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**THE KREMLIN, THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND AFRICAN
"NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS"**

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The 1969 Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties

The world revolutionary process is not moving at high speed, but neither is it crawling at snail's pace and it has gathered momentum over the last few years. The "national liberation movements" are the revolutionary landrovers forcing their way across inhospitable territory. They are no *Ford Edsels*, unveiled at automobile shows with great aplomb, then cranking along only to be withdrawn from the production line. They are fuelled with high grade petrol increasingly supplied by Marxist-Leninist refineries, which are gradually forging a monopoly distribution position on the Third World market.

Lenin was the originator of protracted, sustained, decisive, global revolution, employing "national liberation movements" as highly effective offensive tools. This has tremendous advantage over large scale war, because it pushes the revolutionary base outward without endangering the core area - the USSR - by possibly exposing it to massive retaliation. The revolutionary process has already passed many a milestone and, according to the stocktaking of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow from 5 to 17 June 1969, is "gathering momentum throughout the world". The "national liberation movement" is viewed as one of the three "mighty forces of our time", the others being the "world socialist system", commanded by the Politbureau, and the "international working class".

The 1969 meeting marked a major step forward in the "struggle of all anti-imperialist forces". It was a landmark in activating the "national liberation movements", in strengthening organisational unity and in reaffirming "our movement's devotion to the ultimate communist goal", as Secretary-General of the CPSU, Leonid I. Brezhnev, put it. The "progressive forces" had taken the offensive. The meeting had therefore brought about an "organical" blending of revolutionary theory and practice.

Since the Communist Party of the USSR had prepared the meeting politically, theoretically and organisationally, the adopted resolutions reflected the official outlook of the CPSU. The action programme pinpointed the "national liberation struggle" as a major instrument in spreading the revolutionary cause. Brezhnev called attention to the proper channeling of the "upsurge of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary movement" as the most important task of the world revolutionary phalanx. It was stressed that everything was to be done to exploit all "potentialities". The heightening of the "theoretical activity" of the world-wide Communist movement, including its satellites and front-organisations, was of utmost importance. The lack of theory and the slackening of the creative interpretation of the doctrine against the background of the ever-flowing and changing realities, would - as Brezhnev reminded the *avant garde*, by quoting Lenin - sooner or later condemn the revolutionary movement to "political bankruptcy".

The action programme explicitly listed the potential revolutionary forces to be mobilised and to be drawn into the Soviet orbit: the "working classes" in the capitalist nations, as well as the trade unions, the progressive strata of the urban middle classes and intellectuals, and the "working peasants". The youth movement was pinpointed as having the greatest "revolutionary potentialities" in store. Another important feature mentioned was the tapping of the revolutionary potential of "women engaged in the struggle for peace". Realising that the various Christian denominations were experiencing an "ideological crisis", the meeting envisaged "positive co-operation and joint action between Communists and broad democratic masses of Catholics and followers of other religions". These groups could be won over not by addressing them in terms of Marxism-Leninism, but in terms of shared historical crisis-experience: "peace", "neo-colonialism" and their common concern for "the problems of developing countries". The possibilities offered by "parliamentary activity" should also be utilised to the full.

The final victory of Communism over "Imperialism-Capitalism" was, however, to be determined by the outcome of the struggle between the irreconcilably opposed forces in the Third World. The CPSU and Brezhnev singled out the African continent as being of greatest importance for future developments, and as the main battleground, with Southern Africa offering the most promising opportunities for inflicting "heavy blows on imperialism". The situation in the sub-continent opened up prospects for "fresh victories". By striking out at Southern African countries, the Communist movement was confident of dealing "imperialism" a fatal blow. The United States was pinpointed as the "imperialist gendarme", as the "sworn enemy of liberation movements". Thus, with the "bulwark of imperialism" weakened, the revolutionary movement could surge forward unimpeded. The struggle was being waged against the backdrop of growing Soviet prestige; the "attractiveness" of the Soviet example; the economic and political "might" of the USSR, and the "material and military assistance" rendered by the Soviet Union to the revolutionary "national liberation" organisations. Moscow's uninterrupted string of successes offered ever-increasing encouragement to these movements in their resolve to sustain the fight against "imperialism".¹

The final objective was clearly stated, namely to forge a general alliance of all "anti-imperialist" forces, movements, and currents - "a general, world alliance against imperialism", in Politbureau parlance. The declared intention was to bring about a world political polarisation; i.e. to polarise the struggle between two issues, namely "Socialism" vs. "Imperialism", into two dimensions, namely the revolutionary movement vs. the capitalist camp. The "national liberation struggle" was to concentrate on the destruction of the organisational apparatus of the target countries, and should radically transform and restructure the socio-political content of the antagonistic societies. The means to be employed are violence and subversion, calculated to engender insecurity and to provoke the target governments to resort to measures likely to discredit them in the eyes of their constituencies; that is, to create the so-called "brutalisation effect" via the operation of "conspiratorial cadre-guerrillas" employing terror that is meant to revolutionise the character of the state in the long-run. The strategy consists of attaching the Communist movement to legitimate causes which in themselves are not Communist, but which have some revolutionary potential. The objective is to change their content and to channel their "nationalist" thrust into a "socialist" direction. To win support, the cadre-forces are to display a smiling Dr. Jekyll only to show the true face of the horrible Mr. Hyde after the seizure of power.²

Revolutionary rhetoric and action, and the organic blending of revolutionary theory and practice, climaxed in the two signal events of 1976 - the conquest of Angola and the 25th Party Congress in Moscow (24 February to 5 March). The outstanding feature of the CPSU Congress was the emphasis placed on "world revolution". Having triumphantly extended the Communist base throughout most of Indochina and having suffered a temporary setback in converting Chile into another Cuba in Latin America, attention was now clearly focussed on Africa.³

The "World Marxist Review": A Revolutionary Catechism

Of increasing importance in forging organisational unity, in centralising the revolutionary apparatus and in providing the widest dissemination of officially Moscow-sanctioned resolutions to the "World Communist Movement" and revolutionary and progressive forces, is the sprawling publishing complex of the *World Marxist Review*, which is directed by an editor-in-chief and an associate editor who are both members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR and of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee. Representatives of Communist, workers', revolutionary and progressive parties, organisations and movements are attached to the editorial board of this most authoritative agency of the Moscow Politbureau. The editorial policy of the *World Marxist Review* is in each and every case cleared by the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Editor-in-chief K. I. Zarodov has been jolted into prominence by an ukaze issued by the Secretary-General of the CPSU. When summing up the historical importance of the 1969 International Meeting, Brezhnev specifically singled out the *World Marxist Review* as the central agency for co-ordinating and giving direction to theoretical discussions and conferences. Instructions were then to be disseminated among the proliferating revolutionary organisations, groups, circles and movements.⁴ In all his writings - and foremost in *The Three Revolutions in Russia and our Times* - Zarodov has stressed the singular importance of Bolshevik revolutionary experience in guiding Moscow's satellites in their revolutionary activities.⁵

Zarodov has meanwhile turned out to be a veritable intellectual Stakhanov worker. In many respects he seems to have over-fulfilled the production figure established by the planning commissions of the Kremlin. He has hosted a series of international symposia and conferences which have resulted in clear-cut action programmes for the Kremlin's globally agitating satellite organisations. The focus of all these gatherings has been on the "deepening crisis of capitalism", on "world socialism" and the "national liberation movements".

Because of the singular importance of revolutionary activities in the Third World to the cause of the world revolutionary process, the Politbureau has established a clearing house for revolutionary and subversive operations under the auspices of Zarodov's *World Marxist Review Commission on the National Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa*. The great significance attached to the *World Marxist Review* outfit was underscored when Brezhnev received Zarodov in the Kremlin in September 1975 and the news was even considered fit to be printed in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. They discussed the activity of the journal, and the editor-in-chief expressed his "sincere gratitude for the CPSU Central Committee's constant attention to the Communist and Workers' Parties collective publication". Brezhnev gave "a high appraisal" of the importance of the magazine, carrying the

subtitle *Problemy mira i sotsializma* (Problems of Peace and Socialism). The Secretary-General exhorted the editorial board - a collective of 51 "fraternal parties" - to do its utmost in order to galvanise the potential revolutionary groups into ever-wider escalating actions.⁶ On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the *World Marxist Review*, the central committees of all Communist and Workers' Parties extended greetings to the editorial board. The Central Committee of the CPSU praised the journal as an "authoritative international forum of Marxist-Leninist thought". The Politbureau expressed high appreciation of the magazine's role in "popularising the vast experience of brother parties in solving key problems of socialist and communist building, analysing class battles in capitalist countries and the peoples' fight for national freedom and social progress".⁷

The Crisis of World Capitalism and the Revolutionary Process

In the writings of the Marxist-Leninist church fathers and in the outpourings of the secular theologians at party schools, much energy has been expended on formulating so-called general historical laws, as well as gauging and determining the general direction of movement ensuing from objective conditions. That the theoretical premises are false; that the doctrine really amounts to an article of faith; and that the escalator progression of mankind's historical experience from the primitive-communal to the slave, feudal, capitalist and eventually to the socialist-communist stage is a figment of imagination, falsifiable at almost every point of the argumentative chain, is part of the scholarly record - something self-styled, but also certified sociological and political scientists conveniently ignore because of disturbing and emotionally upsetting implications.

From a doctrinal point of view, the "Asiatic mode of production", prevailing through vast regions of the Third World, has caused the adherents of the unilinear Marxist faith troublesome headaches. But to salvage theoretical assumptions, the doctrinal framework has been adjusted and re-adjusted in order to accommodate the fundamentally non-progressive "Asiatic mode of production". The "world socialist system" has to serve as a substitute and catalyst for the otherwise allegedly immutable laws of Marxism-Leninism. Revolutionary activism throughout the underdeveloped regions of the globe, forcefully backed by the "socialist community", has to spur on the revolutionary process leading along the "non-capitalist path of development" to the final Socialist-Communist *nirvana*. The USSR has moved, not only economically, politically and militarily, but also doctrinally, into the crucial position of assuming the major burden of making the non-Western world conform to the "eternal historical laws" by sheer exertion of revolutionary will-power and an unflinching determination to translate "theory" into forced "practice". The conquest of Angola was an outgrowth of this massive exercise.⁸

Operating on the foundation of the scientifically brittle Marxist-Leninist theory and on the basis of the analysis of world political trends, as telescoped through ideological lenses, Communist strategists are continuously engaged in gauging developments that promise to have great potentialities for carrying out "an offensive strategy of class struggle in a number of links of the world imperialist system". Three major, general crises/epochs have rocked world capitalism - according to this analysis - each having resulted in revolutionary upheavals throughout the capitalist world, which materially assisted the revolutionary forces to quantum-leap:

- The First World War ushered in the conquest of Tsarist Russia by the Bolshevik Party, which entrenched itself in its geo-strategic revolutionary base.
- The Second World War enabled Moscow, as the eruptive centre of global revolution, to push its perimeter outward.
- The increasing contradictions within the capitalist camp, that first became visible during the late 1950's and early 1960's and have become "more clearly defined in recent years". The 1970's have furthermore witnessed a qualitative change in contemporary developments, coinciding with "the third stage of the capitalist general crisis".⁹

But the distinguishing feature of the present epoch is not only characterised by the "deepening general economic crisis of capitalism". The crisis has been aggravated by the political loss of nerve and the "moral" decay and bankruptcy, as Brezhnev pointed out in somewhat un-Marxist fashion when he addressed the Meeting of European Communists at Berlin on 29 June 1976. He probably had the Watergate exercise in US self-exhibition, the mania and theatrical posturing surrounding the CIA "exposure" - that is, the concerted onslaught on the overt and covert agencies of US foreign policy-making - and the advance of Communism into Southeast Asia and Africa uppermost in his mind, when he expressed his conviction that "capitalism is a society without a future and is thereby augmenting the number of advocates of the other, socialist path". The down-hill slide cannot be reversed, he confidently prophesied. The Soviet bloc is in the forefront of supporting the "national liberation movements" and these, in turn, enriched by the symbiotic venture, are increasingly infusing "socialism" into their day-to-day policies. "Socialism", Brezhnev announced, has already struck "deep roots" in several African countries. By having severed their ties with "capitalism-imperialism", these nations are fast moving toward "non-alignment" - which, from the Kremlin's vantage point, amounts to an euphemism for strident anti-Westernism.¹⁰

International trends are regarded as being highly favourable to the furtherance of the revolutionary cause. Two powerful streams are converging, swelling the revolutionary tide: international capitalism is gripped by a severe crisis-situation, equal to the upheavals of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945, with its will faltering, and the world revolutionary forces - with the "world socialist system", the "international working classes", and the "national liberation movements" linking up in co-ordinating their struggle against "imperialism" and "neo-colonialism" - are riding on the crest of the wave. The international "class struggle" has assumed increasing importance in Soviet foreign policy conduct. After having reached "parity" with, if not "superiority" over the combined forces of the West, the USSR has moved into a position from which the mere fact of having overwhelming forces at its command can already successfully deter any "counter-revolutionary" actions on the part of the "imperialist camp". Moscow's force structure not only encourages "national liberation movements" to sustain their struggle against "imperialism" and "neo-colonialism"; it also serves as a political insurance policy for the revolutionary organisations throughout the period of domestic consolidation. The very existence of the "world socialist system", headed by the USSR, makes the coming of the revolution in less-developed countries no longer dependent on the ripeness of capitalism.¹¹ The revolutionary elite, organised into a highly effective organisational combat instrument, can

hasten the arrival of the Communist victory by initially pursuing the "non-capitalist path" of development.

The shift from the "cold war" to East-West "détente" also coincides with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. This dramatic change has come about as a result of the "active" and "purposeful" foreign policy of the USSR and its satellites. Further, the newly emergent international climate has created "optimal conditions for the continued development of the world revolutionary process", and Moscow's policy of "peaceful coexistence" has cast its sway over the capitalist world, deterring the "imperialists" from resorting to armed struggle in order to contain revolutionary explosions. However hard capitalism may try, Soviet analysts insist, it will ultimately fail in its attempts to adapt to new conditions and to stabilise itself as a social system. Especially the intertwining of domestic and external contradictions makes the "antagonisms" within the "world capitalist system ... destructive and persistent". The ushering in of the era of "détente" - and this observation goes a long way towards explaining the rationale underlying Soviet intentions along this operational policy line - has meanwhile aggravated the rivalry between "bourgeois quarters of a number of (capitalist) countries in the economic and political sphere". No longer able to sink their differences in the face of alleged Communist aggression, the argument runs, the capitalist nations are increasingly turning their energies against one another. "Détente" has heightened tensions between the "main centres of imperialism" - the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The "disuniting" tendencies among the major capitalist countries have thus asserted themselves. The centrifugal forces have grown stronger in recent years and have been spurred on by economic difficulties, which the Kremlin is bent on aggravating by encouraging its Third World proxies either to raise commodity prices and impose boycotts on select target countries, or to impede the flow of raw materials to the industrialised nations.

From "National Freedom" to "Social Freedom"

The independence struggle waged by "national liberation movements" is calculated to hasten the aforementioned process. But formal state sovereignty is not enough, as Moscow impresses upon its clients. The former colonial peoples have cut their umbilical cord with the "imperialist world". They have to stifle any "neo-colonialist" attempts at recouping lost ground. To gain complete independence, the domestic forces of capitalism operating within these states have to be defeated. In recent times, the "national liberation movements" have assumed the character of a "national democratic revolution" and this offers the "prerequisites for going over to socialism through a series of intermediate stages". To safeguard their "national democratic, revolutionary" accomplishments and to press on with the construction of "Socialism-Communism", these states have to fend off any intrusion by "monopoly capitalism" and its overseas extensions in the form of multinational corporations, which only intend to convert the developing countries from agrarian into "industrial raw materials appendages". To be able to consolidate their achievements, these states have to strike up closer economic co-operation with the Soviet-led COMECON.

Moscow's long-range objective is clearly spelled out. The industrialised capitalist nations are to be thrown back on their own resources. This process is intended eventually to engulf the "imperialist camp" in major internal upheavals, thus paving the way for revolutionary and subversive activities throughout the capitalist world. It goes without saying that

the Kremlin will be more than eager to exploit revolutionary potentialities once they arise. Moscow's strategic thrust is initially aimed at the vast regions of the Third World, but the ultimate target countries are the capitalist nations of Western Europe and North America. The Politbureau's indirect strategy offers all the advantages that military offensives would most likely wreck.¹²

The indefatigable editor-in-chief of the *World Marxist Review*, K. I. Zarodov, has pinpointed the United States as the ultimate target of the Soviet-instigated revolutionary offensive. America constitutes the "main bastion of modern imperialism, the center of reaction and aggression, the support point of neo-colonialism". The Third World strategy, the theoretical conference on "New Features of State-Monopoly Capitalism and the Class Struggle in Developed Capitalist Countries" concluded, has to be complemented by a revolutionary strategy within the industrialised capitalist countries. The intention is to keep the "centers of imperialism" preoccupied with tackling - though ultimately unsuccessfully, the Kremlin hopes - their internal problems, which are bound to mount. To accomplish this, the political struggle has to be reinforced by the economic struggle. Under capitalism, Lenin had argued, there "always exist backward sections which can be aroused only by the most extraordinary accentuation of the movement, and it is only by means of economic demands that the backward sections can be drawn into the struggle". Economic and political "class content" is to be injected into every reform for which the "progressive forces" are clamouring and agitating.¹³

Strike movements are to be instigated in order to foment a revolutionary atmosphere - in capitalist industrialised nations, including the Republic of South Africa.¹⁴ But strikes only accomplish limited objectives; in themselves they are not likely to bring about the overthrow of the "class enemy". Strikes are therefore to be employed as a means towards "the struggle for its overthrow". Drawing from pre-1917 experience, Soviet analysts comment increasingly about the revolutionising effect of political strikes on all strata of the population. Strikes also alert the "class consciousness" of the proletariat and galvanise the people into solidarity. Foremost, strikes erode public confidence in the government, undermine the support base of the ruling parties, give a boost to the revolutionaries and serve as a recruiting ground for the movement. As Brezhnev noted: "V. I. Lenin's appeal to be ready for any changes in the situation and for the use of all forms of struggle is especially topical for Communists today"¹⁵

"The future of world development" depends on the most effective utilisation of all revolutionary potentialities, K. I. Zarodov reminded the participants at the theoretical conference on the subject of "Alliance of the Socialist World System and the National Liberation Movement", held at Baghdad under the auspices of the *World Marxist Review* and the "Patriotic National Progressive Front of Iraq".¹⁶ Soviet Russia and the various "national liberation movements", the editor-in-chief stressed, have always coexisted and mutually reinforced each other. Constantly invoking Lenin, Zarodov emphasised the interaction between "socialism" and the "national liberation movements", which have immense revolutionary potential. According to the Bolshevik church father, the "national liberation struggle" against "imperialism" is not only national in substance and generally "democratic" in orientation, but in due course it will also turn against "capitalism and imperialism". A similar point was made in the major resolutions adopted at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties at Moscow in 1969: "It is of paramount

importance for the prospects of the anti-imperialist struggle to strengthen the alliance between the socialist system, the forces of the working class movement and national liberation".

Contemporary developments in international affairs are highly encouraging when viewed from the Kremlin's vantage point. The principal features, characterising the contemporary world, are the following:

- New changes in the alignment of world forces.
- The incipient reshaping of the whole system of international relations.
- The acquisition of an increasing social content by the "national liberation movements" and revolutions; and
- Discernible changes that "imperialism and neo-colonialism have effected in their strategy in keeping with present-day conditions".

Elaborating on Third World trends, Zarodov remarked: "Another important characteristic of the present period is the deepening of national revolutions and their entry into a stage at which many social movements in developing countries are assuming an ever more marked class character without losing their general anti-imperialist trends". Within this framework there is coming about "both a growing social differentiation inside the developing countries and in many of them an intensification of class antagonisms". The internal revolutionary struggle is turning "more and more manifestly against relations based on exploitation, both feudal and capitalist".

Having won political "freedom", the revolutionary Third World regimes must constantly be on their guard. To frustrate "neo-colonialism" once and forever, the initial political revolution must be turned into a "social" one. In the words of Zarodov, quoting Lenin: "...there can be no genuine social freedom without the liberation of labour from the yoke of capital". Hence, the Bolsheviks' conviction that "only socialism accords with the fundamental interests of the masses of the developing countries". For the choice to be "a truly free choice it is most important to reduce to a minimum and eventually preclude any possibility of interference by external reaction and imperialism". From this emanates the necessity for "all-round strengthening of the national independence of developing countries, including economic independence". To facilitate this long-range objective, Third World countries following the "non-capitalist path of development" have to co-operate with the "world socialist system".

Though the Soviet bloc is unable to compete with the capitalist nations in lavishing aid on the developing states, one should always keep in mind, Zarodov reminded his audience, including South African participants, that "in the complex processes of international economic life quality is more important than quantity, and they can best be analysed not by the methods of bookkeeping which deal with numbers, but by the methods of political economy". By approaching the problem from a Marxist-Leninist position, "we must look beyond each statistical indicator to the reality of class interests, to the social and economic contradictions on the national liberation scale". Third World revolutionaries are exhorted to adopt a "class approach" to their alliance with the "socialist world system".

The "ultimate defeat of imperialism and social liberation to all mankind" will be assured only by following the Marxist-Leninist line. To reach this destination, Third World countries have to repulse "imperialist domination in its old and new forms" by a determined effort to win "the right to dispose of their national resources and be able to foil enemy designs". The ultimate success largely, if not wholly, depends on Third World countries forging "firm ties" with the Communist bloc.¹⁷ By his ideological perambulations, Zorodov merely begged the crucial question, which - though never posed - still remains to be answered, namely whether the fate of Moscow's Cuban and European satellites, as encapsulated in the Soviet exploitation syndrome, is to befall its newly courted victims, who would be well advised to guard themselves against Greeks bearing gifts.

Several conclusions and observations emanate from the "theoretical" convolutions, and from the resultant action programmes hammered out at these *World Marxist Review*-spearheaded symposia and conferences:

- The contemporary situation provides great potentialities for the "national liberation movements" to unleash their struggle against "capitalism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism".
- The "national", "humanitarian" and "civil rights" causes, publicly proclaimed and amplified by UN agencies and the OAU, merely serve as a ruse, for the revolutionary movements operating in the African sub-continent aim for the highest stakes - i.e. the complete transformation of the socio-political system of the various Southern African countries and the imposition of totalitarian Socialist-Communist rule over the "masses". The insistence on "black majority democracy" merely serves as the take-off stage to launch the "national liberation movements" towards the realisation of their ultimate goal - the seizure of total power. Political pluralism and totalitarian power ambitions are irreconcilable in the short-, as well as the long-run, but progressivist gullibility lends itself to exploitation. Liberal reformist elements will, to borrow from Stalin's terminology, "have to be utilized to the end, squeezed out like a lemon, and then flung away".¹⁸ This very point was highlighted in a joint "Statement by Communist Parties of Great Britain and South Africa", when it was bluntly put forward: "It is important for all supporters of the African people's struggle in Southern Africa to understand that the struggle is not one for civil rights, but for national liberation and political power".¹⁹ This very point was reaffirmed by Oliver Tambo, of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) in an interview with the Prague-based *World Marxist Review* propaganda agency: "Some people are still inclined to think that the struggle of the black population is a struggle for civil rights. But this obscures the national liberative character of our movement."²⁰
- The conquest of the African sub-continent serves as a way-station on the road to world revolution.
- African "national liberation movements" are regarded by Soviet strategists as one of the three main revolutionary instruments for waging the global struggle against "imperialism".
- "Imperialism" and "neo-colonialism", in Soviet parlance, have to

be destroyed root-and-branch in African countries travelling the road from "national" to "social" freedom.

- The United States is specifically singled out as the ultimate target of destruction; with this process to be hastened by forcefully removing all vestiges of US influence from the Black continent; and
- The Kremlin strategists are fully aware of the singular importance of African raw materials to keep the wheels of the industrialised capitalist societies spinning.

Détente and Wars of National Liberation

Of greatest significance to the cause of "national liberation" was the "triumph" of the North Vietnamese in Southeast Asia. This victory demonstrated that "the US war machine, the most powerful in the imperialist world, could not break the will of a people risen to decisive struggle for the right to shape its own destiny". The most important lesson of the Indochinese war is that it has "powerfully" reaffirmed that, "with the international support of the forces of socialism and progress (i.e. the Soviet Union and its proxies), a people fighting with self-sacrifice in defence of its national rights and social gains (i.e. for the Bolshevik transformation of the society) against imperialist encroachments - such a people is invincible". The outcome of the Vietnam war has been broadcast as an "important international success" for the USSR. The Southeast Asian conflict has pushed the United States into "isolation", is deterring the American government from future "counter-revolutionary" ventures, has dramatically changed the "international alignment of forces" and provides "vivid confirmation of the tremendous strengthening of socialism, the international working class, the national liberation movement and the forces of peace".

All these recent trends accord with "détente" and open up "new opportunities for international normalisation and consolidation of world peace (i.e. of Communist influence and interests)". The Vietnam war concluded the last phase of the "Thirty Years' War of the 20th century", successively waged by the "military-colonialist elements" of Japan, France and the United States. The analogy of the religious wars of the 17th century brings into sharp relief the Politbureau's unalterable conviction that, in spite of concessions and détente zigzags, the Socialist-Communist bloc is actively and continuously involved in an ideological-secular-religious crusade against, and locked in mortal conflict with, the "class enemy" - the capitalist heretic - on a global scale in the contested industrialised and Third World theatres. The Vietnam war will go down in history as a "profound defeat for world reaction". On the Southeast Asian battlefield a "powerful blow" has been struck not only against the United States, but also against "imperialism as a whole".²¹

The climate of "détente" has already powerfully assisted the world revolutionary movement. This fact was underscored by an international theoretical conference jointly organised by the *World Marxist Review* and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in May 1976, when the interaction of the three revolutionary currents - the "world socialist system", the "international working class", and the "national liberation movement" - was the focus of discussions. "Détente" and "peaceful co-existence" are being viewed as configurations of the "class, revolutionary policy", therefore the struggle for "détente" has

become an inherent part of the "strategic concept of socialism". The Cuban, Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian "revolutions", as well as the defeat of "imperialism" in Angola, have demonstrated the fundamental connection between "détente" and the "class struggle". These observations clearly exemplify that a dialectical interconnection has been forged between "détente" and the "world revolutionary process". The "détente" policy is also exerting a powerful influence on relations between "imperialist and developing countries ... (For) the national liberation zone, détente is a factor impeding direct imperialist aggression or the export of counter-revolution". "Détente" and "national liberation struggles" are, in effect, two battlegrounds of a single, ever-widening revolutionary offensive; they are interwoven in the revolutionary strategy.

"Peaceful co-existence" and "détente" - the latter term is most often used for Western consumption - are regarded as important elements of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution. The very fact that Communist propaganda has been able to foist this catch-phrase upon the Western world is "added proof of the leading role of the proletariat and the socialist community in the social evolution of our epoch". The South African representative at the Tihany (Hungary) conference was quite emphatic that East-West "détente" is furthering the cause of revolutionary cadres operating underground on the sub-continent. The outcome of the "national liberation struggle" will largely determine who is to rule whom, and whether the capitalist camp or the Socialist-Communist bloc is going to gain the upper hand globally.²²

The 25th Party Congress and Southern African Revolutionaries

Africa has been converted into a hunting ground for Soviet strategists, their overseas proxies and indigenous Quislings. The African bases of the USSR are to be politically, socially, economically and militarily fashioned along Soviet lines.²³ The Politbureau's chief ideologue, M. A. Suslov, was highly elated when he extended "fraternal" greetings to the representatives of 103 Communist and Workers' Parties - so-called national democratic parties - and Socialist Parties from 96 countries: "Never before has a Congress of our Party been attended by such a large number of friendly delegations. They are made up of prominent leaders of the Communist, workers' and national liberation movements".²⁴

Fidel Castro's revolutionary haranguing was repeatedly interrupted by rounds of applause, especially his exhortation to step up the revolutionary struggle, to cut off the capitalist countries from their Third World raw materials bases and to aggravate the energy crisis.²⁵ Alves Batista, member of the Politbureau of the MPLA and Minister of Internal Affairs, exclaimed: "Comrades! Our victory over Portuguese colonialism was possible thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union", and from the rostrum of the Congress hall he expressed his "gratitude, respect and appreciation to the CPSU ...".²⁶ Yusuf Dadoo, chairman of the South African Communist Party, castigated the "slander and malicious anti-Soviet propaganda" that the Kremlin's venture in aggressive expansionism on the African sub-continent had engendered in the wake of the Angolan conflict. As did the other true believers, he issued his indictment against "Vorster, the CIA and the longtime servants of imperialism in Angola - Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi". The former leader of the ANC pledged his party to the cause of "liberation ... and proletarian internationalism".²⁷ "Comrade" Moses Garoib, member of the National Executive Committee and Administrative Secretary of SWAPO, expressed his organisa-

tion's solidarity with the "new, militant and revolutionary state, the People's Republic of Angola", and he applauded the Cuban-Soviet "liberation forces" for having inflicted a "crushing defeat on the imperialists and racists and their puppets".²⁸ Jason Moyo, chairman of the External Administration of the ANC (Rhodesia), extended his thanks to the "peoples" of the USSR for helping in "the struggle for national liberation We know that your constant support is a result of the CPSU's policy". The final battle for the "liberation of Southern Africa requires still greater efforts".²⁹

Destruction of Traditional Institutions and the State Apparatus

With the conquest of African bases, the first phase of revolutionising continental affairs has been concluded, but formidable obstacles still loom ahead. All attempts by "neo-colonialists" to forge an alliance with the loyal African bourgeoisie have to be repulsed. Having lost their direct control over African territories, the Western capitalists are bent on creating a "new social class as a potential ally". But not only indigenous Black forces are assisting "neo-colonialism" in containing the "progressive" and "national-democratic-revolutionary forces". Foremost, the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia are constituting the main barriers to a continent-wide, revolutionary advance. These states serve "imperialism" as bases from which to launch "counter-revolutionary offensives" against the "national liberation movements"; from which to draw their raw materials; to "intrigue" and "conspire" against successful "national-revolutionary regimes"; and from which "aggression" against independent African states can be initiated. "The liberation movements of South Africa and Zimbabwe and Namibia ... (are) a challenge not only to the existing racist regimes in these regions, but to the whole imperialist strategy of using Southern Africa as a military, political and economic launching pad against the independent states lying to its north".

The point is emphatically made, namely Soviet strategists can only sit back and relax once the southern "bastions of imperialism" have been wiped out. The destruction of the independent White African states and the vanquishing of the "local Black bourgeoisie" are *sine qua non*s of Moscow's African strategy. Only their final defeat will compel "neo-colonialism", i.e. the Western world, to retreat for good, and the transformation of the OAU into a revolutionary instrument will materially assist in accomplishing this ultimate objective of Moscow.³⁰ Any further radicalisation of the African situation, in which the Soviets have a lively interest, is calculated to propel the Black umbrella organisation in the desired direction.

Other major obstacles, piling up on the way leading to the Bolshevisation of large tracts of the continent, have to be overcome too. The process of "decolonization" in Africa will only succeed - and clinch the case for an eventual Communist takeover - if a "veritable cultural revolution" is being unleashed, fostering in its wake "national unity", destroying tribalism and regional micronational isolation. All attempts to strengthen and entrench, "non-socialist ideologies" must be combatted. Cultural institutions and the whole of the educational system have to be revamped and restructured along Marxist-Leninist lines. A common language has to be created for each territorial state, because the gap between official and popular vernaculars and dialects "seriously hampers education (i.e. indoctrination and brainwashing) and other ideological activity". All commanding heights within "national-democratic-revolutionary" African countries have to be conquered before the process of total transformation

can produce the proper revolutionary consciousness among the "masses". The population has to be cut off from independent foreign news sources; the information agency and the communications media have to be directed by true believers; the low theoretical level of the ideological cadres has to be improved; and film industries and publishing companies have to be nationalised. Only with the total destruction of the old institutions will the ruling "movement-regime parties" be able to block "ideological infiltration" by the "class enemy".³¹

Chile and Portugal have served Soviet strategists as laboratories for testing their revolutionary methods, and they have found crucial ingredients wanting. The lessons learned have immediate relevance for African developments. Throughout the Black continent, the Soviets are working via the militariat and the militarised politicians who have seized power, often after having waged years of guerrilla warfare. This experience has conditioned their outlook and their approach to problems.

One major conclusion has impressed itself on Soviet revolutionary practitioners: in Chile, as well as in Portugal, the Communist cause suffered setbacks largely because of the revolutionary cadres' failure to infiltrate the military apparatus and bureaucracies from top to bottom. Though Moscow came close to realising its objectives in Portugal, its military collaborators in the Portuguese armed forces had not yet succeeded in staffing all the service branches with their ideological cohorts. The Portuguese armed forces' joining ranks with the masses in April 1974, spelled the doom of the Caetano regime. Though the Portuguese Communist Party succeeded in capturing control of the labour unions and of most of the communications media, the party cadres had fallen short in their attempt at imposing control over the fighting forces. Even to have neutralised them might, in itself, have catapulted the Portuguese Communists into the seats of power.

Much soul-searching has been going on in Moscow in order to draw the proper conclusions from these events. To be able to carry the revolutionary intent to its ultimate consummation, it is thus regarded as of imperative importance to force through "the swiftest possible breakup, restructuring and remaking of the state apparatus". In defiance of the "scientific thesis on the class essence of the armed forces" in Chile - and by implication in Portugal - the Allende-headed Popular Unity Front had temporised and then stumbled, because it had kept the armed forces "supposedly neutral, above politics ... regardless of the aggravation of social contradictions".³²

Whether striking out along the peaceful, or the armed path of revolutionary development toward Socialism-Communism - and this is a difference "not between evolution and revolution but only between two forms of revolution"³³ - the revolutionary cause should never be attached to individuals, because these may easily be toppled and replaced. The revolutionary process, to run its "inevitable" course, has instead to rely on and make fullest use of the whole organisational apparatus, bending all state institutions and bureaucracies to its command. In view of the singular absence of "socialist traditions" and because of the fatal weakness of the proletariat in Africa, as well as in Latin America, "the progress of the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle ... cannot ... be consolidated without the firm support of the army". Progressive-minded military cadres therefore have to be trained to help the "national liberation movement" in the "battle for political control of military institutions". Under present-day conditions "the apolitical attitude of

the army is becoming a thing of the past".³⁴ For good reason, Moscow has expended great energies on moulding the guerrilla forces of the various African "national liberation movements" and thus the "anti-imperialist" and "anti-racist struggle" has been paralleled by ideological indoctrination, often in the crudest way possible. In Africa, the Kremlin is pushing its schemes via the ideologised militariat. Moscow's arms diplomacy in the Third World has increasingly been reinforced by ideological activity among the rank and file of the guerrilla forces - the revolutionary vehicle on which the Soviets are riding to power in the embattled Third World countries.

Imposing "Scientific Socialism"

After twenty years of increasing involvement in the Black continent, accompanied by disappointments, setbacks and constant theoretical reassessments, the Kremlin strategists have not come up with cures for all ills. But they have meanwhile managed to fashion an operational strategy that has already yielded significant results in a number of African states. Throughout this period, the Soviet Politbureau has shown a remarkable capacity for theoretical adaptation and innovation. Yet, in many respects it has not advanced far beyond certain fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Socialist-Communist regimes are still born in the crucible of violence and revolutionary upheaval, as Lenin had continuously emphasised and predicted. There was no need, he insisted, to wait for the ripeness of capitalism in order to push ahead into the "qualitatively" higher stage of Socialism-Communism. The revolutionary elite, organised on the basis of the Leninist variant of the *Führerprinzip*, has traditionally been encouraged to take the initiative and thereby hasten the arrival of the Communist victory.³⁵ The injunction of shaping the political consciousness of the "advanced" strata of the population - fuelled by the compulsive missionary zeal to carry the Communist *jihad* into the "war zone" - has been elevated to the pinnacle of Leninist theory and practice. The Politbureau has fully realised that to succeed in the Third World revolutionary arena, the fighting organisation and the socio-political apparatus have to be "Marx-Leninized" before the economic sub-structure could be made to conform to the so-called "objective laws of history".

Along this line the USSR is rapidly progressing. In the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, the Independence Congress Party of the Malagasy Republic, the Congolese Party of Labour (Brazzaville), the Somali Supreme Revolutionary Council, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (Guinea-Bissau), the Tanganyika African National Union and the Afro-Shirazi Party, the MPLA, FRELIMO, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the South African Communist Party, SWAPO and ZAPU, the USSR has often found pliant tools and instruments for promoting its construction project of blazing a path through the African continent. These organizations have rejected "African socialism" and have opted for "scientific Marxist-Leninist socialism", as a guide to charting the destiny of their states in closest collaboration with the "world socialist system" commanded by the Soviet Politbureau. With Marxist-Leninist pyrotechnics having already conquered strategically located regions of the Black continent, imperialism has returned to Africa. Occidental colonialism is well under way to being replaced by Soviet-style Asiatic despotic imperialism. To fully open the flood gates in Africa, Pretoria's policy of détente with its Black neighbours has to be torpedoed by the committed revolutionaries and totalitarian-minded caudillos of Angola and Mozambique - Agostinho Neto and Samora Machel - with Oliver Tambo and Alfred Nzo of

the South African ANC; Yusuf M. Dadoo of the South African Communist Party; Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe of ZAPU and ZIPA; and Sam Nujoma of SWAPO waiting in the wings to join in the revolutionary venture.³⁶

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