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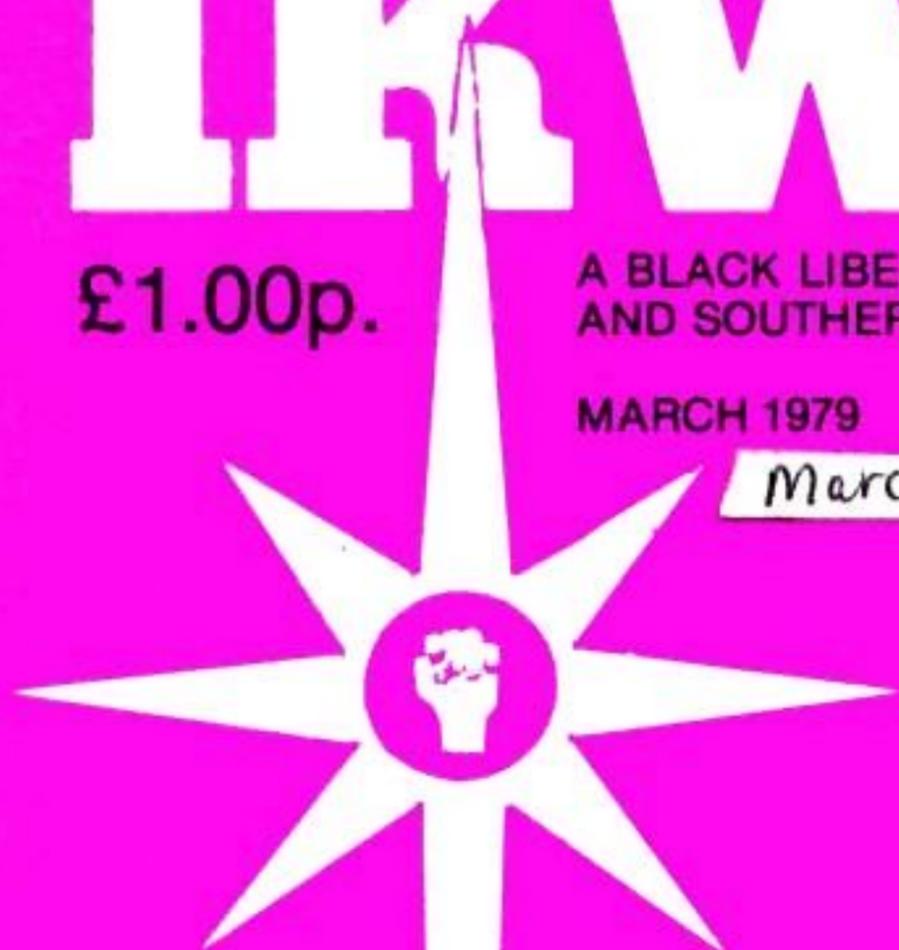
A BLACK LIBERATION JOURNAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN
AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICAL ANALYSIS

MARCH 1979

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This issue is dedicated to the heroic people of Kampuchea now fighting the Soviet inspired Vietnamese colonization of their country! Kampuchea will be free again.

Sobukwe's theoretical contributions

Imperialism and the South African State

The South African brand of colonialism

A reply to Dr. Dadoo on alleged "black chauvinism"

Six examples of the imperialist nature of Soviet revisionism

The development of materialistic dialectics by the proletarian leaders

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SUPPORT IKWEZI

IKWEZI is a Revolutionary Azanian Journal which bases itself on Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Zedong-Thought, the highest revolutionary ideology of our times. It is the integration of this proletarian ideology to the concrete conditions of the class struggle in our country that will help us to smash the white settler colonial state and the two super-powers, the main contradictions in our society today. IKWEZI works within the mainstream of the national liberation movements but it aims to help in the process of building a Marxist-Leninist Party. The organisational and the ideological confusion that characterises the Azanian movements can only be overcome through the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party. The white-led South African Communist Party has been able to mess around in our movement for such a long time only because the movement lacked the leadership of such a Party of a New Type. Azanian Marxist-Leninists must now seriously begin the process of such a Party building. Without such a Party with a new revolutionary style of work we will still be handicapped and plagued by the same old problems of the past decades.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR THE ROT FROM THE RANKS OF THE PAC

The recent decision of the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania to set up a Commission of Inquiry into aspects of the movement's political work affords the organisation a unique opportunity to overcome difficulties and obstacles that have held back its work in the past. The decision to set up a Commission of Inquiry reveals that there are many problems to tackle for the organisation to function more dynamically.

The Pan-Africanist Congress is still the only alternative to the ANC, agent of social-imperialism in the country (hence the strenuous efforts made by the social-imperialist bloc to get it de-recognised). Therefore it is the only hope of the Azanian masses in the struggle against white settler colonialism and the two superpowers.

Since its birth the PAC (and especially its External Mission) has been beset with splits and divisions in its ranks. That problem has not yet been overcome. We must go to the roots of this problem and deal with it ruthlessly.

The PAC must be turned into a dynamic mass national movement in the very forefront of the Azanian struggle. It must adopt a revolutionary style of work that unites the mass of Azanians solidly around it and fills them with enthusiasm and hope for the struggle. It must bring into play and utilise all the talents of Azanian revolutionary intellectuals. Unnecessary splits, personal acrimonies, have abused a great amount of revolutionary talent. The Azanian liberation movements today are split and confused. There is lack of ideological clarity on the basic and fundamental tasks of the revolution and how to prepare for it. Much of this is due to petit bourgeois self seekers, more interested in their own self image and self interests than in the success of the revolution. Instead of a style of work that boldly arouses the masses and builds their confidence, slavishness and commandist styles of work prevail. Cliches and small group mentality

prevails — there is little interest in the collective interests of the struggle — resulting in intrigues, gossips, rumour-mongering, etc. Organisationally there is anarchism and the left hand often does not know what the right hand is doing. Instead of organisational discipline each person is doing his own thing and going his own way. All this is a bourgeois and not a revolutionary style of work. A revolutionary movement must base itself squarely on revolutionary truthfulness. It must encourage frankness of discussion amongst its members, a democratic style of work that respects the views and opinions of others, and consciously solicits the opinions of fellow revolutionaries.

Marxist phrase-mongering that does not deal with the actual problems of the struggle but which merely covers up problems and difficulties must be done away with. The PAC is not a Marxist-Leninist Party and never can be. It is a national liberation movement and it works within the confines of a national movement. But it can pursue correct policies on the current national democratic phase of the revolution that can approximate to Marxist positions.

These are problems that every revolutionary movement all over the world have to overcome before it deserves the name of being truly revolutionary. We cannot achieve success in the revolution without acknowledging our mistakes and errors and tackling them in a serious and down to earth way. The vitality of a revolutionary movement lay in its ability to acknowledge its mistakes, to undertake serious self-criticism and to march ahead. We must look into ourselves and see what is wrong with us, rather than blaming it on the CIA, etc. The CIA and other imperialist institutions can only manipulate us if we do not correct what is wrong in us.

We have pointed out before that many of the problems that arise in the Azanian liberation movements arise from the incorrect handling of contradictions, so that problems become exac-

erbated, leading to unnecessary antagonisms and hostilities. This shows that we are still politically immature.

The Central Committee Commission of Inquiry is charged with the task of looking at the roots of some of these problems and it has been mandated to speak to as many people as possible. It should approach its tasks with a boldness and a forthrightness, and it should not care whether it pleases people or not. Those who need to be criticised should be roundly criticised, and if firm action has to be taken it must be taken. It must get to the bottom of the problem and not do a whitewash job.

Some of the problems to which we feel the Commission should address itself should be:

(1) A clear cut definition of the PAC's political programme and ideological position from the point of view of the national question in Azania and the struggle against the two superpowers. This should define all aspects of the national democratic revolution and the organisational tasks that must accompany it.

(2) Laying down definite guidelines for a revolutionary style of work that brings about real and genuine unity and not splits and divisions; a style of work that makes the rank and file feel part of the organisation and that deals with problems and difficulties not with a view of exploiting them and serving the interests of a few individuals but which tackles them with a view to raising the political and ideological consciousness of the movement. Matching words with deeds and an end to demagoguery that is meant to play to the public gallery.

(3) Achieving harmony between the political and the military so that the Central Committee, the High Command, the Army cadres and the rank and file members of the PAC function as a harmonious unit. This means acknowledging the armed struggle as the highest form of struggle in which all are required to participate under political direction.

(4) Bringing back into the organisation all those who honestly wish to serve the struggle and making use of all the available talent in the service of the revolution.

(5) Due financial accountability that puts an end to the rumours and slanders of our detractors. Moneys that are collected not to be used as a le-

verage for political power for after all they are given to serve the collective interests of the revolution and not to please individuals.

(6) Encouraging a modest style of living amongst the PAC leadership. They should be examples to the rest of the organisation.

(7) Positions of responsibility to be filled by people who do not make a livelihood out of politics but who are people of revolutionary integrity and honesty. PAC leaders must give first priority to respecting the masses and not bourgeois institutions and big names. Our only strength lay in the organised power of our masses.

(8) A policy serving the interests of the masses and the revolution to guide all our actions, a policy that must be thoroughly discussed and well worked out. Otherwise our political actions degenerate into anarchism.

(9) Priority to be given at this stage to the political, ideological and publicity departments in a great effort to build the PAC into a mass national movement of the Azanian people both inside and outside the country, and to carefully prepare for the armed struggle.

(10) To train every PAC member in matters of security so that enemy infiltration becomes impossible and to put an end to the naivety that makes Azanians susceptible to all types of manipulation, flattery and bribery.

(11) To practise real self-reliance especially in matters of money and to put an end to the dependency complex of Azanian revolutionaries that again makes them susceptible to manipulation by those who have their own motives in our struggle. To rely first of all upon ourselves. To have our own spokesmen and not to have spokesmen outside the organisation.

(12) To integrate the experience of the old Cadres with the enthusiasm of the youth.

These are just some recommendations we would like to make. No doubt the Commission will find many more.

The findings of the Commission will be discussed at an extra-plenary session of the Central Committee. It would perhaps also be a good idea to have another Conference to trash everything out over again with a view to harmonising and re-vitalising the structures of the PAC from top to bottom.

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IS DEFINITELY A GREATER DANGER AND MENACE THAN U.S. IMPERIALISM TODAY

The recent Soviet-inspired Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea should leave no doubts in the minds of people about the more aggressive nature of Russian social imperialism today. Social-imperialism is more aggressive and a greater threat to the freedom and national independence of the peoples and countries of the world than U.S. Imperialism. This marks a qualitative change in the world situation and not to understand this is not to understand the new politics of alignment that the situation requires. The most momentous question facing the peoples of the world is the prospect of a Third World War that the aggressive nature and imperialist global ambitions of social imperialism will provoke sooner or later.

To place U.S. Imperialism on the same level as social imperialism is to be living in a political cloud cuckoo-land. Recent events have amply shown who is the more aggressive of the two imperialist powers. From the time that social-imperialism invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, it has committed a series of aggressive acts under the banner of anti-imperialism. Angola, South Yemen, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Zaire, Kampuchea, Japan, Sudan, Egypt — it has openly interfered in the internal affairs of these countries, attempting to replace governments with their own stooges. In these days of turmoil there is not a single political situation it does not attempt to exploit to its own advantage.

Iran is a case in point, Here the stakes for U.S. Imperialism are very high. The Soviet Union gives a stern warning to the Americans not to interfere (gone are the days of the Cuban missile crisis) knowing that while it plays a waiting game the situation must eventually work more to its advantage than that of the discredited U.S. Imperialism. The mullahs will not be able to stem the tide of the social revolution in Iran, a situation that will be favourable for it to exploit. And yet ironically while the stakes for U.S. Imperialism are great in Iran it is little it can really do

to save the situation. It certainly cannot go into Iran with troops to put into power a government of its choosing as in the days of yore when the Sixth Fleet roamed the waters of the world like an international gendarme. Indeed as Carter openly declared the U.S. has neither the "will" nor the "determination" to intervene openly.

But imagine a similar situation in Eastern Europe. What would the Soviet Union have done. It would have gone into the Eastern European country and brought it firmly back under its heel again without blinking an eyelid. This is the changed roles of the two superpowers in the international situation today.

As Kampuchea has shown the situation in any country in the world can change suddenly and dramatically, and social imperialism can become the main threat and danger to the national independence of the country. Rumania and Yugoslavia understand perfectly well the designs of social imperialism on their countries.

The Peoples Republic of China which has been in the forefront of the struggle against social imperialism and was the first to dissect and analyse its nature sees the threat to its national independence from social imperialism as the principal task to which the problem of socialist construction should address itself. It is certain also of the prospect of a Third World War provoked by the aggressiveness of social imperialism and it wishes to thoroughly prepare for this eventuality so as to minimise the damage that can be done to it. In taking up such a firm stand against social-imperialism China is contributing enormously to the world revolution.

It is quite obvious too that its modernisation programme is geared to meeting this grave threat from the Soviet Union. Social imperialism through the medium of Vietnam is now attempting to encircle China, a policy that U.S. Imperialism futilely attempted a while back. This is why China is so feverishly trying to court Taiwan. There is the real danger of social imperialism filling in the vacuum left by the lesser commit-

ment to Taiwan by U.S. Imperialism. But it is not only China today which is threatened by social imperialism in the region. Almost every single South East Asian country is threatened, and the Vietnamese have shown that their promises are written on water.

China's attempt to rally the forces of the world including U.S. Imperialism, against social imperialism is a correct strategy. It is one which can delay the outbreak of war and give the peoples of the world time to prepare for it adequately.

The struggle to preserve its national independence from invasion and war is the great political priority of China today. In the long run it must be able to stand up to the imperialist superpowers militarily and economically. Its *socialist* modernization programme is a must and in the long run is the only sure guarantee that it

can be a reliable base area of the world revolution.

For a huge country like China with a quarter of the world's population and underdeveloped there is the obvious need to make special efforts towards an industrialisation and technological take off. Mao Zedong himself was critical of the fact that "we are not in a position to take the initiative and feel mentally constrained; in this respect we are not yet liberated." The need to expand the productive forces and to keep politics in command is a dialectical process. There is a dialectical relationship between the Three Great Revolutionary Movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, and the Chinese Communist Party we are sure should be able to handle this, given its rich revolutionary legacy which culminated in the Cultural Revolution.

SACP DEPOSES MANDELA ON ROBBEN ISLAND

ELI WEINBERG BEATEN UP BY SOWETO YOUTH

Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) has been deposed as leader on Robben Island and replaced by Walter Sisulu, a leading member of the South African Communist Party. Mandela is himself more inclined towards African Nationalism, and it is widely believed that the SACP had shopped him after his African visit in the post-Sharpeville period, because of the nationalist ideas that he had imbibed during the visit. The white-led SACP hates African Nationalism and all assertions of Black pride and self-reliance, which it calls racialism (!).

Mandela's replacement by Sisulu is in keeping with the hi-jacking of the ANC by the SACP. Most leading positions in the ANC are now filled by SACP members.

The SACP, of course, still uses Mandela's name and image as a respected leader of the Azanian people to promote its own political designs. No doubt Mandela is more useful to the SACP inside Robben Island than outside.

But the SACP has its own problems with the ANC rank and file abroad. The Soweto youth and students who joined the ANC mainly to receive military training, completely reject the notorious Freedom Charter which legitimises the white colonial status quo in the country. In an attempt to control the youth they are kept in different countries, and if they persist in their rebelliousness they are simply starved.

An indication of the rebelliousness of the youth was given recently when Eli Weinberg, well known white Communist, was seriously beaten up recently by members of the ANC rank and file for his arrogant attitude towards them. It is also believed too that people like Joe Slovo cannot go anywhere near the ANC camps. This should serve as a salutary lesson to all white progressives who think that they come and bully us around in our liberation movements.

IKWEZI also reliably learns that Mandela has been having talks with Jimmy Kruger on three separate occasions — no doubt to pave the way for a future ANC-type internal settlement.

SOBUKWE'S THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE AZANIAN STRUGGLE

(Delivered in the Memorial Services for Sobukwe in Lusaka, Zambia)

By SIPHO R. SHABALALA

Sobukwe's great contribution to the Azanian struggle was that he picked up the anti-colonial heritage of the Azanian heroes — Dingaan, Makana and others — which the South African Communist Party attempted to destroy. He placed foresquare as the centre of the struggle for national democracy the dispossession of the indigenous African people. He also saw the workers and peasants as the key element in the Azanian struggle. In doing so he approximated closely to the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question and left a rich legacy on which Azanian Marxist-Leninists can build.

'We are met here today to pay our tribute to the late Mangaliso Sobukwe — the tried, tested and one of the undisputed leaders of the Azanian people.

We are met here not to praise Sobukwe. We are not capable to do so and Sobukwe does not need anyone to praise him. His friends and foes alike do not dispute the political stature of such a dynamic and unyielding man.

Ours is only to share with you and to remind ourselves of what Sobukwe and his party stands for.

THE AZANIAN STATUS QUO

Sobukwe and the party he led identified the forces making up the Azanian Status Quo as follows:

— Firstly there is a national group made up of white-settler-colonialists who despite the fact that they are of a foreign minority group enjoy a monopoly of economic, political, cultural and military power. It is this group that has perpetrated political oppression and economic exploitation of the African majority.

— Secondly, there is the Indian foreign minority group. About this group Sobukwe in his Inaugural speech had this to say: "This group came to this country not as imperial-

ists or colonialists, but as indentured labourers. In the South African set up today, this group is an oppressed minority. But there are some members of this group, the merchant class in particular, who have been tainted with the virus of cultural supremacy and national arrogance. This class identifies itself, by and large, with the oppressor but, significantly, this is the group, which provides the political leadership of the Indian people in South Africa. And all that the politics of this class have meant up to now is preservation and defence of the sectional interests of the Indian merchant class. The down-trodden, poor 'stinking coolies' of Natal who, alone, as a result of the pressure of material conditions, can identify themselves with the indigenous African majority in the struggle to overthrow White Supremacy, have not yet produced their leadership. We hope they will do so soon."

— Thirdly, we have the Africans who constitute the indigenous group and form the majority of the population. Africans are the most politically oppressed economically exploited and subjected to humiliations, degradation and insults. They have been robbed of their land, history, culture and self-respect.

— Mangaliso ka Sobukwe said of the position and the role of the indigenous Africans:

"Now it is our contention that true democracy can be established in South Africa and on the continent as a whole, only when white supremacy has been destroyed. And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and centre and content of any struggle for true democracy in South Africa. And the African people can be organised only under the banner of African nationalism in an all-African organisation where they will by themselves formulate policies and programmes and decide on the methods of struggle without interference from either so-called left-wing or right-wing groups of the minorities who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for the Africans. We wish to emphasise that the freedom of the African means the freedom of all in South Africa, the European included, because only the African can guarantee the establishment of a genuine democracy in which all men will be citizens of a Common State and will live and be governed as individuals and not as distinctive *sectional groups*."

At this it is important to remind you that to the P.A.C. the members of the so-called Coloured group in Azania are simply regarded as Africans.

NATURE OF THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE REVOLUTION

On The basis of the characteristics of the Status Quo (which represents the primary contradictions in Azania — not the only contradiction) the P.A.C. has identified the nature of the initial phase of the Azanian Revolution as being a National Democratic Revolution whose immediate objective is to crush the white-settler-colonial **STATE FORM** and on its ruins build a **PARTICULAR STATE FORM** which will be democratic. A state where the colour of one's skin will be as irrelevant as the shape of one's ears.

Mangaliso Sobukwe in putting the P.A.C. Case had this to say about the end objective of the National Democratic Revolution:

"Politically we stand for government of the Africans for the Africans by the Africans, with everybody who owes his loyalty only to Africa and accepts the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African.

We guarantee no minority rights because we are fighting precisely that group-exclusiveness which those who plead for minority rights would like to perpetuate. I have said before and I still say so now, that I see no reason why, in a free democratic Africa, a predominately black electorate should not return a white man to Parliament, for colour will count for nothing in a free Africa."

BEYOND THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The P.A.C. recognises the fact that racism and the white-settler-colonial rule have been promoted to serve local and international monopoly capitalism. This therefore, goes without saying that in the ultimate analysis the removal of oppression in Azania will only be guaranteed by the destruction of capitalist production relations. Racism, Apartheid, Separate Development, Ethnic Democracy, Plural Democracy and what have you are all a superstructural canopy created and perpetrated to serve and protect the capitalist productive economic forces at the base.

No freedom, let alone a lasting one, will prevail in Azania unless the capitalist mode of production is destroyed and replaced with a socialist mode of production. This, therefore, means that the P.A.C. has accepted the fact that the consummation of the Azanian Revolution is not just to destroy the white-settler-colonial regime (the objective of the National Democratic Revolution) but to destroy the capitalist production relations and replace them with socialist production relation under the principles of Scientific Socialism. Putting the P.A.C. Case on this ultimate objective the late Mangaliso Sobukwe had this to say in his 1959 Inaugural speech:

"Economically we stand for a planned economy and the most equitable distribution of wealth. I have said that to me at least, the slogan of 'equal opportunities' is meaningless if it does not take equality of income as the springboard from which all will take off. Our problem, as we see it, is to make a planned economy work within the framework of political democracy . . ."

THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD

The revolution in Azania alienates nobody from participation. But as a revolution it is important to know where the repository for the revolutionary forces lies, which national group and/or class has the supreme interest and possesses the strategic power to resolve the contradictory situation in Azania.

There is always a need to identify the vanguard force to carry the brunt of the struggle; to dictate events; to determine methods, programmes and strategies; to lead any flanks and rearguards.

The P.A.C. identifies the African indigenous masses in Azania as a main Vanguard force to lead the National Democratic Revolution. There are many factors which make this assertion an indisputable fact:

— the Azanian revolution is primarily a struggle of a people against foreign rule which is perpetuated by a white-settler-colonial national group. To the Africans, to whom the status of Independence has a meaning, what the world knows as South Africa is not an independent state — in the same way as Zimbabwe cannot be said to be an independent state today.

— the indigenous African people are the most politically oppressed and economically exploited;

— this is the national group which was robbed of its land, history, culture and re-

spect by the white-settler-colonial national group;

— the material and the social-psychological conditions under which the African people live make them to have nothing to lose by overthrowing the present regime;

— the objective of the National Democratic Revolution is to bring about democracy and as such those who command the overwhelming majority are in a key position to make that democracy a reality.

In his speech on *THE STATE OF THE NATION* Mangaliso ka Sobukwe had this to say: "The illiterate and the semi-literate masses of the African people are the key, the core and cornerstone of the struggle for democracy in this country . . . The issues are clear-cut. The Pan Africanist Congress has done away with equivocation and clever talk. The desks are cleared, and in the arena of South African politics there are today only two adversaries: the oppressor and the oppressed, the master and the slave . . ."

I have already stated that the Azanian Revolution will be consummated with the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and its replacement by a socialist one.

To identify the force which will have to assume the vanguard position at this phase of the struggle certain facts need to be reiterated.

The white-settler-colonialism as a vehicle of international monopoly capitalism has successfully created a Status Quo in Azania whose main characteristics are as follows:

(a) The indigenous African people have been ruthlessly separated from their basic means of production. They have no land and other wherewithals to acquire any means of production.

(b) The means of production are concentrated in the hands of a single social class — the bourgeoisie of the white-settler-colonial national group. This social class basically holds these means of production

in trust for international monopoly capitalism which owns Azania — land and people. (c) The majority of the African people are substantially a social class which has no means of production save its own hands and other means of subsistence other than the sale of its labour-power.

It is, therefore, important to note that in identifying the African proletariat and peasantry we should bear in mind that the peculiar nature of the Azania situation is that almost the entire African indigenous population has been turned into a proletariat population.

At this point we are in a position to state unequivocally that the African proletariat with its allies, the African peasantry and Indian proletariat, is the vanguard force to build the people's Socialist Republic of Azania. Why is the African proletariat given such a vanguard role? The answer is not far to reach and is as follows:

(I) The creation of the surplus value, an inescapable desideratum of a capitalist society, is mainly shouldered by the African proletariat in Azania. This surplus value has created a false image of a rich economy which is only "rich" because of the existence of a class whose remuneration remains at sub-human subsistence level. Out of this surplus value, the white working class is subsidized, the local capitalist class appropriates its share and lastly the international monopoly capitalists get their share.

The product of the African proletariat's energies and skills, provides the riches of the owners of industry; the means for the "embourgeoisment" and bribing of the white workers; supports the gigantic armed forces, security forces and other superstructure-maintenance forces.

(II) The great majority of the African proletariat is concentrated in the very heart of the system, the cities and factories.

(III) The African proletariat has no vested political and economic interests in the present Status Quo. It has no special privileges or

property to defend — above all, it will be this class which will benefit substantially when socialist democracy will be established in a free Azania.

(IV) The present economic and political plight of the African proletariat is the direct historical consequence of white-settler-colonial capitalism. It goes without saying that those whose intolerable economic, political and social plights are the direct consequence of white-settler-colonial-capitalist system occupy a key position to overthrow it.

What about the white working class?

(I) This class is politically enfranchised but has no political party of its own. It is subservient to the white-settler-colonial capitalist political parties through which it exercises its political rights.

(II) In the social organisation of labour it occupies positions of supervisory and managerial functions which provide it with distinctive advantages over the African proletariat. Its positions are in antagonistic relationships with that of the African proletariat.

(III) Part of the surplus value appropriated from the African proletariat is used to maintain the economically privileged white working class. In short the African proletariat subsidizes the privileged economic positions of the white working class.

(IV) The white working class has legal rights because of its membership to the white-settler-colonial community, to form Trade Unions.

Because of these distinct privileges and positions the white workers cannot be expected to be a Vanguard force against the STATE FORM that has given them such privileges and protects them as a settler community.

Neither can it assume a vanguard role in establishing a socialist mode of production.

Mangaliso ka Sobukwe noted the role of the African proletariat by saying: "... the entire economic fabric rests on the indispensable pillars of cheap black labour."

With particular reference to the Azanian Revolution the P.A.C. maintains that the National Democratic Revolution Phase should be executed with due regards paid to the succeeding Socialist production relations implementation phase. The "Vanguard Within the Vanguard" guarded by Marxist-Leninist principles should be fully developed, accepted and be made operationally active.

In summary, this means that the Marxist-Leninist nucleus must:

- (a) have unflinching conviction in the Marxist-Leninist principles,
- (b) accept the Supremacy of the Socialist mode of production over a Capitalist one.
- (c) create a party machinery with Checks and Balances to fight against Capitalist tendencies and attitudes, Capitalist intra-party relationships, Capitalist leaders/followers relationships etc.

INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK AND RELATIONS

It is the P.A.C. stand to maintain good relations with all progressive forces of the world. Such relations should be based on principles. The P.A.C. recognizes the fact that every state no matter how big or small will not support any liberation movement without self-interests — even having no self-interest is self-interest in itself.

The P.A.C. recognizes the fact that the international scene is dominated by two forces: the forces of Socialism and the forces of Capitalism. These forces are in sharp and antagonistic relationships.

The issue that mankind has to settle once and for all is who has to own the means of production; who should decide what to produce and how to produce it; who should determine investments and who should command the machines; who should decide as to what one should get as one's share from the product of social labour.

No one is going to tell the people of Azania as to who their enemy is. They know that.

Mangaliso Sobukwe put the P.A.C. case on this issue as follows:

"... because the South African ruling minority is backed by the forces of international capitalism and imperialism, it becomes necessary for us to develop an international outlook.

However, the lesson of history in the last half-century shows that we can only get the moral support and sympathy of friendly peoples: They can never liberate us.

This means, among other things, that we must develop policies not merely aping this or that country, or merely fashioned to approximate to or to please certain powers or constellations of powers or peoples.

Our policies must flow from the logic of the African situation and from the fundamental long-term interests of the vast African millions.

We do not wish to use anybody, nor do we intend to be used by anybody."

The P.A.C. sees the need to maintain relations with the international proletariat forces and other progressive forces even within the capitalist countries. But in doing so the P.A.C. does not subordinate its responsibility to liberate the Azania masses and the building of socialist production relations in Azania to international interests.

One cannot be an internationalist by avoiding national issues or the creation of his National state.

All progressive forces recognise the existence of Particular and Universal contradictions.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion I would also like to remind all the supporters of the Azanian people that the right to determine the methods, strategies and programmes of the Azanian Revolution is inalienably vested in the Azanian people. So is the right to choose their leaders.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN BRAND OF COLONIALISM

“The New Road of Revolution” published by the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania in 1975 was a radical development in the politics of the movement. It marked its transition from its beginnings as a movement based on nationalism towards a more scientific theory of revolution based on proletarian tactics and strategy. It marked the emergence of genuine and committed Marxist-Leninists in the movement, who through their own analyses, mistakes and errors, began to see the Azanian struggle in an entirely different light. The writing up of the book was mainly done by Edwin Makoti, although it was the fruit of discussions, debates and analyses involving many other comrades in the PAC. In a coming issue we will review the book and its significance in the history of the Azanian liberation movements. Herein we publish an extract from the book on the “Nature of Colonialism” in Azania.

THE NATURE OF COLONIALISM

In order that the African people of South Africa should prepare themselves for the tasks of striking down imperialism and white domination, it is essential that they should clearly understand the aggressive nature of colonialism, which is the ideological source of the problems that are facing them in that country, and the direct cause of the miserable conditions of life under which they are forced to live.

The significant portion of our social problems begins with the expansion of the markets founded by the rising commercial capital of Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth century, and resulted in the early settlement of Europeans on our country. The penetration of these settlers into the interior involved loss of sovereignty by, and the alienation of the land, of the indigenous peoples. The partition of the Continent went apace as a result of Europe's increased search for raw materials which are available in large quantities in Africa. The settler, the missionary and the soldier followed each other in rapid succession.

Oppressed peoples and nations the world over find only one way open to them to rid themselves of the colonial yoke of oppression and exploitation. They have no choice but to launch an unfolding struggle for complete emancipation and thereby overthrow the atrocious rule of colonialism and establish a new, independent, democratic and prosperous society.

The imperialists have the greatest fear of the awakening of oppressed peoples who seek to

unite in struggle to drive colonialists back to their homes. But the colonialists are human beings also. Why should they subject other human beings to so much brutality and aggression?

REACTIONARY ESSENCE OF COLONIALISM

The history of colonialism is one of the invasion of foreign lands and aggression against foreign nations. The temptation to loot the wealth of other nations is too strong for the colonialists to resist. The spirit of piracy is too deeply imbedded in their blood. Colonialism is reactionary in essence. It can only realise its lust for wealth and riches by plunder and war. It cannot go against this logic. Colonialists are blood-sucking parasites.

The capitalist system out of which colonialism arose is responsible for dividing men into rich and poor, exploiters and exploited. The basic root of colonialism is the private ownership of the means of production and the private accumulation of capital, out of which arose the evil trade in slaves.

Colonialists use the method of brutal enslavement, torture, imprisonment and massacre to intimidate and tame down weak peoples and nations. They use reactionary violence to subjugate indigenous peoples and turn them into subject tools which can be violated at will. Their reactionary essence is determined by the methods they use to subjugate local peoples. It is difficult to imagine that any people would volun-

tarily allow themselves to be thus exploited.

In our country the first political clash between the Africans and the Dutch settlers arose out of land and livestock. The Africans lived by hunting game and moved from one pasture to another with their large herds of cattle and sheep. They therefore refused to cede land which was theirs by natural right to the Dutch settlers as grazing pasture for their newly bought stock. When Africans refused to trade, the Dutch organised armed raids to seize cattle and sheep by force. Charges and counter-charges of stock theft became a regular feature in the relations between the two communities and led to the first war which took place on May 19, 1659.

At least four main events in the relations with white settlers set the pattern for present day colonial relations in our country.

The first was the movement of aggression and dispossession known in history as the Great Trek. In their rebellion against the British colonial administration, the Dutch farmers moved into the interior of the country and fought a series of wars against Africans beyond the jurisdiction of the British Cape Colony.

Piet Retief was leader of these frontier farmers and published his manifesto of the emigrant farmers in the "Grahamstown Journal" on February 2, 1837. Three clauses of that manifesto are pertinent to this analysis:

"We solemnly declare that we quit this colony with a desire to lead a more quiet life than we have heretofore done. We will not molest any people nor deprive them of the smallest property; but if we are attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against any enemy;

"We propose in the course of our journey, and in arriving in the country where we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes, our intentions and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them;

"We are resolved, wherever we got, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but whilst we will take care that no one will be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress

crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant".

In their "trek" the Dutch settlers pushed Africans by force of arms into the mountainous areas of Lesotho and the arid regions of the Northern Transvaal. The rest were reduced to serfdom on the farms of the Boers. A succession of battles was fought in Natal until the British intervened and annexed Natal as a colony.

The second event was the creation of "Native Reserves" by the British Administrator, Theophilus Shepstone in Natal. He moved Africans out of their homes and from their land, setting aside dispersed tracts of land for their separate occupation. This was to serve two colonial purposes, namely, to make farm labour more easily and readily available to white farmers, and to avert resistance from large concentrations of Africans. This became the blue-print for the apartheid policies of succeeding regimes, to divide in order to rule by force.

The third was the importation of indentured Indian labourers to furnish cheap labour for the sugar-cane industry along the Natal Coast in 1860. This was the introduction of a minority group which was to further complicate human relations in the country.

The fourth was the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867 and gold in the Transvaal in 1886. This led to the unification of the country under white minority rule in 1910. By mutual consent the country was turned over politically to the Dutch settlers while the British colonialists retained economic control.

The rights of the Africans were not taken into account. The country has since expanded enormously in the economic sphere. Industrialisation rose at a rapid pace and secondary industry is quite developed giving form to the present structure of society in the country. The history of South Africa in the past three centuries is one of highway robbery, plunder and dispossession. Such is the reactionary arrogance of colonialism in our country.

SOURCES OF COLONIALISM

Colonialists are evil monsters who exist at a certain stage in the development of class socie-

ty but colonialism is a temporary phenomenon in human history. It has brought in its wake considerable suffering to mankind. The development of capitalism must at this stage involve the invasion of weak countries which have rich material resources, and the subjugation and exploitation of local peoples. Only the end of capitalism can bring an end to colonialism.

Racial discrimination and cultural aggression are the inevitable products of colonialism. But these are only forms and not the essence of this evil system. They are none-the-less the most potent weapons which the colonialists use to harass indigenous peoples throughout their lives and in every aspect of their existence. Social status is determined by racial caste under the violent rule of colonialism in our country. The people are rigidly divided into four easily recognised colour compartments in accordance with the provisions of the Group Areas Act responsible for their residential separation by national group and ethnic tribe.

The first is the white group which consists of all those who are obviously white or are generally accepted as white.

The second is the native or Bantu group embracing all those who are in fact or generally accepted as natives of Africa, and any women who are married to or cohabit with any such native persons.

The third is the so-called coloured group which consists of persons who are not white and who are not natives of Africa, and any woman who is either married to or cohabits with any such coloured person.

The fourth is any other group or groups of persons who may be so declared on the basis of ethnical, linguistic, cultural or other group reason in order to establish, by force if necessary, separate residential areas for different racial groups. Asians are classified under this group.

The native or bantu group is further subdivided according to ethnic or tribal origin to break down its population figures leaving the ethnically undivided white group in the "majority".

In the cultural sphere we find that the culture of the conquerors has been imposed upon the people and holds sway at the expense of our indigenous culture. Human culture has been

given the label of race. The missionaries were the first agents of cultural aggression, and propagated the vulgar doctrine of the master race as God's chosen race and guided by the Calvinist code which asserts that "God brought forth his people with joy, and his chosen with gladness; and gave them the lands of the heathen; and they inherited the labour of the people".

The British missionary, John Phillip, wrote that "Missionary stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest military posts a government can employ . . . there is not a single instance of a tribe thus enjoying the labour of a missionary, making war against the colonialists, either to injure their persons or to deprive them of their property".

The political slogan of Cecil Rhodes was "Equal rights to all white men". He subsequently changed it to read, "Equal rights to all civilised men".

This is the British colonialist who said that imperialism was a question of bread and butter for the mother country. Senator Beveridge of the U.S.A. said that imperialist wars were conflicts of commerce. Such are the arrogant sources of colonialism.

COUNTLESS CRIMES OF COLONIALISM

Colonialism has over the ages committed countless crimes against humanity. Political deception is one of the most potent weapons to be found in the arsenals of colonialism. The colonial spheres of influence have been expanded under the guise of giving protection to weaker and smaller states. It has never been the purpose of colonialism to change weak countries into strong capitalist ones. On the contrary, it is their purpose to turn all weak countries into their colonies. If this cannot be achieved amicably, then it must be done through the sword.

The first crime that colonialism committed in our country was to rob our people of their land and liberty. They deprived us of our national sovereignty and territorial integrity. They launched wars of aggression and dispossession to conquer and subjugate our people.

We have already stated that the first war between us and the colonialists took place in 1659

following years of plunder and provocation. At the end of that war the Boers drew up a fraudulent treaty which our people were forced to accept. A frontier was marked out as part of the treaty and the land claimed as having been won by military conquest. In addition to the land they sacrificed, large herds of their livestock were seized either as reprisals or as war booty. This crime was later extended to the whole country. Cattle raiding under a number of guises became the chief form of plunder.

The second crime was the introduction of slavery into our country. The white settlement was short of labour and could not cope up with the work of building, farming, cattle-raising and other jobs. On the one side the settlers despised manual labour, and on the other the Africans refused to enter the service of the invaders. The settlers appealed to slave traders for help. Slaves were imported from the East Indies and Madagascar and later from West and Central Africa.

Colonialists pursued policies of racial prejudice and discrimination. They looked upon themselves as superior and looked down upon indigenous peoples as inferior. Before long there were more slaves than settlers in the colony. Each settler found himself in a supervising position, and this was to develop into the crime of white domination. Imposed Slavish servility ultimately made captives of our people.

The third major crime of the colonialists was to turn the colony into an earthly hell for the indigenous people. Following the wars of aggression and dispossession, the colonialists established a repressive machinery of occupation made up of an administrative bureaucracy supported by the armed forces comprising the army, police, prisons, courts and churches to repress the people at will. Black people suffer more oppression than all other peoples in the colonial world, and have more than adequate cause to develop deep hatred for their oppressors.

The fourth major colonialist crime is that of plundering the material wealth of oppressed peoples and nations. They exploit the natural resources and the human labour of the people to make multimillionaires of themselves. As the colonialists get richer and richer, the local peo-

ple become poorer and poorer. The economic position of the backward country remains backward.

Colonialists monopolise land by running big plantations. They occupy the most fertile lands. They use it to undertake farming, forestry and livestock breeding. They hold the economic lifeline in agriculture which remains backward while the peasants remain poor and destitute and often homeless. African people still live in the most primitive way. A stupendous difference can always be seen in the tools used by the people and those used in the plantations and white farms. This is the fifth crime of colonialism.

The colonialists cruelly exploit the local people by holding the lifeline of the trading establishments and financial institutions. They obtain raw materials cheaply and sell finished products at exorbitant prices. The nerve centre of commerce and trade is a link between industry and agriculture, and is used to exploit the workers, peasants and other masses of the people. This is colonialism's sixth major crime.

The colonialists deprive the oppressed of the sweat of their labour by extortion through heavy taxation and levies of all types. They build their earthly paradise on the backs of the masses of the people without regard to their welfare or well-being. This is the seventh major crime.

The colonialists poison the spirit of the working people through cultural aggression. To consolidate their domination they entrench themselves politically, economically, socially, militarily and in other ways. They use the media of schools, churches, charitable and other similar institutions to propagate their way of life and sap the will of our people for self-reliance. Even the liberation movement has been placed on the dole. This is the eighth major crime.

Colonialists seize state power in the colonies by various ways and then lop off the national rights of the people by diplomatic or punitive ways internally as well as externally. This is as much a calamity as a humiliation that must never be tolerated. We must therefore rise in struggle, overthrow colonialism and liberate ourselves from oppression.

The crimes of colonialism are countless.

The ruling white minority settlers have entrenched all political, social, economic, cultural and military power in their own hands. By 1880, the military power of the African people had been broken, and all indigenous political organisation was forced to serve as a subordinate tool of white rule. This secured white hegemony over the whole country.

The South Africa Act of 1909 of the British parliament gave rise to the founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910. British colonialism thus handed all power over to the white settlers without reference to, or consultation with the majority African population. As a result, the status of the new South African state became one of dual nature consisting of a white European power ruling over an internal colonial empire and a "non-white" subject population. This is the colonial crime of **white domination**.

The present Republic of South Africa comprises four provinces which enjoy a measure of autonomy of a limited nature. All essential powers are vested in the central government made up into three branches, parliament, the civil service and the judiciary. The settlers like to boast of this arrangement as the highest expression of democracy, but this is devoid of all truth. Africans and other "non-white" persons have been removed from participation at all levels of the political process. They live entirely as subject peoples who are forever subject to the arbitrary rule of white authority and the humiliation and harrassment by its black and brown lackeys.

The regime maintains a monopoly of repressive forces in the hands of the white group which alone has the right to own and bear firearms. Military service is a white exclusive right. White policemen alone carry firearms. All whites are licenced to shoot first and ask questions afterwards. "Non-white" policemen serve only in an auxilliary force in maintaining order and executing raids on their respective areas. Those of them who have degenerated beyond redemption are allowed to handle small arms to shoot down their own people.

The main role of the police and the army is clearly to defend white supremacy and privilege against the rest of the population. Since our campaign of positive action against the pass laws in 1960, a massive armed force has been

built up to suppress internal uprising. Every white man, woman and child above the age of 15 has been mobilised for active military service. Mobile commandos and para-trooper units have been established to train white women and school children in the use of firearms. The civilian population has been organised into **four** categories of police reserves to act as vigilantes in the event of internal uprising.

The subordination of our people is held to be of far greater consequence than their consent. Popular pressure cannot be allowed to influence policy. A statement of grievances can be made provided that it is made politely through the correct grievance stating official machinery. No agitation and no opposition to government policy is allowed. A series of repressive laws has been enacted, as occasion arose, to deal ruthlessly and brutally with the opponents of apartheid. They are the Public Safety Act; the Suppression of Communism Act; the Criminal Law Amendment Act; the Riotous Assemblies Act; the Unlawful Organisations Act; the Sabotage Act; the 90-Day Act; the 180-Day Act; the Terrorism Act and the BOSS Act.

Politically, South Africa is a primitive democracy for the white minority settlers whose comprador class rules over 80% of the population as a colonial power through methods reminiscent of Hitler's fascism. The techniques it has used over the past three centuries amount to slavery, bondage, child-stealing and kidnapping. The first settlers were given slaves by the Dutch East India Company to work for them. They treated them harshly and brutally, demanding hard work and complete obedience. It was general custom to flog slaves and impose cruel punishment upon them for the slightest offence. Every white person became a master, his job being to supervise the slaves.

The British were the first to assume the mantle of a colonial power in relation to Africans. In 1809, the British Governor issued a proclamation in terms of which Africans could no longer move about as they wished but should have a fixed place of abode. They were denied the right to own land, and should have a pass signed by the local magistrate in moving from one district to another. The missionaries explained this to the Africans as liberty to bring their labour to

the best market.

At the beginning of the 19th Century a source of labour for the white farmers emerged with the capture of Africans in raids on tribal communities. Fleeing men who left their wives and children behind never saw them again. The women and children were taken into captivity by the white raiders on the ground that they had been abandoned, and were shared among the farmers as apprentices. The raids that began as expeditions to deal with so-called cattle thieves and to repossess allegedly stolen cattle. The raids later became more frequent and were not considered successful unless the raiders returned with a supply of "apprenticeship" as well as cattle. The law under which they operated was called the "Slave and Apprentices Law". the practice of "apprenticeship" was a legalised form of forced slave labour. It continued after slavery had been abolished in 1836. The Boers who were to revolt against the British Administration in the Cape Colony felt little inclined to subject themselves to laws which interfered with their freedom to acquire as many servants as they wanted.

The Slaves and Apprentices law was repealed and substituted with the Cape Masters, Servants and Apprentices Ordinance of 1841 and the Master and Servants Act of 1856, both of which defined in great detail the duties and obligations of a servant. Similar law was enacted in Natal where the provisions of the Master and Servant Law of 1850 compelled all Africans to carry passes and to contract for service within a fortnight of leaving their previous employer. This law contained a flogging clause and the flogging of servants became common practice. If employers did not thrash their black servants themselves they handed them over to the police for this. The usual offences for flogging were impertinence, disobedience, laziness and desertion. Similar laws were passed in the Transvaal in 1880 and the Orange Free State in 1904. These laws are still in operation today. In the year 1955 alone, there were 28,434 recorded prosecutions under these laws in South Africa.

The Glen Grey Act of 1894 forced Africans in the Transkei to seek work in the diamond and gold mines to earn cash to pay a tax imposed upon them. Recruiting agents are still very busy

in the „native reserves" shepherding men away from their homes into areas where whites need cheap servile labour.

The Bantu Labour Act of 1964 is used to control rigidly and to discipline Africans recruited to work in the mines. The law attaches penal sanctions to breach of contract and lists a number of offences like refusing to obey an order or using swear language or talking back to the master. Inspectors are empowered to hold spot trials and to impose punishment upon offending Africans without delay.

The Native Administration Act of 1927 constitutes the State President as the supreme chief of all "natives" and he is vested with rights, powers, immunities and authorities to act as he wishes and to rule by proclamation. He can use his powers to call up armed men, using Africans to fight Africans, and to punish those who disobey his orders. He can impose fines on a whole tribe if one of them hides anyone who is wanted by the police. No court can challenge anything done by the State President in his capacity as supreme native chief.

The power to remove and banish persons for political reasons is extensively used under this law. It is used in the trade union field against those who "preach certain foreign doctrines, among the Natives", or who "utter any words, or do anything with intent to promote hostility between Natives and Europeans". In 1961 the police used this law to confiscate pamphlets and prosecute the leaders of Non-European Railway Workers Union on the latter grounds. The pamphlets contained an allegation that white workers had received pay increases while the Non-European workers had not. Africans are tolerated in the towns and cities only as servants of the Whites, not as a right but at the bidding and by the grace of the Whites. The Urban Areas Act of 1927 prescribed this. They are not entitled to any political rights there. It is an offence for any African to be in an urban area without permission or authority. African workers are not permitted to sell their labour where they choose and when they choose. They cannot choose a job of their preference. They must take what they are given. They cannot refuse a job. No such contempt on their part is tolerable.

It is the intention of the South African govern-

ment that all Africans will fall into the category of migratory labour. This system is one of legalised forced labour in all spheres of employment. The system originated in the British colony of Natal in 1850. The British administration imposed a hut tax of seven shillings (7/-) on Africans. They had either to sell their cattle or work for farmers to earn this amount. Some years later the tax was raised to eleven shillings (11/-) in an attempt to force more men to work in the canefields.

When diamonds were discovered in Kimberley in 1867, African men were recruited by the diggers to work as labourers. For them the diamond fields became a kind of prison. The closed compound system was established and they were confined within the bounds of high-fenced barracks. They worked subject to the Master and Servants Law. During the whole period of their contracts they were not permitted to venture out of the compound even for one minute. They earned about 2/6 a day, and from this they bought their own food from the Company's stores and cooked it themselves in open fireplaces.

Economic pressure has always been applied to force Africans to enter the service of the White man at wages that send them to their early graves and make fortunes for their employers. It always became necessary to treat them as a subject race in order to bully them into submission. The British learnt a system of despotism in their relations in India.

The migratory system brings considerable advantages to employers of African labour. It is particularly successful in the mining industry and it is now to be extended to all other spheres of employment. Migrant miners and other labourers are not allowed to form trade unions, and therefore earn very little. In 1946, rates of pay were about 2/9 per day for Underground workers and 2/5 for surface workers. The current rates are about £3-5/- per five-week month.

An average of half a million migrants work on the white owned farms. An unknown number works in the towns and villages in industry, commerce, domestic service and others. The

Tomlinson Commission estimated that at any time 503,000 men and 66,000 women were temporarily absent from their homes in the Native reserves in 1951. The Froneman Commission reported that there were 836,000 Africans from outside South Africa in 1956. All were migrant workers.

Fascist Prime Minister Verwoed said in 1955 that everyone knew that in so far as mining was concerned, the migratory labour system was the best and probably the only practicable and workable system. He pleaded for its strengthening and expansion to other spheres in the best interest of the Africans. Others have said of it however that it was morally, socially and economically wrong and reacts detrimentally upon the health of the migratory labourers and their families.

An industrial colour bar operates in South Africa to prevent "non-whites" especially Africans, from doing certain jobs. The first statutory colour bar was contained in the Mine and Works Act of 1911 according to which Africans in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were not to be given certificates of competency in skilled occupations such as mining and engineering. In practice only whites were given such certificates. Technical skills ensure super wages for specialised labour. The Industrial Conciliation Act empowers the Minister of Labour to apply a colour bar to any job to safe-guard inter-racial competition. It then becomes a criminal offence for a person of one race to perform work reserved for members of another race. Between 1948 and 1964, sixteen wage determinations had been issued affecting employment in the transport; clothing, engineering; building; electrical; and motor vehicle assembly industries; and the jobs of barmen in Natal, lift operators in Johannesburg and Bloemfontein; ambulance drivers and traffic policemen in Cape Town. In all these the jobs were reserved for Whites. The purpose of job reservation is that no "non-white" should be employed in a job which an unemployed white man can do.

Such is the South African brand of colonialism. Slavery could not be worse than this.

IMPERIALISM AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

BY DAN NABUDERE

Dan Nabudere replies to Trotskyist distortions on the relationship between Imperialism and “national capital” in Azania and in the process correctly points out that the main contradiction in Azania is between Imperialism and the Black oppressed masses, and that the local white bourgeois acts as its agent. The Trotskyist theory of the dominance of national capital over Imperialism is another variant of the theory of “internal colonialism” of the South African “Communist” Party, an attempt to dismiss the colonial nature of South Africa and not to view the white bourgeois as an alien element acting in the interests of and in partnership with foreign Imperialism.

It is from this position that he examines the nature of the national question in Azania, and while he is correct in his criticism of the SACP and the ANC — and accepts the thesis of the Comintern — we do not agree with his characterisation of the national question as semi-colonial situation. Our position is that South Africa is both a colonial and semi-colonial situation: colonial in the sense of the relationship between the oppressed Black masses and the white bourgeois and the white population whom it has co-opted into its system of national oppression; and semi-colonial in the dominant relationship of Imperialism to the South African state. As he himself states there is a continuing historical connection between the colonial invasion of South Africa and the present imperialist Domination of the country. The nominal independence granted to the white population in 1910 is legalistic and formal, which does not alter its colonial relationship to the indigenous Black masses. This is the position of the Pan-Africanist Congress with which we agree. His section on the national question we feel is weak and even contradictory but we applaud his attempts to come to terms with it. But Azanian revolutionaries have another opportunity to digest further material on the important question of the national question.

1. INTRODUCTION:

The crisis that engulfs imperialism in South Africa from which it cannot extricate itself without total defeat has reached such gigantic proportions that it is in panic as to the best solution to this burgeoning crisis. Indeed it cannot meaningfully extricate itself either in the short or long term. For while it could be argued that imperialism is in fact working out a short term solution on the basis of its secret strategies contained in Secret Memorandum 39, (i.e. the Kissinger proposals) such so-called solution must lead to an intensification of the crisis, thus ruling out even a peaceful short term breakthrough which would give it an untroubled respite in its exploitative and oppressive activities.

Yet to understand this monster in a sound theoretical manner must surely be the only reliable way for framing revolutionary strategies and tactics that would lead to its defeat which it must suffer. In a period of unparalleled boom that characterised South Africa's economy in the

post Second World War period, a lot of illusions emerged about the nature of the South African regime. These illusions were in part created by erroneous analysis of the situation by revolutionary forces themselves. These illusions have led to abstractions unrelated to the realities of the complex but resolveable situation in South Africa.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the fact that only a correct understanding of Lenin's thesis on imperialism and the state coupled with a clear grasp and application of the Stalin/Lenin and the Third International theses on the national and colonial question, can lead to a clear and correct theoretical and ideological formulation of the struggling weapons which can ultimately lead to the defeat of imperialism in this part of the world. This is said in full knowledge of the already admitted and self-evident facts that even the most advanced proletarian movement — the Communist Party of South Africa — suffered and continued to suffer ideologically on these vital issues of theory leading to long periods of confusion and uncer-

tainty which never got fully resolved. These issues were essentially connected with a correct theory on imperialism, class analysis, state, race and ethnicity, and the national and colonial question. **The unsatisfactory analyses of these issues affected the party's work on the national front for a long time and afflicted it on the very vital question of class/race which bedevils the party and the national movement to date.**

To be sure, South Africa is not an exception to the general strategic thesis of the working class that imperialism constitutes the **fundamental contradiction** with the revolutionary working people of South Africa as it does elsewhere in the imperialist exploited world, and further that it constitutes the **principal contradiction** with the entire Black people of South Africa. The term "the entire people" of the country known as South Africa comprises all the peoples who belonged to the different ethnic groups and national entities which were brought under the iron heel of imperialist domination, and those who eventually were born there in the course of this continued domination, with the exception of that minute minority of the comprador bourgeoisie who are the direct agents of imperialist domination of the peoples of this country. These two contradictions arose out of the very inherent developments in the feudal economies of Europe which led to the developments of capitalism. Thus a theoretical analysis of these developments is incomplete without a historical analysis which at the same time gives us a dialectical materialist appraisal of these developments.

ROOTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTRADICTION

To begin with, the contradiction that arose in South Africa must be traced to its roots. This began with feudal merchant capital that was at the back of the mercantilist imperialism that marked the period in which South Africa first came under imperialist domination. Under this mode of production, feudal long distance trade in the luxury exotic products of the East Indies for the consumption of the feudal aristocracy was based on plunder and enslavement of these are-

as. These riches which were obtained in trade resulted from unequal prices, a fact enabled by the unequal exchange which took place between two modes of production. The product produced in the East Indies was not produced for exchange as such but was a surplus product taxed by the ruling classes in these countries from the direct producers. They were for consumption and not for sale and as a result no exchange value was attached to them at first. As exchange developed over time there was a tendency to equivalence in prices with imported products from Europe.

It is therefore these huge profits in this unequal exchange and outright enslavement and plunder that was the biggest attraction to the merchants in Europe who engaged in this highly lucrative trade enabling the "primitive accumulation" of vast sums of capital that created the preconditions for capitalist development in Europe and which was the rationale for this gigantic robbery on world scale. Thus the struggle of the merchants for this trade was the very historical basis upon which was erected a system of piracy over the high seas and robbery of the innocent. For South Africa this implied an entanglement in the rivalry between Holland and England that was taking place in the seventeenth century over the high seas in hot pursuit of exotic products of the Far East. England was a later comer and challenged Holland in pursuit of this lucrative long distance trade from which vast profits were made by the merchants from the use-values produced in this areas. It is in the course of these proceedings that a load of serf/labourers were dumped at the Cape of Good Hope (it was such a wonderfully good hope as it came to be!) for the purpose of providing fresh provisions from the soil to the crew of Dutch ships which plied these seas. This colonisation was therefore limited in its magnitude as distinct from the next period. These serf/labourers were then set to work to grow food for the Dutch merchants but in order to do this these near serfs were supplied with slaves from the Far East with whom a quasi-feudal relationship was established, with the wretched peasants from Holland as the new masters in a new type of feudal society made to order to suit Dutch mercantilist imperialism. Soon the Afri-

can people, first the Khoi Khoi (Hottentots) and the San (Bush men) were enslaved and some wiped out to clear the area for this colonial enclave. Later the Bantu people were also attacked to clear them off the fertile lands to allow wider settlement of this expanding Dutch colony which was soon being vied by the rapacious British imperialists on whom this booty was to be bestowed. With the end of the Napoleonic wars Britain was ready to take over South Africa from the Dutch which they did in 1806. But by this time the character of British imperialism had changed and a new system of property relations had taken over from feudalism with a new ruling class and new types of demands on the colonies.

RISE OF CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

The capitalist mode of production that had emerged victorious implied new relations based on capitalist production in which a dispossessed free labour force worked for a wage for a fixed period. The total product which the worker produced was then divided between his wage and the surplus-value that he produced which the capitalist took but did not pay for. Now the system operated on the basis of exchange of equivalents to the extent that the wage paid to labour represented his price for the labour power he sold to the capitalist. Under this arrangement a new type of exploitation emerged. It is on this basis that British imperialism now sought to put a stop to the slave system which existed under Dutch mercantilist imperialism. Now under free trade imperialism, that was unfolding in England, this represented a new strategy leading to the abolition of the old system. In 1836 slavery was thus abolished to conform to the new production relations in South Africa. This emancipation immediately led to a mass settler migration to Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal known as the "Great Trek". This "long March" of the Boers, also contributed to by the earlier Ordinance 50 of 1828 which freed coloured workers from pass controls, led to a territorial rearrangement. The Trek resulted in yet further colonisation of new territories belonging to the

black people. The British then set up the Free State and Transvaal as Boer settler states. The British imperialists themselves joined in to complete the colonisation by waging bloody wars against the Xhosa people. Natal, then the Cape and the Orange Free State were colonised by her.

New absentee landlords in Britain and Holland carved out for themselves large tracts of land 200,000 to 300,000 acres a piece. The African people were thrown into overcrowded arid areas, and now without means of production and subsistence they accepted through various coercive measures to labour for the Boers and the absentee landlords who paid them meagre wages. The discovery of the mines in 1867 (diamonds) and 1886 (gold) led to the need for a large labour force which was obtained through taxation and other coercive measures of dispossession as we have seen. These coercive measures were given sanctity by the Mines and Works Act of 1911 under which a native who did not find work within a week of entering an urban area could be imprisoned, fined or deported; and the Native Land Act of 1913 under which only 13 per cent of the entire land resources were reserved for blacks and the other 87 per cent for white settlement.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND SOUTH AFRICA

Thus as we entered a new phase of capitalism-monopoly capitalism-which Lenin called imperialism, South Africa was entering a new era of colonialism in which the African people were to suffer increasing exploitation and oppression, in which they were denied the most elementary of human rights in their own homeland, a fact that registered itself as national domination and oppression, which in its broad meaning included the domination and oppression, of peoples and countries the world over that was characterising the new imperialism. In Lenin's analysis which followed in the footsteps of Marx's dissection of the capitalist mode of production, 1 Lenin in his booklet entitled, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 2 argued that the concentration of capital that Marx had been at pains to point out

in his works, about which official science had maintained complete silence, had stubbornly announced itself in the emergence of a new imperialism, in which the hegemony of Britain in the world market had been challenged by two new powers-the U.S. and Germany, which along with France and other smaller imperialist powers had completed the division of the world, with no possibility of division in the future but **redivision**. This new imperialism said Lenin was characterised by the rise of monopolies in the nature of cartels, syndicates, associations and trusts which divided the world's markets among themselves on the basis of agreements and war. This monopoly in industry was assisted by monopoly in Banks, which led increasingly to the merger of the two capitals under the control of a financial oligarchy, a new parasite strata of the bourgeoisie, that lived by clipping coupons. The superprofits which they obtained in the colonies on the basis of exports of finance capital which these parasites controlled, was possible because:

"In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low (in the case of many colonies it was in fact free-down), wages are low, raw materials are cheap."

This capital that was exported was "surplus" to the extent that no more profitable employment for it in that line of production could be found in the home country. Marx had also observed that profits in the colonies were particularly high because of the employment of slaves and coolies.

It was for the export of this capital that was overripe in Britain, for the exploitation of cheap African labour on their land, that British imperialism initiated a war of conquest against the Boers in the three-year Boer War of 1899-1902. This imperialist war in which 26000 Boer women perished in concentration camps in a series of epidemics, did not however win Britain full victory and the Vereeniging Agreement that settled the war in 1902 made considerable concessions to the Boers in granting them self-government in their area where the Boers were to

decide whether to enfranchise the African, which of course they did not. The creation of the government of the Union of South Africa in 1910, with the merging of the four provinces-Cape, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State was in fact an alliance of these forces-British finance capital mainly in the mines, and the Boer farmers who engaged in agriculture all exploiting cheap African labour which was a nationally oppressed majority in their own homeland. It was a semi-colony under British imperialism.

The Government formed by the Boer generals Botha and Smuts was supported by British finance capital and those Boer generals now presided over the colony which ultimately served British imperialism in particular. The more pro-Afrikaan Nationalist Party regime which replaced Smuts in 1948, was no less subservient to western imperialism which it served. On the contrary in the era of multilateral imperialism under the hegemony of the U.S. that emerged with World War II as we shall demonstrate later, it only opened up its doors to the other imperialist powers which increasingly got involved in the exploitation and oppression of the African people. The so-called independent Republic of South Africa was not an independence gained by the African people, but a semi-colony that had been transformed from an outright British colony into a semi-colony in which the Boer Bourgeoisie exercised political control for British finance capital principally and the Boer bourgeoisie themselves as agents for British imperialism, and later after W.W. II on behalf of all the imperialist powers under multilateral imperialism under the hegemony of U.S. imperialism. All these facts will be further demonstrated in section three of this paper. For the moment however we would like to refute neo-Trotskyist banalities which have been advanced to mystify this reality in South Africa in the name of "new" theory. Since the neo-Trotskyist literature on this matter is extensive we will take as an example a recent article in *R&PE* number seven for attack, for this is just one of such mystifications that creates considerable theoretical confusion in the South African situation.

2. ACADEMIC MARXISM AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE

The paper the subject of attack here is written by a group of Poulantzasist academics who want to test their intellectual mentors's theoretical models on the state and classes in South Africa. As is well known Nicos Poulantzas has written a number of books in which he has made a one-sided attack on the work of the Third International under comrade Stalin's period(5), and on the basis of this he proceeded to write a number of books in which he laid down a number of theoretical constructs. In his first book(6) he exposes his anti-Marxist orientation when he attacks Engels in a number of passages by accusing him of all sorts of "errors" in theory on the nature of the absolutist state and the character of the revolution in France which he asserts was petty bourgeois and not bourgeois(7). In his work on classes in the contemporary capitalism he "fractures" classes to the point of "pure" intellectual fascination without bringing out in a revolutionary manner the significance of the developments in world imperialism. His analysis in essence leads to a lot of hairsplitting characteristic of academic Marxism, today heavily influenced by Trotskyism. These are the writings which the authors(9) of the paper entitled "Class Struggle and the periodisation of the State in South Africa" in RAPE no. 7 a Special Issue on South Africa, accept as basis for their analysis for the authors themselves state that their aim is to use Poulantzas concepts to analyse the situation in South Africa.

They achieved very little, for instead of letting us see the wood — and despite their saying so — they only let to see the trees, the parts without a unity of purpose in the system as a whole. This could only be the case when the method they adopt has no dialectics in it. For them pure logic based on abstract concepts is enough to enable us to see the reality. Thus their main task is to demonstrate the changes in the **forms of state** in terms of periods. Although purporting to give us at the same time an understanding of the situation as a whole, they leave out of the analysis the fundamental and principal contradictions:

"What we examine then, is not the principal

contradiction of the social formation (the relationship between the dominant and dominated classes) but the secondary contradictions between the different fractions of the dominant classes." (p.4)

They continue nevertheless to emphasize the importance of this secondary contradictions, for according to them the resolution of these secondary contradictions had important effects on the "whole trajectory of capitalist development in South Africa" (p.4). Despite this assertion they fail totally to demonstrate in **which other way** the development would have proceeded. They proceed to show how "imperial or foreign capital" entered into contradiction with "national capital". This "fracture" of the classes, according to the authors, implied not unity but division in relation to their "particular place in the relations of exploitation" (p.5). But since state power could not be "parcelled out" amongst these fractions within the class, there was always a struggle within the classes in the "power block" to "assume its organisational role". The concept of "hegemony" is applied to the fraction that assumed this organisational role. It is for this reason that the struggle between these fractions of capital for this control resulted in the hegemony of national capital over foreign capital which the authors equate with mining capital. It is this struggle also which in the second conjuncture led to the collapse of the hegemony constituted in the earlier conjuncture, which according to them was brought about by the incapability by national capital to resolve the threat posed by the organisation of the workers and "the inability of the state to resolve the crises confronting the various fractions of capital". According to the authors these developments had significance for the development of capitalism itself in the social formation. Thus for the authors British finance capital did not determine the conditions under which national capital which they equate with agricultural and manufacturing capital functioned. On the contrary this latter capital was independent of the former and was able to establish hegemony over foreign capital thus determining the way capitalism was to develop in South Africa!

MINING CAPITAL AND THE WHITE WORKING CLASS

But how do our Poulantzasite academics proceed to demonstrate this? By the same eclecticism that characterises their theoretical model. Having no understanding of Lenin's thesis on imperialism, and in particular his definition of the concept of finance capital, they posit a wholly "fractured" picture of the reality of imperialist exploitation and domination in South Africa thus obscuring the real forces at work. To begin with, they assert in conformity with their theoretical constructs that the first period in which "mining capital" was hegemonic before 1924 was brought to a stop with national capital "seizing" hegemony in a short period of struggle between the two fractions of capital. In this struggle there was an interplay of two "particular contradictions". These were the contradictions between mining capital which they represent as the "principal fraction of international and imperialist capital", and national capital; and the contradiction between mining capital and white wage earning employees which with Poulantzas they call the "new petty bourgeoisie", the "supportive class outside the power block". With the crisis of W.W.I (World War One) mining capital lost its alliance with national capital and the supportive class, and according to the authors:

"this then created the conditions for the formation of the alliances which eventually defeated mining capital in the struggle for hegemony." (p.6)

But what are the factors that the authors hold out constituting what they regard as hegemony for national capital? They cite the fact that under the hegemony of national capital the state increased *protection* to agriculture and industry and considerably denied "*free trade*" to mining capital. This protection given to national capital by the state was itself brought about by the drastic fall in the prices of primary and industrial commodities on the world market, and the fall in the premium price of gold. Thus the efforts by mining capital to embark on a programme of cost minimisation to cope with this fall in the premium price was defeated by national capital obtaining state protection against mining capi-

tal's pressure for "free trade". This highly contrived story of the worst type of economism is then supposed to be strengthened by the alignment of political forces in the "power block" which led to desertion of the South African Party (SAP) of forces which formerly supported mining capital to the ranks of the Nationalist Party which became the authentic party of agricultural (i. e. national) capital. This would have however been impossible to oust mining capital out of its hegemonic position, without a shift in the support of the white working class which was achieved when the demand by these workers for higher wages against mining capitals's effort to minimise cost, led to a bloody repression of the workers resulting in shift of support to national capital. The authors conclude:

"It was the armed struggle of 1922 which was the real political and ideological crisis in the rule of mining capital. Not only did it undermine any support which had previously existed among the white new petty bourgeoisie for mining capital itself, it also threatened to undermine their support for the very form of state. It thus created the conditions for national capital to form an alliance with a section of the new petty bourgeoisie (manifest at the party political level in the electoral pact entered into between the Nationalist Party and the new petty bourgeois dominated Labour Party in 1923) and to draw support from other sections of the white and indeed black wage earning classes (such as those strata represented by the Communist Party and the Industrial and Commercial Union both of which supported the Pact in the 1924 election). It also created the conditions which allowed national capital to put forward its own hegemony as a necessary condition for the continued stability of the social formation. Eventually in 1924, in alliance with a fraction of the new petty bourgeoisie and supported by strata of the white and black wage earning classes, national capital achieved hegemony. (pp.8-9)

It can be seen here already that this contrived Poulantzasian theoretical model explains very little, quite apart from the fact that it falls in error on many vital issues, which we will deal with

later in section four. Suffice it to say here that the assertion that the black working class supported the Boers to establish hegemony against "foreign" capital is a dangerous conclusion which can only be arrived at through a narrow economic interpretation of the events, which abstracts the political contradiction even at the very level of political action. This type of analysis which does not see a unity in capital, although merely recognising it, leads the four authors of this absurd theory to hold that a policy of the mining monopolies, which even after the workers agitation did not lead to an overall increase in the level of wages, is deemed to be a benefit to all workers simply because the state passed a new law to "protect the **existing positions** in the division of labour, a division of labour that relegated the most degrading labour tasks to the black working class. The fact that the state further intervened to get the former **poor whites** to obtain employment as against the black workers in manufacturing sector is interpreted by the authors to have been a "fairly substantial economic concession for white proletarians" (p. 10), despite the fact that such measure was aimed undermining the very democratic rights that the poor white worker stood for to the extent that this so-called concession to the poor white was prompted by the fear not on the part of the "state", but of all sections of the ruling class, that the struggles of these poor whites according to the same authors "would give support to militant struggles **by whites** and possibly even blacks! They continue:

"In Intervening to solve this problem the state was essentially serving the common interests of the power bloc (!) **In fact it was doing little more than enlarging and extending policies which the state had pursued under the hegemony of imperialist capital** (note down). There were differences between the factions over concrete proposals, of course, (yes, of course! down) but these were confined to relatively minor points of method and the precise incidence of the cost burden. No significant fraction opposed the **civilised labour** policy per se. Members of the SAP, in fact, sometimes accused the government of not going far enough in this direction." (pp. 11-12)

MINING CAPITAL DOMINATES

Thus despite the fact that the authors recognise this essential fact that "national capital" was doing no more than what "imperialist capital" would have done, they still treat us to an analysis of very little political significance. In which way can it be asserted therefore, as the authors do, that there was a hegemony of so-called national capital over imperialist capital when this very so-called hegemony facilitated finance capital to expand its operation? The four authors must be understood to say it was hegemony only in as much as it enabled national capital to impose a higher rate of taxation on the profits of mining enterprises in order to subsidise agriculture and assist industry (a practice not characteristic of the South African state alone but of all bourgeois republics even of the semi-colonial type like South Africa). But even here the evidence produced by our Poulantzasite academics is mystifying and contradictory in itself, for having argued that a high level of taxation was imposed on mining capital, the authors also bring out evidence to show that the state increases its repressive measures against labour and other national forces, with the result that within a short time **mining capital** was reaping very high profits leading to payments of very high dividends in the Depression Period; while agriculture continued to suffer from the side-effects of the Depression.

New measures aimed at further assisting agriculture are **still** interpreted by the authors as an indication of "continued hegemony of national capital" (p.15), when in fact the higher level of profitability of mining capital justified a higher level of taxation, since a higher level of such taxation could not be expected from agriculture which was going through a period of depression, and when in fact higher protection to agriculture meant higher food prices which in turn meant higher wages to mining, agriculture and manufacturing as indeed the authors themselves eclectically concede. Moreover subsidisation of agriculture benefitted the monopolies in the imperialist countries in the form of cheap food, which the authors lost in their narrow economic theoretical focus, cannot unfathom despite their apparent familiarity with bourgeois

economics. Furthermore state policy following the abandonment of the Gold standard by British finance capital only went to put into the pockets of the mining monopolies enormous profits when the prices of gold went up from 85 per fine ounce to 120. These excessive profits were then split between the monopolies and the state (50-50) in the form of taxes which were in any case necessary to maintain the social and technical conditions of production **for capital as a whole**, and for the assistance of agriculture in particular, a fact that was important to the monopolies in Europe in that this helped the monopolies maintain a higher rate of profitability by keeping wages down through cheap prices of food from South Africa.

The single channel marketing which was introduced in 1937, which the authors regard as a continued victory for agriculture, was not uncharacteristic of British imperialist policy in periods of crisis as was to be the case when bulk purchase contracts (a single channel marketing mechanism) were introduced in all British colonies and some dominions during the Second World War. This suited the interest of finance capital as a whole and of imperialist monopolies at home in particular for which **ultimately** the South African semi-colony was created to serve. Yet our very learned authors still argue that this was evidence of antagonism of national capital to foreign capital (p.18). This overriding **ultimate** dominance of imperialist interest is recognised by the four authors only by instinct and not by scientific analysis, for having asserted the very contrary they conclude:

"Although **national** capital continued to exercise hegemony, there were definite checks to it, (sic!) and thus state policy in this period, as in the tax on gold, protection, and possibly also legislation affecting the control and supply of labour, reveals a basic continuity and simultaneously a tendency to compromise with policies advocated by foreign capital" (p.20)

Here of course the reality of imperialist domination is mystified as "compromise" when in fact this is evidence of the hegemony of imperialist finance capital over the whole semi-colonial situation in South Africa; a fact that only the Boer rural and urban bourgeoisie and

petty bourgeoisie could entertain in their narrow minds characteristic of small capitalists dominated by big capital. This view which the four authors inform us characterised the "thinking" of these bourgeoisie in the period of the war is represented to us as the very thing to be analysed by us, for they admit:

"The ideologues and political representatives of agricultural capital saw the split in the UP in terms of the contradiction between national and imperialist capital. To them (please note-down) this was an **imperialist war** which 'had nothing to do with' **South Africa, and again highlighted the** thorough political domination by 'imperialist interests' of the South African state" (p.21)

This almost accidental observation is made again when the reality of this imperialist domination is intensified in the period after the war, particularly 1940-1948. The four authors should have known that these interests of "national capital" and mining capital were mutually unanimous **on the whole** on the need to win the war despite some apparent opposition to it by a section of the rural bourgeoisie. In this period manufacturing in South Africa (which the authors call national capital) and mining capital made great gains out of the war. Yet the authors revert to their earlier narrow analysis when they attribute agriculture's "loss of hegemony" in the "power block" to its opposition to the war (p.21) when it was the generalised crisis of imperialism as a whole which compelled a restructuring of the whole imperialist system on the basis of U.S. open-door multilateral imperialist system. Under this system South Africa too was now opened up to the whole imperialist world. Instead of the earlier hegemonic British finance capital in the semi-colony US imperialism came in, leading to changes in regime (which by the way purportedly took on a more "nationalistic" outlook with the apartheid policy introduced by the rural backed Nationalist Party under Malan in 1948).

Thus despite its "nationalist" pretensions, the South African regime continued to be a semi-colony playing the **objective role** of protecting the interests of all the monopolies in the period under multilateral imperialism. This led to a considerable flow of finance capital in ma-

nufacturing and mining ever more than before, a fact the authors refer to as a restructuring in the "composition of capitals (!)" transforming "the national character of manufacturing, with the result that "national capital paved the way for the collapse of the very distinction between imperialist and national capitals as it had existed in the earlier period! Furthermore, according to the authors the change established the conditions for the emergence of monopoly capital in many sectors. By so doing, it has in effect "collapsed" contradictions within the South African bourgeoisie "as identified at the outset" (p.29-30). Thus despite the "thinking" of the ideologues and political representatives of "national capital" to which the authors treated us on the basis of their scheme of analysis, the reality of capitalist concentration and centralisation that was all the time going on world scale including South Africa comes out clearly. It turns out that despite the claim by the authors that the hegemony of national capital over foreign capital in the period 1920-1948 had great impact on the development of capitalism in South Africa, finance capital all the time dictated the activities of the South African State. The distinctions on the "periodization" of the state reveals nothing significant to us and therefore the whole exercise comes out clearly as a subjective analysis concerned with whether the thinking of the Boer bourgeoisie about the need to protect "national capital" was valid. The conclusion of the authors to their own perplexion is, that it wasn't!

3. THE REALITY OF IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the opening section we pointed to the organic link in historical and theoretical terms between South Africa and Dutch merchantist imperialism, British free trade and financial imperialism, and U.S. led multilateral imperialism. This link is a historical and dialectical one and cannot be erased by a mere legal concession of political autonomy to a local white racist minority enforcing the dictates of monopoly capitalism on world scale. Thus it is our central thesis that imperialist control of South Africa has been

a continuous fact running the whole historical phase of capitalist development up the present period of U.S. imperialist hegemony. In this section our aim is to present evidence to prove these facts in further refutation of neo-Trotskyism and revisionist aberrations we have observed in section two.

To be sure, South Africa's transformation from a Dutch Sphere to a British sphere was marked by the latter imperialism's need to produce as cheaply as possible raw materials, food and means of exchange to bolster her economy. Her initial investments although not large were nevertheless directed to very profitable fields in which profits were very high. By 1870 these investments stood at 16 million pounds and in 1884 after the discovery of diamonds it went up to 34 million pounds (10). Caincross points out:

"In the nineties, South Africa was a prominent borrower. Gold and diamond mining were the chief industries requiring foreign capital". (11)

This export of capital which went in mining, agriculture, land ownership and railway construction was assisted by British banks which soon set up branches throughout the country. The deep-level gold mining required considerable capital outlays which Britain alone could at this time provide. Thus emerged De Beers which was formed by Cecil Rhodes with the participation of the financial house of Rothschilds of London which took control of diamond mining. In gold mining even larger amounts of capital were required and for this reason there emerged eight mining houses. Even here too the Rhodes controlled Consolidated Gold Fields and Werher-Eckstein were the most dominant in the field. Between 1887 and 1913, close to 126 million pounds from Britain and Europe were invested in gold mining alone and by the end of this period only 15 per cent of the total capital came from local sources which the monopolies in any case centralised and put to profitable use in producing the minerals required for their consumption.

Despite the fact that in 1910 the Union of South Africa came into existence giving the local white bourgeoisie local political autonomy, British control of the economy continued unabated. This control reflected the monopolistic

tendencies in British capitalism in this period. Agricultural development which was weighted in favour of Boer farmers and against African peasant production went to meet the demands of imperialism. The taxation of the mines which went further to assist this development was a necessary policy intended to maintain the semi-colonial economy, on the basis of cheap native labour both local and migrant now dispossessed of their lands. All this assured Britain of cheap food and here in South Africa the Boer farmers exploiting this cheap African labour were able to produce maize, dairy products, meat, sugar and wine for the British market.

"At a time when population was increasing rapidly it was vital that foodstuffs should be obtained as cheaply as possible. By 1870 the home supply was clearly approaching a limit, and our dependence on imports was increasing." (12)

DOMINATION OF IMPERIALISM

Despite the fact that during the 1930s accumulated local capital through the banks increased from 15 to 40 per cent while foreign investment declined somewhat, yet it is wrong to conclude as some neo-Marxist writings have suggested that this implied increased control by local capital over foreign capital. Such a narrow view of imperialism is possible when capitalist production is seen in terms of the competitive model which by the 1930s was an old dream in an industry like mining. All that this implied is that foreign monopolies, whose export of capital was justified so long as production proceeded and **so long as they** received the product, were now able to mobilise (centralise) this local capital through the banks for purposes of investment in the mines at a time when capital exports were constrained by other factors. It is precisely in this period moreover that the U.S. controlled Anglo-American Corporation (controlled by Morgan) acquired a monopoly control of the diamond industry and a foothold in gold mining as well. From this moment onwards the Anglo-American maintained its grip on the mining industry as well as other side industries that emerged, spreading its tentacles to Zambia and Rhodesia.

After the Second World War new spate of investment in the mining industry increased. Local mining companies became highly intertwined in the complex criss-crossing of finance capital, with interlocking directorships. Anglo-American was by far the largest of these monopolies which in the era of U.S. led multilateral imperialism, had further strengthened its hold on the entire industry. Although currently 56 per cent of Anglo's shares are held locally to the extent that Oppenheimer is "local" yet this share is intertwined with considerable British and U.S. finance Capital. The rest is controlled by a U.S. firm Engelhard. 13 Through the connection with Engelhard Anglo-American Group took a 30 per cent interest (common stock) and 20 per cent (preferred stock) in his Minerals and Chemicals Corporation. This link apart from its financial benefits for U.S. imperialism also had significant political implications for the South African regime. Ann & Neva Seidman point out that Charles Engelhard while still alive "was the moving spirit in efforts to expand U.S. economic as well as political ties with South Africa" (p.89). His support for the racist regime was consistent with U.S. imperialism's widening interest in this area. Following the Sharpeville massacre, when short-term capital left the country, Engelhard founded the American-South Africa Investment Corporation to attract more capital to this semi-colonial Republic, "at a time of great economic and psychological need for the white minority government."

Engelhard was not just an ordinary financier. He was highly placed in the lobby politics of U.S. imperialism. He paid into the election funds of Kennedy and was a friend to the President and Johnson. He represented the U.S. at the independence celebrations of Gabon. He also represented the U.S. at Zambia's independence in 1964, as well as Algeria's first independence anniversary. In South Africa he sat on the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and the Native Recruiting Agency which saw to the recruitment of black labour from Mozambique and Rhodesia. Here the economies of imperialist exploitation were well intertwined with the politics of national oppression and U.S. imperialism was as deeply embedded into it as the British were.

AMERICAN'S ANGLO-AMERICAN CONTROL

Anglo control over the South African economy is shown by the fact that her overall assets in 1974 were estimated at \$7.4 billion accounting for **more than a quarter of South African's entire GDP**. It produced a quarter of South Africa's coal; a quarter of its uranium, and controlled a sizeable portion of its manufacturing in partnership with the semi-colonial state. It also has under its heel De Beers, the largest diamond mining company in the world, whose Chairman is Anglo's Harry Oppenheimer. The after tax profits of De Beers alone in 1973 stood at \$372 million, more than the budgets of at least five neo-colonial Republics on this continent. Furthermore apart from Anglos link to U.S. finance capital through Engelhard, its transnational interlinkages are considerable, through Charter Consolidated which owns 10 per cent of Anglo's shares. Charter's total quoted and unquoted investments in and outside South Africa stood at \$778 million of which 11 per cent were in England an almost half in South Africa. Charter is also linked to Anglo's Canadian connection set up in 1966 to consolidate Anglo, De Beers and Charter interests there including "direct and indirect" investments in copper, zinc, cadmin, gold, silver, potash and uranium mining, chemicals, crude oil and natural gas production and prospecting operations. The interlinkage with Charter also implied an ownership by Charter of 10 per cent share in Tino Zinc.

Charter also has 10 per cent interests in Falcronbridge Nickel Mines of Canda, Alcan Aluminium, Union Corporation of South Africa, British Petroleum, 'Shell' Transport and Trading, Exxon, Mobil Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Shell Oil, Standard Oil (Indiana), and Bettelehem Steel etc. An important link for Anglo which takes her operations far and wide is the Minerals and Resources Corporation of Bermuda a member in The Anglo Group, with Harry as its Chairman. This company also owns 43 per cent of Trend Explorations Ltd., a U.S. unquoted monopoly and through Anglo operates a number of oil wells in North America and Indonesia. Taxed profits of this monopoly alone in 1974 were \$10 million. Anglo also is developing gold mine in Australia, and through De Beers has threes sub-

sidaries in Ireland. The linkage with interlocking directorships is even more interesting. Harry is on the Board of Directors of Barclays Bank, and the Canadian Imperial Band of Commerce, etc. Ann and Neva Seidman conclude:

"In short, the Anglo American Group is, in itself, a multinational corporation which, although based in South Africa, has investments in several continents through dozens of subsidiaries. At the sametime, it has direct links through its board of directors with some of the largest financial multinationals in the world." (p.43)

Thus it can be seen from the activities of just one monopoly with Harry Oppenheimer at its head the world wide interlinkages of imperialist presence in South Africa. This is not by any means evidence of the fact that South Africa is itself in the highest stage of capitalism exporting its own capital to other countries. **On the contrary this is conclusive evidence of the stronghold Western imperialist finance capital has on the economy of South Africa.**

There are six other monopolies more or less with world wide linkages through subsidiaries and interlocking directorships. The second and most important being De Beers, which according to Ann and Neva Seidman is "even more intertwined with British interests than Anglo-American" (p.43) is as we have seen interlinked with Anglo-America. Gold Fields of South Africa (GWSA) the third mining monopoly has 49 per cent of her shares held by a British monopoly called Consolidated Gold Fields, whose fifty per cent of her profits in 1974 came from gold (almost 100 million \$). This group operates seven gold mines and eight base metal and mineral ones, in addition to having various finance and property companies. Consolidated Gold Fields has major holdings in 19 other companies in Britain, 14 in Australia, Azcan Corporation in the U.S. (85 per cent), and 2 in Canada. The fourth mining monopoly Union Corporation has also strong links with British finance capital through Bay Hall Trust which has 30 per cent interest in Capital and Countries, a large real estate monopoly in Britain. Union also owns 30 per cent of Minera Frisco S.A. (Mexico), 14 per cent in British Acheson Electrodes, and 3½ per cent in Hambros. The other four monopolies are equally

tied to British finance capital through the Banks, which we shall look at in a moment.

IMPERIALIST CONTROL IN MANUFACTURING

The picture in manufacturing is equally one of control by imperialist finance capital despite state involvement in this sector. As indeed it was bound to be in the circumstances, most early manufacturing in South Africa was stimulated by the needs of the mining industry. The state's initiatives in this field were obviously necessary, since finance capital's most urgent interest was in mining itself which was more profitable. The State intervention to create a manufacturing base was in the interest of mining itself, as such manufacturing did not contradict it but merely facilitated it. The state thus became the very instrument of monopoly capital. The first investment which was attracted was naturally in cement, bricks and tiles, explosives and engineering workshops. By 1920 a big company jointly owned by the British ICI monopoly and Anglo-American — the African Explosives and Chemical Industries (AE & CI) — was formed to form the basis for the future chemical and fertiliser industry that was to be of equal importance to agriculture. The artisan type of workshops that had emerged were soon replaced by an import substitution manufacturing that catered both for small manufacturing and agricultural semi-processing. State protective tariffs that were imposed at this time which our Poulantzasite and other neo-Trotskyist mystifiers regard as evidence of the so-called hegemony of national capital, became the very basis on which such industrialisation suited to the interests of South African production flourished.

A major boost to this manufacturing activity was in the formation by the state in 1925 of the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) to generate electricity for industrial and mining use. It runs 19 electric stations and supplied four-fifths of the electricity requirements of the country. Recently it began the construction of the largest coal-fired power station to be commissioned this year (1978). The technology for this expansion has come from U.S. monopoly sources. Moreover this expansion was enabled

by an agreement between ESCOM and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission for the purchase of enriched uranium for its nuclear power plant at Dupefontein. This contact, it was reported, was part of a U.S. effort to guarantee itself sources of uranium oxide necessary for U.S. nuclear plants. The enriched uranium supply from the U.S. to South Africa assures this racist regime the necessary military potential capability to suppress the national movement and to threaten the security of the surrounding African states. As a U.S. Congressman Les Aspin pointed out.

"With a plentiful supply of natural uranium and its separation plants, South Africa can produce all the weapons grade uranium it wants. This capability strengthens South Africa's position militarily, diplomatically, and economically. When the inevitable showdown comes in Southern Africa, Pretoria can threaten ultimate disaster unless it gets its way." (quoted in Seidman: p.93).

Another state-initiated corporation was the Industrial Corporation of South Africa Ltd., the overall government holding company, through which private finance capital finds its way in most manufacturing, and thus acts as a conduit for finance capital, particularly in the post W.W.II period. It controls the Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), and the South African Oil company (SASOL), as well as FOSKOR which produces phosphates. It also controls the Industrial Development Corporation which is involved in most diverse manufacturing. Despite some opposition to its establishment by some British competitors, the Industrial Corporation of South Africa soon acquired control of its major competitor Union Steel and a heavy engineering subsidiary Verence. Its recent developments include investments in fields of high technology, an expansion that would have been impossible without foreign capital. Today the state holds 57 per cent of its shares and 43 per cent belong to private capital which includes shares by the British Steel Corporation. In IPSA an ICSOR subsidiary British Steel owns 35 per cent and Anglo 15 per cent of its shares.

The most dynamic developments in South African manufacturing came after W.W.II. The new fields of investment that attracted foreign

capital included electrical equipment, chemicals, paper and pulp, autos and accessories, military hardware (including jets and missiles), computers, capital goods, etc. This has raised false hopes that with this export potential South Africa has become a sub-imperialist power. Actually this is no more than subsidiary investment of U.S., British, French and Germany monopolies. Under multilateral imperialism, direct investments in manufacturing became the only method of monopolistic competition in the open fields of neo-colonialism, and South Africa is no exception to this competition.

In terms of U.S. manufacturing investment, South Africa "outranks all the independent nations of Africa, despite their tremendous efforts to attract U.S. capital to build much needed factories" (Seidman). The two authors continue that "four out of five U.S. dollars invested in African manufacturing are in South Africa" (pp.95-96). There are many reasons for this development in U.S. interest in South Africa. Quite apart the attractions of cheap skilled and semi-skilled labour force, there is the added attraction of a large high income market of white South Africans. The wages in South Africa are a tenth of what they would be in the U.S. The U.S. monopolies also regard South Africa as more "stable" politically than most of Africa. Moreover South Africa is an important country strategically in the intra-imperialist rivalry, and in terms of its value to the "free world" in the defence of their global interests. South Africa ranks high just like Israel in the north of the continent. It is not therefore surprising that 90 per cent of U.S. profits in Africa come from South Africa and this is how U.S. imperialism values this link quite apart from its political benefits.

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

U.S. investments are to be found particularly in automobiles electric equipment, Date processing, rubber, agricultural machinery and equipment, mining machinery, chemicals, etc. In the automobile sector the U.S. is represented by the three giants of American finance capital. Together they produce over 50 per cent of all the motor vehicles sold in South Africa including cars, trucks, and tractors. These giants are Ge-

neral Motors (GM) with a labour force of about 5,000. The GM has very close links with finance houses in the U.S. including National Bank of Detroit, The First National Bank of Chicago, The Mellon Bank, the Morgan Guaranty Trust and Chase Manhattan. It has interlocking directorships in South Africa with Protector and Gamble, Eastman Kodak, Dupont, Pepsi Cola, U.S. Steel 3M, etc. The second motor monopoly Ford sells 15-20 per cent of all the cars in South Africa and employs a labour force of 4,000 workers. Chrysler the third car monopoly employs about 2,000 workers and produces about 25,000 vehicles in this market. Both Ford and Chrysler have also extensive financial links and interests through interlocking directorships in South Africa.

In the electrical equipment line the big names include General Electric (SAGE), described as "the biggest electric firm in the U.S." Its investments in South Africa are regarded as "British" because her operations and investments are undertaken by its British affiliate. In 1973 its sales totalled \$4.5 billion. Then we have Westinghouse with two subsidiaries and sales amounting to \$14 million worth of railway signalling equipment to the South African Railways & Harbours — a state monopoly. ITT has also extensive investments here. It has at least four subsidiaries. It has as one of its directors, Black, a former World Bank President, U.S. manufacturing investment in agricultural machinery are equally extensive. Here we have International Harvester, which produces \$35 million worth of equipment — motor trucks, farm-tractors, and implements and light equipment. We have not gone into U.S. vast investments in chemicals, rubber, mining machinery and data processing, all important sectors in the South African semi-colonial economy. But the information here is adequate to demonstrate U.S. hold over manufacturing in South Africa.

Yet despite all these vast investments this manufacturing is basically import substitution with the consequence that South Africa remains a semi-colonial economy exporting raw materials and semi-processed products to the imperialist centres. Its internal market, although no doubt larger than any in Africa, is too small in relation to the population as a whole. Its effort

to expand its exports are limited by its oppressive policies quite apart from the fact that the markets in the captive areas (LESOTHO, SWAZILAND, BOTSWANA, etc.,) are small and also contested by other monopolies of other countries.

It is not surprising therefore that the analysis of Bienefeld and Innes (RAPE No. 7) should reveal that South Africa's expansion "continues to be import dependent" while at the same time its export earnings continue to be limited by the fact that "her access to the export markets is still largely confined to a restricted range of primary commodities" (p.31). They come to this conclusion after analysing by SITC 5-8 classifications South Africa's exports. From this they conclude that her exports in manufactures were restricted to paper and board, glass and metal working machinery. Outside this "only the exports of diamonds, basic inorganic chemicals, unworked metals, and the least advanced iron and steel products **found access to major international markets** (p. 48 — emphasic added). They further conclude that all the other "more sophisticated manufactures were almost exclusively sold to very small markets, with only about 15 per cent of the total being sold in the world's major markets" (p. 48).

In short South Africa is basically a raw material producer with very limited markets in manufactures outside its borders. In this connection Ncube and Mlonyeni are right in contesting the "underconsumptionist" theory that South Africa's market is small because of ineffective demand and that this can be offset by selling to other underdeveloped areas (16). Although they do not raise the sub-imperialism issue, it is noteworthy to add that South Africa cannot have its own colonies in this area of intensified monopolistic competition in multilateral markets. Here only leadership in R & D of high technology assures a monopoly outside markets a leverage which South Africa does not have. South Africa's economy must therefore continue to be highly integrated in the international system of exploitation which it serves. It has to attract technology through joint ventures, licences and other means and as it does so it becomes an increasingly component part of the multilaterally structured monopoly firm.

DOMINATION OF IMPERIALIST FINANCE CAPITAL

But all these developments would have been impossible without the monopolistic control over banks and other financial institutions which imperialist finance has established in South Africa. In the Leninist sense the coalescence between industrial capital and banks is crucial to the monopolistic capitalist system on world scale. This phenomenon arose after 1890s and has today become the accepted fact of life for all production and marketing in the world. Monopoly control over industry is monopoly control over banks. Levinson in his book on multinationals points out that a German magazine *Der Spiegel* early in 1971 pointed out that private banks controlled and administered 70 per cent of all voting shares of German industry. He further noted that interlocking directorships and ownership in Italy between the big industrial monopolies like FIAT, Montedison, SNIA, ENI, IRI, etc., and Italian banks, made it almost impossible to differentiate between them in any meaningful way and that French companies, controlled by or associated with the bank Suez et Union Parisienne are legion. He also observed that 85 per cent of all Japanese overseas capital is loan capital guaranteed by the central banks. (18)

The picture in a much weaker country like South Africa cannot be any much different. Here the earlier merchant banks which established themselves in the field financing small diamond mining operations soon came under control of the more powerful British Commercial Banks. Since then, according to a study of the All Africa Conference of Churches entitled "Business as Usual", Banking in South Africa became a field very much dominated by British Banks:

"Banking in South Africa has traditionally been and still is dominated by British institutions. Over two-thirds of the commercial banks' assets, which totalled R4. 075.7m. at the end of 1973, were controlled by the two biggest banks. Both were subsidiaries of British companies and together they owned more than 70% of the banking outlets in South Africa". (19)

These two banks were the Standard Bank In-

vestment Corporation, owned by the Standard and Chartered Banking Group, and Barclays National, formerly Barclays Bank, DCO, owned by Barclays Bank International. With these developments the Church study was justified in concluding:

"In spite of the vigorous growth of indigenous (i.e., Boer-) banks, especially the merchant banks, and growing 'economic nationalism' of the state, the foreign banks, notably Barclays and Standard, have held their own". (p. 9)

With the rise of the era of multilateral imperialism and under conditions of monopolistic competition dictated by the transnational corporate strategy, U.S. banks also moved in mainly under the structure of multinational banking. Under this system two American banks have made their way into South Africa mining, manufacturing, and in the refining and distribution of oil. Most of the monopolies investing in South Africa are on the boards of these two largest banks.

In this way U.S. banking has rapidly become only second to that of the traditional British banking monopoly. This was accomplished mainly through the strengthening of the ties of U.S. banks with the two British banks already mentioned. The two U.S. banks are the Rockefeller banks — Chase Manhattan and First National City; and the Bank of America. The two Rockefeller banks control 15 per cent of the assets and deposits of all commercial banks in the U.S. itself. Outside the U.S. they have unrestricted freedom to engage in a wide range of activities prohibited by the anti-trust legislation at home. The Chase Manhattan opened office in South Africa in 1959. In 1965 it struck alliance with a local British Bank by buying 15 per cent interest in the Standard Bank of South Africa, and through this link had access to the 890 branches of this bank in the country. And through this link it took part in the sales of gold as broker through an agent in London.

The Chase Manhattan has total assets amounting to \$4 billion. Although in 1975, Chase was ordered by the U.S. Federal Trade Commission to divest itself of this 15 per cent link with Standard, it merely exchanged its shares for a 7 per cent holding in Midland Bank,

another British Bank also having operations in South Africa, as a member of the European consortium of banks, EBIC, which has an office in Johannesburg.

The First National City had also by 1973 acquired a 40 per cent share in the British National Grindlays Bank. The Chairman of Grindlays sits on the board of Citicorp, another First National subsidiary through which First National expands its investment activities overseas. The Chairman of First National is a director in General Electric which as we have seen has large investments in South African manufacturing. Its directors also sit on a number of boards of other corporations operating in South Africa. The other U.S. bank, the Bank of America, as is well known is the biggest bank in the U.S. and also therefore the biggest in the world. Its links with South Africa is through another British bank, Barclays which with four other European banks formed a consortium, SFE, to solve problems arising out of multinational investment. Through this consortium the Bank of America contributed \$40 million to South Africa, in 1967.

The other European monopolies are very active in South Africa through their own banks. In 1958 for instance the Deutsche Bank raised a 50m. DM loan for Anglo-American and a few months after Sharpeville the same bank led a number of European banks into a consortium to guarantee a 4m. pounds loan to the South African government. Japan whose citizens earned themselves the title of "honorary whites" because of their money operate their financial ties through British registered bank to avoid the direct link.

The World Bank on its part as a multilateral investment institution for the entire financial oligarchy of the world has sunk considerable investments in South Africa to sustain this fascist regime. Up to 1975 it had given eleven loans to it. In fifteen years between 1947 and 1962 the bank lent \$220m., mainly directed to infrastructures necessary for ensuring the general technical conditions of reproduction of finance capital in South Africa — mainly transport and electricity. In 1966 ESCOM again received \$120m., and South Africa's cumulative debt as of 1973 was reported to stand at \$242m.

Thus it is these banks and other financial and

industrial activities of the imperialist countries that constitutes what can be referred to as South Africa. Today Britain's investments stand at \$5 billion or 10 per cent of its (British) total investments. It controls over 50 per cent of the total overseas investments of South Africa. It has 400 companies and 1,000 subsidiaries operating here. Its trade turnover currently stands at \$2.7 billion (1977). The U.S. imperialists with \$1.7 billion investments rank second with 350 companies operating there. This constituted 17 per cent of all overseas investments in South Africa. It has 350 companies as a result. In terms of credits extended to South Africa the U.S. accounted for 32 per cent of all of the \$6.8 billion international credits. *Newsweek*, a U.S. magazine, quoted a former U.S. Secretary of State for African Affairs as stating that the main motivation that lures U.S. finance capital into South Africa is the high rate of return which he estimated at between 10 and 20 per cent. In fact the rate goes as high as 30 per cent and the secret to this quick return is of course the cheapness of the labour force. Thus contrary to the mystifications about the "hegemony" of the so-called national capital over finance capital South Africa has been and continues to be a semi-colonial enclave for the reproduction of imperialist finance capital, and has been under the control of British imperialism and now as we have seen is under U.S. led multilateral imperialism.

4. IMPERIALISM AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

Thus from the above it should not be difficult to characterise what type and form of state South Africa is. Engels talking of the state in **general** tells us that the state, **as a general rule**, is an instrument of class dictatorship by the economically dominant class, which **ipso-facto** also becomes the politically dominant class. Engels further tells us that the state is merely **an additional** weapon which the economically dominant class has at its disposal in subjugating and exploiting the producers. Thus the real power of a dominant class **to rule as a class** lies **primarily** in its control of the means of production, exchange and distribution. Marx and En-

gels further tell us that the executive of the modern state is nothing but a committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie. All this is general knowledge but it is not something to be brushed aside as "a generality" of no use in analysing a particular and concrete situation in a particular country. In fact it has been so argued in the case of South Africa. (20) In our view there cannot be a true understanding of the South Africa state outside this theoretical framework. It is the only scientific tool which alone can enable us to unfathom the reality in South Africa, in which the imperialist bourgeoisie and white bourgeoisie in South Africa stand out as the economically dominant class, whose interests the South African state serves.

Lenin's observations on the bourgeois state in the era of modern imperialism are also crucial to the understanding of the South African State. Developing further Marx and Engels' thesis that the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie, Lenin points out that imperialism and the domination of banks had "developed" into an exceptional art the methods of upholding and giving effect to the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all kinds these methods included the "alliance of the government and the stock exchange."

We have argued that the periodization of the state in South Africa must be based on a historical analysis of the development of capitalism in general. We have seen that the early Dutch merchantalist imperialism did not require a colonial state control of the territory beyond limited enclaves, which were needed for the supply of provisions to the merchant crew plying between Europe and the East Indies. With the establishment of British colonialism from 1806 onwards a new type of production implied a new type of state which helped implant a new type of production relations. Colonial laws of the new type of colony were passed e.g. abolition of slavery to consolidate this type of colonialism under free trade imperialism. As finance capital emerges in the 1890s and as the **whole world** was divided among the imperialist states, a consolidated colonial state with central authority over the whole colonial territory became necessary. The Boer War was part of this process of

consolidating the British colony in South Africa. The apparent concessions granted to the Boer generals after this war were not of fundamental significance since the racial ideology which they pursued was not uncharacteristic of British imperialism.

What must be the basis for judging the character of this colonialism? Clearly it is: who ultimately benefitted from this colonial arrangement? Can there be any doubt that despite the recognition of a measure of independence to the Boer bourgeoisie and despite their apparent contradictory interests with British colonialism, British imperialism was the beneficiary of the production activities supervised by the colonial state in South Africa? We have already demonstrated this fact in the last section and all we require to do here is to emphasize that whatever measures were undertaken by the state in South Africa — right up to the 1940s went to advance the interests of British finance capital in the main.

What were these activities of the colonial state? It is a well known fact that in order to facilitate the rule of the economically dominant class the state fulfils a number of functions to assist that end. These functions include (I) the provision of the **general technical conditions** of production to ensure uninterrupted production, (II) the provision of the **social conditions** of production in the form of health services, coercive activities (police, prisons, security etc.) all necessary to the interests of the dominant class, and (III) to advance the ideology of the economically dominant class through various institutions and media, aimed at ensuring that the exploited class accept the rule of the economically dominant class.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE BENEFITS IMPERIALISM

It is clear that the South African state carried out all these functions. In providing the technical conditions of production, the state built the railways, constructed the roads and the communication system — including the postal services, telecommunications etc. To enable the provision of these conditions the state bor-

rowed or raised taxes. It is not surprising that the state in South Africa imposed taxes on the mines in order to provide these services and to protect agriculture — all necessary to British imperialism

Moreover the state under these activities also provided scientific research in geology, soils, preserved forests and animal wealth, all necessary for the reproduction of finance capital. The provision of the repressive mechanisms are nowhere in doubt — the repressive laws and the provision of the coercive arms of the state to ensure their observance were also only possible from state capital which formed part and parcel of finance capital. The ideological apparatuses of the ruling class including the activities of the labour and political aristocracy were also assisted by the state. The white trade unions leaders — and to some extent the black ones, the political parties, the churches, all acted as instrumentalities in this process.

It is therefore not surprising that the white working class would be confused **ideologically** in the face of this strong ideological offensive. Can anybody doubt that all these activities of the state only went towards consolidating the iron heel of British finance capital and imperialism over the exploited and oppressed people of South Africa? Can there be any doubt that the State in South Africa all the time despite class contradictions within the dominant class itself, has been a state for the fulfilment of imperialist interests? Lenin scientifically observed in **State and Revolution** that:

“Bourgeois states are most varied in form, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the **dictatorship** of the bourgeoisie.” 21

What was the character of state that we had and continue to have in South Africa? This question is a crucial question, and has implications for our understanding of the **national question** in South Africa, and we must analyse it immediately.

IMPERIALISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

We can identify within the capitalist state the

republic and monarchy as **forms** of state. But within these forms we have sub-forms. It is for this reason that within the imperialist republic/monarchy, which extends its rule over other countries you have within this imperialist nexus colonial, semi-colonial and neo-colonial states quite a part from independent sovereign states which are enmeshed in this imperialist net of domination. For this reason it becomes necessary to characterise the form of state we have in a specific situation. Here we are not talking about the Poulantzasite "form of state within the power block", by which we are made to understand which faction of the dominant class is in control of the organisation of state. For purposes of analysis of the South African State this method is not very helpful from the point of view of understanding of the national question.

We don't intend to go into the issue of the national question too deeply for this is covered by comrade Omwony — Ojwoks paper. 22 Our aim here is to sketch and characterise the form of state we have in South Africa and its implications for the resolution of the national question. We have already noted that British imperialism established a colonial state in South Africa from 1806 to 1910. The issue to determine here is whether there was a transformation in the character of the state in 1910 in **terms of the national question**. There is no doubt that in pure legal terms and bourgeois constitutional terms there was a transformation to independence in South Africa particularly with the **Statute of Westminster** of 1934. But we cannot restrict our understanding of this question to a purely legal and constitutionalist approach. This is crucial for as we shall soon see the Communist Party Programme of 1962, the ANC resolution of 1973 and the PAC programme postulate different positions on this question.

The national question is expressed in the demand of peoples to their right to self-determination. This demand is not specific to the colonies. Lenin points out that the right of peoples to self-determination arose with the development of capitalism, and applied to three types of countries. First the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and the USA where the national question was a thing of the past. These

countries now had become oppressor nations in the colonies and at home. Secondly in Eastern Europe where the national movement arose in the twentieth century. Thirdly, the semi-colonies, China, Turkey and Persia an **all the colonies** where the national movement had hardly begun and was a thing of future. Here the right of peoples to self-determination implied a demand by the people for the **unconditional and immediate liberation** of their countries without compensation, which signified the right of nations to self-determination.

But what was a right of Peoples to self-determination? For Lenin it implied the **right to national independence in the political sense**, the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation. It is not a demand for separation, fragmentation and the formation of small states. It implies only consistent struggle against national oppression. 23 More specifically Lenin pointed out that it implies a **dual transformation**, namely the **right to secede** — a right which applies to the question of fixing state boundaries separating the oppressor nation from the oppressed nation; and the **recognition of equality of nations** — which meant that the oppressor nation recognised that the separate oppressed nation is politically independent and equal to it internationally **All this is purely in the political sphere**.

The crucial question therefore in terms of the national question — that is to say the right of the South African **people's** entitlement to self-determination — is whether this dual transformation took place in 1910? The answer is clearly no. What then took place? There is no doubt that all that took place was that the oppressor nation Britain saw that the best way in which to continue the oppression of the South African people was through a Union — i.e. a Union between the different parts of South Africa and a Union with Britain through a **dominion link**. It was an imperialist "federation".

To be sure the whole imperialist state policy of Britain was quite explicit in this period. Hobson in his book records Chamberlains's remarks during the debate on Gladstone's "Home Rule" Bill in 1866 (i.e. of Ireland) as follows:

"I should look for the solution in the **principle of federation**. My right honourable friend

has looked for his model to the relations between this country and her self-governing and practically independent colonies. But federation is better, for then Ireland would remain an integral part of Great Britain, whereas with self-governing colonies the connection is only a moral one. At the present time the development of democracy is towards federation, union, **and not separation.**"(24)

Later Chamberlain points out that "imperial federation" is "advantageous to Great Britain and disadvantageous to the colonies." Later Chamberlain became colonial Secretary and implemented this grand design. In his notebook "NU" on imperialism Lenin summarises a book by a certain Wirth on the History of the Modern World in which the Author stated:

"Today the emergence of an Australian Commonwealth is regarded in Britain (as) a triumph for colonial policy, and Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, is praised to the skies as the enlarger and strengthener of the Empire! Nothing has contributed to this than Britain's experience in South African war. Instead of utilising Britains difficulties in their own interests, instead of seeking to loosen their ties with Britain, as pessimists had predicted, all the colonies without exception most warmly supported Great Britain's struggle — Britain's swift approval of the Union concluded between them is recognition of their patriotism and testifies to the mother country's faith in their loyalty." (25)

Lenin adds a **nota bene** to the above: "a union of the privileged of participants in monopoly, in Australia — the monopoly owners of a vast territory — for jointly plundering the 'yellows' and 'blacks', etc." The recognition of a "Union" with South Africa also implied the creation of a union of the privileged — whether Boer, Anglo-Saxon or whatever — to exploit the blacks in South Africa and the local white bourgeoisie in South Africa continued to value the Union with Britain — in the "Commonwealth of Nations" until she was forced out by democratic forces sympathetic to the national movement in South Africa as part of their struggle in 1962.

Thus in political terms the national question in South Africa remained unresolved to the ex-

tent that **the entire people** of South Africa at no time exercised their right to self-determination. Was South Africa therefore a colony?

We would say it remained in the nature of a colony, and for want of a better category it became a semi-colony of a special type to be distinguished from China, Turkey and Persia. It was not a colony because Britain no longer exercised **direct** political control through a colonial state. Nor did it become a neo-colony, for neo-colonialism implies a **partial resolution of the national question** and is on the whole associated with politically independent African, Asian and Latin American countries — particularly after 1946. Nor is it an independent republic for to say so is to concede that the national question was resolved in South Africa.

The SACP position in its 1962 programme postulates a dualism on this essential issue. South Africa is divided into two parts: "On one level, that of white South Africa, (where) there are the features of an advanced capitalist state in the final stage of imperialism". Here the programme continues that there are "highly developed industrial monopolies and the merging of industrial and financial capital The South African monopoly capitalists, who are closely linked with British, United States and other foreign imperialist interests, export capital abroad especially in Africa." In this synthesis South Africa **itself** is seen as an imperialist country. "On another level, the Programme sees a "non-white South Africa" where there are features of a colony. "The indigenous population is subjected to extreme national oppression, poverty and exploitation, lack of democratic rights and political domination by a group which does everything it can emphasize and perpetuate its alien 'European' character."

This is the same thesis that the ANC postulates in its "Strategy and Tactics" adopted in Morogoro in 1973. This position is brought out more clearly in an ANC paper written for the 1975 Seminar held at the University of Dar es Salaam on Jan. 17-19, 1975 on Imperialism and Revolution in Southern Africa in the following passage:

South Africa is in fact, by all constitutional standards an independent state and not a colony as some people would like us be-

lieve. What makes it different from the rest of free nations in Africa is that the immense majority of the masses of our people are deliberately excluded from participating in all organs of state power, as a result they neither enjoy independence nor freedom. From the very beginning, power was transferred by British imperialism into the hands of a handful of racists and not into the hands of the masses of the people of South Africa. So that the conceding of independence to South Africa cannot be considered in terms of victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism like in the rest of the countries of Africa which won their independence from other colonial masters. South Africa's independence was certainly designed to serve imperialist interests like it is doing today. As far as the oppressed people are concerned the exercise by Britain to concede independence to South Africa was one of the many ways of perpetuating and reinforcing all the evils of colonialism. The granting of independence to South Africa was a temporary loss to the forces which are for popular change, a type of colonialism was developed with the full backing of British imperialism. In this new type of colonialism, the oppressing white nation occupies the same territory with the oppressed. This unique combination of the worst features of imperialism and colonialism, within a single national frontier, is exactly what the people of South Africa are fighting against and not the psycholocal effects of race prejudice . . . As it is, there are two South Africas in one. There is one South Africa with all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stages of imperialism and another one with all the features of a real colony. The former is earmarked for whites only whilst the latter, which is characterised by extreme national oppression, poverty exploitation and lack of democratic rights for the overwhelming majority of our people is reserved for Africans. (pp 5-6).

This thesis which establish a dualism in the South African situation is strategically wrong. As the SACP programme reveals it is based on a formalistic understanding of Lenin on imperia-

lism and the national question. In reality there is no real separation between the white and black economies. South Africa is an integrated economy based on national oppression. Moreover it is wrong to see South Africa as having its own imperialism. The emperical evidence we adduce in section three suggests that imperialist control of South Africa cannot be limited to a mere formal "link" with British and U.S. finance capital. There can be no doubt that this link is a dialectical one historically determined. South Africa is a semi-colonial situation of a special type not because there is an internal colonialism, but because South Africa is dominated by imperialist finance capital. Imperialism is a world system which is dialectically interlinked and South Africa is a dominated formation within this global imperialism.

PAC's position is also formalistic. Its position that South Africa is still a colony is equally based on legal arguments. In its paper to the same seminar it stated:

"South Africa is a unique form of colonialism. Here we have a small settler minority maintaining a ruthless dictatorship over the indigeneous people through military force, this same settler minority is at the same time the custodians of the interests of monopoly capitalism." (p. 2).

Yet it too reverts to the dual position of ANC and SACP when in its new programme entitled **The New Road** it states:

"The South African Act of 1909 of the British Parliament gave rise to the founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910. British colonialism thus handed all power over to the white settlers without reference to, or consultation with the majority of African population. As a result, the status of the new South African state became one of dual nature consisting of a white European power ruling over an internal colonial empire and an 'non-white' subject population. This is the colonial crime of **white domination**". (26)

These positions in our view spring from a one-sided understanding of imperialism. Seen as a system as a whole there can be no doubt that South Africa is a semi-colonial enclave for the export of capital by the Western imperialist monopolies which gives rise to the exploitation of

the working people of South Africa and national oppression of the entire people of South Africa.

It is with this wholistic understanding of the contradiction that we say that the 1928 position of the Communist International adopted at the sixth World Congress was correct in recognising the fact that imperialist domination in South Africa had made it impossible for a resolution of the national question, and it was for this reason that the congress called for a Native Republic of South Africa with a right of separation from British imperialism. It stated:

"The actual significance of the colonies and semi-colonies, as factors of crisis in the imperialist world system, has vastly increased — the vast colonial and semi-colonial world has become an unquenchable blazing furnace of the revolutionary mass movement . . ."

In the resolution on South Africa the Congress pointed out that "the negro masses" who constituted a majority of the population were being expropriated of their land by the white colonialists and the state. Deprived of the political rights and the right to freedom of movement, they were subjected to most brutal forms of racial and class oppression.

"The Party (i.e. SACP) must determinedly and consistently put forward the slogan for the creation of an independent native republic, with simultaneous guarantees for the right of the white minority, and struggle in **deeds** for its realisation."

Another Special Resolution on South Africa stated: "The party must orientate itself chiefly upon the native toiling masses while continuing to work actively among the white workers . . . Hence the national question in South Africa, which is based on the agrarian question, lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa. The black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with an under the leadership of the working class. . . . Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon trade unions, peasant organisations etc. developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organisation."

Although these resolutions were formally accepted (because the majority of SACP central Committee had opposed them in Moscow at the Congress) dissension nevertheless continued in the party. This dissension was well expressed by Roux a leading communist in South Africa when he stated that the Native Republic resolution was imposed on the Party "from outside by a Comintern concerned more with the furtherance of its own interests and those of its biggest constituent element the Russian CP than with the interests of the South African people." 27 Although he resigned from the Party his legacy of the theory of South Africa as a "miniature edition of the British Empire" with a white bourgeoisie living in the same country with an exploited peasantry, continued to haunt the Party.

It is with this historical background in mind that the internal colonialism theory takes on perspective and in our view has serious implications for the Native Republic resolution. It is this confusion in the Party that has influenced the national movements. From this dualistic position it is not possible to know whether this approach acknowledges the two-stage revolutionary strategy as implied in the Comintern resolution or a "One Stroke" solution. It is important this confusion be straightened out. The monist view of the Comintern which sees imperialism on world scale as the fundamental contradiction is the only correct path to revolution in S.A. We conclude with the comintern:

"The Communist Party **must understand the revolutionary importance of the national and agrarian questions.** Only by a correct understanding of the importance of the national question in South Africa will the Communist Party be able to combat effectively the efforts of the bourgeoisie **to divide the white and the black workers** by playing on race chauvinism, and to transform the embryonic nationalist movement into a revolutionary struggle against the white bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists . . . **It must explain to the native masses that the black and white workers are not only allies, but are the leaders of the revolutionary struggle of the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism. A correct formulation of this task and intensive propa-**

gation of the chief slogan of a native republic will result not in the alienation of the white workers from the Communist Party nor in segregation of the natives, but, on the contrary, in the building of a solid united front of all toilers against capitalism and imperialism." (Emphasis Added).

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Marx: *Capital*, Vols. I, II, III, Progress Publishers, Moscow.
 (2) Lenin: *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Progress Publishers, 1970.
 (3) Ibid.: p.61.
 (4) Marx: *Capital*, Vol. III, p.195.
 (5) N. Poulantzas: *Fascism and Dictatorship*, NLB, 1970, pp.17-19; 36-52 et el.
 (6) N. Poulantzas: *Political Power and Social Classes*, NLB, 1973, p.161, pp.166-167.
 (7) Ibid.: pp.161, 166-167.
 (8) N. Poulantzas: *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*, NLB, 1975.
 (9) The four authors are: Robert Davies, David Kaplan, Mike Morris, Dan O'Meara.
 (10) Caincross, A.K.: *Home & Foreign Investment 1870-1913*, Cambridge, 1953.

- (11) Ibid.: p.184.
 (12) Ibid.: p.233.
 (13) Ann & Neva Seidman: *U.S. Multinationals in South Africa*, 1977, TPH, Dar es Salaam, from which most of the material that follows is borrowed.
 (14) Ibid: p.14.
 (15) Quoted in Seidman, op. cit., p.93.
 (16) Ibid: p.95-96.
 (17) R. D. Ncube & M. Mlonyeni: *The structure of the South African Economy and its military implications*, Mime 1977.
 (18) Levinson C: *Capital, Inflation and the Multinationals*; George Allen & Unwin, 1971.
 (19) *Business as Usual: Banking in South Africa*.
 (20) This was the position taken by Wolpe, a prominent member of the ANC and no doubt an outstanding theoretician in the South African context, at a series of Seminars at the Faculty of Law, University of Dar es Salaam in November 1977.
 (21) Lenin: *State and Revolution*, Selected Works vol. 2, p.311.
 (22) Omwony-Ojwok: *The National Question in South Africa*.
 (23) Lenin: *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, Collected Works, Vol. 22, pp.150-151.
 (24) Hobson J.A.: *Imperialism*, p.350.
 (25) Quoted in Lenin's: *Note Books on Imperialism*, Collected Works, Vol. 39, p.522.
 (26) P.A.C.: *The New Road to Revolution*, 1975, p.121.
 (27) B. Bunting: *Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary*, 1975, p.39.

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A REPLY TO DR. DADOO THROUGH STEVE BIKO

In a recent issue of the garbage of the South African "Communist" Party called the "African Communist", Dr. Dadoo, an old time hack of the Party and its Chairman, called for vigilance against "black chauvinism". This of course is the old line of the SACP — it struggles equally against an alleged Black racialism as against white racialism.

But does Black racialism exist in Azania. Definitely no. For racialism to exist it must have a material base and there is no material base for Black racialism. The material base of white racialism, with which the entire white population is heavily infected is class exploitation based on the super exploitation of the Black peoples. What the SACP hacks call Black racialism is nothing more than a response to the brutalities of white racialism. It takes the form of "Black Consciousness", "Black Power", "Black Nationalism", "African Nationalism", etc. and it is a good thing. It certainly is much better than allowing the white man to shit and piss all over us. It is a positive response to white nationalism and its attempts to destroy the psyche of the Black man.

The Azanian revolution has suffered heavily from the arrogance of white "progressives" who in one way or another hold back our struggle, the obvious old style liberalism having failed, it is now garbed in Marxism. For this reason white "progressives" are not welcomed in the Black liberation movements. They can give little material support in anycase since they do not represent any social base. They can of course work amongst their own people, and change their attitudes and habits — and that would be some contribution to the struggle of the Black people. But this would be like bashing their heads against a wall.

Because they have no social base they can only attach themselves to this or that person or section of the movement that they must flatter and write eulogies about and engage in all sorts of manoeuvres in order to consolidate their own positions in the Black movement. Thus as in the case of the white communists of the SACP they create deliberate divisions in our movements in order to serve their own interests. A look at the role of white "progressives" reveals that they have not yet abandoned this role or undertaken some serious self-criticism. Unfortunatly fools like Dr. Dadoo are still to be found who allow themselves to be manipulated to the detriment of the Black liberation struggle.

The Black Consciousness Movement was able to see this problem in its proper light and unlike the old guard leadership of the Azanian liberation movement it spoke on this problem with a forthrightness. One of its leading spokesmen. Steve Biko, articulates this problem in the following article.

Biko would be interested to learn what his self-elected biographer, Donald Woods has been up to in his name, charging as much as 10,000 dollars for a speech about him. Little wonder that the Australian solidarity movement had his meetings cancelled.

BLACK SOULS IN WHITE SKINS?

Basically the South African white community is a homogeneous community. It is a community of people who sit to enjoy a privileged position that they do not deserve, are aware of this, and therefore spend their time trying to justify why they are doing so. Where differences in political opinion exist, they are in the process of trying to justify their position of privilege and their usurpation of power.

With their theory of "seperate freedoms for

the various nations in the multinational state of South Africa" the Nationalists have gone a long way towards giving most of white South Africa some sort of moral explanation for what is happening. Everyone is quite content to point out that these people — meaning the blacks — will be free when they are ready to run their own affairs in their own areas. What more could they possibly hope for?

But these are not the people we are concerned with. We are concerned with that curious bunch of nonconformists who explain their par-

participation in negative terms: that bunch of do-gooders that goes under all sorts of names — liberals, leftists etc. These are the people who argue that they are not responsible for white racism and the country's "inhumanity to the black man". These are the people who claim that they too feel the oppression just as acutely as the blacks and therefore should be jointly involved in the black man's struggle for a place under the sun. In short, these are the people who say that they have black souls wrapped up in white skins.

The role of the white liberal in the black man's history in South Africa is a curious one. Very few black organisations were not under white direction. True to their image, the white liberals always knew what was good for the blacks and told them so. The wonder of it all is that the black people have believed in them for so long. It was only at the end of the 50s that the blacks started demanding to be their own guardians.

Nowhere is the arrogance of the liberal ideology demonstrated so well as in their insistence that the problems of the country can only be solved by a bilateral approach involving both black and white. This has, by and large, come to be taken in all seriousness as the *modus operandi* in South Africa by all those who claim they would like a change in the *status quo*. Hence the multiracial political organisations and parties and the "nonracial" student organisations, all of which insist on integration not only as an end goal but also as a means.

The integration they talk about is first of all artificial in that it is a response to conscious manoeuvre rather than to the dictates of the inner soul. In other words the people forming the integrated complex have been extracted from various segregated societies with their inbuilt complexes of superiority and inferiority and these continue to manifest themselves even in the "nonracial" set-up of the integrated complex. As a result the integration so achieved is a one-way course, with the whites doing all the talking and the blacks the listening. Let me hasten to say that I am not claiming that segregation is necessarily the natural order; however, given the facts of the situation where a group experiences privilege at the expense of others, then it becomes obvious that a hastily arranged

integration cannot be the solution to the problem. It is rather like expecting the slave to work together with the slave-master's son to remove all the conditions leading to the former's enslavement.

Secondly, this type of integration as a means is almost always unproductive. The participants waste lots of time in an internal sort of mud-slinging designed to prove that A is more of a liberal than B. In other words the lack of common ground for solid identification is all the time manifested in internal strifes inside the group.

It will not sound anachronistic to anybody genuinely interested in real integration to learn that blacks are asserting themselves in a society where they are being treated as perpetual under-16s. One does not need to plan for or actively encourage real integration. Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful integration. At the heart of true integration is the provision for each man, each group to rise and attain the envisioned self. Each group must be able to attain its style of existence without encroaching on or being thwarted by another. Out of this mutual respect for each other and complete freedom of self-determination there will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups. This is true integration.

From this it becomes clear that as long as blacks are suffering from inferiority complex — a result of 300 years of deliberate oppression, denigration and derision — they will be useless as co-architects of a normal society where man is nothing else but man for his own sake. Hence what is necessary as a prelude to anything else that may come is a very strong grass-roots build-up of black consciousness such that blacks can learn to assert themselves and stake their rightful claim.

Thus in adopting the line of a nonracial approach, the liberals are playing their old game. They are claiming a "monopoly on intelligence and moral judgement" and setting the pattern and pace for the realisation of the black man's aspirations. They want to remain in good books with both the black and white worlds. They want to shy away from all forms of "extremisms",

condemning "white supremacy" as being just as bad as "Black Power!". They vacillate between the two worlds, verbalising all the complaints of the blacks beautifully while skilfully extracting what suits them from the exclusive pool of white privileges. But ask them for a moment to give a concrete meaningful programme that they intend adopting, then you will see on whose side they really are. Their protests are directed at and appeal to white conscience, everything they do is directed at finally convincing the white electorate that the black man is also a man and that at some future date he should be given a place at the white man's table.

The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked and killed because it makes people believe that something is being done when in actual fact the artificial integrated circles are a soporific on the blacks and provide a vague satisfaction for the guilty-stricken whites. It works on a false premise that because it is difficult to bring people from different races together in this country, therefore achievement of this is in itself a step forward towards the total liberation of the blacks. Nothing could be more irrelevant and therefore misleading. Those who believe in it are living in a fool's paradise.

First the black-white circles are almost always a creation of white liberals. As a testimony to their claim of complete identification with the blacks, they call a few "intelligent and articulate" blacks to "come around for tea at home", where all present ask each other the same old hackneyed question "how can we bring about change in South Africa?" The more such tea-parties one calls the more of a liberal he is and the freer he shall feel from the guilt that harnesses and binds his conscience. Hence he moves around his white circles — whites-only hotels, beaches, restaurants and cinemas — with a lighter load, feeling that he is not like the rest of the others. Yet at the back of his mind is a constant reminder that he is quite comfortable as things stand and therefore should not bother about change. Although he does not vote for the Nats (now that they are in the majority anyway), he feels quite secure under the protection offered by the Nats and subconsciously shuns the idea of a change. This is what demarcates the li-

beral from the black world. The liberals view the oppression of blacks as a problem that has to be solved, an eye sore spoiling an otherwise beautiful view. From time to time the liberals make themselves forget about the problem or take their eyes off the eyesore. On the other hand, in oppression the blacks are experiencing a situation from which they are unable to escape at any given moment. Theirs is a struggle to get out of the situation and not merely to solve a peripheral problem as in the case of the liberals. This is why blacks speak with a greater sense of urgency than whites.

A game at which the liberals have become masters is that of deliberate evasiveness. The question often comes up "what can I do?". If you ask him to do something like stopping to use segregated facilities or dropping out of varsity to work at menial jobs like all blacks or defying and denouncing all provisions that make him privileged, you always get the answer — "but that's unrealistic!". While this may be true, it only serves to illustrate the fact that no matter what a white man does, the colour of his skin — his passport to privilege — will always put him miles ahead of the black man. Thus in the ultimate analysis no white person can escape being part of the oppressor camp.

"There exists among men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world, and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant".

This description of "metaphysical guilt" explains adequately that white racism "is only possible because whites are indifferent to suffering and patient with cruelty" meted out to the black man. Instead of involving themselves in an all-out attempt to stamp out racism from their white society, liberals waste lots of time trying to prove to as many blacks as they can find that they are liberal. This arises out of the false belief that we are faced with a black problem. There is nothing the matter with blacks. The problem is WHITE RACISM and it rests squarely on the laps of the white society. The sooner the liberals realise this the better for us blacks. Their presence amongst us is irksome and of nuisance value. It removes the focus of

attention from essentials and shifts it to ill-defined philosophical concepts that are both irrelevant to the black man and merely a red herring across the track. White liberals must leave blacks to take care of their own business while they concern themselves with the real evil in our society — white racism.

Secondly, the black-white mixed circles are static circles with neither direction nor programme. The same questions are asked and the same naiveté exhibited in answering them. The real concern of the group is to keep the group going rather than being useful. In this sort of set-up one sees a perfect example of what oppression has done to the blacks. They have been made to feel inferior for so long that for them it is comforting to drink tea, wine or beer with whites who seem to treat them as equals. This serves to boost up their own ego to the extent of making them feel slightly superior to those blacks who do not get similiar treatment from whites. These are the sort of blacks who are a danger to the community.

Instead of directing themselves at their black brothers and looking at their common problems from a common platform they choose to sing out their lamentations to an apparently sympathetic audience that has become proficient in saying the chorus of "shame!". These dull-witted, self-centred blacks are in the ultimate analysis as guilty of the arrest of progress as their white friends for it is from such groups that the theory of gradualism emanates and this is what keeps the blacks confused and always hoping that one day God will step down from heaven to solve their problems. It is people from such groups who keep on scanning the papers daily to detect any sign of the change they patiently await without working for. When Helen Suzman's majority is increased by a couple of thousands, this is regarded as a major milestone in the "inevitable change". Nobody looks at the other side of the coin — the large-scale removals of Africans from the urban areas or the impending zoning of places like Grey Street in Durban and a myriad of other manifestations of change for the worse.

Does this mean that I am against integration? If by integration you understand a breakthrough into white society by blacks, an assimilation

and acceptance of blacks into an already established set of norms and code of behaviour set up by and maintained by whites, then YES I am against it. I am against the superior-inferior white-black stratification that makes the white a perpetual teacher and the black a perpetual pupil (and a poor one at that). I am against the intellectual arrogance of white people that makes them believe that white leadership is a *sine qua non* in this country and that whites are the divinely appointed pace-setters in progress. I am against the fact that a settler minority should impose an entire system of values on an indigenous people.

If on the other hand by integration you mean there shall be free participation by all members of a society, catering for the full expression of the self in a freely changing society as determined by the will of the people, then I am with you. For one cannot escape the fact that the culture shared by the majority group in any given society must ultimately determine the broad direction taken by the joint culture of that society. This need not cramp the style of those who feel differently but on the whole, a country in Africa, in which the majority of the people are African must inevitably exhibit African values and be truly African in style.

What of the claim that the blacks are becoming racists? This is a favourite pastime of frustrated liberals who feel their trusteeship ground being washed off from under their feet. These self-appointed trustees of black interests boast of years of experience in their fight for the 'rights of the blacks'. They have been doing things for blacks, on behalf of blacks, and because of blacks. When the blacks announce that the time has come for them to do things for themselves and all by themselves all white liberals shout blue murder!

"Hey, you can't do that. You're being a racist. You're falling into their trap."

Apparently it's alright with the liberals as long as you remain caught by *their* trap.

Those who know, define racism as discrimination by a group against another for the purposes of subjugation or maintaining subjugation. In other words one cannot be a racist unless he has the power to subjugate. What blacks are doing is merely to respond to a situation in

which they find themselves the objects of white racism. We are in the position in which we are because of our skin. We are collectively segregated against — what can be more logical than for us to respond as a group? When workers come together under the auspices of a trade union to strive for the betterment of their conditions, nobody expresses surprise in the Western world. It is the done thing. Nobody accuses them of separatist tendencies. Teachers fight their battles, garbage men do the same, nobody acts as a trustee for another. Somehow, however, when blacks want to do their thing the liberal establishment seems to detect an anomaly. This is in fact a counter-anomaly. The anomaly was there in the first instance when the liberals were presumptuous enough to think that it behoved them to fight the battle *for* the blacks.

The liberal must understand that the days of the Noble Savage are gone; that the blacks do not need a go-between in this struggle for their own emancipation. No true liberal should feel

any resentment at the growth of black consciousness. Rather, all true liberals should realise that the place for their fight for justice is within their white society. The liberals must realise that they themselves are oppressed if they are true liberals and therefore they must fight for their own freedom and not that of the nebulous "they" with whom they can hardly claim identification. The liberal must apply himself with absolute dedication to the idea of educating his white brothers that the history of the country may have to be rewritten at some stage and that we may live in "a country where colour will not serve to put a man in a box". The blacks have heard enough of this. In other words, the liberal must serve as a lubricating material so that as we change the gears in trying to find a better direction for South Africa, there should be no grinding noises of metal against metal but a free and easy flowing movement which will be characteristic of a well-looked-after vehicle.

INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM

This abridged article on the relationship between nationalism and the current struggles in the Third World was sent to us. It was evidently published by the Foreign Languages Press in Peking in 1951, at the time when U.S. Imperialism was at its height and the main enemy of the peoples of the world, a situation that has gone a drastic change today with the emergence of the Soviet Union as a social-imperialist superpower. The question of nationalism has always tended to confuse Third World revolutionaries and it was written to clear up a similar confusion in the Chinese Communist Party.

In our own situation because of the hostility of the white-led South African Communist Party to African nationalism considerable confusion has been created on this question. Little wonder that the A.N.C. (African Nationalists) have defiantly called themselves so. This article has particular merits as it looks at the question of nationalism from the point of view of the national question and the proletarian revolution, and thus puts it in context of a correct Marxist-Leninist position.

Nationalism in the colonies and neo-colonies has a pro-people's aspect and an anti-people's aspect. When it is linked to the genuine feelings and sentiments of the popular masses it is a mighty progressive force and must be utilised from the point of view of the national question.

What, then, is bourgeois nationalism? What is the relation between Marxism-Leninism and the national question? The purpose of this article is to answer these questions.

The purpose of this article is to answer these questions. In order to clarify these questions, it will be necessary to deal with some of the basic problems of the present-day world situation.

1. THE BOURGEOIS-NATIONALIST CONCEPT OF THE NATION

The national question is closely linked with the question of classes and the national struggle is linked with the class struggle. "In different periods," Comrade Stalin has stated, "different classes appear on the arena of struggle

and each class has its own conception of the national question." For this reason, "the national question in different periods serves different interests, and assumes different aspects, depending upon which class poses this question and in what period."

So, in order to understand bourgeois nationalism, we must first understand the bourgeoisie as a class. The bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation — the bourgeois approach to the nation — and its programme and policy in dealing with the national question, are based upon the class foundation of the bourgeoisie and flows from its narrow class interests.

It is common knowledge that the class interests of the bourgeoisie are built on the foundation of capitalist exploitation. It seeks profits and more profits and still more profits.

The bourgeois class itself is divided into several different strata, and each of those into several groups. In their pursuit of profits, the capitalists not only unscrupulously exploit the proletariat; even within their own class the capitalists do not scruple to swallow up their rivals in the process of cut-throat competition — the big fish swallows the little fish, the big bourgeoisie swallows the petty and middle bourgeoisie, one group squeezes out and swallows another group.

The bourgeoisie strives to possess the means of production and the market of its own country. And since its greed for profits knows no limits, the bourgeoisie strives to expand beyond its own country, to seize foreign markets, sources of raw materials and areas for capital investment, thus subjugating other nations and exploiting them. At the same time it squeezes out the bourgeoisie or rival capitalists of other countries.

Conforming to this class basis, the bourgeois-nationalist programme and policy concerning the national question are as follows:

At home, the bourgeoisie subordinates the interests of the nation as a whole to its own class interests. It places its class interests or the interests of a certain top stratum of society above the interests of the whole people. Moreover, it tries to monopolize the concept of the nation, posing as the spokesman of the nation and the defender of national interest in order to deceive

the people. Abroad, at the same time, it counterposes the interests of its own nation (in essence of its bourgeois top stratum) to the interests of other nations. The bourgeoisie strives to place its own nation above other nations and, whenever possible, to oppress and exploit other nations, completely disregarding their interests. It uses part of the loot gathered abroad to buy off certain groups of the population within its country in order to weaken and split the resistance of the people in its homeland.

The most vicious manifestations of the development of bourgeois nationalism include the enslavement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries by the imperialist powers, the First World War, the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese warlords during the Second World War, and the schemes for the enslavement of the whole world undertaken by the international imperialist camp, headed by American imperialism.

When a given nation is held in subjugation by another nation or when oppressed by the feudalism of its own country, the bourgeoisie, because of the threat to its interests by such subjugation or oppression, may join with the people under certain conditions in conducting a struggle to a certain extent against such subjugation or oppression.

Instances of this are, the American bourgeoisie in the War for Independence and in the American civil war; the French bourgeoisie at the time of the French Revolution; the Italian bourgeoisie during the movement for the unification of Italy. At the present time the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are also taking part in national revolutions. **But as soon as the bourgeoisie of any nation obtains power and becomes capable of subjugating other nations, it immediately makes a volte-face and begins to oppress them.** This was the case with the nationalist movements of the bourgeoisie in Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, etc. In these cases, the bourgeoisie, upon gaining power, changed its position, and began oppressing other nations and sacrificing the interests of those nations.

When capitalism reaches the stage of imperialism, the ruling group in the capitalist countries becomes numerically smaller and smaller.

The extremely small clique of big bankers, financial magnates and autocrats on the one hand turns its own country into a financial empire, cruelly exploiting and oppressing the people, and on the other hand, it conquers other nations one by one, converting them into colonies and dependencies of a few financial empires and resorting to the most brutal means of exploitation and oppression. The more wealth the predatory bourgeoisie ammasses, the greater becomes its greed and ambition to absorb and seize new wealth, and the more it intensifies its oppression of the people within its own country and steps up its aggression against other nations. Such domestic oppression and foreign aggression will be all the more carried out under the cloak of nationalism, which even arbitrarily boasts of its own nation as a "superior race" endowed with the right to dominate other nations and to suppress the "inferior races".

When several imperialist powers seek to plunder the weaker nations of the world, the result is an imperialist world war for the redistribution of colonies. **And this crime, the most monstrous in world history, is committed by the bourgeoisie under the banner of "nationalism."**

As we have shown, bourgeois-nationalists in different countries, upon gaining power, do not hesitate to pursue a policy of aggression against other nations. But under certain conditions, they will sell out their own nation, help the imperialists and rulers of other nations to oppress the people of their own country and sacrifice their own people for the sake of safeguarding their possessions and preserving their political power. Such may be the case when their own nation is suppressed by the mighty pressure of foreign imperialism or when the class interests of the bourgeoisie or of a certain upper stratum of the bourgeoisie come into sharp conflict with the basic interests of the people of its own country, or when the people rise in defence of their interests and threaten the power of the bourgeoisie, or when the bourgeoisie is intimidated or bribed by rulers of other nations or foreign imperialists.

A well-known historical instance of this kind is the case of the representative of the French bourgeoisie, Thiers, who betrayed France to Germany at the time of the Paris Commune.

More recent examples are the betrayals by big bourgeois Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei of semi-colonial China; and during Hitler's invasion, the betrayals by Daladier and Petain of France, Pilsudski and Beck of Poland, Hacha of Czechoslovakia, Quisling of Norway. Furthermore, since the end of the Second World War, owing to the critical state of capitalism, the reactionaries of Great Britain, France, Italy and other European countries are kowtowing even more readily to American imperialism and acting as its lackeys.

Only when it is to its own advantage does the bourgeoisie use the slogan of nationalism to arouse the people. But when it is against its interests, the bourgeoisie completely discards the integrity of their nation and turns traitor to their people.

Such is the bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation and the class foundation upon which it is based. Such is the basic principle and programme of bourgeois nationalism for dealing with national questions throughout the world. This bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation also represents the world outlook of the bourgeoisie.

2. THE PROLETARIAN-INTERNATIONALIST CONCEPT OF THE NATION

The proletarian-internationalist concept of the nation is diametrically opposite to the bourgeois nationalist concept of the nation. The proletarian-internationalist approach to the national question and its basic principles for dealing with the national question throughout the world proceed from the basic interests of the masses of the given nation, and at the same time, from the common interests of the masses of the people of every nation, which are the common basic interests of all mankind. Since national aggression is a product of the system of class exploitation, it is only natural that the proletariat, which exploits no one and fights for a social system without the exploitation of man by man, should be opposed to any oppression of one nation by another. The proletariat cannot countenance in society any system of oppression of man by man for otherwise it could not achieve its own emancipation.

For this reason, the proletariat is resolutely opposed to any kind of national oppression. It fights not only against the oppression of its own nation by any other nation, but also against its own nation oppressing another. It advocates the complete equality of all nations (large or small, strong or weak) both at home and in the family of nations, and it also advocates the voluntary association and voluntary separation of all nations. The gradual movement towards world unity can be achieved through different concrete paths such as voluntary separation (the aim of which is to smash the oppression and control of the imperialists over the vast majority of the world's nations) and voluntary association (with various nationalities uniting on a completely voluntary basis after imperialist oppression has been eliminated).'

Such is the proletarian-internationalist concept of the nation and the class basis on which it is founded. Such is the basic principle and programme of proletarian internationalism for dealing with the national question throughout the world.

Guided by the foregoing principles, Communists in all the oppressed nations have always constituted the staunchest vanguard fighters leading the anti-imperialist national liberation movements of the oppressed nations. For example, we Chinese Communists are thorough proletarian internationalists and are, at the same time, revolutionary patriots and revolutionary national fighters, most staunchly opposing all imperialist aggression against the Chinese nation, defending the freedom and independence of our fatherland and opposing all traitors.

In China, it was the party of the Chinese proletariat, and not the party of the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie, that first raised a clear-cut programme for fighting against imperialism and for national independence. Our Communist Party of China has always been the leader and organizer of the anti-imperialist national united front of the Chinese people. The scale of this national united front embraces workers, peasants, intellectuals, the petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and even the progressive gentry. This revolutionary national liberation movement is not in contradiction to proletarian internatio-

anism, but is entirely consistent with it. It constitutes an extremely important integral part of the movement of proletarian internationalism, constituting its broadest direct ally. The victory of this national liberation movement is a great step forward along the path of the proletarian internationalist cause, for it gives great aid and impetus to the socialist revolution of the proletariat throughout the world.

Therefore, it is clear that if the Communists in the oppressed nations fail to take concrete steps to fight against imperialist oppression and for national liberation, if they merely regard "internationalism" as *window-dressing*, then they are betraying proletarian internationalism, playing into the hands of imperialism, descending to the level of the mean and contemptible Trotskyites and, as a result, becoming faithful agents of imperialism.

Furthermore, Communists will be betraying the proletariat and Communism and playing the game of the imperialists all over the world and will make themselves pawns of the imperialists, if, after their own nation has been freed from imperialist oppression, the Communists descend to a position of bourgeois nationalism, carrying out a policy of national selfishness and sacrificing the common international interests of the working people and the proletarian masses of all nations throughout the world to the interests of the upper stratum of their own nation; or if they not only fail to oppose imperialism but on the contrary rely on imperialist aid to carry out aggression and oppression against other nations; or if they employ national conservatism and exclusive ideas to oppose proletarian internationalism.

Guided by the foregoing principles, the Communists in all oppressor nations, in all imperialist countries, have always staunchly and unconditionally opposed aggression and oppression against colonial and semi-colonial countries by the rulers of their own nations — the imperialist clique. The Communists of these countries have used every means to give unconditional aid to national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies. They advocate complete independence and complete emancipation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries from the imperialist control of their own countries. As

examples, we can refer to the Communists in Czarist Russia, in Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Holland, Belgium, etc. As staunch nationalists, they resolutely oppose the imperialists of their own countries who carry out oppression and aggression against India, Malaya, the Philippines, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, China, Central and South America, Africa and other colonial and semi-colonial countries. They consistently fight for and help the oppressed nations attain independence and liberation.

The Communists take this position because they fully understand the famous saying of Marx that "no nation which oppresses others can itself be free". They understand that without such national liberation movements, which sap, weaken and undermine the foundations of imperialist domination, it would be extremely difficult for the proletariat of the imperialist countries to achieve victory in the struggle against monopoly capital and to attain its emancipation. Hence, aid for the liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is, at the same time, aid for the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat in the imperialist countries.

Guided by the foregoing principles, therefore, after overthrowing imperialist rule in their countries and gaining power, the Communists must immediately put an end to every oppression imposed by "their" imperialists upon other nationalities, whether inside or outside of that country. For example, as soon as the October Revolution in Russia had overthrown the Czar and the bourgeois provisional government and gained power, Lenin and Stalin, for the first time in the history of mankind, immediately proclaimed the abrogation of all the unequal treaties which Czarist Russia had imposed upon China and other countries, abolished the whole system of enslavement which Russian imperialism had imposed on its colonies and semi-colonies and proclaimed the complete equality of all nationalities within the country. This is the correct application of the great principles of proletarian internationalism.

Therefore, if there are individuals in the ranks of the proletariat of oppressor nations who regard "internationalism" as *window-dressing* or

who sink to the position of bourgeois nationalism, helping the imperialists of their own countries to suppress the colonial, semi-colonial and backward countries, instead of extending support to the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies, they are betraying proletarian internationalism — the cause of Socialism and Communism — and become agents of imperialism. For example, the representatives of the labour aristocracy who have been bought off by imperialism — the Right-wing of the Social-Democratic parties in various countries and the Right-wing of the British Labour Party — belong to this type of proletarian renegade. Furthermore, if after coming into power when imperialist domination has been overthrown in their own country, the Communists do not immediately abolish imperialistic oppression against other nations and do not proclaim the complete equality of all peoples within their country; if instead they continue national oppression and pursue an aggressive policy toward other people, they too will be betraying proletarian internationalism — the cause of Socialism and Communism; it means that they regard "internationalism" as *window-dressing* and have degenerated to the position of bourgeois nationalism.

However, under certain historical conditions, oppressor nations may become oppressed nations. A case in point is when Hitler invaded and conquered France, Belgium and Holland. Then in contrast to the bourgeois national traitors, the Communists of those countries, guided by the foregoing principles, placed themselves heroically in the very forefront of the national resistance in the fight against the fascist aggressors.

The European countries enslaved by the Marshall Plan of American imperialism may serve as another example. The reactionary bourgeoisie of these countries, at the same time, also continues to suppress the national revolutionary struggle in the colonies with the aid of American imperialism. This is what France is doing in Indo-China, Britain in Malaya and in other colonies, and the Netherlands in Indonesia. **Guided by the foregoing principles, the Communists of these imperialist countries, on the one hand, must offer determined resistance**

to American imperialism's enslavement and aggression against their own nations; they must fight against the capitulation of their bourgeoisie to the United States and against the betrayal of their nations by the bourgeoisie and defend the independence of their nations; on the other hand, they must resolutely oppose the imperialist colonial policy of the bourgeois rulers of their own country and the oppression and exploitation of the colonial peoples by their bourgeois rulers, and they must unconditionally support the liberation movement of the colonial peoples against the imperialists of their own countries.

In such a situation, the Right-wing of the Social-Democratic parties in the European countries and of the British Labour Party continues on the one hand, to pursue an imperialist policy toward the colonies and, on the other hand, to support the Marshall Plan which enslaves their own countries. The Communist parties relentlessly fight these renegades.

Such are the varied concrete programmes and policies which proletarian internationalism *adopts on the national question in different nations and under different conditions.* **These programmes and policies are determined by the basic common interests of the masses of the people of the given nations as well as by the interests of the masses of the people of all nations. In other words, they proceed from the basic common interests of all mankind, and at the same time they are in full accord with the class interests of the proletariat.**

Such is the concrete application of the world outlook of proletarian internationalism in different historical conditions.

Having gained a clear idea as to the bourgeois-nationalist and proletarian-internationalist concepts of the nation, we can understand that bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism represent two different classes, two antagonistic world outlooks, ideologies and slogans. Lenin said: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two irreconcilable, mutually antagonistic slogans. They conform to the two great class camps of the whole capitalist world, and manifest two differ-

ent policies on the national question (and especially two different world outlooks)."

Thus we can also understand why a sharp line must be drawn between proletarian internationalism and its position on the national question, and bourgeois nationalism. Any Communist who descends to the position of bourgeois nationalism is betraying Communism.

Thus we can also understand that, in view of the bourgeois-nationalist concept of the nation and its programmes and policies in dealing with the national question, any imperialism, whenever possible, will certainly carry out aggression and oppression against other nations and certainly will not honestly assist other nations in achieving independence and liberation. Sometimes an imperialist country may help an oppressed nation to fight against another imperialist country; however, the imperialist country does not do this for the sake of the independence and liberation of the oppressed nation — it does this, rather, to make use of the oppressed nation against its rival, to escape from its own disasters and to attempt to establish its own imperialist rule over the oppressed nation after its rival has been squeezed out.

Guided by the proletarian-internationalist concept of the nation, and by its programme and policy in dealing with the national question, the Communists must be the most determined, most reliable and most capable leaders of the movement for the national liberation and independence of all oppressed nations. They must be the most determined defenders of the legitimate interests of their own people and aid unconditionally the liberation movement of all oppressed nations the world over. They cannot pursue a policy of aggression against any other nation or a policy of oppressing the national minorities within their own country.

Thus we can understand that there is not the slightest basis for such demagogic propaganda and malicious slander of the imperialists as: "Inasmuch as the Communists are internationalists, they cannot lead the movements for national liberation and independence, they cannot safeguard the interests of their nation or their fatherland".

3. THE PRESENT CONDITIONS OF OPPRESSOR NATIONS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS

Imperialist aggression has divided the nations of the world into two categories — oppressor and oppressed. After World War I, Lenin made an analysis of these two categories of nations as follows:

"A billion and a quarter oppressed in the colonies — countries which are being cut up alive, like Persia, Turkey, and China; and countries which have been vanquished and flung into the position of colonies. Not more than a quarter of a billion inhabit countries which have retained their old positions, but have fallen into economic dependence upon America, and all of them during the war, were in a state of military dependence, for the war affected the whole world and did not permit a single state to remain really neutral. And finally, we have not more than a quarter of a billion inhabitants of countries in which only the upper stratum, of course, only the capitalists, benefited by the partition of the world. The total is 1,750,000,000 people constituting the entire population of the world." (report delivered in 1920 at the Second Congress of the Communist International on the international situation and the main tasks of the Communist International).

This is the national question of the modern world. This is the question of the imperialists of a small number of countries (the upper stratum and the capitalists) mercilessly oppressing and plundering the colonial and semi-colonial countries the world over. This is the situation in the sphere of the national question, reflecting the sharpening of the contradictions in the capitalist world and the sharpening of the uneven development of capitalism in different countries in the epoch of imperialism. This situation, on the one hand, cannot but lead to a sharp struggle of the imperialist countries for colonies; on the other hand, to an upsurge of the world-wide national liberation movement of all the oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism and for liberation.

During the latter period of the First World War, the Russian proletariat pierced the impe-

rialist front over one sixth of the earth's surface and carried out the great October Socialist Revolution. Thus the world was divided into two different economic systems. The First World War and the Russian October Revolution led to the general crisis of capitalism. Under the conditions of this general crisis, bourgeois nationalism became even more lopsided, more cruel and more aggressive. Fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries, aimed at enslaving the peoples of the world, was the product of the most decadent and most reactionary monopoly capital under conditions of the sharp contradictions in the general crisis of capitalism. During World War II, the German-Italian-Japanese fascists were defeated by the international anti-fascist forces, headed by the Soviet Union. With the help of the Soviet Union, the peoples of various Eastern European countries broke through the front of imperialism and established their New Democratic states.

The Communist parties in all countries of the world proved to be the most heroic leaders and the strongest forces in the defence of their fatherlands during the great Anti-Fascist War; therefore their prestige among the peoples was extremely high and they became unprecedentedly powerful. . . .

At the present time, the imperialist powers still possessing colonies (of varying sizes and number) comprise the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and others. The number of the imperialist powers has decreased. But the enslavement of the peoples of the world by one imperialist country, American imperialism, has assumed an unprecedented scale. Even such countries as Great Britain and France have been weakened as a result of the enormous losses sustained in the war, not to mention the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and others. It is true that reactionaries of these countries continue to use violent, sanguinary and imperialist methods to strangle the liberation movement of the colonial peoples. Nevertheless, since the bourgeoisie of these countries have sold out their own nations, and as a result of the treacherous policy of the Right wing of the Social-Democratic Parties and of the British Labour Party, these countries have become dependent

nations and protectorates under the domination of American imperialism.

Thus, besides the above-mentioned 500 million people already liberated, more than 1,300 Million people throughout the world (exclusive of the United States) find themselves directly or indirectly under the single domination of American imperialism. . . .

The United States has a population of 140 million, who are harnessed to the chariot of eight notorious financial groups, including those of Morgan, Rockefeller, Du Pont, Mellon, etc., and their reactionary representatives amount to only a handful, only about one thousand people.

These eight major financial groups have one thousand people, on the one hand rule the 140 million American people within their country, while on the other hand, on the basis of the American capitalist social system, they directly or indirectly enslave all the nations of the world. . . .

This is the present-day situation with reference to the national question on a world scale.

4. THE TWO GREAT CAMPS IN THE WORLD OF TODAY AND THE PATH OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

As indicated above, the national question in the present-day world is essentially a question of the exploitation and oppression, or attempted exploitation and oppression, of the nations the world over by American imperialism as well as the struggles of all nations in the world against the oppression and exploitation by American imperialism in order to achieve national liberation or to defend national independence.

Even during the Second World War, the American imperialists had made their plans for plundering and oppressing all the nations of the world. After the war, they put the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan into operation, thus step by step bringing many countries and nations of the world under their own control and rule, preparing a network of military bases throughout the world, setting their foot in all countries and intervening in the domestic affairs of other countries. All these activities

stemmed from their ambitious and aggressive plans.

In order to put their plans for the enslavement of the whole world into operation, the American imperialists have no alternative but to do all they can to mobilize the people of their own country in support of their plans and to suppress all forces among the people of their own country who oppose their plans. Thus, they have to carry out propaganda among the American people about the "theory" of the co-called "American Century" and the "theory" of the "superiority of the white race", declaring that the United States should "lead the world" and that the nations of the world should be brought under its rule.

The class enemies of the proletariat of the capitalist suzerain countries in Europe are at the same time national traitors and, consequently, the national enemy of these countries. To win socialism, the proletariat of the various European countries must oppose both enslavement by American imperialism and the national traitors of their own countries. The class question and the national question are thus clearly linked together. This is to the advantage of the proletariat of the various European countries. On the one hand, by uniting with still broader masses of people within their countries, they can link up the defence of their national independence with the cause of achieving socialism; and on the other hand, by uniting with broader masses of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, they can link up the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies with their own cause of achieving socialism.

It can thus be seen that the victories of the national independence movements of the oppressed nations of the world over the imperialists of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and other countries, will deprive these countries of their colonies, undermine the foundation on which they dominate the world, greatly weaken the rule of the imperialists in their home countries, and will therefore lead to the liberation of the proletariat and the peoples of these countries from the rule of imperialism. Thus the victories gained by the national independence and liberation movements of the oppressed nations in the colonies and

sem-colonies, and every blow delivered to imperialism, constitute the best and most direct help to the proletariat and the peoples in imperialist countries. The proletariat, the Communist Parties and the people's democratic forces in all countries, especially those in imperialist countries, must give still more support to the national independence and liberation movements in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and take further steps in building up a united front with them in opposition to the rule of imperialism. This is because both are facing a common enemy, and the victory of one helps the other to win victory.

That is to say: in directing the national liberation movements and proletarian socialist movements of the world today, the Communists and the peoples of all countries must base themselves on proletarian internationalism and not oppose proletarian internationalism, must discard bourgeois nationalism and not base themselves on bourgeois nationalism, and must closely link together the national democratic revolution of the oppressed nations and the socialist revolution of the proletariat, before these two kinds of revolution can both win victory, before we can liberate every nation of the world, and before we can solve all national questions of the world today. Otherwise, not only will we be unable to win any socialist victory, we will also not be able to win real victory in any national liberation movement.

That is to say: The national question of the present-day world must be viewed in connection with the question of world revolution as a whole, in connection with history as a whole and the world as a whole; it should not be viewed in isolation and from a narrow view-point, or from any unrealistic and abstract viewpoint. Just as Lenin and Stalin have said: the national question must not be appraised in isolation, but must be appraised on a world-wide scale.

After World War I and the success of the Russian October Revolution, in accordance with the *new historical conditions of the whole world*, the national question had to be appraised from the viewpoint of proletarian socialist revolution in opposition to international imperialism. It could no longer be appraised from the viewpoint of the bourgeois revolutions of the old world

World War I and the Russian October Revolution, the national question constituted a part of the world bourgeois democratic revolution. Since then, the national question has become a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

Comrade Mao Zedong's comprehensive elaboration, in his *New Democracy*, on Stalin's theories concerning this question, and his own theories set forth in this book analysing in detail the transition of the Chinese revolution from the period of old democracy to New Democracy, are absolutely correct. Only by directing the national liberation movements on the basis of these correct theories can we liberate all the oppressed nations in the world and solve the world's national question today. In China the Communists stand at the forefront of all those struggling against American imperialist aggression, against Kuomintang reactionary rule, and against the oppression of feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Not only the Communists, but also all democratic parties, people's organisations and non-party democratic elements — so long as they are really opposing imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionary rule, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and are not merely paying lip service to revolution while actually attempting to sabotage revolution — should bear the above principles in mind and work for their realization, and should neither think nor act otherwise. If they think or act otherwise, they are heading up a blind alley and will be left behind by the revolutionary army.

There is not the slightest doubt that to regard the national question as separate from the class question, or to regard the national struggle as separate from the class struggle, is absolutely wrong and harmful and constitutes a form of deception adopted by landlord and bourgeois reactionaries. Inasmuch as reactionary bourgeois nationalism and modern imperialist aggression are policies brought about by the development of the capitalist system of exploitation, which has as its final outcome the fanatical attempts of American imperialism to achieve world domination, the counter-revolutionary policies of American imperialism for the enslavement of the world have, with unprecedented clarity, joined together the socialist re-

volutionary movements of the proletariat in the capitalist suzerain countries and the national liberation movements of the oppressed nations. These policies also point out with unprecedented clarity that to uproot imperialist aggression, *the rule of the monopoly capitalists in capitalist suzerain countries must be overthrown.*

The ultimate goal of the struggle of mankind for liberation will be socialism and Communism. According to the famous saying of Molotov: "In the age we live in, all roads lead to Communism." The peoples of all nations will reach this destination along their own paths of concrete struggle. For oppressed nations, the struggle for national liberation is the path which must be travelled. Only when the system of the exploitation of man by man has been replaced by socialism, as in the Soviet Union, can aggression be completely eliminated.

5. THE PROGRESSIVE CHARACTER OF BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM IN GIVEN HISTORICAL CONDITIONS AND THE MARXIST-LENINIST ATTITUDE TOWARD SUCH NATIONALISM

Marxism-Leninism considers all questions in their historical settings. Marxist-Leninists view bourgeois nationalism under the given historical conditions. Drawing a distinction between its different objective roles, they decide what different attitudes the proletariat should take toward it.

In the early period of capitalism, the national movement led by the bourgeoisie had as its objective the struggle against oppression by other nations and the creation of a national state. This national movement was historically progressive, and the proletariat supported it.

In the present period, such bourgeois nationalism still exists in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. This variety of nationalism also has a certain objective progressive historical significance.

The bourgeoisie of Europe, the United States and Japan has established the imperialist system of colonial and semi-colonial oppression in many backward countries. In such colonial and semi-colonial countries as China, India, Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines, Viet-Nam, Burma,

Egypt, etc., bourgeois nationalism inevitably developed. This was because the national bourgeoisie in these countries has interests antagonistic in the first place to those of imperialism, and in the second place to those of the *domestic backward feudal forces.* Moreover, these feudal forces unite with imperialism in restricting and hampering the development of the national bourgeoisie. Therefore, the national bourgeoisie in these countries is revolutionary in a certain historical period and to a certain degree. Bourgeois nationalism in these countries has a decidedly progressive significance when the bourgeoisie mobilize the masses in the struggle against imperialism and the feudal forces. As Lenin pointed out (in a speech delivered at the Second Congress of the Eastern Peoples), nationalism of this type "has historical justification".

Therefore the proletariat, with the aim of overthrowing the rule of imperialism and the feudal forces, should collaborate with this bourgeois nationalism which plays a definitely anti-imperialist and anti-feudal role provided, as Lenin said, that these allies do not hinder us in educating and organizing the peasantry and the broad masses of the exploited people in a revolutionary spirit. The clearest example of this type of collaboration was that which existed between us Chinese Communists and Sun Yat-sen.

Sun Yat-sen's nationalism was a form of bourgeois nationalism. The Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen, as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his *New Democracy*, had undergone great changes in the two historical periods before and after the Russian October Socialist Revolution. In the former period, it came under the category of old democracy, that is, it remained within the scope of bourgeois democratic revolution of the old world and was a part of the bourgeois and capitalist world revolution. In the latter period, however, it belonged to New Democracy, that is, it pertained to the scope of *new bourgeois democratic revolution and was a part of the proletarian Socialist world revolution.*

Sun Yat-sen's nationalism in the old democratic era had a dual character. His opposition to the current rulers of China, the Manchu Dynas-

ty, had a progressive character. Yet the Greater Han-ism he advocated had a reactionary character. After the October Revolution, when China entered the New Democratic era, he received help from the U.S.S.R. and from us Chinese Communists. He then revised his nationalism characterized by Greater Han-ism and turned toward revolutionary nationalism, characterized by his active opposition to imperialist aggression and his adoption of the three policies of alliance with the Soviet Union, alliance with the Chinese Communist Party and support for the workers and peasants. He also advocated that "the Chinese nation should strive to liberate itself" and that "there should be equality for all nationalities within the country" (Declaration of the First Congress of the Kuomintang). Thus he turned toward New Democracy and we Communists therefore adopted the policy of collaborating with him. This collaboration was absolutely correct and necessary for national liberation and was in accord with the interests of the proletariat at the time, even though it was an unreliable, temporary and unstable alliance which was later undermined by the shameless betrayers of Dr. Sun's cause.

Although Sun Yat-sen's world outlook at the time was still of a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois character, and although his nationalism was still a form of bourgeois nationalism preserving some reactionary features (for instance his concepts of so-called "common blood", "state and nation" and "Greater Asianism" etc.), nevertheless he stood for the doctrine of a national revolution which called for "arousing the people and uniting in a common struggle with all nations in the world who treat us as equals." He also put into effect the three great policies of alliance with the U.S.S.R., alliance with the Chinese Communist Party and support for the workers and peasants. This was an excellent illustration of the progressive character of revolutionary bourgeois nationalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries during the new era of world Socialist revolution. It was of enormous revolutionary significance.

However, shortly after Sun Yat-sen's death, the brazen betrayers of his cause — the representatives of the big bourgeoisie, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and other re-

actionary leaders of the Kuomintang — began to turn Sun Yat-sen's doctrine of national revolution toward the opposite and extremely counter-revolutionary direction. They swung from the anti-imperialist struggle to capitulation to imperialism, from alliance with the Soviet Union to struggling against it, from unity with the Chinese Communist Party to attacks on the Party, from supporting the workers and peasants to slaughtering them. Moreover, they used the conservative and reactionary features of Sun Yat-sen's nationalism as their anti-national banner. It therefore became necessary for the Communist Party, in order to defend the interests of the nation, to adopt a firm policy of opposition to the Kuomintang reactionaries, who were headed by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei.

Of course, the Communists in other colonial and semi-colonial countries such as India, Burma, Siam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Indo-China, South Korea, etc., must for the sake of their national interests similarly adopt a firm and irreconcilable policy against national betrayal by the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, especially the big bourgeoisie, which has already surrendered to imperialism. If this were not done, it would be a grave mistake.

On the other hand, the Communists in these countries should enter into an anti-imperialist alliance with that section of the national bourgeoisie which is still opposing imperialism and which does not oppose the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the people. Should the Communists fail to do so in earnest, should they to the contrary, oppose or reject such an alliance, it would also constitute a grave mistake. Such an alliance must be established in all sincerity even if it should be of an unreliable, temporary and unstable nature.

The experience of the revolution in other countries as well as in China fully confirms the correctness of the scientific Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the national question is closely linked with the class question and the national struggle with the class struggle . . .

An historical analysis of class relations reveals why in certain periods, one country is oppressed by another and becomes a colony or semi-colony of imperialism; why national traitors may appear in such a country, not only from

the ranks of the feudal classes, but also from the ranks of the bourgeoisie — for instance, from the ranks of the comprador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie in China. Such an analysis also reveals under what conditions, and under the leadership of which class, national liberation can be achieved.

An historical analysis of the class relations also reveals that although such outstanding national revolutionists as Sun Yat-sen sprang from China's petty-bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie, yet this bourgeoisie, generally speaking, views the national question solely in the light of its own narrow class interests and changes its position solely in accordance with its own class interests. In the same way, only the class interests of the proletariat are really in full accord with the fundamental interests of the people of a given country, with the common interests of all nations the world over and with the interests of all mankind. When the proletariat of an oppressed nation, as in the case of China, enters the arena of struggle and becomes the leader of the national liberation struggle against imperialism and the saviour of the whole nation, then every genuinely patriotic class, party, group or individual inevitably forms an alliance with the Communist Party, as did Sun Yat-sen, (and thus becomes linked with the policies of alliance with the Soviet Union and support for the workers and peasants). On the other hand those persons or groups — like Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei — who oppose the Communist Party (an opposition linked with opposition to the Soviet Union and to the interests of the workers and peasants), inevitably become servile lackeys of imperialism and the most vile, contemptible national traitors who sell out their own country.

An historical analysis of class relations further discloses that under the new conditions, in the new period of accentuated international and internal struggle, as a result of threats combined with all kinds of tempting offers and enticements held out by the imperialists, and owing to the developing class struggle within the country, there may appear within the revolutionary ranks such people as Chen Tu-hsiu,

Chang Kuo-tao in China and Tito in Yugoslavia. These people capitulate to reactionary bourgeois nationalism, betray the common interests of the toilers of all countries and place the liberation of their own people in serious jeopardy. They are the spokesmen of bourgeois nationalism inside the ranks of the proletariat. They cynically desert the cause of national liberation in mid-path, and they divert their country down the road leading to its transformation into an imperialist colony. The Communist Parties of all countries and each individual Communist must be alert to this danger.

6. CONCLUSION: GENUINE PATRIOTISM IS INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH INTERNATIONALISM

The above represents the point of view and principles of Marxists-Leninists — of Communists — on the national question. These are the point of view and principles of proletarian internationalism, closely connected with patriotism.

It is clear that the genuine patriotism of the masses of the people in all countries is not in contradiction to proletarian internationalism, but is, rather, intimately connected with it. During the period of the Anti-Japanese War, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote: "For us, patriotism is intimately connected with internationalism. Our slogan is — Fight against aggression, in defence of our Fatherland." "Patriotism is the application of internationalism in the national-revolutionary war." Needless to say, these remarks fully accord with our present patriotic revolutionary war.

Lenin evaluated patriotism as one of the most profound manifestations of the sentiments of countries in the process of consolidation after having been split up in the course of many centuries or even millenniums.

Genuine patriotism means fervent love of one's own fatherland, and its people, language,

culture, literature and best traditions, behind which lie thousands of years and generations of historical development. This kind of patriotism has no connection whatsoever with self-centered, selfish and anti-foreign bourgeois nationalism, nor with such national prejudices as narrow-minded exclusivism, isolationism, sectarianism and provincialism, which reflect the sentiments of the small peasant and the backward patriarchal system.

Genuine patriotism respects the equality of other nationalities and at the same time cherishes the hope of realizing the best ideals of mankind in one's own country while defending the unity of the peoples of all countries. On the other hand, reactionary bourgeois nationalism fans mutual hatred and hostility between nations, while the national prejudices of the old backward patriarchal system isolate their own nationals from the rest of the world, causing

them to sink within the narrow confines of their own stagnating outlook. We must resolutely reject both of these positions.

The foregoing has presented a brief explanation of proletarian internationalism as opposed to bourgeois nationalism. At present, both inside and outside of our Party, considerable misunderstanding and confusion exist in regard to proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism. Moreover, the fascist elements are carrying on extremely reactionary and demagogic propaganda regarding this question. It would be extremely harmful to the Chinese people's present liberation movement if these misunderstandings and confusions were not cleared up, and if fascist propaganda were not exposed. This article has been written in the hope that it will help to clear up these misunderstandings and confusions as well as to expose the fascist propaganda.

THE KAMPUCHEAN EXPERIENCE

BY ESROM MOKGAKALA

The writer who is a member of the Central Committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania spent eleven months in Kampuchea before it was invaded by the Vietnamese colonialists. He travelled all over the country and was able to see from first hand the great socialist changes being undertaken in the country. In this article he writes with an eye as to what Azanian revolutionaries can learn from the Kampuchean experience.

Like all human society the Kampuchean society evolved from the primitive stage, through to slavery, feudalism, capitalism and is now emerging as a socialist society. A study of the history of the people reveals a long and bitter struggle against oppression and exploitation. Two main lessons can be drawn from the history of the people of Kampuchea. Firstly that these are a heroic people. That they fought and defeated French colonialism, Japanese and U.S. imperialism. At home they have over the years fought against repressive rulers sometimes with their bare hands.

From the above lesson we can conclude that they are valiant people, a truly courageous people who deserve the highest praise, love and service of all true revolutionaries.

The second lesson is that in spite of this heroism the peoples sacrifices were for a very long time of no avail. They have always been involved in fierce struggles engaging themselves in several battles against their oppressors and exploiters. Sometimes they won great battles, **but victory was stolen from them by leaders who did not have a correct line.** "The correct line cannot be copied from other countries, it comes from

the people through self-reliance". Said comrade Hong, President of the Committee for Friendship with Africa.

"Self-reliance means to mentally and physically depend on your own people, your own party, your own army, your own mass organisations to the extent that you may even refuse foreign aid. That is the fundamental basis of the strategy and tactics, the general line of the Kampuchean revolution", he continued.

According to the Kampuchean revolutionary experience, after correctly drawing the lessons of history, seen the heroism of the people, summed up the glorious achievements of the people one cannot help but have great confidence in the people for one will be convinced that the people will not flinch from the enemy however powerful and brutal he may appear. With this conviction one will be able to avoid rightist errors like trying to negotiate the independence of the people with the enemy for this is not negotiable. Furthermore the revolutionary forces shall not depend on foreign aid, shall have self-reliance, shall not seek superpower hegemony and shall therefore win true and unalloyed independence. The revolutionary forces shall not beg for a single rifle from the foreigners. The power of a people is more dynamic than any number of rifles. It was after these lessons were drawn from the history of the heroic people of Kampuchea that the revolutionary movement decided to look for the correct line.

SEEKING THE CORRECT POLITICAL LINE

The Revolutionary Movement which was leading the struggle for the liberation of the Kampuchean people was winning great victories over French colonialism when peace talks were called culminating in three quarters of the country being liberated and the enemy faced with collapse.

However when the conferees met in Geneva the liberation forces of Kampuchea were not represented at the Conference table, they were advised by their friends to follow the line of peaceful struggle through the ballot-box and seize political power. Because the revolutionary movement was fighting under the guidance and

leadership of the Communist Party of Indochina which itself was relying heavily on the support of a super power, the Kampuchean revolutionaries found their hands and feet tied to the Geneva Accord. From 1954 the struggle for the liberation of Kampuchea entered the stage of peaceful struggle but the reactionary regime intensified its repression. 90% of the strength of the revolutionary forces was destroyed through assassinations, torture, mass arrests, intimidation of all kinds and downright betrayal. The internal situation was very tense and the revolution was faced with the prospects of real destruction; capitulation seemed imminent. the international situation was no better. Confusion reigned in the ranks of the international revolutionary movement as revisionism raised its ugly head. Soviet Social imperialism brought serious internal wrangling in the ranks of the revolutionary movement at home and abroad. It was under these conditions that the revolutionary movement of Kampuchea went out to seek a correct political line. A commission was appointed to collect data at home and abroad to help formulate the correct political line. The work was energetically done as a number of responsible cadres were selected to research the history of the struggle in a scientific manner. Basing themselves on both the negative and positive aspects of the experiences collected at home and abroad an independent, self-reliant and correct political line was hammered out based on the concrete conditions of Kampuchea.

Amongst other things the commission observed that, even when the people were fully mobilised, the revolutionary forces armed and strong enough to fight and defeat the reactionary forces, revolutionary victory still proved to be illusive. Scientific research revealed that **without a correct political line it is impossible to have a resolute political stand.** The commission recommended the formation of a political party with an independent, self-reliant political line that shall stand firm on the side of the oppressed people of Kampuchea.

Meanwhile the internal situation was worsening with repression reaching a new height and the people demanding the adoption of a correct political line. There was no turning back and

twenty one delegates representing workers from the seven cities of the country and peasants from the countryside met in strict secrecy at a railway compound in Phnom Penh from the twenty eighth to the thirteenth September 1960, and the Communist Party of Kampuchea was born; a historic turning point in the struggle for the liberation of Kampuchea was reached.

THE TASKS OF THE FIRST PARTY CONGRESS

The commission put before the 1st Party Congress three main tasks viz. 1. The formulation of *the fundamental line of the National Democratic revolution.*

2. The adoption of the Party constitution.
3. The election of the central committee.

Was this to be a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party? The work of the 1st Party Congress speaks for itself. A thorough analysis of the Kampuchean society along Marxist lines was made. Investigation revealed that over 85% of the population comprised the peasantry. That it was this class that was the most oppressed and exploited and that the National Democratic revolution largely meant the emancipation of this class. Once this observation was made the First Party Congress resolved to implement this in the most determined and resolute manner. Armed with the historical experience of the struggle both at home and abroad the 1st Party Congress instructed the cadres to mobilise the whole peasantry by living amongst them and acting with them, seeking no foreign advice and assistance, and depending wholly on the ingenuity and the creativity of the people. The road to armed struggle was cleared.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIETY OF KAMPUCHEA

This had to be made accurately to ensure a correct political line as this was the key to solving the social problem. The first observation was that Kampuchea was a country under foreign imperialist domination. That the U.S. was the leading foreign dominating power, therefore there was no freedom and independence in the

country. How did the foreign domination manifest itself? This could be seen through a study of *the political, economic, cultural and military institutions of the country.* Kampuchea had paper independence, in essence it was a neo-colonial country under U.S. led imperialism.

Analysis revealed that 85% of the population comprised the peasantry. The strategic starting point was the mobilisation of this 85% which was the overwhelming majority of the population.

MOBILISATION OF THE PEASANTRY

An extensive and intensive study of the peasant question was essential. The Party cadres were instructed to make a country-wide scientific research into this question. This revealed untold suffering on the part of the poor peasant. For instance in TMAR KOUL village more than 90% of the land belonged to the less than 1/1000 of the population. In DUAN TEY village outside KAMPONG CHAM city a pair of short trousers would cost 250 kg of grain set against the fact that a poor peasant family of five needed 500 kg of grain for the whole year; that is a peasant needed only 100 kg of grain to live for the whole year. A pair of short trousers would cost the peasant almost three times his whole life. This represented a very antagonistic contradiction. The peasants had a fierce class hatred for their oppressors and exploiters. Despite his poor health and poor education the peasant became the hard core, the mainstay, the very backbone of the National Democratic revolution of Kampuchea. In order to mobilise this portion of the population effectively the Central Committee of the Party resolved to settle in the countryside and by 1963, 90% of the Central Committee had already done so.

OTHER CLASSES

The Communist Party of Kampuchea is by its very nature a Marxist-Leninist Party. It is a proletarian party serving the interests of the working class and using scientific methods to formulate both its strategic and tactical line. The mobili-

sation of the peasantry was to arouse the largest percentage of the population for the national democratic revolution. What role did the other classes play?

THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

This class comprised the intellectuals and students. During the national democratic revolution they proved to be reliable allies of the workers and peasants. Unlike the peasants they were not a strategic force of the revolution, they were a complementary one. They are particularly useful and effective in the legal forms of struggle. They are not an exploiting class hence they do not have an antagonistic contradiction with the workers and the peasants. Because of their academic training they strengthen the class consciousness of the proletariat. The Kampuchean experience shows that they are happy to serve in the national democratic revolution

They are usually the class that starts the revolution. In the socialist revolution now going on in Kampuchea they are still regarded as reliable allies of the workers and peasants.

THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

These too had a role to play. However they are used only at certain times of the revolution and must be treated with utmost care. Tactically it is very important to mobilise this force since failure to do so might lead them to join the enemy. They are able to make huge financial contributions to the revolution, sometimes contributing whole factories. Their support however is always motivated by self-interest. The revolutionary forces must accept all this class can give since refusal is rightism. At no stage should this class be given the responsibility of directing the revolution.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

The Kampuchean experience shows that women, when properly mobilised can form the

shock force of the revolution. They have proved to be more efficient than men in some job categories. For instance in transportation generally and particularly in the transportation of fuel, because they do not smoke, they have been able to cut the accident rate drastically. They are *valiant fighters in their own right and the Kampuchean experience also shows that they are more efficient than men in the handling of certain weapons e.g. the B-105.* This newly emancipated force is used widely in the socialist construction of the country.

In the national democratic revolution of Kampuchea the workers and peasants formed the fundamental strategic force whilst the other classes were the complementary tactical force. The mobilisation of all these forces into a national united front, and built into a powerful revolutionary force was what was able to defeat the enemy and build the Democratic State of Kampuchea.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE ENEMY FORCES

Since Kampuchea was a feudal neo-colonialist country under U.S. led imperialist domination, there obviously were antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed masses of the people on the one hand and the representative or agents of imperialism on the other. The basis line of the Party was to divide the enemy forces into three main categories (1) Those that can be won over. (2) Those that can be neutralised. (3) Those that must be isolated.

WINNING OVER THE ENEMY FORCES

A scientific analysis of the enemy forces is essential so that all the forces in the enemy camp that can be won over, must be won over. Experience has proved that today's enemy might become tomorrow's ally. The best example in the Kampuchean revolution is the role played by Prince Sihanouk. From being the target of the national democratic revolution, the revolutionary situation was so transformed that the prince became the chairman of the National United Front. All efforts should be made to mo-

bilise and win over those forces that may at certain stages of the revolution wish to go along with the people. It will be leftist to ignore such forces, however, it must be noted that leftist errors are less costly than rightist ones, whenever possible both must be avoided.

NEUTRALISING THE ENEMY FORCES

Because of the contradiction amongst the lackeys of imperialism the revolutionary forces can, for tactical reasons, neutralise some of the reactionary forces. An example of this was how the revolutionary forces used the contradiction between Sam Sary and Sim Var. Both these gentlemen had a burning desire to be members of Parliament. Analysis showed Sam Sary to be the more reactionary of the two. The party decided to support Sim Var to win a parliamentary seat. However the party used Sim Var, as editor of a French language paper to launch virulent propaganda against Sam Sary until the latter was forced to flee the country. Sim Var was later appointed ambassador to Japan where his C.I.A. connections were exposed.

ISOLATING THE DIE-HARDS

Seven great traitors of the Kampuchean national democratic revolution were exposed with Lon Nol as their chieftain. These were Sirik Matak, Chang Heng, In Tum, Long Baret, Son Ngoc Thanh and Sostene Fernandez who were constantly fighting against each other trying to prove to the imperialists that they can serve the interests of imperialism better than others. They were committed to the side of imperialism and therefore became the main targets of the revolution.

METHODS OF STRUGGLE

The First Party Congress resolved that two main methods of struggle were to be adopted namely (1) peaceful political methods, (2) armed struggle. Of these two, armed struggle was to be the fundamental method of struggle.

PEACEFUL POLITICAL METHODS

After Geneva, Kampuchea became a neo-colonial feudal state with political power in the hands of a royal family. Some friends of the Kampuchean revolution advised caution. The revolutionary forces had to lay down their arms. The people continued to struggle and formed the People's Party which tried hard to win freedom for the people. The reactionary regime intensified its repression by assassinating leaders of the People's Party, arresting some and generally intimidating the people. Using fraudulent methods and rigging the elections the authorities were able to maintain a firm hold on effective political power. However peaceful demonstrations in the cities were effective in mobilizing the workers and petty bourgeoisie elements. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea workers and students were able to force the Lon Nol clique to break off diplomatic ties with the U.S. imperialists in 1967. They marched to the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh, pulled down the U.S. flag and tore it to pieces. Lon Nol had no alternative but to agree to the demands of the people. Mention must be made that large peaceful demonstrations are dangerous particularly when faced with a reactionary enemy who will not hesitate to use brutal force.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

In order to launch the armed struggle we need to have a revolutionary peoples' army and in order to have revolutionary people's army we need to have revolutionary people. **Revolutionary people must have a high political consciousness, an intense class hatred of the enemy and a willingness to fight under all conditions with the simplest weapons until final victory is won.**

In order to have a powerful people's army particular care must be taken in choosing the cadre that must lead it. Coupled with a high political consciousness and an intense class hatred, the cadre must have had experience in working amongst the people, must know the correct line of the Party and must stick to the correct line under all circumstances. He must be indepen-

dent and resourceful and be brave in leading his men in action.

Experience has shown that cadres trained abroad do not make good commanders. They acquire foreign habits and find it difficult to intergrate with the common people. A people's war is a war of the poor masses who have no sophisticated weapons, no supplies, no uniforms and who do not follow the strategy and tactics of military experts. They fight according to their natural knowledge of the terrain using traditional weapons and ordinary tools which they use in their daily work. They have tactical superiority over the enemy forces and are strongly motivated to fight and defeat the enemy forces by their intense class hatred for the enemy. The foreign trained cadre will certainly be trained by an army with sufficient supplies and may also be trained by an army whose ideology may not be revolutionary. This army may not know the concrete conditions in which the cadre is to operate. Locally trained cadre know no other army, and is tempered in struggle through sacrifice and severe privation. He may have fought with his bare hands and will value any weapon he may lay his hands on. He has no desire for expensive uniform and boots. He will fight even without shoes or just a piece of cloth around his waist. He may even fight naked like the poor peasants of the North Eastern region of Kampuchea. When promoting cadres in the army these should receive top priority.

ARMING THE PEOPLE

With self-reliance as the basic principle, the army must acquire its own weapons. They must make their own weapons, use them against the enemy to capture more as this is the most reliable source of weapons. Friends may be willing to give weapons but these can never be enough and sometimes these may be delayed. At any rate it is only the super powers who can afford to pour weapons into another country. Normally such aid is with strings attached. **Revolutions are never won with weapons from abroad.** 80% of the weapons used in the Kampuchean revolution were captured from the enemy. The correct line is to depend on weapons which we our-

selves can make or capture from the enemy. The most important thing to capture from the enemy are the bullet and the gun and then the radio.

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMS

Weapons must be distributed according to their availability and according to the needs of a particular front. From very small beginnings the revolutionary army can grow into a big and powerful force if it follows a correct line in arming the people. Up to the time of liberation the revolutionary armed forces in Kampuchea were only 70% armed with automatic rifles. The rest used traditional weapons. Care must be practised in storing and using weapons. Weapons must be used with maximum efficiency.

TWO ARMIES

Experience has shown that no two armies even if they be under a joint command can successfully fight against the enemy. There will always be a clash of interests, inevitably leading to contradiction and confusion amongst the armed forces. The Geneva experience has taught the Kampuchean revolutionary movement to have an independent army fighting for the interests of the Kampuchean people. During the war against U.S. imperialism attempts were made by some neighbouring countries to induce the revolutionary movement to form a unified army under a unified command. This was opposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea because of the lessons of Geneva. The correctness of this decision was borne out by subsequent events. In 1973 a new Geneva conference was called and Kampuchea, following the line of independence and self-reliance, refused to attend this and fought on until final victory was won. It is noteworthy that Kampuchea managed to defeat the enemy and win final victory before those who went to Geneva. If there was a unified command there was obviously going to be a lot of confusion; at any rate what was there to talk about? "We could not afford another Geneva," said Comrade Hong.

MASS ORGANISATIONS

The party's line is to use existing mass organisations, and where these do not exist to create them. The oldest mass organisation is the cremation or burial society. The line of action is for party cadres to join these societies and to give them a higher political consciousness, and gradually raise their class hatred. Some of the members of these societies are very poor but they play a leading role in the activities of the societies. The party cadres put these under observation and gradually attract them to joining the revolution. Usually the rich members of these societies only send in their financial contributions and do not play a leading role in the practical activities of the society. Another popular mass organisation is the national musical troupe. Here the party cadres look for those members who are more enthusiastic. The more enthusiastic the members are in singing and dancing the more revolutionary they are. Those who despise national music are regarded as reactionary. The study group and the students associations are fertile ground for training young revolutionaries. Here the party cadres guide the diligent students in organising and running the affairs of the study group or association. These groups can also contribute funds to buy books to help poor students who cannot afford them. They can win great popularity in the community. During big occasions like gatherings of the students at the end of term parties, leading cadres of the party can use the diligent students to spread the party propaganda.

Party cadres can also introduce progressive books in the libraries of these students associations and also engage in the political education of the students at meetings of the study groups. Party cadres must leave the leadership of all mass organisations in the hands of ordinary people so that when the enemy strikes at these organisations he should not lay his hands on the revolutionary forces. **Mass organisations must be legal to be more effective.**

FIGHTING THE ENEMY

The Central Committee of the party observed

that the enemy suppressed the people politically, economically, militarily and culturally. It therefore resolved to fight the enemy in all these fields. Always following the correct line of independence and self-reliance, Party cadres were instructed to mobilise the peasantry as the fundamental strategic force to start the armed struggle in the countryside.

BASE AREAS

To build a powerful revolutionary army, the revolutionary forces moved to the remotest part of the country. The Kampuchean experience is that the poorest part of the country is the most ideal for building a solid Rear Base. According to the Kampuchean experience a Rear Base is an area where the enemy can never venture into. It is usually populated by the poorest section of the people who have a stronger hatred for their oppressors. These people are usually responsive to revolutionary propaganda and will do all they can to protect the revolutionary forces. **Making revolution means bringing a new life to the oppressed masses. Once settled in such an area the revolutionary forces must immediately try to improve the life of the local people.** For instance, in Kampuchea the revolutionary forces settled in the north eastern part of the country. This area was occupied by a minority tribe which was the poorest and which lived in the most undeveloped part of the country. The land was fertile and the revolutionary movement immediately introduced improved farming methods. The area is the farthest part of the country from the sea and salt was the major problem of the community. With improved farming and more supplies of salt, the community was revolutionised. Because of their poverty and because they were a minority tribe, this community had an intense class hatred for the enemy. The revolutionary forces were able to use this area for training their army militarily and engaging in political education. From this Rear Base the revolutionary forces were able to extend their activities far into the enemy rear.

The enemy occupied areas are divided into two categories (1) Guerrilla Bases; these are areas nearest to the Rear Base where the enemy

enjoys a limited freedom of movement. The enemy under constant harassment from the guerillas and local population is hostile to the enemy forces. (2) Guerilla Areas; these are hotly contested areas where the guerillas are in constant contact with the enemy.

When the Kampuchean revolution started **sceptics** pointed out that **with no army no arms, no doctors and no supplies the struggle was doomed to failure**. Experience has shown, however that with self reliance the people can fight, work and learn at the same time. Lack of these facilities is no excuse to postpone the revolution.

The enemy has at his disposal a superior armed force with better facilities and from afar he looks very powerful. The best way to fight him is to keep very close to the front to be able to identify his weak spots.

In Democratic Kampuchea the enemy used *his air force as the strongest weapon against* the revolutionary forces. By keeping very close to him, the revolutionary forces quickly realised that the enemy planes are useless unless there are spies to assist them. To defeat the planes it was necessary to destroy the spies.

The method of destroying the spies to increase the discipline of the forces. It was found that community living helps to fight against individualism, increases security and enhances discipline. **Until one has been to the front all talk of bravery is empty and once one has been to the front he will know the enemy's true strength and will be able to spot the enemy's weakness**. One method of avoiding the enemy's air raids is by digging underground stores.

STRATEGIC ATTACK

The armed struggle in Kampuchea started in 1968 when a small group of peasants attacked the enemy in Battambang province. The central committee of the party intervened to stop the armed peasants from seizing political power as the country was not yet ready to protect this power. However wide spread attacks on the reactionary forces in the countryside were launched as the peasants were mobilised into a powerful force. Several guerrilla units were

formed throughout the country.

The first attack on the enemy was made in January 1968 in the north eastern region where between four and ten rifles were captured. The second attack was in February 1968 in the south western part where revolutionary forces fought with the police and the army and captured 200 rifles. By March 1968 fighting had spread to the eastern region as the central committee was in session. However the enemy was more careful in this encounter and very few weapons were captured.

In reply the enemy intensified his repression, killing thousands of people and sometimes destroying whole villages and attacking revolutionary base areas.

Armed with revolutionary violence and sometime using their bare hands the people fought back heroically. Fierce fighting broke out again in the north western region and by June 1968 *seventeen of the nineteen provinces were involved* in fighting.

The armed struggle had started in earnest. A major problem was communication. The central committee could not have effective control of the revolution. They could not give tactical directives and all they could do was to indicate the correct line of the revolution. Each region was independent and self reliant, guided only by the party line.

At this stage about 60 000 people were living in the base areas 30 000 of which were in the north eastern region where the Central Committee was housed. This area was occupied by a minority tribe which strongly supported the revolution from the beginning.

TCHENLA II

The party Central Committee decided in December 1969 to launch a general offensive against the enemy. The main purpose of the offensive was to win over the people on the side of the revolution, to cut off supplies to the enemy and to defend the armed forces of the revolution. **Wherever the enemy was defeated the people were evacuated to the Rear Base so the enemy was unable to get manpower for his armed forces and because the white army does not en-**

gage in production the people were evacuated so as to cut supplies to the enemy.

This proved so effective that the U.S. was forced to supply Phnom Penh alone 40000 tons of food per month. The enemy was in a desperate position and in reply planned a major attack Code-named Tchenla II.

This was hatched out by Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Admiral General Moore, General Mckenn and Robert Tompson who was political advisor and military strategist. The aim of Tchenla was to capture the north region. South Vietnamese troops were also used to attack the revolutionary forces from the South east. A motley crowd of reactionary forces was gathered and the strong force was moving northwards. The revolutionary forces were forced to avoid a head on clash with the enemy. The counter offensive was launched from the sides so as to attack the enemy where he is weakest. The South Vietnamese puppet troops were using modern American tanks. The b.40 proved to be the only effective weapons to fight against these tanks. By removing the population from the enemy's line of march and attacking him in the centre and the rear the enemy's manpower was reduced and his supplies cut off. Very soon he realised that he had only men and supplies to defend himself with. Tchenla II was a complete failure.

EVALUATING THE PEOPLE

It is very important to evacuate the people from the enemy occupied areas. Those who refuse to join the evacuation movement will obviously join the enemy and those who willingly join this movement will increase the ranks of the revolutionary forces not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. The enemy also tries to win the people to his side by pretending to serve the people and also enticing them by singing revolutionary songs. No effort must be spared in evacuating the people.

Once evacuated the people must be organised to solve their problems. Democratic Kampuchea experience shows that the most pressing problems were food, clothes and shelter. The people were organised into co-operatives to

solve these problems. In these co-operatives no currency is used so that everybody gets paid according to his needs. This also helps to increase the political consciousness of the people and fights against spying.

NON-ALIGNMENT

Democratic Kampuchea is a non aligned country. In today's world, there is what is called the first world led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. These are two hostile camps whose main aims are to cut the world into spheres of influence. Democratic Kampuchea does not wish to join any of these two camps. Non-aligned countries therefore means independence from both these two camps. Democratic Kampuchea does not have alliances and her relations with other countries are bilateral.

She belongs to the third world, comprising those countries that have gained their independence from colonialism and imperialism and those peoples that are still oppressed.

ON THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT

From its inception, the Communist Party of Kampuchea was a secret organisation. The first reason was that the reactionary regime had banned communism in the country. Using the full weight of its power, the regime mercilessly suppressed the growth of the communist movement by using its notorious tactics of assassination, arrest, torture and all kinds of intimidation. The second reason was that the enemy or the reactionary regime with the help of the U.S. imperialists, had launched a massive anti-communist propaganda campaign which would have been too costly to counter.

For instance, the reactionaries told the people that the communists used a sickle to pull the people by the neck and the hammer to knock them hard on the head. This led to wide spread fear for communism. To the ordinary people the revolutionary movement was led by the National United Front (NUF). This front became powerful and could fight the enemy's attempt to confuse the people. For instance Sam Sary, who left the

country after unsuccessfully fighting for a seat in the National Assembly and who was known to be a C.I.A. agent, attempted, at the insistence of the C.I.A. to form a counter-revolutionary group in Paris. He was simply told to join the N.U.F. if he wished to fight the enemy. He dared not to join the Front because of his crimes.

The strength of the Front was further shown after the Lon Nol coup. Lon Nol released all political prisoners after the coup, called on the Revolutionary Movement to help him consolidate his power against Sihanouk and made all sorts

of empty promises. But the Party Central Committee (CC) which was the guiding force behind the revolution, correctly analysed Lon Nol as more reactionary than Sihanouk and instructed the Revolutionary Movement to save the latter from complete collapse by inviting him to join the National United Front.

Sihanouk, who was too happy to see the downfall of Lon Nol, was made chairman of the front. This was a nominal post as Sihanouk was based in Peking and the Party C.C. had effective control of the revolution.

ON STUDYING AND UNDER- STANDING THE FORMULATIONS OF MATERIALIST DIALECTIC MADE BY PROLETARIAN LEADERS

WAMBA-DIA-WAMBA

Kazu Wamba-dia-Wamba takes a deep look at the development of materialistic dialectics from Marx to Mao Zedong and correctly places revolutionising practice in the centre of the theory and development of the materialistic dialectical approach. For this reason he points out "dialectical materialism is not a system in the sense in which speculative philosophy is constituted of philosophical systems." Materialistic dialectics is in open service of the world outlook of the proletarian struggle to transform the world and from this viewpoint it undergoes a renewal as it faces new challenges in the context of the class struggle in the march towards a communistic society. This is why Marxists place great store on learning from mistakes. It points out the road forward.

Most proletarian leaders have left us with explicit formulations of the "principles", "laws", "fundamental traits," or "features" of materialist dialectics. Others, it is true, were not so explicit; although they were implicitly acting on the basis of some conception of materialist dialectics. To grasp correctly (i.e., as dialectical and historical materialists) each proletarian leader's formulation of the dialectic, the question to ask is not: "what did she/he say about materialist dialectics?" but, "how did she/he work both theoretically and practically?" Only

the last question allows us to uncover the specificity in the practice of each proletarian leader and guides us to see how each proletarian leader came to formulate the dialectic. It is precisely that specificity which accounts for the specificity of each formulation. After all, what is basic in each formulation is not what is reproduced of the other previous ones, but what is new. It is the new element which determines the specificity of each formulation.

Engels and Marx show in their *German Ideology* (1) that every theory is unintelligible if it is

not referred to its material conditions of production or emergence. Hence, simple comparison of different sayings of the proletarian leaders on materialist dialectics does not advance us very far in grasping the significance of those sayings. The correct reading of Mao Zedong's *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, for example, is dependent on an exhaustive understanding of how Mao Zedong worked practically and theoretically, i.e., his thought and actions in relation to the series of political conjunctures of the social context which demanded of him to act.

In other words, we must grasp what was at stake for the proletarian revolution in China and how comprehension of that led Mao as leader of the Communist Party of China to intervene philosophically. We must also evaluate the effects (both theoretical and political) of his interventions.

People who fail to do this, for example Martin Glaberman, end up making an idealist reading of Mao's philosophical interventions. Failing to relate these interventions to the practice for which they served as theoretical guidelines, idealists appeal to external criteria of validity to grasp their significance. As a consequence, the conceptual content, the mode of functioning and the material, social, ideological and philosophical conditions of the process of production of those philosophical interventions are confused. The political positions which were determinant in the working out of Mao Zedong's theoretical positions are not correctly understood. Such an idealist reading, while — as in the case of Glaberman — pretending to take advice from Lenin, goes against the Leninist category 3 of the unity (inseparability: complementary and opposition) of theory and practice and fails to see that "theory is rooted in practice, depends on practice and serves practice" (Mao). Mao's dynamic thought is treated as a static system closed to itself. And in so doing, idealists come to the strange conclusion that Mao's theoretical positions are insignificant and his revolutionary practice, which they guided, is significant. Or as Glaberman puts it; "That Mao made original contributions to modern world cannot be denied. What must be denied is that they have anything to do with philosophy." What does this mean if not that theory has no

relation to practice? One has to prove that Mao's "philosophy" is not a systematization of correct ideas emerging through the revolutionary practice he led.

Why and how we come to read Mao Zedong, for example, also determines the form of our reading. If we come to read Mao Zedong as bourgeois or petty bourgeois philosophers searching for "philosophical profundity per se and an internally coherent philosophical system" in his essays, we will surely be, like Glaberman, disappointed. Our class (political) position, in this case, remaining at variance with that of the proletariat, its corresponding theoretical positions, in relation to a specific political conjuncture, will be at variance with the proletarian theoretical positions. We may even become hostile to those trying to develop or to work out proletarian theoretical positions as required by the current conjuncture. All this may be done under the pretext of defending an orthodoxy (past established positions, for example) which, without being re-worked out anew, has become incapable of cognitively appropriating the current situation. **Dialectical materialism is not a system in the sense in which speculative philosophy is constituted of philosophical systems. The great philosophical interventions of proletarian leaders are not prescribed by an internal systematic necessity but by the concrete requirements of the ideological struggle. Here too, practice is the real beginning.** This is in contradiction with bourgeois philosophy — at least up to Wittgenstein — dominated by the pathos of a quest for the unshakable grounding, permanent certainty, ultimate starting point (commencement radical), apodictic evidence, the one just principle or truth, the essential substratum, pure scientificity, etc. For marxists ideas or theory never begin anything, they are already outcomes of definite practices.

MARXISM-LENINISM AND PHILOSOPHY

Mao Zedong's practice of philosophy, in fact the Marxist-Leninist practice of philosophy announced by the XIth *thesis on Feuerbach*, is politically and theoretically different from and even opposed to that of the bourgeois and reac-

tionary petty-bourgeois philosophers. It takes a side and is geared, not to a mere description of the world, but to a working out of guidelines to actions which transform the world. This is Lenin's principle of partisanship in philosophy. (4) Marx's work, from his *Theses on Feuerbach* on, Engel's work, Lenin's work, Mao's work . . . and even the work of the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, all underline this difference of Marxist-Leninist practise of philosophy. (5)

Our specific socio-historical context (of modern revisionism, of the crisis of the International Communist movement, of the exacerbation of the capitalist-imperialist contradictions, etc.) requires us to take advice from Mao Zedong, for example, because the revolutionary problematics (= the order of question) we presently confront reproduces certain basic elements of the revolutionary problematics successfully confronted by the Communist party of China led by Mao Zedong. The partial congruence between the revolutionary problematics required by our present situation and the revolutionary problematics confronted and dealt with by the Communist Party of China under Mao's leadership makes us see the exact significance, for us, of Mao's theoretical positions. (6) The originality of these positions relies not only on Mao's position as coming after the October Revolution nor on his ingenuity, but, above all, on the position he occupies in history, that of a conscious practitioner in class battles and an analyst of forces and places of a social formation in the current zone or tempests.

Moreover, if we fail theoretically and practically (politically) to see that congruence as an expression of the present form of the fundamental contradiction bourgeoisie vs. proletariat, we cannot understand correctly the revolutionary significance, for the world revolutionary movement, of Mao Zedong's philosophical positions. Instead, as modern revisionists inside the Communist Party of China wished, Maoism will be understood to be significant only for the People's Republic of China. And this reflects a certain conception of the International Communist Movement. (7) This is a common technique in the revolutionary movement. In Africa, for example, the right wing of the People's Convention Party of Ghana, under Kwame Nkrumah, op-

posing socialism pushed forth the notion of "Nkrumahism" as "an original and typically African doctrine;" to cut it from the other world revolutionary and socialist experiences from whose rich teachings Ghana had to take advice.

The current situation and the ideological and theoretical requirements of its revolutionary problematics determine the reading and understanding of past formulations of materialist dialectic. The problems raised by the revolutionary practice in the current conjuncture call for the development of, and thus the relativization of, the existing theory to guide such practise. The limitations of such a theory, concentrated expression of the teachings of past practices, become explicit. It is the concrete situation, in its currency, which always confronts political practice. And this currency calls for a new necessary connection between theoretical analysis and politics which is the very core of Marxism.

"All Marxist theory, wrote Hindess and Hirst, however abstract and general, exists to make possible the analysis of the current situation. This situation must not be conceived as an object given in the real, social reality at a given moment in time. The analysis of the current situation is not a state description of the social formation. The current situation does not exist independently of the political practise which constitutes it as an object. The current situation exists for Marxist theory only in so far as it is given a definite form by Marxist political practice, and in so far as definite problems are designated as objects of analysis or criticism within that practice. These problems are problems of political practice and are specified in political terms. (8)

In other words, the advocacy, creation and elaboration of theory is a task specified by political practice in so far as the latter confronts the current situation. The problem of reading and correctly understanding the formulations of materialist dialectic made by proletarian leaders — or by the organic intellectuals of the proletariat — is part of the problem raised by the materialist and dialectical reading of texts of the revolutionary movement in general.

PRACTISE IS KEY

Such a reading raises difficult **political, theoretical** and even **pedagogical** questions. What is the relationship between those texts and real revolutionary struggles, between those texts and the masses who make history, between those texts and the current situation? From which point of anchorage, are those texts properly understood? Pierre Raymond wrote:

"Marx's venture produces a new type of science in which a link between theory and practice must take place, not only for practice to be carried out according to theoretical analysis, but also for theory to arise from and be rooted in correct positions; a science in which the law of each level of social reality can fully explain only part of the reproduction of its conditions and never their replacement or transformation; a science in which a contradiction is never a negation or a logical impossibility, but a scale ranging from differences to various types of antagonisms; a science in which movements are not identical to the transformation of movements; the latter always implying not only the action of several levels of contradiction on one another, but also contradictions which themselves have arrived at determined stages of development (but no generalization can possibly be inferred from it due to the uniqueness of situations and the practical utilization of contradictions by political practice)." (9) And elsewhere he wrote:

"... but history (historical materialism) is that original science which is possible as **true** science only on the basis of a correct political commitment, that is to say, that theory which must conceptualize the functioning principles (or laws) of the diverse sectors of society dependent on the relationship between the real conditions of their production, their reproduction or their transformation, conditions which exist only through political practice. It is in that sense, that history is a theory of a dialectic: it is linked to one sort of political practice and it leads to another one; ..." (10)

What do those quotations imply? **That the condition for understanding marxist theory properly is a correct political commitment. The correctness of a political commitment is not a**

question of a correct *mental attitude*. "The question whether objective truth is an attribute, wrote Marx (11), of human thought — is not a theoretical but a *practical* question. Man must prove the truth, i.e. the reality and power, the "this-sidedness" of his thinking in practice. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking that is isolated from practice is a purely *scholastic question*." And Lenin concurred with Marx when he wrote: "... the practice of man and of mankind is the test, the criterion of the objectivity of cognition" (12) and "Practice is higher than (theoretical) knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality, but also of immediate actuality." (13) "The stand point of practice, says Mao, is the primary and basic stand point in dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge," (14) and "as man's practice which changes objective reality in accordance with (existing) ideas, theories, plans or programmes, advances further and further, his knowledge of objective reality likewise becomes deeper and deeper." (15) **Correct political commitment and practice, i.e. involvement in revolutionary struggles, involvement in people's struggles of resistance, develop one's knowledge of the objective reality of revolutionary struggles.**

THEORY AND RECTIFICATION OF MISTAKES

Marxist texts must not be read arbitrarily; they are not just an expression of a general call of the revolutionary movement, but each text is primarily an expression of a particular call, a specific struggle within that movement. As outcomes of definite changes and practices, their autonomy is not absolute and their **social utility** is historically determined. Their message has an absolute element within its dominant relative element, though.

To correctly read a text is to understand besides its effects on/in the current unity of contraries theory/practice, the social, material, ideological and theoretical conditions of its production; those conditions determine its conceptual content and its mode of functioning. A new thought always implies old thoughts preceding it and which it tries to modify. Moreover, a thought is not a simple abstraction from reality.

The process of transformation of concepts involves an historical relationship which determines the exercise of their experimental relationship with reality. And this exercise or conceptual experimentation gives rise to errors, mistakes, deviations, etc., besides correct ideas; and their rectification, also governed by the experimental relationship of those ideas with reality, further develop the concepts. The rectification process is not just a re-adjustment of one's process of abstracting from reality, it is also a long process of experimentation which may also lead to new mistakes and the need for further rectification. And those mistakes are also important to grasp the correct theory which is their ultimate rectification. An advanced theory, not only includes all the preceding correct ideas, but also gives a fuller account of the mistakes and limitations of previous theories that it deals with and tries to rectify. In fact, such a theory is in part an outcome of the rectification process of past mistakes.

In the history of the communist movement all revolutionaries have made mistakes and even deviationist errors; the rectification of those errors has made them become better and better revolutionaries. It is only through involvement in the revolutionary struggles and the practice of identifying vigilantly and readily rectifying errors that outstanding leaders emerge. "The materialist doctrine (old materialism of Diderot-F Feuerbach) concerning the changing of circumstances and education forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that the educator himself must be educated. This doctrine has therefore to divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society. The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing (new materialism based not on naturalism but on historical perspective) can only be comprehended and rationally understood as **revolutionary practice.**" (16) To understand the formulations of materialist dialectic made by proletarian leaders is also to understand how the latter became proletarian **leaders**. It is the process of self-transformation through transformation of reality which made those leaders formulate materialist dialectic as concentrated summary of correct ways of acting (practically and cognitively) to pursue the

process of self-transformation through transformation of reality. The teachings of the highest level reached by such a process give an account of the teachings of the previous levels. That is, there is both continuity and discontinuity; it is the latter that is determinant that is why materialist dialectic is a logic of discontinuities.

A book, to the extent that it is an integral part of the social reality, is a dialectical entity: it is a material condensation of two opposite stands struggling against each other with one dominating. Its very conceptual content is shaped by the struggle between the position it attacks — whether explicitly or implicitly — and the position it pushes and articulates or advocates. Mistakes, errors or deviations may also be effects of a capitulation to the line being struggled against. Whatever is affirmed in the book is affirmed against whatever it denies. This struggle may take many expressive forms: the new vs. the old, truth vs. falsity, practicable vs. nonpracticable, idealism vs. materialism, etc.

Why is Marx so meticulously accurate in his *Capital* or Lenin in his *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, for examples? Chauvinists and idealists resolve that question into psychologism or biologism; (17) they fail to see that Marx, Lenin or any proletarian leader are, besides being natural (biological, psychological) formations, first of all, historico-social formations. They were shaped by historical struggles in which they were involved and emerged as proletarian leaders. Involved in proletarian struggles, summoned by the revolutionary problematics of the current situation as determined by proletarian political practice, they intervened theoretically and practically producing correct ideas summarized in their books. The real process of proletarian struggle, to be victorious, calls for a correct theory **servicing** the proletariat and decimating the bourgeois ideologies of capitulation (philanthropic and repressive ideologies) infiltrating and emerging in the ranks of the proletariat. Practically involved in proletarian struggles, Marx confronts that theoretical demand without ever forgetting completely the other aspects of proletarian struggles: the result is his *Capital* among other works. At the very moment that the proletariat is pushed around and solicited to accept its dominated

and exploited position, Marx, in accord with, and reinforcing their position, proletarian persistent militants, proves that "the proletariat is right to overthrow violently the bourgeoisie."

Outside of the involvement in the real process of proletarian struggles, it is impossible to understand Marx's Capital. That is, outside of a correct political commitment, Capital is not understood as a work of true science. This is what all the "academic readings" of Capital, in their very mystifications, demonstrate. It is not a question of a lack of "intelligence" on the part of the "academics", nor is it one of the lack of "good will": the correct view point and stand which underline Marx's method of investigation and presentation are missing in the academics' outlook. One gets this viewpoint not from epistemological quibblings alone which it helps settle, but from a real involvement in the proletarian struggles against capitalist production relations and for socialism.

MARXIST CLASSICS AND PRACTICE

Creative mentation — as Lyn Marcus (18) describes the dialectic — is not simply an outcome or contemplative meditation on the epistemological history, but it is provoked and encouraged by real cognitive demands, real ideological and theoretical requirements of specific struggles. Specific necessity (or as Lenin would say: the present moment of the concrete situation) is the mother of inventions. The historical confrontation between idealism and materialism is not a question of mental posture *per se*, but first of all, an outcome of various shifts in class relations requiring from class members definite mental postures.

How do certain texts become and function as "classics" and how do they cease to be "classics"? How does the process of knowledge transcend the "classics" and produce new "classics"? The current crisis of the Communist International Movement has given rise to the "call to return to the "classics" to resolve, so to speak, the crisis. It is, in fact, a call to "practice" a new "reading" of Marxist theory, that is, a call for a transformation of the mode of functioning of the present unity of contraries

theory/practice implied in the existing Marxist theory. It calls for the recognition of the primacy of practice, the rebellion of the masses of people against oppression — including that of "communist parties". We have examined this question in some details elsewhere (19) In this context, the history of crises (revolutionary, scientific, economic, etc.) is crucial to throw some light on this question. This problem of "reading past theories" come to the fore usually after something **really new** emerges through political practice, scientific experimentation or production; and the ideological or theoretical struggles it generates are experienced as struggles between two opposites (paradigms, political lines, problematics, etc.): for the new element or against it. While "past theory" may be sufficient to guide actions required by the management or administration of the old, the new requires leadership and not administration and such a leadership to be correct requires new theory. As theory of discontinuities and of scissions, as logic of catastrophes, materialist dialectic is first of all the primacy of practice: the affirmation of the historical objectivity of ruptures or breaks made possible by the eruption of mass uprising. It is the masses who make history (whose subject matter is precisely the current situation: i.e. the **new**) and not the concepts. The process of revolutionary organizing is transformed, penetrated, and divided by this primacy of practice: mass eruption. "The leading group should not and cannot remain unchanged at the beginning of, during, or at the end of a great struggle" (Mao). It is that something new, introduced by *mass interventions, which transforms the existing theory.* "The masses make history, practice is primary in relation to theory. Therefore, there is somewhere a rest of 'pure practice' which may never be completely deduced or organized by historical materialism and theory, since their deductions and organizational principles assume it as a fact." (20)

Revolutionary "skills" cannot be acquired just by reading the texts of the "classics". Practice has always led to a new and original reading of the "classics". It is practice which forces people to correctly read the existing texts. Intensively involved in the revolutionary movement of Russia and Europe generally, Lenin re-

reads, through a reading of Marx imposed by the current struggles, Hegel. Similarly, Mao corrects Stalin through a reading of Lenin, Marx, and Engels imposed by current struggles in the Chinese revolution — in which he emerges as a leader — and the world communist movement generally. The process of acquiring the so-called "revolutionary skills" necessarily involves practice as the focal process and the anchorage of correct ideas.

WHY DEVELOPMENT OF DIALECTICS DEEPENED BY PROLETARIAN LEADERS

Why, from Marx/Engels to Lenin, to Stalin, and to Mao Zedong, has the systematization of the principles of materialist dialectic given us in each case different formulations? And this process has been a progressive deepening movement, from a less developed to a very developed conception of one, some, or all basic principles of the dialectic. This development, to be sure, has not been historically unilinear, but rather spiral. In relation to Lenin's, for example, Stalin's conception — forced by the current situation he confronted — is one step backward.

Each great proletarian leader has intervened in a different concrete conjuncture with the most advanced theoretical positions established in the communist movement serving as supporting theoretical conditions, and mass resistance struggles as the starting base. **The old has always been re-systematized, i.e., corrected, adjusted or deepened, from the perspective of the new, which comes from the mass resistance movement.**

Materialistic dialectic is not a set of algebraic formulas to be memorized, parroted and passed around as such — as is often done in some study groups. Each proletarian revolution (victorious or not) has given us a new and enriched distribution of emphasis on its major principles and their articulation. **It is in this sense that Lenin attached a privileged role to errors in the process of rectification and deepening of knowledge, to a point where he gave them a heuristic primacy over "truth". It is worse, he believed, to be blind and silent vis-à-vis an error than to make it. Errors, when correctly (i.e. politically**

and scientifically) grasped, are important material occasions for political practice to re-adjust its arrows on the real target.

The crises in the working class movement, which was due to the emergence of modern revisionism, and which manifested itself in the International Communist Movement under the form of the sino-soviet split, made the problem of reading the "classical texts" more difficult. Even today, some Marxists have not yet grasped the significance of the internal scission of the International Communist Movement: Marxism vs. modern Revisionism; revolution vs. counter-revolution; continuation of class struggles under the Proletarian dictatorship vs. the end of class struggles under the proletarian dictatorship, etc. Since both camps talk, and justify their actions in the name of Marxism, reading the "classical texts" has ceased being taken for granted. It is not just what one reads or how one reads it, but also how and why one comes to read what one does.

Louis Althusser, shaped by the crisis and shaping the non-victorious French proletarian revolution which ended with the downfall of De Gaulle, has made a great contribution on this question in his head-on attack on both empiricism ("facts contain their own knowledge" or "facts speak themselves") and idealism ("ideas contain their own facts" or "facts are ideas"). (21) While he deals with some of the important questions of theory and ideology in the communist movement — brought to light by the Soviet path of the building of socialism and its concrete criticism by the Chinese proletarian revolution — he fails to draw the most important conclusion: the necessity of building a party of the new type. Althusser wants to reform the French Communist Party from within. Can modern revisionism be kicked out from the FCP from within? Althusser — and his disciples (Balibar, Lecourt, etc.) — is clear that a new formulation of dialectic; a new way of acting is required by the proletarian class struggles in the present conjuncture. While correctly starting from the French current conjuncture of class struggles, he fails to root himself on the most advanced formulation in the world communist movement, that of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), as the supporting condition

of his theoretical work. He fails to grasp correctly the errors brought to light by May '68. His attempts at making his self-criticism fall flat: the political conditions and consequences of his "theoreticism" (i.e. idealism) are bypassed. (22) Althusserism is today a left wing modern revisionism of the FCP.

On the particular question of reading, Althusser has clearly shown that reading is not an innocent affair. In its double meaning (as 1. reading of the current conjuncture and 2. reading of the thought-mirroring that conjuncture), reading is practicing a problematic or a paradigm, it is making a text function in a certain manner, it is decoding, it is, in fact, re-creating the text. It is important for our western revolutionary friends to ask themselves why they see Althusserism more appropriate than Maoism, the Marxism of our time. Reading is an operation: it is a process of reconstructing the text from the theoretical *and ideological preoccupation of the current situation*, which, in fact, directs the distribution of emphasis on what has to be underlined and what has to be left into silence. This is practicing historical materialism in relation to the reading of "classical texts".

The text is not a neutral and innocent medium for carrying a neutral "message". The events, historical ruptures, the emergence of the masses on the historical scene such as the GPCR i.e. the advanced practice of the current conjuncture, call for a reformulation of proletarian politics which requires further elaboration of historical and dialectical materialism and hence a new reading of Marxism-Leninism.

THE PROLETARIAN LEADERS DIFFERENT APPROACH TO DIALECTICS

Most of the so-called "textbooks of Dialectical Materialism or Marxist Philosophy" talk about five laws of dialectic: the law of the universal interconnection, the law of movement or change, the law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice-versa, the law of unity of opposites and the law of the negation of negation. Like in other branches of knowledge, such as mathematics for example, the full account of the historical development of each law, the

mistakes, errors, blind alleys, dead ends contradictions encountered before its present formulation, etc., is not given. The mode of scientific presentation tends to put emphasis on the absolute character of knowledge as opposed to its approximate character. In the hands of idealists, the whole mathematical apparatus is presented as if it were absolutely perfect and there were no problems, blind alleys, openended issues, etc. encountered on the process which led to the present formulation of mathematical theorems, postulates and axioms. The experimental character — mostly grasped through the mode of investigation —, which is the principal aspect of any science, is left in the background.

A glance at the formulations of the proletarian leaders (annex I) shows that the status — its place in the formulation — given to each law or trait is different. In that successive formulation of materialist dialectic, the law of transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa, for example, does not seem to have a confirmed dialectical character. While Engels considers it as the first law, Lenin treats it as a particular case of a more general thesis of the passage of each determination into its opposite, and Mao Zedong does not even talk about it in his "On Contradiction" and later on (23) he treats it as a case of the unity of quality and quantity considered as opposites. Stalin deepens it and reformulates it as the dialectic of the gradual quantitative accumulation and sudden qualitative breaks making it possible to go from one state to another state.

While Engels takes over Hegel's law of the negation of the negation and claims it to be the third law of materialist dialectic, Stalin does not retain it as a fundamental trait of dialectical method. Lenin retains it, but gives it a different content, i.e. a materialist content as the thesis of the spiral form of development characterized by the "repetition of certain features of the lower stage in the higher" and the "apparent return of the old (negation of the negation)." (24) As we will see later, Mao even denies the existence of the law of the negation of the negation in dialectical method.

For Lenin, as well as for Mao, the core of materialist dialectics is the law of the unity of opposites in which "unity (coincidence, identity,

equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p.360.) In other words, "one divides into two." In Engels' and Stalin's formulations, such a central thesis is only approximately formulated and makes it therefore possible for its mechanistic, evolutionist and vulgar utilization.

All those differences of the status of each law or thesis of materialist dialectic are not accidental: they are witnesses of the concrete questions confronted by each proletarian leader. When unity in the working class movement has been a primary concern (Engels, Stalin), the emphasis has been put on the interconnection aspects — materialist side of dialectic —. When the scission of the movement became inevitable as the condition for the movement to advance (Lenin against the 11nd International, Mao against dogmatism and modern revisionism) the emphasis has been correctly put on the absolute character of the struggle of opposites. This confirms the fact that materialist dialectic is a logic of breaks. In each case, to really

understand each formulation, is to grasp the current situation which gave rise to it. It is to ask the question what was the currency of the situation i.e. what was new and how this new element came out of the old element? Today too, to grasp and practice the possibilities open by those formulations, but also their limitations, to keep up with the concrete analysis of the present moment of our concrete situation i.e. we must ask, "What is new today as far as revolution is concerned and therefore as far as materialist dialectic is concerned?"

It is to grasp this absolute primacy of practice that principles and practices such as "conscientious practice of criticism and self-criticism," "two line struggle," "the communist summation," the distinction of the method of investigation from that of presentation, democratic centralism, etc. are required by revolutionary organizations. They are forms of implementation of dialectical method which aims at a tendential and asymptotic appropriation of reality in itself into reality for us. To be a Marxist, is to be at the school of history, at the school of class struggles, of its gains and its present developments in the world revolution.

ANNEX I

TABLEAU OF THE VARIOUS FORMULATIONS OF MATERIALIST DIALECTICS BY PROLETARIAN LEADERS

MARX: (1818-1883) (left no explicit formulation)

- law of overdetermination/underdetermination;
- law of dominance and determination in the last instance;
- reality is a process
- concrete analysis of the concrete situation

F. ENGELS: (1820-1895)

- law of the passage from quantity to quality and vice-versa;
- law of the interpenetration of contraries;
- law of the negation of the negation;

LENIN: (1870-1924)

- law of the general interdependence (principle of

totality)

- all reality is a process;
- contradiction is the essence of processes;
- spiral form of development;
- one divides into two;
- concrete analysis of the concrete situation;
- relativity of the unity of contraries and the absolute character of their struggle;

STALIN: (1879-1953)

- law of general interdependence;
- the absolute character of the invincibility of the rising forces;
- law of the dialectic of the gradual quantitative accumulation and sudden qualitative breaks leading from one state to another;
- internal contradictions are inherent in all things, and constitute the internal content of the process of development and the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes;

MAO ZEDONG: (1893-1976)

- all reality is a process;
- every process is, in the last resort, a system of contradictions;
- in a process (i.e., a system of contradictions) there is always one contradiction which is principal;
- every contradiction is dissymmetrical: one of the terms of the contradiction always dominates in the overall movement of the contradiction itself. This is the theory of the principal aspect of the contradiction.
- there exist different types of contradictions whose resolution requires different processes. The principal distinction to be made, on this matter, is that between antagonistic contradictions and non-antagonistic ones.

ANNEX II

a) WHAT IS MARXISM?

This is a major question of our time. In the name of Marxism some people who call themselves "marxists" still continue to dominate, exploit and alienate the majority of the people instead of fighting for their liberation.

b) THREE SOURCES OF MARXISM

Lenin said: there are three parts in Marxism; **political economy**: the science which explains capitalism, crisis, and the exploitation of workers. The science which explains the existence of classes: the working class, the bourgeoisie, the peasantry, etc.

— **philosophy**: the method with which one thinks. The main principles of how to grasp reality: the fact that **practice** is the basis of all. The fact that the ideas one holds depend on one's position/place in society. The fact that everything which develops divides into two, is contradictory, and not simple, etc.

— **scientific socialism**: it is the idea of class struggles. The idea that every class society is led or ruled by one class which exercises its class dictatorship. The idea that the movement of history leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the disappearance of all classes, to communism.

c) WHAT UNITES ALL THOSE THREE PARTS?

The unity does not come from the sky. Nor does it come from nature. It comes from practice alone. (this is a materialist stand.) It comes from the proletariat in its *real* revolutionary action. It comes from the revolutionary proletarian policy carried out by the masses of people. Marxism can not, should not, and must not be reduced to each of those 3 parts. Marxism is not a philosophy, a political economy, nor a political science. Marxism is not a simple summation of those three parts either. Marxism is first of all the proletarian class point of view in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. Class revolutionary practice is the real basis of the unity of Marxism, at each moment of its history. Marxism, with its three

parts, is the politics of the proletariat. It is the practice and the theory of class struggles by the proletariat. It is the mastery of the driving contradiction ("Contradiction Motrice"): bourgeoisie/proletariat.

d) THE THREE STAGES OF MARXISM

Marxism was born in 19th C. at the same time that the revolutionary proletarian class was born. What does that class think? That it must lead the revolution, insure its class dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. That it must overthrow the bourgeoisie. Marxism is the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution. With Marxism, the proletariat becomes, in history, a **political class**. This means that the proletariat is a class with a political project concerning the **people as a whole**. A real project of state and society. The proletariat aims at transforming society in its entirety, society as a whole.

Being a revolutionary force (and not only a force of resistance or revolt), the Marxist proletariat has a strategy, it follows a line. It can organize class alliances. It can lead to victory a real camp of the people. It can imprint on everything that the people want to see transformed (in life and in social relations) with its anti-bourgeois class character.

A political class is a class with a theory, a world outlook, a dynamic vision of the people and a strategy to defeat the enemy.

The other great class of our time, the bourgeoisie, also has a global conception of the people, of society and the state. Such a conception is in antagonistic opposition to that of the proletariat.

What advances and develops Marxism is revolutions. In a revolution, the contradiction bourgeoisie/proletariat bursts as a global contradiction and organizes the whole field of politics which comprises, and orients class actions in, a specific conjuncture.

The history of Marxism, is the history of the world proletarian revolution, in its great burstings. It is not for nothing that the great proletarian theoreticians and leaders have their names associated with revolutionary episodes:

MARX, ENGELS: June 1848 insurrection, Paris Commune (1871).

It is the birth of the marxist theory of classes and class struggles; the emergence of the directive of the **political** organization of the proletariat; the concept of the party, the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the socialist revolution. Marx and Engels drew the line of demarcation between scientific socialism and utopian socialism.

LENIN, STALIN: the October Revolution.

It is the development of the directive of the Dictatorship of the proletariat, which draws the line of demarcation between Marxism and Reformism inside the working class.

MAO ZEDONG and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution:

it is the experience of the continuation of class struggles under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the line of demarcation between Marxism and Modern Revisionism.

Those three revolutionary experiences, systematized

ba Marxism, represent each a stage in the development of the proletarian ideology.

e) REVOLUTION IN THE POST OF COMMAND

To understand the history of Marxism, we must look at proletarian politics, i.e., proletarian revolution. Major proletarian revolutions (which bring forth the great problems of proletarian policy) develop Marxism.

But we must also take into account the objective economic base of capitalism. World capitalism has passed through two stages: the stage of the classical competitive capitalism and that of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

Marx and Engels developed the theory of the first stage. Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong developed the theory of the second stage, the theory of imperialism. It is because they respectively led the proletariat and the people against those two forms of capitalism.

But, it is not capitalism which is the motive force of history. It is class struggle. And it is the class struggle of the proletariat which is the motive force of Marxism. That is why inside the same stage of capitalism there is something new in Marxism. Something new emerging through the political revolutions led by the proletariat. Paris Commune (1871), October 17, Cultural Revolution (65-69) are moments of the antagonistic contradiction against successive forms of bourgeois world. Marxism develops in stages by systematizing the experiences of those revolutions; by registering the established teachings. By searching, through action, the solution to open and unresolved problems.

Footnotes

(1) Karl Marx and F. Engels, *German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York, 1969, esp. pp.27-29 "Concerning the Production of Consciousness". See also Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, esp. pp.20-21. For those who find these two works too "Hegelian", the criticism of Adolph Wagner (1882) by Marx, confirms the basic methodology referred to above.

(2) Glaberman, Martin, "Mao as Dialectician", in *International Philosophical Quarterly*, vol. III, no. 1, March, 1968.

(3) Alain Badiou discusses this very point in a very convincing manner. *The necessary link between theory and practice is an internal condition of theory itself*. See his *Theorie de la Contradiction*, François Maspéro, Collection "Yenan Synthèses", Paris, 1975, pp.16-18. See also Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 38, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, pp.212-219. "The unity of the theoretical idea (of knowledge) and of practice — this N.B. — and this unity precisely in the theory of knowledge, for the

resulting sum is the 'absolute idea' (and the idea = 'das objektive Wahre')" (p.219). Commenting on this text, Badiou says: "Ce n'est pas n'importe quelle pratique qui est l'ancrage interne de la théorie, c'est la révolte contre les réactionnaires. Et la théorie, en retour ne légifère pas extérieurement sur la pratique, sur la révolte: elle s'y incorpore par le dégagement médiateur de sa raison.", *o.p.cit.*, p.20 ("It is not just any practice which is the internal anchorage of theory, it is the rebellion against reactionaries. And theory, in return, does not legislate on practice from the outside. . .")

(4) "The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism," wrote Mao, "has two outstanding characters. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practical character: it emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice.", "On Practice", in *Selected Works*, vol. I, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p.296. Bourgeois philosophy too is based on practice (of exploitation and oppression), and openly defends private property, free enterprise and parliamentarism, for example. Plato, Aristotle, Leibniz, Spinoza, Rousseau, Hegel, etc. were all theoreticians of politics, and many among them practitioners as well. The emphasis has to be put on the terms "in the service of" and "openly". The distinctive character of dialectical materialism is to be openly a partisan philosophy ("philosophie de parti"). It is the servant of the revolutionary practice of the proletariat which is organized as a political class (i.e. with a project of state and society) to exercise its class dictatorship. See Alain Badiou and F. Balmès, *De l'Idéologie*, F. Maspéro, Paris, 1976.

(5) See also: Georges Labica, *Le Statut Marxiste de la Philosophie*, Edition Complexe, Bruxelles, 1976. In this work, the author examines the long and hard combat of Marx and Engels against and with philosophy, leading to two basic ideas: a) there is only one science, the science of history in its two inseparable or dialectical aspects, history of nature or what is called the science of nature, and the history of men; b) philosophy is an integral part of ideology. The unique science, history, makes it possible to conceptualize the relationship: proletariat/materialism/revolution/science. If philosophy is reduced to idealism — as Hegel says — then materialism, which continually fights it, will abolish it. For marxists, then, philosophy implies a protracted struggle — "prise de parti, prise de position contre l'idéalisme" — against idealism. Labica also seems to show that contrary to Althusser, historical materialism is not **another** continent among other continents (mathematics, physics) opened by Marx.

(6) "There is only one great philosopher of our time: Mao Zedong. And it is not a name, nor a work, but time itself, which has as its essence the present form of war: revolution vs. counter-revolution.", Chahier Yenan, No.4, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6.

(7) Etudes maoïstes, "marxisme et Politique (II)", in *Le marxiste-leniniste*, No.17, juin, 1977, p.17. See also other UCFML studies: *Le Maoïsme et la Situation Actuel-*

le en Chine; Le Maoïsme, Marxisme de Notre Temps; Une Etude Maoïste: la Situation en Chine et le Mouvement dit "de Critique de la Bande des Quatre", all published by Editions Potemkine, Paris, 1976-1977.

(8) Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst, *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, Boston, 1975, p.322. While this important work bends the stick too much toward theoreticism (i.e. idealism), it does raise crucial questions for marxist theoretical analysis. It is not quite explicit about the nature of the political practice implied by the present moment of the concrete situation which — through its theoretical conjuncture — summons the authors to intervene theoretically. Marxist theoretical analysis is about the conceptualization of the relationship: proletariat / materialism / revolution / science. Which political practice (revolutionary practice) serves as the anchorage of their theory? Which pertinent effects on the material conditions of the mistakes, errors or deviations are implied by their theoretical attacks? What about the process of rectification? Doesn't marxist theoretical analysis necessarily lead to the question: "What is to be done?", i.e. to the formulation of directives, guidelines to revolutionary actions? Is theory the starting point? In a specific "current situation", the central aspect of theory is determined by political practice. The directive "class struggle in theory" must be completed, and in fact is determined by its complementary "theory in class struggles". What are the **new** struggles which are making it possible to think new "ideas" which are, in fact systematization of ideas emerging through those struggles? There is no revolutionary theory as such, it is through the **unity** revolutionary practice/theory that theory becomes revolutionary. It is revolutionary theory that guides revolutionary practice and it is revolutionary practice which makes revolutionary theory possible and develops it. Despite its mistakes and limitations, the work of Jacques Rancière, besides that of Alain Badiou mentioned above, is crucially important in this respect: *La Leçon d'Althusser*, Collection Idées, Editions Gallimard, Paris, 1974, and "Response a Lévy", in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, July 31, 1977. Those who think that the ills of revolutionary struggles and failures of socialism are due to the fact of not having read marxist texts properly, or those who attribute them to their having been read too well have to ponder on Rancière's insistence on the primacy of practice, the primacy of people's rebellion.

(9) Pierre Raymond, *Matérialisme Dialectique et Logique*, François Maspero, Collection "Alogarithme", Paris, 1977, pp.69-70. This book raises very important questions concerning dialectical and historical materialism and attacks ideologies of rigor (Hegel, Wittgenstein, Carnap, Bolzano, Popper, etc.). His claim that a contradiction may not be dialectical is not convincing. Doesn't this lead to a reduction of the dialectic to a critical theory of knowledge?

(10) Pierre Raymond, "... et la Théorie Dans la Lutte des Classes", in *Dialectiques*, No. 15-16, p.139. See also his *L'Histoire et les Sciences*, François Maspero, Paris,

1975; *De La Combinatoire aux Probabilités*, Maspero, Paris, 1975; with others, *Philosophie et Calcul de l'Infini*, Maspero, Paris, 1976. All these works deepen our understanding of the theoretical work from the materialist perspective. Raymond's tendency to assign to dialectical materialism the task of serving as a general theory of symbolic forms seems to me to be theoreticist.

(11) Karl Marx and F. Engels, *op. cit.*, IInd Thesis on Feuerbach, p. 197.

(12) V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol 38, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 211.

(13) V.I. Lenin, *ibid.*, p. 213.

(14) Mao Zedong, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

(15) Mao Zedong, *ibid.*, p. 307.

(16) Karl Marx and F. Engels, *op. cit.*, The IIIrd Thesis on Feuerbach, p. 197.

(17) I am referring to all those theoreticians who make of the instinct ("freudo-marxians" among others) or racial characteristics or just biological characteristics (the brain etc.) the foundation and motive force of theoretical work. I refer also to ideologies of the genius as the maker of history. See for example Serge Latouche, *3Epistémologie et Economie*, Editions Anthropos, Paris, 1974. A major criticism of those ideologies has been made by Cahiers Yenan, No. 1, *Marxisme-Léninisme et Psychoanalyse*, Maspero, Paris, 1975, and also by Michel Clouscard, *Neo-Facisme et Ideologie du Désir*, Denoel/Gonthier, Paris, 1973, and Cahier Yenan No. 4, *La Situation Actuelle sur le Front de la Philosophie*, F. Maspero, Paris, 1977, esp. Chapters 2 & 3.

(18) I am referring to Marcus' "technicist" conception of materialist dialectic as expressed, for example, in the "Genealogical" Diagram of Principle Currents of Modern Epistemology" which opens his book from which the non-western world is absent. See: *Dialectical Economics*, D.C. Heath and Co., Lexington, Mass, 1975.

(19) "On the Call to 'Return to the Classics' and African Revolutionary Intellectuals", in *Ikwezi*, No. 9, April, 1978.

(20) Cahier Yenan No. 4, *op. cit.*, p. 27. See also Alain Badiou, "Le Flux et le Parti", in *Théorie et Politique*, No. 6, mars, 1976.

(21) For some details see Althusser's works, more particularly *For Marx*, Vintage Books, New York, 1970; *Essays in Self-Criticism*, NLR Books, London, 1976; *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, MRP, New York, 1971; with others, *Lire le Capital I, II*, F. Maspero, Paris, 1965, 1968. See also Saul Karsz, *Théorie et Politique: Louis Althusser*, Fayard, Paris, 1974, and Alex Callinicos, *Althusser's Marxism*, Pluto Press Ltd., London, 1976.

(22) The best criticism of Althusser's work is done by Alain Badiou in his post 1968 works including *Théorie de la Contradiction, op. cit.*, and with Balme *De l'Idéologie, op. cit.*

(23) Stuart Schram, *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1974. On p. 240, Mao says: "It used to be said that there were three great laws of dialectics, then Stalin said that there were four. In my view there is only one basic law and that is the law of contradiction. Quality and quantity, positive and negative, external appearance and essence, content and form, necessity and freedom, possibility and reality, etc. are all cases of the unity of opposites." On p. 226, he says: "Engels talked about the three categories, but as for me I don't believe in two of those categories. (The

unity of opposites is the most basic law, the transformation of quality and quantity into one another is the unity of opposites quality and quantity, and the negation of negation does not exist at all.) The juxtaposition, on the same level, of the transformation of quality and quantity into one another, the negation of the negation, and the law of the unity of opposites is 'triplism', not monism. The most basic thing is the unity of opposites. The transformation of quality and quantity into one another is the unity of the opposites quality and quantity. There is no such thing as the negation of the negation. Affirmation, negation, affirmation, negation — in the development of things, every link in the chain of events is both affirmation and negation."

(24) V. I. Lenin, *op.cit.*, p.222.

SIX EXAMPLES OF THE IMPERIALIST FUNCTION OF SOVIET REVISIONIST THEORIES

(PART ONE)

RUDOLF G. WAGNER

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German Journal, «Befreiung»).

UNMASK THE IMPERIALIST CHARACTER OF SOVIET SOCIALISM

The journal «Befreiung» has always had as one of its aims the struggle against imperialist ideology in science, against science which serves imperialist oppression, exploitation and deprivation of rights. This also implies a confrontation with the ideological and scientific justifications of the imperialist aspirations of the present Soviet leadership, within their country as well as externally.

US-imperialism hung out the sign of an anti-colonial and anti-fascist power in order to subjugate states and peoples in the name of «Freedom and Democracy», and to exploit their natural and human resources. The struggles of the national liberation movements, especially of the people of Indo-China, and the alliance of the states of the Third World on this basis, have scratched the gloss off this political and «scientific» legitimation of US-assaults over the whole world. The true character of US-

imperialism shows itself more and more clearly in the oppression of peoples and states. Today the rotten ideological products which are supposed to justify the USA's endeavours to gain world hegemony have been for the most part unmasked.

On the other hand though, the apologetic character of revisionist ideology with which the Soviet Union is attempting to disguise its imperialist offensive has not yet been so thoroughly unmasked. The Soviet revisionists disguise themselves with the false wig of Marxism and ostensibly place themselves in the tradition of famous leaders of the working-class movement—especially Lenin — who have a high prestige among the working people of the world. In this way they smuggle their way into progressive movements for the independence of states, for national liberation, and for social emancipation, in order to rob these movements of their anti-imperialist character. They profess to support these movements, but really have no other aim than to split them and use them against their competitor — the USA.

For example the delivery of weapons, which has developed into one of their most profitable trades, is also used to exert comprehensive political blackmail, simply by retaining control over when and where the weapons can be used, as was shown only too clearly in the case of Egypt. In this way they hope to turn other countries into their tools in their plans for world hegemony, especially of course in the elimination of their competitor the USA — naturally in the name of the «anti-imperialist struggle». This isn't anything new. The USA used the same method to infiltrate anti-imperialist and anti-fascist movements and, after the destruction of the Axis-powers and the colonial empires they succeeded in replacing colonial exploitation with neo-colonial exploitation in a number of countries. In the same way, it isn't basically new that the social-imperialists have agents in other countries in the form of political parties, Friendship Societies etc. for cooperation with the USSR, or have more or less sympathetic publications, which all work in a more or less organised way for the realisation of the Soviet Union's imperialist and hegemonist aims. The ideological influence exerted in this way is an important part of all imperialist strategies, and reaches far beyond the direct members of such organisations. It leads to many people being utilised for the aims of the social-imperialists in some way or other without their being aware that they are supporting these aims.

The fact that the leaders of the Soviet Union and their helpers claim to be Marxist-Leninists has the same character as when the German fascists called themselves «National Socialists» although they were neither national nor socialist. It is a sign hung out to fool the passer-by. At the same time, though, the reference to socialism leads many people to think that this ideology is some sort of variant of Marxism, and that the discussion about such «Marxist» theories should be left to the communists.

Soviet Revisionism has nothing to do with any sort of socialism. It is an imperialist ideology, pure and simple. The USA-imperialists pretended to be «anti-fascist» and «anti-colonial»

at a time when the anti-colonial and anti-fascists struggles represented a decisive historical force. It is a sign of the upsurge of the struggles of the peoples and states of the world that the social imperialists have to hide behind a cloak of «anti-imperialism» and «socialism» in order not to be recognised straight away.

We are of the opinion that it is the task of every antiimperialist to oppose US-imperialism and Russian socialimperialism, and that it is an especially urgent task to tear down the veil of «socialism and anti-imperialism» which still hides the imperialist doings of the Soviet leadership. Many socialists and anti-imperialists are still taken in by the sweet words of the Soviet leadership and their agents and helpers.

At the same time the claims to be socialist are coupled with comprehensive and fascist oppression in the Soviet Union and the countries under its control, which is a slander on socialism as a whole. This has become a major source of anti-communism among some parts of the working class today. The US and West European government have their reasons when they follow the social-imperialists practice and call the Soviet Union «communist.»

Since the democratic freedoms are essentially positions of the working class in the struggle for national and social emancipation, socialism loses its credibility for many people when the fascist Soviet leadership claims to represent «socialism». The struggle against the loss of democratic rights in Germany, for example, thus loses its long-term perspective for them. This is a major reason why they do not yet take part in this struggle.

The example of the People's Republic of China shows that socialism can win out against attempts to restore capitalism. The struggle of the peoples and states of the Third World for national and social liberation is thus not only the most important force opposing the plans of the 2 imperialist super powers for world domination, it also destroys the facade of «socialism» in the most effective way, and shows the perspective of the struggle for national and social liberation and for democratic rights.

THE NEW STAGE OF MODERN REVISIONISM

The seizure of power by the group around Khrushchev took place under a program which justified the takeover in terms of «Efficiency», «Qualification», the «necessity of accelerating the development of the productive forces» and «the necessity of applying the principle of material incentives». It had to use the language of Marxism in order to hide the fundamental break. The Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao Tse Tung emphasised the fundamental character of this break when he wrote, «The seizure of power by the revisionists means the coming to power of the bourgeoisie».

The XXth Party Congress, at which Khrushchev's line was pushed through, meant above all a big success for the US imperialists, at the time the main enemy of the people of the world. In their programmatic statements the CPSU disclosed in international spheres the theory of «peaceful co-existence» as the general line and basic principle of «socialist foreign policy». This meant giving up the struggle against US imperialism, in view of an all-round offensive by the USA in all parts of the world, in favour of «peaceful co-existence».

The seizure of power by the modern revisionists around Khrushchev thus meant on the one hand giving way to the USA, against which the peoples were beginning to unite, and on the other hand it also meant the establishment of a new ruling class, which began an imperialist offensive of its own, both internally and outwardly.

Khrushchev forced numerous former brother countries in Eastern Europe onto the same course i.e. he broke them out of the front against US-imperialism, and at the same time subjected them to Soviet domination.

At the XX and XXII Party Congress the Soviet revisionists developed their program more and more openly. Alongside gaining political power at all levels and restoring the old relationships of exploitation, this involved above all the following «theories»:

— The new national and international relationships were covered over by 2 theories. The theory of «The State of the Whole People»,

according to which «the classes have disappeared», and the theory of the «camp of socialist countries» within which there are no contradictions. Under the postulate of the absence of contradictions these contradictions which really are present no longer express objective class relationships but «foreign intervention», «genetic deformation» or «degenerate character».

— The theory of «Peaceful Co-existence» was the modern revisionist's expression of the wish of the New Tsars to be recognised by the US-leadership in the «spirit of Camp David», and to be recognised as a world gendarme of equal standing and co-chairman of the Atom Club. — With the theory of «Peaceful Transition to Socialism» they attempted to hold the peoples back from an offensive in the anti-imperialist struggle with at the same time trying to make headway with the claim that the «socialist camp» represented the main factor for the liberation of the peoples of the world. These would not gain liberation by anti-imperialist struggle, but by relying heavily on the Soviet Union, and of course by showing adequate gratitude. — Under the pretext of anti-imperialist solidarity they attempted to turn the states and peoples of the third World into bases for their own expansion against the USA and for building up a new domination, as became plain for example in the Cuba Crisis.

At the end of the 1960's, however, a change in the relative strengths of the international forces became apparent. The TET offensive of 1968, which the US-imperialists could not cope with, already signalled their coming defeat. 77 states united in UNIDO in Autumn 1967. On the other hand the Soviet Union began a comprehensive offensive all over the world: from the invasion of Czechoslovakia, to the construction of a new ocean-going navy, or the increased demands for «Ostvertraege» (Eastern Treaties) with the Federal Republic of Germany, it made its claims for power.

This changed the function and in many cases the specific contents of the Soviet revisionist theory which was sketched out above. It became an instrument of legitimation for the aggressive aspirations for world hegemony on the part of the new super power, the Soviet Union, and also served to sabotage the com-

prehensive anti imperialist struggle against whichever of the super powers was the stronger, for example in Chile against the USA or in East Europe against the Soviet leadership.

The apparent «left-turn» since 1968, and especially since the XXIV «Party Congress is a consequence of this changed situation. The theory of the exclusively «peaceful transition» was abandoned the «lessons of Chile» were drawn (1) and the call went out for the «courageous seizure of power». It is repeatedly emphasised that the forms of «the transition to socialism», (i.e. seizure of power by the social

imperialists), can be extremely varied (2). The dictatorship of the proletariat has resurfaced in order to provide a justification for a harsher dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This «left-turn IS IN NO WAY A RETURN TO THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF THE USSR. It is a reflection of an increased imperialist offensive.

We now want to prove, by referring to concrete examples, that the basic revisionist positions in connection with the offensive aspirations of the Soviet leadership are directly imperialist ideology, whose purpose is to provide a justification for the aims of these New Tsars.

EXAMPLE 1 LEGITIMIZING THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

IGNATIJ DWORJETZKIJ: THE OUTSIDER

The play was written in 1971 and published in Mowcow in the journal TEATR in 1972. It was a big success as a play which shows the «Soviet world of work». A German translation was published in the GDR, and it was also brought out in FGR by the Piper Verlag in 1973 with a foreword by the German (Moscow orienter) CP functionary F. Hitzer. The play, according to the cover, describes the «problems of socialist management in the technical-scientific revolution now beginning». It concerns the conflict between organisational pragmatism and revolutionary tradition.⁽³⁾

The play is set in around 1958 and describes the consolidation of the rule of the new bourgeoisie in the factories after Krushchev and his friends had taken over the state apparatus. The «Outsider» is depicted as a highly educated manager, who attempts to manage the foundry of a large steelworks according to the principles of the «scientific-technical revolution». He is a new-comer to the factory. His opponents are the «olde team» — people who defended the factory against the German fascists with weapons in their hands, and who developed close comradely ties during the struggle and the period of reconstruction which followed it, — from the workers to the manager. This tradition, — the tradition of the

revolutionary Soviet Union, which carried the main burden of the fascist onslaught and the main burden of its defeat — appears in the play as an obstacle to progress. As Tscheschkow says, «I'll soon break that».⁴

The revolutionary tradition of the Anti-Fascist War appears in the play as a sort of nepotism with elements of egalitarianism; it hinders the introduction of the profit principle by the «Outsider», who is trying to gain power in the factory. He is an «outsider» as a representative of the new bourgeoisie which is remorselessly consolidating its rule. He gets rid of a large part of the old staff, including the former director of the section, who had too close a contact with the workers.

In the whole play not one worker comes on the stage. The «World of Work» about which the elegant theatre-goers of Moscow and elsewhere are informed is the passengerhalls of airports, the central offices of the firm, and occasionally a sofa or the countryside when the director takes a rest with his secretary.

The «Outsider» only communicates with the workers through the foremen of the various sections, to whom he gives orders by way of a loud-speaker system. His main task to break the bad tradition of revolutionary unity between workers and administrators, and to force through the system of profit maximisation in the name of the «scientific-technological revo-

lution».

For this «revolution», the main factor in increasing the productivity and profits is scientific leadership and technology. Production (i.e. the workers) is, as Kossygin put it, a «*sluggish element*», lagging behind the others.⁵

The Outsider in the play, with his brutal methods is working «objectively in the best interest» of the «sluggish» working class, who appear in the play as some sorts of appendages to their machines, whose tempo is regulated by shouting, penalties, and by giving or withdrawing premiums.

His statements are clear enough. In order to force through an increase in productivity he yells to the foremen over the loudspeaker, «sit on top of them, get them by their throats», meaning the workers. The German translators seem to have found that a bit too hard. They translate, «get stuck in... get them with their *honour* (German: *Ehre*)». ⁶ As a means to fulfil his aims he recommends «We will beat them with Rubles!», and then he describes his own function as follows, «For every deceit I will give out punishment. The director must know about everything, he must be just and objective. That is our personality, our authority, our work. We are the directors, we don't work with our hands, we work with our language, with our brains.» Just to be on the safe side the German translation omits the last description of the director.

He shouts at the other members of the work-force, «any ordinary capitalist would have fired you already,» (page 62) and when dealing with the workers recommends the principle of «beating them with Rubles», (p.60) i.e. he recommends «penalties for delays» and the reduction of premiums in accordance with the «Rights of Directors» of social imperialist firms. According to Para. 89 of the «Regulations for socialist state production enterprises,» from 4th Oct. 1965 he is only responsible to the new bourgeoisie. «The director of an enterprise is appointed and removed by order of the higher echelon.» In Para. 90 it says, «The director organises the entire work of the enterprise and carries full responsibility for its conditions and activities... Within his field of competence the director gives instructions for the

enterprise, he appoints and dismisses labour in accordance with the labour legislation, adopts measures to encourage work and disciplines the labour force of the enterprise.»⁷ With this authorisation the «Outsider» Tscheschkow wants to sack the secretaries as soon as he arrives because they are too old. The following dialogue (omitted from the East German edition and the reprint by the Piper Verlag in West Germany) is not meant as a criticism of Sc-heschkow but of the «revolutionary tradition» which Polnetkow represents:^{7a}

«(Tscheschkow takes Polnetkow to one side. They talk in lowered voices)

Tsch: Why do you have such old secretaries?

Pol: Oh, you would rather have young, pretty ones?

T: I don't mean it like that. But in Tychwin we had young ones.

P: We've got about a hundred, but they're all getting on a bit.

T: Are they able to write shorthand at all?

P: Oh! That's what you're getting at.

T: Where is their utility?

P: They're more receptive, they've got a better memory and they can withstand more. You can instruct the young ones better.

P: Remember one thing. These women have done their fair share of work and they've been through a lot. Many of them were evacuated (with the factory). We've got to keep them here.

T: Well if it's going to turn into welfare.

P: (unfriendly) That is the tradition of our works.

T: Welfare can't be the tradition of industrial production.

P: (indignant) Shall we throw them out on the streets?

P: Why that? What rubbish. In the service sector hundreds of thousands are needed. Women's hands are needed, women's experience, and women's hearts.»

In our opinion the play shows openly, with no embarrassed reserve, the take-over by the new bourgeoisie in a factory and the introduction of new relations based on profit maximization, total deprivation of rights for the work-force, and enslavement for the workers. It is a

play which openly propagates the fascist plundering of the Soviet working people and the removal of their rights — «Get them by their throats» —, while at the same time showing the self-pity of the new rulers for the difficulty of their task. After each display of cold-hearted oppression the «outsider» collapses in a pitiful way. The responsibility of «having to» force through the scientific-technological, the rational, and the profitable against the workers depresses him, and creates a basis for the identification of the elegant theatre public with this hero.

To this extent the play depicts the reality, although from the viewpoint of the new rulers. There is no mention in the play of what the profits are for — for the financing of lavish life styles for these rulers, and for keeping up a gigantic military machine and a comprehensive apparatus for the control and oppression of the Soviet workers and other peoples. Tscheschkow, the «Outsider» isn't treated as what he really is — a representative of a new class, the new bourgeoisie. In the discussion Dworjetskij himself said about Tscheschkow, «Work discipline, discipline in general is the foundation of the production atmosphere. Someone writing about this atmosphere who leaves out discipline seems to want to split the one from the other. Or does anyone think discipline had already triumphed everywhere? Unfortunately, it isn't yet sufficient in numerous enterprises. Tscheschkow cannot live and work in such conditions. He demands such discipline unrelentingly; without it the whole thing would die. FOR THE GENERAL GOOD HE DARES NOT PLAY THE GOOD MATE, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE PERSONALLY MORE PLEASANT FOR HIM.»⁸

It is certainly true that without «discipline» — the oppression of the Soviet workingclass — the new bourgeoisie would «not be able to work and live». Dworjetskij depicts the new

bourgeoisie as representatives of the GENERAL GOOD. They control the «State of the Whole People» and the «Party of the Whole People» and in the name of «general welfare» of the «whole people» the play makes propaganda for the imperialist oppression of the Soviet working people.

What is revisionist about the play? How is it possible to see from it that revisionism is an imperialist ideology? The «Outsider» appears as a representative of the «scientific-technological revolution». This theory, according to which the means of production and management are the sources of progress, and not the production of the working people, is a central component of revisionist teaching. The function of the theory today is to proclaim the coming to power of the new bourgeoisie as a triumph of rationality, of objective laws, and of the scientific-technological revolution, and to provide a justification for the all-round oppression of the Soviet working people in the name of this «scientific-technological revolution».

In the play the resistance of the Soviet workers is not explicitly mentioned. It is denounced as nostalgia and traditionalism. But the structure of the play shows how threatened and insecure the new bourgeoisie feels. «The literature,» writes A. Janow, a sociologist, «has got stuck at a preparatory stage in the formation of the contemporary heroic character. For 15 years Bachirew Lobanow, Krylow and their numerous epigones, and finally Tscheschkow himself have been brought forward as examples of how an engineer turns into a fighter. But not once has the next step been taken — that of *showing him after the victory*, in an already functioning collective, which he has reshaped.»⁹

The contradiction between the Soviet working people and the New Tsars (the contemporary heroic characters) is an objective one. Even the theatre is unable to ignore that.

EXAMPLE 2
LEGITIMIZING THE REMOVAL OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF OPPOSITIONAL FORCES!
THE THEORY OF INNATE CRIMINALITY

At the 22nd Party Congress of the CPSU in 1962 it was proclaimed that there no longer existed any classes in the Soviet Union. This theory hasn't been abandoned, but today they say that there are, naturally, still contradictions. But if there are no classes any more, then there are no longer any foundations for antagonistic political positions. Someone who attacks the new bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union can't refer to the objective social situation; there is no justification for his action in the country itself, since the classes, and with them exploitation, injustice, deficiencies, unemployment and war-like expansion no longer exist.

Since the Soviet Union reached a new stage in 1967/68, since it became an imperialist super power, the oppression and exploitation of the Soviet working people themselves, and of the former «brother countries» has greatly increased — as has their resistance. Above all the resistance within the Soviet Union is meant here. Just as the harmonisation theory of the «Volksgemeinschaft» (popular unity) proclaimed by the German fascists, was only an ideological instrument to aid the all-round oppression of all «deviants», so, in the Soviet Union, the theory of the absence of classes serves the new rulers in Moscow as aid to transfer «deviants» and «degenerates» to the work-camps or psychiatric «hospitals».

Jorisch, of the Institute for Social-Scientific Information at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, stated: «When we speak of genetic determination, we don't mean criminality as a whole, as a sociological or legal phenomenon, we only mean a certain kind of crime, above all, sexual crimes, some forms of manslaughter, rowdyism, etc.)»¹¹ «Rowdyism» is a genetically determined form of «crime». Rowdyism, however, is the category under which political opponents fall, and under which they are convicted. When the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) organized a demonstration in East Berlin in 1975 on the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascism, which while honouring the Red Army as a decisive force in defeating fascism at the same time attacked the present leaders of the Soviet Union and their new methods of oppression, the participants were

arrested as «rowdies». The same goes for people in the Soviet Union who demonstrated against the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The theory of the genetic determination of «Rowdyism» creates, simultaneously, the basis for an incomparable worsening of prison conditions. You cannot «resocialize someone who is genetically deformed, who is a «rowdy». He can only be isolated for life, or the deformed part of his brain can be shut down by using psychopharmacia. The documentation of Amnesty international on the internment of political opponents in the SU¹² gives vivid material about the fascist oppression¹³. These theories don't only provide a general justification for life-long internment. If the causes are «genetically determined», a resocialisation is impossible, and special care must be taken that such deformed genes cannot be transmitted.

«Genetically» the whole thing is a nonstarter. The theory of «genetic determination» of rowdyism, the offensive practical application with concentration camps and «hospitals», and its more «reserved» scholarly counterpart in the domains of science, is merely an attempt to justify biologically the removal of the New Tsars political opponents. It really fits only too well into this picture that the scientific advisory board of the East German «Deutsche Zeitschrift fuer Psychologie GDR») lists a celebrity like Prof. Eysenck. Eysenck, who now teaches in London, is above all known for his theses that Blacks are genetically inferior, and not in a position to solve complicated scientific problems. He fought against the introduction of mixed schools in the USA, and supported, together with Jensen, efforts to allow Blacks in North America to do only manual jobs, «for genetic reasons». He is further a leading representative of the theory of genetically determined crime. According to his theory — reported approvingly in East German television — criminality is «70 percent genetically determined, 30 percent environmental». To prove his theory he draws on similar «investigations» in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR.¹⁴

(CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE)