in their orientation as well as objects.” In a sense, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* is an illustration of that challenge to bourgeois social sciences on the question of African social development.

By 1974, it was clear to most of us that in most of our neo-colonial countries – if not all – the ruling oligarchies were confronting the intellectual arm of criticism with the unthinking criticism of the arm. Rodney was determi-

ned to return to Guayana and be concretely involved in the process of social transformation in Guayana itself. “Sooner or later – better sooner – some of us have to decide whether we will continue interpreting – no matter how critically – the world in which our people are increasingly oppressed and exploited or we will involve ourselves (mind and body) in the process of social transformation in which our oppressed people are increasingly engaged.” This, of course, reminds me of Fanon’s “leave this Europe where they never get tired of talking of man . . .” There is no universal intellectual, an intellectual ‘in general’, there are only organic intellectuals of the oppressed or of the oppressors.

The arm of criticism outside of a real national/social base in which it can be tested and experienced and thus collectively developed, becomes another form of interpretation of the present world. In fact, what gives efficacy to the lies we criticize are the *material* conditions of power (of exploitation and domination); a really effective arm of criticism must also include a theory of a concrete organization of the process of transformation (revolution) of those material conditions of domination – otherwise, elements of the arm of criticism are recuperated and incorporated in the ideological apparatus of domination.

An intellectual committed to the struggle for social emancipation, without a social experimental base, may sooner or later find himself becoming not only a simple interpreter of the world, not only removed from his oppressed people, but also fundamentally dishonest as far as his commitment is concerned, and perhaps a traitor to his people as well. Keeping in contact with reality as Ben Barka used to repeat – is not just a theoretical question of finding out on which side one is on concretely: with the oppressed or with the oppressors. Only certain concrete social practices which allow reality to manifest itself in its true colours: critical practice of transformation of social reality in its globality. No practical questions of this kind are resolved outside of real national social struggles through which theoretical and subjectivist dogmatism are practically exposed.

Let me say that Rodney, like all the people he reminds me of, was an internationalist by stand, viewpoint, method and practice. But sooner or later all of them realized that real internationalism must be rooted in a real national/social base, without which its efficacy becomes problematic. A genuine revolutionary activity must be internationalist; but, a

genuine internationalism is only practised from a specific social base and national base.

Since 1974 he was *denied* the position of Professorship of History at the University of Guayana and for his dedication to the working peoples of Guayana he was harassed and vilified." *It is a form of social death to be denied any work in relation to one's abilities. While pretending to mobilize our people for modernization or the development of productive forces, neo-colonialist oligarchies of our countries organize the destruction of our best productive forces, the truly conscious revolutionary intellectuals, the great men and women among the unfree. While denying Walter Rodney the right to earn a living by practising his profession — imparting the necessary historical consciousness to the children of the Guyanese oppressed working people — Burnham's government 'granted asylum to a group of American social misfits (Rev. Jones' Temple Peoples) led by a reactionary religious fanatic.'*

Rodney and the Guyana Working Class

Back home, Walter was, perhaps for the first time, struggling not only for the social emancipation of the working people at large, but even to feed himself and his family. Yet his commitment, instead of softening became increasingly steeled. Committed as he was to the concrete struggle for the social emancipation — including the liberation from the arbitrary rule of Burnham's government — of the working people of Guyana, he refused to go and stay abroad — which he could have done easily as offers were not lacking. He used to emphasize that "one must keep in real contact with the reality one is contributing to transform." Even if all the working people of Guyana went and stayed abroad this would not be a real social emancipation of the Guyanese working people. Of course, the economic, social and political barbarism to which imperialism and neo-colonial bourgeoisies want to confine the "newly independent" peoples explains and justifies the instability and tension which are agitating neo-colonial regimes of Africa, Asia, Latin America. Recent events in Liberia,

Ghana, Mali, Uganda, Chad, etc. are an expression of an epoch.

Before Rodney came here last May, I last met him at Harvard University where he gave a lecture on "African liberation and the strategy for economic development." He demonstrated the artificiality, narrowness and irresponsibility of the economic strategies of development put into practice by the ruling oligarchies of our neo-colonial countries. It was clear then, that Walter had by then started dealing in a concrete way with strategies and tactics — in a different way than through the building of theoretical scenarios. He had, by then, taken up the issue and became involved in the process of, organizing the working people of Guyana, an issue and challenge which he described to be "concrete and based on specificities of the country." He emphasized repeatedly the necessity of making concrete analysis of the concrete situation and of not letting oneself be confused by theoretical issues leading some of our minds to sterile pursuits and away from concrete attempts at genuine social emancipation. For, making local social transformations is the crucial contribution to the liberation struggles elsewhere. The only way to avoid and correct theoretical dogmatism and subjectivism, i.e. one-sidedness is concrete analysis of the concrete struggles of working people-based social emancipation.

I learned a lot from him. I learned that the intellectual in the Third World must take sides sooner or later: is he going to be an interpreter of the Third World or is he going to be involved in transforming it. If one is a *real* intellectual — and not just a dilettante — one who stands for truth ('truth is concrete', 'only truth is revolutionary' Lenin) one who rightly rebels against reactionaries — whose theory stands for the destruction of the working people —, he may not even have any other choice. And once one has committed oneself to struggle for complete social emancipation among one's working people, one has to go all the way. To paraphrase Fanon, we are nothing if we don't stand for truth, for the complete revolutionary social transformation of our countries.

The Struggle for National Independence and Socialism in Kampuchea

Samir Amin discusses great significance of correct handling of Peasant Question to socialist construction today, and traces roots of revisionism to this.

In this talk I would like to discuss the reasons why the struggle for independence of Kampuchea, as well as the struggle for independence of Afghanistan constitute the primary objectives on the world scale of struggle for peace and for socialism, these two struggles for peace and socialism being in fact closely connected. In the first part I will deal with the stages and the problems of the Kampuchean Revolution. In the second I will consider the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea and its consequences on the local, regional and world plan. In the third part I will discuss the insertion of the Kampuchea question in the world situation.

1. I would like to talk first about a few points concerning the development of the Kampuchean Revolution. In the first part I will discuss the reason for the success of the popular and anti-imperialist revolution, led by the Communist Party and the Patriotic Front from 1970 to 1975; while in the second part I will examine the reasons why this very success is itself the origin of the difficulties of the period 1975 - 78 which followed victory.

The victory of the popular and anti-imperialist revolution in Kampuchea constitutes one of the major successes for the struggle for socialism in our era. Whatever the case may be, history will judge and will certainly give due honour to the Communist Party of Kampuchea for having defined and put into practice a revolutionary strategy adapted to the conditions of their country which permitted the success of the liberation of Kampuchea. This adequate revolutionary strategy adapted to the conditions of the country was not self-evident.

The objective social, historical and political conditions of Kampuchea are, as always, specific, and, in any case, they were and are different from the social, historical and political conditions of other countries, such as China or Vietnam. It will doubtless be known that these objective conditions of Kampuchea may, up to a certain point, represent common characteristics with the situation in other countries of the region, such as Thailand or Burma.

Nevertheless, in this group of countries Kampuchea alone has succeeded to carry out by itself, under the leadership of the Communist Party a popular, anti-imperialist revolu-

tion, opening up the road to socialism. Even though authentic socialist forces in the other countries have for dozens of years carried out a struggle for socialism they did not obtain victory.

Self-Reliance Basis of Khmer Victory

The victory of the Patriotic Front in Kampuchea is in no way due to the neighbourhood of Vietnam. This neighbourhood did not allow the same success for the other countries of the region. Moreover, during their long, glorious liberation war against imperialism the government and the Communist Party of Vietnam have not advised, nor aided the Kampuchean people and its Communist Party to define this just revolutionary line. On the contrary, they have constantly prescribed a collaboration with the previous regime and tried to avoid that the Kampuchean Communist Party carried out on its own and for its own people a fight for socialism. The strategy of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the position taken by it, the distances it took from the previous regime and thereafter the glorious and decided struggle undertaken against dictatorship of Lon Nol are the origins of this victory. Let us remember, in passing, that the Lon Nol regime was recognized and supported by the Soviet Union. The main reason for the victory of the Kampuchean people has been the capacity of the Kampuchean Communist Party to define a political line able to unify the totality of the peasantry against the specific mercantile and bureaucratic forms of exploitation suffered by this people through the specific forms of its integration in the capitalist world system. The Kampuchean Communist Party managed under these circumstances to define a strategy, under conditions different from those of China or Vietnam. The latter being characterized by on the one hand an advanced centralized and bureaucratic feudal state, on the other hand a global higher level of development particularly with regard to industries. The Khmer Patriotic Front and the Communist Party have consequently succeeded to define the correct forms of a popular, anti-imperialist revolution in a country where the proletariat was almost non-existent, where the bourgeoisie was very weak and where the principal power of transmission of capitalist-imperialist exploitation and domination was assured by a small bure-

aucratic bourgeoisie and by a mercantile, comprador-style class.

Lessons of Kampuchean Revolution

The victorious experience of the Khmers constitutes an entirely new and essential lesson. As already mentioned, a lesson different from those which can be drawn from the experience of the victorious struggles of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples under the leadership of their communist parties. A lesson which is essential and valid, if adapted to other conditions, which as far as the countries of South Asia are concerned, are closer to those of Kampuchea. But also beyond this. For example, I have long thought of the predominant conditions in numerous regions on the African continent. This region is often equally characterized by an absence of sharp social differentiation in the countryside and by the predominance of mercantile and bureaucratic forms of global peasant exploitation by the imperialist system through a transmission-belt represented mainly by the state and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

On this subject I wrote, just after the victory of the Khmer people an article titled "The Lesson of Cambodia". And I continue to believe that the Communist Party of Kampuchea has the honour of having defined an efficient strategy of anti-imperialist struggle. To have defined it on their own, not just putting into practice a strategy copied from that of China or Vietnam, but adapted to their own conditions. This constitutes a lesson of very great importance for other regions in South Asia and Africa.

But this success itself has been the origin of the tragic difficulties which the country has had to confront after the victory in 1975, as well as the wellknown excesses and shortcomings which have appeared during this period. In fact, what it was all about was the success of a principally peasant revolution. A revolution carried out by the totality of the peasant population under conditions where the main form of contradiction did not exist between the differentiated peasantry, naturally the main struggle was not fought by certain classes against the others, but by the whole peasantry against the forms of imperialist and capitalist exploitation.

This fact, i. e. the peasant character of the revolution in Kampuchea, resulted in absolutely fundamental problems which could be formulated in the following manner: How to reconcile in our modern era the development of

a peasant revolution with three demands: (i) the perspective of abolishing classes, since the peasant revolution inscribes itself in the socialist world revolution, (ii) The necessity to develop the productive forces, since this peasant revolution takes place in a very backward country, practically without industry and with extremely low agricultural productivity, (iii) the necessity to reconcile the development of the peasant with the need to construct a modern state compatible with the demands of the contemporary world. This is a fundamental problem which does not only concern the Kampuchean revolution. Since all the socialist revolutions have taken place until now in relatively backwards countries within the capitalist world system, it is the fundamental problem for all the socialist revolutions of our era. Be it Russia, be it China, or Vietnam. Kampuchea thus does not escape the problems posed to every socialist revolution of our time which so far has always contained a more or less important and fundamental peasant dimension and which have all been confronted with this problem of conciliating the demands of the peasant revolution and its realisation with the necessity to construct a modern state and develop the productive forces in a perspective of abolishing the classes. This problem, which concerns the relations between the peasantry, the state, industry and city, is the fundamental problem of socialist construction in our time.

The Peasantry and Socialist Revolution and the Roots of Revisionism in the SU

The manner in which this problem has been approached here or there, for better or for worse, has everywhere been decisive for the ulterior evolution and the fate of the socialist revolution and its development. I will here take three examples: The example of the U.S.S.R., that of China and that of Vietnam – in order to show that equally in these three countries the socialist forces have met with the same type of problems of relationship between a peasant revolution and the demands for a socialist development.

In the U.S.S.R. the revolution of 1917 would not have been victorious without the ingenious capacity of Lenin to combine the demands and goals of the Bolshevik party with the general popular peasant demand for land and peace. During ten years – during the entire period of the twenties – a worker-peasant alliance continued to exist though taking the form characterized by the NEP under the socialist political regime of the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, as we all know, from 1930 on the collectivization — particularly in the form in which it was imposed, associated as it was with the tribute of an enormous surplus extracted from the peasantry, said to be in the benefit of a socialist primitive accumulation — has been the origin of a progressive degradation of the nature of the social system and constitutes the main source, the origin, the roots of revisionism. Dating from this period the U.S.S.R. has gradually lost its socialist character to become a social-imperialist country. A power having a new class content based on the exploitation of peasant and worker masses by a new exploiting class. This fundamental problem has thus been badly solved in the U.S.S.R. and that is the reason why this country has lost its socialist character.

So far this question has been solved correctly in China by a collectivization supported by the poor peasantry and un-associated with the extraction of a surplus in the form of a tribute. Further from 1958 with the introduction of the Communist system and their three levels (workteams, brigades and Commune) based on equal relations of trade between city and countryside the worker peasant alliance has been reinforced. That is the reason why so far China conserves a marked socialist character. China thus so far managed to solve this problem of the relationships between the peasant revolution and the perspective of constructing a modern state, of developing the productive forces and of abolishing the classes in a correct manner.

How is it in Vietnam? During a first phase, i.e. until the end of the fifties, Vietnam also effectively succeeded to solve in the anti-imperialist struggle the question of relationship between the peasant revolution and the perspective of development, modernization and national independence in a correct manner. Unfortunately, from about the end of the fifties a bureaucratic deviation in the liberated part of Vietnam, North Vietnam, has progressively led the Communist Party of Vietnam to adopt positions and practices of a bureaucratic type of relationship between the peasantry and the state. Progressively a system of almost unpaid tributes has been imposed on the peasantry. It is known for example that at present in Vietnam one kilogram of rice is bought from the peasants in the form of compulsory deliveries at the price of 0,3 dong, whereas it is sold in the city at 0,9 dong. Thus there is a bureaucratic extraction of a considerable surplus enforced on the peasantry. These measures are

the origin of economic, social, ideological and political problems in Vietnam. They are the origin of its deviation and as I will try to demonstrate, of its expansionism and its attitude in the question of Kampuchea.

The Strategy of the Kampuchean Communist Party

Kampuchea, beginning with the victory of 1975, has been faced with the same problems, that is the problem of reconciling the demands of a victorious peasant revolution with those of modernization, construction of a national state, development of the productive forces in the perspective of abolishment of the classes. But it has had to face this problematic under the most dramatic circumstances.

First, the national conditions are those of a small country, practically without industries, practically without proletariat, moreover with a Communist Party and a liberation army which — thanks to their correct strategy — had developed very rapidly, within a period of less than ten years. In fact and practically speaking, within about five years. During this short period this political organization has not had the time to accumulate experience. This, very unlike the Chinese Communist party which started its struggle in the mid-twenties and continued all over the country for about thirty years before achieving victory. The same goes for the Vietnamese Communist party which has carried out a very long liberation war equally during about thirty years. The speed with which the Patriotic Front successfully developed its strategy, the speed with which the communist party and the liberation army developed, thus constituted unfavorable and difficult conditions since there had been no opportunity to accumulate an equally rich experience as that of China or Vietnam.

The international conditions were also extremely unfavorable. During five years the American imperialists and their stooges Lon Nol carried out a war of extermination on the people of Kampuchea. It was their strategy, through heavy bombings of the countryside, to bring about a massive immigration of population to Phnom Penh, to keep and feed this refugee population in refugee camps in order to recruit among them an army in the service of the imperialists with the ulterior perspective of "cambodgizing" the war, just as they attempted to "vietnamize" the war in Vietnam.

Peasant Excesses and Orchestrated Campaign Against Kampuchea

When, under these conditions, the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party achieved victory in 1975, they were consequently faced with an evident and immediate danger, which can be described in the following terms: either they maintained Phnom Penh with its population and accepted an immediate and generalized famine in this artificially swelled city, or, in order to avoid the famine in Phnom Penh, they would have to tap the peasants in an authoritarian manner and Phnom Penh would have become a greedy, artificial town living from the exploitation of the entire peasantry. Obviously the second solution was impossible since the revolution had been carried out by the peasants themselves. Under these circumstances the regime of Democratic Kampuchea had no other alternative but to evacuate as rapidly as possible Phnom Penh to avoid the famine and to avoid exploitation of the peasantry by this artificial city. The operation could not be carried out in *reasonably normal manner, because the government of Democratic Kampuchea could count on no short term external aid at the time of the country's liberation. The only country which might have been able to grant such an aid, the neighboring country, Vietnam, was itself faced with enormous difficulties and would probably not wish to come to the aid of the people of Kampuchea. It is under such conditions that the peasant and anti-imperialist revolution of Kampuchea progressively skidded into a fight of the countryside against the city. The excesses, which cannot be denied, are those which we know from the entire long history of peasant revolts. They are of the same nature and represent same character. I am not going to go into the details of this deviation. Let me simply point out that through an extremely well orchestrated propaganda, the Vietnamese government has succeeded, in alliance with reactionaries from the whole world, to use this deviation as an argument to condemn the peasant revolution. All reactionaries in all countries and at all the times have always used the excesses of the peasant revolution. These are the circumstances which preceded the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea.*

Consequences of Vietnam's Invasion

2. Why this invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam? And what are the consequences of this invasion on the conditions for the struggle for socialism, in Kampuchea as well as in Vietnam itself?

There are two explanations which come to mind as to the reasons which may have

brought Vietnam to invade Kampuchea. The first explanation is based on so-called "Vietnamese nationalism": the historic ambitions of Vietnam to control the entire Indochinese peninsula. There is the fact, that even prior to the French colonization Vietnam progressively expanded to the detriment of Kampuchea and Laos. One might also refer to more recent manifestations of expansionism on the part of Vietnam. From the very creation in the thirties of the communist party of Indochina, the Vietnamese element, which because of the circumstances dominated the party, nursed and put forward the project for the liberation of the entire Indochinese peninsula and the formation of an Indochinese Federation. It is known today that a great number of Kampuchean communists resisted this project, which, because of the situation, would have given predominance to the Vietnamese all over the Peninsula. One might in this connection recall what I mentioned before, that is, the Vietnamese position towards the communist party of Kampuchea. The lavish amount of advice by the Vietnamese communist party to the communist party of Kampuchea to support neutrality and not to engage in a fight for socialism on their own.

But in my view this first type of explanation is not entirely acceptable. Vietnam is not the only country in the world which has an expansionist past. All peoples have known in the course of their history periods of expansion and nationalism. On the other hand, the attitude of the Vietnamese party and government towards the communist party of Kampuchea, the advice of moderation and neutralism, are no more specific for the attitude of the Vietnamese communists.

In fact, socialist revolution so far has not been a world revolution, made all over the world at the same time, but a revolution which develops in stages in the weakest links of the world imperialist system. There are, at each moment of the development of this socialist revolution more advanced and less advanced zones. It is in a certain sense not unreasonable that the vanguard of the most advanced regions, those who consequently see the possibility of victory to be within reach, try to subordinate the strategy of their neighbours, of their allies, to the demands which they deem — rightfully up to a certain point — to carry priority in the support to the development of their own revolution. But, it is for the others, that is for the communists who fight in the less advanced regions, to resist this attempt to beco-

me appendices to the revolution in the more advanced regions and to formulate their own proper strategy corresponding to their specific conditions in order to transform their less advanced region in the socialist revolution into one which in turn becomes more advanced.

Problem of the Soviet Union

I may quote for examples of this attitude and this type of problems between the vanguards of more advanced regions on the one hand and the vanguards of the less advanced regions on the other. It is wellknown that the U.S.S.R. was for a long time the only socialist country, and it is true that the U.S.S.R. was for a long time a besieged fortress. Imperialists and capitalists of all the countries in the world cherished the plan to isolate and beat the Russian revolution. It is not unreasonable that under such circumstances the responsible vanguard of this besieged fortress should have tried to subordinate the strategy of its allies the world over to the protection of this fortress. The Popular Fronts in Europe for example adopted, on the advice of the Third International, strategies of supporting the Soviet besieged fortress and not the development of the socialist revolution in their own country. It is known that China, the second example, made its revolution almost against the advice of the Soviet Union. At a moment and during a long period, the Soviet communist party recommended China's communist party moderation, alliance with the Kuomintang in the 1920's, during the Anti-Japanese war and after it. It is to the honour of the Chinese communist party and of Mao Zedong to have refused to make China's socialist forces an appendix to the Soviet Union and to have defined a correct strategy corresponding to China's proper conditions and to have fought for the revolution in China until victory. Vietnam itself made its revolution under conditions where it found itself in opposition to the progressive and socialist forces in the world. Is it necessary to recall that the French communist party which, after all, was responsible in the French empire, condemned the Vietnamese revolution when Haiphong was being bombed by the French imperialist forces in 1945? At that time, the French communist party was represented in the French government itself. It is the same case with Kampuchea. Kampuchea equally made its revolution, not with the support of Vietnam, but against the Vietnamese will to utilize Kampuchea as a neutral base for the struggle for their own liberation.

Reasons for Vietnam's Degeneration

The insufficiencies of the first way of explaining the invasion of Kampuchea by simply referring to the Vietnamese nationalism leads us to proceed to the second type of explanation. Namely that the contemporary expansion of Vietnam into Kampuchea is the result of the blind alley in which the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party has engaged itself the past few years. First of all, as I have already mentioned, in the relationship between countryside and city, as well as in the relationship between the peasantry and the state. From the end of the 1950's the Vietnamese communist party leadership engaged on a road of unilateral tapping of surplus from the peasants, thereby alienating the support of the peasantry which had after all constituted the principal force of the Vietnamese revolution. This became the beginning of a revisionist degradation in Vietnam. It had immediate and disastrous economic consequences. The economic situation in Vietnam is completely disastrous as far as food-production is concerned. After the liberation of the South in 1975, the leadership in Vietnam engaged itself once more on a blind alley. The Southern part of Vietnam had suffered thirty years of American neo-colonialism and, for this reason, the society and the economy of the region, were very different from those, predominant in the North at the time of liberation in 1954. The reunification of Vietnam thus demanded a subtle policy with the maintenance, as far as possible, of a certain openness towards the exterior. No doubt the conditions for such a political choice were not the most favorable. But the unfavorable conditions, the Western hostility, particularly that of the United States towards Vietnam, reinforced the tendency towards a flight forwards into the Southern region. What solution has the bureaucratic leadership of the Vietnamese communist party found to these problems? It has found a solution in external expansionism with the longterm perspective to truly colonize Kampuchea in order to utilize this country's productive capacity and produce, with the aid of Vietnamese colonizers, the rice which it can produce on its own territory with much more difficulty because of the negative social conditions which it has itself created.

What are then the consequences of this invasion? First it should be recalled that Vietnam was able to use the opportunity offered by the weaknesses of the Kampuchean revolution to invade the country. And the consequences are entirely visible. They are the establishment of

the puppet regime of Heng Samrin. All the observers most favorable to the Vietnamese and unfavorable to the Democratic Kampuchea, are forced to recognize that the Samrin regime couldn't last 24 hours without the presence of 200000 Vietnamese troops. Under these unfortunate circumstances, the chances for a straightening up of the socialist revolution in Kampuchea and its proper development are cancelled by the presence of the Vietnamese and of the Samrin puppet government. Because once more this foreign military presence makes the struggle for national liberation of Kampuchea the highest priority.

We can now proceed to examine the arguments which are generally offered by the Vietnamese themselves or by their friends to justify the invasion of Kampuchea. There are three main arguments: the humanitarian argument, the argument about exporting the socialist revolution, and the argument concerning national security.

False Arguments against Kampuchea

The humanitarian argument is in the final analysis the argument offered by all the colonialists of all times. These have always given as the reason for their interventions the barbarity or backwardness of the country they were colonizing. But one ought to ask: who has been the cause of the most evil to the people of Kampuchea in its contemporary history? Isn't it first of all the American imperialists and Lon Nol? Isn't it today the Vietnamese army and their project of colonizing Kampuchea?

The second series of arguments concern the question of exporting the socialist revolution. This sort of argument is foreign to Marxism, but unfortunately it is not foreign to the realities of contemporary developments. Every authentic revolution which was based on national popular support has been forced sooner or later to take its distances from the Big Brother. It is enough to recall the case of Yugoslavia in 1948, of Albania, of China which have been brought by the same fundamental reasons, because these are the countries which made their own proper revolution, to take their distances from the Soviet model. In the other cases, where revolution was exported, peoples are bound to reject soviet domination or face the dramatic consequences of colonialism. The first, and oldest case, is that of Mongolia, a country in which the heavy Soviet military pre-

sence reveals the submission to Soviet interests. In all the countries of Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Romania) the trend is resistance to Soviet domination and liberation is a precondition for further progress of socialism. Romania has already taken its distances from the USSR. East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and presently Poland are or have been in a state of revolt against Soviet domination. The last example to date is Afghanistan, where the Russians claim to be exporting the revolution and where the Afghan people is brought to fight a war of national resistance. Stalin, who in his time was a better Marxist than his successors, once said that when the Afghan Emir carried out a struggle for his country's independence against the British government led by the Labour Party, then the forces of progress were on the side of the feudal Afghan Emir and not on the English "Socialists". One might apply this analysis to the present situation and say that in the struggle between the Soviet army, the so-called exporter of socialism in Afghanistan, and the Afghan resistance fighters, be they Muslims, or so-called backward, the forces of progress and liberation are on the side of the Afghan people and not on the side of the Soviet army.

Finally, the third argument, that concerning security. Kampuchea is said to have "threatened" Vietnam. One might, however have some doubts about this claim. How could Kampuchea which the Vietnamese army has proven capable of beating and occupying within a number of days, really be a threat to Vietnam? The same goes for the Soviet Union in Afghanistan: that Afghanistan should have threatened the USSR! If one accepts this kind of arguments that certain countries have the right to invade others to assure their own security, then we are accepting the law of the jungle as international rule, or we accept that the "Realpolitik a la Bismarck" is taking the place of proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, the necessity to respect absolutely the autonomy of nations should be insisted upon. And of course not only the nations' right to self-determination, but the right of nations and, of them alone, to carry out their social revolutions brought about by the maturation of internal class struggles. Because the nation is a social reality and will remain a historic social reality for still a very long time.

3. I will now attempt to insert the Kampuchean question in the framework of the world situa-

tion and would like on that level to make three observations: firstly, recall the main characteristics of the world situation, secondly, we should examine the motivations and forms of Soviet expansionism, and finally look at the consequences of political options of Vietnam in the region and on a world scale.

The Present World Situation

The present world situation is the result of the progressive emergence of two superpowers, two hegemonies which are still the only two powers capable of intervention on a world scale. And, as a consequence, capable of either dividing or fighting over world domination. First, the United States after a period of about thirty years' competition with Germany over the succession to the British hegemony, emerged after 1945 as the hegemonic power in the world capitalist system. Then the USSR, which until the end of the 1950's was relatively isolated has succeeded from the beginning of the 1960's to climb to the rank of superpower, when gradually obtaining equality of military power with the United States. What are the consequences of this progressive emergence of two superpowers? First of all it has resulted in reducing the people's autonomy and as a consequence, the blocking of the progress of socialism. This is the reason why all the socialist revolutions are in the final analysis made against the Soviet Union. I could mention the examples of Yugoslavia, of Albania, of China and even of Vietnam and Cuba. On the other hand, this emergence has led to a double monolithism. Something which was particularly evident during the Cold War period: the monolithism of the capitalist system under the American leadership and MacCarthysm and the monolithism of the Soviet system under Stalin's leadership. This double monolithism, by practically reducing to zero the real autonomy of the peoples, made every progress in class struggles and every new socialist revolution more difficult.

But the present world situation is no longer characterized in the same way as during the Cold War, or the quarter of a century after World War Two, by two superpowers each dominating in an absolute manner their own zone of influence, their own system of political and ideological alliances. Today, the situation is characterized by their decline. These two superpowers have more and more difficulties to assert themselves and make themselves accepted in their respective camps. In the Western camp, Japan and Europe have now reached a

level of development and economic autonomy which put them in an entirely different position in relation to the United States compared to the situation just after the Second World War. The defeat of the US first in Korea in 1950-53, then in Vietnam and Kampuchea in 1975, has created less unfavorable conditions for the national liberation in Asia and Africa. In the ex-Socialist camp we have seen the separation of China from the Soviet Union from 1960 and a degradation of the Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. This decline of the two superpowers, their more and more disputable capacity to assert their point of view within their sphere of influence, is significantly increasing the danger of war. The danger of war is much more serious when the superpowers are on the decline, because as a result of this decline they feel potentially more threatened by their adversary. It is this decline which is consequently the origin of Soviet expansionism.

Why should the Soviet Union be expansionist when it is faced with constant political and economic problems? It is precisely expansionist because it is faced with these difficulties. Just as I said before about Vietnam, which has chosen expansionism because of the difficulties it has itself created. If some people hesitate to qualify the Soviet Union as expansionist it is because, for romantic reasons they continue to consider this country as socialist. If not socialist, then at least "half socialist", and that socialism is in contradiction with all forms of expansionism.

But if one examines objectively the attitude of the USSR toward China, it is hard not to see the realities of this systematic expansionist policy. Its objective is to avoid at any price and by any means that China emerges as a modern, industrial and military power.

The Soviet Threat to China

I say China, under whatever system, for the Soviet Union has adopted the strategic objective of opposing all Chinese efforts of modernization and development, regardless of whether China be capitalist, revisionist like the USSR, or authentically socialist. In all cases the emergence of China as an autonomous power would be seen from Moscow as representing an eventual adversary. Consequently the main Soviet strategy is to try by all means to dismember China.

Why is this the case and what are the proofs of this expansionism? Some facts: The USSR is no longer the second industrial power in the

world; since a few years the second world industrial power is Japan, the Soviet Union, who for many years was effectively the second industrial power after the United States, is now only the third industrial power. If China was to emerge as an autonomous power, the Soviet Union would probably again lose one rank in the world standing of economic development. If Europe and Japan succeeded in emancipating themselves to an even greater degree than today from their present partial submission to the United States, the result would be the moving from a bipolar constellation of powers to that of a multipolar world. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned for, the USSR who presently competes only with the United States, this multipolarism would put an end to the double hegemonism in the world, and thereby reveal the economic weakness of the USSR. The bipolar world of today is not based on economic equality between the two superpowers but rests on a military parity in spite of the economic and social weakness of the Soviet Union.

If the emergence of China, together with that of Europe and Japan, managed to put an end to the present *military bipolarization* of the world, the Soviet Union would be confronted with its own internal difficulties: economic, social, ideological, political and the problem of nationalities.

What are the proofs of this Soviet expansionism towards China and of this strategic objective of disintegration of the Chinese state? I believe that there are many indices that this is the case and they are not all of new date. I would like to refer to four examples only. Firstly, during the period 1945-49, when the Chinese Communist Party was engaging itself in the struggle against the Kuomintang towards final victory, the Soviet chose to support the Chinese nationalists, including military support, against the Chinese communists. Moscow wanted to bargain this assistance to the Kuomintang against the taking-over of the regions of Sinkiang and Manchuria. Allow me to remind you that in 1948, shortly before the victory of the Chinese revolution, the Soviets attempted to set up a puppet republic in Sinkiang and that all the cleverness of the Chinese Communist Party was necessary to defuse the situation and recuperate the Sinkiang.

Second example: during the first five-year plan, it is known that the Soviets attempted to separate the industrial economy of Manchuria from that of the rest of the country and that they had found allies and friends in this pro-

ject. The fall of Kao Kang was directly connected to this episode. Remember also that the USSR was among the very few who recognized the puppet State of Manchukuo in 1932.

Soviet Union wants to Dismember China

Third example: a Soviet journalist, Victor Louis, who is a well-known KGB agent, in a recently published book has written quite clearly that the principal objective of Soviet political strategy is the dismembering of China. In other words to take China back to the situation of the 19th century when the country was the victim of imperialist schemes of division of China. Those who have doubts about this Soviet target should read this book. They would also discover the hitlerian racist language of Soviet ideologists.

Finally fourth example: the invasion of Afghanistan. This is not an unimportant matter. The Afghanistan invasion has, among other motives, the objective of preventing the degradation of "big Russian" domination on Turkestan. I say Turkestan, because the division of Turkestan in the four artificial republics of Kaazak, Kirghiz, Turkmen und Uzbek corresponds to an artificial division of four peoples with the same Turk language and a cultural affinity which in the past constituted one nation, the Turk nation of Turkistan. These are some elements which show that when the Chinese speak of the "new tsars" and Soviet expansionism, of the Soviet strategy of encirclement of China and of Soviet opposition to the modernization and reinforcement of China, this is not empty talk. These are speaking of a reality. A very strong reality which must be kept in mind.

What hence are the consequences of the positions taken by the present Vietnamese leadership? By getting bogged down in the occupation of Kampuchea and Laos, Vietnam becomes progressively an instrument of the Soviet strategy of encircling China. Willingly or unwillingly, by fighting against the Kampuchean people Vietnam falls into an increasing dependence towards the Soviet Union. Soviet materiel, weapons, oil, etc. are necessary for the Vietnamese war effort. Through this dependency Vietnam becomes more and more an instrument of Soviet policy. This is the reason why the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea is an absolute precondition for the struggle for socialism. Not only for the struggle for socialism in Kampuchea, but for socialism in Vietnam. There will not be any socialist progress in Vietnam as long as Hanoi

has not withdrawn its troops from Kampuchea and the leadership has refused to become an instrument of Soviet policy in its designs on China.

4. In conclusion, I would like to answer very briefly to the question: What is to be done in the actual situation? I would propose the strengthening of non-alignment as the primary task, the main strategic objective of our time. By non-alignment of course I mean non-alignment on any of the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR. Real non-alignment is the only method of increasing the

space for the autonomy of the peoples, and thereby is an absolutely necessary condition for the development of the forces of socialism. At present, non-alignment is an entity of Third World countries, who, because of their economic weaknesses, are often little non-aligned. But this non-alignment if it could be reinforced by a consistent support of Japan, Europe and China would be an essential and worthwhile task. Through such a development it would be possible to spare the peoples of the world the tragic dilemma which we are confronted by: Chile or Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Assessment of the CCP's Assessment of the Cultural Revolution and Mao Ze Dong

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has now made its long awaited historical assessment of the Cultural Revolution and Mao Ze Dong's role as a Marxist revolutionary. It also sums up the years of socialist construction from 1949. The main aim of the Resolution is obviously an attempt to put the Cultural Revolution into perspective and Mao's role in it. Basically the Resolution rejects the Cultural Revolution as "catastrophic" and makes a distinction between Mao's alleged "Left" deviation and his contributions as leader of the Chinese Revolution before the period of his "Left" deviation. It makes a difference between his scientific contributions known as Mao Ze Dong Thought and his later "mistakes".

Since the death of Mao Ze Dong the infant but developing Marxist-Leninist movement and other supporters of China have been confused over the question of events in China relating to the Cultural Revolution and the role of Mao Ze Dong. The current Resolution and the rejection of the Cultural Revolution as a disaster to the Chinese nation will add to that confusion, and many will regard China as reverting to revisionism.

The Resolution speaks of "Left" errors committed since 1958, the period of the Great Leap Forward, based on the desire for "quick results" and "overestimating the role of man's subjective will and efforts." It says further that after the general line was formulated, the Great Leap Forward and the movement for rural people's communes "were initiated without careful study and investigation and without proper experimentation." That Mao erred

again during the latter part of 1959 in "initiating criticism of Peng Dehuai and then in launching a Party-wide struggle against 'Right opportunism'." Nevertheless, "Left" errors in the principles guiding economic work were not only not eradicated but actually grew in the spheres of politics, ideology and culture. At the 10 Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in September 1962, Comrade Mao Ze Dong widened and absolutized the class struggle, which exists only within certain limits in socialist society, and carried forward the viewpoint he had advanced after the anti-Rightist struggle in 1957 that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained the principal contradiction in our society. He went a step further and asserted that, throughout the historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie would continue to exist and would attempt a comeback and become the source of revisionism inside the Party." Thus the resolution states quite clearly that the roots of Mao's "Left" deviation dates back to the anti-Rightist campaign. Here it is not only the error of the Cultural Revolution; Mao's "mistakes" went much further back and had a harmful effect on socialist development in China.

The Resolution repudiates Mao's thesis that "class struggle, class contradictions and classes" exist throughout the historical period of socialism, and states on the other hand, "that class struggle exists in socialist society to a certain extent" but "class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as a class."

The Main Contradiction in China Today

And in place of the principal contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat it is now between "the advanced social system and the backward productive forces" This was Liu Shaoqi's theory in 1957. The Resolution also states that there is no such thing as a bourgeoisie inside the Party nor can there be so. "Under socialist conditions, there is no economic or political basis for carrying out a great political revolution in which 'one class overthrows another.'"

While paying tribute to Mao Ze Dong as the leader of the Chinese Revolution ("the greatest national figure in Chinese history" - Hu Yao-bang) and his many contributions to Marxism-Leninism and while acknowledging Mao Ze Dong Thought as a guiding philosophy for China's socialist construction the Resolution makes no bones that it rejects all that the Cultural Revolution stood for and even some of Mao's earlier policies.

Its conception of Mao Ze Dong's Thought will not be the same as that of others. It is not only the Mao of the Cultural Revolution that is being discarded but also the Mao of 1958 who launched mass campaigns against Rightists and intellectuals. Whether we will see Mao's writings after 1956 is a moot point. Again and again the resolution states that things were going well up to 1956, up to the time that "the general line for socialist industrialization, and for socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce step by step over a fairly long period." It sees the main task of the socialist construction of the future as one of economic construction and modernization and the concomitant raising of the people's living standards. "This revolution," it states, "is not carried out through fierce class confrontation and conflict, but through the strength of the socialist system itself, under leadership, step by step and in an orderly way." In other words socialism through dictat mainly.

The Resolution does not discuss the many issues that the Cultural Revolution took up, does not discuss the question of revisionism, but merely rejects them out of hand. It labels them being "Left" errors. Mao's mistakes are separated from that of the Gang of Four who were double dealers and conspirators while it is admitted that Mao put the Four into important positions although he later turned against them.

The Resolution condemns what it calls "the preposterous theory of productive

forces" and yet in many ways an understanding of the "theory of Productive Forces" is a key to an understanding of the Cultural Revolution.

No Discussion of Revisionism

Large chunks of what is associated with the Cultural Revolution is not dealt with here. For example the whole question of the rise of revisionism in the Soviet Union and the degeneration of the Russian Revolution into a capitalist and imperialist power. And yet the emergence of revisionism in the Soviet Union is another key to the understanding of the Cultural Revolution which traces its genesis in the Sino-Soviet dispute. The reference to the struggle against the Soviet Union is not regarded as a struggle against revisionism but against "big-power chauvinism."

Mao's polemic with the Soviet Union over the attitude to be taken in the struggle against U.S. Imperialism, his condemnation of Khrushchev for revising important principles of Marxism in the name of "peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition", his call to the Soviet Union to fully support the national liberation struggles which were the "storm centres" of the world revolution, his defence of Stalin as a great Marxist-Leninist, (although he was also critical of Stalin's mistakes), all turned out to be correct. He reinvigorated Marxism in his polemics with the Soviet Union over many of the burning questions of the time and showed it to be the living, dynamic force it is. Mao's polemic with the Soviet Union which in themselves are rich in the theoretical propositions of Marxism-Leninism led him to connect the Soviet betrayal with the rise of a new privileged class in the Soviet Union that exploited the Soviet people. "Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and its Historical Lessons for the World" was the first shot in this direction.

The example of the degeneration of the Soviet Union, the uprising in Hungary in 1956 made him to turn his attention to the question of revisionism in China itself especially since during the period of the Great Leap Forward and the institution of the commune system he was engaged in struggles with some of the leading members of the CCP. Since then the question of the degeneration of the Soviet Union has become a crucial question in the international communist movement leading to a split in the movement. There were many key questions involved, but a major one was what policies must a country that has taken the socialist road adopt to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

For the building of a socialist society had to come to grips with the actual contradictions in the process of socialist development. It was this problem that Mao tried to come to grips with. It was a supremely important movement for the future of the world communist movement. The Cultural Revolution which was meant to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat was based on the premise that the superstructure must conform to the economic base and that there was the need for a through going revolution on the political and ideological fronts. It was abundantly clear to Mao that a change in the economic mode of production was not sufficient to guarantee China's socialist road. Even more socialist economic construction itself could be accelerated on the basis of the masses armed with a revolutionary consciousness. Between the revolution on the political and ideological fronts and economic advance there was an organic link.

The Cultural Revolution threw up many theoretical propositions from a Marxist point of view concerning society and social transformation. Apart from actually trying to transform the superstructure, it brought up many questions about the "theory of human nature"; "fight self, fight revisionism" was another important slogan which made the individual not only the subject of revolution but also the object; between doctors and patients, teachers and students, officers and soldiers, workers and management, there were qualitatively different relations attempted. The socialist "new things" like the barefoot doctors took a qualitatively different attitude to medicine and the masses; and so on.

There is the implication that the Cultural Revolution was linked to a "personality cult" (presumably that of Mao) and that the long traditions of feudalism in China were the breeding ground for this (obviously likened to the masses worship of the monarchy). But the entire Cultural Revolution was based on political questions that were the key to the socialist future of China.

Road Upto 1956 Correct

What the Resolution says in no uncertain words — it in fact reiterates it — is that the road followed upto 1956 was correct (up to the enunciation of the General Line) and thereafter with the numerous mass and class campaigns that Mao initiated the situation in China began to deteriorate and that it reached its highest point with the catastrophic Cultural Revolution. Mao absolutized the class struggle

which according to the current leadership of the CCP only exists to a certain extent. It does not attempt to define in precise terms what constitutes the class struggle apart from mentioning in a rather vague way that it is related to external forces and some domestic causes. Flowing logically from this conclusion of the CCP leadership is the concept of the development of the productive forces and especially economic construction as the main tasks. There is the need for political and ideological education but nothing of the kind that occurred during the time of the Cultural Revolution. That is to be avoided at all costs. The method is to be one of criticism and self criticism.

In keeping with this conclusion the Party is reverting to the positions of 1956. "The Party has worked conscientiously to remedy the errors in rural work since the later stage of the movement for agricultural co-operation, with the result that the purchase prices of farm and sideline products have been raised, various forms of production responsibility introduced, whereby remuneration is determined by farm output, family plots have been restored and appropriately extended, village fairs have been revived, and sideline occupations and diverse undertakings have been developed." This is what is meant by creating "those specific forms of the relations of production that corresponds to the needs of the growing productive forces."

The Resolution talks about the elimination of classes and yet the presence of class struggle which at times might even become "acute".

Mao was very specific. He said that "classes, class contradictions and class struggle" exist throughout the historical period of socialism. This is what the Resolution refers to as "absolutization" of the class struggle and evidently disagrees with Mao's characterisation of the period of socialism. In rejecting this thesis and in reverting back to the thesis that the principal contradiction is between the "backward productive forces and the advanced social system" the Resolution goes right back to the acceptance of Liu Shao Chi's thesis. This viewpoint cannot but put emphasis upon the development of the productive forces as the principal aim of socialist development, since classes have been eliminated (although in a peculiar kind of way class struggle still exists) naturally the development of the productive forces must be the principal aim in moving towards a socialist society. No wonder the resolution comes out very heavily in condemnation of the "productive forces" theory, a theory

that came under heavy attack during the Cultural Revolution. For the productive forces theory sees the primacy of socialist development stemming from the public ownership of the means of production and the development of the productive forces. The productive forces theory adopts a mechanistic line to socialist development. It overlooks the actual contradictions that exist during the phase after the bourgeois class and state have been overthrown and when the process of Socialist construction has begun. For the overthrow of the bourgeois state does not mean that the socialist revolution has won, it means that it has just begun, the only difference being that the proletariat has won the necessary state power to begin the actual transformation of society towards socialism and communism. But this transformation takes place under the conditions of the actual contradictions that the new socialist state inherits from the past exploitative society which Marx said is "deeply scarred with the past".

In an underdeveloped country like China where the working class is not in a majority and is surrounded on all sides by a sea of petty bourgeois commodity production (the peasantry as a class is fundamentally petty bourgeois since his fidelity is to the possession of his own piece of land) a major task of the socialist revolution is not only the question of industrialisation along socialist lines but also the transformation of the vast sea of petty bourgeois producers, not only in the agricultural field in the countryside but also with the handicraft producers and commercial retailers in the urban areas. For this reason a proper relation between agriculture and industrialisation is of cardinal importance in the actual conditions of socialist construction in a country like China. (Hence the relevance also of the Kampuchean revolution when large numbers of people from the over-swollen cities had to be removed to the countryside). Old fashioned views on the primitive accumulation of capital which leads to the exploitation of the peasantry by the industrial sector and which leads to an over-emphasis on heavy industry results in an exacerbation of class relationships between the working class and the peasantry, the town and countryside and agriculture and industry. The handling of the peasant question is a key to the advancement of the developing socialist relations of production. The development of the productive forces has to be undertaken in such a way that the new socialist relations of production are constantly kept in mind, and their impairment never overlooked.

Economic Base and Superstructure

All other political and social and cultural relations have to conform to the new relations of production and to the economic base. Education, art and literature, foreign relations, etc. has to proceed in such a way that the old inequalities are not buttressed. In education for example if the old forms of bourgeois educational relations prevail then the children of workers and peasants will be disadvantaged and the children of the old bourgeois classes, the Party cadres and bureaucrats will find privileged access. There is not only the question of changing the purpose of education, of giving it a socialist content, of combining it with the development of production but it must also serve the new relations of production. Education in a socialist country must serve the needs and purposes of the proletarian revolution. So too with the training of technicians, specialists, skilled workers, particularly in an underdeveloped country undertaking socialist industrialization. The danger is that the emergence of these new forces of production must not constitute a separate class of privileged elements lording it over the masses, their children having privileged access to education, etc. Hence the concept of being both red and expert, the need to restrict bourgeois right (not abolish it, not the creation of absolute equalitarianism). The concept of red and expert translated into reality means having a high degree of revolutionary proletarian consciousness and expert skill which is put to the use of the purposes of the proletarian revolution.

Hence the productive forces theory underplays the absolute necessity to transform all relations of production, and the relationship between the economic base and superstructure in the interests of the proletarian revolution. Economic production must proceed in such way that it serves the new relations of production. This is what is meant by putting "politics in command". For this reason the march towards a truly socialist and communist society must proceed on the basis of not only transforming the relationships between the economic base and the superstructure, but in imbuing the masses with a high degree of revolutionary consciousness, and practising mass democracy.

A corollary of the productive forces theory is not so much a reliance on the masses as on the use of the State, and administrative measures in developing the productive forces, on material, incentives. Some of these measures are necessary, but as Marx said of all the producti-

ve forces labour itself is the greatest productive force. This labour does not have to act in an anarchistic and indisciplined manner but armed with *revolutionary consciousness and mobilised* by its vanguard Party becomes a material force in the socialist transformation and development of production greater than anything else. This is what the Cultural Revolution attempted. (*This is the weapon of theory that Marx referred to*).

Socialist Production Must be Guided by Policies, Lines, Tasks

The Resolution talks about the four principles in upholding the socialist road, i.e. the leadership of the Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Ze Dong-Thought, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist road. But these four principles tell us nothing in terms of the reality of today. The supreme question for us in our era is how to *consolidate* the dictatorship of the proletariat – because that is what the socialist road means – in the light of emergence of revisionism in the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism. For the dictatorship of the proletariat does not only mean the democracy for the masses and dictatorship over the exploiting classes, it also means the implementation of particular lines, policies, etc. in the advance towards socialism and communism. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat class struggle and the advance towards socialism crystallises around the implementation of particular lines and policies and these particular lines and policies constitute class struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. This is also what the step by step advance towards socialism means, confronting the actual contradictions that the proletariat comes to understand in the course of its advance. The degeneration of socialism in the Soviet Union led Mao to an analysis of revisionism and the struggle against it which culminated in the Cultural Revolution. For Marxist-Leninists of today it is an historical question of how to make the socialist revolution and yet at the same time to take steps to prevent the restoration of a new bourgeoisie, using the state as the main form of a new class domination. This is the new question that the revolutionaries of our generation have to face and the Cultural Revolution was the first major shot in this direction.

This is why the Cultural Revolution had to be a complete revolution in itself, mobilising people in their millions. And it is for this reason that many feel that of the many great contributions that Mao Ze Dong made to

Marxism-Leninism this was perhaps his greatest.

Socialist Spiritual Civilisation

The Chinese Communist Party nowadays talks about building a new “socialist spiritual civilisation”. But that sounds so much like Christian humanism. As Marx said, the philosophers have interpreted the world. The thing is to change it. And to change it from the point of view of historical and dialectical materialism means to deal with the actual contradictions arising from class struggle rather than talking about new ethical relations, etc. It is like Liu Shao Chi’s theories about “How to be a Good Communist” i.e. by practising all kinds of socialist moralistic principles. But the dictatorship of the proletariat is something more than that. It deals with the actual contradictions that advance the socialist road. The socialist morality of the individual relates to the individual’s relationship to the socialist needs of society. But it can in no way be separated from carrying out those policies that advance the socialist road. Undoubtedly Mao’s articles like “Serve the People”, “The Foolish Old Man who Removed the Mountains”, “In Memory of Norman Bethune” are all writings which inculcate in the individual a sense of socialist morality and they were widely publicised during the Cultural Revolution. But they were not separate and apart from the actual policies that had to be implemented at a particular juncture of the socialist revolution involving transformation of the superstructure and mass democracy.

The mass line is something deeper than merely consulting the masses. It is based on a firm faith that “the people, and the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history.” It is not a question of leading the people like sheep towards the socialist road, but making the masses the very frontal force of socialist change. The Communist Party is not something that stands above the masses. It must be wholly involved with the masses in bringing about socialist transformations and the Party members deserve the name of Communist vanguard elements by undergoing such a process of intense struggles involved with the masses. Communism cannot be built by administrative decrees. They must involve the masses on the basis of a deep and high revolutionary consciousness with which the Party must arm the masses so that they can fulfill their historic mission of liberating society and mankind. So between the Party and the masses there is a

continual dialectical interaction in which the Party itself purifies itself by being engaged with the masses in socialist transformation. This was one of the cardinal principles during the Cultural Revolution.

Rectification and Transformation

The Resolution condemns mass campaigns and seems to opt for criticism and mass criticism in the manner of Christian preaching as a solution to problems. Ironically while on the one hand it states that one of Mao's major contributions was the rectification campaign it seems intent to shun it. It limits the concept of Rectification to criticism and self criticism when it was fulsome airing of views publicly. And yet the Rectification Campaign – which certainly was a major contribution of Mao to Marxism-Leninism – was meant to mobilise the masses around specific campaigns aimed at advancing the socialist cause. It was aimed at elevating revolutionary consciousness so that theory could be better linked to social practice. The Cultural Revolution was such a Rectification Campaign aimed at preventing the rise of revisionism by building "socialist new things", and instituting a whole series of policies which would prevent the emergence of a new bourgeoisie. (It was the Yenan Movement on a broader and deeper scale). In the current campaign to criticise the author of "Unrequited Love" and other such writers, the method of approach is to address these writers and to ask them to correct their erroneous viewpoints which are detrimental to the cause of socialism. This is the method of criticism and self-criticism. There is frank admission "of bourgeois liberalism of certain people on the ideological front". (Obviously all intellectuals are not quite part of the working class). But the Cultural Revolution attempted to do something more. Not only did it point out the theoretical basis of proletarian literature which required that the petit bourgeois writer and artist had to go deep among the masses in order to serve them the better but it also attempted to develop writing from among the masses themselves, so that literature and art did not become the domain of the petit bourgeois educated classes constantly trying to serve the masses but became the initiative of the masses themselves. This mass art and writing was a great innovation of the Cultural Revolution. This is not to deny that there were grave abuses too and that a large number of writers and artists were unnecessarily persecuted for being bourgeois, etc. But surely this approach to the who-

le question of literature and art involving the masses is a far more correct approach than constant moral exhortations about the correct proletarian approach.

Uninterrupted Revolution

The Resolution derides the concept of "continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat". But this is a theoretically correct concept. For the tasks of the socialist revolution are not over – they are just being tackled – and the inequalities are many and will take a long time overcoming – the inequalities of bourgeois right, between men and women, town and country, industry and agriculture, mental and manual work, etc. They are monumental tasks in overcoming. And the Communist Party will only be able to lead the masses in overcoming these problems if it does not loose its vigilance, thinks that the revolution is over with the public ownership of the means of production and goes to sleep. The revolution must continue when imperialism is still alive, when the vast majority of the countries and peoples of the world are crushed under imperialist exploitation, and when a new imperialist war is looming on the horizon. The Communist revolution, as Marx said in the "Communist Manifesto" is the most radical rupture with the existing structures of society. It revolutionises every aspect of social relations in the most thorough going way. The Party basing itself on the masses must know how to mobilise the masses step by step along this road and to make even the kind of qualitative leap that the Cultural Revolution attempted.

The Resolution denounces the idea that there can be a "political revolution under socialist conditions" but the most thorough going attempts at proletarianization of social relations and social structures of society that the Cultural Revolution attempted against the obstacles placed by revisionist elements did mean such a political revolution.

The Resolution criticises the fact that small differences were regarded as resulting from class struggle and that the scope of the class struggle was wrongly expanded. The Cultural Revolution as a political revolution aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and based on the theoretical concept of continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat was a major revolutionary struggle, not an exaggeration of small differences. Certainly a large number of unnecessary abuses occurred, large numbers of people were unnecessarily persecuted and tortured and all kinds of careerists, opportu-

nists and conspirators tried to take advantage of it – like Lin Biao. That was unavoidable in a mass movement of such proportions and Mao himself admitted that the cost was heavy.

But Mao's obvious purpose was to break away from the old model of development that was still heavily indebted to the Soviet model and which relied too heavily on a bureaucratic and elitist state apparatus that increasingly became separated from the masses and which eventually led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. He wished to totally redirect the nature of socialist transformation in the country so that it would reflect the true interests of the mass of the people and not give rise to a new bourgeoisie that would appropriate the fruits of the working class and the masses while mouthing socialist slogans. It was a herculean task but he approached it with the courage of a dauntless Communist revolutionary totally devoted to the cause of the triumph of the communist revolution.

The Principles of Cultural Revolution Correct

What is more important is to pursue the correct road of the Cultural Revolution, throwing out the ultra leftist excesses and undertaking a proper and correct synthesis of those policies that were positive and which contributed positively to the socialist road and the prevention of the rise of revisionism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao himself did not undertake such a synthesis but it was left to his successors to do it. This does not mean that the debate about the Cultural Revolution and its positive lessons are over in China. Whatever might have been his errors Mao Ze Dong posed important questions for the future of socialist construction in China, and he offered solutions too. Again and again the Chinese revolutionaries will be called to go back to them in the course of their onward march, for the questions he posed are of crucial importance and cannot be ignored.

The Cultural Revolution that Mao launched and set into motion sounded a chord in the hearts and minds of millions of oppressed peoples all over the world and it gave rise to the emergence of a new International Marxist-Leninist movement that was slowly groping its way to maturity after the revisionist betrayal. After the betrayal of Marxism by the Soviet Union he gave it a new living breadth. That same M-L movement the current leadership appears loth to support while the door has been opened to well tried revisionists like those of the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties,

both of whom have renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat. The current attitude of the Chinese leadership seems to be that the revolutionaries in each country must undertake the revolution in their countries and work out its tactics and strategy. This of course, is correct but it is a departure from the days when the CCP actively encouraged and supported the development of the revolutionary M-L forces in each country whilst not playing the role of big brother.

Nobody can disagree with the great tasks of socialist modernization and the creation of a "socialist spiritual civilization" that the CCP has set itself. They are correct goals the success of which will be a major contribution to the progress of world civilization. But socialist modernization must be strictly accompanied by putting "politics in command" by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in all the spheres of political, social, economic and cultural life, which is what the Cultural Revolution set out to do. Modernization in itself will not resolve the question of elimination class differences without a thorough going revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Mao defined the era of socialism as one of "class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment". That is just about an accurate and succinct definition of the principal tasks of the socialist revolution after the bourgeois state has been overthrown. "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production" was a major slogan of the Cultural Revolution. Training technicians from the working class and working masses – at the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant – was loudly advertised of how there could be the more correct combination of red and expert.

The Future for Azanian Marxist-Leninists

It would be wrong to think that all the lessons of the Cultural Revolution have been lost. In paying tribute to Mao's contributions the Resolution acclaims many things that even those who castigate China for having become revisionist would agree with. For example it says "We must strengthen and improve ideological and political work and educate the people and youth in Marxist world outlook and communist morality; we must persistently carry out the educational policy which calls for an all-round development morally, intellectually and physically, for being both red and expert, for integration of the intellectuals with the workers and peasants and the combination of mental and physical labour..." And indeed on the question of mass line and the question

of "ideological and political work and cultural work . . . the theses that ideological and political work is the life-blood of economic and all other works and that it is necessary to unite politics and economics and to unite politics and professional skills, and to be both red and expert . . ." So where is the difference. The difference lay not in the moral exhortations of these important truths but the integration of these theoretical propositions into social practice. That is precisely what Mao attempted to do with the Cultural Revolution. It is not the question of the mere mouthing of the slogans but their actual applications in organisational forms. These were important theses of the Cultural Revolution and the fact that they are re-asserted shows their potency above everything else.

For us in Azania where we have yet to build a Marxist-Leninist Party and achieve hegemony in the national struggle, our task is not to be following this wind or that. We must learn from the positive and negative experiences of all the great revolutions, past and present and integrate them to the concrete conditions of the national/class struggle in our country. We cannot allow ourselves to be split over whether we support the current leadership or not. Chi-

na supports our national liberation struggle without imposing any strings upon our movements. She does not play a hegemonistic role. This is important to our struggle. As Azanian revolutionaries our main task is to make the revolution in our country based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Ze Dong, including the lessons of the Cultural Revolution (we should not be afraid to debate its merits and demerits fearlessly amongst ourselves), the Yenan Rectification Movement, the Kampuchean struggle, etc. In the past the CCP encouraged the revolutionary forces and China acted as a centre for the newly developing Marxist-Leninist forces who found strength and great encouragement from this support. This support is not there anymore. But Marxist-Leninists must organize and perhaps amongst themselves find ways and means of supporting one another.

In the international arena China is still a vital force for progress and in the forefront of the struggle against social-imperialism. She is not an expansionist power threatening the national independence of countries and nations. This is very important for the struggle of the peoples of the world while many might question some aspects of her foreign policies.

The Cultural Revolution, Revisionism, and the Theory of Productive Forces

(An extract from the Monthly Review publication of Mao's 'Critique of Soviet Economics')

These writings of Mao Ze Dong, brought together here under the title *A Critique of Soviet Economics*, date from the period during and immediately after the Great Leap Forward, a time when the Chinese Revolution began to break decisively with the Soviet Union and its model of development. With the Great Leap, a distinctive Chinese road to socialism emerged. But it was a road paved with a decade of controversy over the course of China's socialist development. At the heart of many of those disputes within the Chinese Communist Party was the question of the applicability of the Russian experience to building socialism in China.

In analyzing their own society, the Chinese Communists have long studied the Russian Revolution for inspiration and practical sugges-

explaining the political theses on which the Cultural Revolution was based).

tions, as well as for a general perspective on the course of their own revolution. To them, the Soviet Union is a model from which both negative and positive lessons can be drawn. Thus it is not surprising to find Mao, at such a pivotal stage in the Chinese Revolution as the Great Leap, once again turning to a study of Soviet experience. This time he did so through a critique of two Soviet books, *Political Economy: A Textbook* and Joseph Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. By the time Mao wrote his critique, however, he had moved away from trying to adapt Soviet methods, as he and other party leaders had sought to do in the early 1950s, and instead began to advocate strongly a wide range of alternatives.

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that the growing reliance on industrial and technical development concentrated in the cities at the expense of pushing the social revolution in the countryside would exacerbate the very contradictions that had to be overcome to transform China into an industrialized, socialist society.

But not until April of 1956, in his speech "On the Ten Major Relationships," did Mao directly challenge the Soviet model's reliance of primitive accumulation at the expense of the peasantry.

Mao sharply criticized the Soviet's "lopsided stress on heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture and light industry." Calling for a reduction in the absolute priority given to heavy industry, he argued that increased investment in light industry and agriculture serves the daily needs of the people while actually speeding up the accumulation of "capital" for heavy industry. To implement this proposal, Mao urged local authorities to take greater initiative, criticizing the Soviet Union for "concentrating everything in the hands of central authorities, shackling the local authorities and denying them the right of independent action." *Administrative costs had to be cut, the staff of the national bureaucracies slashed by two-thirds. Unified planning and discipline under a strong center were still essential, he insisted, but this was not the same as the domination of ministries administering a Soviet-style centralization.*

Instead of taking the surplus from the rural areas, therefore, Mao argued that the Chinese labor force, agricultural and industrial alike, had to significantly increase its productivity. In this way, a truly industrialized socialist society could develop. The worker-peasant alliance would be strengthened rather than torn apart by a sharp clash between rural and urban interests. And by avoiding the imposition of a special burden on the peasants, a powerful, repressive state apparatus would not be needed to extract surplus production.

With his speech "On the Ten Major Relationships," as Mao later said, we "made a start in proposing our own line for construction." Mao for the first time clearly rejected the idea of development through a privileged sector (heavy industry, and only later the other sectors) and distinct phases (first in material progress, only later in social relations and ideology). The entire nation, he insisted, must undertake a massive commitment to social, political and economic unification that, like the

methods used in the years in Yenan, would leave none behind and not benefit a few at the expense of the many. In this pathbreaking analysis of the contradictions in China, Mao firmly opposed any plans that would create new divisions in a nation already severely torn by imbalances between the various regions, between various social classes and groups, between the center and the regions, between the political and social spheres.

A Theory of Productive Forces and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

While pointing out the dangers of blindly copying the Soviet model of accumulation, Mao was also criticizing another, closely associated aspect of that model, its theory of Productive forces. Essentially, this theory, as it was formulated in the Soviet Union during the years of Stalin's leadership, maintained that state ownership of the means of production, together with a rapid growth of the forces of production, opens up the socialist road to communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat guides the development of the forces of production, while repressing the old ruling classes and defeating their inevitable counter-revolutionary attacks on the new order.

For the peasants and the workers, the dictatorship of the proletariat is held to be a genuine democracy. The abolition of private property and other forms of class society is argued to have ended all exploitation. Since exploitation is argued to be impossible under such new conditions, the hierarchy, subordination, and disciplining of the workforce, even when it appears to resemble sophisticated capitalist methods, is seen as merely the adaptation of rational patterns of work.

With the dying out of the old bourgeoisie and feudal ruling classes, the development of the forces of production and the continuous elevation of the standard of living of the masses, class struggle will diminish in intensity and eventually disappear. Were it not for the international struggle with capitalism, the state itself would "wither away." Even though the state does remain as an apparatus to fight external enemies, the transition to communism can be worked out internally, dependent only on the development of the forces of production.

In essence, the Stalinist theory of productive forces reduced the concept of the capitalist mode of production to little more than the sy-

stem of private ownership of the means of production. And consequently, once political power is seized and a system of public ownership of the means of production instituted, no thought need be given to a throughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. The creative role of the masses and mass campaigns are viewed as anachronistic; the struggle to refashion one's worldview is ignored.

Mao's attack on this theory of productive forces grew out of the lessons he had learned about revolutionary transformation during the years of guerilla warfare. The distinctive features of the Yanan model are well known: self-reliance, decentralization, antagonism to bureaucracy and elitism, collective aims and discipline, non-material incentives, and the participation of the masses in all aspects of social and economic activity. Development was comprehensive, designed to bring up all sectors, not just a chosen part.

Out of the struggles for revolutionary land reform, Mao argued, the peasants' political consciousness had been raised through the mass line and the development of new cooperative work relationships. By changing the relations of production and encouraging the growth of new attitudes and ideas, rural productivity was increased. The party itself was only a part of this process, not its master. For like the peasants, its members were molded through a process of continuous, step-by-step transformation.

Mao's strong advocacy of rapid collectivization in the years after Liberation was predicated upon this experience of developing the productive forces through a step-by-step transformation of every aspect of rural life. Thus he criticized the idea of "mechanization first, cooperation later on," arguing instead that collectivization could and should precede mechanization of agriculture. Social transformation, followed and increasingly supported by technological changes, would release the productive forces while decreasing polarization in the countryside.

Many leading party officials, influenced by the Soviet model's reliance on the theory of primitive accumulation, opposed Mao's call for deepening the rural revolution in the early 1950s. Liu Shao-ch'i reportedly criticized as "utopian agrarian socialism" the attempt to promote cooperativization before there was an adequate supply of agricultural tools and sufficient mechanization. Nor was Liu alone in his doubts. Remembering what had happened in

the Soviet Union, many party leaders feared that accelerated collectivization in China would lose them peasant support and disrupt their economic plans. As Mao commented in July 1955:

"Some comrades have found in the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union grounds for criticizing what they call imperiousness and rashness in our present work of agricultural cooperation ... but on no account should we allow these comrades to use the Soviet experience as a cover for their idea of moving at a snail's pace."

This debate was not just over the pace of collectivization, however. Mao perceived that behind the opposition to his policies was a more fundamental opposition to continuing class struggle and revolutionary methods of social transformation. In June 1953 he warned party leaders that the transition period to socialism was "filled with contradiction and struggle. Our present revolutionary struggle is even more severe than past armed revolutionary struggle. This is a revolution to bury once and for all capitalism and all exploitative systems."

If Mao saw the campaign for accelerating collectivization as a testament to the mass line and the need for revolutionary struggle, many party officials argued that successful collectivization set the stage for a new era in which such methods were no longer necessary. Thus even as they began to support Mao's position on primitive accumulation as expressed in "On the Ten Major Relationships," Liu Shao-ch'i and other party leaders concluded that China's collectivization had progressed to a point where the development of the productive forces required that "the principal method of struggle" could no longer be "to lead the masses in direct action." As Liu Shao-ch'i said at the Eighth Party Congress in September 1956:

qured that "the principal method of struggle" could no longer be "to lead the masses in direct action." As Liu Shao-ch'i said at the Eighth Party Congress in September 1956:

"Now, however, the period of revolutionary storm and stress is past, new relations of production have been set up, and the aim of our struggle is changed into one of safeguarding the successful development of the productive forces of society (and thus) a corresponding change in the methods of struggle will consequently have to follow."

With the collectivization of agriculture and the public ownership of the means of production basically accomplished by 1956, Liu and

others stressed the need to focus all energies on promoting the productive forces. This they did in a way deeply marked by the Soviet model of development. For by maintaining, as the Eighth Party Congress resolution stated, that "the essence of this contradiction (in socialist society) is a contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward social productive forces," they turned their backs on the need for a simultaneous and interrelated socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Revolutionary struggle, they believed, would not unleash the productive forces, but would only undermine the needed stability for their rapid growth. Periods of acute class struggle were no longer essential to create the new cooperative organisations and attitudes favorable to economic growth. The "advanced social system" already existed and needed only to be consolidated.

In 1956 and 1957, Mao had himself argued that the turbulent class struggles characteristic of previous revolutionary periods had in the main come to an end. But unlike other party leaders, he insisted that "the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." Thus he soon came to reject the Eighth Party Congress resolution that the contradiction in socialist society was between the "advanced social system" and the "backward social productive forces." Rather he argued that

"The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base . . . survivals of bourgeois ideology, bureaucratic ways of doing things in our state organs, and flaws in certain links of our state institutions stand in contrast to the economic base of socialism."

There were thus serious weaknesses in the "advanced social system" which had to be struggled against. In essence, Mao insisted that only continued mass struggle could combat the powerful hold of bourgeois ideology and bureaucratic ways of doing things. The seizure of state power and the public ownership of the means of production, therefore, were insufficient for the building of socialism. By themselves, they could not consolidate the gains made. The mere growth of the economic base could not automatically engender the very attitudes

and organizational forms necessary both to drive the revolution forward and unleash the productive forces of the masses.

Indeed, at the heart of the Soviet theory of productive forces, Mao argued, was a profound fear and distrust of the masses and mass struggle. This was what the Soviet political economy text and Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism* revealed in their preoccupation with the base at the expense of the superstructure. For Mao, a host of closely related Soviet positions flowed from this preoccupation: disregard for the masses as the creators of history and a reliance on planners; preoccupation with technology and expertise; confidence in hierarchy and one-man management; reliance on material incentives; and a total lack of interest in the transformation of an individual's worldview. The end result was the growth of a powerful bureaucratic apparatus completely alienated from the masses.

A Conception of the Communist Party

Mao's denunciation of such bureaucratic ways ran throughout his entire revolutionary career. But with the seizure of state power Mao faced questions for which he found no answers in Soviet revolutionary experience. How, for example, was the party to retain its intimate ties with the masses when the tendency toward bureaucratic methods and elite privilege was so powerful? How was the revolution to be continued after state power was seized and the means of production brought under public ownership

As Mao argued in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among The People," there are "contradictions between the government and the people in socialist countries." By always talking about unity and consolidation, the Soviet Union was actually blocking the correct resolution of the various contradictions in society, impeding the development of socialism. The real problems facing society remained hidden. And a convenient ideological cover for bureaucratic domination was created.

But while various party leaders warned of the dangers of bureaucracy and spoke of the mass line, there were very pronounced differences in how they understood them and the role of the Communist Party. Liu Shao-ch'i was often labeled in the Chinese press during the Cultural Revolution as the main ideological critic of Mao's views on the mass line. If so, he assuredly had significant support for his views; his position in many ways followed

the conception of the Communist Party as it was enshrined in official Soviet doctrine. For Liu, the party, and only the party, could see what was necessary and could see to these necessary changes. To the masses, it would appear as a united, selflessly dedicated organization. Purity of devotion and ideological orthodoxy were the ultimate safeguards for the ability of the party to act correctly on behalf of the masses. Only after its members had been taught "how to be good communists" could the party effectively help the masses to solve their problems. A selfless party elite should thus be above external supervision; its mistakes could be satisfactorily rectified through intraparty channels. As Mao said in the fall of 1957, "Some seem to think that once in the Communist Party, people all become saints with no differences or misunderstandings, and that the Party is not subject to analysis, that is to say, it is monolithic and uniform..."

At the heart of Mao's disagreement with Liu's orthodox conception of the Communist Party was his insistence that the party itself is only an instrument involved in, but not dominating, the dialectical process of continuous revolution. Knowledge, he points out in the critique, is not first the exclusive domain of the party elite. The party does not stand outside the revolutionary process with foreknowledge of its laws. "For people to know the laws they must go through a process. The vanguard is no exception." Only through practice can knowledge develop; only by immersing itself among the masses can the party lead the revolution.

Throughout the history of the Chinese Revolution, Mao criticized those who believed they knew exactly what had to be done and relied on Marxism-Leninism as an abstract doctrine filled with ready-made answers. Revolution, Mao insisted, is an extraordinarily painful and difficult process. There are no easy answers, no laws which can be simply applied. As he argues in the critique, years of arduous struggle had been necessary before the correct methods emerged to enable the Chinese revolutionaries to win the bourgeois-democratic phase of the revolution. The building of socialism and communism would require an equally arduous struggle.

Mao saw the masses as the real creators of history, those from whom the Communist Party had to learn. Mistakes and setbacks would emerge in any mass struggle; revolution is sometimes brutal and violent. But the creative breakthroughs which lead to new cooperative methods and attitudes only come out of revo-

lutionary struggle. This was how the soviets had emerged in the Russian Revolution, Mao maintained, and how the communes developed in China. Nor should one fear failures. "People must go through practice to gain results, meet with failures as problems arise; only through such a process can knowledge gradually advance." Failures, correctly analyzed, are often as illuminating as successes. By studying those which occurred in the Great Leap Forward, for example, Mao sought to uncover the guidelines within which consolidation of the communes could be accomplished.

No leadership, in short, can create the new social forms and political and economic innovations out of its own heads, then apply them through administrative decree. New forms and methods will emerge. Mao insisted, if cadres and the masses are allowed to experiment, if they are mobilized and encouraged by a party leadership willing to learn from their potential breakthroughs and capable of both shaping and being shaped in the process. As Mao said during the period of accelerating collectivization in 1955: "Both cadres and peasants will remold themselves in the course of the struggles they themselves experience. Let them go into action and learn while doing, and they will become more capable."

Unlike Liu Shao-ch'i, therefore, Mao never saw ideological devotion and intraparty rectification movements as sufficient to maintain the revolutionary role of the party. Only by being immersed in the masses, subject to their criticism, and sensitive to their needs could the party truly combat bureaucracy, privilege, and elitism. And since for him the party did not stand above society, Mao came to see the contradictions within the party as intricately interwoven with those in the society at large. In his editing of *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countyside* in 1955, Mao first mentioned the theme which he was to raise in the critique and elaborate further in later years. There is a practice, he then warned, "prevalent almost to the point of being universal: right opportunists in the party, working hand in glove with the forces of capitalism in society, are preventing the broad masses of poor and middle peasants from taking the road to the formation of cooperatives." This emphasis on rightists in the party linked to social forces was to undercut further the orthodox Soviet conception of the party and was used in the coming years as another reason for deepening the mass-line conception of politics.

The Great Leap Forward

Mao's writings in this volume can also be read as an analysis of the Great Leap Forward. Here for the first time in his known writings, Mao is extensively exploring the process of uninterrupted revolution and the nature of the transition to socialist and communist society. In so doing, he defended the Great Leap against unfounded attacks both from within and outside the party. At the same time, he is seeking to elaborate the context within which the Great Leap's negative features can be corrected and its positive aspects preserved.

Mao's writings in this critique are transitional documents: they stand midway on the path of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As Mao's criticism of the Soviet model of socialism deepened during the Great Leap, so did his conviction that the transition to socialism was an arduous, protracted struggle that might take an entire historical epoch. Like Lenin, Mao became increasingly concerned with the obstacles and difficulties in this transition. The drive toward socialism requires that every aspect of society undergo tremendous change. In this critique, Mao writes of those forces fighting tenaciously to resist such change, calling them "conservative forces" and "rightists." But Mao is still working out the nature of such opposition and its relationship to the Communist Party; he is not stating it precisely. Nor is he saying precisely what is meant by class struggle during the period of socialist transition. Old bourgeois and feudal elements remain in Chinese society, but it is the hold of

old values, ideas, and habits of thought which increasingly concerns him. These writings also demonstrate his efforts to challenge those in the party in positions of authority, the managers, technicians, administrators, and other assorted experts who, compared to the workers and peasants, occupy position of financial reward and power. He finds the children of the cadres disappointing, too protected and with too many political airs. But the dangers to the revolution are still seen in terms of spreading bureaucratism rather than a question of class. This is particularly evident in Mao's cautious explanation of the bureaucratic nature of the Soviet Union and in his lack of a complete study of the material base of the bureaucracy's privileged role. Not until July 1964, in "on Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," did Mao state that "the contradiction between the Soviet people and this privileged stratum is now the principal contradiction inside the Soviet Union and it is an irreconcilable and antagonistic class contradiction."

The struggles with those in China who opposed the Great Leap Forward forces Mao to deepen the analysis of his critics. Out of this attack on the Great Leap Forward, led first by P'eng Teh-huai and continued by others in the coming years, Mao was to elaborate his conception of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Not until 1962, however, would rightists within the party be labelled revisionists. And not until the Cultural Revolution would the conception of the "capitalist roader" be developed.

Mao Ze Dong on Culture, Literature and Art

Literary Theory – The Yen-an Talks

This is the first part of a thesis by *HAWREY SARKAWT*, a Kurdistan Marxist-Leninist dealing with the Marxist theory of Culture, Literature and Art. This abridged section deals

In his first speech to the forum on literature and art held in Yen-an in 1942, Mao Tse-tung defined the occasion as a meeting to exchange ideas on the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general. He said that in order for the Chinese people to liberate their country and

with Mao's contributions in this important field, and relates its relevance to the Cultural Revolution. The section on the Cultural Revolution will follow in the next issue.

change their society, they had to have a cultural army as well as an army with guns.

The origins of such a cultural army went back to the May Fourth Movement of 1919 which was a patriotic movement mainly of intellectuals that had rapidly developed into a nation-wide movement embracing all the revo-

lutionary urban classes of China and a vigorous cultural movement whose main current was the propagation of Marxism. This greatly helped the Chinese revolution by generally reducing the domain of China's feudal and comprador bourgeois culture and weakening their influence.

During the civil war period of 1927 - 1937, both the revolutionary movement and the cultural movement grew rapidly, and both headed in the same general direction. 'The two fraternal armies', as Mao described them however, 'were not linked together in their practical work because the reactionaries had cut them off from each other'. (2)

With the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan in 1937, more and more writers and artists began to go to Yen-an and other anti-Japanese base areas. The two armies were being re-united. For Mao, the new situation defined the purpose of the Yen-an Forum which was 'to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people'. (3) This objective could only be achieved if the writers and artists successfully integrated with the people and solved, according to Mao, five basic problems connected with their class stand, their attitude, their audience, their work and their study.

Class Stand of Writers

The class stand of all writers, he clearly stated, had to be that of the proletariat. For writers who were members of the Communist Party, this meant keeping also to the stand of the Party, and to its spirit and general policy.

The writer's attitude was a more complex question that derived from his class stand. He could choose, for example, to praise or to condemn depending on the kind of persons he was describing. Basically, there were three kinds of persons - the masses and their vanguard, their allies and their enemy.

With regard to Japanese imperialism and all other enemies of the people, the task of the writer was to expose them, but at the same time to point out their inevitable defeat. The allies of the masses were to be praised to the extent that they resisted Japan, and criticized to the extent that they did not. If, on the other hand, they switched sides and betrayed the people, as they were often prone to do, they were to be firmly condemned and opposed.

As for the masses of the people, while they

worked and struggled, on the land, in the army and in the Party, they were certainly to be praised. When their mistakes and shortcomings were pointed out, these were to be regarded as burdens hampering them in their struggle and combated as such. They were not to become a pretext for ridiculing the masses, or, worse still, adopting a hostile attitude toward them. Correcting the errors committed by the masses was to be regarded as a long-term process of education and remoulding of outlook, with the specific purpose of helping them to unite, make progress and 'to discard what is backward and develop what is revolutionary'. (4)

Once the writers who came to the base areas discovered that their audience consisted of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, they could begin to solve the question of knowing them and understanding them, which was the basic issue in their work. Until then, they would only be, in Mao's phrase, 'a hero with no place to display his prowess'. (5) When it came to doing literary and artistic work, and getting to know and understand the people well, it was the latter that was certainly the primary task.

What Mao meant by understanding the people was, for example, 'being familiar with the rich, lively language of the masses'. (6) The mass style which the writers aspired towards could only be achieved through the fusion of their thoughts and feelings with those of the masses. "If you want the masses to understand you", Mao addressed the writers, "if you want to be one with the masses, you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering". (7) He proceeded to give an example from his own personal history when, as a student, he had acquired the ways of bourgeois intellectuals and used "to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labour, such as carrying (his) own luggage in the presence of fellow students". (8) At that time he would not hesitate to wear the clothes of other intellectuals, but would never put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, regarding them as dirty. Only after years of revolutionary experience and life with the workers, peasants and soldiers did he gradually come to know them. It was then, and only then, that he fundamentally changed the petty bourgeois feelings implanted in him in the bourgeois schools and came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants, the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean, and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people. Mao called on all the writers and artists who came from the intelligentsia to

change and remould their thoughts and feelings. "Without such a change", he said, "they can do nothing well and will be misfits". (9)

Understanding Marxism And Society

The fifth and last problem facing the writers and artists in the base areas, after those connected with their class stand, their attitude, their audience and their efforts to integrate with that audience, was the study of Marxism and of society. Many of them, even those who were members of the Communist Party, did not understand the basic Marxist concepts. For example, instead of the materialist notion that being determines consciousness and class struggle determines thoughts and feelings, some of them adhered to the idealist notion of abstract love, or abstract human nature as determinants. In this they were deeply influenced by bourgeois thinking. Therefore, it was necessary for the writers and artists to supplement their study of literary and artistic creation with the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and with the study of Chinese society where this theory was put into practice.

Of these five problems, the one concerned with knowing and understanding the masses was the most basic in the work of the writers and artists. In a short article on the May Fourth Movement three years earlier, Mao had pointed out that integration with the people was the crux of the matter. And this remained a basic theme in Mao's thinking on the question of intellectuals. (10)

In his second and major speech to the Forum, given three weeks after the opening speech, Mao again returned to what he called "the crux of the matter", namely, "the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses". (11) To tackle these problems it was necessary for Marxists to "start from objective facts and not from abstract definitions". (12)

Mao divided his report into five sections in which he discussed: (1) literature and art for whom? (2) the question of the popularisation and the raising of the standards of literature and art, (3) the relationship between literature and politics, (4) the relationship between artistic criteria and political criteria in literary criticism and the various erroneous theories and conceptions on this issue and, finally, (5) the ideological outlook of the writers and artists.

Mao began his discussion of the problem of the audience of literature and art by referring to Lenin's definition of proletarian literature

in his famous 1905 articles, *Party Organisation and Party Literature*. (13) After 37 years the problem, however, was not solved and still needed further discussion. The reason was that the writers still did not understand that "in the world today, all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines". (14) Therefore, even when speaking of literature in the service of the masses, it had to be remembered that "today, anything that is truly of the masses must necessarily be led by the proletariat. The class content of any culture, whether it was reactionary or revolutionary culture, was determined by the class that led it.

Question Of "For Whom?"

In carrying the argument further to the old feudal literature of China as well as the bourgeois literature of foreign countries, Mao made a clear distinction between form and content. The content of these kinds of literature was determined by the feudal and bourgeois classes and served their interests. The forms which they created, however, were still useful and could be taken over. "Nor do we refuse", Mao said, "to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands old forms, *remoulded and infused with new content*, (my italics), also become something revolutionary in the service of the people". (15) Based on this crucial distinction between form and content, Mao formulated his celebrated slogan that became the permanent guideline for Chinese writers and artists: "Make the old serve the new, and foreign things serve China."

The other reason why the question of "literature for whom?" was still not understood fully and needed further discussion was that the writers adopted the stand of the petty bourgeoisie and not that of the proletariat. Coming from a petty-bourgeois intellectual background, many of these writers mixed only with intellectuals and concentrated on studying and describing them. Portraying them in literary works, they often excused and defended their shortcomings and sometimes even sympathized with those shortcomings and praised them, instead of guiding the intellectuals towards integration with the masses, and participation in their struggles. The writers, in fact, seldom came into contact with the masses, and when they depicted the masses in literary works, "the clothes (were) the clothes of working people but the faces (were) those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals". (16)

Although, in some respects, the intellectuals were "fond of the masses in some other re-

spects they did not like the masses. They did not like their feelings or their manner or their nascent literature and art (the wall newspapers, murals, folk songs, folk tales, etc.)” (17) When they expressed any liking for these creations of the masses, it was only as a ‘hunting for novelty’ or as something ‘to embellish their own works’, ‘or even for certain backward features’, and ‘at times they openly despised’ them and were ‘partial’ to what ‘belonged to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals or even to the bourgeoisie’. (18)

Clearly, for those writers whose ‘innermost soul (was) still a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia’, the problem of ‘for whom?’ was still unresolved. Mao estimated that it required ‘at least eight or ten years to solve it thoroughly’, but however long it took, solved it had to be ‘unequivocally and thoroughly’ because the question of ‘for whom?’ was a fundamental question of principle.

Popularising Literature

Only after having discussed this crucial question at length did Mao come to the second problem of ‘how to serve’, or in the terms used by the Yenan writers in the Forum, the problem of whether to emphasize popularizing literature and art or to emphasize raising their standards. The two problems followed logically for unless the writers knew whom they were addressing they would not know whose literary standards they were meant to raise and along what lines, and among whom they were to popularize their works. Certainly, in literature and art popularization and elevation were connected, but it had to be remembered that ‘prior to the task of educating’ the masses, there was the task of learning from them’. In other words, there had to be a basis from which to elevate. Mao used a very concrete image to describe what he meant by taking popularization as the basis on which the elevation of standards could be reached:

“Take a bucket of water, for instance; where is it to be raised from if not from the ground? From mid-air? From what basis, then are literature and art to be raised? From the basis of the feudal classes? From the basis of the bourgeoisie? From the basis of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, not from any of these; only from the basis of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Nor does this mean raising the workers, peasants and soldiers to the ‘heights’ of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; it means raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the workers,

peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing, in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing.” (19)

Mao’s solution to this important question that has confronted writers in many countries and has been the seemingly eternal dilemma of the petty-bourgeois artist, was dialectical, original and a significant advance in Marxist theory:

“The people demand popularization and, following that, higher standards; they demand higher standards month by month and year by year. Here popularization means popularizing for the people and raising of standards means raising the level for the people. And such raising is not from mid-air, or behind closed doors, but is actually based on popularization. It is determined by and at the same time guides popularization.” (20)

As far as cadres were concerned ‘literature and art of a higher level’ were ‘entirely necessary for them’, because they generally had received more education. This did not mean, however, that the needs of the masses were completely separated from the needs of the cadres. What was done for the cadres was also entirely for the masses, although not directly but indirectly, because it was ‘only through the cadres’ that the masses could be guided and educated. Therefore, what was given to the cadres was solely for the purpose of serving the masses, educating them and guiding them. When two kinds of literature developed, a ‘more advanced literature and art’ required ‘by the cadres’ and ‘by those sections of the masses whose level (had) been raised’ and an ‘elementary literature and art’ needed by the overwhelming majority of the masses, both were to be regarded as ‘in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers’. (21)

Similarly, the cultural specialists were not to regard their work as ‘only for the cadres, but, also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses’. (22) In literature, they were to pay attention ‘to the wall newspapers of the masses and to the reportage written in the army and in the villages’; in drama, attention was to be paid ‘to the small troupes in the army and in the villages’, in music and the fine arts, to the music and the fine arts of the masses. While the specialist was esteemed and his work was valued, he had to grasp that ‘only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher’. (23) No matter how talented he might be, once he regarded himself as a superior entitled to lord it over them, his work would ‘have no future’.

From the resolution of the relationship between popularization and elevation, Mao moved on to formulate the related, but more general, relationship between art and life in a very original, and dialectical way. (24) He began from the Marxist position that "works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society". (25) He then stated that 'the life of the people' was 'always a mine of the raw materials for literature and art' which provided them with 'an inexhaustible source, their only source' and which made 'all literature and art seem pallid by comparison'. The source of this creative work was the life of the masses to which the writers and artists had to go 'for a long period of time unre-servedly and wholeheartedly'. (31)

Having established that life was the basis for art, (26) Mao completed the dialectic by defining the specific characteristics and function of art in the service of life. While both are beautiful, Mao said in a celebrated formulation, 'life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life'. (27) The task of writers and artists was to 'concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them' and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment (my italics). (28) Without works of literature and art, the masses could not achieve those goals as effectively and as speedily.

These were the basic principles of Mao's aesthetics which he did not hesitate to describe as utilitarian. He reminded those writers that there is no "ism" in the world that transcends utilitarian considerations and that 'a thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people'. (29)

Literature And Politics

Discussing the relationship between literature and politics in the third section of this report, Mao proceeded from the Leninist position that 'proletarian literature and art (were) part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause'. (30) As 'cogs and wheels' in Lenin's metaphoric machine, Party work in literature occupied a definite and important place that was nevertheless subordinated to the Party revolutionary work in general. In fact, no other revolutionary leader has given as much impor-

tance to literature and art as Mao, which reflects no doubt the important role of literature and art in the Chinese revolution. Finally, regarding the relationship between communist and non-communist literature, there were areas of agreement as well as disagreement in the united front period. There was room for unity on 'questions of method and style', but since Marxists were 'for socialist realism, and some people (did) not agree, the range of unity would be narrow'. (31) For although 'Marxism cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation', 'it definitely destroys', according to Mao, 'creative moods that are feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberalistic, individualist, nihilist, art-for-art's sake, aristocratic, decadent or pessimistic, and every other creative mood that is alien to the masses of the people and to the proletariat'. (32)

In the fourth section of his report, Mao entered the area of literary criticism refuting a number of erroneous literary theories propagated by petty-bourgeois writers in the base areas. He began by describing literary and art criticism as 'one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art'. (33) Addressing himself mainly to the basic question of criteria in criticism, which he divided into artistic criteria and political criteria, Mao expressed the relationship between the two in a key formulation that marks a great clarifying step in Marxist literary theory:

"Each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second." (34)

While Mao opposed the 'tendency towards the 'Poster and slogan' style' which lacked artistic power, Mao regarded the political side as more of a problem in the base areas. The wrong political viewpoint and the weakness of political knowledge had given rise to 'all sorts of muddled ideas'.

Theory Of Human Nature

One of these ideas was 'the theory of human nature' which advocated an abstract human nature that was above classes, and divorced from or opposed to the masses. 'In class society' Mao replied, 'there is only human nature of a class character'. (35) Those who raised the slogan of human nature above classes, were really advocating bourgeois individualism and opposing proletarian human nature. Another theory declared the abstract love of humanity

to be the fundamental point of departure for literature and art, contrary to Marxism which always started not from abstract ideas but from objective practices. Furthermore, Marxism declared that the classes of society were locked into a life and death struggle, and, therefore, there could be no genuine love of humanity until all classes were eliminated all over the world. 'We cannot love enemies', Mao said, 'we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them'. (36)

Yet, another tendency declared that 'literary and artistic work have always laid equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half' (37) implying that this was the correct practice for writers in Yen-an to follow. Mao's reply was that, on the contrary, there were many petty-bourgeois writers who simply 'specialized in preaching pessimism and world-weariness' and could never see the bright side of things, while much socialist literature, and particularly 'Soviet literature in the period of socialist construction', portrayed mainly the bright side. Even when it described shortcomings in work and portrayed negative characters, 'this only served as a contrast to bring out the brightness of the whole picture and (was) not on a so-called half-and-half basis'. (38) Other theories of similar tendency advocated that the task of literature was mainly to expose, not understanding that exposure could not be aimed at the masses, but only at the oppressors and exploiters or they called for satire in the manner of Lu Hsun which was aimed at the enemies of the people thereby failing to distinguish between enemies and friends. Satire was certainly necessary, but different kinds of satire suited different targets, and 'to treat comrades like enemies (was) to go over to the stand of the enemy'. (39) Similarly, other writers declared that they were 'not given to praise and eulogy' forgetting that this also was a class question and that bourgeois writers eulogized the bourgeoisie and proletarian writers eulogized the proletariat and the working people, and that it had to be one or the other. Those who declared themselves above praise and eulogy, in fact, never wearied of eulogizing themselves and their own small coterie. (40)

In the final section of his talk and in the light of the problems that existed in the Yen-an literary and art circles, Mao drew the conclusion that 'there (were) many Party members who (had) joined the Communist Party organizationally but (had) not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically'. (41) From this concluding section, it became clear that Mao

intended the Yen-an Forum and his own speeches to be part of the general rectification campaign in which the whole Party was participating at the time. In the end, that campaign involved more than cultural and ideological questions and changed the whole organizational structure of the Party, but as Mao pointed out, 'to put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically'. (42)

III – LITERARY PRACTICE

The *Yenan Talks* were not concerned only with literary theory and with the world outlook of the writers and artists; they also had a very direct and decisive impact on literary practice. In the decade following the publication and wide dissemination of Mao's speeches at the Forum, they become generally recognized as the threshold separating the old from the new literature. (43) Mao directed his attack on three distinct literary trends prevalent among the writers at Yen-an: Bourgeois humanism and sentimentalism, bourgeois critical realism and misdirected satire imitating the style of Lu Hsun. All three trends could be attributed to the petty bourgeois outlook of the writers who had largely come to Yen-an from the Kuomintang areas and to their distance from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. All three trends also reflected dogmatism in the literary field, in the adherence of the writers to foreign bourgeois and May Fourth stereotypes as well as in their blind imitation of Lu Hsun's style and in their concept for, what Mao called, 'the nascent literature and art' of the people.

Mao's repudiation of the bourgeois literary concepts entailed, over and above his clear advocacy of socialist realism as the proletarian position in the literary united front, (44) *a whole revolutionization of the very practice of producing literature and art, and the replacement of the old and essentially bourgeois style of writing by a new mass and ultimately proletarian style of writing.*

This is clearly borne out by Mao's insistence that the people's life is the only source of literature and art. He does not say a major source, or even the primary source; he says the *only* source. (60)

Re-Moulding of the Petit-Bourgeois Intellectual

This is the crux of Mao's concept of literary and artistic practice. From this, he developed

his other guidelines regarding familiarity with 'the rich, lively language of the masses' (45) and 'their nascent literature and art (the wall newspapers, murals, folk songs, folk tales etc.)' (46) and the necessity for the art and literature specialists to be familiar with the art and literature of the masses, be able to popularize them and raise the standards on *their* basis. (47) The great literary renaissance ushered in by the Yenan forum entailed primarily the return to the literature of the people, and the revival of that literature in new and enriched forms – Dances and plays based upon folk drama (e.g. *The White-haired Girl*), poetry written in the rhythm and idiom of the old folk songs and novels in the style of traditional story-telling. As a wide mass movement, it entailed also the replacement of literary activity from a private individual effort to a mass, collective effort.

Mao's key contribution to the Marxist theory of literature and art was the concept of the revolutionization of the process of literary and artistic creation, and its transformation from a private activity reflecting the petty bourgeois outlook of the individual writers and artists to a mass activity following a proletarian line of ascent. The success of this project depended upon the remoulding of the world outlook of the writers and artists (the rectification campaign) and the revival and elevation of the literature and art of the masses (the popularization / raising of standards campaign). The birth of the new literature and art depended upon the successful completion of the dialectical lych of destroying and then building. Discarding the old petty bourgeois outlook of the writers and artists in the long process of rectification was the necessary pre-requisite for the creation of the new mass literature, which, in turn, acted upon the outlook of the intellectuals pushing the process of remoulding another step further, and so on. The same cycle was repeated in that other big rectification campaign – the Anti-Rightist campaign of 1957, which was followed by the great mass poetry and drama movement of the Great Leap Forward. Finally, the cultural revolution, which will be discussed in the next chapter (to appear in the next IKWEZI), continued the same pattern and developed it to its highest level.

Content of National Culture

The second area of literary and artistic practice to which Mao devoted particular attention was the attitude toward the literary and artistic heritage of both China and other countries. The slogans that summarised his approach to this

question – 'Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China' and 'weed through the old to let the new emerge' – became the established guidelines in those Yenan days, and have retained their position to the present. They were, however, in the succeeding epochs often distorted and misinterpreted to mean either a wholesale rejection of all past culture or, as was more often the case, an uncritical acceptance of the negative as well as the positive sides of old and foreign culture. A close look at the text reveals that Mao's position does not lend itself to either interpretation but, maintaining a subtle, dialectical balance, breaks new ground in this field.

Mao starts his discussion from Lenin's well-known division of the national culture of any society into two component parts, the feudal and bourgeois culture of the exploiting classes on the one hand, and the elements of democratic and socialist culture of the oppressed and *exploited masses on the other*. Focusing on this distinction in the context of the Chinese revolution, Mao declared that the new literature and art, and the new culture of China as a whole must be that of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

Therefore, unlike all the previous epochs and the previous revolutions, including the October revolution, the proletariat had reached the level of maintaining its leadership in the cultural field and of *determining* the mass character of all literature and culture. In 1913 Lenin could not make such a claim for the proletariat, and he could only point to the revolutionary elements of past culture to be used as weapons in the *future* cultural leadership of the class. He could not then envisage how that leadership was to be achieved.

While taking its point of departure from the significant Leninist distinction, any analysis of the cultural heritage reveals that ruling class culture predominates quantitatively and ideologically in all class societies. The culture of the oppressed, even when it might play a big role in certain historical junctures, is largely *erased* over the years by the steady stream of ruling culture domination, so that the national culture of any class society begins to consist mainly of the dominant culture, and the two begin to be used synonymously by the ruling classes. This is more obvious in a country like China with its millenia of unbroken, feudal culture, but is true of all national culture whether in the East or in the West.

The good works of literature and art produ-

ced by the masses in the various class societies are few. Those which contain clearly democratic and socialist elements are even fewer. Moreover, they all inevitably have a dual character. While they are close to the masses, depict their lives and struggles and even, at times and in a utopian manner, their visions of socialist future, they can never escape completely the reactionary ideology of the ruling class and its oppressive social system. They can criticize the rule of exploiters and expose it devastatingly, but they cannot escape its clutches. It is their historical fate that they succumb to the system of exploitation and ultimately uphold, or at best replace it by another system of exploitation. The revolutionary works of the masses in the old epochs should certainly be cherished, and carefully studied. Ideologically, however, they cannot at their most advanced go beyond the ideas of bourgeois democracy, bourgeois freedom, bourgeois humanism and bourgeois utopian socialism, all of which are diametrically opposed to the proletarian ideology of the socialist era.

Therefore, while beginning with the Leninist distinction between the people's culture and the oppressor culture as the two components of the national culture of any class society, a further distinction must be made between the ideological content of *all* past national cultures and new proletarian, socialist culture. There is no continuity in ideas between the old and the new; on the contrary, this is where, to use Marx's phrase, a 'radical rupture' occurs.(48) Where there is a continuity, it can only be in the forms of the literary and artistic works. This key distinction between the ideological content and the artistic form remains, much to the dismay of bourgeois commentators, a basic tenet in Mao's Marxist aesthetics.

Slavish imitation of old and foreign culture as well as nihilistic denunciation of it are both rejected by Mao. In the experience of China's cultural development from the May Fourth Movements onwards, the first tendency has always been the main danger. In the course of sixty years it has repeatedly sunk into abject worship of feudal Confucian culture and western bourgeois culture both stylistically and ideologically. The greatest struggles against this tendency were waged in the May Fourth Movement, the new literature headed by Lu Hsun, the Yen-an forum, the anti-Rightist campaign of 1957, the Cultural Revolution. The anti-Confucius campaign and the campaign to criticize the novel *Water Margin* as well as the major literary campaigns of the fifties: against

the Hu Feng clique, against the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and against the bourgeois idealist interpretations of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. In all these movements, capitulation to the old feudal Confucian culture internally corresponded to the capitulation to foreign bourgeois culture externally.

IV — THE YENAN TALKS AND SOVIET LITERARY THEORY

Mao refers to Soviet literary theory, and particularly to Lenin's ideas, in three crucial places in his main speech. At all these points, however, he does not merely state the Marxist position; he starts off from it and develops it through its concrete application to the Chinese literary scene and the Chinese cultural movement. Mao's procedure here provides a clear and excellent example of his creative development of Marxist theory through its integration with the practice of Chinese revolution.

On the key question of 'literature and art for whom?', Mao begins by quoting Lenin's famous 1905 article which emphatically stated that literature and art should "serve... the millions and tens of millions of working people".(49) For Mao, however, the Leninist solution is only the beginning. While those writers and artists in Yen-an who dismissed the problem as solved had been 'more or less at variance' with the masses.

Mao's elaboration of a basic position provide the ground where he develops many of his creative ideas on literature and art. In particular, from the Leninist standpoint of serving the people, he develops the two key ideas of the necessity for remoulding the outlook of the writers and artists and of taking popularization as the base upon which higher standards of literature could be achieved.

For the first time in history, the *Yen-an Talks* shifted the domain of the Marxist theory of literature and art to the ideological outlook of the actual *workers* in those fields. This was a major advance upon Soviet literary theory. Lenin dealt largely with the organizational position of the writer. The 1905 article advanced Marxist theory by solving the problem of the relationship between the writer and the Party, and between the Party's general revolutionary work and its literary work. Under Stalin, the major target became the application of Lenin's ideas of serving the working classes and of creating partisan literature. Socialist art and lite-

ature, and the theory of Socialist realism based upon its experience are the major contributions of that epoch. The contradiction between the individual writers and artists, on the one hand, and the masses of workers and peasants on the other, remained, however, unresolved. The key to this contradiction was the ideological outlook of the communist writers and artists. It revolved, as Mao put it, around those 'who had joined the Party organizationally, but had not joined it wholly or at all ideologically'.

It is significant that while Mao refers a number of times in his Yen-an reports, to Soviet literature and to the Soviet theory of socialist realism, he bases his analysis on the process of the integration of the writers and artists with the masses almost entirely on Chinese conditions. There was, in this case, no complete Soviet model to be studied or followed. In fact, there was hardly any previous Chinese experience of this question either. The majority of the writers and artists had been cut off from the revolutionary base areas and were only there beginning their integration with the revolution and the masses. What Mao had to fall back on was the rich experience of the Chinese revolution itself and the examples of the integration of the revolutionary leader and cadres with the people which acquired an exemplary significance. Mao here made his own famous self-analysis presenting it as an example of the case of the *re-moulded* intellectual who only changed through living, working and integrating with the workers, peasants and soldiers. To carry the Marxist revolutionary dialectic into the 'innermost soul' was Mao's great contribution to that dialectic. The *Yen-an Talks* and the Yen-an forum were a major part of the rectification campaign of party cadres and party leadership as well as non-party intellectuals, which was Mao's great contribution and great development of Marxist-Leninist theory and Marxist-Leninist revolutionary practice.

On the Superstructure

The great flaw in Stalin's Marxism was his *underestimation of the question of outlook* and of the whole question of the superstructure of society, as Mao was later to complain in reference to Stalin's last work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The mechanical separation of the objective and the subjective factors, the lack of understanding of the active role of the superstructure were the root of all the mechanical determinist, economic, and, ultimately, revisionist varieties of

Marxism. For Mao, the proper development of what is called the subjective factor, was the very basis for transforming the objective reality. Just as the material base of society determined its ideological and political superstructures as well as the consciousness of its members, the latter factor, human consciousness, could also actively transform the material base. In the terms Mao used in a later epoch, resolving the contradictions among the people — of which the contradiction between the intellectuals and the masses, and the contradiction between the bourgeois outlook and the proletarian outlook *among the Communist cadres and leader* were examples was the *necessary condition* for the successful resolution of the contradiction between the people and the enemy.

Lenin was concerned mainly to distinguish between bourgeois and proletarian literature, and between Communist and non-Communist writers. In the twenties and early thirties the Soviet writers were concerned with the question of the nature of socialist literature, the relationship of Marxism to literature and other issues related more to the literary and artistic *product* than to the writer and the artist and the source material of their work. Although the subordination of writers and artists to the proletarian-socialist cause was recognized, and the need for a transformation of outlook admitted, particularly in the first-five-year-plan period, *no successful method of remoulding and revolutionizing of outlook was ever discovered*. In the field of literature and art, the question of "a mass line" that creates the circular flow of literature and art from the masses and back to the masses was never fully solved. In fact, after the mid-thirties, this and other related issues, were largely shelved in the Soviet Union, and with drastic consequences. The primary flaw was that the distinction and the contradiction between the intellectuals and the masses of workers and peasants was no longer admitted. In 1937, Stalin declared that the class struggle had come to an end in Soviet society, and although he modified this view towards the end of his life, the consequences in the thirties and forties were very damaging. *The revolution in the ideological and cultural superstructure of the early thirties was brought to a halt*. After the successful transformation of industry and agriculture, no more upheavals were necessary. In literature and art, this prepared the ground for the return of classical bourgeois literature and the re-affirmation of the old writers and the old culture generally. Writers and artists were regarded as no longer

in need of transforming themselves in line with the proletariat, which distinguished and separated them further from the people.

In Yenan, Mao continued and developed the work done by Lenin and the early Soviet writers. He pointed not only to the outlook of the writers and artists as the key to the Marxist theory of art and literature, but also advanced new ideas on how the goal of serving the masses was to be achieved. Although Mao did refer to the 'Soviet experience' in the area of popularization of art and literature, he never elaborated on any Soviet ideas. The theory which was his own contribution rested on the following principles: (A) 'Prior to the task of educating the masses, there is the task of learning from them' (p. 17), (B) Popularization precedes the raising of standards which is determined by the earlier process and, in turn, guides it (p. 21) and (C) when the level of literature and art is raised, it is raised along the proletarian line of ascent which is different from that of the exploiting classes, and from that of the petty bourgeois intellectuals. The third principle is the most important. It clarifies the fact that petty bourgeois intellectuals, through the literary work of raising the level of the literature of the masses, must also simultaneously transform their outlook, raise their own level, so to speak, to the proletarian line of ascent, which the masses have embarked upon. The duality of intellectuals vs masses, of educators vs educated, of revolutionary petty bourgeois intellectual outlook vs proletarian outlook is uniquely and dialectically resolved in the process of rectification. The masses are the prime teachers as well as being the pupils; the intellectuals are the servants of the masses as well as being their guides; the proletarian outlook and the proletarian line of ascent can only triumph through the long and painful process of tempering in which the old petty-bourgeois self is shed, and the old lines of ascent repudiated.

Writer and Communist Party

Mao's second reference to Lenin in the *Yenan Talks* is connected to another basic issue: the relationship between the writers and the Communist Party.

'Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine.' (p. 25)

But, here again, Mao takes the Leninist position as his starting point for further elaboration. Mao's argument is that although literatu-

re and art are certainly subordinate to politics, they exert, in their turn, a great influence on politics. "Cogs and wheels", they may be in Lenin's phrase, but the revolutionary machine could *not* work without them. From the experience of more than two decades of political and cultural revolution, Mao concluded that in the circumstances of China at the time, if there were not literature and art "even in the broadest and most ordinary sense" (p. 26) the revolutionary movement could not win. Certainly, no such claim has been made for literature in any previous revolution in history, including the October revolution. There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory, Lenin had said. In 1942 China needed a revolutionary culture as well, for the success of *its* revolutionary movement. The history of the epoch following the date, and particularly the period from 1966 to 1976 demonstrated that a continuous *revolutionization* of culture was also a necessary condition for the continuation of the revolution.

The increasingly greater and more decisive role of literature and culture in the revolutionary process in the socialist transformation is reflected in the experience of China, and not that of the Soviet Union. The reason goes back, ultimately, to the conditions of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in both countries. It derives, however, in great part also from the underestimation of the role of the superstructure and of the cultural revolution in the building of socialism by Stalin. Up until Mao's death and the reactionary coup in 1976, China still provided a great positive example of the proletarian cultural revolution to the whole world. The Soviet Union, together with other imperialist countries, used culture increasingly as a weapon to oppress the people, poison their minds and reconcile them to conditions of slavery. They give the world negative examples of how culture can be used.

V Literature and the Rectification Campaign

With the Japanese invasion of China in the late thirties, many writers, students and intellectuals, convinced that the Communist Party was the only force genuinely resisting the invasion, flocked to the communist base areas at that most difficult hour in Chinese history. The economic blockade imposed by the Japanese on the guerilla bases aggravated living

conditions already hard hit by the acute natural disasters of famine and drought. Cut off completely from the outside world, the people were forced to live on a self-sufficient economy which meant, as Mao said in a speech given in 1942, being reduced 'for a while almost to the state of having no clothes to wear, no oil to cook with, no paper, no vegetables, no footwear for the soldiers and, in winter, no bedding for the civilian personnel'.(51) The heroic Yen-an spirit of self-reliance left its deep traces on the Chinese people and on the course of the Chinese revolution in those years.

Faced with the encircling hostility of the outside world, the Communist Party, internally, was building up its greatest strength. The old right and "left" deviations that had dominated the Party in the twenties and thirties were largely exposed and repudiated. The point was being reached where Marxist-Leninist theory would be successfully integrated with the specific characteristics of China and with the specific conditions of China's Revolution. The line developed by Mao, and thoughts expressed in his writings, were the embodiment of that integration. For the first time Mao Tsetung Thought was to be recognized as the correct guide and expression of the Chinese revolution.

The erroneous ideas and tendencies that dominated the Party for two decades had left deep effects upon the cadres and the leadership. Their complete eradication was deemed to be a necessary condition for the Party to carry on with its tasks. For this reason it initiated in the early forties a campaign that lasted four years under the name of Cheng Feng or the Rectification of Style. The movement was on a scale unprecedented in Communist history. It went beyond the Party structure to encompass the broad spectrum of non-Party intelligentsia. Most of the writers and artists who came to Yen-an from the Kuomintang areas brought with them bourgeois ideas from the May Fourth days and from western literary traditions. In the base areas, they could easily join hands with the dogmatic distortion of Marxism which in a very similar manner aped a foreign method and turned it into a dogma and a stereotype with utter disregard for concrete national conditions.

The target of the Rectification campaign ideologically was dogmatism, and its manifestations in stereotyped writing, as well as the bureaucratic and sectarian style of work which it entailed. The bourgeois writers who had go-

ne to Yen-an made use of the occasion, however, in order to attack the Communist Party as a whole and to challenge its leadership over literary and artistic activity. Using the *tsa wen*, a biting satirical essay form developed by Lu Hsun in the thirties, for indirect attacks on the Kuomintang regime, they shifted their literary "daggers" towards the Communist leadership in Yen-an. Although professing to defend Communist ideals, they upheld, in fact, bourgeois concepts of humanism and liberalism. In articles like "Random Talks on Literature and Everyday Life" published by Chou Yang in 1941 which advocated exposing the "seamy side" of life in Yen-an, and "Wild Lily" and "Some Observations on March 8, International Women's Day" published the following year by Wang Shih-wei and the novelist Ting Ling respectively at Chou Yang's instigation, they distorted the nature of conditions in the liberated areas and claimed that they were no better, if not worse, than those of feudal and bourgeois society.

The bourgeois writers, in alliance with a double-dealer like Chou Yang whose activities were not fully exposed until the cultural revolution, wanted primarily to overthrow the Party leadership in the literary and artistic spheres. They claimed that the study of Marxism "harmed the creative mood", that the class stand of the writer was not a decisive factor, that it was not the writer's task to praise the masses and their heroic deeds, but to lay equal stress on their shortcomings together with their achievements. They replaced the Marxist class position by the bourgeois humanist position, claiming that all literature and art had their origin in love and that there was an abstract human nature that transcended classes, which was the proper domain of art and literature.(52)

Far from constituting a serious danger to the Party which over the years of the revolutionary struggle had built a large force of Marxist cadres, the writer's attacks did, however, provide an *exemplary* set of bourgeois attitudes that blended into the ideological rectification campaign. The campaign for Marxist education, an important component of the *Cheng Feng* movement, directed its attacks on the basically anti-Marxist theories and viewpoints of the writers and artists. The rectification campaign was primarily the critique of the Party leadership and cadres by the masses, in which the critique of the bourgeois writers and artists played its part. It provided the blueprint for a similar movement initiated twenty-five years later

on an nation-wide scale – the cultural revolution. This time, the attack on the literary intellectuals played the role of the trigger. In both movements, Mao's ideas, as the highest development of Marxist theory in China, were used to combat erroneous ideological tendencies. These tendencies were dogmatic "Marxism" as represented by Wang Ming in the forties and revisionism as represented by Liu Shao-chi in the sixties. In both cases deviation from Marxism-Leninism was *allied* to the bourgeois tendencies of the writers and the artists.

Rectification of Style of Work

Mao's Yen'an speeches may then be regarded as part of the campaign to rectify the Party's style of work, its method of study and its writing which took place in the early forties. Mao wrote three articles titled "Rectify the Party's style of work", "Oppose stereotyped Party writing" and "Reform our study" which became the basic works of the rectification movement. The campaign took the form of a long, open debate between proletarian and petty bourgeois ideology. Its aim was to combat subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped writing through a Party-wide campaign of Marxist education, and through the practice of criticism and self-criticism. After the great success of the first rectification campaign, others fol-

lowed in 1948 in coordination with the land reform movement, throughout 1950 following the founding of the People's Republic and, finally, the major anti-rightist campaign of 1957. At the same time, Mao's speeches may also be regarded as part of the great process of the revolutionization and transformation of culture in China, an intermediate step between the first cultural revolution of May 4th 1919 and the great proletarian cultural revolution of the sixties.

Looking back from Yen'an to the May 4th movement, Mao described it as the crucial event in the development of China's modern culture. "There had never been", he said, "such a great and thorough-going cultural revolution since the dawn of Chinese history".(53)

The rectification campaign which Mao initiated shortly afterwards was also a great contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, a necessary condition for success in the final stage of the revolutionary civil war, as well as the second major Chinese cultural revolution. It is for this reason that the *Yen'an Talks* were regularly described in the sixties and early seventies as "a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution".(54)

Chapter IV Literary Theory - The Yen'an Talks

(1) This is how Mao defined the ideological content of the May Fourth Movement: "The May 4th Movement came into being at the call of the world revolution, of the Russian Revolution and of Lenin. It was part of the world proletarian revolution of the time." "The Culture of New Democracy" *Ibid.* p. 64.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 2., (3) *Ibid.* p. 2., (4) *Ibid.* p. 4., (5) *Ibid.* p. 5., (6) *Ibid.* p. 6., (7) *Ibid.* p. 6., (8) *Ibid.* pp. 6,7, (9) *Ibid.* p. 7.

(10) For example, "To teach the masses, newspaper workers should first of all learn from the masses. You comrades are all intellectuals. Intellectuals are often ignorant and often have little or no experience in practical matters". "A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily", *Ibid.* p. 125.

(11) *Ibid.* pp. 9-10, (12) *Ibid.* p. 9.

(13) "It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration, but millions and tens of millions of working people". *Ibid.* pp. 41-42.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 25, (15) *Ibid.* p. 12, (16) *Ibid.* p. 13.

(17) *Ibid.* pp. 13-14.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 14, (19) *Ibid.* p. 17, (20) *Ibid.* p. 21, (21) *Ibid.* p. 22, (22) *Ibid.* p. 22, (23) *Ibid.* p. 23.

(24) *Ibid.* pp. 18-19.

(25) *ibid.* p. 18, (26) "Man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably richer and livelier in content" *Ibid.* p. 19,

(27) *Ibid.* p. 19, (28) *Ibid.* p. 19.

(29) *Ibid.* p. p. 24, (30) *Ibid.* pp. 42-43.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 27, (32) *Ibid.* p. 36, (33) *Ibid.* p. 28, (34) *Ibid.* p. 9, (35) *Ibid.* p. 31, (36) *Ibid.* p. 32, (37) *Ibid.* p. 32, (38) *Ibid.* p. 32, (39) *Ibid.* p. 34, (40) *Ibid.* p. 35, (41) *Ibid.* p. 37, (42) *Ibid.* p. 37.

(43) See, for example, Chou Xiang's *Resolutely Implement the Mao Tse-tung Line in Literature* (Peking, 1952) which compares the *Yen'an Talks* to the May fourth Movement and describes the impact of its publication as "the second, and even more sweeping and profound, literary revolution", p. 72. Marx and Engels did not write a separate work devoted to literature. Lenin's articles were an important guideline to the relationship between the Party's literary work and its general political work. His remarks also clarified, incidentally, many points on the class nature of literature and the class nature of the cultural heritage. Mao's *Yen'an Talks* was the first and, to this day remains, the best and most comprehensive Marxist-Leninist statement on literature and art. In China and throughout the world, particularly since the cultural revolution, it has been widely recognized and acclaimed as a great Marxist-Leninist document.

(44) *Ibid.* p. 27, (45) *Ibid.* p. 6, (46) *Ibid.* p. 14, (47) "Our specialists in literature should pay attention to the wall newspapers of the masses and to the reportage written in the army and the villages. Our specialists in drama should pay attention to the small troupes in the army and the villages. Our specialists in music should pay attention to the songs of the masses. Our specialists in the fine arts should pay attention to the fine arts of the masses". *Ibid.* pp. 22-23.

(48) "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas". *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Progress Publishers - Moscow, 1952) p. 74.

(49) *Ibid.* p. 10, (50) "Stalin's book from first to last says nothing about the superstructure. It is not concerned with people; it considers things, not people". *A Critique of Soviet Economics by Mao Tse-tung* translated by Moss Roberts (Monthly Review Press - New York, 1977) p. 135, (51) Quoted in Cyril Birch (ed.) *Chinese Communist Literature*, p. 238, (52) For Mao's refutation of these theories and tendencies see *Ibid.* pp. 31-36, (53) "The Culture of New Democracy" in Mao Tse-tung, *Mao Tse-tung On Literature and Art*, (Foreign Languages Press - Peking, 1967), p. 65, (54) See, for example, *Peking Review*, No. 22, May 26, 1967, p. 34 and No. 22, May 29, 1970, p. 12.