

# N.Z. COMMUNIST REVIEW

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TROTSKYISM AND VIET NAM  
IMPERIALISM PLUNDERS AFRICA  
NEW TACTICS OF SOCIAL DECEPTION  
LITERATURE AND ART

MARCH, 1973—20c



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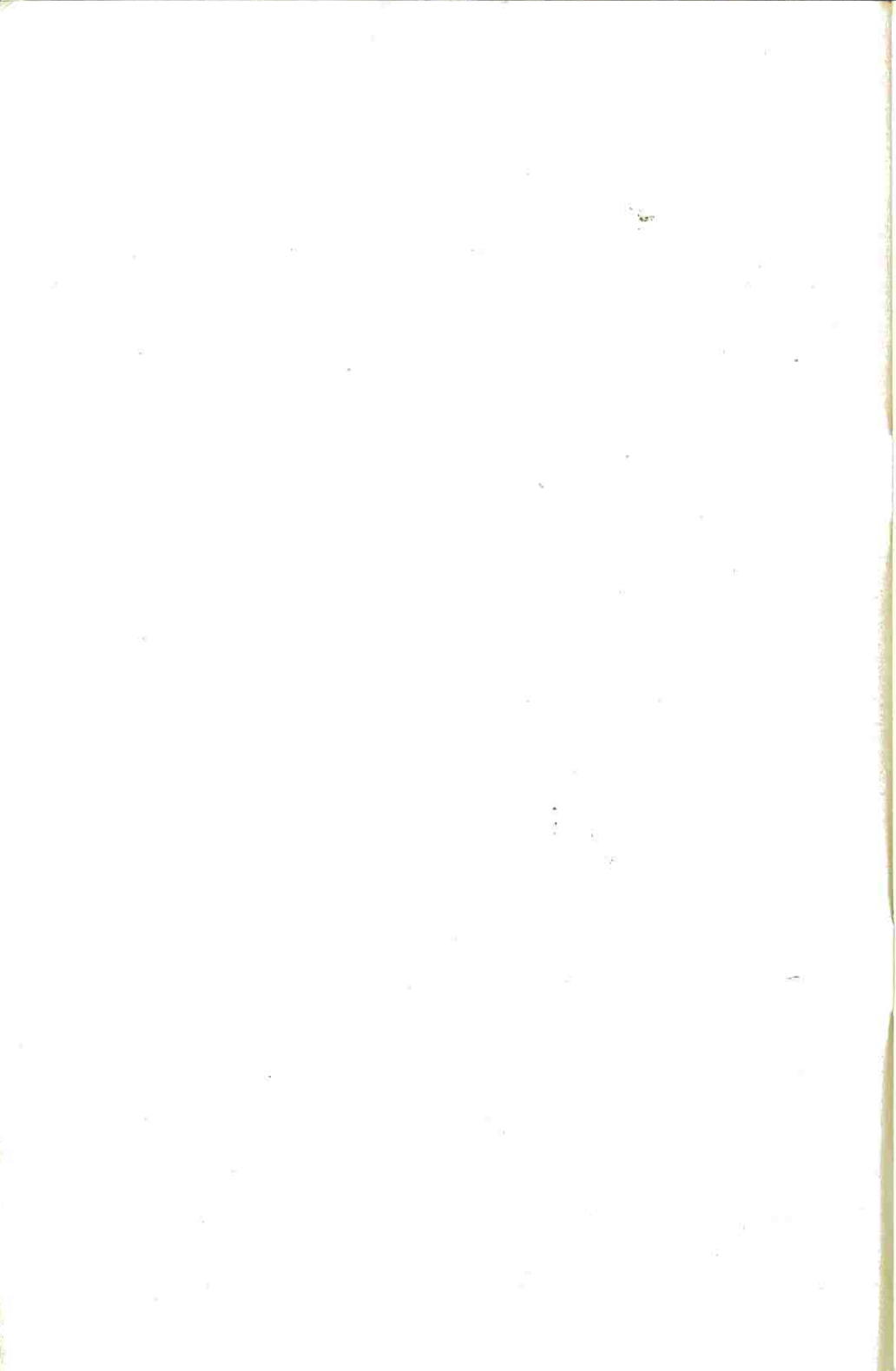
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Published 7/3/73.

Registered at the G.P.O., Wellington, as a Magazine.

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Published by the In Print Publishing Co. Ltd., 139 Albert St., Auckland;  
and printed by Wilson Printery Ltd., 139 Albert St., Auckland.



# Trotskyism—Disguised Weapon of Imperialism

(Contributed).

One of the consequences of the Right-opportunist betrayal of the cause of proletarian revolution and socialism by the modern revisionists, headed by the Khrushchvite revisionists of the Soviet Union, has been a revival of Trotskyist "Left"-opportunism, especially amongst students and youth from the petty-bourgeois strata in the capitalist world. That United States Imperialism welcomes and encourages both these trends, modern revisionism and Trotskyism, as disruptors and saboteurs of the genuine anti-imperialist liberation and revolutionary movements throughout the world can be seen in the present collaboration between the U.S. Government and the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union, in the massive U.S. "aid" and political support for Tito's Yugoslavia, and in the ease with which Trotskyists go freely in and out of the U.S.A. for "educational" courses or even to attend Trotskyist congresses. In fact there can be little doubt that the C.I.A. and other U.S. intelligence agencies provide direct material and financial support to various Trotskyist groupings throughout the world. With this support they aim to facilitate the implementation of U.S. imperialist strategy through internal disruption of the people's movements in opposition to this strategy.

Naturally the Trotskyists deny this charge — otherwise they would lose all credence and become entirely ineffectual. They make very militant-sounding anti-imperialist statements, but then so does Brezhnev, who played a leading role in the imperialist invasion and continuing occupation of Czechoslovakia. However, close examination of the Trotskyists' own words and deeds will reveal their objective counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist aims.

## LINE ON VIET NAM

In their propaganda about the war in Viet Nam, for example, and in their actions within the anti-Viet Nam war movement in this and other countries, hidden behind what are ostensibly anti-U.S. imperialist sentiments there is a cunningly camouflaged line consistently in the interests of the strategy and propaganda of U.S. imperialism. Although there are many different Trotskyist factions and separate organisations, this line is common to them all.

This common line has its origin in the Trotskyists' rejection of the concept of the revolution developed stage by stage by mobilising the masses to deal with the changing principal contradictions that arise in conformity with the changing concrete circumstances of

each separate country or region at each particular stage of the development of the class struggle. This concept means being always mindful of the principle that the differing class needs and desires of the various strata of the masses and their developing consciousness determine the breadth of the people's front which can be mobilised to solve each given principal contradiction.

Thus the Trotskyists have consistently described the national liberation struggle in Viet Nam in terms applicable only to the proletarian revolution. This means that instead of recognising the reality that the principal contradiction at the present stage in Viet Nam is that between all patriotic elements of the Vietnamese people and the foreign imperialist invaders, the Trotskyists take the ultra-Leftist stand that the principal contradiction is that between the workers of Viet Nam and their exploiters. In a predominantly peasant country such as Viet Nam, such a line cannot fail to hinder the building of the broadest possible national front including workers, poor, middle and rich peasants, the urban petty-bourgeoisie, and patriotic elements among the bourgeoisie, landlords, religious groupings, etc., against the main enemy and oppressor of them all — U.S. imperialism.

**It is abundantly clear from the history of the liberation war in Viet Nam that it is precisely this steel-like unity of the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people that has proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to the military might of U.S. imperialism, despite its enormous numbers of troops equipped with the most terrible, sophisticated modern means, and which has inflicted defeat on the U.S. and puppet forces.**

This is not a new tactic invented by the Trotskyists of today. Their predecessors tried to use the same tricks to disrupt the National Liberation Front in Albania and the Anti-Japanese United Front in China, at decisive moments in the development of the revolutionary struggles in those countries.

### **SUPPORT FOR U.S. IMPERIALIST LINE**

The slogan, "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution", launched by the Trotskyists (the Spartacist League, Wellington, is still distributing a leaflet first published under this title in May, 1972) is an ultra-leftist one at this stage, designed to mislead the inexperienced and to weaken the overall struggle against U.S. imperialism by narrowing the forces opposed to the U.S. imperialist strategy.

Obviously, the effect of this slogan in N.Z. at this moment must be to reinforce the imperialist propaganda line that the U.S. aggression against Viet Nam is justified because it is the struggle of "democracy (or Christian civilisation) against Communism".

Trotskyist support for U.S. propaganda deception can also be demonstrated in all their materials which consistently portray the fight in Viet Nam as between 'North Vietnamese and South Vietnamese', precisely as the capitalist media do, thus concealing



the reality that the main fighting forces in south Viet Nam are those of the NLF. This is support for the U.S. propagated myth that the war is really the result of the "invasion of south Viet Nam by north Vietnamese Communists".

The above-mentioned leaflet is largely a reprint from "Workers' Vanguard", published by the Spartacist League of the United States. The quotation begins: North Vietnamese troops have mounted a major assault on the puppet forces of the south Vietnamese . . . The **New York Times** of April 25 reports Communist seizure of more than half of three provinces . . ." Nowhere in the 800 or so words of this quotation is there any mention at all of the N.L.F. There is, however, a cynical attempt to vulgarise the concept of people's war in these terms: "The bureaucratic-utopian notion that, in effect, B-52s could be stopped by peasant bamboo spears . . ."

Objectively this line of the present day Trotskyists leads to the following: (1) to the narrowing of the united front of the Vietnamese people and the weakening of their fighting effectiveness against U.S. imperialism, i.e. of one of the most important primary factors in the struggle of the revolutionary forces against imperialism at this stage;

(2) to narrowing and weakening of the anti-imperialist front of patriotic, democratic and revolutionary people in the anti-Viet Nam war movement outside Viet Nam, i.e. an important auxiliary factor in the world-wide revolutionary struggle at this stage;

(3) to the inculcation of defeatism, hopelessness and passive acceptance of imperialist domination, in the ranks of the peoples faced with the terrible destructive power of U.S. military might.

**Thus all the anti-imperialist and ultra-revolutionary talk of the Trotskyists is nothing but a mask for support of imperialist domination and is objectively counter-revolutionary.**

### TACTICS OF WELLINGTON FACTIONS

At the present juncture, the various Trotskyist factions are united in opposition to the signing of a ceasefire agreement in Viet Nam on the basis of the DRV/NLF proposals. At a meeting of the Wellington Committee on Viet Nam (COV) held in December, two Trotskyist groups that are usually bitter rivals, moved three motions in a strenuous effort to line up this committee against the seven-point proposals for a ceasefire. When they failed to gain any support at all they marched out of the meeting together.

As usual, their pro-imperialist line was cloaked in revolutionary-sounding phraseology. It is an old trick of the Trotskyists to link their counter-revolutionary proposals with some correct statement so the whole thing is like the curate's egg—"good in parts". The COV had no alternative but to reject the whole smelly mixture. It can be confidently predicted that, arising from this, there will be of revolutionary armed struggle". While this may give cause for attacks appearing in Trotskyist publications along the lines that

some small self-satisfaction within Trotskyist circles, in fact the only result of all their efforts at this meeting was to further expose the Trotskyists as elements hindering the mobilisation of the N.Z. people against U.S. imperialism. When, at last, it came time for the meeting to decide on what steps of action would be taken to build opposition to the U.S. aggression in Viet Nam, these "100% (or is it 150%) pure revolutionaries" were not to be seen.

**The lengths to which the Trotskyists are prepared to go to, spread confusion, incite disruption, and propagate their ultra-Leftist, counter-revolutionary nonsense are exemplified in their slogan, "The Soviet-Chinese (sic!) nuclear shield must protect Viet Nam", and the motion they moved, "that if the Americans drop one more bomb on Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and China must drop nuclear bombs on U.S. cities."!!**

How do Marxist-Leninists regard the current campaign to impose a ceasefire on the U.S. imperialists and their puppets in Viet Nam on the basis of the DRVNLF proposals?

### **U.S. IMPERIALIST STRATEGY**

In his Guam doctrine expounded two years ago, Nixon outlined the basic strategy of U.S. imperialism of maintaining U.S. imperialist domination of S.E. Asia by using Asian puppet forces, armed and financed by U.S. imperialism, to fight the national liberation movements of that region. The engagement of a large part of the U.S. military forces in Indo-china has been disastrous for U.S. imperialism. Not only has it given rise to great and insoluble economic, political and social problems in the U.S.A., but it has also effectively bogged down its main military forces in a region thousands of miles removed from the main sphere of U.S. imperialist investments which is in Europe. The re-emergence of the West European nations, especially West Germany, as imperialist powers with ambitions for hegemony in Europe and the increasingly anti-American stance of the European Common Market bloc, make disengagement of the U.S. military forces in Indo-china a matter of growing urgency.

Being fascist in their outlook, hence subscribing to the blitzkrieg theory in their military thinking, the American rulers never dreamed that the method of the people's war could defeat the U.S. juggernaut. Escalation after escalation was undertaken in a hopeless endeavour to reach a quick and decisive victory. Greater imperialist losses and defeats were the only result.

### **FAILURE OF VIETNAMISATION**

Desperate to maintain the U.S. position in Indo-china by any means, Nixon proclaimed his policy of Vietnamisation. But this, too, has failed. In the much boasted expedition into Laos the picked troops of the puppet south Vietnamese army quickly disintegrated into a rabble scuttling for cover in ignominious rout. In Cambodia the patriotic forces control four-fifths of the national territory, while



in Viet Nam itself, the NLF fighters operate freely only six kilometers from Saigon.

**No one can seriously doubt that without large-scale air, naval, and logistics support, the reactionary puppet forces in Indo-china could not last five minutes. The liberation forces would inflict total defeat on U.S. imperialist strategy for S.E. Asia.**

That is why Nixon has tried desperately to avoid a ceasefire agreement on the basis of the seven point proposals, which would end this support to their S.E. Asian puppets and leave the settlement of the internal affairs of the countries of Indo-china to the peoples of these countries themselves. Having triumphed in the recent presidential elections by means of brazen deception of the electors that he had virtually achieved an agreement to end the war in Viet Nam, Nixon reverted openly to the tactic begun under the Kennedy administration (Da Nang air base was built on the orders of this "progressive" President) and implemented by the Johnson administration of using mass air bombardments of Vietnamese cities and inhabited centres to blackmail the people of Viet Nam into accepting "peace" terms that would leave U.S. imperialism a strong foothold in that country.

At the same time, the Right-opportunists, the revisionists and social democrats were reactivated to urge the Vietnamese people to "make concessions" to this blackmail, "just to put an end to the killing", while the "Left"-opportunist agency, the Trotskyists oppose a cease-fire on the basis of the DRV/NLF proposals, which is objectively against the interests of U.S. imperialist strategy and in favour of the anti-imperialist movement.

The Trotskyists described the seven point proposals as a sell-out of the proletarian revolution, thus deliberately distorting the fact that the people of Viet Nam have been fighting heroically for decades, not for proletarian revolution at this stage, but for national liberation. 'No compromise'! shout the Trotskyists, thus deliberately distorting the fact that this compromise would be a defeat for U.S. imperialist strategy in South-East Asia and strengthen the revolutionary movement on a world scale.

**This is not a new tactic invented by the Trotskyists of today either. Many years ago, straight after the October Revolution in Russia, their mentor, Trotsky, in defiance of his instructions, refused to "compromise" by signing a peace treaty to end the war with Germany. As a result the war continued, the revolutionary forces suffered further heavy losses and in the end had to accept even more onerous terms to end the fighting and consolidate the victory of the revolution.**

The abnormal unity amongst the squabbling Trotskyist factions against the DRV/NLF proposal for a ceasefire in Viet Nam, running precisely parallel with the opposition of Nixon, the chief mouthpiece of U.S. imperialism, strongly infers direction from a single centre. Indeed, the entire history of Trotsky and Trotskyism shows

that objectively, it has always served as a counter-revolutionary agency of imperialism within the revolutionary movement. Its role has been and remains, to attack the revolution through the use of pseudo-Communist terms to attack the essential leading force of the revolutionary movement, the Communist Party.

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## **Imperialists Plunder Africa's Wealth**

— "The Afro-Asian Journalist"

**F**or years, Africa with its vast territory and rich resources has been a theatre of scramble between various imperialist powers for plundering its raw materials and dumping their industrial goods. Since the end of World War II, their scramble in this continent has become fiercer, as a result of the change in the balance of forces among the western powers. U.S. imperialism tries its utmost to replace the old-time imperialist forces by resorting to neo-colonialist methods to accelerate its infiltration into Africa.

Britain whose influence in Africa has been on the wane, does what it can do to maintain its former economic and political status. Being short of raw materials, Japan, whose economy has had a lopsided growth, particularly keeps a covetous eye on the African natural resources. West Germany, Italy and other western countries, which maintained special positions in Africa before World War II, are still quite influential there. Soviet social-imperialism is also actively penetrating into Africa, contending with U.S. imperialism for spheres of influence.

**In the early 1960s, the U.S. private capital directly invested in Africa amounted to 900 million dollars, holding the third place after Britain and France. In recent years, it has stepped up its expansion in Africa, which resulted in a yearly increase of 14 per cent of its private investments there. By the end of 1971, the U.S. direct investments in Africa amounted to 3,500 million dollars, becoming No. 1 investor with Britain and France left behind. In fact, the total amount of U.S. investments in Africa is much bigger than that, when its indirect investments made under the name of Western European companies are counted.**

### **SUPER - PROFITS**

The factories, mines and companies it runs in the African countries reap big super-profits, some to the tune of 40 per cent of their

capital per year.

The United States particularly makes use of South Africa and colludes with its reactionary regime, taking South Africa as a bridge-head for its infiltration into other parts of Africa. As is estimated, 25 per cent of the U.S. private investments in Africa is put in South Africa, totalling 800 million dollars, which is the biggest share of its investments in all African countries. The volume of trade between the U.S. and South Africa, 850 million dollars in total, constitutes 33 per cent of that between the U.S. and the whole of Africa, also its biggest share thereof.

African minerals such as diamonds, lithium, glucinum, cobalt, etc., are mostly in the hands of the U.S. monopoly capital, nearly all of them being exported to the United States.

Between 25 to 50 per cent of antimony, chromium, manganese and tantalum that the U.S. industry needs comes from Africa. It also gets from Africa rubber, gold and uranium in large quantities.

Britain places 20 per cent of its foreign investments in Africa; the profits constitute 27 per cent of the total gained through its foreign investments. Today, an important factor for Britain to maintain its position as a "big power" in the world is that it still keeps its ties with some of its former African colonies as members of the Commonwealth.

The French colonies in Africa achieved one after another their political independence in the post-war years. But, through the "French Community", France keeps close economic ties with these independent African countries. Of the total French foreign investments, 32 per cent is put in these African countries.

### **JAPANESE PENERATION**

In recent years, Japan has step by step penetrated into Africa. In addition to selling its goods, it pays special attention to exploiting strategic minerals. At present, it is speeding up the prospecting of uranium in Zaire, bauxite in Ghana and lead and zinc in Morocco. It is prospecting and extracting oil in Nigeria. From 1971 to 1979, it plans to plunder 1.1 million tons of iron ore from Sierra Leone every year. From 1972 on, it will grab 50,000 tons of copper from Zaire per year. It has been importing large quantities of iron ore from South Africa, and now a large quantity of coal has to be added to its import list.

West Germany and Italy are also rivals of the United States, Britain, France and Japan in their economic expansion in Africa.

At a time when western old and new colonialist powers scramble for Africa, Soviet social-imperialism also sneaks in whenever it gets a chance. Under the pretexs of "supporting national liberation struggle" and practising "economic co-operation" with newly-independent African countries, it meddles in the affairs of this continent. Through its "aid" of 2,000 million dollars given to African countries (Egypt not included) and the "economic and technical



co-operation agreements" signed with 20 African countries, the Soviet Union has been dumping its hard-to-sell machines in Africa and grabbing large quantities of raw materials from that continent.

In face of the economic plunder by the rapacious western monopoly cliques and social-imperialism, the African people have been waging a determined struggle against plunder and control and achieve one victory after another.

The day will come when all the natural wealth in Africa will eventually come back into the hands of the African people, their rightful owners.

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## ***New Tactics of Social Deception by the Bourgeoisie***

—Vangjel Moisu and Pertef Hasamataj

(From *Rruga e Partise*, Tirana, No. 8, 1972).

**I**n the present situation, ideological confusion within the revolutionary movement has become more pronounced. As Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasised in his report to 6th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania: "The struggle of all the Marxist-Leninists to liberate the working class and all the working masses from the influence of the ideologists of the bourgeoisie, the revisionists, and all the different petty-bourgeois trends, to arm them with the only scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, assumes special importance." (E. Hoxha, Report to 6th Congress P.L.A., p. 208, Tirana, 1971).

In its efforts to keep the working class in subjection, the bourgeoisie uses two main methods: the method of violence, of the forcible suppression of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and the method of deception, of the corruption, confusion, undermining and splitting of the workers' movement. One method or the other, or a combination of both, is used, depending on the conditions and circumstances.

### **POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS**

Since W.W.2, in a number of countries, especially the developed capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie, without giving up the use of open violence whenever it has considered its interests to be directly endangered, has tended to rely more and more on the second method, for which it has worked out and implemented an entire system of stands, measures and means of influence, which include a

series of social-economic, political and ideological campaigns. There are a number of factors and reasons behind this.

First of all it has to do with the conditions of capitalist development in the post-war period, especially with such phenomena as the relatively favourable economic situation, the development of a new scientific-technological revolution, the large-scale extension of monopoly state capitalism, inter-capitalist and inter-state integration, and so on, which, irrespective of the inevitable crises and difficulties, have permitted an appreciable increase in capitalist production, colossal profits for the capitalist monopolies and the possibilities to increase the strata of the aristocracy of the proletariat and the worker bureaucracy in the service of the bourgeoisie.

All these factors have created the conditions for a very much wider-scale use by the bourgeoisie of social democracy to deceive the working class.

It is also connected with the betrayal by modern revisionism, especially that of the Soviet revisionists, with such actions of theirs as the anti-Stalin campaign, the occupation of Czechoslovakia, etc., which puts weapons into the hands of the bourgeois ideologists in their efforts to discredit the ideas of socialism and the socialist order, to intensify their anti-communist propaganda to unprecedented levels, and to prettify capitalism.

**It is precisely the revisionist betrayal that has created the conditions for a re-vitalisation of the bankrupt role of social democracy as the defender of the capitalist order, and which has nurtured the reappearance of dangerous petty-bourgeois "leftist" trends such as Trotskyism, anarchism, etc., which perform a great service for the bourgeoisie by increasing the ideological confusion in the revolutionary movement.**

## REFORMS AND CONCESSIONS

Finally, the ever greater reliance of the bourgeoisie on the method of deception of the working class, on social demagoguery, is linked with the level of development, toughness and maturity of the present day revolutionary and workers' movement in the regions of developed capitalism. In the existing conditions, when the wave of the strike movement and workers' struggles is rising higher and higher, when the working class is coming out with ever greater determination against the bourgeoisie and its apparatus in the struggle to win its demands, reacting vigorously against any measure which damages its standard of living, and when, slowly but surely, its political consciousness is also more mature, in such conditions the bourgeoisie tries to avoid any confrontation with the working class through open violence and makes greater use of tactics of reforms and concessions to take the steam out of workers' protests and avoid the outburst of a revolutionary crisis. But on the other hand, the use of such a tactic by the bourgeoisie testifies to the fact that the revolutionary movement of the working class and other strata in these



zones has still not reached that level of development and sharpness that it is an immediate threat to the domination of the bourgeoisie and which would impel the bourgeoisie to go completely over to the establishment of fascist type dictatorships as has occurred in various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The whole essence of the bourgeois social demagogy for the deception of the masses is to present the matter as though capitalism today has allegedly ceased to be an exploiting order, that it has become "people's capitalism", or "the post-industrial society of general well-being", that the capitalist state has now lost its class character and has become "neutral", that present-day capitalist society is becoming "deproletarianised", that the working class is no longer an "exploited and oppressed class, but is more and more being transformed into the co-owners and co-managers of the capitalist enterprises", that consequently "it is no longer interested in the revolutionary transformation of bourgeois society"; etc., etc. All this ideological processing is accompanied by the application of a complete, refined, social-economic policy, the aim of which is from the political viewpoint, the weakening of the class struggle by means of concessions and hand-outs to the workers and sophisticated disguising of capitalist exploitation; from the economic viewpoint, the intensification to the maximum of the exploitation of the working class by means of new forms and methods.

### **BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA**

Taking advantage of the circumstances of the development of capitalist production in the post-war period, and a number of partial reforms and concessions which the bourgeoisie in a series of countries has been obliged to make under the pressure of mounting workers' struggle, bourgeois propaganda tries to create the false impression that a great programme of a "war against poverty" and a society "of general well-being", is being achieved in the capitalist world today. Millions of words are being spoken or written about a "fair distribution" of national incomes allegedly in favour of the working people, which has led to "the growth of mass consumption", etc., etc. "Scientific and technical progress", writes the bourgeois sociologist G. Hourdin, "has saved millions of people from poverty, ignorance and fear . . . a new man is arising—a man of free time, sport, television, holidays" (G. Hourdin — *Une Civilisation des loisirs*, P. 9). The aim of all this stuff is clear; to convince the working people that capitalism today has undergone a radical change, that it provides them with all they need for a rich and cultured life and therefore, their struggle against the capitalist system has lost all meaning.

But behind this idyllic picture lies the true situation of the working people under the capitalist order.

**1. Only a handful of highly developed capitalist countries are taken into account, completely neglecting the situation in vast areas**

of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where hundreds of millions of people are condemned by the capitalist and imperialist system of exploitation and oppression to live in the most profound poverty and ignorance, in the most inhuman conditions. And if a different, relatively higher standard of living exists in a few developed capitalist countries, this has been achieved on the basis of the exploitation, either direct or indirect, of the peoples of the backward regions.

2. In the developed capitalist countries the situation is by no means so admirable as the bourgeois propaganda tries to present it. The imperialist bourgeoisie, proceeding from its own class interests, by parting with a few crumbs from its super-profits, creates favourable living conditions for the aristocracy of the working class. But, although today, this class has increased considerably in numbers, especially in the developed capitalist countries, it is still only a minority of the working class as a whole.

In the developed capitalist countries there are broad masses of workers who live in difficult conditions; even in downright poverty (immigrant workers, unskilled workers, those of non-white races, those from backblock or undeveloped regions, elderly workers, the unemployed who amount to millions, a considerable body of the petty-bourgeois strata, especially from the peasantry, who are being proletarianised as a result of the development of capitalism, etc). In a word, bourgeois propaganda tries to present the living conditions of the aristocracy of the working class, or those of certain categories of workers from the most advanced or key branches of production, as the living conditions of all the working people.

### **INCREASE IN EXPLOITATION**

3. The bourgeois propaganda is completely silent about the most important thing: the fact that the level of exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie in the developed capitalist countries has increased to an unprecedented level, from which the bourgeoisie has made fabulous profits. Whereas in the middle of the 19th century the worker on the average consumed two-fifths of his day in unpaid labour for his employer, today two-thirds of his day's labour goes to the employer and only one-third to himself. And this is not all, because in one way and another, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, by such means as taxes, price rises, wage freezes, and so on, the bourgeoisie attacks the standard of living of the workers, loading the inevitable difficulties of capitalist production on to their shoulders.

The powerful upsurge of the struggle of the working people against the capitalist order today is a clear testimony to all these things.

**And if, regardless of all this the workers of the developed capitalist countries live relatively better today than they did in the past, this is due mainly to two factors: on one hand because the struggle of the working class for its rights has forced some improvement, and**

**on the other hand; because of the objective need of modern capitalist production for workers with a higher technical-professional and educational level.**

Present-day bourgeois sociology and propaganda makes great play with the deceptive thesis of "the distribution" (spreading) of ownership", "participation of the workers in the profits of capitalist enterprises", and such like. Great importance is placed on the so-called workers' participation in ownership of capitalist shares (for example, in the U.S.A., 10 per cent of the people own some shares). **In connection with this the U.S. bourgeois sociologist, R. Baselon,** writes: "The diffusion of ownership amongst shareholders has reached such a level that now the very notion of "capitalism" is completely inappropriate" (R. Baselon — Facts and Fictions of U.S. Capitalism).

### **ROLE OF SAVINGS**

In fact the widening circle of small shareholdings not only does nothing to undermine the power of the financial oligarchy, but, on the contrary, increases it. Many capitalist magnates are interested in fragmenting the distribution of shares to the greatest degree possible among the working people, because this gives them the possibility of exercising actual control over the corporation with the smallest minority of shares, and of utilising the savings of working people as supplementary capital. In the same way, the financial oligarchy uses the savings of the working people deposited in the banks and financial institutions, to accumulate and invest as much capital as possible, or for financial speculation.

**As Karl Marx stressed, "savings are golden chains with which the bourgeoisie keeps a considerable part of the working class in bondage" (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Russian edition. Vol. 6, p. 590).**

One of the main objects of the present-day socio-economic policy of the bourgeoisie is to link up the workers with the interests of the capitalist enterprises, to urge him to work as hard as possible for the capitalists and to turn him away from the struggle against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

It tries to achieve this aim through a series of measures which are widely used by the monopolies. Among them are for example, the system of workers participation in "profit sharing". In other words, making the workers' pay dependent on the profits of the capitalist enterprises; the setting up of occupational training of the workers in such a way that they can only find jobs suitable for their training and qualifications in particular firms or enterprises; giving the workers certain small material gains as a reward for "good work, savings of materials, or lowering the costs of production" etc; the part payment of medical or transport expenses, or through setting up workers' canteens, sports clubs and so on. There is no lack either, of "moral rewards", such as public approbation, distinctions, special



uniforms, publishing of the photographs of workers who, from the viewpoint of the capitalist, demonstrate their "loyalty" to the enterprise, have an "exemplary attitude" to work, behaviour, and so on.

### "WORKERS' PARTICIPATION"

Sometimes "the workers participation in profits" is associated with their alleged participation in control of production and the enterprise. But even certain bourgeois sociologists such as G. French, A. Kornhauser, A. Merron and others, are obliged to admit openly that this is no more than a tactic of the capitalists. They say: "Management sometimes consciously uses such attractive slogans as democracy, collaboration, joint participation and decisions, etc., to create an atmosphere in the enterprise such that the workers can be manipulated, while directing the enterprise just as arbitrarily as before, regardless of the opinions of those who are dependant upon it."

The bourgeoisie has also worked out an entire system of "assistance", time payments, etc., to tie the workers up economically and divert them from going on strike. They are encouraged to buy such things as furniture, refrigerators, T.V. sets, washing and sewing machines, or to accept housing loans, which must be paid off in monthly instalments. Thus the workers are permanently in debt, and if a worker is unable to pay even one monthly instalment, what he has bought is liable to be repossessed.

The time payment system has become a real trap, a spider-web in which the workers have become entangled so that they dare not go on strike because if they lose even a day's pay it may be impossible to meet the instalments on their time-payment debts. Thus the system of time-payments, hire-purchase, keeps the workers tied to the job, alienates them from the political struggle, corrupts them with what appears to be a means to improve their well-being, but which in fact, keeps them constantly dependant and under obligation to the capitalist.

(To be Continued).



# Theory of Classes and of Human Nature in Literature and Art

—Su Hsi ("Peking Review").

The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie concerning literary and art thought often centres around the question of portraying characters. How should we observe, analyse and depict men — the main objects of portrayal in literary and art works? Answers from writers and artists differ, but in the final analysis, they boil down to two kinds, one conforming to the Marxist theory of classes and the other to the landlord and capitalist classes' theory of human nature. They reflect two diametrically opposed world outlooks.

In his "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" 30 years ago, Chairman Mao made a penetrating and comprehensive criticism of the theory of human nature upheld by some persons as the basis of the theory of literature and art.

## TYPICAL OF A CLASS OR OF HUMAN NATURE?

In the "Talks", Chairman Mao pointed out: **"This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle."**

Literature and art serve a definite political line by reflecting social life through the portrayal of typical characters. To solve the question of "for whom?" in literature and art, therefore, it is necessary first of all to solve the question: What persons should we write about and which class' ideal characters should we depict? This is the focal point of struggle between two different literary and art lines. The proletariat advocates that efforts should be made to depict worker, peasant and soldier heroes, whereas the bourgeoisie advocates the "quest for true men with human nature."

What kind of persons are these so-called "true men with human nature"?

There are only two kinds. One is the devil in "human" skin, such as renegades who give themselves up to the enemy. Revisionists describe these renegades as "loyal to the Party and to the enemy." The other kind is: The clothes are those of the workers, peasants and soldiers but the souls are those of the landlords and capitalist's. We see in some works that the authors often regard the exploiting classes' thoughts and feelings as the "common feelings of human beings" and forcibly thrust them into the inmost minds of the so-called "workers, peasants and soldiers". This actually



amounts to using the 'bodies' of workers, peasants and soldiers as media to extol the "soul" of the exploiting classes, prettifying the human nature of the latter and vilifying the human nature of the proletariat and other labouring people.

If these so-called "true men with human nature" were allowed to dominate the literary and artistic as well as political stages, there would be no place for the proletariat and the masses of the people, and proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie would be thrown to the winds.

More than 100 years ago, Marx said that the human essence **"is the ensemble of the social relations."** In the Talks 30 years ago, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence."**

True, men's activities constitute the main aspect of social life. Literary and artistic works which reflect social life invariably portray different kinds of persons. But in class society men are distinguished according to classes. Marxists never depart from the class viewpoint when discussing "men" and "human nature" or typical characters. In advocating the portrayal of "true men with human nature," revisionists deny the class nature of men and negate the opposition between classes. This is precisely the basic characteristic of the theory of human nature.

### **PORTRAYAL OF TYPICAL CHARACTERS**

The struggle between the theory of classes and the theory of human nature in literature and art also manifests itself in the question of how to write about men. Dictated by their exploiting classes' standpoint and idealist world outlook, bourgeois writers and artists deny that the typical is a concentrated expression of class nature.

Revisionist writers preach that a typical character "first of all is a man" and "has things common to mankind"; they advocate using "the attitude of respecting and sympathising with others" in the quest for "true men, true hearts" and "true feelings". They describe all this as "common feelings of human beings" and babble that if we concentrate and generalise such "common feelings" we shall be able to concentrate and generalise life and portray "true men with human nature."

Citing many facts showing that "the joys and sorrows of human beings are not alike," Lu Hsun scathingly refuted this fallacy. Take love for instance. Different classed men love entirely different things because their thoughts and feelings are different. As Lu Hsun said, the poor never have to worry about losing money on the stock ex-

change and the oil magnate does not know the trials of an old woman collecting cinders. But revisionist writers, in the "quest for true men" through depicting characters with the supra-class "common feelings of human beings," describe the bourgeois pursuit of personal gain and luxurious and even lewd life—niggardly clinging to life and afraid of death — as "common feelings of human beings," their aim being to make real life and their characters subordinate to this "theme". This is the idealist viewpoint on creative work.

### "COMPLEX FEELINGS"

Then there are the so-called "complex feelings." Revisionists argue that "human feelings are contradictory and that bad persons sometimes have good aspects," while worker, peasant and soldier heroes "are also influenced by some backward ideas." They say that "going deep into the inner recesses to uncover these concealed thoughts," human nature will be "deepened" and the personality of the characters will be "more easily understood". If writers follow this pattern, then they have no need at all to proceed from different social realities to observe and analyse the different thoughts of men or to concentrate and generalise the essence of different thoughts and feelings of different classes; all they have to do is to depict the "good aspects" of bad persons and the "backward ideas" of heroes, and the personality of the characters will be revealed. This method of typification is actually prettifying the landlords and capitalists and vilifying the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Next, the so-called "influence of human feelings." Revisionists preach that works of art should use the "human touch" to move and influence people and "unite the people by means of lofty feelings." Of course literary and art works should move and influence people. But here the question is how?

In the "Talks", Chairman Mao pointed out that revolutionary literature and art should "**awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment.**"

The so-called theory of "influence of human feelings" preached by the revisionists eliminates class contradictions and class struggle in literary and art works; instead, it uses the supra-class "conflict of personality" and "struggle of human nature" as the main line for arranging contradictions in their works and the "influence of human feelings" as the means to resolve contradictions and conflicts.

Marxism holds that, in class society, class relationship is the essence of relationship between men, and of all the complex contradictions, the basic one is class contradiction. While struggles, whatever form they may take, are in the final analysis class struggle. **"It is a basic Marxist concept that being determines consciousness, that the objective realities of class struggle and national struggle determine our thoughts and feelings."**

Since revisionist writers and artists proceed from supra-class "human feelings" in their creative work, their methods are subjective and idealist and are detached from reality.

In portraying heroes of their own class, proletarian writers and artists put the accent on portraying the characters' proletarian feelings and proletarian likes and dislikes. They combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism and proceed from various aspects of class relationship in a typical setting of class struggle to reveal the characters' personality and mental outlook. The popular model revolutionary theatrical works have provided us with the best examples. It is not possible to portray such typical characters without going among the workers, peasants and soldiers and into the midst of the people's revolutionary practice.

So we have two entirely different ways of portraying typical characters. One is proletarian, which proceeds from the theory of classes and uses the dialectical materialist method to portray typical images of heroes; the other is bourgeois, which proceeds from the theory of human nature and uses the subjective idealist method in the "quest for true men".

### BEHIND THE "ARTISTIC CONSCIENCE"

Revisionists have generalised the process of their "quest for true men" as writing about "men" from the standpoint of "men". What they mean is writers must first of all be supra-class "true men" before they can portray images of "true men" having the "nature common to practically all mankind". They call this "artistic conscience".

**In class society, whatever a writer produces is invariably determined by the world outlook of his own class, and there is no supra-class artist or "artistic conscience".**

A revisionist ringleader in China's literary and art circles once said: "Maybe none of us is a true man now, and we have not completely rid our minds of the opposition between classes". This actually amounts to saying that if writers want to portray "true men with human nature", they must try to completely rid their minds of the opposition between classes, cut themselves off from people's social life and go into artistic "ivory towers" to "cultivate" the so-called "artistic conscience", "loyal to human nature".

So it is clear that the aim of these revisionists is to lead writers and artists astray so that they will betray Marxism-Leninism.

**In the "Talks", Chairman Mao said: "Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists."**

If writers follow the revisionists' "artistic conscience", they do not have to proceed from objective social life or go into the midst of



the masses' struggles and lives, and they do not have to observe life from the viewpoint of classes and class struggle or use this viewpoint to guide their creative work.

The so-called 'artistic conscience' reflects exactly the bourgeois world outlook and views on art. It is diametrically opposed to the orientation that literary and art workers should serve proletarian politics and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. If writers and artists fall into the trap of "artistic conscience", they will not be able to keep to the proletarian stand and to Party spirit and consequently they will throw overboard the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx and Engels proclaimed that, as regards the Communist Revolution, **"its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas"**.

But opportunists use the theory of human nature to oppose the theory of classes and substitute humanitarianism for communism. The theory of human nature has in fact become the theoretical basis for "Left" or Right opportunist political and literary and art lines of every description.

### OPPORTUNISTS' LINE

In the history of our Party, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers invariably played up and pinned their hopes on the theory of human nature while pushing their reactionary political and literary and art lines. In the 1930s, they raved that "in literature and in every field of art, the stress should be on the 'literature of men.'" They opposed the leadership of the proletariat in the united front and hoisted the capitulationist banner of "national defence literature".

In the 60s, they put forward a series of revisionist ideas on creative work, unfurled the ensign of "literature and art of the whole people", and advocated "opening up a broad road for depicting the images of 'men'".

Historical experience tells us that the theory of human nature is very deceptive and its pernicious influence widespread and deep. Only by making the most radical rupture with the bourgeois world outlook and views on art can revolutionary literary and art workers succeed in portraying typical proletarian heroes and make our literature and art different in essence from those of the landlord and capitalist classes and from those revisionist works which ostensibly deal with themes of revolutionary struggles but actually preach the human nature of landlords and capitalists.

**The history of proletarian literature and art is a history of struggle between the theory of classes and the theory of human nature. It is through the struggle against the reactionary theory of human nature that the portrayal of typical proletarian heroes and heroines in the model revolutionary theatrical works has attained such artistic heights.**

# Two Year Index (1971-72)

The following abbreviations have been used in this index: C.P.: Communist Party, M-L: Marxist-Leninist, N.C.: National Committee, P.C.: Political Committee, D.C.: District Committee, Ed. Bd.: Editorial Board, (P.R.): "Peking Review", Ex.: Executive, Br.: Branch, P.V.: "People's Voice".

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# Nanking Bridge

— Rewi Alley. ....

**A**ll through the ages  
the yellow, swirling waters  
of the mighty Yangtze  
have divided; came 1949  
and on a fleet of junks  
the people's fighters  
stormed across; so did  
a new day begin

with a continuing struggle  
for unity, only possible  
on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought;  
unity of those who work  
create, make; so did  
piers for a people's bridge  
start rearing themselves  
from the writhing mud  
on the deep river bottom  
until they stood sturdy and high  
able to carry a massive  
steel structure, laced together  
with heroic hands, hands too  
that fitted great red flags  
to each bridge head, proudly.

and now  
trains swoop over  
the bridge that the cynically superior  
said could never be built,  
doing in minutes what before  
took hours; while on the highway  
above, the rubber of wheels  
runs smoothly and the feet  
of peasants lift lightly, as  
another burden is taken from them,  
country and city becoming  
more as one; a revolutionary bridge  
that brings a lift to heads, light  
to eyes, encouraging too the poor  
and the oppressed everywhere.

Nanking, Nov. 15th, 1969

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