



NOTES

TURBULENT AFRICA

Our vast continent, its development thwarted for so many long years, is in the throes of a tremendous anti-colonialist revolution. One stormy event succeeds another in every corner of Africa, with bewildering rapidity. We have won and are winning splendid victories for the cause of African independence, freedom and unity. We have also suffered and will in future suffer more setbacks. Only against the background of our struggle as a whole, its essential one-ness of purpose and direction, can we understand the interrelation and significance of the momentous calendar of African events, East and West, North and South.

THE ZANZIBAR UPRISING

CONSIDER THE JANUARY Uprising in Zanzibar. The short-lived post-independence rule of the so-called 'Zanzibar National Party' collapsed like a house of cards. Elected by a minority vote in British-rigged elections, and representing only a privileged minority of the population, it rested heavily on British imperialist support and the outmoded Sultanate. Both proved shaky props indeed. Within hours the Sultan and his retinue were on their way to refuge in London. As for the British, they were ready and more than anxious to intervene against

the new-born Zanzibar People's Republic, headed by the Afro-Shirazi and Umma Parties who, despite all handicaps, had won the majority of the votes in the elections.

Troops in nearby British bases, aircraft and warships were placed on combat alert; *H.M.S. Owen* was cruising in Zanzibar waters with a landing party; the local commander announced his men were ready to intervene—and drown the picturesque little island in blood! But there were important factors restraining any such ambitions. The speed and completeness of the take-over, the utter collapse of the régime at the first breeze of revolt, proved that the Zanzibar masses are firmly behind President Abeid Karume's government. It was clear that any colonialist intervention would meet with bitter and protracted resistance. Hot-headed ideas of British invasion were also cooled down considerably by the stern warning of the Soviet Government that 'any forcible acts' in Zanzibar 'by those who do not want to abandon their former colonial privileges' would be fraught with 'dangerous consequences'. Recalling Khrushchov's words that 'every nation fighting against the colonisers felt the firm support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states', the statement pointed out that 'the time of colonial régimes has gone'.

The new government in Zanzibar lost little time in asserting the independence of the Republic. The American quasi-military base on the island was closed down immediately, and when the United States representative attempted to interfere in the island's internal affairs, he too was given his marching orders promptly. There is no doubt that the colonialists find it difficult to reconcile themselves with a genuinely independent Zanzibar. By the end of January, Britain had not yet recognised the new Zanzibar order, although—as Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Muhammed Babu has pointed out, the British High Commission remains open and even demands special privileges, such as cipher facilities. There is an element of serious danger in this anomalous situation. It lends colour to fears which have been expressed that Britain still harbours intentions of aggression towards Zanzibar.

EAST AFRICAN SETBACK

These fears are strengthened by the reappearance of British troops to play an active role in the affairs of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, in circumstances which cannot fail to cause the gravest concern and anxiety to every African patriot, whether in East Africa or anywhere else in the continent. It is true that these troops entered with suspicious alacrity on the invitation of the elected Governments of the three East African independent states. We have too much confidence in men like Kenyatta, Nyerere and Obote as African patriots and popular leaders of the independence struggle to imagine they would take so

grave a step without considering it necessary for the good of their countries and their people. But if it was indeed necessary to call for assistance of so unfortunate a nature from the colonialists, it reflects major oversights and omissions on our part which we must hasten to correct. The return of colonialist military forces, so soon after we had hoped we had seen the last of them in this part of Africa, must not be regarded as a precedent for the future; indeed it is our duty to do everything necessary to see it never happens again. It has done grave damage to the cause of free Africa; the Verwoerds and the Salisburys are exulting at our supposed incapability of managing our own affairs. Above all, the return of the colonialist troops, though as invited guests, with some sort of mandate from our leaders, is filled with grave dangers to the freedom not only of the East African countries which are harbouring them, but also of neighboring Zanzibar and emerging Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The immediate task is clear and pressing. British, or any other sort of colonialist forces, are not a sort of useful fire-brigade to help African governments in an emergency. They have been the instrument of our conquest and our subjection; and no African can ever forget the painful sacrifices it has cost our people to expel them from a large part of our Continent. Our aspiration is to clear Africa finally and completely of foreign troops and foreign bases. Before these guests make themselves too much at home, and begin to outstay their welcome, it is a matter of the most urgent priority that their departure should be speeded up and expedited. The British military base in Kenya should be closed down and removed without delay; but a few months back, the very same base was used to fly troops—in collaboration with Verwoerd—to suppress a justified strike of workers in Swaziland.

The occasion of the calling in of British military assistance was the demonstrations by African troops—first in Tanganyika, subsequently in Kenya and Uganda—in support of their demands for pay-increases and Africanization of the commands. These demands in themselves seem hardly unreasonable. It comes, indeed, as a shock to learn that so long after independence Tanganyikan armed forces were still under the command of British officers. The soldiers behaved with sobriety and disciplined restraint. They acted against acts of rioting and looting indulged in by a section of the Dar-es-Salaam populations. The limited character of their demands makes it clear that wild talk of an attempted *coup d'etat*, indulged in by certain 'Western' journalists, was mere panicky gossip. It was not so much the soldiers' demonstrations and demands themselves, but their implications which caused the young East African governments to take so serious a view of these events, and hastily to seek outside aid. Taking advantage of the absence of a large

part of the Tanganyika police force in Zanzibar, at the request of the new government, the soldiers not only demanded the withdrawal of the British officers, they arrested them and told them to get out of the country. They not only asked for more pay; they 'took over' the key-points in the capital, such as the airport, radio station and government buildings and enforced their demands on an administration which, for the time being, had no choice but to accede to them. The events of Dar-es-Salaam had immediate repercussions in Nairobi and Kampala. The three governments were suddenly brought face-to-face with the reality elucidated with such merciless logic by Lenin in *State and Revolution*: that every state, however democratic its forms, conceals a dictatorship; that all state power depends in the last analysis on the effectiveness of its instruments of force. The illusion, sedulously cultivated by the imperialists, that state power (as distinct from political office in a stable, institutionalized society) depends merely on election-results, crumbled into dust before this stark reality.

Certainly the new independence governments enjoy mass popular support and prestige. They have come into office as the result of a great revolutionary movement against colonialism that is sweeping East Africa, like the whole of our Continent. But the small armed forces, such as they are, have formed no part of this movement. Recruited, trained, equipped and still even officered by colonialists, they are not—like the soldiers of the F.L.N., for example, in Algeria—revolutionary forces, imbued with the spirit of patriotism, tested in battle for Africa's freedom, and sworn to defend it to the death. Their 'mutiny' (had it been more ambitious and politically-inspired, which happily it was not) might have ended in the snuffing-out of the nascent East African democracy and a period of military dictatorship, of a kind all too familiar both in developed and undeveloped countries. As it was it succeeded, for a period, in holding to ransom the elected leaders of the people and setting their authority at naught. It was this circumstance, rather than the inherent reasonableness of their demands themselves, which caused such concern in political circles, and led to the precipitate summoning of aid from the imperialists.

For the time being, this action has served its immediate purpose. The 'mutinies' have been quelled; government and civilian authority restored. But it has been done at a heavy price. It has created new and most serious problems which call for urgent solution if African freedom and unity are not to suffer severe setbacks as a consequence. President Julius Nyerere has been the first to show his consciousness of these problems, in general by proposing a quick session of the Organization of African Unity, and in particularly calling the T.A.N.U. youth to enrol in reconstituted armed services. It is regrettable that Mr. Mboya took

it upon himself to snub and rebuff the patriotic initiative of the K.A.N.U. youth to follow the same example in Kenya. The most immediate and practical lessons to be drawn from these unhappy events is that newly-independent African countries cannot afford, if they intend to maintain and extend independence, merely to rely on colonialist troops and colonialist institutions, including armed forces led by privileged foreigners. After two years of independence in Tanganyika, the highest rank held by any African soldier was that of captain, and as Mr. Odinga, Kenya's Minister of Home Affairs correctly pointed out in a 'serious warning,' 'British staff employed in responsible places failed to train Africans to fill their places. Instead they used their privileges to suppress Africans beneath them, thereby creating an explosive situation.'

The immediate practical necessity is not only to speed the departure of the British troops but also to create adequate African defence services, imbued from the lowest to the highest ranks with loyalty to Africa's cause and the defence of independence and democracy. But, more than that, the current developments in East Africa must lead us to a searching reappraisal of the whole character and direction of the African Revolution, its moving forces and its goals, the tempo of its phasing and the depth of its content.

THE 'PHASES' OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

Over the years, and particularly during the past stormy decade, however much we might differ in language or phraseology, a common concept has grown up all over our continent regarding the process of African liberation—what we of this journal have called the African Revolution—where it is going and what it is aiming at; the successive steps or phases through which we are passing. We may summarize this concept as follows:

PHASE ONE: ANTI-COLONIALIST.

The replacement of colonialist governments, from Cape to Cairo, by African governments, freely chosen by the people; Africanization of the armed forces and police, the civil services; elimination of foreign monopoly-capital domination of the economy to ensure complete independence.

PHASE TWO: SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Elimination of vestiges of feudalism, tribalism, and other relics of the past deliberately preserved by the colonialists to perpetuate their rule by 'indirect government'. Massive agrarian reform, industrialization along non-capitalist lines, labour legislation against exploita-

tion, mass participation of workers and peasants in all affairs of state to ensure that the departed colonialists are not merely replaced by a new class of indigenous exploiters and parasites.

PHASE THREE: AFRICAN UNITY AND SOCIALISM.

The artificial frontiers drawn by the rival colonialists to define 'their' respective 'possessions' are eliminated. Regional federations are established by common consent, merging peacefully into a great socialist African Union, vanquishing all the legacies and backwardness left behind by colonialism, catching up the 'developed' countries with giants' strides to win equality in status and in fact in every field, and playing a powerful part for peace and progress among the nations and continents of the world.

Some such outline has long been in the heart and mind of every African patriot, in every corner of our mother Africa, everyone whose soul burned with anger and resentment at the innumerable crimes, atrocities and insults committed against us by the arrogant colonialists, every African who longed for, dreamed of and worked for a better future for our people. The colonialists thought and said that these were crazy, empty dreams, impossible of fulfilment. And their words were believed and echoed by those faint-hearted African intellectuals, conscious or unconscious agents of imperialism, who spread the gospel of the unconquerable superiority and might of the colonialists, who tried to teach our youth contempt for themselves and their compatriots, for every national tradition, for everything African.

A dream? Perhaps, but neither crazy nor impossible; indeed, it is coming true before our very eyes, to the dismay of the colonialists and the discomfiture of their former agents, now scrambling with comic haste to scramble aboard the independence wagon before it's too late. How fortunate, how happy we are to be living in these stirring days of the African Revolution! The dream of our pioneer patriots, the little clear spring of independence and freedom which they began, has become a mighty river, a turbulent torrent storming through Africa, cleansing our motherland of the filth and backwardness of colonialism. Woe betide those who try to halt it, to tame it or stand in its path!

But, in the very process of the realization of our aspirations we are having it forced upon our understanding that the phases of emancipation are inseparable, that there is no easy march to freedom, that independence itself is deeply bound up with social revolution, with the simultaneous advance towards a united socialist Africa.

Independence in its essence is not something that is gained by bargaining with the colonialists.

Some people, both in Africa and elsewhere, have had to fight for national liberation with arms in their hands, over long hard years of bloodshed and sacrifice. Others have gained independence with less hardship—although it should never be forgotten that the victories which Africa has won and is winning today are the result of generations of bitter struggle against imperialism, both violent and non-violent, both in Africa and in other parts of the world. The price of freedom has been paid in struggle and in blood; though those who claim the victory at the conference table are often not the same as those who have shed the blood. The leaders who travel to the capitals of the imperialist countries do not get independence as a reward for their skill at negotiating, or the persuasiveness of their arguments; nor do they bring it home as a gift to their fellow-countrymen. Like trade union leaders who negotiate a strike settlement with the employers, their strength at the conference table is precisely equal to the unity and militancy of the masses of the people at home: no more, and no less.

More, the victory at the conference table is by no means identical with the complete and final victory of the independence struggle. That struggle goes on, in new forms, even under nominally independent governments. Every inch of the way to liberation has been and will be bitterly contested by the colonialists and their agents. Even those who took part in the independence movements at some stage may be expected to resist the logical development and onward movement of the people's struggle. Classes and strata within African society who enjoy vested interests and privileges fear the advancing people's revolution will infringe on these interests. They may even become allies of the colonialists in resisting further advances to complete independence, economic and political.

The course of our torrential freedom-river does not and cannot run smooth, nor can it conform exactly to the path we may seek to lay down for it in advance, for life is always more complex, varied and rich than the vision of even the most far-sighted statesman. The 'three phases' outlined above are valid and correct in their broad main outline; they have been and are being borne out all over Africa, by the course of present-day history. But our phases interact and merge with one another; there is no hard-and-fast dividing line to be drawn between them. And the tempo of events, the impetuous revolutionary spirit of the masses, so long repressed, is fast making every paper 'time-table' out of date.

It is true enough, for example, that political independence must precede—is in fact the condition for—social transformation. It would be ridiculous to look to the colonialists to introduce the far-reaching measures of agrarian reform, industrialization and democracy essential

to consolidate independence and imbue it with reality. But no barrier, no full stop, can be placed between the phase of national independence, and that of social and economic revolution. In fighting for independence, indeed, our liberation movements must already work out the essentials of a people's policy to be implemented the day after the expulsion of the colonialists. Failure to do so will lead to grave consequences.

The masses who sacrifice and struggle for the cause of Africa are not fighting merely for the sake of a new flag, a seat at the United Nations or an African leader, however worthy, in the Governor-General's palace. The starving and the homeless victims of colonialism can neither eat the flag nor sleep in the palace. Yet, these masses *are* Africa; without them our freedom means nothing. It is they who must be mobilized in the freedom-struggle, and it is they who must be mobilized to defend Africa to the death against the innumerable adventures and conspiracies of the colonialists, who have only retreated, but not given up the struggle for Africa, who are still powerful and ever-alert to seize every advantage, to use every weakness, to retain by cunning, bribery and pressure the dominant positions in Africa which they were unable to hold by force. To mobilize the masses there must be immediate and sweeping changes to answer their needs for land, work, food and progress; changes such as those envisaged in the famous Freedom Charter, evolved by the South African resistance movement in the most arduous struggle in our whole continent; a Charter which remains to this day an example and an inspiration worth studying in Free Africa, East, West and North.

No more dangerous illusion can exist in the minds of our national liberation leaders than that it is possible merely to take over intact the institutions and the personnel created and built up by the colonialists for the purpose of suppressing the masses, and to use these institutions and personnel in the construction of the New Africa. To some extent we have learnt and are learning these lessons; the old sham colonialist 'Legco' makes way for an African Republic: this should be the symbol of a profound and all-embracing shake-up from top to bottom. All too often, however, we see a mere change of name, a facade behind which the old colonialist-trained civil service, police and military carry on in the old way, the way they have been taught by the colonialists with all their arrogant contempt for the 'common people' of Africa, their entire lack of the new patriotic spirit of change and people's construction.

LESSONS OF THE CONGO

Those who look back at the tragedy which imperialist intervention and intrigue brought about in the Congo may learn rich lessons. Patrice

Lumumba was a great African patriot, a deeply honest leader who enjoyed mass support and respect from his people. But faced with the crisis precipitated by international imperialism, by the breakaway plot carried out by Tshombe at Belgium's bidding in Katanga, and by the defection of some of his trusted lieutenants bought by the colonialists, all the great prestige enjoyed by Lumumba among the people, even among the majority of elected Members of Parliament, was of no avail. There was no instrument whereby the people's will, expressed by Lumumba, could be enforced. There was only the *Force Publique*, created, equipped and trained by the Belgians—not as an instrument of people's power, but as an instrument of domination by colonialism over the people. For these mercenaries, who had only yesterday been paid by the Belgians to break up meetings and to jail, torture and murder freedom-fighters, there could be no question of loyalty to the people's cause. Even though the Belgian officers had departed, their loyalty of their successors was only to those who could pay them most; for dollars Mobutu and his like were ready to betray Lumumba and all he stood for, to hand him over to Tshombe's merciless executioner, Monungu.

Those, like our fellow-patriots in Algeria and Cuba, who have had to fight hard and long, rifle in hand, for freedom and independence need no lessons in the truth of the Marxist teaching that a revolutionary state needs a revolutionary army and other institutions. There the army of national liberation is of course a political army, an integral part of the people, sharing their aims and aspirations. But many who have secured formal independence by negotiation—although their whole strength at the negotiating table when they met the colonialists was in reality backed up by the militancy of the masses and the fear of revolt—have been all too apt to ignore this truth, and to adopt the pacifist ideas which (though they are always ready for a fight themselves) the imperialists love to cultivate among Africans and Asians. They did not realize that in preserving intact the institutions of imperialism, the government departments and military and police cadres, officered and staffed either by Europeans or by indoctrinated Africans, trained in bourgeois-imperialist attitudes and ideologies at the military academies and universities of Britain or France, they were harbouring a dangerous fifth column, profoundly hostile to the African Revolution.

When in Ghana, a couple of years ago, the colonialists sought to use the crisis brought about by the fall of cocoa prices on the world market to stir up unrest, the London 'Times' let the cat out of the bag. 'The army and Gbedemah had become the natural rallying point of anti-Nkrumah elements,' it declared. The pattern and the plan was plain. But not for the first time in Africa—and not for the last time either, not

by a long way—imperialist plans were set at naught. The healthy patriotic elements rallied around President Nkrumah, Mr. Gbedemah and other pro-imperialists were removed, and the British officers (who had played such a dubious role in the Congo) were sent home.

It is deeply to be regretted that the lessons of the Congo have not been absorbed elsewhere in our Continent. Mistakes have been made, and continue to be made, and these errors of judgment, of omission or commission, have cost the cause of Africa dear. They spring above all from the failure of many of our leaders to study and accept the basic principles of modern political thought, the science of Marxism-Leninism. Arising from this failure they do not see the underlying and unchanging nature of imperialism, beneath the mask of benevolence, the fundamentally grasping, murderous, anti-human and anti-African reality. They do not grasp the urgency and importance of following the conquest of formal independence with dynamic and bold measures to transform the structure of the state and its organs, to better the lives of the working masses on the land and in the towns and mobilize their enthusiasm, armed with understanding, for the giant's tasks of national reconstruction.

THE SINGLE PARTY PANACEA

To carry out these tasks successfully and without serious mistakes requires that in place of the old colonialist institutions and colonialist-trained personnel, new institutions, civil services and armed forces, must be created which are suitable for and loyal to the new Africa we are building. Such forces and personnel can only be created by conscious patriotic organizations, by national united fronts embracing all the healthy national elements, and including in a foremost role the representatives of the working people in the towns and countryside, guided by the science of socialism, by Marxism-Leninism.

It has become fashionable in a number of African states to advance the theory and practice of the 'one-party state' as the panacea for all ills and the answer to all problems. We do not accept that this is always the case. Certainly we are in favour of national unity, which may take the form of a single state party, or it may take the form of a united national democratic front embracing more than one party. You do not solve profound political problems with a simple organizational formula, designed to cover every case; to attempt to do so may be to sidestep the problems and store up serious trouble for the future. In one country these problems may be quite different from those in another. In some cases the demand for a single party may be correct and progressive; in another it may merely cover up a desire to stifle democracy and rule by despotic methods.

The people of Ghana, by a massive majority, voted in favour of a one-party state. It is not difficult to see why. The opposition parties in Ghana have more and more revealed themselves as the enemies of the new Ghana, of every anti-colonialist step, every step towards socialism, taken by the governing Convention People's Party. One cannot think of them in terms of the parliamentary oppositions familiar in West Europe and North America, whose policies, to tell the truth, are almost indistinguishable from those of the governing parties. From such childish playing at politics may God preserve Africa; we have much more important things to do! In fact the 'opposition' in Ghana had turned itself into an 'opposition to Ghana', its methods including open sabotage and even attempted assassination. After the last attempt on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's life it became clearer than ever that the 'Western' parliamentary pattern was a luxury the country just could not afford. Of course the imperialist press and radio are screaming 'dictatorship' at the top of their voices; staunch 'defenders of democracy' like the London *Daily Telegraph*, the BBC and the United States press have launched an all-out campaign to smear Ghana. Dr. Nkrumah will not lose any sleep over such attacks; only when such organs start praising him will Africans begin to wonder whether he has not made some mistake! Clearly democracy means that the will of the people should be carried out; if there are hostile forces which maliciously and treacherously seek to frustrate the people's will, true democracy consists in preventing that and in instituting a vigilant dictatorship of the people.

But this Ghana situation is by no means a universal pattern in Africa. Paul Delanoue writes in *Democratie Nouvelle*, 'The single party can be theoretically justified by the necessity for concentrating all available energies, mobilizing them for the building of the new State, avoiding conflict between racial groupings, preventing neo-colonialism or foreign imperialism from using parties as vantage points or for providing forces for their manoeuvres. But such a justification presupposes that the party will be linked with the masses and give expression to their aspirations, which is the very condition for mobilizing them. This condition is clearly very far from being realized in a number of African countries where the single party has been obtained merely by dissolving former parties, by the imprisonment or exile of national leaders (Niger, Central African Republic) or by wholesale repression and even the use of armed force (Cameroons).'

Thus when Youlou tried to impose a one-party system in the Congo (Brazzaville) Republic he was trying to use this idea to overcome mass discontent at misgovernment, corruption, unemployment and utter subordination of African to French interests. But the people would

not stand for it. They held a mass meeting to demand the release of militant trade union leaders who had been arrested, and the crowd then stormed the prison, released the trade union leaders and began the process which has led to the overthrow of the Youlou régime. The people knew very well that this 'single-party' system was not for their benefit but for the benefit of a small wealthy élite.

Similarly, at Dakar on the first of December 1963, blood flowed in the streets when Leopold Senghor, the darling of the West, saw his one-man dictatorship of Senegal crumbling, after his phoney election victory. The masses of unemployed and underpaid workers demonstrated on the streets. With all anti-imperialist elements, ranging from the militant Marxist leaders of the African Independence Party (PAI) such as Mahjemout Diop, to Dia, leader of the more moderate UPS, in jail and their organizations suppressed, the election was obviously a fraud. As *Al Moukafih*, Moroccan Communist journal points out: 'M. Senghor's party is not a revolutionary party, not a progressive party, not a mass organization. It is a conservative apparatus of government in whose name every expression of opposition by the masses is crushed and stifled'. Obviously, Senghor's 'one-party dictatorship' is one in the interests of colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the people, against Africa.

Here is the essence of the question of unity. Whose benefit does it serve? If it is a true unity, representing the masses of poor people, dedicated to further the anti-colonialist African revolution for independence, democracy, freedom, for African unity and the non-capitalist road to socialism—such a unity, whether expressed in a single party or a national united front, is profoundly progressive and essential. But if it is merely a manoeuvre by a privileged class or clique, aimed with neo-colonialism, out to stick to power and office, then it can only harm the cause of Africa. We cannot merely parrot an organizational slogan, without examining in each case what sort of party? Representing which social classes or forces? With what ideology?

REALITIES OF OUR STRUGGLE

The one abiding factor in all African politics today, in all the swift and unpredictable variations in every part of our dynamic continent, is the continuing struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms, ranging from the concealed intrigues and economic pressures of the colonialists in the independent countries to the outright colonialist dictatorships in the Portuguese colonies and the special type of colonialism prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.

That struggle has seen great victories over the past few years; inevitably it has also known some setbacks. Nothing will do us greater harm than to imagine that the victory is already won, or to forget for a single minute that imperialism is still in the world, still very much alive, still ceaselessly planning to re-establish lost positions in Africa and elsewhere, to take advantage of every weakness, disunity or mistake of the anti-imperialist forces.

Even as we are writing, British and United States imperialism are planning new bloody violence against Cyprus, to destroy the hard-won independence of the Cypriot people and recolonize their country as a NATO base. The United States is conducting a savage war against the people of South Viet Nam. The NATO countries are propping up the Verwoerd régime in South Africa and sabotaging every international decision to quarantine apartheid.

No one, especially in East and Southern Africa should lose sight of the sinister presence (apparently with the blessing of the Nehru government, as revealed by the Communist Party of India) of the American Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean. This aggressive imperialist force off our shores is a serious threat to African independence and freedom.

In the Southern bastion of colonialism and white supremacy, the Verwoerd-Vorster gang of fascist murderers are conducting an unceasing war of intrigue and aggression against free Africa. Britain continues to deny real independence to the Basuto, Bechuana and Swazi people, to enable them to resist economic and military pressure from the Republic. In Southern Rhodesia, backed by Verwoerd and influential imperialist elements in Britain, the wild men of Salisbury threaten a new bloody arena of conflict by seizing power in the name of 'independence'.

These are realities of our struggle; it would be fatal to ignore them or to forget for one moment the huge stake which the imperialists still have in Africa, and their determination to cling to and even extend their ill-gotten gains—by blackmail, cunning and bribery, by manoeuvres and intrigues, and always and everywhere if need be by mass murder and brute force.

We rejoice at the fine election victory of Dr. Kaunda and the United National Independence Party in what, very soon, will be independent Zambia. And yet we know that as long as the vast imperialist mining interests, based in Britain, America and South Africa, dominate the economy, so long the Zambia people will not fully be the masters in their own house, that the election victory was the beginning, not the end, of the independence struggle, and that a hard, long road still lies ahead.

In our fight to win Africa back for the African people, to wrest its

government and its wealth out of the hands of the imperialists, we are winning and we shall be triumphant; for the day has gone when imperialism enjoyed unchallenged domination over the world. Our cause has powerful support from the loyal friends of African freedom in the socialist and liberated countries. And the great masses of our people, awakened and on the march, cannot and will not be stopped short of the goal of a free, united, socialist Africa.

But our struggle will be more prolonged, bitter and bloody if we fail to reckon with the strength and stratagems of the enemy, if we harbour naive illusions about the benevolence of the imperialists or the disinterestedness of their 'aid', if we try to substitute mechanical formulas and slogans for a searching, scientific socialist analysis of all the realities of Africa today, in all their richness, complexity and variety.

Of course, the African Revolution is not taking the orderly, tidy sequence that might have been thought out by some idealistic abstract 'planner', or that would perhaps be wished by some well-meaning 'Friends of Africa' in Western Europe, who seem to imagine that a vast continent-wide social transformation can be carried out according to the rules and regulations of a British Parliamentary election. As the master-revolutionary, Lenin, once pointed out, the path of revolution is 'not like the Nevsky Prospekt'—a paved, straight, main street in what then was Petrograd. We could foresee with some confidence, the broad main lines of the African Revolution in its various phases. But no-one could have predicted in detail the exact timing, sweep, depth and phasing of a great historical upheaval such as is now taking place in our continent, with its infinitely complex cross-currents, reactions and interactions. They make serious mistakes, those shebeen-strategists and would-be generals, who imagine they can plan the timetable for liberation as if the millions of unorganized workers and peasants were soldiers at their command.

Even more serious are the mistakes of those who imagine that the African Revolution has more or less run its course, that it can be halted on the banks of the Zambezi or the Limpopo. They forget, or do not believe in, the boundless dynamic and creative energy of the masses of common people, once this energy has been set free, and set into motion, by the forces of history, by a just and invincible cause that answers their needs and their aspirations.