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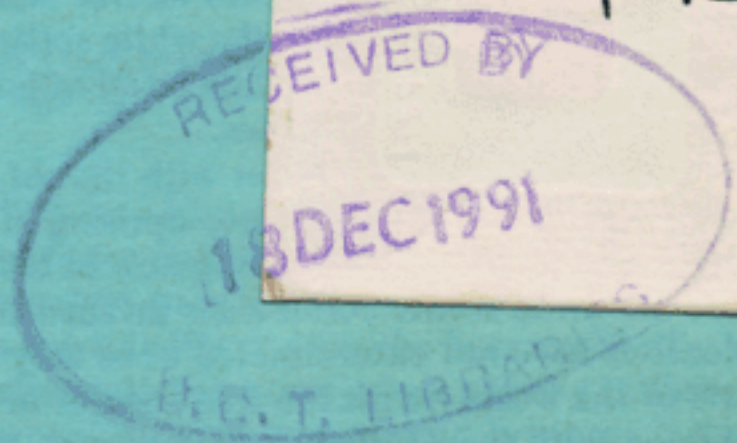
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**This issue dedicated to
Steve Biko, symbol of the
Militant Resistance of
Azanian Youth and
masses led by BPC**

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OR SOUTH AFRICA AT UN ● SETTLER COLONIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA
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● EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA ● AND MORE**

Editorial

“Every protest or resistance on the part of the Natives is crushed in blood and a new wave of police terror and persecution has been launched.” (Letter of the Communist International to the South African ‘Communist’ Party, 1928.)

So the Communist International stated in 1928. Almost fifty years later the same police terror and persecution exists with the same brutality, as has been highlighted by the recent murder of Steve Biko. And murder it was, cold-blooded and premeditated. But Biko’s name will live in the history of our country and its people - the African people - long after the fascist butchers will have met their doom. For Azania will be free and returned to its rightful owners, the African people, from whom it was stolen by the white settler colonialists, and there will be enshrined in the liberated history of our people a scroll of honour of all those who laid down their lives for the freedom of the African peoples.

But Biko’s murder together with that of the 28 others who were murdered in prison also underlines that since the Soweto uprising of a year ago over 1000 Black people have been killed, thousands more injured. Nothing new in the history of our people since our whole history ever since the white settler colonialists invaded our country has been drenched in blood. If the white colonisers have not exterminated us as they did in their encounters with other Black races in other parts of the world - with the Red Indians in North America, South America, Canada, with the Eskimos, with the Aborigines in Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania - it is not out of any pity for us or humanitarian feelings, it is only because they need our cheap labour to sustain their privilege and power in the land of our birth. If to-morrow they could kill every one of us and still maintain their power and privileges they would do so willingly.

But now their centuries old blood-letting has been put in a fix, faced as it is by the unceasing heroic defiance of our people. They cannot decide whether they should persist in their fascist type oppression or whether they should try to soothe us with some silly ‘concessions’.

But their Western imperialist masters know better. It is after all they who created the system of racist colonialism. They cannot afford to lose South Africa, strategically so important to its imperialist interests. Hence their differences with Vorster. They would like to see changes that would ease the burden of oppression of the Black people but which will not threaten its interests. The white settler colonialists are afraid of losing everything. All their power and privileges are based in keeping the Black man an underdog. The imperialists do not care whether a white bourgeois or a Black bourgeois protects its interests, it does not wish to see arise a revolutionary struggle whereby they will lose all, and wish to stem the rise of such a struggle by getting Vorster to make concessions.

It is even more fearful of the Soviet thrust in Southern Africa that with the Angola episode has become blatant. The Soviet Union flexed its muscles in Angola and got away with it, and it knows that the circumstances for doing so in South Africa, if the opportunity affords itself in a similar manner, would be even more favourable.

But there is also a great deal of collusion between the two superpowers. The Soviet Union knows that the Western imperialists will not allow South Africa to be taken so easily away from them. The best tactic the Soviet Union can use is to strengthen the position of its puppet, the ANC-CP to such an extent that when changes do come about, it will be in the best position to take advantage of it and to emerge as the leading force. Something of this game is being played in Zimbabwe where both sides back Nkomo. This is because neither side dare trust the more radical ZANU which in its commitment to social changes go beyond the manipulations of either superpower. The Soviet Union hopes that by its dependence upon it for military support it can

swing ZAPU eventually into its camp and get the edge over its imperialist rival. Such a unity of opposites - collusion and competition - exists in the tussle between the two superpowers. That is why Andy Young could say for the second time in six months that the presence of the Cubans in Angola is a stabilising force.

The Southern African Black masses must now firmly grasp that the collusion and competition between the two superpowers is now fast becoming the principal aspect of the political situation. The old contradiction between them and the white settler colonialists backed by Western imperialism is fast being displaced by this contradiction between them and the two superpowers. The days of the white settler colonialist regimes in Southern Africa are numbered, the two superpowers are now trying to carve out between them the destinies of our people, and of the two the Soviet social-imperialists are the more dangerous because they can still disguise themselves as liberators.

Conference on Social Imperialism

Preparations for the Conference on Social-Imperialism in Africa called for and organised by IKWEZI goes ahead. Over the past few months we have made a number of contacts and been able to set up Organising Committees in different European countries to mobilise Africans and other progressives for the Conference. These Committees which work in liason with the Secretariat of IKWEZI in Nottingham do so on a basis of complete equality and democracy. In a coming leaflet names of the contacts will be announced. The response, especially from our African brothers and sisters has been tremendous.

But we are still faced with the principal problem of being able to obtain speakers from the various African countries to give accounts of Soviet manoeuvres in their respective countries. We wish to present first hand information from those who know and have experience of the Soviet Union's tactics in the African countries. Papers dealing with this problem and other aspects of Soviet involvement are also welcome. Speakers and participants from Chad, Zaire, Mauritius, Gabon, Comoro Islands, Nigeria, Djibouti, Cape Verde Islands, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Algeria, Congo-Brazzaville, etc, etc., where there has been open Soviet involvement of a dubious sort are welcome.

The Conference will try to answer the question: Is the Soviet Union an imperialist power threatening the national independence of African states. Does it intend to get hold of the resources of Africa to serve its imperialist aims, in its struggle for hegemony with U.S. Imperialism.

The Conference will be broad-based and will deal specifically with the question of the role of the Soviet Union in Africa today. No other extraneous ideological issue will be allowed.

The Conference will probably last a week and cover such topics as: The Soviet Union and Southern African Liberation Movements, the Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa; are the Cubans used as mercenaries in Africa; Is Angola a Neo-Colony of the Soviet Union; Soviet 'Aid' in Africa; an examination of the role of revisionist parties as agents of the Soviet Union; Soviet theories about African progress; the role of the Western European revisionist parties in promoting Soviet interests in Africa; Soviet economic penetration of Egypt.; etc. etc.

Date and venue will be announced when the Conference arrangements are more thoroughly organised. In the meantime all enquiries and suggestions should be sent to :

IKWEZI,

8-11 VICTORIA CENTRE, NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND.

Steve Biko Speaks

Question: What is Black Consciousness?

Well, this is a political cultural philosophy which is the guiding principle adopted by several groups in this country, like SASO, BPC and a number of other organisations, operating at different levels. The history of it starts after 1963/4 remember in those years there were many arrests in this country which stemmed from underground activities by PAC, by ANC and this led to some kind of political emasculation by the black population, especially, with the result that there was no participation by blacks in their own aspirations. The whole opposition to what the government was doing to blacks came from white groups, especially student groups like NUSAS, the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party and Blacks who were articulating with any sense were few compared with the old days and they were dispersed among different organisations.

Now when I came to 'varsity which was some time in 1966, in my own analysis and that of my friends there was some kind of anomaly in the situation where whites were the main participants in our oppression and at the same time the main participants in opposition to our oppression. It implied that at no stage in this country the blacks were throwing in their lot in the shift of political opinion. The arena was totally controlled by whites in what we called total white power at that time. So we argued that any changes which are to come can only come as a result of a programme worked out by black people. And for Black people to work out a programme there was a need to defeat the one main element working against them and this was the psychological feeling of inferiority which was deliberately cultivated by the system. So equally too the white, in order to listen to the black needed to defeat the one problem which they had and that was one of superiority.

Now the only way for this to come about of course was to look at the black man in terms of what it is that is lending him to denigration so easily. *So first of all we said that black students could not participate in multiracial organisations, which were by far white organisations, because in this country you have far more white students at university. And secondly, these organisations were concentrating mainly on problems which were affecting the white student community. Then, of course, when it came to a question of politics the whites were more articulate than the average black students because of their superior training - and because of their numbers they could outvote us on any issue, which meant that NUSAS as an organisation gave opinions which were largely affected by their whiteness. So we started forming what we now call SASO - the South African Student Organisation - which was firmly based on black consciousness. It was for the black man to elevate his own position by positively looking at the value system of that which makes him distinctively a man in society. First of all we were of the view that this particular country is almost like a European island in Africa. If you go through the whole of Africa, you find aspects of African life which are culturally elevated throughout the continent. But in this particular country, somehow a visitor who comes here tends to be made to believe that he is in Europe. He never sees a black except in a subservient role and this is all because of the cultural dominance of the particular group which is now in power.*

Question: To what extent have you been successful?

We have been successful to the extent that we have diminished the element of fear, in the process of politicising people. In 1963 Black people were scared of involvement in politics and there was no useful leadership given to Blacks. Everybody found it comfortable to lose himself in a particular position. The students have seen their role to prepare themselves for leadership role in the Black community through the political articulation of the aspirations of Black people. Black people have felt the need to stand up and be counted in the country. There is far more political debate and talk in condemnation of the system from average Black people than there has ever been since 1960 and before. I am referring here to the whole oppressive educational system that the students were protesting about. After the complaints about this the police and the government wanted to further entrench what the students were protesting about, bringing in Saracens and dogs. The response of the students was that they were not prepared to be cowed down in terms of their pride even at the power of the gun and hence what happened, happened and this continued and continued because at no stage were the young students for that matter scared. They saw this as a deliberate attempt to cow down the

Black masses but they were not prepared to be cowed down by your police, dogs and soldiers. This is the kind of lack of fear I am talking about which I see as a very important political determinant in action.

Since last June 499 Blacks were killed. Do you not think this will be a deterrent?

No I think this has been a very useful weapon in uniting the young and the old. Before that there were some differences between them. The young were moving too fast for the older generation. The older generation was torn between Bantustan politics on the one hand and the old allegiances which were not progressive allegiances - to groups like the ANC and the PAC - without any resultant action and they were simply too scared to move.

You condemn Bantustans altogether?

*Yes, of course. Even the best of them like Buthulezi. Our own attitude is that you cannot operate from a platform which is meant to oppress Black people. All these Bantustans are meant to contain the political aspirations of Black people by the Nationalist Government and to give them pseudo political platforms. *Buthulezi, Matanzima and others are leading Black people into a divided struggle. To speak as Xhosas, as Zulus, etc., which is a completely new feature in the political life of the Black peoples in this country is wrong. We should operate as one united whole towards the attainment of an egalitarian society for the whole of Azania and any entrenchment of a tribalistic, racialistic outlook is abhorred by us and for this reason we cannot see any cooperation with any of the Bantustan leaders.**

You know of course that the government says that the whole unrest is due to communist agitation. Are you a communist?

We are by no means communists, neither do I believe for a moment that the unrest is due to communist agitation. ...But the primary reason for the unrest is simply a lack of patience by the young folk with a government which is refusing to change. refusing to change in the educational spheres to which they are addressing themselves and also refusing to change in a broader political situation. Now - when these youngsters started their protests, they talked about Afrikaans, they were talking about Bantu education, and they meant that - but the government responded in a highhanded fashion, as they have always done, because they were in a situation of total power. But here for once they met a student group which was not prepared to be thrown around all the time. they decided to flex their muscle - and of course the whole country responded, simply because they are saying there are lessons to be learnt from the whole unrest of last year. In the first instance the Blacks have flexed their muscles a bit and they now know the degree of dedication which they can find among their own members when they are called to action. They now know the kind of response they can get from the population of the oldies and so on.

And the second aspect is the way the government and the white population has responded. The government has responded in one way and the white population in another way. Reading newspapers, one gets some idea of the extent of fear that is prevalent in white society at the time especially after the first onslaught in Soweto especially when nobody knew where something would happen next.

So how will these lessons express themselves in future?

I am of the view that any recurrence of disturbances of that nature can only result in careful planning and better calculation thereby achieving the desired results to a greater extent than this spontaneous situation we had last year.

And you believe that by these means you will bring about change in this society?

I am of the view that the whole change process is going to be a protracted one. In this country it depends entirely on the degree to which the Nationalist Government is prepared to hold onto power. And my own analysis is that they are wanting to hold onto power and to fight with their backs to their wall. Now, conflict could only be avoidable if they are prepared to avoid it. Those who are at the seeking end, that is, those who want justice, those who want an egalitarian society, they can pursue their aspirations according to the resistance offered by their opposition. If the opposition is prepared to fight with their backs to the wall, conflict cannot be avoidable.

Now the line the BPC adopts is to explore as much as possible non-violent meansbut there are people who have despaired of the efficacy of non-violent methods. I think in the end there is going to be a totality of effect of a number of change agencies operating in South Africa. I personally would like to see the ANC, and PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement decide to form one liberation group. It is only when Black people are so dedicated and so united in their cause that we can effect the greatest results.....I don't for one moment believe that we will willingly drop our belief in a non-violent stance as of now, but I can't predict what the enemy will do in the future.

Can you guess at all at the number of years the change might take?

Some say it might take five years, others ten years. I think we cannot at this stage fix a precise timetable.

When you speak of an egalitarian society do you mean a socialist one?

Yes. There is no running away from the fact that in South Africa there is such an ill distribution of wealth that any form of political freedom which does not touch on the distribution of wealth will be meaningless. The whites have locked up within a small minority of themselves the greater proportion of the country's wealth. And if we have a mere change of face of those in governing positions, Black people will continue to be poor and you will get a filtering through of the bourgeoisie, and our society will continue to be run like yesterday. BPC believes in a judicious blending of private enterprise, which must be highly diminished and state participation in industry and commerce - in mining - gold, diamonds, asbestos - and complete ownership of land. In this kind of judicious blending of the two we hope to arrive at a more equitable distribution of wealth.

You see a country in which Black and white can live amicably on a equal footing?

We see a complete non-racial society. *WE don't see a guarantee for minority rights because guaranteeing minority rights implies a position of the division of portions of the country on a race basis. We believe that in our country there shall be no minority and no majority, and that those people will have the same status before the law and the same political rights. So it will be a completely non-racial, egalitarian society.*

But will all the Blacks after all their experience be able to live without giving vent to revenge?

We believe that it is the duty of the vanguard liberation movement which brings about changes to educate people. In the same way that Blacks have not lived in a socialist economic society and must learn to live in one, in the same way they have lived in a racially divided society they must learn to live in a non-racial society. ...The Black man has no ill intentions towards the white man. The Black man is only incensed at the white man to the extent that he wants to entrench himself in power to exploit the Black man. But beyond that nothing more, and we don't need any artificial majorities to entrench ourselves in power. We believe once we come into power our sheer numbers will maintain us there. We do not have the same fears the minority white government has been having which has led to these many laws designed to keep him there.

The argument of the government is that the Black man is just not on a civilizational level at the present to pull his full weight politically. Do you think of a one man, one vote franchise?

Entirely, entirely, one man one vote, without any qualification except the normal ones which you find throughout the world.

And do you think the Black man is perfectly well able?

The Black man is well able and the white man knows it. The irony of that kind of situation is that when the white government negotiates so-called independence with the so-called Transkei they don't speak of a qualified franchise for the so-called Transkei. In the Transkei every Transkeian votes and you get white Nationalists arguing that this is a system that is going to work. But somehow when it comes to the broader country the Blacks may not vote because they do not understand the sophisticated economic patterns out here. This is all nonsense. It is meant to entrench the white man in the position in which he finds himself. We will do away with this altogether. Everybody will vote, both Black and whites individuals on a non-racial franchise.

All this is fascinating. As an outsider I can only say this is bound to be a very long and probably very bloody road.

There is that possibility, there is that possibility. But as I said before it will be dictated purely by the response of the Nationalist Party. ...Conflict is unavoidable given the predictable response from the present system this conflict can be pretty general and extensive and protracted. My worst fear is that working on the present analysis conflict can only be on a general basis between black and white. We don't have sufficient groups who can form coalitions with Blacks from the whites at the present moment. But the more such groups can come up the better to minimise that conflict.

CORRECTION: August 1977 issue page 49: "Comes, we must fight it not only by allying with one imperialistic power against the other" should read "comes, we must fight it not by allying with one imperialistic power against the other".

Pan-Africanist Congress Argues Colonial Nature of South Africa at UN

INTRODUCTION

The political concept we today know as 'South Africa' came into existence on May 31, 1910, when the South Africa Act of 1909 of the British Parliament merged into the Union of South Africa.....and placed administrative responsibility for it in the hands of the white coalition government of the former colonial administrations of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State Each of the four white component parts had been given 'responsible government' at different times in their colonial history, the Cape Colony in 1872, Natal in 1893, Transvaal in 1906 and Orange Free State in 1907.

The struggle of the African people of Azania did not start at that time nor was it essentially waged in opposition to that development as such. The nature that the struggle took from this time onwards only changed form in order to cope with the development on the political situation, but its fundamental nature and character remain the same as yore. **WE HOLD THAT THE GRANTING OF UNILATERAL SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE TO A WHITE FOREIGN MINORITY BY BRITISH COLONIALISM WAS NOT AN ACT OF DECOLONISATION BUT RATHER A TRANSFUSION OF COLONIAL AUTHORITY WHICH TOOK THE FORM OF DOMINION STATUS FOR THE WHITE GOVERNMENT.**

The dominion status of the 'new name of the territory' in our view was merely the continuation or the transplantation of the old concept of sectarian 'responsible government' under new conditions and involved no material change from the original relationship. **THE STATUS ONLY MEANT, IN PRACTICAL TERMS, THAT THE WHITE COALITION GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN ALLOCATED A SHARE WITH BIG BRITISH CAPITAL AND GIVEN THE GOVERNMENTAL POWERS OF A COLONIAL AUTHORITY OVER A SUBJECT BLACK POPULATION WHOSE SOCIAL POSITION DID NOT CHANGE WITH THE NEW 'CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. THE POSITION OF THE WHITES IN GENERAL DID NOT CHANGE EITHER FROM WHAT IT HAD BEEN IN THE DAYS OF 'RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. They retained their privileged position over and against the black subject population in order to give legitimacy to the despotic authority of the white government and hold the responsibility of being the conscious and willing electors of the handmen of British colonialism. It became the solemn duty of successive white governments to respect and uphold the incentive and extravagant bribery of white privilege for this purpose. The British Prime Minister, Alfred Campbell-Bannerman, justified the position of the House of Commons debate over the draft bill which subsequently became the South Africa Act of 1909 by pointing out that: "It was not the English way to rule white as subject peoples."**

The white coalition government consisted of a cabinet made up of four ministers from the Cape, three from the Transvaal and two each from Natal and Orange Free State. Its colonial authority over its subject black population was manifestly expressed in what they called 'Native Policy' which is characterised in sectarian native administration, arbitrary distribution of land ownership and despotic labour practices. **NATIVE POLICY IS A FUNDAMENTAL FEATURE OF COLONIALISM AND THE PRESENT 'BANTU HOMELANDS' POLICY OF THE RACIST GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA IS ITS LATEST VERSION. THERE IS NO NATIVE POLICY IN ANY OF THE INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES WHICH ARE THEMSELVES SUCCESSORS TO COLONIAL RULE AND THIS MAKES IT PATENTLY CLEAR THAT THESE BLACK GOVERNMENTS ARE NOT COLONIAL AUTHORITIES. They have departments of the 'Interior' or 'Home Affairs', as any other sovereign states in the world, but none of their citizens are subjected to sectarian 'native policy'. That is the major fundamental principle of self-determination by which we identify the sovereignty of peoples and nation states.**

It is in this light that the African people in Azania seek the re-examination re-adjustment and re-definition of racist South Africa's legal international status, taking into account the principle of the national right to self-determination in so far as it affects and relates to them. They do not accept that they are an independent people who are merely discriminated against racially or ethnically but hold that they have been arbitrarily and militarily deprived of their land and therefore of their manhood; deprived of their citizenship rights by arbitrary and despotic denial of free

and full participation in the public affairs of their country, and deprived of ordinary human rights by arbitrary imposition of colour barriers in all aspects of social intercourse in that country. THESE ACTIVITIES ON PART OF THE PRESENT SOUTH AFRICAN STATE SYSTEM, CONCLUSIVELY, COLLECTIVELY, CONJUNCTIVELY, CONTEMPTUOUSLY AND IN ALL OTHER WAYS TRAMPLE UNDERFOOT THEIR NATIONAL RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, VIOLATE THE SANCTITY OF THEIR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THEIR BELOVED FATHERLAND. There can be neither betrayal nor compromises on these sacred national issues. Our people cannot abandon the national destiny and capitulate to national subjugation no matter what odds may be ranged against them. Their national duty is to find a historical solution to the matter of national relations in that country.

PRESENT STATUS

There are several interpretations to South Africa's political international status under current use. The first is what we may call 'apartheid viewpoint'. According to Chris Jooste in *South African Dialogue* (McGraw Hill, Johannesburg, P.5), the present government of the Republic of South Africa has set itself the task of 'restoring the independence of those who lost their freedom to Britain and had been placed under the Union Government as a subject peoples in 1910.' The position as understood and defined by the present ruling regime stands thus: 'The Union Government was set up as a white government to rule over the former Boer republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, the former British colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, the Bantu territories which had been annexed and incorporated into British South Africa, as well as the non-white peoples domiciled in white territories, principally the Indians and Coloureds living in Natal and the Cape Colony respectively. (Jooste, as above).

The second is the liberal point of view. Discussing what she calls the crux of the race problem, Dr. Ellen Hellman of the South African Institute of Race Relations, points out that 'South Africa has been compared with other colonial powers with this difference: that her colonial subjects lived within the physical boundaries of the mother country, and argues that the 'general apparatus of colonialism, as it had developed by the 20th century, had likewise evolved in South Africa.....where peoples of European descent ruled the indigenous people and admitted them into white dominated society to the extent that they were required as low-paid workers.' The historian, Eric Walker, adds his piece to the argument in his *History of Southern Africa* (Longmans, 1976, p.538): 'The Union Government was endowed with the high but ill-defined status of a post-war British dominion (and) took up the task, which none but British High Commissioners had hitherto attempted, of regulating the affairs of South Africa as a whole.'

At international level South Africa is regarded as 'an independent and sovereign state.' Clearly what is meant here is the international standing of the white government of the country. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states categorically that "all peoples have the right to self-determination. IT IS UNIVERALLY KNOWN THAT THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA LIVE UNDER THE RULE OF A WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT WHICH DENIES THEM NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND VIOLATES THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THEIR COUNTRY. THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF DETERMINATION IS A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW WHICH GOVERNS THE POLITICAL STATUS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ON THEIR ANCESTRAL LAND. THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA DO NOT ENJOY THIS RIGHT AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IS BASED UPON THE INALIENABLE RIGHT TO EXERCISE IT UNRESTRICTED, UNHINDERED AND UNMOLESTED

In raising the question of South Africa's legal international status, our desire is to remove the ambiguities associated with it so that the situation may be correctly adjusted.....We wish to draw attention to two further resolutions of the United Nations. In Resolution 2787 (XXVI) of 1971, the General Assembly of the UNO.....'confirms the legality of people's struggles for self-determination and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably in Southern Africa and in particular that of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) as well as the Palestinian people, by all available means consistent with the Charter of the United Nations.' Furthermore, Resolution 3103 (XXVIII) adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 12, 1973 states: 'The armed conflicts involving the struggles of peoples against colonial and alien domination and racist regimes are to be regarded as international conflicts in the sense of the 1949 Geneva Conference and the legal status envisaged to apply to the concomitants in the 1949 Geneva Conventions and other international instruments are to apply to the persons engaged in armed struggles against colonial and alien domination and racist regimes.'

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF AZANIA CONSIDER THAT THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN AZANIA LIVE UNDER THE RULE OF A WHITE MINORITY

GOVERNMENT WHICH DENIES THEM NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND VIOLATES THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THEIR COUNTRY. THAT IS A COLONIAL SITUATION AND 'HUMAN EQUALITY' IS A SECONDARY ISSUE. The national right to self-determination is an international issue, and in any case, it is indivisible and means the same thing in Azania as in Namibia and Zimbabwe, and any other part of Africa. THIS MEANS TO THE PEOPLE OF AZANIA THE QUESTION OF LEGALITY IS IRRELEVANT IN THIS RESPECT BECAUSE IT IGNORES THE REALITY OF OUR SITUATION.

OUR FIRM POSITION IN THIS REGARD IS THAT WHITE DOMINATION IN AFRICA IS NOT MERELY A MATTER OF APARTHEID BUT IT IS PART AND PARCEL OF LOCAL AND FOREIGN EXPLOITATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE' AND THAT IT WILL CEASE THE DAY THE BLACK MAN IN AZANIA FIRES THE FIRST BULLET IN ARMED SELF DEFENCE.

.....The certificate of respectability portrayed in the Lusaka manifesto that the racist regime is an independent sovereign state is unjustified and unacceptable to the people of Azania. The Lusaka manifesto has some serious loop holes that are always exploited by the enemy for detente, dialogue and compromises in order to stifle away the armed struggle of our people for national and social liberation.

THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE PRESENT 'REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA,' WE HOLD, IS THAT OF A SEMI-COLONY OWNED BY THE IMPERIALIST CONSORTIUM OF HER INVESTORS AND TRADING PARTNERS WHO OWN MORE THAN 80% OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRIVATE PROPERTY IN COMPANY WITH THE WHITE BOURGEOIS OF WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS A SIGNIFICANT PART. THE MAIN ASPECT OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN AZANIA, THEREFORE, IS THE CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS RICHES. THE COUNTRY CONSISTS OF ITS NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE LABOUR OF ITS PEOPLES. UNLIMITED MINERAL RESOURCES HAVE MADE IT SO FAR THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN AFRICA. A RACIST GOVERNMENT MINISTER RECENTLY DESCRIBED THE SO-CALLED HOMELANDS, WHICH WE CALL 'NATIVE LABOUR RESERVES,' AS HAVING A PERMANENT COMMODITY WHICH NO OTHER INDEPENDENT AFRICAN COUNTRY HAS - UNLIMITED LABOUR RESOURCES.

In this limited survey we have traced the colonial status of the African people in Azania to its sources, British colonialism as laid down by Cecil Rhodes in 1887, as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. He told the colonial parliament: 'I will lay down my policy on this question...either you have to receive them on an equal footing as citizens or to call them a subject race. I have made up my mind that there must be class legislation....we are lords over them. These are my politics and these are the politics of South Africa. The native is to be treated as a child and to be denied the franchise.' THIS IS THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND IT REFLECTS THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, THE SEMI-COLONIAL CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY AND THE SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE. EFFECTIVE POLITICAL POWER IS THE MONOPOLY OF THE WHITE BOURGEOISIE WHO REPRESENTS THE BIG FARMERS AND LAND OWNERS AND SKILLED LABOUR ARISTOCRACY ON THE ONE HAND AND IMPERIAL INTERESTS ON THE OTHER, OF WHICH THEY HAVE A SMALL BUT GROWING STAKE.

In the last 25 years the white bourgeois has made concerted efforts to strengthen its economic stake in the country but British imperialism still holds a dominating position in mining, commerce and industry and controls about 97% of mining capital, 94% of industrial capital, 88% of finance capital and 75% of commercial capital. This economic power base is highly concentrated in the hands of seven finance houses which control between them over a thousand of the largest companies with combined resources exceeding £1,000 million while other western imperialist interests have a stake exceeding £1,800 million invested in at least 1,632 companies owned by 13 capitalist countries. Australia has 73 companies operating in South Africa; Belgium 44; Canada 15; France 85; Italy 21; Japan 2; Netherlands 57; New Zealand 3; Sweden 59; Switzerland 17; Great Britain 630; USA 494; and West Germany 132. (*Investment in Apartheid, p.9, ICFTU, Brussels 1974*).

It is undeniable that all the foreign companies operating in South Africa observe the 'native policy' of the South African government and.....they are all senior partners in apartheid or conversely apartheid is practised and applied on their behalf and to their advantage. OUR SUBMISSION IS THAT 'NATIVE POLICY' IS APPLIED IN THEIR COLONIAL INTEREST AND, LIKE BRITISH COLONIALISM BEFORE THEM, AT THEIR INSTIGATION. AND THIS IS BECAUSE SOUTH AFRICA IS THEIR JOINT SEMI-COLONY.

The first Union Government was a coalition with a cabinet made up of four members from the Cape,

three from the Transvaal and two each from Natal and the Orange Free State. In Britain the affairs of South Africa were handled by the Colonial Office and the Dominion Office. In 1925, however, the two offices were separated and South Africa fell under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Office. At that time British sovereignty was acknowledged. In the parliamentary debate on the Nationality and Flag Bill in 1927, the Interior Minister, Dr. D.F. Malan, argued that 'Union nationals must also be British subjects, a smaller circle within a larger one.' (*Cape Times, February 24, 1972*). The 1926 Imperial Conference held in London had declared Great Britain and the Dominions to be 'equal in status (and) in no way subordinate to one another.' The relevant clauses of the resultant Balfour Declaration were to be embodied in the Statute of Westminster in 1931, giving legal form to the freedom of action for those dominions which desired it.

General Hertzog, the then Prime Minister, hailed these, as reported in the *Cape Times* of February 28, 1931, as 'sovereign independence and finality with regard to the country's freedom.' This 'Constitutional change' was said to link the country's international status with the so-called native problem. Hitherto the British position had been that 'Black interests must come first where few white men dwelt among many blacks. (*Africa and Some World Problems.*) In response to General Smuts call, General Hertzog is said to have made close contact with colonial delegates at the Imperial Conference, especially the Kenyan colonial delegation, and 'begged that the governments concerned should consult together before any of them adopted a native policy which differed markedly from that of the Union Govt. (*Cape Times, November, 1930*).

The Status Act of 1934 proclaimed the parliament of the Union of South Africa as the 'sovereign legislative body within whose consent no future British legislation was to apply to South Africa. The British monarch or his representative might however still act without or even against the advice of his Union ministers where that power was expressly stated or implied and enjoy the existing conventions which protected his right to summon, prorogue or dissolve parliament.' The Coronation Oath Act of 1937 bound the British king to 'rule South Africans according to the statutes agreed on in the Union parliament, and according to their own laws and customs.' This position remained until 1961 when the republican constitution replaced the monarchical status of the head of state at the time of Dr. Verwoerd's secession from the Commonwealth. Until then the head of state was the British monarch acting through his local representative, the Governor General. C.R. Swart was the king's last man in South Africa and the first republican president.

The roots of our struggle are clear and we have consistently followed the appropriate historical orientation. Even our enemies acknowledge this. The first war fought between them and our people bears witness to this fact in the words of Jan Van Riebeeck in 1652 to his bosses in Holland. He said in his report: 'They - the black people - strongly insisted that we had been appropriating more and more of their land, which had been theirs all these centuries, and on which they had been accustomed to let their cattle graze. THEY ASKED THAT IF THEY WENT TO HOLLAND, WOULD THEY BE ALLOWED TO DO SUCH A THING? THEY ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE OF NO CONSEQUENCE IF WE REMAINED AT THE FORT, "BUT YOU COME RIGHT INTO THE INTERIOR AND SELECT THE BEST LAND FOR YOURSELVES, WITHOUT EVEN ASKING WHETHER WE MIND OR WHETHER IT WILL CAUSE ANY INCONVENIENCE.' They strongly urged that they should again have free access to this land for that purpose. At first we argued that there was not enough grass for their cattle as well as ours, to which they replied: "Have we then no reason to prevent you from getting cattle, since if you have a large number, you will take up all our grazing grounds with them? As for your claim that the land is not big enough for us both, who should rather in justice give way, the rightful owner or the foreign invader?"

The unequal treaty that was signed at the end of that war made it clear that we had been robbed of our land. Borders were unilaterally marked out by the invaders as again recorded by Jan Van Riebeeck: 'They insisted so strenuously upon the point of restoring them their own land that we were at length compelled to say that they had entirely forfeited it, through the war they had waged against us, and that we were not inclined to restore it as it now became the property of the company by the sword and the laws of war.'

This attitude was carried over at the time of what they call the 'Great Trek', a movement of aggression and dispossession, which invoked the wars of resistance by our people and were to last more than a century. Their manifesto stated that they did not plan to molest or deprive us of our property even when they unilaterally decided to settle permanently on our land without our permission. They stated categorically that they would enact laws to 'maintain proper relations between masters and servants because 'it was contrary to God's laws to be placed on an equal footing with Christians.'

In order to combat the land encroachments of the Boers and the British, our people engaged upon the wars of resistance.

WE DID NOT COME

The historical propaganda that is peddled both in our country and abroad states that the African people descended upon the country from the north when the white man was moving upwards from the south, so that black and white came into the country at about the same time. The truth of the matter is that Africans did not come; as everyone knows and sees, they are indigenous to the soil. The pattern of settlement bears witness to that fact and no less a personage than Professor Niddrie contributes the relevant facts. He says on page 50 of his book *South Africa, Nation or Nations?* that more than two thirds of the present South African population is located in the eastern third of the country and along the southern coastal flanks of the Cape Province. He states that a river ford or a reliable water supply was the chief factor in the growth of early white settlements, and adds that "many villages and small towns evolved bear a river ford (and) because the eastern third of the country was favoured with good spring and summer rains, it was inevitable that the two 'immigrating' groups (one black, one white) both of whom coveted the excellent grass pastures for their cattle, should come into conflict in this zone", and that "all the events which followed this clash between white and Bantu pastoral nomads dictated in large part, future settlement patterns everywhere from the eastern Cape to the Transvaal." We may add that the clashes that took place all the way to Natal and back, along the plains and right up to the mountain fastnesses of Lesotho and north-westward to the banks of the Zambezi, including those that drove some of our people into the Kalahari desert where their descendants lead an isolated and destitute life amid the rigours of frequent droughts, fall into what we call the wars of resistance and dispossession. THE MATERIAL QUESTION INVOLVED HERE WAS THAT OF LAND LAND - OUR LAND. LAND OWNERSHIP REFLECTS, NOW AS THEN, THE HUMILIATION OF CONQUEST AND COLONIALISM.

When Jan Van Riebeeck and his crew first landed on South African soil, they were warmly welcomed by a group of about 50 Africans who had apparently been trading with passing sailors over the years. There was soon brisk trade in cattle between the two. It was only then the Africans realised that the 'sailors' did not intend to leave. They had already begun to lay out gardens and to plant crops. The trade abruptly came to an end. The Africans realised that there would be problems regarding land and pasture and said so, as pleasantly as it was possible in the circumstances. They said that they already had a "surfeit of copper strips" which were the primary means of exchange. White historians say that the reason was that "the natives were too primitive to appreciate the blessings of trade."

THIS IS THE BASIC ROOT OF OUR STRUGGLE. IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH APARTHEID. IT IS FALSE TO CALL IT AN ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE' WE NOW ATTEMPT TO TRACE HOW IT CAME TO BE DISTORTED. WHITE DOMINATION IS CERTAINLY A SPECIAL MANIFESTATION OF COLONIALISM, CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM AND MUST BE SEEN SO. WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN RECENT YEARS IS MERELY THE CULMINATION OF THREE CENTURIES OF DESPOTIC AND SECTARIAN RULE WHICH HAVE MERGED IN THE SLOGAN "APARTHEID", LEAVING OUT THE ECONOMIC BASE OF EXPLOITATION OF WHICH THEY ARE THE SUPERSTRUCTURE.

The real conflict between the different national groups in our country is one of land and not colour or sex at this stage. The Africans were denied land, citizenship and ordinary human rights. They still are. Racial discrimination was and is used by the white government to maintain unequal land holding "as a consequence of subjugation." (*Oxford History of South Africa, page 173*).

TO WORK OR NOT TO WORK TOGETHER

In the towns the main arena of conflict was the industrial labour market. "Hitherto the native problem has been one of how to keep the restless native tribes peaceful; today it takes another form, that of an economic struggle for employment." (*Oxford History of South Africa, page 175*). When Africans were forced from the ir land, they had to go to towns or other farming areas. The 1903/5 Native Affairs Commission recommended the formation, wherever practicable, of "labour locations where the native could reside with his family near his employment." The closed compound system began in the Kimberley diamond fields as a device "for combatting illicit diamond trading and preventing desertions." It confined black workers to the compounds for the entire period of their service which might be from three to twelve months at the demand of white stake owners. The second aspect was white diggers, motivated by material greed as above, resented and succeeded to block "the right of Africans to take out their own claims (and hence) by 1876 the pressures of the white diggers had prevailed upon the mining companies, and Africans were henceforth to be confined to the status of lowly-paid unskilled labourers." They reacted to and resented the assertion by a white claim owner that "the kafirs are by far the best and most trustworthy workmen." Thus the material seed of the industrial colour bar was the fear of competition and not the colour of the skin.

The fact of the matter is that political power succumbed to the demand of material greed and once the value of African labour was recognised, the demand for it came from all parts of the country, from the farmers to the mining industry. Implicit in their demands was that Africans had no right to continue as self-sufficient and independent farmers because this conflicted with powerful political interests. In fact the Transvaal Labour Commission on 1904 demanded the "abolition of Native locations and of native reserves such as Basutoland and Swaziland, etc. and the expropriation of their land for white settlement and the distribution of the African owners among the white farmers."

The fundamental purpose of native policy, according to the report of the Native Affairs Commission for 1939 paragraph 14, was "to prise Africans to work on white-owned farms and industry (white). Native reserves were regarded as reservoirs of labour." In fact as Africans were concerned, "congestion, landlessness and crop failure were welcomed as stimulants to the labour supply, but similar phenomena among whites were regarded as national calamities." In the sphere of employment the 'poor whites' were more or less in the same position as the Africans at the beginning and were advised "to swell the ranks of unskilled labourers and handymen." In other words to put themselves into competition with the Africans for those job categories (Report of the 1925 Economic and Wages Commission, paragraph 144). The Federated Chamber of Industries told the Commission that "white wages have been paid, and are being paid, largely at the expense of the native workers. 'The Gold Producers' Committee of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines added that 'their profits and extremely high wages of the European depended similarly on low African wages.'"

The result of all this was that the poor regrouped. The "poor" whites often found themselves in a "multiracial" slum and possibly living in company with some black person or persons. So the Government enacted the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 to stop "undesirable mixing", intensified the colour bar, and in 1924, adopted the "civilized labour policy" by which non-white workers were to be replaced, all round, with unemployed whites at higher wages. What was feared was the real possibility of solidarity among workers of all races. Afrikaaner writers emphasised the danger that inter-racial slums fostered a kind of social intimacy which would eventually eliminate race pride. As a result, they said, the "poor" white would not only sink from the social and communal standards of the white community to those of non-white but worst of all, as a result of these contacts and social intimacy, "non-whites" would lose the necessary respect for whites in general and develop in their hearts a feeling of defiance and a dangerous desire for equality with the whites."

It was only in the light of the "real possibility of solidarity among all workers" that some began to see "in the continuing urbanisation of Africans serious racial conflict" (*Blue Book on Native Affairs, 1904, p. 68*) and advocated the idea of sending them away to the native (labour) reserves "to develop along their own lines" in order to stem back and keep off "the process of national and tribal disintegration, both in ours as well as in the interests of the natives themselves, which would quickly be followed by racial amalgamation." The Transvaal Local Government Commission of 1922 recommended that "it should be a recognised principle of government that natives - men, women and children - should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population; moreover, the masterless native in urban areas is a source of danger and a cause of degradation of both black and white."

WE CAN SAY IN SHORT THAT 'NATIVE POLICY' IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS A MEANS TO THE EXPLOITATION AND SUBORDINATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE - NATIONAL AND CLASS OPPRESSION - PREVENTING THEM FROM COMPETING WITH THE WHITES ON THE LABOUR MARKET AND ULTIMATELY USING THEIR LABOUR TO DEPOSE A SYSTEM THAT DENIED THEM EQUALITY OF STATUS. The pass and influx control laws play a leading part in ensuring the smooth application of this policy.

There can be no denial of the racial and colour overtones of the exercise, but there is equally no suggestion that in the absence of the black man the exercise would not be undertaken. After all there was slavery in Europe long before black men were known to exist elsewhere in the world. Black slaves took the place of white slaves and white serfs.

CONCLUSION

It may be concluded from the above evidence that until 1961 the South African Government was the representative of Great Britain in Azania and that her secession was an act of protest and defiance. Dr. Verwoerd told the racist parliament on March 23, 1961: "What they sought was not equality through co-subordination in countries like South Africa, but the domination of superior numbers in the name of full equality, and eventually victory over the whites by forcing out or swallowing up the whites."

THE SECESSION HOWEVER, DID NOT CHANGE THE COLONIAL STATUS OF THE COUNTRY UNDER THE IMPERIALIST CONSORTIUM OF HER INVESTORS AND TRADING PARTNERS WHO OWN MORE THAN 80% OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRIVATE PROPERTY AND WHO ARE IN COMPANY WITH THE WHITE BOURGEOISIE OF WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS A SIGNIFICANT PART.

It is quite clear that South Africa's legal international status is irregular and violates binding principles of international law. In order to arrive at a correct strategy for South Africa, we have to resolve the question of definition of the principle of the right of self-determination in so far as it concerns the African people of Azania and to determine correctly the country's legal international status.

Therefore, our mandate and the views of our oppressed people are unequivocal. Our struggle is for self-determination. To do so, we must overthrow the racist, fascist colonialist regime of South Africa by force of arms. We reject outright any confusion or compromise with the enemy created by detente, dialogue or any contact. Our ultimate objective is for the seizure of political power, the recovery of our land and the means of production. For these reasons there can be no compromises whatsoever. We are fighting to the finish, even if it takes us over three hundred years - the struggle must continue.

SUBMITTED BY POTLAKO K. LEBALLO
Acting President & National Secretary,
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

July 1975 Kampala OAU Summit.

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Settler Colonialism in South Africa and Israel

BY SAMID FAROUN

The nature of South African settler colonialism historically and contemporaneously has been amply studied from varied perspectives. Less so, Rhodesia, And, perhaps because of traditional Western bias, Israel even less. But, since June, 1967, and the emergence of the 'new left' internationally, Israel has been analysed directly in those terms.

The interests of the settler-colonialists are in contradiction to both those of the natives and the finance capitalists of the 'mother country.' When an accommodation between the colonial power and the indigenous population begins to emerge (usually leading to political independence of the natives) the colonists are threatened and fight violently.

"This highly retrograde and reactionary element led the struggle (historically) on two fronts - unyielding and wholeheartedly against the natives.....relatively and occasionally, but often very violently against the great capitalists 'back home'.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE COLONIALISTS

The colonists attempt to secede from the parent country and set up their own supremacist regime whose hallmark is severe oppression of the natives. Rhodesia is the most recent example of this phenomenon. The violent struggle between the South African settlers and Britain while economic in essence was also related to British policy concerning the natives. When the local whites eventually won independence and control of the state, they imposed one of the most oppressive structures in history, apartheid.

"As for Israel, it is all too often forgotten that if this country represents a spearhead of imperialism in the particular present international context of antagonism between the two great blocs, this is only a result of special circumstances. Its true nature is to be a mass of small 'white' settlers spreading out more and more to colonize and under-developed country. It is this that makes their conflict with the peoples of the region so ruthless, even where the latter live under pro-Western regimes which are themselves the satellites of imperialism. In spite of itsalliance with American imperialism.....Israel is a secessionist colonial state. Its foundation was the object of a long and bloody struggle with England, who played the role of the imperialist parent country,"

Upon secession or independence of the colonists, the pivotal attribute of settler colonial regimes is their relationship to the indigenous population and land. Politically, the European colonists establish what van den Berghe calls a "Herrenvolk democracy", a political duality with parliamentary democracy for the settler colonialists and a colonial regime for the natives. This is a "parliamentary regime in which the exercise of power and suffrage is restricted, de facto, and often de jure, to the dominant group." In short, the colonists rule themselves democratically and impose their political, social and economic tyranny over the natives.

LAND ACQUISITION

A colonial settlement needs land. Thus, an immediate antagonism erupts with the indigenous population when colonists take (conquer or even buy) the land. To secure the colony, more immigrants are needed, thus increasing the population and land pressure over the natives. Native resistance ensues. But a dynamic process is set in motion: colonist expansionism, immigration, and expulsion and /or subjugation - segregation of the natives. This dynamic process expresses itself in a series of battles and wars culminating in land control, native expulsion and subjugation. At times such conflicts become genocidal. In North America, these wars are known as the Indian Wars, in South Africa the Kafir Wars and in the Middle East as the Arab-Israeli conflict.

EXPANSIONISM AT THE EXPENSE OF THE NATIVES

The particulars of this dynamic process vary in the different settler-colonial situations, but the essence and end product are the same. In South Africa land acquisition was made by force supported by (and at time ignored by) the imperial power. Indeed, beginning with the 19th century, the conflict between the British imperial interests and the settler Afrikaaner community led to further wide-ranging

expansionism. This expansionism was, needless to say at the expense of the natives, first the Bushmen and Hottentots, and later, the Bantu. The Afrikaners pushed the Black South Africans into certain lands which were "reserved" for them. The Natives Land Act of 1913 set aside for the Black natives 7% of the territory (subsequently increased to 13% in 1936) of South Africa, although the Africans numbered four times as many as the white Afrikaners. This pattern was repeated in Rhodesia except that it was done in a shorter period of time, beginning in 1890 and the population ratio of African to white was nearer 20 to 1.

LAND ACQUISITION THROUGH PURCHASES

In the Arab world, the particulars were slightly different. Although supported by imperial Britain, early Zionist settlement in Palestine was not accomplished by conquest as it would have generated a war with a long-established empire and regional power, the Ottoman Empire. Early land acquisition by Zionists was made through purchases financed by European Zionists and sympathisers. And yet, all such activity amounted to little before the British mandate was imposed on Palestine in the wake of World War I.

The British Mandate, acting in concert with the Balfour Declaration's intent on establishing a 'national homeland' for the Zionists, facilitated settler land acquisition. This set in motion a pattern of settler immigration and of dispossession of Palestine peasants. This was felt as a threat by the native Arab population who resisted in varied ways, including an all out rebellion against the British and Zionists in 1936-1939. Nonetheless, by 1947, when the British turned the Palestine question to the U.N., Zionist and Jewish landholding in Palestine did not exceed 7% of the whole territory. And yet by 1948 settler population in Palestine had come to number close to 700,000 nearly one third the total population of the country. Wholesale Zionist land acquisition was accomplished by force. It should be pointed out that the then Western dominated U.N. provided the formal basis for the Zionist settler state, without reference to the native's wishes, in a partition of Palestine resolution adopted on November 29, 1947. Apart from the Union of South Africa, only one African and one Asian nation voted for the partition plan. The resolution passed on the strength of voting of European and Western hemisphere countries.

MILITARY EXPANSIONISM

The new settler state of Israel expanded its territory in Palestine from the 56% allocated by the U.N. to 77% in 1948. Israeli expansionism continued further in 1967 in the wake of the June war. Territory of the rest of Palestine and of the two neighbouring states were conquered by Israel. Israel unilaterally annexed Arab Jerusalem and the surrounding area. Over two dozen collective and para-military settlements were established by the Israelis not only in the rest of Palestine (the West Bank) but also in Syrian and Egyptian territory.

SETTLER STATE LAWS

Once a settler state is erected on native land then the process of land acquisition is promulgated through settler state laws. These are statutes whose consequence is the alienation of native land and the regulation of settler acquisition. They also 'legalize' such a pattern. The Absentee Property Law of 1950 in Israel is a case in point. This law and such other statutes as Article 25 of the Emergency Regulations, authorizing the military governments to expel villagers and close off their areas, contributed to the transfer of Arab property into settler Israeli hands. After the June 1967 war the Israeli government expropriated Arab homes inside the old city of Jerusalem, first in January and then in April, 1968. 3,000 and 5,000 Palestinianians lost their land and were subsequently transferred to the East bank of the Jordan. These 'legal' processes of settler acquisition of land were not different in essence or consequence from the statutes and native land acts of South Africa and Rhodesia.

IMMIGRATION

Together with land acquisition, settler colonialism is concerned with immigration of new settlers to help secure and strengthen the settler society. This is a thrust which is in direct contradiction to the native population. Thus, the presence of the natives is a problem. As Patrick Keatley says of white Rhodesians: "One cannot help feeling....that in their hearts of hearts, the white Rhodesians bear a wordless wish that the Africans would disappear."

The 'wordless wish' in South Africa takes the form of enforced geographical and social segregation of Blacks. Similarly, the Zionists in their rhetoric and policy exhibit this same 'wordless wish'. An early Zionist philosopher activist, Israel Zinagwill, coined the slogan that Palestine is a land without a people to be given to a people without a land (i.e. European Jews). As recently as 1969, Golda Meir, then Prime Minister of Israel, stated in an interview: "It was not as though there was a Palestinian People in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian People and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." (Sunday Times, LONDON, June 15, 1969).

Zionist settler colonialism, fueled by religio-historical ideology and coupled with the desire to have a modern nation where there are Jews of all classes, was especially concerned with the wish for a native-free, that is Arab-free, country. In his article, Childers analyses the history, the plans and the warfare (military, terroristic, and psychological) which made possible a Palestine, in Ben Gurion's words, "virtually emptied of its former owners." Israel refused to repatriate hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arab refugees after the 1948 war and again after the 1967 war. After the latter, a token fraction of refugees were permitted back into their homes on the West Bank. It was the unrepatriated refugees whose property was confiscated under the Absentee Property Law.

BIBLICAL JUSTIFICATION

Settler states facilitate immigration of qualified immigrants: "White Europeans for South Africa and Jews for Israel. The Israeli Law of return gives the right to any Jew (legally defined according to religion statutes) to settle in Israel and acquire citizenship. As with South African immigrants are helped socially, economically and in housing. Simultaneously the citizenship laws discriminate against the native. In short, settler colonialist movements usurp native land, expel or control the natives and encourage qualified settler immigration. They justify that in terms of an ideology which includes notions that they are civilizing the native, but often such justification is Biblical. South Africa and Israel are especially strong in this.

The Dutch Reformed Church, church of the Afrikaaner settlers, relies on some Old Testament passages, held the belief that the inequality of the races is ordained by God. The Blacks, considered by the church as the descendants of Ham, are destined to serve the whites, descendants of Sham. The Boers considered the abolition of slavery as contrary to biblical precepts. The Afrikaaners saw the Blacks as inferior, degraded and uncivilized. The mission of the whites is to civilize them.

The Zionists too, depend upon Biblical passages to justify their claim to and colonization of Palestine. In addition to their function of bringing civilization to a backward Asiatic region (see T. Herzl) the Zionists saw Palestine as the promised land, given to them by God. The colonization of the country is nothing more than reclaiming what is biblically theirs and the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Statements of the leaders continue to speak of Eretz Israel which includes much of the present territory occupied since the 1967 war.

COLONIAL REGIME FOR THE NATIVES

As van den Berghe points out, the settler colonists establish a herrenvolk democracy in which they impose on the natives - those that remain under their control - a colonial regime characterized by three major attributes:

- (a) political disenfranchisement and control
- (b) social segregation and
- (c) economic exploitation.

The methods of achieving political control over the natives and bringing about native disenfranchisement are both direct and indirect. By virtue of the contradictory claim of parliamentary democracy the settler regimes resort, most frequently, to indirect and subtle means to curb native political freedoms. In South Africa and Rhodesia where the native Black population is in the majority numerically, the right to vote is denied outright to the natives. In Israel proper where the remaining natives are in the minority (about 12%) the right to franchise was not denied although it was highly controlled.

POLITICAL OPPRESSION

The freedom of association and political organisations of natives is also curtailed by the colonists. In South Africa the Unlawful Organisation Act of 1960 (similar to an identical one in Rhodesia) and the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill of 1966, not only empowered the authorities to declare the native Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress illegal, but also prohibited racial groups from participating in joint political activities. Additionally, the Law and Order Maintenance Act imposes restrictions on the freedom of association. No African can hold, address or preside a gathering except with the permission in writing of the white district commissioner. While these are declared statutes of political control of natives in South Africa, Israel uses informal but recognizable procedures to curtail independent native Palestinian activity. All attempts at establishing independent Arab parties were frustrated by the Israeli Government. Israeli techniques against native activism include arrest and imprisonment of leaders legal and other types of harassment of activists, denial of registering of associations, etc.

SOCIAL SEGREGATION

Perhaps one of the most effective mechanisms for political and social control of the natives in all settler colonial states including South Africa and Israel is the restriction and regulation of their freedom of movement. Such restriction is justified on a variety of grounds, including security. South

African apartheid, through several laws, such as the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidated Act, and the Bantu Law Amendment Act of 1964, restricts the natives to certain designated areas. Departure from and entry into African areas, the reservations is strictly controlled. Africans in white areas (over three quarters of the country) travel and reside there only if they can officially show cause. This has to be done through official travel documents.

In Israel, similar restrictions are imposed on the native Palestinian Arabs. Since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, over 80% of Palestinian Arabs have lived, for at least a time, under military government. The laws which govern these 'military zones' are the State of Emergency Laws promulgated by the British Mandate in Palestine in 1945. Additional statutes, the Zones of Security Regulations, were enacted by Israel in 1949. Articles of this law give the military governors near dictatorial rights in restricting not only freedom of movement but all civil liberties. There is no recourse for the native except higher military-administrative authorities. These laws and military governments were applied to the areas of greatest native population concentration Galilee, the Negev and the 'Triangle Area' in the central region of the country. This military rule lasted from 1948 until 1966 when it reverted to police control. During and since the 1967 war, military rule was reimposed in these areas, as well as in the West Bank region. These zones were not only near the Israeli border, but also in areas far from the frontier. Exit out of and entry into these 'closed zones' were by official military passes for the natives.

In 1948 Israel, Arabs who remained in urban areas were forced to move, even abandon their own property, into specified areas designated for them. This forced ghettoization led to de facto segregation of the newly created minority native Arabs. This process along with the military governance system emerged as the basis of social segregation of the native.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

Of course, as in South Africa, there are token natives in certain official and institutional capacities but these are 'safe' and 'loyal' natives. This pattern of encouragement and supporting conservative and collaborative native leaders is not unlike the pattern of South African support to Black African tribal leaders.

Finally, political and social control of the natives is allied with and necessary for economic exploitation of these people. In both South Africa and Israel the natives are concentrated in the lower occupational categories: manual, unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Such restrictions are either a matter of practice or sometimes provided for by law. Indeed, natives in Israel are paid only a fraction of what the settlers earn for the same job. The usual pattern of last-hired, first-fired is also operative here. Typically, native workers are either denied the right to organise themselves or this right is severely circumscribed. In South Africa, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 defines African workers in such a manner that they are denied union organizing.

In Israel, the powerful settler union organisation, the Histadrut, has had a long antagonistic history with native Arab workers. In Mandate days, the Histadrut's slogan was for Jewish work only; after the creation of the Israeli state, the new slogan was to hire 'organised workers'. As Arab workers were not unionised and were not admitted into the Histadrut, this last slogan meant denial of employment of native Arabs. In 1960, Arabs were finally admitted into the Histadrut and yet their earning power is still a fraction of that of equivalent Israeli workers.

CULTURAL DISCRIMINATION

Similar discrimination in the educational sphere is evident. In South Africa, despite some progress, 60% of the natives of primary school age are out of school while in Israel the rate is about 30%. Native educational facilities and institutions are distinctly inferior and suffer native cultural deprivation. According to Jiryis, native students who studied in primary schools can hardly read and write their native languages. Native history is taught in a distorted manner while white settler history is gloriously portrayed.

In conclusion, the herrenfolk democracy the colonial settlers erected in both South Africa and Israel is quite similar in thrust and in general features, although not in details. The similar social structures, dilemmas in handling the natives, justifications for their settlements and subsequent histories tend to bring about similar ideologies, world views and mutual sympathy.

In the wake of the Israeli vote against apartheid at the United Nations which angered the South Africans, the Die Transvaaler asked: "And is there any real difference between the way that the people of Israel are trying to maintain themselves amid non-Jewish peoples and the way the Afrikaner is trying to remain what he is? The people of Israel base themselves upon the Old Testament to explain why they do not wish to mix with other people: the Afrikaner does this too."

Letter of Comintern to SACP

This is a second letter from the Communist International after the drawing up of the Black Republic Thesis at the Sixth Congress in 1928, advising the Communist Party of South Africa to carry out the thesis together with other revolutionary tasks in the country. It calls upon the Party to fight against white chauvinism, and to integrate the struggle of the white workers with that of the Black masses. It advises the Party to base itself mainly on the African workers and peasants, and chides it for not having done sufficient work among the peasantry. It gives it good advice on opposing the petit-bourgeois reformists in leading the national democratic revolution by independently organising the workers and peasants. The SA'CP of course, never in its entire history had the revolutionary style of work advocated in the letter. It did not at anytime in its history seriously attempt to build a mass base amongst the Black workers and peasants, but merely engaged in a number of gimmicks about which they made a great deal of propaganda, a style of work that exists amongst it to this day, but one which is now well known.

WE publish the letter since we feel that we can learn a great deal from it in terms of the tasks of the national democratic revolution, of the leading role of the workers and peasants, of the anti-imperialist nature of the struggle, of the struggle for national independence and land, of the importance of the agrarian revolution, of the colonial nature of the country, of linking the daily struggle to the tasks of building a mass movement, etc. etc.

1. The economic and agrarian crisis in South Africa which is developing on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism has become extremely acute and intense. Hundreds of thousands of Native and coloured workers have been thrown onto the streets and deprived of all assistance. The life of privation of the Native peasant population throughout the Union and Protectorates is reaching the point of absolute starvation. The broad masses of the toiling population are despoiled and brought into increasing servitude by the Government apparatus, the employers, the big landowners, the traders, the usurers. The poor white farmers are also being forced into the army of the unemployed.

The economic crisis is utterly exposing the parasitism and the unsoundness of the colonial regime based on semi-feudal and slave exploitation which rules in South Africa. It is lighting up the fires of class struggle in town and country. It is rousing the native masses to struggle against the imperialist yoke, as well as drawing increasing numbers of white workers into the class struggle. It is creating all the necessary conditions for a common united revolutionary front of all the toilers and exploited workers.

The slave owning industrialists and big landlords are seeking a way out of the crisis: 1) by further strengthening and increasing the slave regime over the Native masses of toilers and intensifying all pre-capitalist forms and methods of exploitation and oppression; (2) by an offensive against the working class, the peasant masses and their revolutionary organisations; (3) by the drastic lowering of the standards of living of the European workers and poor white farmers. This still further sharpens all contradictions and activates the toiling masses of the Native and the white population. It compels them, especially the Native toilers, to seek with all their powers for a revolutionary way out of the impasse of starvation, for the overthrow of the imperialist regime and semi-feudal and slave exploitation

British imperialism and its local supporters, the South African landlords and bourgeois, is using every effort to stabilise and enlarge its domination, taking advantage of the conditions of the crisis. This is expressed in the pressure of the government apparatuses on the Native population, a pressure which is calculated on making permanent the status of the Native people as a nation of slaves in their own land. The growing of united actions of Native and white proletarians has led to the demand of Pirow for the preparation of merciless oppression against the workers by armed forces. Every protest or resistance on the part of the Natives is crushed in blood and a new wave of police terror and persecution

has been launched. In addition, new anti-Nativesocial and political laws are put into force; the Rioutous Assemblies Act is being increasingly enforced against the national revolutionary movement, above all against the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party. The Native toiling masses are practically outlawed.

2. At the same time Imperialism is mobilising and is striving to strengthen and make the widest use of national-reformists in the ANC., ICU., (a mass-based African trade union of the 30s - Ed.) etc., as well as of the paid chiefs, so as to hinder the rapidly increasing revolutionisation of the African masses. For this purpose national-reformism attempts to divert the growing revolutionary demands for independence and land into reformist channels by putting forth demands for "more land and land reform", for "national autonomy" under imperialist rule, for self-government in the locations and more power to the puppet Native Councils, etc.

Simultaneously to strengthen their policy, the landlords and buorgeois are attempting to break the growing tendency towards solidarity of the Native and white proletarian (unemployment movement) which is developing under pressure of the crisis. The demagogic programme of imperialism for a united white front and a "civilised labour policy", as a solution of the crisis in the interests of the white workers and poor farmers aims to intensify the exploitation of the Native population, to foment racial and national antagonisms and to stifle the class awakening of the white workers while worsening their standards of living.

OPPOSE PETIT-BOURGEOIS REFORMISTS

The Party must energetically and persistently unmask before the masses the Native reformists and paid chiefs as counter-revolutionary forces of imperialism. At the same time it must particularly expose American Negro national reformism (Garveyism, G.E'Haynes Haynes, the YMCA, etc.) which by helping to develop Native reformism in South Africa, assists in strengthening the rule of British and Afrikander imperialism. On the basis of united front actions around concrete struggles for the immediate needs of the masses, the Party must win over the workers and peasants still under reformist influence. It must awaken the Native people to a revolutionary understanding that the colonial slave system is absolutely incompatible with their most elementary needs and rights; that any attempt to reform it simply means a deception of the masses for the support of imperialist slavery. The Party must show the masses that it is only by revolutionary struggle that the Native toilers can put an end to their enslavement and win complete national independence and land.

The Party must also expose the social demagogy of the I.L.P. (Independent Labour Party - social democratic Party - Ed.) and the treacherous leadership in the social-fascist Labour Party, S.A.T.L.C., and the fascist Farmer's and Worker's Bond as the direct agents of imperialist oppression who are likewise carrying through the capitalist-landlord offensive against the white workers and poor farmers. It must expose the counter-revolutionary nationalism of the Dutch bourgeois and landlords which is utilised by them as a means of further exploiting the Dutch toilers, of separating the Dutch from the British, as well as from the Native workers, and as a means of further enslaving the Native population. It must explain to the masses that Afrikander imperialism which is in a subordinate position to British finance-capital, to obtain certain concessions for its own interests, makes use of the difference between British imperialism and the other imperialist powers while jointly with British imperialism it enslaves and exploits the Native masses. The Dutch and British workers who are a small minority of the population of South Africa must be made to understand that the only basis today upon which they may defend their own interests, which as proletarians are identical with those of the Native workers, and in the future enjoy full rights in the Independent Native republic, is that they must differentiate themselves today from the imperialist exploiters and must struggle side by side with the Native masses for the destruction of British and Afrikander imperialism. The Party must prepare and lead the everyday struggles of the white workers and poor tenant farmers at the same time it must wage a relentless struggle against every form and manifestation of white chauvinism. "In drawing into its organisations non-Negro workers, organising them into trade unions and in carrying on a struggle for the acceptance of Negroes by the trade unions of white workers, the Communist Party has the obligation to struggle by all methods against every racial prejudice in the ranks of the white workers and to eradicate

possible by the resolute struggle waged by the Party at its Ninth Congress against the anti-Leninist line of the Bunting group. The E.C.C.I. notes with approval the steps forward made by the Party at its recent Plenum. The E.C.C.I. fully endorses the decisions of the C.P.S.A. in expelling from its ranks the Right opportunist chauvinist clique: Bunting, Andrews, Tyler, Sachs, Glass and Weinbren. Under pressure of the sharpening struggle the entire policy and activities of this group came in opposition to the whole line of the Comintern and the Party; and they have openly become chauvinist agents of Imperialism, appealing to Pirow and Hertzog against the Party. The E.C.C.I. emphasises that the Party must continue and intensify the struggle against Right opportunism and all remnants of Buntingism. It must wage an uncompromising struggle against any under-estimation of the independent role of the Native proletariat, who with the native peasant masses are the basic driving forces in the revolution; against any under-estimation of the willingness to struggle and fighting strength of the Native masses, of under-estimating the decisive importance of developing economic struggles of the workers, of building mass revolutionary trade unions, and of organising a mass struggle of the peasantry. By carrying on a struggle on two fronts, especially against Right opportunism, by developing throughout the Party ideological clarity on the line of the Communist International, and the Communist Party of South Africa, by securing a maximum of unity of action in all its work, by developing broad inner-Party democracy and self-criticism* - the C.P. will consolidate its ranks and guarantee the practical application of the Bolshevik line of the C.P.S.A. —

LACK OF MASS WORK

The Party must also undertake the basic task of strengthening its contact with the masses, combining legal, semi-legal and illegal methods of work and establish and consolidate a definite network of illegal nuclei, in the main factories, mines, farms and reserves. It must develop the work of the nuclei so that they will become the real political leaders in every factory, etc., respond to all local questions, initiate and organise the struggle of the workers and peasants, and establish the independent leadership of the Party in the national revolutionary movement by persistent day to day leadership of revolutionary struggles for the urgent and basic needs of the masses. The Party must also systematically recruit within its ranks and draw into the leadership of the Party the best proletarians and poor peasants, including women and youth, especially from among the Native masses. It must draw the rank and file mass of members into all discussions and decisions on all questions of Party life. The Party must strengthen "Umsebenzi" politically and develop a mass circulation and a network of worker and peasant correspondents. It must build functioning disciplined factions, especially in the trade unions, peasants organisations, I.A.N.C., and in all reformist organisations having a mass base (i.e., I.C.U. at Cape Town, etc.). The Party must immediately re-establish the Y.C.L.S.A., and give constant guidance and support to the building of a mass Communist Youth League based primarily upon the Native Youth. It must especially build up the M.O.P.R. and the League against Imperialism as mass organisations. Only in this way can the Party make rapid advances and become the internal driving force in all revolutionary mass activity.

6. The fundamental task and the revolutionary programme of the present stage of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution around which the struggle must be organised, uniting the Native, coloured, white and Asiatic toilers of S.A. and the Protectorates must be:

(a) Down with ~~British~~ and Afrikaner imperialists. Drive out the imperialists. Complete and immediate national independence for the people of South Africa. For the right of Zulu, Basuto, etc., nations to form their own Independent Republics. The establishment of a workers' and peasants' government. Full guarantee of the right of all national minorities for the the coloured, Indian and white toiling masses.

(b) Confiscation without compensation and nationalisation of all the undertakings belonging to the imperialist land grabbers - the mines, railroads, banks, big factories, steamers, etc.

(c) The confiscation without compensation of the land of all the European landlords, the Crown Lands, the landholdings of the mining companies, missions, and plantations. The seizure of the farm animals, irrigation system, implements, etc. of the European landlords. The transfer of the confiscated land, animals, etc., in the first place to the Native peasants and agricultural workers and to the exploited national minorities (coloured and Asiatic). The allocation of land to the poor whites also on the condition of the non-exploitation of labour and loyalty to the

entirely such prejudices from its own ranks." (Colonial Theses, Sixth World Congress of the Communist International). Above all the Party must broaden the united front activities of the Native and white proletariat by organising joint revolutionary struggles for their immediate demands, linking these up with the basic fight for the overthrow of the slave regime and for the final emancipation of the proletariat - Native, coloured and white - from the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

3. The national revolutionary movement in South Africa has moved considerably forward during the recent period. The framework of the slave regime is beginning to burst under the pressure of the masses, who are seeking in the C.P. their guide and leader. Ever larger sections of the Native toilers are beginning to refuse to submit any further to the imperialist system which dooms them to starvation, unemployment and degradation. The struggle against the Pass System has already brought the Natives into conflict with the slave laws and has given rise to militant demonstrations. The growing dissatisfaction of the protest movement of the peasants in the reserves is turning against the imperialists who monopolise the land and its agents, against the white landlords, traders, usurers and paid chiefs. This movement is taking on a more acute and irreconcilable form, expressed by refusal to pay taxes and debts, resistance to authorities, and by demands for land. The armed struggle spreading throughout Natal and Northern Transvaal, basically movements of revolt against the Government and its imperialist appointed chiefs - despite the frequently successful efforts of Government agents to turn them into channels of tribal wars - these events indicate the tremendous possibilities before the Party for the rapid extension of the anti-imperialist movement and for the organisational growth of the Party.

ORGANISATIONAL BACKWARDNESS OF PARTY

4. The C.P.S.A. has shown by its participation in a number of struggles that it is capable of leading the masses in struggle against the Right opportunist Bunting group for the line of the Comintern, the Party was able to mobilise on Dingaan's Day, May 1st and August 1st, considerable numbers of Native workers and placed itself at the head of the Native masses as their independent leader. Through its work among the unemployed, the Party succeeded for the first time in its history in uniting large numbers of Native and white workers in struggle. The influence of the Party has rapidly grown during the past year and it has noticeably strengthened its ranks from among the Native proletariat. In every place where the Party has shown proper activity and given consistent leadership it has received the firmest support of the Native workers and has obtained a certain influence among the white proletariat.

At the same time, it should be noted that in spite of the crisis, the enormous unemployment and the attacks on imperialism, the Party has not succeeded in organising and putting into motion the mass economic struggle of the workers, especially the strike movement, nor has it developed a mass peasant movement. The separation of the Party from the spontaneously increasing and sharpening struggle of the masses had not yet been overcome. The recent miners' strike at City Deep and the struggle against night passes for women took place apart from the Party. The Party has also not succeeded in raising the struggle against national reformism to the necessary high level. Moreover, it has supported the militant actions of the A.N.C. without independently putting forward the Party in the national revolutionary struggles organised by the I.A.N.C., and without criticising its programme, tactics and leadership. In addition the Party has not yet succeeded in creating a firm organisational basis for itself in the form of active nuclei in the factories, mines and farms. Its political influence is far ahead of its organisational strength, and this becomes particularly dangerous especially under the present circumstances when the imperialists are preparing by violence to drive it underground. The Party has commenced to teach and train its cadres but owing to the weakness and mass work, it has not yet succeeded in providing for itself a sufficiently large group of activists. This lagging behind of the national revolutionary movement and the organisational backwardness of the Party shows that the Party must carry on a decisive struggle against Right opportunism which still remains the main danger in the C.P.S.A. and the chief obstacle in the way of the further development of the revolution.

5. All the advances made by the Party in recent months towards the beginning of a practical and systematic solution of the basic tasks confronting the Party, were only made

Native majority. The annulment of all debts and all oppressive contracts of the Native peasantry and farm labourers.

To these demands must be added the following:

(d) The 8-hour day; the 6-hour day for youth, compulsory social insurance at the expense of the employers and State; complete abolition of contract labour and all other forms of compulsory labour, a great improvement in the standard of life of all the workers; abolition of the Colour Bar; equal pay for equal work for Europeans, Native and coloured workers, men and women.

(7) While putting forward these basic revolutionary slogans and widely mobilising the masses to struggle for them, the Party must even at the present time come out with the propaganda of the idea of Soviets of Workers and Peasants Deputies as organs of revolutionary uprising, and in future as organs of State power of the revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and peasants. The Party must explain to the masses that the Soviets are the only forms of power which can defend the interests of all toilers and exploited workers. The success of the struggle for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government will depend entirely upon the extent to which the idea of Soviets penetrates deeply into the masses. In connection with the revival of national-reformism, it is especially urgent to expose the treacherous programme of the so-called national independence under "state autonomy" and to contrast the idea of Soviets, the revolutionary councils of the workers and peasants to the present imperialist controlled "Native Councils" which are composed of feudal chiefs, Native officials and corrupted propertied elements. The Communist Party should also popularise the tremendous progress of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and explain the tremendous revolutionary role of the Soviets in China, where through the Soviets millions of workers and peasants are already solving in the interests of all the toiling masses their basic questions of freedom, land, food and the 8-hour day. In this connection the Party must develop the widest agitation and propaganda in defence of the Soviet Union and the Soviets in China and mobilise the broad masses for struggle against the imperialist preparations for war, particularly against the counter-revolutionary role of British imperialism, which, with the other imperialist powers, is aggressively preparing for a new war especially for military intervention.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND LAND

8. The central task of the Party today must be the mobilisation of all sections of the workers and peasants in a mass united counter-attack against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and landlords concentrated around the struggle for NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND LAND, around the struggle for the immediate improvement of the situation of the masses on THIS basis. For with government power - the fertile land, factories and mines almost exclusively in the hands of the white imperialists - every struggle for the elementary rights and most urgent needs of the Native people - freedom, land, food, an end to forced labour and slave relations - must inevitably become a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of imperialist rule, the confiscation of the land and the full independence of the Native peoples.

In organising the counter-attack of the masses, the direction of the struggle at the present must develop around a fight for the elementary rights and the burning interests of the Native population, above all for the basic rights of freedom of movement and for land. The Party in conjunction with the masses should formulate the partial demands expressing the most vital and immediate needs of the whole population of Natives, as well as demands for the exploited sections of the white workers and poor tenant farmers. These demands based upon the fundamental slogans of the revolution, must become the instrument of mass mobilisation for revolutionary struggle. Immediate partial demands such as the following should be put forward:-

(a) Complete freedom of travel, freedom of residence and freedom of occupation. The abolition of all passes, special permits, etc. Complete freedom for Native women to be in the towns, the right of mining workers to live with their families outside the reserves. Abolition of the compounds, flogging, and armed guard. Full right for Portuguese indentured workers to live and work as free citizens wherever they please. The abolition of all forms of forced labour and the recruiting system. Legal prohibition of forced labour and contracts of slavery.

(b) The immediate repeal of all Native laws, of all decrees and acts which deprive the native population of their rights. The abolition of special taxes for Native population. The abolition of all taxes on huts, animals, etc. The abolition of all forms of forced labour and the recruiting system. Legal prohibition of forced labour and contracts of slavery.

(c) The distribution of all stores of food, seed and fuel in the government, missionary and traders' warehouses among the starving peasants in the reserves. The distribution to be carried out by elected committees of peasants and agricultural workers.

(d) All the funds of the city and the provincial councils which have been voted for the requirements of the capitalists and the landlords - for the city improvements, administration, police, etc., must be applied for the immediate assistance of the unemployed of the towns, the mines, etc. This assistance must be distributed by elected committees of the unemployed of the towns, the mines, etc. This assistance must be distributed by elected committees of the unemployed of all nationalities. The annulment of house rent and taxes for unemployed workers

(e) An immediate law for the insurance of the unemployed at the expense of the employers and the State. A law providing special assistance for Native land workers. Funds to be provided for this by progressive income tax on the capitalists and the European landlords.

(f) The immediate liberation of all political prisoners and of all Natives and representatives of the national minorities who were arrested for breaking any slave laws or regulations. The repeal of all laws and decrees directed against the workers' and peasants' organisations, including the C.P. (In Natal and other places). Unlimited freedom of organisation for the workers and peasants in the towns, the reserves and on European farms. The right of assembly and strike.

(g) The organisation of the Native workers and peasants for self-defence against the terror of the mine-owners, the landlords and the police; the drawing in of white workers into the defence squads. The right to carry arms for the Native population. Immediate disarmament of all the armed gangs of white imperialism. The removal of all imperialist troops, mobile squadrons, the police from the territory of South Africa.

(h) Against the confiscation and sale of the cattle of the Natives for contributions, non-payment of debts, taxes. Full rights of Native peasantry to all water rights and to pasture cattle on all grass land. Against branding, dipping, etc., of Native cattle.

(i) Against the limiting to any specified area such as reserves or locations the rights of residence or ownership of the Native peoples. Against the limiting of the rights of the Natives to purchase or rent land wherever they wish.

(j) Against all oppressive agreements of Native farm labourers, especially compulsory labour service. No Native shall be evicted from the land that he has tilled, and when he voluntarily works for a landowner, all such services must be paid in cash.

(k) Against the eviction of the poor white tenant-farmers and share-croppers. A basic reduction in their rent, leading up to mass refusals to pay it. The cancellation of all their debts to the landlords, traders and capitalists.

(l) Against all wage cuts, against speeding up at work and dismissals of all Native, Coloured, Asiatic and white workers. For the 8-hour day, the 6-hour day in the mines and all dangerous occupations. Six-hour day for the young workers; for minimum wages, equal pay for all women, youth and for the workers of all nationalities on the basis of the level of white workers; the abolition of the colour bar and the "civilised labour policy". The immediate payment of all back pay by the employers of Native workers, including pay of immigrants from Portuguese colonies.

(m) Radical lowering of the house rent of all Native and Coloured workers. The abolition of slum areas; the building of new houses in European towns at the expense of the government, equal housing conditions for Natives and Whites.

(n) Against indirect taxation; for a heavy progressive income, inheritance, capital and property tax on the capitalists and the landlords.

(o) Against the deportation of Indians back to their own country. Freedom of residence and occupation for them. Abolition of all national and so-called racial limitations in any form whatever.

(p) Against any prohibition of activities of Native, Coloured or Asiatic traders in the locations, reserves or towns.

(q) For international working class solidarity, especially solidarity between Native, Coloured and White workers

EXPOSE PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGNS

9. The Party in organising the counter-attack of the toilers must ruthlessly expose the "campaign of passive resistance" against the latest Pass regulations as proposed by the

national reformists, as campaigns most acceptable to the imperialists for retarding the development of revolutionary action. As against the reformist passive resistance campaign the Party must deepen the fight for active mass violation of the slave laws. The Party should no longer limit itself to the Pass burning campaign but should call for and organise mass violation of every law and regulation denying Natives full rights with whites:- Organised mass struggles for the freedom of speech, assembly and meetings; against the banishment, jailing, deportation and murder of revolutionary fighters. These to be united into a mass fight for the complete open existence of all revolutionary organisations, including the Party. Violation of curfew law by demonstrations and mass marches through prohibited areas after curfew; mass marches out of the slave compounds; organised mass refusal to pay taxes and resistance to tax collections; strikes of farm labourers for right to leave farms freely and enter locations at will; mass resistance to evictions from farms; mass violation of pasturage decrees; mass resistance to eviction of Native women from town, of unemployed from locations, etc. The struggle against the slave laws must not become as in the past, a campaign in itself, but must be made an organic part of organised mass struggles for the immediate special vital demands of the miners, dock workers, farm labourers, etc. The fight should be developed by various methods of struggle under a number of different forms, under the independent leadership of the Party such as through action committees, peasant committees, factory and mine conferences and committees, united front conferences; economic and political strikes of industrial and farm workers; through mass meetings, demonstrations and marches; through the skilful combination of systematic, planned open actions with persistent day to day illegal activity in the mines, factories, docks, locations, farms and reserves.

10. To further extend and strengthen the anti-imperialist front, the Party should support and establish temporary agreements and united front activities with all genuine national revolutionary organisations or movements. These joint struggles must be organised solely on the basis of revolutionary activities around a common revolutionary programme or demands; and the Party must have full freedom of criticism of the leadership and activities of the other organisations. In these united front movements the Party must maintain its complete political and organisational independence and fight more consistently and militantly than any other national revolutionary organisation. Moreover, the Party must build fractions in these organisations and win over the rank and file, constantly criticise the leadership, tactics and expose any attempts of the opposing leadership, i.e. Dr. Wellington, to sabotage or betray the national revolutionary movement.

Similarly the Party should expose the wars between the tribes as counter-revolutionary wars provoked by Imperialism and should strive to drive the growing discontent and activities of the tribes into revolutionary channels. It should support and head any movements of the various tribes which are directed against imperialism and for the seizure of the land. It should extend its leadership and influence among the tribes through the building of peasant committees and committees of struggle; through the mass distribution of UMSEBENZI and simple popular leaflets explaining its programme of revolutionary demands. At the same time the Party must consistently mobilise the peasantry against the arbitrary rights and privileged positions of the chiefs, expose those chiefs who are paid agents of the government and sharpen the fight for the destruction of all feudal tribal relations which are utilised to strengthen the rule of imperialism.

NATIONAL LIBERATION INSEPARABLE FROM STRUGGLE FOR LAND

11. The Communist Party of South Africa must understand that the struggle for national liberation is inseparable from the struggle for land. That the successful carrying through of the agrarian revolution is the basis for the victory of the Native masses over imperialism, for the national independence. The main slogan of action around which the whole struggle for land must be centred, is the slogan for the confiscation of the land of the European landlords.

The Party must organise and head the peasant movement and develop the struggles of the farm labourers around a popular peasant programme of action of immediate demands as already outlined; based on the basic slogans of the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution and adapted to the specific conditions in the reserves, farms, and Protectorates. It should take the initiative in forming peasant committees, committees of action, and defence groups; groups

for the distribution of Umsebenzi and special peasant bulletins. On the farms, the agricultural labourers should be organised in separate committees, laying the basis for the immediate organisation of an Agricultural Workers Union. The most advanced from among the farm labourers and poor peasants must be organised directly into the nuclei. The Party should especially train and utilise the miners who are returning to the reserves, the unemployed and the Party membership in the location groups in the towns and farming districts, for carrying on activity on the farms and the reserves.

The organisation of these committees and groups must proceed simultaneously with the development of mass refusals of all government demands and mass violation of all government proclamations: mass refusal to pay taxes, rent and debts; mass resistance to evictions, to the confiscation of cattle and crops for the non-payment of debts and taxes, against the compulsory and dipping of cattle; organised pasture of cattle without authorisation; organised struggles for immediate relief to the starving peasantry; leading up to organised seizure of food stores of the white landlords; mass action to smash the recruitment meeting and drive the recruiters from the reserves; mass refusal to sign contracts and to carry out labour service for the landlords, etc.

In organising and preparing this struggle the C.P. of South Africa must do all in its power to prevent the struggle taking the scattered actions easily crushed by the government by armed force, but on the contrary in an organised way, co-ordinated and directed by the Party taking on the character of a widespread mass movement in all parts.

Therefore, the Party must give the most serious attention to the problem of strengthening its contact with the peasant masses and farm labourers, and creating a firm organisational base on the farms and in the reserves; on extending, co-ordinating and giving leadership to any revolutionary partisan warfare movements of the tribes; on giving constant proletarian leadership to the struggle of the peasants and closely uniting the revolutionary activities of the industrial workers with the peasant movement, welding them together for a joint struggle for the overthrow of British and South African imperialism.

PROLETARIAN HEGEMONY IN STRUGGLE

12. The struggle for proletarian hegemony under South African conditions can only be successfully carried on with the establishment of mass proletarian organisations, first of all, the revolutionary trade unions; only in connection with the development of everyday economic struggle of the workers. One of the greatest dangers confronting the advance of the national revolutionary movement today is precisely the extreme organisational weakness of the Native proletarians and the low level of the strike movement. Therefore, it is of decisive importance that the Party energetically speed up the building of the A.F.T.U. into a mass revolutionary trade union centre on a national scale, organising and uniting the economic struggles of the Native, coloured and white workers (any proposal for organising a native section within the Federation must be categorically rejected as chauvinist and directly opposed to the policy of the R.I.L.U.); that it proceed with the formation of revolutionary opposition groups in the existing reformist unions in the I.C.U. at Capetown, Cape Federation Union of Railway Workers and the T.&L.C., etc. The A.F.T.U. must resolutely fight against compulsory arbitration and systematically expose the Industrial Councils and Conciliation Boards as instruments of the Government and employers. Furthermore, the Party must finally establish fractions in the A.F.T.U., T. & L.C., Cape Federation I.C.U., Dockworkers, etc. It must put an end to the legalistic tendencies in the A.F.T.U. and to the opportunist manoeuvring with the leaders of the reformist unions. It must strengthen and further extend the united activities of Native, coloured and white workers as developed on May 1st; and must mercilessly expose the fake unity manoeuvres organised by the T. & L.C. and show that a united international front of Native, Coloured and White workers cannot be the result of combinations of leaders, but can only be formed by joint actions on a clear cut policy of class struggle.

The A.F.T.U. should take as a starting point for the immediate preparation of strike struggles the establishment of points of concentration in the chief branches of industry; in the mines, railroads, docks and farms and broaden the struggle for immediate employment relief for all Native, Coloured and White workers as well as the fight for State unemployment insurance. It must mobilise all sections of the working class, the Native, Coloured and White workers to smash all regulations imposed on the unemployed Native workers, particularly

the policy of deporting Natives from the towns; organising mass resistance to the attempts to deport and arrest the unemployed and developing mass struggles for the right of the Native to live wherever they please. They must be an inseparable part of the struggle for immediate unemployment relief of all workers. The A.F.T.U. must work out on conjunction with the workers in each factory, mine, etc. a concrete programme of immediate demands and organise elected factory committees of struggle, strike committees, grievance committees, united front committees of action and factory and mine groups, laying the basis for the organisation of powerful industrial unions in each given industry particularly in the mines and on the farms. Around these demands that the workers will recognise and support as their own, the Federation must develop and independently lead each local struggle and attempt to extend it throughout the industry. In the gold mines, for instance, the demands for a better ration, three meals a day, meat every day, an hour for dinner, reduction of the 12-13 hour working day, abolition of fines and extortions; abolition of beatings by foremen and imprisonment in compound cells, free blankets and sanitary quarters, etc., will serve as a means of mobilisation for immediate struggle, as the City Deep strike has shown. In this way, the Party and the Federation, by developing the local struggles around these vital economic demands will be able to organise and lead the fight of the proletariat for equal pay for equal work for all workers, for smashing the Colour Bar and the civilised labour policy; for abolishing forced and contract labour and the compound system; thereby drawing the revolutionary trade unions, the masses of the Native proletariat, as well as ever larger sections of the white workers into independent activity in the fight for national liberation.

All the necessary conditions exist for a successful development of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa under the leadership of the C.P. In this situation, the Executive Committee of the Communist International is confident that the Communist Party of South Africa with real Bolshevik energy and determination will be able to fulfill the gigantic tasks before it and march forward to new struggles and new victories.

SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO THE BLACKS

The South African Student Organisation (SASO) believes that South Africa is not multi-racial but a Black state belonging to the Black people alone.

Delegates to the fourth annual conference in Hammanskraal said whites would live in the country on terms laid down by the Black people and on condition they respected them.

SASO's acting permanent organiser, Mr. Abraham Tiro, urged delegates to be positive and consider the country as a Black state which belonged only to the Black people.

"This should not be construed as anti-white. It only means that in as much as Black people live in Europe on terms laid down by whites, whites should be subjected to the same conditions," he said.

Black people owned the country and would guard their rights jealously.

(World Weekend 22-7-73).

AZANIANS CALL UPON AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (TAMBO WING) TO DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A meeting of Azanians held recently in West Germany and comprising of sympathisers of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement and the African National Congress (African Nationalists), the white-led and revisionist South African Communist Party was roundly and unanimously condemned for its "counter-revolutionary" role in the Azanian struggle. The resolution added that the SACP had constantly "sabotaged" the Azanian struggle. It called upon the African National Congress (Tambo wing) to disassociate itself from the South African Communist Party.

Bias of German Anti-Apartheid Movement

Anti-Apartheid movements, very often under the control of revisionist elements have been showing an unwarranted bias in the internal affairs of liberation movements in Southern Africa, supporting one - the one closely attached to Moscow - and slandering others. Here we bring two accounts of such pro-social-imperialist bias and interference in Germany and Holland.

At the Annual Members Conference of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, held in Oberhausen, West Germany in April this year friends of Moscow inside the AAM attempted to split the struggles of the Southern African peoples, a struggle which has as one of its chief motto: "We are our own liberators". But for the first time also at a members' Conference many members protested against the policy of these pro-social-imperialist elements who attempted to force their political line on the AAM.

The AAM was founded in April 1974 on the initiative of the Mainzer Arbeitskreis Sudliches Afrika (MAKSA) - an organisation of clergymen who had worked in South Africa and Namibia, some of whom were deported from these countries - basing itself on the English AAM. According to its statutes the AAM strives for the broadest possible alliance of anti-racists. But the wide political spectrum of the anti-racists, which is guaranteed in the statute, did not take effect in the practical work. The parent organisation of the German AAM, the English AAM, promoted by prominent members of the British Labour and Liberal Parties and which has numerous white South Africans as members has become a mouthpiece of the leadership clique of the ANC abroad dominated as it is by social-imperialist agents, the South African 'Communist' Party. The British Anti-Apartheid News propagates ANC as the only 'authentic' liberation movement and slanders the PAC as being 'racialist', 'narrow-minded nationalists', etc. The Black Consciousness Movement is also a target of such attacks, they too having turned away from their white "friends" and demanded instead the unity of all Blacks and a new militancy, and who consider the principle of self-reliance essential for their struggle.

In West Germany the elements supporting the SA "C" P line posed as "left-wing" and progressive social democrats. We single out one, Wolf Geisler, well known in the anti-imperialist scene in connection with shareholders' meetings but skillful in hiding his real political self. At the members' Conference a motion was brought forward condemning the interference of the Soviet Union by means of its puppet the SACP, in the internal affairs of the ANC, and stating that already the Morogoro decision where the SACP hi-jacked the ANC - under the pretext of racial equality - was to serve this purpose of interference. Geisler exploded and roared that the two members who had put forward the motion were "racialists"! He even threatened them with the West German constitution, making out that this was a case of racial incitement! An ANC member who has just been deported because of his criticisms of the practices of the SACP spoke out to the dismay of Geisler. Geisler tried to avoid discussion about self-reliance, struggle for national independence without any interference and he tried to prevent AAM members from speaking to the ANC speaker! And another, I. Wick, had the cheek to ring up a journalist in Deutsche Welle (German Radio -Ed) to "advise" her not to interview Tennyson Makiwane, the General-Secretary of the ANC-AN, concerning the liberation struggle in Azania.

In October, 1976, however an article by Tennyson Makiwane titled "Long Live the Movement of 16th June" was published in the ISSSA-AAM magazine, conspicuously placed. It contained the well known attacks by the ANC-AN against the SACP clique and rejected the attempt on the part of this clique to claim credit for the struggle in Soweto. Geisler did not succeed in including a "disassociating comment" from the editors to the article in the same issue. In his eyes a "pluralist coverage" was not guaranteed anymore - seeing that in the same issue only ZANU was given space and moreover it contained a comment by the ZANU secretary for Information and Publicity saying: "If we should let somebody come and fight for us - that kind of independence would mean little to us." This was too much for Geisler, and he ended his membership of AAM and ISSA "until the next members' Conference.

In his letter of farewell to all AAM and ISSA members he surpassed himself in insults against the African Nationalists: "In a new letter they (the ANC-AN-Ed.) wrote further: the aim is to achieve national independence for the people of South Africa. What these people wish to do with democrats of a different skin colour and hair when they have reached their aim they don't give away". He suspects that the "financing of the obvious activities of this group comes from the USA imperialists and expressed the hope that a majority in the AAM and ISSA will in future prevent the publishing of attacks against a stabilization(!) in Angola.....and by pro-USA dark-skinned enemies of the liberation struggle in South Africa

With his ridiculous resignation "until the next members' meeting" Geisler hoped to pressurise the members who regard him as an expert on nuclear matters, as he made his re-entry dependent on the "settling of these questions" to his mind. At this annual members' conference of the AAM no one asked Mr. Geisler to re-enter, even though he tried very hard. And "the settling these questions" was not exactly what he and his supporters had hoped for. Three papers were submitted for the ANC/ANC-AN discussion; two expressed the right of peoples to self-reliance and analysed this as the principle on which African Nationalism is based. The third paper was by I. Wick and it repeated in a most ugly way all the attacks against the African Nationalists, at the same time slandering the struggles taking place in Azania.

LIES ABOUT THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

It was something new however that Wicks managed to "analyse" "contradictions" between the Black Consciousness Movement and the African Nationalists. A fusion between the ANC-AN and the BCM was out of the question because the former were "racialists". Questioned about this strange splitters logic of supporting the BCM in AAM work, and attacking the ANC-AN, the reply was: the BCM was initiated and carried by the ANC! How does one explain this. The answer is that the AAM would make itself a fool in the eyes of its members if it continued ignoring and slandering the BCM. Therefore the BCM had to be declared an appendage of the ANC, an about face that the SACP clique itself had made surprised as it was by the Soweto events.

The decision of the members' conference of the AAM, to support the organisations of the BCM in addition to the ANC and PAC should not distract from the fact that the pro-social-imperialist forces will continue fighting all those who wish to liberate themselves by adhering to the principle of self-reliance. It is well known for example that the AAM does not support ZANU for obvious reasons.

THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN HOLLAND

Amidst growing interest in the Azanian struggle in Holland various organisations have arisen to support the struggle of the Azanian people. But some of these groups express solidarity with only the ANC-'C'P. These groups ignore or slander the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress), BPC, SASO, BAWU, UMSA, etc. They level attacks on the 'national question' and Black Consciousness, symbolised by their attack on the name Azania. The groups adopting this policy are:

- (1) Anti-Apartheid Movement in Amsterdam. It is linked with the pro-Moscow 'C'PN.
- (2) Southern Africa Committee (Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika) in Amsterdam. A new name for Bosgra's old Angola Committee. It backs the ANC-'C'P and the Nkomo faction of the Patriotic Front. It draws the support of the local 'Fourth International' Trotskyites.
- (3) Boycott Outspan Oranges (BOA) in Leiden is associated with the Bosgra group. It attempts to line up Dutch trade unions for the ANC-'C'P and uses the cover of a boycott campaign to conduct its propaganda.

In 1977, the Dutch government gave a subsidy of fl21,000 to the Anti-Apartheid Movement and f209,000 to the Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (£1 = F4).

In striking contrast the Dutch government refused any subsidy to the Azania Komitee, which supports all liberation movements - ANC, PAC, UMSA, BPC, etc. The Azania Komitee gives publicity to the activities of all liberation movements and organisations. *The Azania Komitee recently organised a demonstration for Comrade Steve Biko outside the South African Embassy - the only organisation to commemorate this great leader of the Azanian people.*

Here again we see the type of manipulations that these Anti-Apartheid committees are subjected to by the revisionist South African Communist Party pursuing its racist policies in Azania.

Education in South Africa

BY HENRY ISAACS

Apartheid is practised in all levels of education in South Africa. The racial groups are educated separately and differently, to prepare them for White-defined positions in society. White education is under the control of the provincial authorities. Since 1953 African Education has been the responsibility of the White-controlled Ministry of Bantu Affairs. The Coloured Persons Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965 completed the four-fold pattern of racial segregation in education: at the same time Black education (i.e. for Africans, Coloureds and Indians) was placed under the control of the Central Government. Education is an important facet of apartheid since education can serve one of two purposes - liberation or domestication.

The object of Bantu Education which, under the Bantu Education Acts is under stringent Government control, was described by the late Dr. Verwoerd as follows: "What is the sense of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life according to the sphere in which they live.....It is necessary therefore that native education should be controlled in such a way that it should accord with the policy of the state."

Apartheid decreed that there was to be no place for Blacks in the White community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within their own areas all doors were theoretically open to them and education was to be complete but based on the spirit of the Black culture and society. Special textbooks for Blacks were explicitly to prepare Blacks for their inferior position in society. In contrast textbooks for whites have been so framed as to teach white children that their position is superior and that Blacks are both primitive and barbarous.

RACE STUDIES IN WHITE SCHOOL

The subject "Race Studies" has been introduced into high schools for White children, an innovation parallel to Rassenkunde in the education of Nazi Germany. The emphasis in "Race Studies" is almost entirely on the rural and primitive tribalism of the Bushmen, Hottentots and the Bantu.

The whole course inculcates the doctrine that the whites have been placed in South Africa by God as guardians of the Blacks, and this must be carried out through apartheid. The idea of a chosen people is found in many textbooks and is re-inforced by the teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church which maintains that Blacks are the descendants of Ham and are destined to be the drawers of water and hewers of wood. A standard 8 guideline book underlines the differences that are presumed to exist between whites and "non-whites": "The point of view of certain foreign clergymen that whites and non-whites should inter-marry and that, in the name of Christianity, is too incisive a change in the culture pattern of the non-white and white. Such a thing can only create confusion and degeneration. All things considered the coming about and continued existence of the white Christian Civilization in spite of the mass of the non-whites can be seen as nothing less than a disposition of the Almighty."

In a chapter on Race Relations in an official textbook this extraordinary statement appears: "In some countries where whites settled, they soon inter-married with the non-whites and a bastard population originated. In South Africa this did not happen." As though 2.5 million coloured people did not exist.

Further on the Book states: "Inter-racial residence and marriage are not only a disgrace but are also forbidden by law. It is however, not only the skin of the white South African that differs from that of the non-white. The white stands on a much higher plane of civilisation and is more developed. Whites must so live, learn and work that we shall not sink to the cultural level of the non-whites. Only thus can the government of our country remain in the hands of the whites."

INEQUALITY IN EXPENDITURE

Expenditure on "bantus" (i.e. African) education has trebled over the past seven years but the gap

between Black and white: education is increasing. The basic reason for this is the order of national priorities: in 1975, for example, the South African government budgetted an amount of R498 million for defence and only R69 million for African education. This cannot be justified by the fact that white people pay more absolute tax as Blacks pay the same proportion of their incomes. Blacks also pay additional rent to subsidise the buildings of schools. A shortage of funds has serious consequences in many areas, which are examined below:

(i) Physical Facilities:

The first problem area is the provision of physical facilities. School buildings are inadequate and as a result there is an average of about 60 pupils per classroom.

The buildings of schools is not in the hands of Bantu Education Department but of the local Bantu Affairs authorities. Attempts to rectify the situation have been made through private enterprise, such as Anglo-American who have built classrooms and laboratories in Soweto and through the Johannesburg Star's TEACH Fund, Durban's Daily News LEARN Fund, etc.

Sports facilities in the grounds of most schools are inadequate.

(ii) Shortage of Teachers

The shortage of teachers constitute s a serious problem. The Department is allocated a set sum by the Treasury, but as this amount is inadequate Black teachers receive far lower salaries than their White colleagues. This also expalins the high school teacher to pupil ratio - the smaller the budget the fewer the teachers the Department can afford to employ. The pupil-teacher ratio for whites is about 20:1; for Africans it is 60:1 African teachers are paid 52 per cent of the White scale and Coloured teachers get 72 per cent.

(iii) Double Session System

To compensate for the shortage of teachers the double session is often used. This involves one teacher teaching two groups of pupils consecutively without receiving a higher salary. Teaching time is thus cut from 4.5 to 3.5 hours per group per day. The Minister of "Bantu Education" disclosed in Parliament during 1973 that 10,209 Sub A and Sub B classes (or 892,261 pupils) were involved in double sessions, while 1,437 standard 1 and standard 2 classes (or 91,258 pupils) were involved.

The Minister of "Coloured "Rekations reported that 1,797 classes (or 61,098 pupils) were involved in double sessions in Coloured schools.

For Indians the figures were given as:

Sub-standards: 182 classes or 6,672 children;
Standards 1 and 2 : 142 classes or 5,315 children;
Standards 3 and 4 : 32 classes or 1,054 children;
Standards 5 and 6 : 8 classes or 241 children.

No white children were involved in double sessions.

(iv) Poor Qualifications of Teachers

A related problem is the poor qualification of teachers to teach above Form 111. The Minister of Bantu Education disclosed in Parliament during 1973 that there were 53,294 "Bantu" teachers in government and state-aided schools in the Republic, including the so-called Homelands, and Namibia. Of these the majority had some professional training (44,863) but only 835 actually possessed a degree and University Education Diploma. The largest categories were those with Junior Certificate and Primary Higher Diploma (23,987) and Standard 6 and Lower Primary Diploma (14,376). A total of 8,434 had no professional qualifications, and nearly 8,000 of these were also matriculated. These figures were for March-May 1972.

In May 1973 a total of 18,279 "coloured" teachers were employed by the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs, in the Republic and Namibia. Of these the largest category had Junior Certificate and Primary Higher (12,927), followed by Matriculation and the Teacher's Diploma (4,065). Those with a degree and University Education Diploma totalled 681 (of whom one was in Namibia), while 109 had a degree with no professional qualifications. Similar figures can be cited with regard to the Indian population.

These factors lead inevitably to a lower standard of education and lower pass rates than found in white schools. In 1971 although there were about 3 million Black children in school only about 4.7 per cent of these had reached high school level. This had risen to 10 per cent in 1976. This is compared with the 31.7 per cent of white children who reach high school.

Education for white children (and since 1973 in some areas for "Coloured" children) is compulsory and free, with free textbooks and stationery, but it is not compulsory for either Africans or Indians. Africans in primary schools receive the use of textbooks belonging to the school but no stationery. In high schools Africans pay in full for their books, and unlike white students they pay fees for their education. Financial difficulties also lead to a high drop out rate as the children leave school to seek employment.

(v) Frustrations

One of the greatest frustrations teachers and pupils experience is the system of dual medium instruction in high schools. The pupils receive instruction in the vernacular until they reach standard 4. Then they receive instructions of half their subjects in English and the other half in Afrikaans. Mathematics and the Social Sciences are taught in Afrikaans. Woodwork, biology and physics are generally taught in English. Besides there being a shortage of teachers able to teach in Afrikaans there is the association of Afrikaans with unpleasant experiences in government departments, pass offices and police stations.

The Black people's dislike of the Afrikaans language is evidenced by the refusal of a Transkeian (Bantustan) government to recognise Afrikaans as one of its official languages. Apart from this Blacks recognise the universal application of English as being of greater benefit to them than the limited application of Afrikaans.

Teachers have also to contend with the negative attitude of Black students towards technical subjects such as woodwork and domestic science, which they believe prepare them only for menial labour in South African Society.

It is the policy of the Bantu Education Department to concentrate special schools such as teacher training and technical schools in the Bantustans. This leads to a shortage of training centres in concentrated urban areas. The Bantustans are projected as the growth points of the Black economy and the idea is to accustom the pupils to eventually settling there. It is also hoped that Blacks educated in the Bantustans will localise their perspective.

Adequate training does not insure Blacks employment for which they are qualified. For example, Johannesburg's Phono-Efficiency African Business Training Centre graduates 30 to 40 African clerical workers each month who cannot find employment even though there are well over 6,000 clerical jobs available and no whites to fill them.

Phonoefficiency's principal feels that the public does not know that trained Africans are in fact available. But this is hardly the sole, and probably not the major problem. Employers do not want to provide separate toilet facilities required (by law) for Black employees, and fear opposition from White staff. Moreover, a 1964 amendment to the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 prohibits employment agencies from handling African applicants; only the Labour Dept. and recognised agencies can place Africans in employment.

Before the Soweto uprising in June last year the South African government made extravagant claims for the "achievements" of "Bantu education". They pointed out, for example, that the enrolment of Africans at schools rose from one million in 1955 to 2.9 million in 1971; and that the proportion of African children in the 7-15 age group had risen to 76%.

The appearance of improvement is deceptive: the same figures reveal a reality of qualitative decline and cultural impoverishment. Between 1955 and 1971 the pupil-teacher ratio rose from 45:1 to 58:1 (in White schools it is 20:1); the increase in expenditure was greatly outmatched by the increase in numbers; and for every R1 spent in 1970 on an African child, the government spent R31.6 for every white child. In addition, of the existing 10,550 African schools only 453 (a mere 4.3 per cent) were secondary schools, with 94 per cent of all African children in primary classes only.

THE UNIVERSITIES

Until 1959 there were two 'open' universities in South Africa, Cape Town and Witwatersrand, which accepted Black students and practised no academic segregation, although there was segregation of Blacks and Whites in the sporting and social activities of the Universities. In addition the Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape was also 'open,' although predominantly for African students. Its 1975 enrolment, a typical one, had 283 Africans, 48 Coloureds and 47 Indians, and occasionally there had been white students at Fort Hare.

There are 11 Universities for whites in South Africa, four of which cater for the English-speaking predominantly and seven for the Afrikaans-speaking.

In terms of the so-called Extension of University Education Act of 1959 it is a criminal offence for any 'non-white' student to register at any of the open universities without the written consent of

the Minister of Bantu or Coloured or Indian Affairs, depending on the racial classification of the applicant. Instead the Act provided for the establishment of special universities for Black students who were to be separated on racial and ethnic lines. There are five universities for Blacks: The University of the Western Cape to serve the Coloured, Malay and Griqua groups; The University of the North, to serve the Sotho group; the University of Fort Hare to serve the Xhosas; the University of Zululand for the Zulus; the University of Durban-Westville for Indians.

There are no facilities for Engineering and Medical studies at the Black Universities and special Ministerial consent has to be obtained by any Black who wishes to study Engineering, Medicine (or any other course not offered at his racial university) at one of the 'open' universities. The Minister of Bantu Education announced in the South African Parliament on 5 May 1975, that the government proposed establishing a medical school at Ga Rankuwa, near Pretoria, to cater for Africans of all ethnic groups. It would eventually have faculties of medicine, dentistry and veterinary science. Africans studying at the University of Natal (Black Section) would be phased out, as would Coloureds and Indians studying at the Universities of Natal, Cape Town and Witwatersrand, when eventually medical faculties are established at the Universities of Western Cape and Durban-Westville.

In 1959 there was a total of 4,269 Blacks against 35,549 whites. Ten years later the number of Blacks had arisen to 8,863 and whites to 68,549. By 1974 there was almost 10,149 Blacks as against 84,232 whites.

The Academic Freedom Committees of the Universities of Cape Town and Witswatersrand in a booklet published in 1975 says it is commonplace that informers are present on university campuses. The signatories to a booklet entitled, "The Open Universities in South Africa and Academic Freedom, 1957-1974" conclude that "censorship tends to cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classrooms in South African universities and to undermine high standards of scholarship." Teaching staff have been forced out of their posts by banning orders under the Suppression of Communism Act. In 1968 the Govt. pressurised the University of Cape Town into rescinding the appointment of a Black to a senior lectureship in Social Anthropology. Others with academic posts have been refused residence permits and several distinguished academic visitors have been denied visas.

The booklet describes conditions prevalent on white campuses. The situation on Black campuses is far more oppressive. Rigorous control is maintained over the activities of students and staff so that Black universities are in fact glorified high schools. The Black Universities were administered by White Councils, while Blacks served on Advisory Councils, although it would appear that in several instances these have been abolished. The Black Universities are staffed largely by whites, almost all of them Afrikaaners who are firm supporters of apartheid.

DISCRIMINATION IN SALARIES

There are substantial differences in pay between Black and White: in all categories the salaries paid to the white personnel are much higher than those received by their Black colleagues.

BLACK STUDENT STRIKES

Strikes and protests have been an almost perennial feature of the Black Universities. This is not only because Black students and staff are subjected to stringent and humiliating restrictions but also because there is no redress for student grievances. The response of the authorities has generally taken the form of mass expulsions or suspensions and the re-screening of applicants. In 1972 there were protests at every Black institution for higher learning in South Africa, followed by mass expulsions and eventual exclusion of 'agitators'. In June 1973 students at the University of the Western Cape submitted a memorandum to the University authorities in which they listed a number of complaints amongst them: poor student/lecturer relations, owing to the paternalistic attitudes of the largely white teaching staff; poor teaching from some lecturers - reading from old or borrowed notes, restrictions imposed on those living in the students' hostels who were treated like schoolchildren, the generally oppressive rules and regulations, etc. When the university authorities refused to redress their grievances the students called on the Rector to resign and occupied lecture rooms. The Rector immediately closed the university for a month and announced that students wishing to return would be obliged to complete a re-admission form, which would include a promise to comply with all university rules and regulations.

The Black Staff Association supported the students' stand on the grounds that the university intended exclusively for 'Coloureds' was, 13 years after it opened, still controlled by whites. There were in 1973, 79 whites on the staff and only 12 Coloureds. All the professors and all except one senior lecturer were white. The Coloured teachers received R1,000 less per year than white colleagues on the same grades.

Subsequently two inquiry committees were announced: one to investigate students' complaints and the other to handle re-admissions, but as the Afrikaans newspaper, *Rapport*, pointed out, the first consisted largely of those against whom the students' complaints were directed. The dispute continued for a month after which the University Authorities and government backed down. All except one student (the President of the SRC) were re-admitted unconditionally and a judicial Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate several matters relating to the University and its administration. Shortly thereafter the Government announced the appointment of a Coloured educationist Dr. van der Ross, as rector of the UWC - the first Black person to be appointed to such a position at the Black universities in South Africa.

It would seem that almost all the Universities established for Blacks have begun to increase the number of Blacks on their academic and administrative staff. A policy of Africanisation has set in. But this is an acceleration of apartheid as it means that each racial group should be served by its own kind.

DROPPING OF AFRIKAANS LANGUAGE REQUIREMENT

On 6 July 1976 South African officials announced that they had dropped compulsory use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction in Black schools. Black schools would no longer have to teach subjects half in English and half in Afrikaans. It was this latter regulation which had sparked off the demonstrations by students in Soweto in June last year.

CONCLUSION

The main content of the policy of Apartheid is the perpetuation of white supremacy rule in Azania. Verwoerd said: "Reduced to its simplest form, the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white.....keeping it white.....keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely, white domination - not "leadership" not "guidance", but "control", "supremacy".

The educational system does not intend nor was it designed to separate Black and White into *two parallel but equal societies*, as the South African Government claims. Its objective is *vertical differentiation*, dividing those who command from those who "obey."

STEVE BIKO ON THIRD WORLD UNITY.

The Black Consciousness Movement was deeply aware of the common destinies of the peoples of the Third World and the need for them to unite against the rich countries. Steve Biko, the murdered leader of the BPC said: "The Black people of the world in choosing to reject the legacy of colonialism and white domination..... have at last established a solid basis for meaningful cooperation among themselves in the larger battle of the third world against the rich countries."

On another occasion speaking against the policy of integration, the favourite policy of white liberals, multi-racialists, and advocates of the non-racial democracy approach, he said:

"It never occurred to the liberals that integration they insisted upon as an effective way of opposing apartheid was impossible to achieve in South Africa. One has to overhaul the whole system before hoping to get black and white walking hand and hand to oppose a common enemy."

Trotskyite Distortions of the National Question in Azania

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Alex Callinos and John Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto*, London, Pluto Press, 1977, 229pp.

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Since the revolutionary upsurges in Soweto and throughout Azania that began in May and June of 1976, several writers and many groups have taken advantage of the opportunity to express varying forms of 'solidarity' with the Azanian struggle. One product of this trend, the infamous and modern revisionists Penguin paperback, *The New Politics of Revolution*, has already been dealt with and exposed as counter-revolutionary. Another manifestation of this trend is the "left" analyses of the current situation and political economy of Southern Africa. The most prominent aspect of these analyses is that they aspire to be more revolutionary than the Azanian people, even as they profess solidarity with the masses. In peddling a line "left in form but right in essence", these "Leftists" actually undermine the Azanian struggle through their conceptualizations. Fortunately, these studies are unlikely to influence more than a handful of potential traitors to the Azanian revolution. These so-called "Leftists" seek to subvert and divide the Azanian people's efforts to win liberation in the first stage of the revolution through the successful resolution of the national question.

The "Leftism" of these recent works on Azania and Southern Africa takes absurd forms, but all share an affinity with counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. These dogmatic adherents to the "ultra-left" theories of Leon Trotsky uphold in different guises the Trotskyite fantasy of the "permanent revolution" against "world-wide capitalism" to suppress, sabotage and split all truly revolutionary struggles. In the imperialist countries, Trotskyite ideologists, through their defeatist line of "permanent revolution", discourage the struggle of each national proletariat and their patriotic allies to overthrow the bourgeois state, and to commence the self-reliant construction of socialism in their own countries.

Applied to the Third World, Trotskyism is even more blatantly counter-revolutionary and obviously the ideological agents of imperialisms (and today more so of Soviet social imperialism - Ed.) *Trotskyism holds that ultimately only the White proletariat can defeat world-wide capitalism. The struggle of the proletariat and peasantry of the Third World must therefore wait for the white proletariat proletarians of Europe and America to "liberate" them! To the colonized people of Azania, some Trotskyites offer the Black proletariat such racist rubbish as "uniting" with the white settlers to defeat capitalism. Other Trotskyites despair of the anti-capitalist possibilities of the White settlers, and offer instead the prospect of their replacement by Russian settlers!*

TROTSKYITE BELIEF IN RUSSIAN SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

These recent ultra left outpourings on Azania and Southern Africa range from the rigid Trotskyism according to Ernest Mandel's Fourth International in the *Red Weekly* pamphlet, to the confused and opportunist tailism of the *Pluto Press* booklet. All of these "Leftist" analyses of Azania and Southern Africa purport to offer a "radical alternative", or at very least, criticism, of the notorious South African Communist Party. These alternatives may be described as an amalgam of standard modern revisionist lies, Trotskyite dogmatism, and the economistic structuralism of Louis Althusser, Nicos Poulantzas, and the neo-Gramscian school of political mystification. In English-speaking circles, this line of the trendy "left" is associated with such journals as *New*

Left Review, and its Africa-related emulator, *Review of African Political Economy*. In its long-delayed last issue the *Review of African Political Economy* is devoted to constructing a "new" theory of South African racial capitalism. Reversing the reality of historical materialism as it pertains to Azania, the articles in RAPE, and the *Discussion Series on Southern Africa*, sponsored by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, attempt to demonstrate how the different sections of foreign and local capital have articulated racial discrimination. Such a mode of analysis leads inevitably to a repetition of the bankrupt line of the SA "C" P, albeit more sophisticated. Supposedly, the Azanian and European proletariat should combine to defeat "racism" and "fascism" before they proceed to the "socialist revolution."

Certain white South African exiles, such as the academics, Harold Wolpe and Martin Legassick, have attempted to elaborate upon the theory of racial capitalism. Such "left" or Trotskyite theorizing composes a miniscule movement in opposition to the crudities of the SA "C" P. Related to this trendy "left" line is the recent book of R.W. Johnson, *How Long Will South Africa Survive?* Johnson does not bother with justifications of the concept of racial capitalism, but proceeds on the basis of such concepts to offer a fraudulent version of the Azanian revolution and a surreal forecast of things to come. Johnson is stricken by an unusual strain of Trotskyism that perceives Russian imperialism as the most "progressive" force in the world today: the harbinger or exporter of "permanent revolution" on a world scale. Therefore, because Johnson believes that the proletariat in South Africa is not sufficiently advanced for revolution, it remains for the forces of Russian imperialism to carry through the revolution, as in Angola. Such is the distinctive character of Johnson's work that *How Long Will South Africa Survive* will receive attention first in this review.

RUSSIA AGAINST VIABLE GUERILLA MOVEMENT IN AZANIA

R.W. Johnson's book about white South Africa is yet another English language paperback to appear since the 1976 revolutionary upsurges in Azania. His work represents some improvement on the notorious Penguin paperback, *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution*, but it is also an inadequate and erroneous study. The tome of the book is set in the Preface. The book is "not written in the accepted academic style", as footnoting is kept to a minimum. While we may agree with Johnson that it is difficult to fully document, for example, the intricacies of French or American intrigues against the Azanian people, there is a clear risk that minimum refererencing will be an excuse for unsubstantiated rumours and speculative gossip. Unfortunately Johnson frequently treats rumours and gossip as facts. Secondly, Johnson confesses in the Preface that, as an Englishman, he "enjoyed (and that is the right word) a South African boyhood"! This broad hint of sympathy for the fate of White South Africans sets the theme of the book: the dilemmas of the white settlers faced by heightened international contradictions, interpreted in simple economic terms. This heavy stress on international economics has the merit of leading Johnson to devote much of the book to the economic relations between South African imperialism, and the imperialism of Western Europe, Japan and America. But as befits such Trotskyite economism, Johnson does not see the Soviet Union as social-imperialist. Indeed, Johnson's political line is soon revealed. China is slandered as being in alliance with Pretoria in support of the FNLA (page 11) and (page 170) China's foreign policy is attacked: "Which country could place much rational weight on Chinese foreign policy after its ludicrous twists and turns of the previous decades? Perhaps Hua-Kuo-Feng would be a bit saner than Mao....." Johnson suggests (page 325) that China was against the Vietnamese people's war of liberation! These are amongst the few allegedly analytical comments about China found in the whole 327 page book. Mercifully, as Johnson's comments sound like reproductions of radio Moscow or Radio Prague.

Johnson's economic ultra-leftism also leads him to criticise the social-fascist South African "Communist Party". Johnson correctly sees (page 21) that the "CPSA was in many ways merely an offshoot of South Africa's white liberalism." Johnson criticises Slovo's article in the Penguin paperback, *The New Politics of the Revolution*, and notes (page 22) that the SA "C" P sabotage campaign in the early sixties was based on "pointless and suicidal tactics." Johnson also attacks the South African "Communist" Party (page 25) for reliance on a "narrow and empty dogmatism", and that *had the South African revolution produced its own Lenin he would undoubtedly have been drummed out of the CPSA*". **JOHNSON SPECULATES THAT RUSSIA WILL BE AGAINST A VIABLE AZANIAN**

GUERRILLA MOVEMENT: RUSSIA'S DISINCLINATION TO FIND ITSELF THUS COMMITTED IS LIKELY TO EXERCISE A DEFINITELY RESTRAINING HAND ON THE CPSA, WHICH IS NOTHING IF NOT LOYAL TO MOSCOW. VIA THE CPSA THE SAME RESTRAINT WILL BE EXERCISED ON THE ANC."

The reader may well agree with these comments by Johnson, but this pseudo-left sniping at the SA"CP stops short of a full critique. This failure to comprehend the social-fascist line of the SA"CP is a consequence of Johnson's own errors. Johnson, like so many European Trotskyites, is unable to understand the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. Firstly, Johnson overlooks the national question in Azania, and the necessity of the first stage of the national democratic revolution against White settler colonialism. Secondly Johnson cannot comprehend that the Soviet Union is a social-imperialist power, bent on world domination and the subjugation of the African peoples to a new colonialism. Thirdly, Johnson fails to recognise that the people of Azania are capable of developing their own leadership and mass organisations to overthrow colonialism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. In short Johnson indulges in left-talism of the imperialist adventures of the Soviet Union and by his ultra-left critique of the Azanian revolutionary forces, he in fact spreads pessimism and counter-revolution.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS' CORRECT POSITIONS

Johnson's patronising ultra-leftism is best illustrated by his Introduction, entitled "Black Pantomime at the Palais des Nations." Johnson indulges in cheap jibes at the African delegates to the Geneva Conference on Zimbabwe. He even seriously considers the suggestions that guerrillas "under Mugabe's banner" (page 5) were responsible for the murders of Mgr. Schmidt and Fr. Weggarten. Readers will be pleased to note (page 14) that Johnson refers to the struggle for AZANIA, as South Africa is now called by the liberation movement." At least Johnson manages to get the name correct, even if the latest issue of the organ of the ANC-CP, *Sechaba*, has denounced AZANIA as an Arabic slave name!

Chapter I concerns itself with yet another rewriting of the history of Sharpeville and the subsequent revolutionary upsurges. Although it is widely recognised that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) inspired and led these struggles, Johnson revives the slanders of the SA"CP against the PAC and the black revolutionary masses. Claims that the PAC was "fiercely anti-communist" leave unexplained the fact that the PAC was against the White "communists" in the SA"CP, and their clearly social-fascist line to impose "socialism" from above! As a revolutionary alternative, the PAC has mobilised the broad masses of the Azanian people to win the national democratic revolution and to re-establish Azania as a vital part of Africa. This achievement will exclude the White "communists" of the revisionist SA"CP from the next stage of the Azanian revolution: the building of socialism by African Marxist-Leninists. Of course, being a Trotskyite, Johnson cannot comprehend the stages theory of revolution nor the necessity of a mass-based revolution. True to form, Johnson drags in the Trotskyite version of the Russian Revolution in order to draw strained parallels between 1905 and 1960, and to claim that both the Bolshevik Party and the PAC were surprised by revolutionary uprisings in their respective countries. Of course the Bolsheviks and the PAC were prepared for their revolutions: they led the revolutionary uprisings! Although the repression of Tsarism and of South African colonialism temporarily prevailed, the struggle was shifted from the urban areas to the countryside, and finally, underground. Thus the bases for the revolutionary uprisings in Russia in 1917 and in Azania in the 1970's were laid. Because of its experience in the 1960 revolutionary struggles, the PAC has proceeded to better prepare for the final struggle against apartheid colonialism, and in the course has acquired a greater practical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism than any other Azanian liberation movement. Only a Trotskyite capitulationist such as Johnson can put forward the line that it is better not to struggle because defeat appears likely. Such a line runs through Johnson's book, leaving Trotskyites with only the alternative of Russian imperialist "liberation" to continued South African colonial rule.

THE LAND QUESTION: A BASIC DEMAND

In devoting much attention to the "recovery" and the "resilience" of South African colonialism after the Sharpeville uprisings, Johnson persists in disparaging the Azanian liberation struggle. The armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, POQO, and other movements of violence

against white settler colonialism are denounced by Johnson as “narodniks” and for employing “bad tactics”. Of course, Johnson could not possibly realise that the inspiration that the campaign against white settler colonialism brought to the aroused Azanian masses. However, he should have been able to relate the terror of the white population to the constant drain of qualified professional whites ever since 1960.

Continuing his defeatist line, Johnson contends that the PAC and other Azanian mass organisations were completely crushed in the early 1960’s by South Africa’s colonial repression. According to Johnson, the “remnants” of the movements in exile were stifled by the “dead” hand of emigre political tutelage” (page 23). However, the fact is that the PAC has not permitted any influence other than Azanian in the organisation, and has developed the political line of the movement through the investigation of revolutions throughout the world and the particular demands of the Azanian situation. Furthermore, thousands upon thousands of Azanians, many in prison, remain loyal to the PAC. Contrary to bourgeois and revisionist press reports, the 1976 revolutionary uprisings were not merely a “new wave” of a younger generation of revolutionaries. PAC militants, whether through the BPC or not, worked for the support of the Azanian masses for their revolutionary youth. If there had been no continuity in the organisation of the Azanian people since 1960, the risings of 1976 would not have been as tremendous.

As for Johnson’s denunciation of the “narodnik dreams of the peasantry” of the Azanian revolutionaries, his fondness for describing the Azanian revolution in Russian terms falls completely flat. Johnson might as well have lived on the moon than in Azania, because he has never learned that the return of the land is the basic demand of all the Azanian masses. Unless the agrarian question is resolved in revolutionary terms, Azania will not be liberated. Therefore the task of organising the peasantry for people’s war is as important as leading the Azanian working class on to more intensified struggles. As is the case with the masses of Zimbabwe, Kenya, and elsewhere, the cry of “land to the tiller” must be satisfied through armed struggle.

For the bulk of the book, Johnson ignores the central question: How long will South Africa survive? Instead, he admires the “resilience” of South African colonialism through the ‘saving grace’ of United States imperialism. Johnson appears to be more interested in the dynamics of white South Africa and the games played by the imperialist powers than with the revolutionary struggle for Azanian liberation. Amid the speculation over the roles of South African colonialism in international relations, Johnson does discuss the links between Israeli Zionism and the South African regime. The diplomatic isolation of Zionism, especially after 1973, has led to close contacts, particularly at the military level. In analysing the links between the Zionist Israelis and colonial South Africa in terms of “anti-communism” or “pro-imperialism”, Johnson downplays the fundamental ties between two of the remaining colonial powers: the ties of repression against the Arab and African peoples!

Naturally the theatrical polemics of Johnson would be incomplete without a re-telling of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, and the Angolan civil war (or rather read, Russian imperialist intervention). After a feeble account of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, featuring inane attacks on Zambian President Kaunda, Johnson attempts to impress by glorifying, not concealing, the brutality of Russian social-imperialism in Angola. Johnson praises the Russian navy’s “new range and might” (page 157) in providing “powerful escorts for the ships” carrying the Cuban mercenaries for the invasion. However, Johnson does not stray too far in his enthusiasm for Russian imperialism from the subdued revisionist account of the “defense provided by Angola’s natural allies against South African fascism backed by Western imperialism.” Johnson attempts to demonstrate “objectivity” by supplementing the worthwhile book, *After Angola*, by Colin Legum and Tony Hodges, with the interpretations of Gabriel Garcia-Marquez - writing as a surrogate for the Cubans - and Robert Moss - who uses Western intelligence information (page 137 & 138). Expectedly, Johnson attempts to use the sensationalist views of Moss to substantiate the blatant lies of Marquez.

SARA RODRIGUES: SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST APOLOGIST

Of the same ilk as Johnson is Sara Rodrigues (alias Jane Bergerol, alia Jane ?). This mysterious English woman journalist has written for the Financial Times, *AfriqueAsia*, and the New York Guardian. Based in Luanda, she has managed to tap close Cuban contacts to portray the Angolan situation in pseudo-revolutionary terms. Apparently, she has acquired “Leftism” recently in a Trotskyite form similar to Johnson’s. Oddly, the New York Guardian, in attempting to salvage its “anti-revisionist” (sic) reputation has dropped the embarrassing Wilfred Burchett for the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite line of “Sara Rodrigues.” Although nothing can save the Guardian in its

decline into blatant support of Russian social-imperialism, the newspaper's Luanda correspondent continues to deceive a goodly number of readers with her "Left" interpretations of Russian propaganda on Southern Africa. While the Neto regime suffers further collapse into total subservience, Sara Rodrigues paints a rosy picture of the Angolan masses cheerily serving their Russian and Cuban oppressors. She has given full exclusive coverage to the ANC-CP in Luanda, Nkomo and ZAPU, and the "great harmony" within the newly purged SWAPO. It was Jane - or Sara Rodrigues? - who hysterically attacked China for printing the remarks of Comrade Robert MUGABE of ZANU on the "sinister motives of Soviet social-imperialism in Africa."

Johnson actually believes that alignment between the South African colonial regime with China and the PAC is possible! He joins a growing number of reactionary "leftists", such as Fred Halliday, John Gittings and Fidel Castro, who think that those opponents of Russian social-imperialism, led by China and Albania, are capable of allying with such enemies of revolution as the South African colonialists. Johnson brazenly attempts to suggest that the agent of his imagined alignment between China, South Africa, and the USA might be the greatest Azanian revolutionary of our time - Sobukwe! Such Trotskyites as Johnson, and social fascists as Ruth First and Joe Slovo are allied against revolution, the peoples and History!

Johnson rejects any type of dialectical analysis to the question of the Azanian revolution. Instead Johnson demonstrates that he is impressed and intimidated by the strength of western imperialism and white South African colonialism. Therefore, Johnson fails to develop an analysis of the black Azanian masses and of the prospects for people's war in the Azanian revolution. Johnson is more concerned at the damage guerilla war might bring to game and natural beauty spots (page 314) than with the liberation it will bring to the Azanian peoples! AS a detractor from the the revolutionary uprisings of Sharpeville and Soweto, as an irrational pessimist who thinks that revolution in Azania is half-a-century away and as a counter-revolutionary Trotskyite who believes that World War III will bring absolute disaster, not revolution - R.W. Johnson can be no more useful to the Azanian people than as a teacher by negative example! As Comrade Ho Chi Minh laid down for the Vietnamese revolution, the elimination of Trotskyites is an essential element in the national liberation struggle and the construction of socialism. The Azanian people will surely surely purge their ranks of all Trotskyite saboteurs and agents of imperialism as they march triumphantly towards the total independence of Azania and all Africa. The cries of the Azanian people at the funeral of Comrade Steve Biko give the lie to the Trotskyite traitors:

ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION!

WHITE-LED, REVISIONIST SOUTH AFRICAN 'COMMUNIST' PARTY DISRUPTS ATTEMPTS TO FORM A BLACK WOMEN'S ORGANISATION IN LONDON.

An attempt recently by Azanian women in London to form a Black woman's organisation in an effort to co-ordinate activities of Black women in Britain with that of the Black women's Federation in Azania was deliberately disrupted by the revisionist South African 'Communist' Party.

At an initial meeting eight women attended and formed an Ad Hoc Committee of the Black women's organisation. Two of the representatives were from the ANC (Tambo wing) which is totally controlled by the white leadership of the South African 'Communist' Party.

The Black Women's Federation in Azania is part of the Black Consciousness Movement, a Black movement in the country leading the struggle against South African racist colonialism, which believes that Blacks must provide their own leadership and determine their own policies. This policy is hated by the white leadership of the South African 'Communist' Party which for over fifty years has tried to control Black militancy in the Azanian struggle.

The Black women's organisation in London was conceived as an umbrella organisation for all Black women in Britain. Women from all the liberation movements were welcomed to it.

But when the Ad Hoc Committee called the second meeting it found that it was barnstormed by the ANC. Of the 54 people that attended 44 came from the ANC - all the old ANC veterans, were pulled out. Most of the women were Indians and Coloureds, the national minorities that the white SA'C'P crudely makes use of as Africans totally boycott the London office of the ANC. It is sad that some Indians and Coloureds, still lumbered with the old baggage of the Congress Alliance mentality, allow themselves to be made use of in this way.

Social-Imperialism's Interference in Namibia

IKWEZI fully supports the armed struggle conducted by SWAPO against the white settler colonial regime in alliance with imperialism, in particular its aim to establish an independent Namibia free from South African control and to form a united Namibian nation arising above tribalism. But SWAPO like other petit-bourgeois nationalist liberation movements in Southern Africa has its due share of corrupt and opportunist politics as recent events inside SWAPO have shown and which is typical of exile leaderships. It is just this sort of corruption and careerism that makes these movements amenable to the manipulation of the superpowers, posing a danger to the real independence of the African masses, as this contribution explains.

For almost two decades, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) has been one of the movements in the forefront of the struggle to liberate Namibia. SWAPO has endured severe repression from the South African colonialists and has developed considerable international prestige. As a result, SWAPO has become identified and has (mistakenly) been hailed as "the only representative of the Namibian people."

However, beneath the successful exterior, not all has gone well for SWAPO. From time to time, organisational problems have plagued SWAPO. Such problems have arisen primarily because of personal and ideological differences. By adopting Marxist-Leninist principles of organisation, particularly democratic centralism and thoroughgoing criticism and self-criticism, such differences could be resolved. However, if any Marxist-Leninist principles have been adopted by many liberation movements, they have been falsely applied to justify the continued hegemony of a dominant clique. By maintaining the leadership in exile, alienated from the broad masses of the people, organisational problems and conflicts become compounded. When in exile, the leadership of many liberation movements tends to become arrogant of its ability to triumph, without the essential element of people's war. The "diplomatic struggle" assumes dominant status, emphasising the role of a few powerful figures and their powerful foreign backers.

For SWAPO problems of organisation and incorrect orientation reached a climax in 1976. This crisis occurred at a stage in which Namibia has been confronted with the possibility of a neo-colonial settlement. The Turnhalle Conference, backed heavily by the Western Imperialists and by the Vorster regime, is drawing closer towards a "multi-racial solution" in which the minute European minority will remain ascendant. To-day, is SWAPO able to shatter neo-colonialism in Namibia, or must it turn to the Russian imperialist superpower for a different type of neo-colonial solution?

NATURE OF DIFFERENCES

By March 1976 events revealed that the organisation was entering one of its most severe struggles. Besides existing organisational problems, the Angolan Civil War and the course of events in Namibia were heavily contributing to splits within SWAPO. Four distinguishable components of SWAPO had become - to varying degrees - opposed to one another:

- (1) The dominant external wing, led by Sam Nujoma;
- (2) The Zambian office desiring greater democracy;
- (3) The Namibian Liberation Army, favouring people's war;
- (4) The internal wing led by David Meroro, then by Daniel Tjongarero since 1975, favouring a more flexible strategy.

The apparent cause of the division within SWAPO were related to the heatedly contested issue of a National Congress. The Namibian Liberation Army and the Zambian office of SWAPO demanded in early 1976 that the Congress scheduled for March 1974 be held and that a new national executive be elected. These demands were backed by the argument that, under Nujoma's leadership,

the requirements of the liberation struggle were subordinated to the power-seeking and corrupt aims of the external wing of SWAPO. The people's army accused Nujoma and the national executive of ignoring the need for equipment and training. As a result, the NLA's offensive of early 1975 had been halted and repressed by the South African Army. The frustration of those who were closely associated with the armed struggle was, therefore, finally vented upon the SWAPO executive of Sam Nujoma.

Another cause of dissension within SWAPO resulted from the increasingly independent line followed by the internal wing of SWAPO. The internal wing has been a part of the Nationalist Convention and the subsequent Namibia Nationalist Convention (NNC); and in early 1976, the internal wing was drawing closer into the united front of the NNC through participation in the Okahandja Conference. At the Conference the NNC:

- (1) resolved to enter into dialogue with all forces genuinely seeking to liberate Namibia from foreign domination;
- (2) wished to unite more people in the NNC to eliminate all possibility of bloodshed and to present a strong common front to the enemy;
- (3) undertook to spread the gospel of unity to all Namibians;
- (4) resolved to reject the constitutional talks as a means to "entrench the Whites at the expense of the Black people"; and
- (5) rejected the talks as "farfical" and as a move to gain time.

(from JHP Serfontein, Namibia? Fokus Suid Publishers, 1976, p.183.)

Situated inside Namibia, the internal wing enjoyed a more accurate perception of the political situation than did Nujoma and the external wing of SWAPO. The internal wing laid down seven conditions before it would participate in the Turnhalle Constitutional Convention. This was seen as a move to forestall development towards a neo-colonial settlement. However, the orientation of the internal wing conflicted with Nujoma and the external wing, they were accustomed to accolades - led by by the revisionist bloc of countries and their Russian imperialist superiors - that acclaimed SWAPO as the "only legitimate representative of the Namibian people." Therefore, any accommodation of other political forces was heresy to Nujoma and the external wing of SWAPO.

RELIANCE ON SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

In early 1976 Sam Nujoma and the national executive of SWAPO were already preparing for the victory of their diplomatic struggle. Recognition of SWAPO by the OAU and the U.N. as the legal government of Namibia was intended to circumvent all the problems facing the Nujoma group. The troublesome guerrilla army and other opposition within SWAPO as well as the Turnhalle Conference could then be suppressed under a Nujoma-led Namibia, backed by the forces of Russian imperialism. To ensure the military backing, Sam Nujoma and other SWAPO leaders visited Moscow, the East European countries, and Cuba very frequently in 1975. After the lull in the Angolan Civil War, in May 1976, Nujoma held a significant series of meetings in Luanda with Agostinho Neto and top Cuban military officers. Plans were devised to bring SWAPO more closely into line with the strategic designs of Russian imperialism in Southern Africa. The guerilla army was to be reconstituted, purging those elements that had worked closely with UNITA. Reconstructed SWAPO military units would then join in a ~~Cuban-led~~ campaign against successful people's war being carried on by UNITA in the Southern half of Angola.

As they had anticipated SWAPO militants were detained in Lusaka, Zambia - an estimated fifty-nine nine altogether. Sam Nujoma and his backers had initiated the campaign to purge SWAPO of dissident elements and to regain tighter control over the organisation. Instead of pressing on with the promising "diplomatic struggle", Nujoma had decided to abandon it in order to save his power base. Two members of the executive, Information Secretary, Andreas Shipanga (a founding member of SWAPO) and Labour Secretary, Solomon Mifina had been in the forefront of the opposition to Nujoma's group and had favoured the rapid convening of the National Congress and the holding of elections for a new leadership. Also, two top officials of the SWAPO Youth League, Chairman Keshi Pelso and Secretary Shangula Sheeli, were detained.

In response to Nujoma's desire to halt the rapidly deteriorating situation inside SWAPO, the Zambian police were ordered by President Kenneth Kaunda to intervene. Only such a solution could have salvaged the high hopes of Kaunda and Nujoma for an "international" solution to the Namibian question. Therefore, under the guise of maintaining peace within SWAPO, the Zambian authorities detained the fifty nine cadres. The intrusion of Zambia into the internal affairs of SWAPO has a strong

parallel with the interference in Zimbabwean politics. Shipanga and other SWAPO detainees appealed their case to the Zambian Supreme Court. However, before a decision could be delivered, Shipanga and ten top comrades were removed from prison in Lusaka to Ukonga Prison in Dar Es Salaam in July. The action and others brought discontent within the Namibian Liberation Army to a head, until by early August, the guerillas decided to march on Lusaka. Nujoma was once again rescued by Kaunda who ordered the Zambian army to detain almost one thousand guerillas fighters; this was done on 5 August 1976 in South West Zambia. Having survived, Nujoma and his national executive were able to begin to reassert their control over SWAPO and to reconstitute the organisation into their subversive instrument.

ANDREAS SHIPANGA DETAINED

After labouring for three months to reconstruct SWAPO, the Nujoma group had narrowly escaped elimination. However, the day after a majority of the Namibian Liberation Army was detained, President Nujoma convened a carefully-orchestrated Congress on 6 August 1976. Nujoma was re-elected, and some carefully selected newcomers joined the national executive. Departing U.N. High Commissioner for Namibia, Sean McBride, delivered an address, in effect saying that it did not matter who served alongside SWAPO as long as President Sam Nujoma approved. Nujoma gave an important policy speech in which he aligned SWAPO with the MPLA and the Cuban occupation army of Russian imperialism in Angola. Nujoma asserted that the split within SWAPO had been the work of West Germany and South Africa, with whom the SWAPO dissidents were attempting to make a deal. President Nujoma announced that Andreas Shipanga and other detained SWAPO comrades would be tried and then executed by SWAPO, thereby disregarding the pending decision of the Zambian Supreme Court.

On 5 October 1976, the appeal of Andreas Shipanga and his fellow detainees was upheld by the Zambian Supreme Court. However, Shipanga and his most prominent colleagues were under Tanzanian jurisdiction in Ukonga Prison in Dar Es Salaam. In Lusaka, Attorney General Mainza Chona chose to ignore the ruling of his Supreme Court, adding that the "Court's decision had not been in the interests of the liberation struggle." This statement ended doubts concerning the complicity of Kaunda and the Zambian state in the putsch of the Nujoma group. Given the chance, Kaunda and his subordinates will continue to violate the integrity of liberation movements time and again.

As part of the reassertion of control over SWAPO by the Nujoma group, the internal wing was brought firmly into line. Therefore, just as the internal wing was beginning to forge real Namibian unity and gain political ground, all initiatives were stopped by the external wing of SWAPO. Despite the protest of the South West African National Union (SWANU) and the other member parties of the NNC, the internal wing of SWAPO was compelled to withdraw from the united front. Nujoma and the national executive made it clear that any Namibia-wide united front would have to be held under the auspices of SWAPO or not at all. As an alternative to the important participation of SWAPO in a united front. On April 1977, the Namibian National Front (NNF) was founded to unify all Namibians and to combat all forms of colonialism (neo or otherwise).

One year after the Nujoma-run SWAPO Congress, little progress has been made towards liberating Namibia. The organisational struggle inside SWAPO and the deterioration of the Namibian Liberation Army left Sam Nujoma to confront stagnation in both military and diplomatic fields. Meanwhile, the Western Imperialist powers are endeavouring to produce a neo-colonial settlement at the Turnhalle Constitutional Convention. If the Convention proves successful, Sam Nujoma will have to accept the existence of other political parties in Namibia and participate in elections under a neo-colonial constitutional settlement. In summation, Sam Nujoma may have damaged SWAPO and the liberation struggle of the Namibian people to a disastrous extent.

IN OUR FORTHCOMING ISSUE: Our forthcoming issue will contain articles on the Marxist-Leninist opposition inside the South African 'Communist' Party, analysis of current events in Azania, documents on the name Azania, analysis of social-fascism in Angola, two articles on Mozambique, analysis of events in the Horn of Africa, a social and political history of Swaziland, an article on African Intellectuals and the African Revolution, and more.

The National Question and the Political Development of African States

This first part is an introduction to the history of Swaziland that will be serialised in these pages.

The political development of Swaziland cannot be examined in an insular manner; it must be done within the wider context of political development within the sub-continent of Southern Afrika and, as well, within the entire Afrikan continent. The common historical experience of Afrika, especially within the Age of Imperialism, necessitates such an approach. The kingdom of Swaziland developed as a result of the revolution in social relations that culminated in the rise and fall of the Zulu Empire in the nineteenth century. A similar process of dialectical development occurred throughout Afrika. The violent formation of slave-based or feudal-based states, the generation of class struggle, and the mobilisation of masses of people above the scale involving family ties were indicative of progressive Afrikan political development in the pre-colonial era. The kingdom of Swaziland is a backward survivor of considerable turmoil that swept away most Afrikan states in the past one hundred years. While colonialism transformed the political fabric throughout the continent of Afrika, the semi-feudal, semi-colonial ruling class in Swaziland was allowed to consolidate. Although the imperialist powers colonised practically all of Afrika, the process of uneven development still prevailed.

In the nineteenth century, the imperialist powers divided Afrika among themselves and deprived the Afrikan people of the freedom to make their own history. Before Afrikan political development was borne out of resistance to colonialism, the process of social formation - of class, state, and nation - was progressively broadening the political consciousness of the Afrikan people. In addition to traditional loyalty to family and clan, Afrikans came to identify with the larger entities of state and ruler. A number of astute Afrikan leaders associated with the concept of unity among Afrikan peoples, whether achieved through conquest or consent. Forseeing the threat posed by the European imperialist powers, leaders such as Shaka and Dingaan of the Zulu Kingdom, Moshweshwe of the Basotho, and Emperor Memelik II of Ethiopia promoted greater unity among Afrikans against alien hegemony.

In the *diaspora* of the United States and the West Indies, the struggle of Afrikan slaves for liberty was manifested in the political development of mass movements with Pan-Afrikanist themes, such as the "Back to Afrika" movement. With the rise of imperialism and white chauvinism, Afrikans in the *diaspora* resisted the erosion of political freedom through black nationalist and Pan-Afrikanist organisations. Although the development of political consciousness and mass movements among the Afrikan people remained at a primitive level before the First World War, the foundations for unified political struggle were being developed. Imperialism - theorised and popularised by V.I. Lenin as the highest, yet final stage of capitalism - imposed the chauvinistic rule of white oppressors upon the Afrikan people, thereby creating contradictions that compelled Afrikans to resist. Imperialism had a profound and early effect upon the Afrikan people of the *diaspora*. Monopoly capitalism, with the support of the various imperialist powers, developed such that the defeated enslavement of Afrikans was quickly replaced with a chauvinistic caste division between working class whites and blacks.

The extreme racial discrimination and white chauvinism that accompanied the rise of imperialism induced the resistance of Afrikans from various class backgrounds. Black intellectuals, such as W.E.B. DuBois and Sylvester Williams, and mass leaders, such as Marcus Garvey, recognised the necessity of a unified Afrikan nationalist consciousness, an organisation, and a course of action in order that the hegemonism of imperialism might be checked. Before 1900 several gatherings of Afrikan people in America had sought to build political consciousness by emphasising the links with Afrikans who were struggling against the imposition of colonial rule upon the continent of Afrika by the imperialist powers. In 1900 Sylvester Williams was instrumental in the convening of a Pan-Afrikan Congress to voice the concerted protests of Afrikans against imperialism and

colonialism. With the rise of other Pan-Nationalist movements, Pan-Afrikanism emerged as a tangible, progressive movement for liberation. W.E.B. Dubois should be credited for reviving the momentum of the movement. Between 1919 and 1945, this great Pan-Afrikanist provided the guidance behind the five Pan-Afrikan Congresses that served as a primary dynamic force in the crystallization of Afrikan nationalist consciousness.

The formation of Afrikan nationalism and Pan-Afrikanism has represented the most progressive and potent trend in the political development of Afrika. In studying the political development of Swaziland, it is important to examine a political phenomenon - fostered by DuBois - that will continue to have an impact on the struggle for national liberation throughout Afrika. It is also imperative to examine the objective conditions for the advance of Pan-Afrikanism, particularly through the process of state and class formation, but the process of welding disparate peoples together in a common struggle has been most significant. Therefore, the national question must be considered as it applies to Afrika - and the *diaspora*. The assessment of the process of nation formation has presented a stumbling block for students of political development of Afrika, as well as for the various Pan-Afrikanist liberation movements; it must be achieved dialectically

As the Pan-Afrikanist movement was being founded, the people of the Afrikan continent were compelled to resist the conquering onslaught of imperialism. Political consciousness was forged as the imposition of colonial rule and the penetration of foreign capital transformed the peculiar, pre-capitalist political and economic life of the thousands of Afrikan societies. Imperialism entailed the introduction of new authority, new economy, and new boundaries. The new order that was imposed upon Afrika was a convenience, not a revolution, for imperialism. In most parts of Afrika, pre-capitalist relations of production, patterns of authority, and culture were altered only to suit the operation of monopoly capitalism. Colonial rule maintained the dominance of imperialism through depriving the Afrikan people of their sovereign rights, their land and its fruits, and their labour power. Colonialism also attempted to arrest the breakdown of divisions between societies that had been precipitated by the penetration of monopoly capitalism. However, the irreconcilable contradiction between the desirability of maintaining divisions among the Afrikan people and the need of cheap labour power for imperialist industries and infrastructure resulted in the injection of the ideological instrument of "tribalism" into the colonial setting. Thus, the imperialist powers employed those methods that would ensure the maximisation of profits, while guaranteeing colonial stability through keeping the Afrikan people helplessly oppressed.

Despite the efforts of some colonialists, the violent national suppression that accompanied the arrival of imperialism was inevitably met by the resistance of the Afrikan people. The overriding proportion of this initial resistance was carried out by pre-capitalist Afrikan states who opposed the loss of sovereignty. However, with the defeat and absorption of these states by colonialism, the leadership of the resistance movement was forfeited by these states. The imposition of monopoly capitalism entailed the emergence of an Afrikan intelligentsia and working class that overcame numerous obstacles to raise the struggle against colonialism and imperialism to a higher level of consciousness and organisation. The penetration of brutal forms of imperialist exploitation most often failed to dampen the determination of the Afrikan masses to resist. Despite the efforts of colonial authority, Afrikan workers and peasants were brought together through the impact of capitalism, thereby the national liberation struggle developed on a large scale than merely within the framework of pre-capitalist societies. A continent-wide movement against imperialism and colonialism began to emerge in disparate parts of Afrika: among the mine-workers of the Rand of South Afrika and among the *corvee* labour on the railway construction sites of French Equatorial Afrika; among the dock-workers of Accra and Tunis and among the plantation workers in the Zambezia Province of East Afrika.

The formation of an anti-imperialist, Afrikan nationalist movement first became popularized in the aftermath of the First World War. The increased capitalist exploitation of the Afrikan people by the debilitated imperialist powers helped to provoke "grass roots" activity. Afrikans who had served in imperialist armed forces during the war emerged from the conflict with a personalized insight into the vulnerable mechanics of imperialism that could be disrupted through proper organisation and strategy. Another source of Afrikan nationalist leadership developed from a small, but expanding group of educated, middle class Afrikans, spread unevenly throughout the continent and America. The intelligentsia associated with the struggle for Afrikan liberation were concentrated mainly in those areas where contact with European colonialism had been most intense

and sustained. In various locales on the coast-line of West Afrika and in parts of Southern Afrika, a number of Afrikans had participated in commerce, education, and other, professional occupations well before the start of the 20th century. Therefore, those areas and those Afrikans that first had to confront colonialism were the first to develop concepts and movements related to the struggle for "self-domination".

In South Africa, the resistance of the major Afrikan Kingdoms to white settler colonialism was joined and superseded by the organised working masses of the Afrikan people and other class elements. Black nationalist churches and regional Afrikan groups preceded the founding of large-scale organisations. In response to the increasingly repressive and discriminatory measures taken by the white settler colonialist state - invented by the Act of Union of 1910 - the South African Native National Congress of South Africa was founded in 1912. After several changes of name, the organisation eventually came to be known as the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC-SA). When originally founded, the ANC-SA was composed of an elite of Afrikan professionals and feudal rulers opposed to the collusion of British imperialism and white settler colonialism to divest even the highest-ranking Afrikans of power, wealth, and land. Not until after the Second World War could the ANC-SA become a "mass-based" organisation capable of executing campaigns of civil disobedience. Instead, the working class organisation of Afrikans, the Industrial and Commercial Union, formed the vanguard of the struggle for liberation. Founded by Clements Kadalie in 1919, the ICU focussed the enormous grievances of the powerful Afrikan proletariat on the white racist state. A series of massive strikes in the 1920s, intended to attack the white ruling class, established a legacy that would be followed by working class Afrikans. Pan-Afrikans have acknowledged that the ICU set an example of well organised popular struggle, led by the Afrikan working class, that will continue to reverberate wherever the revolutionary struggle for national liberation takes place.

Outside the cauldron of South Africa, the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist Afrikan struggle developed, but in a different manner. In Liberia and Sierra Leone, there were professionals and intelligentsia who had upheld the dignity of the black man for an incomparable period of time. While differing in form, the French and British - colonised territories of West Afrika experienced similar middle-class oriented movements, followed somewhat later by mass-based organisations. Particularly in the territorial coasts of Senegal and the Ivory Coast, for instance, middle-class Afrikans were trained to become integral units of French imperialism. In the nineteenth century, there had been Afrikan representatives who were delegated to the French Assembly in Paris. As well, a thin layer of bureaucratic, professionsls, and merchants played an intermediary role between the colonisers and the colonised. Among these Francophiles were occasional "Pan-Afrikanists" who resisted the hypocrisy of assimilation, such as Monsieur Blaise-Diagne. The intensified development that was forced upon French-ruled Afrika during the Second World War produced an even larger and more assertive generation of middle-class Afrikans. While mass-based movements emerged slowly, various elements of the middle class sought to give political artistic expression to rising aspirations. The Senegal politician-poet, Leopold, and the intellectual, Alioune Diop, joined with Aime Cesaire from Martinique, among others, in the popularising of the concept of *negrititude*. Although the movement that emerged behind *negrititude* can be said to have been a positive step forward in the struggle against French colonialism, its contribution was basically limited to the task of clarifying the identity of those assimilated by the French. Since its conception, *negrititude* has meant little to progressive, Afrikan political development, because the movement has little to offer the Afrikan masses, except deception; the same is true of its major successor, *authenticity*.

During the First World War, a group of English-speaking West Afrikans founded the British West Afrikan National Congress. Under the leadership of Gold Coast lawyer and journalist J.E. Hayford Casely, the WANC voiced the demands of the Afrikan middle-class for more participation in the development of their own country; the WANC called upon all Afrikans to unite in the building of a national identity. The WANC remained for some years as one of the first beacons of Pan-Afrikanism centred in West Afrika. In other areas of Afrika, similar movements that forged Afrikan nationalism arose before the Second World War. Among the most significant was the Kenyan Kikuyu Central Association, led by Jomo Kenyatta. Composed of working people, veterans of the First World War, and other class elements who had been radicalised in an area of most intense white settlers colonialism, the KCA became the foundation stone of Afrikan nationalism in East Afrika. The struggle of the KCA against white settler colonialism was succeeded, after the Second World

War, by the campaign for national independence, led by the Kenyan African National Union (KANU). The initial leading role played by the dispossessed Kikuyu has reaffirmed the conclusion that those segments of the Afrikan population most affected by European colonialism became the first centres of Afrikan nationalist consciousness and organisation. However, the uneven development that has characterised the Afrikan nationalist struggle has, over the years, often rendered the pioneer movements the most reactionary.

The development of Afrikan nationalist political consciousness and organisation began to include the masses of Afrikan workers and peasants, even though it remained confined primarily to the evolving Afrikan middle class before the Second World War. The four Pan-Afrikan Congresses convened between 1919 and 1927 both reflected and crystallised the process of political development in Afrika and the *diaspora*. In general, the delegates to the Congresses stressed Afrikan unity of action as one of the key concepts in the struggle for liberation from racial and colonial oppression. However, as the Pan-Afrikanist movement developed, the contradictions of imperialism soon led to its fragmentation. The economic depression and other considerations prevented W.E.B. DuBois and his Pan-Afrikanist colleagues from organising conferences for almost twenty years. Subsequently, Pan-Afrikanists became involved in their own regional struggles, leaving a small group of Afrikans to continue necessary work at the international level. Even so, the crisis of imperialism and the corresponding increase of exploitation of the Afrikan peoples heightened the consciousness of Afrikans from the continent and the *diaspora*, as well as from an expanding range of class backgrounds. Pan-Afrikanism continued to develop even without major collective endeavours.

The rise of fascism that accompanied the crisis of imperialism presented to Afrikans the opportunity to make their own special contribution to the ensuing struggle. The brutal, fascist invasion of Ethiopia led Afrikans committed to the international struggle, to establish the International African Friends of Abyssinia (IAFA). The IAFA involved the collaboration of Afrikans from such locales and backgrounds as the Sierra Leonean Trade Unionist, Wallace Johnson, Dr. J.B. Danquah of the Gold Coast, and C.L.R. James - the noted Trinidadian intellectual. The IAFA provided the impetus for the foundation of the International African Service Bureau (IASB). The IASB projected the political development of Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan nationalism and broadcasted the grievances of Afrikans to a British and European audience. The IASB harnessed the energy of a fresh influx of Pan-Afrikanists and partially filled the vacuum left by the dissipated Pan-Afrikan Congresses of the 1920s. The IASB gave Pan-Afrikanism permanent organisational backbone and paved the way for the historic Fifth Pan-African Congress, convened in Manchester in October 1945.

The preparation for the Fifth Pan-African Congress had involved several years organisation and planning by groups such as the IASB. It was scheduled to coincide with the founding of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and thereby attracted a considerable number of Afrikan Trade Unionists. Although W.E.B. DuBois, George Padmore, and C.L.R. James provided their ideas and leadership to the Fifth Pan-African Congress, the majority of delegates came from Afrika. Much of the leadership of the Congress was provided by such Afrikans as Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast and Marko Hlubi from South Africa, as well as Kenyatta and Wallace Johnson. Therefore, despite the attention given to the struggle in the *diaspora* the focus of the Fifth Pan-African Congress was directed toward the tasks confronting the colonised peoples of the Afrikan continent in their struggle for unity and independence.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress far exceeded the resolutions of the earlier Congresses by demanding the removal of colonialism and the restitution of political sovereignty. The concrete proposals of the Pan-Afrikanist vanguard of the Afrikan people were not couched in the nebulous language of past Congresses, but were clearly enumerated in an impressive array of specific resolutions concerning the contradictions in particular areas of the continent and the *diaspora*. The methods of imperialist exploitation in West Afrika were outlined and condemned. The liberation struggle in North Afrika was commended, and a special resolution was introduced, calling for immediate independence. In the case of the *diaspora* a federation of anti-imperialist, West Indian states was recommended. The racial problem caused by white settler colonialism in Kenya, Central and Southern Afrika was given special consideration significantly, a resolution was passed warning South Africa not to encroach upon the High Commission Territories. While varying strategy and tactics were advised for different areas of the struggle, Kwame Nkrumah commented: "The fundamental purpose was identical: national independence leading to Afrikan unity. The limited objective was combined with the wider perspective.

The perspective of the Fifth Pan-African Congress exceeded even the confines of Afrikan nationalism and Pan-Afrikanism. Many of the delegates had been affected by Marxism-Leninism in various ways; subsequently resolutions were proposed that supported the struggle of the world's peoples against imperialism and colonialism. In addition, Pan-Afrikanism and the movement's struggle against imperialism and colonialism received sharper definition. Emphasis was placed on a unified, democratic liberation movement of all Afrikan peoples in which the working class and peasantry would have a leading role. The Pan-Afrikanist movement sought to avoid the hegemony of the emerging super-powers in order to guarantee the successful execution of a self-reliant liberation struggle.

The Fifth Pan-Afrikan Congress covered matters of a wide range with such considerable intensity that it catapulted the developing Pan-Afrikan movement into a new stage. Pan-Afrikanism was no longer merely a movement of the black intelligentsia, but the primary expression of Afrikan nationalism. The representatives of the Afrikan masses had formulated a revolutionary programme and character for the Pan-Afrikan movement, thereby providing the potential leadership for the expanding struggle for national liberation in Afrika and the *diaspora*.

While the Fifth Pan-African Congress represented a milestone in the political development of Afrikan nationalism, the delegates were still confronted with the awesome task of achieving political independence. The responsibility for co-ordinating the struggle and for acting as the permanent agent of Pan-Afrikanism was bestowed upon the Pan-Afrikan Federation. Established in 1944 as a replacement for the IASB and as a forerunner of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, the Federation widely publicised the resolutions of the Congress and effectively promoted the cause of Pan-Afrikanism for years. From the Pan-African Federation emerged the West African National Secretariat initiated by Kwame Nkrumah and other French and English-speaking Pan-Afrikanists. The Secretariat represented an effort to resurrect a mass-based version of Casely Hayford's WANC in order to implement the resolutions of the Fifth Pan-African Congress. Both the Pan-African Federation and the West African National Secretariat were successful in encouraging Afrikan nationalists to mobilize for the independence struggle; both promoted the ideals of the Fifth Pan-African Congress: unified Afrikan nationalism, loosely-defined socialism, and non-violent campaign of civil disobedience. Naturally, the West African National Secretariat proved more successful in its tasks, because of its limited scope of the superior political consciousness of West Afrikans - at the time.

The shift of the Pan-Afrikanist movement to focus on the concrete struggle for independence on the continent rendered umbrella organisations, such as the Pan-African Federation, vulnerable to disintegration. For one, the involvement of political leaders in French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa in the *Rassemblement Democratique Africain* and the barriers between British and French territories prevented sustained cooperation in the West African National Secretariat. The RDA - a federal movement that comprised a majority of Afrikan delegates to the French National Assembly - had become greatly involved in campaigning for more favourable treatment of the beleaguered French territories, as well as for eventual independence. A split developed over French Communist Party influence in the RDA between a moderate wing, led by Dr. Houphet-Boigny, and a radical wing, led by M. D'arboussier. This rift eventually widened between the *Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC)*, the *Parti Democratique de Guinee* of Sekou Toure, the *Swabo* of Niger led by Djibo Bakasy, and other militant, Pan-Afrikanist groups on the one hand and the moderates on the other. The differences between the two factions came to be the dividing element between Pan-Afrikanism and neo-colonialism in French-speaking Afrika.

Eventually, the Pan-Afrikan organisations that arose in the wake of the Fifth Pan-African Congress were eclipsed by Pan-Afrikanist movements inside the various African territories. Unity was to be achieved through the mutual cooperation of political groups and, subsequently, of independent Afrikan states. The Pan-Afrikanist vanguard was headed by the Convention People's Party (CPP), led by Kwame Nkrumah. Besides setting an example of struggle for political independence and national liberation, the CPP endeavoured to bring English and French-speaking Pan-Africanists together and pledged solidarity with such significant movements as the National Union of Nigeria and the Camerouns (NCNC) and the Kenya Africa National Council (KANU). After achieving independence in 1957, the CPP of Ghana became even more active in its leading role in the Pan-Afrikanist movement. As the cause of Afrikan nationalism was reaching its peak between 1957 and 1960, Ghana and the CPP convened a series of meetings to infuse Pan-Afrikanist direction to the struggle. While the Conference of Independent African States and the Ghana-Guinea-Mali-Union were important, the All-African Peoples' Conference on December 1958 in Accra represen-

ted the direct line of transition from the Fifth Pan-African Congress of 1945 to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Most of the future leaders of Afrikan states were in attendance. The All-African Peoples Conference of 1958, as well as those convened in Tunis and Cairo in 1960 and 1961, reaffirmed the principles of the Fifth Congress in dealing with the concrete problems of Afrikan liberation. Once again, the racist regime of South Africa was condemned and warned not to interfere in the affairs of the High Commission Territories, which included Swaziland.

After the Second World War, the Afrikan people on the continent and the diaspora waged a common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racialism. The corresponding development of Afrikan nationalism proceeded unevenly, with the mobilisation of the masses by Pan-Afrikanist leaders and organisations in some territories and with the compromise of Afrikan liberation by neo-colonialists in others. Within the scope of a decade (1956-1966), most Afrikan and West Indian territories became independent. In the U.S., the Afrikan people made impressive studies in their struggle against white chauvinism intensified by imperialism. The major imperialist powers, as well as many astute Pan-Afrikanists, came to the realisation that the long-oppressed Afrikan people were progressing in unison towards the reassertion of their national dignity, aiming to establish the power of the masses. During the 1950s, as the inevitable overthrow of colonialism became apparent, the imperialists increasingly resorted to counter-revolutionary dual tactics to maintain their dominance over the Afrikan people. Therefore, Pan-Afrikanists, such as Nkrumah, began to concentrate their efforts on preserving the revolutionary development of Afrikan nationalism by combatting collusive efforts to impose a neo-colonial solution upon the Afrikan people. In this new phase of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle, the elements of state and class came to complement the national question in the Pan-Afrikanist equation. With the introduction of a transition period from colonialism to neo-colonialism, the necessity of wresting state power and class dictatorship from imperialist-backed, Afrikan *comprador* elements became interrelated with the struggle for national liberation and Afrikan unity.

Pan-Afrikanism became the leading force in the struggle against neo-colonialism and for Afrikan unity. Kwame Nkrumah and other Pan-Afrikanists made tremendous efforts to forge a confederation of Afrikan states, for instance, in the interests of building the "Afrikan nation", and they denounced the divisive elements of "statism" and "tribalism" as the instruments of neo-colonialism. Unfortunately, the year 1960 saw the tide of Afrikan political development ebb away from the Pan-Afrikanist movement. The first major setback that reversed the encouraging trend, highlighted by the massive wave of decolonization in 1960, was the Congo crisis. The incredible contradictions of the crisis severely divided the Afrikan community. Successive events demonstrated that the Pan-Afrikanist movement had not accumulated the strength to defeat imperialist manoeuvres, aided by collusive colonial elements. The disintegration of the RDA that accompanied the dismantling of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa proved that many who had professed their allegiance to Pan-Afrikanist principles had chosen to sell-out to French imperialism. The rightful heirs to the Fifth Pan-African Congress and the All-African Peoples Conference - the Casablanca Group of radical states and the members of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central (and Southern) Africa (PAFMECA) - were challenged by the Monrovia and Brazzaville Groups of neo-colonial states for the right to determine the character of Afrikan unity. After considerable conflict, Nkrumah and his fellow Pan-Afrikanists were forced to compromise Pan-Afrikanist principles and to support the founding of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on 25 May 1963. The OAU, while representing a permanent structure for co-operation between Afrikans of various political persuasions, fell far short of the federation of Afrikan states, envisioned as a starting point for the achievement of Afrikan unity by Pan-Afrikanists.

Although the OAU reflected the evolving pragmatism of the Pan-Afrikanist movement in the face of reaction, the long-term goal has basically remained to achieve unity and liberation among the more than forty fragmented Afrikan states. In the interim, Pan-Afrikanists have worked to make the OAU more effective, but they have also organised the struggle for national liberation against neo-colonialism, white settler colonialism, and "tribalism". In this regard, the OAU's African Liberation Committee has played a partial but significant role.

In the approximately fifteen years that Afrika has "enjoyed" political independence, the political development of the Afrikan people has progressed towards greater Pan-Afrikan Unity. However, the principle contradiction - neo-colonialism - has remained entrenched, even among such former Pan-Afrikanists as Jomo Kenyatta and Leopold Senghor. These neo-colonialists have

secured "free enterprise" in "their" countries and have sabotaged Afrikan unity by eliminating progressive Pan-Afrikanists and by heeding the wishes of imperialism. The OAU has survived powerful, neo-colonialist assaults and has dialectically developed towards greater effectiveness as the one organisation that can crystallise Afrikan thought and action in a concerted manner. The OAU, like the United Nations, is but an organisation and can only reflect the state of progress of Afrikan political development. Presently, with the Pan-Afrikanist liberation struggle progressing towards ultimate victory, in Southern Afrika particularly, Pan-Afrikanism and Afrikan unity have become increasingly popular among the Afrikan masses of workers and peasants waging a common struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. Accordingly, as successive Afrikan states are liberated, the OAU or its successor will be transformed into more powerful instruments of the popular will.

Pan-Afrikanism, as embodied in its vanguard liberation movements will remain the engine of progressive Afrikan political development. Pan-Afrikanism itself will continue to develop as an ideology, incorporating revolutionary theories - especially Marxism-Leninism - concerning the liberation of the masses and the achievement of socialism in Afrikan conditions.

The Sixth Pan-African Congress of June 1974 brought together numerous Afrikan leaders in Dar-Es-Salaam to reaffirm Pan-Afrikanist principles and to discuss ways in which Pan-Afrikanism could be further promoted. The Sixth Congress demonstrated that there remains a considerable divergence between the views of Pan-Afrikanist revolutionaries and the leaders of Afrikan states or party organisations. Certain addresses by delegates reflected the conservative concepts of the flourishing ruling classes of most Afrikan states: unity could only be achieved through "economic communities", and progress would depend on the establishment of a "new economic order".

With the type of representation that prevailed at the Sixth Pan-African Congress, unsurprisingly, there were numerous addresses that misconceived the ideology of Pan-Afrikanism. Even some of the most venerable figures, such as Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea, who had been associated with Pan-Afrikanism for many years, created subtle misconceptions. The impression was created that Pan-Afrikanism has become inconsequential unless the "overriding concerns" of the Third World - e.g. liberation, progress, and non-racialism - were given high priority. Such sentiments implied that the various movements to raise Afrikan or "black" consciousness were parochial and non-progressive. Several other statements by distinguished Afrikan leaders reflected the extent to which the "modern revisionism" of the Russians and their allies had affected the Pan-Afrikanist movement. Contradicting the line of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, these Afrikan leaders have subordinated the self-reliant struggle for Afrikan national liberation and for Afrikan solidarity to the non-revolutionary "forces of peace and progress."

Outstanding at the Sixth Congress were revolutionary Pan-Afrikanists who upheld and expanded the principles of the movement. The delegation of the Pan-Afrikanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Herbert Chitepo of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) were among those who delivered addresses in the militant spirit of revolutionary Pan-Afrikanism. Reiterating the struggle against imperialism and all forms of oppressive reaction, the leading role of Afrikan workers and peasants in the struggle, and the applicability of Marxism-Leninism to Pan-Afrikanism, these speakers also emphasised the primary, historical necessity of organising the broad masses of the Afrikan people and of the building of Afrikan or black nationalist consciousness throughout the continent and the *diaspora*. The current struggle for Afrikan national liberation demands the destruction of the oppressive consciousness and culture of colonialism and the creation of a Pan-Afrikanist national heritage - Afrikan in form, revolutionary in content. *The revolutionary Pan-Afrikanists linked this primary task to the correct handling of the development of the Afrikan superstructure but especially to the arrival at a correct understanding of the national question.* The revolutionary themes raised at the Sixth Congress have set the line for the Pan-Afrikanist liberation movement.

The preceding analysis of the fortunes of the Pan-Afrikanist movement has signified that the major trend in progressive Afrikan political development has been the struggle for the unified, national liberation of the Afrikan people. Therefore, it remains important for Pan-Afrikanists to understand the objective configurations that characterize the Afrikan people and the manner in which such formations can be managed. It is necessary to acquire a more intensive understanding of the national question, as it applies to Afrika, and the approach that Pan-Afrikanists have taken to the questions.

The most coherent and practicable theory on the national question has been formulated by the two leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, V.I.Lenin and J.V.Stalin. Accounting for the oppressive impact of Imperialism on a world scale, Lenin and Stalin concluded that the liberation struggles of oppressed nations for independence and sovereign development could be revolutionary in terms of Marxist doctrine. Consequently, Lenin and Stalin concentrated much effort on nationalism and nation formation and their role in revolution, particularly the socialist revolution. During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union, the national question was dialectically grappled with in practice as well as theory. Because Lenin and Stalin comprehended the importance of the struggle for national liberation against imperialism and the necessity of granting self-determination in league with building socialism, their theoretical contributions to the national question are applicable to a central aspect of Afrikan political development - the process of nation formation and the development of nationalism.

V.I. Lenin observed that nations and nationalism attained prominence as instruments of the ascending European bourgeois during the era of mercantile capitalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries:

“For the complete victory of commodity production, the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, and there must be politically united territories whose population speaks a single language, with all obstacles to the development of the language and its consolidation in literature eliminated. Therein lies the economic foundation of national movements.”

In Europe the process of nation formation and the concomitant development of the ideology of nationalism contributed to the destruction of the decaying feudal and dynastic ruling class. The bourgeois democratic revolutions of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries replaced the feudal dictatorship with the disguised control of the bourgeois ruling class and resulted in the dominance of capitalism.

The bourgeois state apparatus generated ruling class ideology, including nationalism, and promoted the process of nation formation. Until the 1870s, nationalism and the process of nation formation assumed a progressive role in the dismantling of feudal divisions and the development of democratic culture. Of course, amidst the upsurge in democratic rights and national development in the nineteenth century, several malfesances were engendered by the bourgeoisie in imposing the rule of capitalism. The freed serfs became proletariat - subject to wage slavery - under the guise of becoming “free and equal citizens of one nation.” In addition, several peoples who recognised their distinctive characteristics were suppressed by the powerful, capitalist nation-states in endeavours to assimilate these peoples. Prominent among the dispossessed nationalities were the Celtic peoples, the Basques, and the Catalans whose irreconcilable differences with the dominant nation-states have been embodied in national liberation movements that have continued the struggle until the present day.

With the emergence of imperialism as the primary form of capitalism, all pretence of the progressive character of capitalist development became exposed. As imperialism signified moribund capitalism, the bourgeoisie ruling class and nationalist ideology became increasingly reactionary and oppressive in character.

Western bourgeois nationalism became synonymous with national chauvinism and was employed as justification for imperialist oppression and colonization of the world’s peoples, as well as for[flagrant contention between the imperialist powers. With the period of intense imperialist rivalry leading up to the climatic First World War, the Europe-wide struggle for socialism was divided into the struggle within each nation that would uninterruptedly develop - in a step-by-step fashion into the triumph of world liberation and socialism. Therefore, imperialism thrust the national question into a different perspective. One of the first to perceive the need to decisively shift the focus of the national question was J.V. Stalin, who observed:

“The solution of the national question is possible only in connection with the historical conditions taken in their development.

The economic, political and cultural conditions of a given nation ought to arrange its life and what forms its future constitution ought to take. It is possible that a specific solution of the question will be required for each nation. If the dialectical approach is required anywhere, it is required here, in the national question.”

In combining his theories concerning the development of imperialism with Stalin’s thesis: “Marxism and the National Question”, V.I.Lenin evaluated the significance of nation formation

and nationalism on a world scale. Lenin observed that the accentuation of uneven development by imperialism had affected national development in varying ways. Therefore, the national question had assumed greater relevance to progressive political development and revolution. In 1916, Lenin perceived three distinctive types of national movements in three distinctive areas:

“First type: the advanced countries of Western Europe (and America), where the national movement is a thing of the *past*. Second type: Eastern Europe, where it is a thing of the *present*. Third type: the semi-colonies and colonies, where it is largely a thing of the *future*.”

From the analysis of Lenin and Stalin, it is apparent that, while the proletariat of Europe was encouraged to obtain liberation through socialist revolution, the national movement was perceived as the primary form in the struggle of colonial and semi-colonial peoples against imperialism. In accordance with his vision, the development of nationalism in the Third World in resistance to imperialism and the corresponding process of nation formation have greatly accelerated in the twentieth century. Just as the national movement in Europe united “citizens” to defeat feudal reaction, so the *revolutionary* national movement in the Third World has united all progressive class elements to defeat imperialism. In Afrika, the development of the national movement assumed continent-wide scope and, as has been described, came to encompass Afrikans in the *diaspora* as part of a Pan-Afrikanist movement. The political development of Afrika in the twentieth century has been defined, in its ongoing, revolutionary form, by Pan-Afrikanism. Therefore, the objective state of nation formation and of the national liberation movement among Afrikans must be dialectically examined in order to determine the prospects for progressive Pan-Afrikanist development.

It is evident that the process of nation formation in Afrika remains far removed from “mature” development. To define what constitutes a nation in Afrika or to present a configuration of Afrikan nations presents a difficult and indefinite undertaking. Some observers assert that small “tribal” groupings have the characteristics of nations. Others maintain that larger, linguistic groupings (e.g. Nilotic, Amharic, etc.) comprise nationalities. Ruling class Afrikans have promoted the concept of the nation state and have demanded “national unity” within the old colonial boundaries in order to eliminate differences. As for the Pan-Afrikanists, the concept of a united, Afrikan “nation” was upheld in the common struggle against imperialism. At the 1958 All-African Peoples’ Conference on Accra, the Pan-Afrikanist representatives proposed the federation of Afrikan states as a prelude to a “United States of Afrika”. These Afrikan leaders professed that, while the language and culture of various Afrikan peoples should be respected, no major obstacles prevented the struggle against imperialism from leading to the eventual formation of an “Afrikan nation”.

In considering the national question the various conclusions as to the composition of a nation or nations in Afrika, it is necessary to arrive at a definition of the nation. Once again, the lucid investigations of national development in Europe and Russia conducted by J.V. Stalin, derived a practical definition of the characteristic features of a nation:

“A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.”

The definition of what constitutes a nation, formulated by J.V. Stalin, has aptly conformed to the logic of capitalist development in Europe and Russia. However, little theoretical guidance exists to aid in an examination of the national question as it applies to the Third World. In expanding the exploitation of monopoly capitalism throughout the Third World, imperialism sought to control political development to the advantage of foreign domination as much as possible. By retarding the process of nation, state, and class formation in the Third World, imperialism created problems of a different nature than those engendered by pre-monopoly capitalism. In many instances, the imperialist powers have endeavoured to accentuate pre-capitalist divisions, such as tribalism, in order to maintain monopoly capital control of the development of the labour market, the local bourgeoisie, and of other manifestations of capitalism in Third World countries. In direct contradiction to the European experience, the national movement developed in the Third World in spite of capitalism. The oppressed peoples of the Third World have forged their own nationalist ideology in defeating the national chauvinism of imperialism. During the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggle, it can be asserted that the process of nation formation and the development of national consciousness

actually achieved greater momentum than during the sobering, post-independence period, when the apparent, antagonistic contradiction had been replaced by neo-colonialism. The case of Afrika has clearly confirmed this point, as the unity of the anti-colonial struggle was transformed into the subsequent, post-independence balkanisation of the continent.

In the course of the struggle for independence, the process of nation formation developed most rapidly in areas of concentrated imperialist activity. The Afrikan capitalist classes gradually discarded pre-capitalist associations and acquired nationalist identities and ideologies, in their varied forms. The Afrikan working class and intelligentsia, through the intense class struggle waged against imperialism and its Afrikan allies, became militant Afrikan nationalists and formed the nucleus of the Pan-Afrikanist liberation movement. Through their internationalist vision, these revolutionary class elements realised that reliance on pre-capitalist or on territorial associations would defeat the national movement for independence. Therefore, the Afrikan working class formed trade unions that excluded divisive tendencies, and Afrikan nationalists endeavoured to achieve the highest form of unity - Pan-Afrikanism - in order to ensure complete national liberation and self-reliant development.

Whereas the formation of an Afrikan nation was strongly advocated by a small, but militant group in the urban areas, the key to the ultimate success of Pan-Afrikanism has always been lodged in the countryside. However, among the vast majority of the population, the process of nation formation and the subsequent adoption of a nationalist ideology developed at a much slower pace. Afrikan nationalists discovered that, in attempting to break down divisions among the peasantry to re-inforce the national liberation movement, they were confronted by an unholy alliance between the particular imperialist power, the *conpradore* bourgeoisie, and the local ruling class. Organisational efforts were further complicated by problems of communication - with peoples who spoke a variety of disparate languages and who identified with the culture of many different societies. In spite of the intensified exploitation of the Afrikan peasantry under imperialist domination and subsequent widespread outbreaks of peasant revolts, considerable difficulty was encountered by national liberation movements in harnessing peasant discontent. Only in countries where white settler communities had deprived the peasantry of their land - as in Algeria, Kenya, or Rhodesia - or where a suitably capable liberation movement - such as FRELIMO - operated were the peasantry effectively mobilised. Therefore, the Pan-Afrikanist movement remains confronted by a divided peasantry in most of the fifty or more Afrikan territories, effectively blocking movement towards Afrikan unity.

The post-colonial period amplified the importance of state and class in the process of Afrikan political development. In a majority of Afrikan countries, "Afrikan nationalists", once installed as the ruling class, employed state power and their class position in order to perpetuate the exploitation of the Afrikan masses, thereby benefitting themselves and their imperialist allies. However, the neo-colonialist ruling class found its dominant position immediately threatened by determined Pan-Afrikanist opposition. In order to maintain state power, the emergent bourgeoisie, besides resorting to repressive measures, attempted to forge a "nation-state" and "national consciousness" within the old colonial boundaries. In most Afrikan countries, the civilian bourgeoisie proved inapt in the exercise of state power to solidify the neo-colonialist situation. An obvious exception has been Kenya, where the ruling party - KANU - successfully defeated the Pan-Afrikanist opposition, maintained the dominance of the ruling class in alliance with the imperialist powers, and forged a Kikuyu-flavoured "kenyan nationalism". However, the predominant trend in Afrikan political development saw the widespread seizure of power by the military who established themselves as the ruling class. Subsequently, a more authoritarian nation-state and local nationalism developed at the expense of the Afrikan masses and their Pan-Afrikan leadership.

Therefore the struggle for Afrikan political development of a progressive, Pan-Afrikanist type has become increasingly complex. In the struggle against neo-colonialism and the sale of Afrika to imperialism the national question remains vital. Revolutionary Afrikan unity in the national liberation struggle against imperialism and its Afrikan allies is prerequisite to self-reliant development of the continent. However, in leading the current national liberation struggle, Pan-Afrikanists must instil an awareness of class struggle against certain Afrikan bourgeois and feudal elements and their authoritarian state apparatus. Particular attention must be given to promoting revolution in the countryside among the vast majority of the population - the poor peasantry.

The question of the form in which national development of Afrika will occur remains unanswered. Since the Pan-Afrikanist movement was stymied in 1960, the process of nation formation in

Afrika has generally tended to reflect the efforts of the ruling class in each state to consolidate their power. In some Afrikan states, the Pan-Afrikanist movement has succeeded, to varying degrees, to mobilize the Afrikan masses to defeat imperialism and to unify Afrika. However, throughout Afrika, a large proportion of the population remains committed to associations other than the nation - whether of the Pan-Afrikanist or neo-colonialist type. The uncertain state or direction of the process of nation formation in Afrika is further reflected in the fact that there is as not yet spoken a common language on the Afrikan continent nor in many Afrikan countries. The former colonial languages - English, French, Portuguese, and Arabic - continue to divide the linguistic unity of Afrika into four separate parts. Local languages and dialects continue to be spoken throughout Afrika, thereby limiting the impact of the former colonial languages and the prospect of developing a suitable Pan-Afrikanist language. Although Swahili is being developed and disseminated as an all-Afrikan language, its limited usage indicates the distance that separates Afrika from linguistic, as well as national unity. As for the development of a Pan-Afrikanist culture and economic life, the divisions that are maintained among the Afrikan people by semi-feudal, semi-colonial regimes will prevent such an occurrence for many years to come. Even when all of Afrika is liberated, and unified, the diversity of language and culture on the continent almost certainly portends a multi-national Afrika.

In promoting the struggle for national liberation and revolutionary development, Pan-Afrikanists have had to contend with almost fifty different state structures and class struggles that help define Afrikan political development. Too often in the past seemingly intelligent theories and concepts, such as the Afrikan nation, an all-Afrikan army, and all African government, put forward by prominent Pan-Afrikanists were not founded on solid, empirical knowledge. Premature campaigns to achieve Afrikan unity were doomed by the diversity of interests on the continent. The absence of mass-based democracy in Afrika has denied Pan-Afrikanism the power to overcome divisions and establish substantial unity. Therefore, only after the Afrikan masses have liberated themselves from imperialist domination and all forms of oppression can Pan-Afrikanism receive the mandate for its mission. Only after state power is seized from backward ruling classes in each territory can the voluntary commitment of each component of Afrika for unity be attained.

In achieving their goal, Pan-Afrikanists must coherently master the national question. The process of nation formation in Afrika still remains at an early stage of development, confronting the national liberation movement and struggle with a complex question of self-determination. Several hundred different language-speaking groups, with different cultures and different economies, inhabit the continent; whether these groups can be considered as nations depends upon their respective stage of development. The persistence of pre-capitalist social formations has prevented a large proportion of these groups from becoming clearly defined nations. The preclusion of the democratic rights of self-determination and the continuance of familial or feudal ties as the primary forms of allegiance must be eliminated by the forces of liberation before the process of nation formation can achieve mature development. Even so, the language and culture of every group must be respected and utilised in the struggle for Afrikan unity and liberation. Since language has constantly been emphasised as the key to the national question the Pan-Afrikanist movement must enlist cadres from every language speaking group and attempt to unite the broadest coalition of "multi-national" Afrikans possible to defeat imperialism, neo-colonialism and feudalism. Once national liberation is achieved, Pan-Afrikanists must not only carry out political and economic transformation, but also construct revolutionary "multi-national" languages and cultures from the substance of the former languages and cultures. Only by working among the Afrikan people on the basis of a "mass-line" that encourages diversity for the sake of unity can progressive development be achieved.

In approaching the national question as it relates to Africa, it must be concluded that the process of nation formation, as well as the struggle for national liberation, still has a considerable ordeal to confront before attaining fulfillment. Although a substantial section of the Afrikan masses have escaped from feudal subservience and now identify with some form of nation - be it continental, territorial, or regional in dimension - the majority are forced to remain loyal to feudal, hierarchical ruling classes of kingdoms and chiefdoms, not nations. The language and culture of pre-capitalist groups may constitute the kernel of emerging nations, but the peasants under autocratic rule are denied the democratic rights of citizenship that help to define a nation. Once the Afrikan peasants have liberated themselves, they will be free to determine the composition of their respective nations as part of a unified Afrika. The same principle applies to the working masses in urban areas, where

democratic rights do not normally prevail and where exaggerated importance is given to the building of nation-states. Those ruling class leaders who deny the Afrikan people of their aim of a unified and liberated Afrika, as well as depriving them of the right to determine their own language, culture and other features of a national identity, are practically as oppressive as their feudal counterparts.

Since the national democratic revolution has only just commenced in Afrika, most Afrikans remain without the essential right of self-determination that is necessary for progressive national development. Therefore, only a general configuration of a liberated Afrika can be presented. In the interim, many peoples will coalesce gradually into various national groups through the effect of capitalism, as well as that of the process of national liberation. Of course, the local ruling classes will attempt to control national development to their benefit. However, the Pan-Afrikanist movement will eventually triumph over parochial forces that have impeded the unification and the national democratic development of Afrika. Past history of Afrikan nationalism has demonstrated that the Pan-Afrikanist movement has developed into the revolutionary force that will carry the African masses to liberation. The eventual establishment of a Pan-Afrikanist United States of Afrika will most likely feature an array of states and national groups that will be unified by an All-Afrikan party, programme, and government. Perhaps some well-developed nation-states such as Somalia or Egypt, will consider a large degree of autonomy. But during the struggle for national liberation and development, the Afrikan people will be progressively drawn together to reshape the face of Afrika. According to the subjective demands of the Afrikan masses and objective considerations, especially common language, autonomous republics, regions, and localities should [be formed throughout the continent. State, district and local boundaries will be redrawn to permit autonomous national development within the framework of Pan-Afrikanism.

Obviously the political development of Afrika and the process of nation formation will be determined by the resistance of neo-colonialism to the forces of Pan-Afrikanism. The longer the struggle the greater the opportunity for the current ruling classes to consolidate their slowly-developing nation states. The key to the establishment of a united, multinational democratic Afrika lies in the application of the principle of mass self-determination and a correct understanding of the national question by Pan-Afrikanists.

In the sub-continent of Southern Afrika, the process of nation formation has developed to a greater extent than in most other areas of the continent. The protracted struggle of the Afrikan people against white settler colonialism has progressively heightened the unity of different groups. Afrikan solidarity has developed beyond territorial boundaries in the face of common imperialist oppression. Central to the rise of revolutionary Afrikan nationalism in Southern Afrika has been the concentration of monopoly capital in order to industrialise specific areas - particularly in South Africa. Migrant workers come from throughout Southern and Central Afrika to work shoulder-to-shoulder with the Azanian proletariat in the mines, factories, and plantations of South Africa. The Pan-Afrikanist working class has been forged in Southern Afrika as the most conscious force in the struggle for national liberation. Although problems relating to common language and common culture continue to introduce divisive elements into the struggle of the Afrikan working masses, there persists a unified determination to rid Afrika of imperialist and white colonial oppression, once and for all.

The struggle for national liberation in Southern Afrika continues to be led by broadly-based Congress movements. These Pan-Afrikanist vanguard organisations constitute the most revolutionary FORCES IN Afrika. Over the years the Congress movements have developed increasingly towards Marxism-Leninism, although they remain too broadly based to become Parties. In the course of the national liberation struggle, these movements have forged unity among the Afrikan people, while developing a dialectical perspective towards local languages and cultures of various groups. The Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) set an exemplary precedent by creating the initial base for the liberation of Southern Afrika on its territory. In the tradition of TANU, FRELIMO has transformed Mozambique into the militant, rear area for the liberation of Zimbabwe, and eventually Azania. In turn, liberation groups, such as the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the African National Council of Zimbabwe (ANC) have emphasised the solidarity of the peoples of Southern Afrika and their Pan-Afrikanist organisations. Thus, the revolutionary basis is being forged for the eventual unification of Afrika's national groups - and the final resolution of the national question.

However, great contradictions remain within Southern Afrika that impede the political development of various entities towards national liberation. For one, forces of Pan-Afrikanism have been confronted by black feudalist and bourgeois collaborators with the white ruling class and the imperialist powers. These agents of reaction have betrayed the struggle for the liberation of their fellow Afrikans in exchange for the protection and development of their parochial class interests. In the small enclave of Swaziland, a feudal ruling class has been most cooperative towards white settler colonialism. For more than a century, the Swazi ruling class failed to lead the masses against the encroachment of white settler colonialism. Subsequently, white settlers have controlled almost half of the land and have exercised an inordinate influence in the affairs of the territory. The Swazi feudalists have maintained a dictatorship over the peasantry through carefully filtering any form of progress or democracy that may foster rebellion.

As Afrikan nationalism was developing most intensely throughout Southern Afrika, the Swazi peasantry was firmly leashed by their feudal overlords. However, since the historical moment of 1960, the Swazi ruling class has been forced to contend with the growing strength of Pan-Afrikanism in the territory. For the past fifteen years, the Swazi ruling class has been able to stave off eventual defeat. The durability of Swazi feudalism may seem remarkable, seen in the light of the decline and collapse of feudal power throughout Afrika. However, the Swazi ruling class has occupied a very advantageous position that has been maintained through periodical adjustment to appease mainly educated Swazi. Yet, the development of a considerable community in Swaziland, outside of the feudal order, has also presented contradictions that have required stronger action than mere adjustment. In cases of confrontation with the forces of Afrikan nationalism, the Swazi ruling class has been able to call upon various imperialist and colonialist allies to provide emergency support. Even so, the primary reason for the survival of Swazi feudalism has been the ability of the ruling class to nurture the development of a subservient and homogeneous people within the boundaries of Swaziland. Therefore, the Swazi feudalists have been able to counter Afrikan nationalism with what has been termed as "Swazi nationalism". The ideology of Swazi nationalism consists of loyalty to "King and Country" against all potential sources of 'outside agitation'. Endeavours by the forces of Pan-Afrikanism to threaten Swazi feudalism have been confronted by a well-harnessed and un-cooperative peasantry.

The specific political development of Swaziland constitutes the focal point of this thesis. Throughout such a focus, the reasons for the persistence of feudal hegemony can be determined. The process of nation, state, and class formation in Swaziland has developed in such a way that opposition to the Swazi ruling class has met with constant frustration. Although it has been emphasised that Pan-Afrikanism represents the primary revolutionary movement in Afrika, it has yet to prevail in Swaziland. Therefore, a central concern of this thesis is to discern the reasons for the slow progress of the Pan-Africanist movement in Swaziland. With the current of revolution running strongly through Southern Afrika, such an examination will have a wider significance for those involved in the momentous struggle in the sub-continent.

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO BASIL DAVIDSON'S RUSSIAN HELP IN BUILDING SOCIALISM IN SOMALIA.

Writing in a British Journal recently Basil Davidson wildly acclaimed Russia's assistance in building 'socialism' in Somalia. Now that the Somalians have rightly booted out the Russians we wonder if he is going to admit that they have not after all been doing a good job. Davidson, who is close to the white-led, revisionist South African 'Communist' Party, acts as a social-imperialist agent in Southern Africa and slanders the selfless assistance the People's Republic of China gives to the Southern African liberation struggle. Davidson will probably now find the Russians building 'socialism' in Ethiopia. He has discovered the construction of 'socialism' in Angola, where there is a Cuban mercenary army of occupation, which has increased its armed forces recently by over 5,000 more troops. Evidently 'socialism' is being built very fast in Angola!

Angola

PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS WHO REFUSED TO FIGHT FOR SUPERPOWERS IN ANGOLA OR TO SUPPORT ONLY ONE LIBERATION MOVEMENT AS LEGITIMATE'

Motion passed at an assembly of the soldiers of the Military Police (Lisbon Zone) - early September 1975. (It was the Military Police in Lisbon that spearheaded the struggle against the shipment of Portuguese soldiers to Angola. The unit was disbanded after the events of 25 November 1975.

Considering:

- (1) that the continued embarkation (of soldiers - ed.) for Angola is nothing more than the continuation of the war under the cover of neo-colonialism;**
- (2) that it is not within the competence of the sons or the people of Portugal to fight, to die, and to kill in Angola at the service either of American imperialism or of Russian social-imperialism;**
- (3) that despite the Portuguese military authorities saying that we are going to "help" a certain liberation movement considered as a vanguard of the Angolan people, it is not the right of the Portuguese people to decide who is or who is not the vanguard of the Angolan people, for that right belongs to the people concerned; and**
- (4) that the only form of helping the Angolan people is to make the Portuguese Revolution.**

We propose that a commission of soldiers be nominated composed of the soldiers of the mobilised Military Police Company, which will carry out the following tasks:

- (a) to organise the collective refusal of embarkation;**
- (b) to make propaganda for the just struggle of the soldiers, not only of the R.P.M. but of all military units;**
- (c) to organise and address other subjects that respect this just struggle of the soldiers.**

Take note: retaliation will not be exercised against the military of the immobilised C.P.M.

NETO ASKS ANGOLAN PEOPLE NOT TO SHOW HOSTILITY AGAINST RUSSIANS AND CUBANS

President Agostinho Neto has said reactionaries in Angola are trying to stir up hostility against soviet and Cuban personnel, luanda radio reported.

They are trying to make our people assume a hostile attitude against these friends and allies of ours, the radio, monitored here, quoted him as telling the people of saurimo in north-eastern lunda province.

The Angolan President said that reactionaries went round saying there were no Angolan technicians and we all begin to get inferiority complexes.

Angola was receiving not just military but also technical aid and technicians from Cuba, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, he added.

They must be accepted in Angola, they are helping us to accomplish the momentous tasks of national reconstruction. We must not be against foreigners, we must not be against those who contribute through their work to the development of our country.

Cultural Change, Cultural Stagnation, and Cultural Development in Black Africa

Cultural Imperialism is the new form of domination that our old colonialist masters are attempting to impose upon us. In this article, the author, Kuzu Wamba-dia-Wamba of Zaire examines this latest form of imperialist domination and tries to answer how we can find a true African cultural identity.

“Without minimizing the positive contribution which privileged, classes may bring to the struggle, the liberation movement must, on the cultural level just as the political level, base its action in the popular culture, whatever may be the diversity of levels of cultures in the country. The cultural combat against colonial domination - the first phase of the liberation movement - can be planned efficiently only on the basis of the culture of the rural and urban working masses, including the nationalist (revolutionary) ‘petite bourgeoisie’ who have been re-africanised or who are ready for cultural reconversion. Whatever may be the complexity of this basis cultural panorama, the liberation movement must be capable of distinguishing within it the essential from the secondary, the positive from the negative, the progressive from the reactionary in order to characterise the master line which defines progressively a national culture.”

(Amilcar Cabral, Return to the Source).

The problem of African culture, expressed in diverse manners: African cultural identity, Africanity, African personality, African way of life, etc. has been at the centre of the African movement of liberation against western economic, political and cultural domination and for African socio-economic reconstruction. From Pan-Africanism, Negritude, the search for an African ideology, the search for an African philosophy.....to the most recent proclamations of authenticity, the cultural combat has been a form of theoretical work required by the African people's struggles against domination, exploitation and oppression often justified and made *mentally* acceptable through cultural domination. The European penetration and plundering caused and were based on the disintegration process of African cultures, states, and economies. To justify and perpetuate such a process, various forms of cultural domination were required. In most cases, the more assimilated one became, the more *mentally* acceptable domination became. However, Africans against cultural forms of domination, have always responded with cultural forms and calls of resistance to domination. The search for cultural identity has become a crucial issue only to the extent that past African cultural identity had been denied, threatened and murdered by cultural imperialism. Such a search for cultural identity is therefore an expression of a liberation movement against cultural domination. Everywhere there is exploitation, oppression, domination, and invasion, and there will be resistance. Exploiters of all times know their interests well, indeed they act or speak in the name of such interests; their ideas cannot be but those favouring domination. Exploited people of all times also know who exploits them and how. They develop their consciousness in the everyday practice of exploitation itself and not just in the meanders of imagination. Wherever there is oppression, there is revolt and rebellion. The oppressed people want to overthrow their oppressors; the oppressors want to break resistance. Everything they *think* cannot but reflect such fundamental necessity. The exploiters define, justify and guide their practice of exploitation (including the organisation of their exploited people's consensus) with ideology, often materialised in cultural forms, emerging from the mass ideological resistance. Theirs is the dominant ideology - hence dominant culture - in society. The exploited, oppressed, dominated or invaded define, justify and guide their practice of resistance to exploitation/domination with an ideology (no matter how unsystematic, as in “how to beat the system”, or in the creolization of the dominant language), also materializing itself in cultural forms. This is dominated ideology - thus dominated culture. A constant ideological struggle (cultural combat) takes place in any situation of exploitation/oppression/domination. Africans have known the worst of these kinds of situations. There is always the possibility of scission in both camps: some members of the dominant camp taking the position or stand of the dominated camp and vice-versa (class suicide and assimilation).

It is out of the practice of ideological struggle that ideologies emerge and develop. The dominant ideology is the reflection of the practice of domination of a class. It expresses the "material relations" of domination. It is essentially a reflection, approximative but real, of the relations of exploitation. Culturally, the ideological struggle takes the form of cultural domination vs. cultural resistance. To justify their domination, colonialists deny civilisation, history, and real cultures to Africans and present themselves as civilisers of African "savages". Any cultural forms of the colonised peoples are said either to come from other countries or to have no value. Why are Cheik Anta Diop and Theophile Obenga, for example, working so hard and so meticulously to retrace the history of Negro-Africans and their cultural unity? Their task is required by cultural resistance and to provide correct guidelines to the organised struggle to overthrow domination and prevent its possible restoration. Outside of the dynamics of struggle against domination, exploitation and oppression, we cannot understand correctly the African cultural movements. It is through the tension of cultural domination vs. cultural resistance that the re-valorization of the cultural past, cultural change - assimilation or cultural borrowing - and cultural development take place.

With the continuous capitalist expansion to the most remote corners of the world, the process of world integration has gone indeed very deep, generating, sustaining and developing new forms of contradictions and social conflicts. The working people of today's world are waging four major protracted struggles, jointly or separately: struggle for national liberation, struggle for independence, struggle for social revolution, and struggle against imperialist world hegemony. These struggles are the reflection and development of major and closely related contradictions: contradiction between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp, contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism, contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, and contradiction among imperialist countries or monopolist groups for hegemony. In each specific area of the world, these contradictions unite and/or operate differently. Due to differences on the world scale and due to the respective operation of those contradictions, there is at one *given* moment or a given period a series of *weak links* in relation to imperialist domination. The struggles in those weak links of the imperialist chain are the vanguard of the revolutionary struggles having pertinent retroactive effects on the overall situation of the world revolution. Nations want liberation, countries want independence and people want revolution; this is the general tendency of today's world history characterized by the contradiction war vs. revolution.

Africa today is one of the series of current weak links of the imperialist chain. Here, those various contradictions are increasingly converging; absolutely dissimilar currents, absolutely heterogeneous class interests, absolutely contrary political and social strivings are merging into explosive and unique situations. African people, for more than five centuries under various forms of subjugation, are struggling for national liberation against white/and or ethnic bourgeois/neo-feudal class rules; they are concurrently struggling for genuine independence against colonialism and neo-colonialism, for social revolution leading to the seizure of the state power and the subsequent exercise of the dictatorship of the mass-based class rule of the working class, and finally against all forms of imperialist hegemony for genuine economic independence based on self reliance. In this very tough historical conjuncture, the African revolutionary movement must be armed with a truly revolutionary theory, a truly revolutionary culture, which will allow African revolutionaries to read correctly the conjuncture and aim the arrow at the right target. The problem of African culture has indeed become complex; even with independence, cultural domination has not been overthrown - in fact some Africans have even facilitated cultural domination.

As Cabral has insisted, the cultural combat now has to be conducted under the call to "return to the source", a call specifically intended to sharpen the distinction between cultural domination and cultural resistance among Africans themselves. With the historical deep clarification of cultural phenomenon provided us by the great Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it becomes important to ask: whose culture favours resistance and whose culture facilitates domination among we Africans ourselves? The social basis of cultural ideas and forms has become crucial. It is not enough to assert the Africanity of African cultural ideas and forms to be in the camp of resistance to domination. Some "African" cultural ideas and forms have become part of the domination camp. With assimilation and with the capitalist development of underdevelopment of our countries, the nature of the cultural combat has changed. The dominated camp now has a core: outside of this core the resistance becomes difficult to maintain, the more one moves away from the core, the more one comes under the influence of the domination camp. In this form of struggle, he who is with the

dominated masses takes the side of cultural resistance, thus the call to "return to the source" is a call to take the side of cultural resistance. The source to which one must return is precisely determined by the viewpoint of the core of resistance - dominated masses.

In today's Africa, perhaps more than anywhere else, the creation of theory and the advocacy of theory are primary. We will see later that this is different from the petty-bourgeois claim of the primacy "of the African need for man-power training." In this part of the world, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist culture is probably the weakest. This does not, however, mean that mass revolutionary experiences are lacking. African history is very rich in slave resistances, peasant uprisings, colonized people's resistance and uprisings, working class strikes, etc. Imperialism in all its forms has maintained, reinforced, and intensified African backwardness and underdevelopment. From Ghana's independence (1957) to Angola's independence (1975) and today, for example, the African people have been climbing to the vanguard post of the central tendency of the world revolution and history. They have been increasingly winning partial victories. Their protracted struggles have had ups and downs; in some countries even contested counter-revolutionary forces have been fully restored to power. Even bourgeoisie forms of democracy have been continuously strangled by the spreading of fascist-militaristic-bonapartist dictatorships. In less than 20 years of independence, in sub-Saharan Africa alone, 33 successful coups d'etat have taken place. The term "neo-colonialism" refers to this temporary defeat of the African masses. The brutalised masses, without halting their mass resistance which accounts for the emergence and reinforcement of dictatorships, have temporarily lost, at least in some countries, their historical initiative, giving the appearance of stability to their countries' authoritarian regimes. Reactionaries have seen this as proof that Africans have an instinctive longing desire for dictatorship.

Such a defeat has important consequences in the African revolutionary movement; it limits and weakens the development of the revolutionary movement; it imposes serious restrictions on the development of the revolutionary theory and its application in those African social formations; and it may have a (positive or negative) demonstration effect on other countries. The political, ideological and organisational domination, repression and oppression of the workers/peasants, based on the latter material weakness, reproduce the permanent like breaking up of mass resistance and block the possibility of organised and correct transfer into the mass hands of scientific revolutionary theory and its application. The so-called "Mobutuism", for example, is the systematization of such a domination. Properly speaking, this cannot be a systematic doctrine; it essentially consists in the repressive and co-opting practices geared toward disarming any attempt of mass historical initiative. In this respect, the creation of theory on the basis of the African masses' concrete practices of struggle against exploitation and domination, in the light of the established correct theoretical positions in the world revolutionary movement, and also the advocacy of theory have been very much affected, indeed. Without a direct or indirect involvement in the mass movement of resistance, such a systematization cannot be done correctly behind the backs of the masses, in some corner. The movement of resistance exposes and lays bare the law of the motion of domination.

CULTURAL CHANGE AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATION

The heart of the problem of the struggle for the African cultural identity is that of the development of a truly revolutionary theory that would guide the African mass struggle for total liberation and orient its subsequent socio-economic cultural development. Without the complete overthrow of of domination, which organises cultural stagnation by a constant breaking-up of cultural resistance, no cultural renaissance or cultural development can be guaranteed. Cultural revolution in this context means a conscious combat against past African cultural forms facilitating domination, combat of cultural forms of domination within ourselves by their removal from the post of domination, and the creation and acquisition from the outside of the cultural forms and suitable for the decisive combat against domination. What is, in today's Africa retarding such a theoretical work? The problem of the "ideological deficiency", i.e. the failure to systematize the revolutionary ideas emerging from the mass ideological resistance to the dominant ideologies, must be dealt with from the perspective of the mass resistance to domination and the systematization of the mass revolutionary experiences on the basis of the established historical and dialectical materialist positions, i.e., ideas of the correct practices in the world working class movement. The remaining part of our paper will attempt to answer that question.

Sofar, with few exceptions, the theoretical work as required by the African mass struggles, in the present conjuncture, has been dominated by the petty-bourgeois intellectuals not rooted in

the masses and most often trained in colonial, neo-colonial, bourgeois and revisionist schools - those intellectuals who think and behave as if North America and Europe were the Centre, the source of truth and hardly know anything of their national cultures and history of the mass resistance. What they know and take as absolute is the colonial and neo-colonial historical account -written by colonial heroes whose monuments and/or names constitute the compass of the African geopolitics even today - of eternal defeats of African people. Thus, the unity between (or fusion of) revolutionary theory and the mass revolutionary movement has been incorrectly understood; as an imposition from above (or a spreading to the periphery from the Center) of an already made-up theory on the "illiterate" African masses by the petty-bourgeois "experts" trained in that "theory", rather than as a *systematization* of the ideas emerging from the partisan revolutionary experiences of the African masses themselves in the light of the established correct theoretical positions in/by the world revolutionary movement. Scientific revolutionary theory is reduced to formal theorems without the underlining scientific repeated experiments, the foundation of its validity. Those intellectuals fail to grasp - due to their class background and class stand, the dialectics of the unity/struggle of the opposites: the new vs. the old, the particular vs. the universal, and centralization vs. decentralization. Of course, their theories - having only revolutionary form and reactionary content - have failed to serve as genuine guidelines to revolutionary actions. Our African people are continuously used rather than served. Guided by those ill-conceived theories, the petty-bourgeois seizure of the colonial state power has led to a dictatorship of the minority (bureaucratic bourgeoisie) over the African masses, leaving the door open for - in fact organising and depending on - the intensive imperialist exploitation of the African cheap workers and poor peasants. The struggle against colonialism, for example, became reduced to a question of the technical ability of negotiations of the "assimilated colonised" to "win" independence through "negotiations". The real material force - the mass resistance and uprising against colonial domination - in the struggle for independence was disarmed and reduced to a secondary place: the liberation movement became in most countries a palace revolution! Hence, petty bourgeois leaders spent most of their time in trying to pacify the rebelled masses. No matter how "successful", a palace revolution never gives in to the revolutionary demands of the resisting masses, it tries to break the resistance through soothing reforms. It is in this general context too that Cabral's "class suicide" problematics becomes clear. No matter how "tactful and technical", a petty-bourgeoisie which is not rooted in the revolutionary masses cannot win genuine independence; it is the masses who make history.

NKHRUMAH'S WEAKNESS

The petty bourgeois intellectual based *Consciencism* of Kwame Nkrumah, for example, is not a systematization of the revolutionary ideas emerging and guiding the Ghanaian masses' resistance to the dominant colonial, feudal and bourgeois ideologies and practices - systematization made from the perspective of the working people. While it does recognise the "social contention" of theory and even its class character, it does not take the class stand of the Ghanaian downtrodden. Being more interested in teaching the masses than learning from them, Nkrumah, in this book takes the viewpoint of the radical African assimilated petty-bourgeois intellectuals. He attacks reactionary intellectuals, those theoreticians of neo-colonialism who raise the deceiving flag of "African socialism", and bases himself on the "verandah boys", students and other radical petty-bourgeois intellectuals. His sharp criticism of the dominant ideologies and philosophies is not rooted on mass criticism of those ideas through the movement of mass cultural resistance. "African consciousness", "African personality", "African communalism", etc. are not given precise content, i.e., their internal contradictions are not clearly specified to indicate which is the principal aspect. He failed to see that it is the masses who make history including that of theory and knowledge. The African application and re-creation of the established revolutionary theory in the world revolutionary movement have to be conceived, reproduced and conducted from the perspective of the African working people (workers and their principal ally, the poor peasants) struggles - as ideological/theoretical requirements of these struggles.

In fact, Nkrumah wanted to prove that religion is not a problem to materialism and can co-exist with it; in so doing he intended to win over socialism to his entourage - cadres, claiming that African masses were religious through and through. Why should one be surprised that one of his ministers said, "socialism does not mean that if you have a lot of money you cannot keep it"? What Nkrumah should have shown, and based his criticism on, is the fact that in the practices of resistance (rebellion, revolt, struggles against domination), the so-called religious masses have produced materia-

list ideas. We must always start from the point of view of mass resistance. "It is the mass revolt which is the practical basis of ideological resistance, and hence, the practical basis of the transformations of the dominant ideology itself, whose real content is historically determined as resistance to a resistance. In this point of view, the principle according to which "it is the masses who make history" concerns also the history of ideology, including the dominant ideology." We must always start even in philosophy, from the principle, "wherever there is oppression, there is revolt or rebellion." Nkrumah correctly understood the domination aspect of dominant ideologies, but did not grasp the element upon which such a domination is exercised; he failed to grasp the fact that ideas, ideologies and theories are generated in the ideological struggle, with class struggle serving as the motive force of the process of ideological struggle. If African masses were religious through and through, why did even colonialism organise ideological domination? "Through the practice of antagonism against the State, under the open form of armed struggle, exploited people of all centuries concentrate their ideological resistance in taking a stand on the phenomenon of domination as such, and in projecting the annihilation of its objective foundations: class differences and the State." Through such a general stand, real communist ideas emerge. In Africa, this can be seen in a series of proverbs defining some form of communism. The Kongo have the following proverb, "Mu vata ka mukadi mvwama, ka mukadi mputu, ka mukadi nsana" (There cannot be, in the village, neither a rich, a poor nor an orphan). Many similar ideas could be found in folktales, proverbs, songs, legends, etc. Ideologies of liberation (hence of de-colonization) have to be based on the systematization of ideas emerging and guiding the mass practice of trying to overthrow domination. Without such a basis, the criteria of what is positive (progressive) action and what is negative (reactionary) action becomes arbitrary; and how to define opportunism in this context? Can the kernel of *consciencism* be summarized in the sentence, "it is right to rebel against

Although Nkrumah understood the necessity of learning and transferring to the masses the scientific (i.e. materialist) revolutionary theory, he did not deal correctly with the problems of uniting revolutionary theory with mass revolutionary movement (here and now in the Gold Coast, later in Ghana, and Africa generally) What are the concrete forms of the 'social contention' today in Ghana and Africa generally? His philosophical problematics is rooted in an African social milieu but as incarnated by the assimilated petty-bourgeois (the pro-neo-colonialism and the anti-neo-colonialism ones). Consciencism seems to be an attempt by the petty-bourgeois to seek unity with the masses from a non-mass based radical petty-bourgeois perspective. That is why the conception of the seizure of the colonial state power is not made crystal clear: it vacillates from non-violence to social-democratic parliamentarianism. Consciencism, the African version of empirio-criticism (deriving its main conceptual tools from logical positivism), is not a revolutionary theory of organisation of the working class and the poor peasants putting in command the mass line. The class character of consciencism is definitely petty-bourgeois. At best, this is a radical petty-bourgeois dominated liberation front ideology. It is fundamentally based on conciliation of various classes. When it is made a philosophy of state, we cannot but have a petty-bourgeois class state claiming to be a state of the whole people rather than a materialization of the dictatorship of a mass based class rule of the working class. In fact it tended to function more and more against the working classes. Why, then, should we be surprised that the pacific coexistence of antagonistic classes in the state had to give way to the decisive victory of the bourgeois class?

ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND THE AFRICAN MASSES

Consciencism is progressive in its anti-colonialist stand - this is what gave it some credit from the masses - and reactionary in its failure to base itself on the working class viewpoint. Nkrumah's state to the extent that it was guided by such an ideology, had no clear conception of cultural revolution except the revisionist development of the productive forces based on more and more centralism: it followed an anti-imperialist capitalist road to development. Instead of forming real revolutionaries, it trained state consciencist ideologues. Why should we be surprised that they were incapable of revolutionary imagination? I am discussing Nkrumah's philosophy in more detail in another essay.

The most radical African philosopher, Marcian Towa, in a Cameroon of intensive class struggles opposing antagonistically the masses regrouped in and led by the U.P.C. (Union de Populations du Cameroun) on one hand, and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and its feudal and petty-bourgeois allies organised by the increasingly fascist Ahidjo's neo-colonial state on the other hand, does not go very far from Nkrumah's position: He defines philosophy not from the point of view of the ideological struggle, but that of 'pure concept'. He, thus, fails to see, in historical perspective, the progressive

aspect of the otherwise limited ethophilosophy. Such a limitation is only apprehended as lack of philosophical rigor rather than an expression of 'colonial' class partisanship covered as African philosophical stand. While he grasps the necessity, for Africa, of fundamental transformation, understood by him as change of one essence ('the essence of colonizability') with another, he fails to explicate what the motive force is, what in Africa, the starting conditions and the supporting conditions are. His philosophical problematics - clearly dependent on Hegel for 'pertinence' - is not rooted in the real aspirations of the African masses. Through a rigorous criticism of Western philosophy, he wants to extricate the theoretical conditions of existence of the essence of colonizability but fails to root himself in the rigorous, mass-based, criticism of every bourgeois problematic, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is not then an organic intellectual of the working people regrouped in U. P.C. The dialectics of the old and the new is not correctly grasped by Towa (*reference by the writer to to Essai sur la Problematique Philosophique dans l'Afrique Actuelle* by M. Towa - Editor). The new does not come from the old on the basis of history made by the masses. Why doesn't he see that the "essence of colonizability" is social relations of production in which Cameroonian masses are exploited and dominated? Again we are dealing with the whole issue of the African philosophical problematics elsewhere.

For a long time, we have been told that, the African 'illiterate' peasants above all engage in no theoretical work. They cultivate the land, hunt, fish, eat, fornicate, play, dance.....with only rudimentary 'traditional' (hence static) ideas left by their ancestors. All their social practice, their daily life, etc. are said to be governed by myths and superstitions: they are foreign to science and correct ideas. Towa would call this "essence of colonizability." The theoretical work has tended to be equated with the process of westernization or generally with the process of 'acculturation'. But how can a static, archaic mind become acculturated? The intellectual work has become associated with the work of the 'intellectual' whose many forms depend on specific historical social relations of production. Unfortunately, in the case of Africa, the intellectual has been identified only as the petty-bourgeois intellectual of the modern bourgeois society. The oral transmission of theoretical established positions (e.g. proverbs) was found to be wanting: it is supposed to lack rigor. The relative backwardness of such a method is easily identified with its uselessness. Did not colonialism decree that colonised people have no genuine cultures, no theories of any value, no rich languages, no civilizations, etc? Colonised people are pre-human i.e. they have no history through which man creates his humanity. In this context, the question of their theoretical work becomes that of the theoretical work of apes. Even today, neo-colonialists and neo-colonised assimilated Africans (the "civilized") agree that African masses 'don't think' i.e., whatever they do is done spontaneously if not just instinctively. The anthropologists whose mission remains to produce theoretical supports to the colonial and neo-colonial stand, have often been surprised by the theoretical work of the primitives; nevertheless those surprises have not changed the thesis. The masses of Africa, who have discovered nothing, have just to open their mouths and minds for the 'civilised' to pour in knowledge and make them 'think'. P. Tempels thought that the Bantu were, in fact, thinking - although incapable to systematise their thinking - but they were thinking as christians or at least as Thomists just waiting to be more christianised! They are still small brothers, as Levy-Strauss would put it, still functioning with a concrete thought not yet covered by civilizational sediments. The native 'civilised' don't realise that when they believe they are thinking, they are in fact repeating bourgeois myths and superstitions. Senghor's theoretical work, for example, centred around the metaphysical notion of ahistorical blackness is really a systematization of cultural colonialism. Blacks are said to be the cosmological grounding of emotion ('Emotion is Black as Reason is Greek'). How comes Senghor grasps Greek rationality? The 'civilised' are convinced that the masses know nothing, have no theories, etc.; the 'civilised' fail to learn from the masses and think only of teaching them all bourgeois ideas. Since only the practice of struggle waged by the masses serves as criteria for selecting progressive/correct ideas from the bourgeois cultural arsenal, the native 'civilized' have no criteria and think of any 'new' bourgeois idea as an advanced one. It may indeed be very advanced in relation to some native ideas but in the present conjuncture, it may not be progressive. They tend to be very eclectic, confused and fail to take a clear cut mass stand in the domain of culture (this is almost a definition of petty-bourgeois). While they all agree that the African masses suffer from a 'cultural stagnation', they fail to lay bare its real objective causes since they grasp it not from within the dialectics of culture as produced (or not produced) by the African masses but as lack of attainment of western cultural level. The dynamic contradiction between 'cultural stagnation' and 'cultural change' is reduced, by them, to the static contradiction between western culture and African

cultures. And cultural transformation/development is conceived of as destruction of African 'cultures' (the 'essence of colonizability') and westernization of Africans; the African carriers of western culture become the 'elites'. That is why the symbols of western culture are feverishly sought (degrees, perfect French, etc.) for their own sake. Kids are sent to Europe even for kindergarten to get 'civilized.' When they come back for vacations, they cannot even recognise their own mothers: that is how they profoundly get 'civilised'! When native carriers - usually - found imperfect - are insufficient, foreign technical assistance is sought and organised. The contradiction inherent in each culture is not understood and the problem of cultural change becomes mystified.

THE NATURE OF FUTURE AFRICAN CULTURE

African culture must be national, have a scientific character and a mass character. It has to be elaborated by Africans for Africans in function of the needs and particularities of Africa. It has to estriate itself from superstitions, colonial and neo-colonial elements of cultural oppression; it must defone its methods of research/study and investigation with the use of materialist dialectics. It must avoid the mistakes made elsewhere and appropriate creatively the most advanced correct established positions. It has to have a mass character: a revolutionary culture has a popular vocation, it is the masses who make history, including that of culture. The national genius is engrained in the masses of the people. The compartmentalization of knowledge generates social hierarchization. There is a class character to culture. The western culture to which the native 'civilised' are bound is not the western proletarian culture, but the dominant bourgeois culture. Their desire for westernization is an expression of class alliance. For the revolutionary intellectuals what they must grasp from the western culture is the mass based revolutionary culture: it is fundamentally systematized as Marxism-Leninism. The difference is only perceived from the viewpoint of the mass cultural resistance. He, who is not involved directly or indirectly, in such a mass cultural resistance, cannot comprehend correctly the difference. National mass cultural resistance is the practical basis determining the need to learn the western mass based revolutionary culture. But also to grasp advanced scientific culture from the perspective of the real concerns of the African masses. Such an exchange based on self-reliance determines the cultural borrowing aspect of cultural development. It is also that basis which makes it possible to appropriate creatively whatever is borrowed.

We see now why the system of 'foreign technical assistance' (i.e. technical assistance of a ruling class to another ruling class), not rooted in the real struggles waged by the masses of African people, has functioned as one of the basic obstacles to cultural development of the African masses. The French cooperation, for example, instructs its agents in foreign countries - French technical assistants - with which the French government has signed cultural assistance accords, to avoid contacts with the masses. Of course, a number of honest foreign experts who have acted in accordance with the real concerns of the masses, i.e., who have served truly the masses, have found themselves in conflict with the local governments and have thus been expelled from those countries. That is why 'technical assistance' has to be conceived from the perspective of the dialectical unity of opposites: self-reliance and internationalism under the dominance of self-reliance. The deepest meaning of self-reliance is to conceive of technical assistance from the perspective of the mass line.

The efforts of educational development, by most African governments, have not been geared to the formation of organic intellectuals of African masses, i.e., intellectuals *servng* the people, but to that of the intellectuals serving the ruling classes and their allies, those serving, in fact capitalist/imperialist and neo-feudal interests. Why should we then be surprised by the so-called 'brain-drain' which, in fact, is a 'brain pull'? Does it not start from the rural area to the urban centers? In the domain of culture, those governments have only laid down the systems of transmission of bourgeois reactionary culture and resurrection of outdated, anachronistic, pre-capitalist repressive culture (unearthed from the museums) serving best their interests. The so-called 'high learning institutions' function - as a consequence - as branches of western universities. How can those 'bureaucratic aristocracies', totally cut from the masses and yet living by the intensive exploitation of the same masses, organise a mass based cultural development? Mass media (radio, TV, press, etc.) have become tools of indoctrination, lies based propaganda and mental/moral brutalization of the masses. It is in this way that those African mass repressing states have organised, maintained and entertained 'systematic ignorance' - cultural oppression - as a continuation and further development of the colonial development of cultural underdevelopment of the masses. From the perspective of the working people of Africa, this process has led and is leading to the formation of *experts in useless ideas*.

At best, it forms only the technicians of multinational firms and the state ideologues i.e., potential or real enemies of the people.

The penetration in those countries of socialist, communist ideas, and revolutionary ideas generally, have been declared - in agreement with the zealous bourgeois struggle against communism - an 'importation of foreign ideologies' by the ruling class, composed, in most cases, of people who know close to nothing of the native languages and cultures, as if those ideas - which essentially say this: "It is right to rebel against the reactionaries" - had no roots in the partisan practices of struggle against exploitation waged daily by the African working classes. Of course, the more the mass resistance - where revolutionary ideas emerge - develops, the more we see pro-capitalist ruling classes leaders declaring themselves 'socialists', 'African socialists', etc., to secure some mass popularity and legitimation. To prevent the African masses from knowing the results of the revolutionary experiences of other working people of the world, is an important part of the organisation, by the ruling classes, of ideological domination. This takes many forms including violent repression, diplomatic relations with socialist states, campaigns of mystification (the police revolution of authenticity, for example) etc. The mass resistance against those forms of domination coupled with economic crises have pushed to the extreme the absolutism of those states incapable of continuously securing material means necessary for mass-soothing and mass-disarming reforms. The absolutist radicalisation of the state has often taken place through coup d'états catapulting plebians with some mass popularity to power, thanks to the peasant origins of the repressive neo-colonial armies. While such an incapacity - of receiving continuous foreign aid - increases the legitimation crises, it makes the states more dependent on the ruling classes' allies, the imperialists. Many of what Kissinger calls 'fine leaders' cry for help from the West and sometime blame the West for their internal problems.

COLONIAL LANGUAGES

It is, in fact the African ruling classes which import ideas which are disarming and divisive to the African masses' practices of struggles against exploitation and for mass based development; they use them as an integral part of the arsenal used to break the resistance of the African masses. Those are the ideas often claimed, by their state ideologues, to be the 'national culture.' They insist on making colonial languages as "official languages" official to neo-colonialists, of course! Such non-mass based 'national culture' is known as 'authentic culture' i.e., a culture which is 'authentically' neo-colonialist. Based on such a 'national culture' the neo-colonial state ideological apparatuses of cultural hegemony function principally to repress the mass-based culture produced by the masses in native languages. As long as one takes the position that cultural development means the promotion of foreign cultures and the destruction of African native cultures, one is bound to make foreign colonial languages as exclusive media of cultural development. As a consequence, the minority which incarnates those colonial languages become the privileged constituency of the state, etc.

As long as the African revolution will be conceived from the point of view of the capitalist transformation of African social formations (i.e. as a bourgeois revolution developing and reinforcing/strengthening capitalist socio-economic relations of production) rather than a socialist (anti-capitalist) transformation of both pre-capitalist and capitalist relations of production - material and cultural - the theoretical work required by such a revolution will be reduced to the spreading from above - bourgeois technical experts - to the masses of the bourgeois culture. In our present historical conjuncture, this is the capitalist road in cultural development. The African intellectuals, trained this way, will tend to be, if not mere utopians, organic intellectuals of capitalist/imperialist classes. From 1957 to now, a qualitative transformation has been taking place in the African revolutionary movement: with no mass based vanguard revolutionary party, the two stage revolution strategy is put into question. It is more and more clear that there can be no genuine independence, national liberation or economic independence outside of a non-capitalist and socialist transformation process. And we know this process cannot be carried out successfully by a vacillating non-mass based petty-bourgeoisie. In this period of crisis of imperialism and rising modern revisionism, how should the state power be seized and exercised for there to be genuine independence, socio-economic development and national liberation? This is the crucial problem faced by the African liberation movements today. No artificial (i.e., theoretical) answer will be more than an empty slogan unless the broad masses have seen, from their own experience, that such a solution is correct. "One must soberly follow the actual state of the class-consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard) and of all the working people (not only of their advanced elements). A vanguard performs its tasks as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able to lead the

whole mass forward." The theoretical work should also take that aspect into account. If the whole theoretical work is carried out outside of the mass movement, it cannot succeed in mobilising and patiently raising the class-consciousness of the masses to their real interests. The Cambodian experience is determinant, in this respect, to shed some positive light; and we must follow very carefully the Angolan experience in this respect.

Why should we be surprised to see that most African intellectuals today are rooted in bourgeois institutions and theoretical problematics? They can only function in those institutions as 'guerilla intellectuals' (as Walter Rodney has been suggesting) if they are at the same time directly or indirectly involved in the real struggles waged by the African masses. It is clear that such an involvement, involvement, unless systematically organised, cannot be maintained on a voluntary basis for a long time. African intellectuals, rooted in bourgeois theoretical problems, find it useless to pursue the real theoretical problems raised and studied by intellectuals serving the masses. We often hear them discourage, scoff at those engaging themselves in the necessary development of the native languages which the masses speak and work with daily. We are not saying that people should not learn foreign languages, but this should not be construed as the exclusive criteria for cultural development.

THE AFRICAN PETIT-BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUAL

The petitbourgeois intellectuals, rooted in the bourgeois class stand in theoretical work, hardly come to the working class position in theoretical work (i.e., Marxism-Leninism-Maoism). Due to the revolutionary influences on university students by liberation movements - the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. imperialism, especially - bourgeois institutions, on the pressures of the student revolutionary movement, have introduced courses on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (in the bourgeois manner, it is true). Only with such a reform that some African intellectuals in those institutions come to deal with Historical Dialectical Materialism reducing it to some 'theoretical principles' or to an alternative model of social change. To them, the legitimacy and validity of Marxism-Leninism are judged not through the partisan practices of the working class it guides, but from the bourgeois theoretical problematics (i.e., a search of an unshakable foundation of a model from its internal coherence). They never get tired trying to compare it to or to integrate it in bourgeois sociological/epistemological theories; they, thus, tend to be very eclectic and anti-organisations.

More and more, we get in Africa, short-lived 'revolutionaries' not rooted in the working class, but having only some base in the student movement. The fire of the student movement depends on the development of the mass revolutionary movement. The student movement cannot go very far unless rooted in the fire of the mass movement. In Africa, the students based in the university-branches of the western universities, received their fire more from the Western student movement rather than from the local mass movement. We cannot, however, minimize the role played by the student movement in spreading socialist ideas. But, being culturally and often materially, cut from the masses, the student movement has failed to unite with and serve the real working class movement which should have given it its viewpoint to start with (of course, there are exceptions). The students conducted their struggles in colonial languages - very slightly only known to the broad masses - and with a radical petit-bourgeois viewpoint. It is understandable why the workers and poor peasants have tended to remain aloof and even hostile to the student movement. The counter-revolutionary forces have tended to wipe out easily those student-based revolutionaries, to silence them or to co-opt them without the African masses of people - that the students have failed to mobilise - actually taking any (resolute or no) defense. When those short-lived revolutionaries change camp, they tend to become the advisers of the ruling classes for the containment of the African masses. They write the mass-disarming speeches of the dictators and their lackeys, they serve as indicators denouncing their former colleagues, etc. Their theoretical work is at the service of the enemy of the people, completely.

It is the masses who make history, including that of knowledge. (One person is not a crowd - 'Munti mosi nga bundue?' - as the Kongo proverb has it). But, once Africans are denied history by colonialists, neo-colonialists and petty-bourgeois native 'civilized' how can they control and orient the knowledge process? It is also on the basis of this fundamental denial, that most African governments do organise their social knowledge process. All the 'cultural facilities' are conceived and realised in that context. They are concentrated in the cities, the islands of western bourgeois cultures and organise repressive cultural invasion on the masses. But, it is also, through the cultural resistance against those facilities that mass-oriented cultural structures emerge. The music revolution should be understood in this context.

COLONIALISM AND CULTURAL STAGNATION

The 'civilized' have no clear understanding of how colonialism has induced the so-called 'cultural stagnation' or 'cultural destruction' but also indirectly 'cultural development' through the African mass cultural resistance movement (i.e. a movement that always rejected repressive cultural elements and adopted progressive cultural elements). Failing to take into account this cultural resistance, the 'civilized' have confused the whole problem of cultural development in Africa. Not only are Europeans said to have been the creators of technology, science and all theoretical work, but also the African masses have only to open their mouths and minds and let Europeans and/or Europeanised natives pour 'science' into them. How do they expect African masses to grasp and implement this science.? A tabula rasa gives you back only what you put on it. Yes, African masses need and want science not fossilised science, but guidelines to real actions in the process of struggle against false ideas. That 'civilized's' form of transfer of science confuses completely the dialectics of the old and the new and their articulation is completely misunderstood.

Maurice Guernier has religiously dressed a sombre tableau of the African cultural patrimony which he has described as having the following characters: stagnation; fatalism; irrationality; blocked intellectual level; worthless, illogical and impractical languages (suggesting the urgent adoption of the 'logical' French); etc. We know this game: label 'satanic' everything your "possible clients" believe in so that they may open themselves to the Lord's message to be saved! Unless you adopt European languages, poor Africans, you are going to die out very soon! Why can't he see that starting from a mass based African problematics, one of the positive things about radical Negritude has been to enrich French itself? Why are African languages fatalistically non-enrichable? This is not an honest (scientific) understanding of the articulation between the universal and the particular, internationalism and the right to self-determination of nations. He has not heard of the dialectics of internationalism vs. self-reliance. The cultural level of the African masses is indeed low compared to that of other masses of people. However, the solution is not to justify and intensify cultural oppression to deal with the problem; the issue is to find concrete ways of transforming such a weakness into a strength. How to organise such a transformation process in such a way that it is also going to be a liberating process?

In their social practice (class struggle, struggle for production, struggle for experimented, correct ideas) African masses have produced correct ideas. Can't we speak of the technology of hunting of Mbuti Pygmies, the geometry developed by African women in the process of land cultivation, the technology of fish traps, animal traps, tool making artisans, etc.? How did the masses calculate to construct all those technological pieces? Why can't mathematicians, engineers, etc. start from there, come to grips with the underlining theoretical principles of such a technology as a starting basis for advanced industrialisation that African masses could unite with easily? All that work has produced scientific terminology in native languages on which further development could be built. The articulation between the old and the new (advanced Western technology and science) will be realised. Through class struggles, the palaver was discovered and practiced by the African masses as the correct method of handling contradictions among the people. Such a practice has produced quite a number of correct ideas related to class, struggle, including a mass conception of philosophy.

In Africa too, the question of theoretical work is posed with acuity at all levels of abstraction: philosophy, cultural development, scientific development, technological development, and revolutionary theory i.e., theory of social transformation (class struggle). To tackle it, we must analyse relations of production of our time; we must do so by taking politics as a starting point. That is, we must study the social basis of the political classes and their respective ideas. Amilcar Cabral has given us the most exemplary model.

A Brief History of Imperialism

This is the second part of the excerpt from Malcolm Caudwell's forthcoming book, "The Wealth of Some Nations" looking at the relationships between the Imperialist West and the 'under-developed' Third World. Writing with a controlled moral indignation Caudwell challenges the racist premises not only of orthodox Western bourgeois writers but also of that section of the white chauvinist left that dismisses the Third World revolutions as being unable to solve their problems until revolutions are made by the white Western working class. The book is published by Zed Press, Caledonian Road, London.

POLITICAL IMPERIALISM

The Role of The State

Britain had many advantages as an industrial power. Nevertheless, it would be quite incorrect to overlook the important role the state played in enabling private enterprise to make the contribution it did. Admittedly direct government intercession in manufacturing was minimal (aside from military-related activities such as ship-building and ordnance production, though these had clear repercussions in the private sector; for instance, Wilkinson's method of boring cannon was ultimately turned to good account in the making of steam engines cylinders). But in at least two directions state action was critical to inauguration of the development process; first, in establishing effective protection of British interests against actual or potential rivals; and second, in deploying sufficient military and diplomatic power and influence to guarantee unimpeded economic access around the globe. Protection, as Arrighi Emmanuel points out has always been crucial, economic theory notwithstanding. Even in the British case, free trade cannot be said to have been prevalent with the exception of the few decades from 1846 to (at latest) 1914. And no one would dispute that the key steps were taken long before that, during the era of mercantilism, in fact. Who can doubt, moreover, that it was British feats of arms that really consolidated and gave impetus to British manufacturing and British commerce and industry in general?

However, it is when one comes to the countries that followed Britain's lead that one really begins to appreciate the vital role the state has to play in launching economic development. Mention has already been made of the Dutch Culture System in Indonesia - made inevitable by Holland's falling behind Britain (despite some initial economic advantages) in industrialisation. Among the first acts of the new independent United States of America was to erect a tariff barrier which, although primarily directed at raising revenue, had a distinct protective hue. Among the interests benefitting were the steel and paper mills of Pennsylvania, the brewers of New York and Philadelphia, the glass manufacturers of Maryland, and the iron workers and rum distillers of New England. Later still, the US tariff became avowedly protective, and has so remained, American rhetorical commitment to global free trade notwithstanding.

Nevertheless, it would be mistaken to assess the state's role as in any way comparable with that it assumed in Germany and Japan. Friedrich List, in his notable book, *The National System of Political Economy* made the strongest possible case for protection and state intervention to enable countries embarking upon industrialisation to catch up with those that had gone ahead. The German state both intervened directly - as in nationalising the Saar coal-mines - and bolstered private industry not only by affording it adequate protection but also by extending it financial subsidies. In such matters as developing a system of technical education and mobilising capital the state helped propel German industry into self sustaining growth, to use Rostow's term. In Japan, too, it can readily be demonstrated that the state role was decisive at the crucial juncture. As is well known, the Japanese government assumed the responsibility of founding and running certain key industries until they were viable enough to be entrusted to the aspiring industrialists whose education the state itself had carefully supervised.

In general, the more backward a nation the greater the role the state has had to play in order to mobilise and make effective its human, technical, political and diplomatic resources and potential. The challenge and the problems were however, very different in the earlier round of 'take-offs'

from those posed to and faced by poor countries today. And this is not just a question of the magnitude of the technico-economic gap between leaders and laggards, real though this aspect of the matter is, for it is also a question of *political* freedom of manoeuvre. Germany and Japan had to strive strenuously to catch up on Britain, but at least they were free to take the key economic decisions required because they were politically unimpeded. Today's neo-colonial third world countries do not have this degree of choice (allowing that most of the current leaders lack the motive or will to assert aggressively nationalistic economic ambitions against their imperialist supporters), for erosion of economic sovereignty via foreign advisers, the IMF, and conditional aid effectively circumscribes it.

The case of Russia is an interesting one. In some ways, Russia's experience act as a bridge between the earlier cases and the later. The state had tried to haul up the snoring bear from its slumbers for a couple of centuries before the revolution, but with limited success. Foreign capital had obtained an important hold in the industrial sector which had arisen, and foreign loans implied a degree of foreign influence in policy making. In the event, it proved essential to overturn the entire existing social order to force open the road to full industrialisation. This revolutionary prelude signalled the end of the road for 'peaceful transition' to capitalism. On the other hand, Soviet state planning, as it took shape, simply represented the logical extension of what had gone before: statism - state intervention in economic life - reached its absolute apogee.

Not that Russia was backward in the same sense as we might use the term with reference to numerous African or Asian countries a couple of decades ago, or even in some instances today: in 1913 the Russian Empire stood fifth in the world league table of industrial power. To be sure, this position owed more than the country's sheer physical scale and population and much cried out to be done to bring the giant into line with the industrialised countries to the west. Not without some historical continuity, the decision of the Bolsheviks was for maximum centralisation: as Alec Nove has pointed out, and as early as 1925 one finds in planning documents such attestations as the following: "The industrial plan must be constructed not from below but from above". As we know, growth in sector heavy industry especially) was rapid but this statistical triumph was achieved at the expense not only of consumer satisfaction (and economic rationality) but also of anything reminiscent of economic and political democracy. A vast and inefficient bureaucracy sat astride the population, cynically devoted on the one hand to evading the wrath of the superiors for failing to meet the arbitrarily imposed production targets, and on the other to making as much as possible for itself and thus reinforcing its ossifying formation as a new hereditary class or caste. Not surprisingly in such arbitrary despotism, slave labour played an inestimable part in meeting output objectives. Statism had come to the inevitable cul-de-sac where necessary means nullified expressed ends.

It is of great interest and significance that leaders of the embattled Communist Party of China early perceived the dilemma and paradox. As Jack Belden, the shrewdest and closest Western observer of the pre-1949 Communist leadership, reported of them they spoke quite openly of the mistakes - as they saw them - of the Russians, and indicated that they would certainly take a quite different path. This they undoubtedly have done, even if not without oscillations, for there were many Chinese cadres deeply imbued with Soviet influence. In essence what the Chinese have tried to do is to accentuate decentralisation and local initiative, maximise centre/periphery agreement on goals and methods by interconsultation, and minimise the central bureaucracy. Moreover, sorting out means from ends, they have from the beginning placed due emphasis on producing consumer goods so that those upon whose labour the whole burden of heaving the economy up from the trough of poverty depended were assured of seeing a steady accretion to the fruits of these labours. Visitors who have seen stores in both Russia and China know what different consequences for the ordinary consumer the two courses have entailed.

CLASS STRUCTURE, TRADITION AND THE IMPERIAL IMPACT

The next step to be taken is to examine whether a connection can be detected and established between the timing and type, of development process, on the one hand, and class structure on the other. In a sense, these matters are embedded in the core of Marxism, and - with the present spate of reprints of the classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and others, and of new commentaries, interpretations and analyses - it is unnecessary to give specific references here, merely to remark that some familiarity with this corpus is an essential element in a social science (or indeed any other) education. Attention is, however, drawn to the recent work of Barrington Moore who makes a number of interesting points, but goes - like many another commentator without a specific interest in, knowledge of, or sympathy for, China - wildly astray when he comes to consideration of the Chinese case.

The point at issue here is whether the same forces (historical, ecological, economic, etc.) acting on societies with differences so great and significant as to call into question the permissibility of their being all lumped together under the category 'traditional society' would have ultimately produced the same results because of the necessities inherent in these forces or alternatively whether they would have propelled some societies forward while blowing themselves out in vain on the

inhospitable rock of others. Unfortunately there is no way of answering the question, though many have speculated upon it (for it has marked political and racial implications). Once one group of formerly 'traditional societies' (the Western) began pulling away from the others in certain key respects, that group was able to impose itself on the others with profound consequences for the original ('traditional' if you like) social structures of these, disfiguring them beyond recognition in due course, and producing as end products something which - if still stagnant in some respects - certainly bears no resemblance to the original. The forces which acted first in Europe never acted in the same way upon any non-European society (with the intriguing exception of Japan, of course) precisely *because* they had acted first upon Europe. We cannot go back and conduct a controlled experiment upon, say, India to see whether in fact, remaining independent of colonial rule, she would have built on the economic foundations she had already established in pre-colonial days, responding to the winds of economic and social change from out of Europe, or to the potential of her own resources to move forward along the path of autonomous, balanced, national economic development. *In other words, once colonialism was underway and the dominant force in the world it obliterated the chances of all its victims to pursue a similar course and guaranteed that, even if one day they might achieve equality, it would not be by the same path.*

Two simplistic points that are sometimes made in this connection should be dealt with briefly here. The first asserts that the failure of Western technology to transfer to other parts of the world except under Western auspices (with the usual exception of Japan, where some Westerners using this argument would say that the Japanese simply 'imitated') proves that only Western culture and society are adapted to modern technology. The point raised is an interesting one, because of course it is true that in the pre-colonial period cultural innovations did tend, with time, to spread from the point at which they had been made to all other suitable parts of the world (the windmill, paper, gunpowder, etc.) But the key lies not in the alleged unsuitability of the societies or people of the Third World to adopt modern technology, but in its existence during the relevant period of colonialism and neo-colonialism. *Modern technology in the hands of the imperialist powers was a tool of exploitation, not to be allowed to pass, except under tight supervision, restraints and restrictions, into other hands. During the entire colonial period, modern industry stayed in the 'mother-countries' (except to the extent that specific components might be more profitable when geographically situated in a colony), and local people were restricted to the lowest mechanical operations, anything more complex being kept in European hands. Neo-colonialism in many respects perpetuates this kind of situation. What a country freed by revolution from dependence and inferior status can achieve has been shown by the performance of China since 1949, with several technological and scientific firsts already to her credit (and work currently going on in all the most advanced fields).*

The other explanatory notion often put forward is that Eastern (or African or Latin American) religion is the real barrier to progress. There are many variants, but basically it is alleged that while the values of Western Christianity (especially in the Protestant form) are eminently compatible with the development of science and technology and of capitalism-industrialism, 'other-worldly' or 'mystical' religions are not. Therefore, it is implied, it is a waste of time to expect to encourage Western-style development in countries such as India or Burma and Thailand. Actually this argument puts the cart before the horse. It would be hard to imagine a religion apparently so hostile to capitalism as for instance, European mediaeval Christianity. Nevertheless, when the productive forces had developed to the point where it was essential for a rationalising ideology to ease the transition from ideational mediaeval homeostasis to worldly dynamic capitalism, it appeared in the shape of the protestant ethic, particularly in certain formulations of it. To look at this from the other direction where business interests strive to flourish in an orthodox Muslim context, reformist tendencies more favourable to the necessary business ethics will appear.

It is worth making these points because there have been attempts to argue that only Western and Western-style societies *could have* colonialism or no colonialism, grasped the chances that offered and established the kind of free societies they did. Marx himself and Marxists after him have much concerned themselves with the concept of a specifically Asiatic mode of production, requiring considerable modification to any strictly unilinear model of social development (slave society, primitive communism, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, communism). The discussion became embroiled in the Sino-Soviet dispute, but what really was at issue at the outset - and intellectually still is - was whether countries like India could, on their own, break out of the constraints made necessary by their mode of production and tending towards centralism, bureaucratism, despotism, social and economic atomisation in self-sufficient villages, massive conscription of forced labour for the upkeep of the hydraulic systems essential for irrigation and transportation, and historical homeostasis rather than metamorphosis. Marx wrote a good deal about Asia, although very little about Africa, and the scholar can find quotations to suit his own purpose. But his writings show that he did grasp two things, which are not, as some commentators have tried to make out, at all incompatible: first, that the tremendous and shattering impact of colonialism-imperialism on the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America shook them irrevocably from the grooves geography and history had worn for them before; and second, that the colossal forces thus released might well become in time the arbiters of the destinies of the 'advanced' Western countries themselves.

Let me know try to go to the heart of the question. Were I to try to generalise for the entire Third World, regional specialists would be afforded the opportunity to point out with scorn all sorts of specific exceptions to the suggested typology (which would not, of course, invalidate its applicability in general). Although, I shall, therefore, restrict myself to consideration of South East Asia, the region with which I am most familiar, much of the pattern I shall outline could equally be applied to African Colonisation.

Still, it is well to recall that there were great differences, for instance between the mainland (Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam) and the maritime part (Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines) and between hill peoples and plain peoples. The peasantry was naturally everywhere the most numerous social class, and the village, with its headman, the primary social unit. At the other extremity sat the ruler, known as God King, Sultan, or by some other honorific title depending upon the area and the era. The court-cum administration was seen to by members of the royal family (typically very numerous) and members of a handful of hereditary elite families. Religion was entrusted to specialists of one kind or another, depending upon persuasion. There was a large class of slaves of various kinds. Craftsmen provided for the luxury and semi-luxury requirements of the rich and powerful. Soldiers protected the status quo, or alternatively (from time to time) substituted one ruling line for another. Mercantile activities of the bigger sort, including international commerce, would be carried on by a cosmopolitan community, resident in the biggest ports, and consisting of, among others, Arabs, Chinese and Indians. These would include money-lenders. Commerce between villages, and handicrafts, were normally adjuncts of domestic economy, but there might be some full-time specialist handicraftsmen - and even a few villages specialising in the manufacture of some particular good and subsisting by exchange. It will be seen that there were some similarities to class structure in the European Middle Ages, and some differences - notably the absence of an independent class of burghers with their distinctive institutions and organisations.

What did Western colonial penetration eventually do to this pristine structure? In the first place, as we noted above, indigenous commercial and manufacturing enterprise was destroyed or reduced to the less important interstices of the economy. We do not know how local enterprise would have developed had it been able to fight off Western competition and political domination, but Hicks, in his theory of economic history postulates that S.E. Asia was possibly the only other place in the world - besides the Mediterranean - where all the circumstances favouring development of an advanced trading system (prefiguring the rise of capitalism) existed.

Next the greater part of the ruling structure was absorbed into, and adapted to the needs of, colonial administration, thus totally changing its relationship to the mass of the people. In a sense this volte-face left a vacuum, which the religious leadership, understandably alienated by the arrogant intruders of another religion, moved to fill: Buddhist priests and Muslim religious teachers alike figured prominently in rebellions against the colonial authorities. Their assumption of leadership of and great influence on such manifestations of popular resistance was facilitated by another important change: conversion of the village headman from being a spokesman for the village to central authority, to that of being the representative of central authority in the village. The peasantry and displaced handicraft workers supplied plenty of recruits to resistance, and rebellions erupted frequently throughout the area. Peasant grievances were very real, for many lost their land through the operations of Western land law and money economy, new innovations working together as powerful social solvents.

If old classes were being radically altered, new ones were arising. Of these we may note: an urbanised, Western-educated intelligentsia ranging from members of the professions down to clerical staff in Western enterprises and offices; a small proletariat employed in the few essential industrial activities performed locally, the products or services of which could not be imported from the imperial 'mother-country', a much larger body of plantation workers poised in status between proletariat and peasant inasmuch as wages were earned but the work was rural and indeed for many part-time, alternating with work in subsistence peasant agriculture; a comprador bourgeoisie class (including a much enlarged resident alien community) serving the purposes of Western business; a Western-trained military serving the purposes of Western imperialism (and frequently drawn largely from a minority community of the colony); a new class of small indigenous businessmen striving on a small scale to produce the same kind of goods, as were imported from the West - a group often referred to as the 'national' (as opposed to comprador) bourgeoisie; and an urban 'lumpenproletariat' as drawn primarily from the rural dispossessed.

BOURGEOISIE, PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY

It should be noted that I have used such Western derived words as 'bourgeoisie' and 'proletariat'. This is common practice in many discussions of colonial and post-colonial class structure in the Third World. I would like now to dispute the competence of this terminological application, so confusing and misleading in its connotations.

Take the term 'bourgeoisie', for instance. What it conjures up in the European context, at least in

the heroic pioneering days of the industrial revolution is, inter alia; hard work; frugality; accumulation of capital for capital investment in manufacturing industry, transport, or mining; and intense patriotism and nationalism shading into jingoism. Now what on earth does the so-called bourgeoisie of the present day neo-colonial Third World have in common with this? Whether comprador or national, it is the easy way that is sought: the exclusive licence to import or produce locally, the government contract, lucrative collaboration with rich foreign companies, and a multitude of other practices to make maximum money for minimum effort. There would be some excuse for this - not much - were the funds thus accumulated funnelled into local productive enterprises, but this is not generally the case, as is well known. The only point of the exercise is to attain as quickly as possible a flashy meretricious Western-style way of life, with big air-conditioned cars, vast showy gadget-infested suburban villas, children at school and university in America, Australia or Europe for the sake of ostentation, and so on; and of course to build up large bank balances in Switzerland or elsewhere, 'safe' for the day the wheel of fortune might turn (deposits made domestically are likely to be with branches of big Western banks: Bank of America, etc.). It should be clear that the patriotism and nationalism of this 'bourgeoisie' are to say the least rather peculiar measured against the standards of the class for which the term was coined.....from Thailand all the way through to the Phillipines we can see this eagerness to serve the foreign interests. There are two clear reasons for this: one is quite simply that it is with the multinationals and the giants of the industrial world that the big money lies, and it is in faithfully serving their interests (or alternatively milking them) that the biggest fortunes can be made most quickly (especially since the entire national incomes of most third world countries are smaller than the annual turnovers of many of the top multinationals); the other is that today's world is vastly different from that of 150 years ago in terms of the threat of revolution.

Let us consider this. It is true that in 1848 Marx and Engels had opened the text of the *Communist Manifesto* with the words 'A spectre is haunting Europe - the spectre of Communism.' But their prognostication was premature, and the European bourgeoisie was - with some scares - able to look after itself until the Russian Revolution of 1917 (when the bourgeois ruling classes of other Western powers rushed in panic to fling their armies against the bolsheviks). One reason, undoubtedly, was that the Western working classes were able, by their struggles, to wrest some improvements in the living standards - concessions their rulers were able to make in part from the 'export of poverty' and 'export of exploitation' to the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Today, the international revolutionary landscape and vistas are transformed. The successful revolutionary convulsion of China, the irresistible momentum of the revolution of the Indochinese peoples, and the Third World-wide eruptions of revolutionary violence and armed liberation struggles aimed against the ruling order, have brought the spectre to the very foot of the beds of the bourgeoisie of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For very survival, the ruling groups of the 'free world' empire have no option but to submerge the interests of their own people to the imperative of attracting and securing the economic and military support of the rich capitalist powers, whose interest in their survival happen to coincide with their own. Rhetorical 'patriotism' and 'nationalism' mask, then, an eagerness to act as heavily armed satraps of the imperialist powers - the very powers enthusiastically engaged in exploiting their resources and inhabitants. Their job, in short, is to suppress their own people for the benefit of foreign interests - a curious form of 'nationalism' indeed!

We should, though, add a few words about the possible positive roles of capitalist and business classes in the revolution, at certain stages and in certain circumstances. One thinks notably of Mao-Tse-Tung's New Democracy formulation, which permitted him to welcome to the ranks of the anti-Japanese Resistance, and subsequently of the anti-Chinag-Kai-shek civil war, small and even large business men whose patriotism and disgust at the corruption and inefficiency of the KMT led them to ally themselves with the Communists, intellectuals, liberals, workers and peasants rather than with Chiang. In pursuit of this policy, Mao held out safeguards to such proven 'national' bourgeoisie, and restrained ultraleftists from splintering by revolutionary 'purism' the broad coalition - 'uniting the many to defeat the few' - thus effected. The Vietminh and subsequently the NLF, PRG also strove successfully to integrate all patriotic elements including small and big businessmen, the widest possible coalition to isolate the anti-national Saigon clique. A similar pattern was followed in Laos and Cambodia. But just to make one relevant point from the nationalistic movements of the 1930s to the 1950s; united in a common cause (for example, the winning of political independence), very broad class coalitions can be welded together and work effectively. This search for cooperation does not, however, obliterate the separate class interests of the components. It was obvious even before the seal of international recognition had been put on Indonesian independence, for example, that class differences were already disrupting the disparate forces that had joined under elite leadership to fight and oust the Dutch. After independence, unchecked by principled and disciplined party, the various elements went their own way, the rich landlords and comprador and national bourgeoisie to profiteer and the poor to knuckle down again. The more prolonged, intense, and politically conscious Chinese and Vietnamese struggles, carrying forward social as well as national revolutions, made such an outcome impossible, even though

patriotic non-working class elements are unstable and vacillating, and leadership must be vested in worker and peasant representatives with ultimate authority.

Before leaving the question of the role of the bourgeoisie in underdeveloped countries, we should say something about the new 'bourgeoisie': the rich capitalist farmers thrown up by the Green Revolution. It is undeniable that these 'kulaks' and absentee businessmen-farmers already wield a considerable political influence in the countries where the Green Revolution has been expensively pursued. Their new found wealth commands respect, both because of the contribution it can make to party coffers or to the careers of politically ambitious individuals, and because their consumption has become a major factor in shaping markets and thereby investments. The production, exchange and consumption needs entail a far closer articulation between rural and urban elites than ever before and a relative relegation of the interests of the older feudalistic landlord class, whose requirements could, and often did, clash with the aspirations of the urban commercial - industrial bourgeoisie.

The emergence of a numerically strong new class with a very powerful and direct interest in preserving the socio-political status quo was naturally a result not unwelcome to the imperialist capitals of the world. Nor was it an unexpected or unplanned - for result. Increasing agricultural production by means of rewarding and enriching big and (in market terms) successful farmers and by sucking idle capital out of urban hoards, was obviously an excellent tactic. That it widened rural inequalities and jettisoned numerous poor peasants onto the scrap heap of total redundancy was a consideration of little or no moment. The rural labour thirst 'released' became free labour, free to swell the ranks of the industrial reserve army of unemployed and thus ensure the maintenance of pitifully sub-minimal wages wherever labour was required by those with capital.

However, there is another side to the coin. The Green Revolution undoubtedly heightened class consciousness in the rural areas where it had an impact. Militancy on the part of lower middle and poor peasants, and among landless labourers, rose sharply and spilled over into insurrection as in India in a Naxabari rising in 1967 (and subsequent armed struggles of the rural poor, with worker and student support, continuing to this day). This is a tendency which cannot be reversed, and which carried within it the seeds of the future all across the spectrum of Third World Countries, exposed to imperialist techno-economic interference and manipulationism.

So much for the use and misuse of the term 'bourgeoisie'; what of proletariat? Marx used the term to describe the class that in his day was the most numerous in Western industrial society, and the one that was the 'focal point of all inhuman conditions'! The proletariat of South and South East Asia, the Middle East and Africa is comparatively small - in some of the countries almost non-existent - and numerically overshadowed by the peasantry. In addition the proletarian in employment typically has an income about that of the poor peasant, and he may have some kind of organisation and/or some kind of legislative protection (for example, minimum wages). His position in short, while from all points of view often deplorable, is relatively privileged one (which admittedly does not say a great deal). Far worse is the lot of the lumpenproletariat of the slums, the poorest landless peasants, rack-rented sharecroppers, and other rural deprived/here indeed we see the 'focal point of all inhuman conditions'. A final word on the lumpenproletariat: this volatile mass voice, in the 'industrialisation of the West, a kind of reserve army for absorption either permanently (with economic advance) or temporarily (a cyclical necessity arose) into the employed proletariat; if the Chinese experience offers any precedent at all for the rest of the Third World this Third World lumpenproletariat, on the contrary, is a dispossessed peasantry *awaiting return to agriculture* but to an agriculture totally transformed as a result of successful socialist revolution in the countryside.

This brings us to the important question of the role of the peasantry in the revolution which we shall argue alone holds out the promise of true national economic developments bringing real benefits to all. *Mechanical Marxism, despite everything, still clingsd to the theory of the vanguard role of the (white western proletariat), the peasant peoples of the Third World being according to one recent TRotskyist writer, 'sunk in disillusionment and apathy', their only hope 'change and revolution in the industrial world! It is a very good job for the Chinese peasants that they did not wait for revolution in the industrial world, for they would be waiting more than a quarter of a century after the revolutions had transformed their lives. In overwhelming peasant societies, it must be the peasantry that carries the brunt of social transformation.* It is true that urbanisation is now proceeding apace in Third World countries, but it is an urbanisation totally unlike that of the industrial countries, for while there is some industrialisation associated with this hyper-urbanisation, the main contributory cause of the vast and seemingly endless expansion in numbers is the continuing hopeless flight from the rural areas (sometimes refugees). These are pre-industrial cities, populations, soaring at three or four times the rate of respective national, population growths, observing now sometimes a third of the whole (as compared with a few per cent fifty years ago) a quarter of more of them in slums and shanty towns even in such prosperous examples as Malaysia's Kuala Lumpur or Kenya's Nairobi. But political control of these inflated urban masses is easier than it is in the rural areas, and besides they have shown themselves both inflammable and volatile politically, rampaging at the behest of racist demagogues and religious fanatics as well as throwing the weight behind strikes and anti-imperialist actions.

There are several excellent accounts and analyses of the role of the peasantry in the Chinese Revolution in Mao's own works as an indispensable source. It can hardly be denied that they carried the brunt of pushing the revolution through. But more generally, it seems clear that the peasantry of 'free' Asia the most numerous class and the class whose sufferings are most severe, intractable, and deteriorating will have the key role to play in providing the manpower, support, and the basis for the revolution. The long drawn out Vietnamese and the less protracted Mozambique revolutions have demonstrated precisely how such a struggle has to be rooted in the rural areas, with the support of the peasantry, and recruitment from their ranks. With this kind of integration, no power on earth can crush the revolution, short of annihilating the country totally with nuclear weapons.

There are also the fascinating examples of Cambodia and Laos, countries characterised by minute and in the latter case virtually non-existent, proletariats. Yet in both countries successful liberation struggles have been waged while at the same time major steps to elevate the living standards and all round morale of the people have been undertaken. Elsewhere where armed liberation struggles are already being waged, we see the same kind of phenomena in embryonic form appearing: from Thailand and Malaya, etc., with relatively well developed struggles on the way, through Indonesia where, for all the disadvantages, the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) has survived and created at least one secure base area (in North West Kalimantan) - Indonesian Borneo - to the Phillipines and South Africa, with long traditions of guerilla war and present tense struggles. Again in South Asia and in Southern Africa the people are on the move more palpably now than at any previous time. Clearly the inevitably revolutionary convulsions on the Indian sub-continent will dramatically change the entire international situation: and upon whom can such a movement be based but upon the teeming poverty stricken peasants.

THE NEW SPECTRE

We have already essayed a comparison between Indonesia and Japan, arguing that the experience of colonial oppression was crucial in contorting and depressing Indonesian economic growth and development, while, in contrast, the fact that Japan retained her sovereignty was the key factor in enabling her to embark upon autonomous and balanced economic growth. I would now like to make some kind of comparison between India today and China today. This is of great relevance, because it seems to me to demonstrate, if indeed any demonstration or proof were required, that through-going economic and social revolution today is the sine qua non of any secure, independent and just development process holding out promise of tolerable and steadily rising living standards and levels of culture for the generality of the people. *Whole volumes might be devoted to the comparison, and there are many qualitative factors which stark indices cannot convey. It is hard, for instance, to demonstrate the degree of inequality or its implications economically, politically and socially. No statistics can convey the difference in the outlook of a people assured of their future as against that of a people sunk in misery and despair.*

Similarly striking comparisons could be, and in other places have been made between North Korea and South Korea and between North Vietnam and pre-liberation South Vietnam.

It is hard to dispute that, in the form their evolutions have actually taken, it was certainly Western impact that jolted the countries of the Third World into the trajectories they took.

It is not to be thought, though, that the flow of influence continues in the same direction. Orthodox 'development' theory, and many liberal-minded individuals, still profess to see things in this light, with our advanced countries giving 'aid' and a further helping hand to the backward nations. *Much left-wing theory also subscribes to this variant of Europocentrism, either in the form of social democratic parties calling for even more aid to the poorer countries, or in the form of mechanical Marxist parties claiming that the poor countries, are incapable of carrying through socialist revolutions and therefore must await salvation from the revolt of the (white Western) workers of the industrialised countries.*

On the contrary, the tide of history is on the turn. Although the illusion of Western initiative lingers on, a cool impartial look at post-war history demonstrates without question the growing impotence of the imperialist countries, headed by the U.S. to attain their desired ends. The Kolkos have analyses and documented this in great detail.

The long drawn out Indochina war illustrated again and again the new reality: namely, that politics and economics in the West will increasingly consist of reactions and adaptations to pressures from the growing initiatives of the countries of the third world. Far from the might of the US dollar smashing the Vietnamese, it was the Vietnamese who laid low the dollar, and forced an international currency crisis in the 'free' world that has become a permanent part of the global capitalist scene. It was the struggle of the Vietnamese people that elicited the massive mobilisations of workers and students all round the world in protest, sparked off research in depth into the nature of imperialism and encouraged in every country intense anti-imperialist activity. It is impossible to divorce the present ills of inflation, unemployment, and endemic industrial

chaos, from the surging tide of peoples liberation struggles, spearheaded for so long by the Indo-Chinese people. *Far from the workers of the rich West coming to the aid of the peasants of the Third World, it is they who are creating the conditions for the workers of the West to liberate themselves. Far from the works of Trotsky enjoying wide currency among the peasants of Asia, it is the works of Mao-Tse-Tung that circulate among the peoples of Europe, North America and Australasia. It is no surprise that this should be so, for historically initiative, creativity and energy have alternated between East and West, between one culture and civilisation and another, and today we are living through the era in which the West, so long in the ascendant, is palpably on the wane.*

The struggle will, however, be a hard fought one. The weapons in the hands of the imperialist powers in their last-ditch battles are very varied and increasingly adapted, by trial and error, specifically to the twin tasks of keeping 'friendly' regimes in power (primarily by military and economic support) and suppressing 'insurgencies' (primarily by intelligence methods thoroughly tested in Vietnam and by newer tactics and weapons battle-ried there).

THE CRISIS OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

There is nothing new in the working of the underlying economic laws defining the relationships of richer and poorer, more or less powerful. Over time, the specific forms have modified and the contradictions intensified. Wallerstein has recently demonstrated that from the very beginnings of Western expansion it has been concerned with making good domestic shortages by foisting 'unequal exchange' upon poorer or less powerful territories, in his words expanding 'the territorial base of European consumption by constructing a political economy in which this resource base was unequally consumed, disproportionately by Western Europe.' Overcoming resource limitations in successive directions is also the theme of Wilkinson's book, though he underplays the role of imperialism in enabling the rich overdeveloped countries to pass the burden onto the poorer countries. *It has been left to Arghiri Emmanuel to articulate with precision and passion the way in which over the centuries a handful of countries have been able to construct and benefit - workers and rulers alike - from an elaborate system of unequal exchange condemning the poor of the poor countries to a poverty frequently referred to by Western scholars and liberals alike as 'hopeless' but nurturing within it the stuff which the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions set aflame; 'a single spark can start a prairie fire,' as Mao expressed it.*

Emmanuel, seeking to account for the lack of commitment of the workers of the overdeveloped countries to anti-imperialist struggle, and therefore for the collapse of 'proletarian internationalism' develops the following, by no means absurd supposition:

Let us suppose that a major defeat brings the US down to the level of an underdeveloped country. Leaving out of account the material losses suffered during and as a result of the event itself, the American capitalist will not find himself any worse off. The members of the liberal professions and the highly skilled workers will experience at worst an insignificant decrease in their incomes. (Despite the huge disparity in wages, an engineer, a manager, or a lawyer in Egypt or in India earns nearly as much as his counterpart in one of the richest countries.) The labourers and the ordinary skilled workers, however, will be hurled into an abyss. It is even hard to imagine how, in the event of such a catastrophe, an American worker who today earns three dollars an hour could survive on a wage of a few cents a day. And this is no arbitrary and fantastic speculation. Something of the kind has already happened in Algeria. When the threat of independence became immediately real, big financial capital as a whole adjusted itself to the idea of Algerian Algeria. Provided Algeria did not take the path of socialism, the capitalists had no privileges at risk. Their only privilege was their capital itself, and as long as national independence did not threaten this, they had no reason to oppose it, any more than had the real labor aristocracy, those who earned the wages or salaries of their trade or profession, not those of their nationality or race. Individually, these people made different decisions, conditioned by the ideological superstructure, but as a class they refrained from acting against the Algerian people. It was the European proletariat of Bab-el-Oued (previously a stronghold of the Algerian Communist Party) that mobilized in defense of French Algeria and supplied the OAS killers. For them it was a question of life or death. Their privilege was their quality as Europeans or whites. Algeria as a French dependency guaranteed them European or French wages in an underdeveloped country. They earned in a few days what an Algerian earned in a month. Without this privilege they were materially, objectively unable to live. "La valise ou le cercueil" - the suitcase (for an escape to France) or the coffin - was the saying that related to their problems alone."

In this passage properly understood and extrapolated, you have in a nutshell the explanation for the prolongation of neo-colonialism and underdevelopment. It is only now, with the assertion of their rights and power by the raw material producers and exporters, as exemplified by OPEC, that the vulnerability of a world structure so beneficial to the rich of both rich and poor countries and to the working class of the rich ones is being rudely exposed. *If the falling living standards to which sections of the Western working class are now being subjected stimulate militancy, against whom will that militancy ultimately be directed?*

As I pointed out earlier on in this chapter, the economic surplus of the rich countries has been continuously augmented from that of the poorer while conversely the economic surplus of the poor countries has been continuously depleted to the benefit of the richer. This is a situation that cannot continue indefinitely. Nor is it one that can be corrected solely by raising the living standards of the poorer peoples of the world. As I shall seek to show in the following chapter, the rich countries are 'overdeveloped' in precisely this respect: that they must be net importers of some of the most essential components of a high standard of living, as conventionally understood, such as proteins and the heavy hydrocarbons. As far as the first is concerned, to revert to Wallerstein's observations quoted above from the earliest period of European expansionism and imperialism, we should note that today an international system of 'unequal consumption' exists, a kind of protein imperialism, whereby the peoples of the rich countries in a literal sense take the food out of the very mouths and bellies of the poor and replace it with low quality foodstuffs. This maybe vividly illustrated by the following extracts from the first of Ingrid Palmer's book:

'Africa exports its high protein groundnuts when it has been said that a handful of groundnuts per person per day would solve the African protein problem. Africa is a net exporter of meat - mainly from South Africa. This continent is also a bigger net exporter of peas and lentils than the whole of North and Central America together. At the same time Africa is a net importer of high carbohydrate food and is a net exporter of high-protein foods. Although Latin America is a substantial net importer of vegetable proteins it is a net exporter of grains and meats. It is hardly necessary to point out that the big exports of animal protein from Latin America do not affect the low income countries' total protein intake.'

Why? Because, of course, Latin America meat exports go almost exclusively to the rich, overdeveloped countries, to the problems of which the next chapter is devoted.

African Organisations on First Anniversary of Mao's Death

TO THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNIST YOUTH OF CHINA

Dear Comrades,

The 9th of September 1977 marks the first anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung, great leader and teacher not only of the peoples of China, but also of the international proletariat, and of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

Out of deep affection and respect for Chairman Mao, the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonistic organisations of third world students, signatories of this message, take this opportunity to honour the memory of this great man, whose brilliant thought will forever light the glorious road to the world proletarian revolution.

The death of Chairman Mao was experienced as an incalculable loss by all of progressive humanity. Indeed, his name and his brilliant thought are inextricably linked with the victories of the Chinese people with their influence on world history; the foundation of the great, glorious and just Chinese Communist Party; the achievement of the New Democratic Revolution; the foundation of the People's Republic of China; and the great proletarian revolution, as well as the illustrious and continued victories in the revolution and in socialist construction. All of this has further increased the balance of world forces on the side of the people and of the revolution, and opened up still wider perspectives for the struggle for the liberation of peoples straining under the yoke of colonialism, semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism.

The old China, semi-colonial and semi-feudal, subjected to enslavement and pillage by foreign imperialists, transformed itself, within a short space of time, into a great socialist state beginning to create prosperity, a country where the proletariat has consistently maintained its dictatorship over the bourgeois and instigated and brought to triumphant conclusion the first great proletarian cultural revolution in history.

Chairman Mao, at the head of the CPC, led the Party and the masses in a long, hard and complex struggle against the right and 'left' opportunist lines which arose in the CPC ensuring the eventual victory of his revolutionary line. In this way, during the GPCR, those capitalist roaders in positions of authority were crushed, namely Liu-Shao-Chi, Lin Piao, and the anti-party gang of four.

It is in the light of the revolutionary line and principles formulated by Chairman Mao for Foreign Affairs that the People's Republic of China has unfailingly supported the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations; China has become the impregnable fortress of revolution and world socialism, the most safe and sure bastion in the struggle of peoples everywhere against imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and reaction, and in particular the struggle against those twin international tyrants: the Soviet Union and the United States.

History and living reality prove therefore that the standard of Chairman Mao is the victorious standard of the Chinese people in their revolution. It can be seen that it was Chairman Mao, who after the treachery of Khrushchev and his successors at the head of the CPSU, first socialist state, assessed the successes and failures of the world communist movement. He formulated from this a series of scientific thesis which considerably enriched the theoretical heritage of Marxism-Leninism. He personally instigated the great struggle to criticise modern revisionism and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

For more than half a century, never straying from the principle of the unity between the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete of revolution, Chairman Mao safeguarded and developed Marxism-Leninism.

Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist-Leninist and the greatest revolutionary of our time, a worthy successor to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Mao-Tse-Tung Thought represents the most recent addition to the body of Marxist-Leninist theory; it is Chairman Mao's most precious bequest to humanity.

The red flag of Chairman Mao is also the victorious flag of the peoples of the world in their revolutionary struggle. It is the sacred task of the international proletariat and of all authentic revolutionaries, to raise high the great flag of Chairman Mao and to defend it staunchly against all attacks from right or 'left' opportunists, imperialist lackeys, and especially Soviet social-imperialism.

The anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonic youth of the vast third world who consciously accept a leading role in the working class, can do no other than engage seriously in this struggle; it is the best homage they can render to Chairman Mao, the best way of transforming their grief into an unbeatable force.

The 11th Congress of the CPC held recently nearly a year after the death of Chairman Mao will doubtless go down in the history of your people as a great congress which firmly supported and raised high the great red flag of Chairman Mao, and applied with integrity his revolutionary line and policies

It is of great significance for us anti-imperialists that this congress again underlined the universal importance of the theory of new democracy formulated by Mao. This theory, which follows on from the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, is founded on the concrete experience of the Chinese revolution. It shows to the peoples of the colonial, semi-colonial or neo-colonial countries, the basic road to follow in this age of imperialism and of proletarian revolution, in order to seize their liberation and pass directly to socialism. Chairman Mao defined the general line for achieving new democracy by anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the mass of the people under the leadership of the proletariat.

He showed the necessity of prolonged people's war as a fundamental way to take power. This consists of establishing rural bases of support encircling the towns from the countryside in order to eventually take the towns. He underlined the fact that in order to bring about victory in their revolutionary struggle, a people must above all rely on its own strength and on these three magic weapons:

- a revolutionary party of the working-class built along the lines of Marxist-Leninist theory;*
- a people's army;*
- a united front of all the revolutionary classes and groups under the leadership of such a party.*

It was by faithfully following this road that the CPC and the Chinese people led by Chairman Mao were able to bring about the revolution of new democracy and found the People's Republic of China. There is no doubt that by persevering along the same road, our peoples, still under the neo-colonial yoke, will vanquish their exploiters and oppressors.

It is above all significant that the 11th Congress made it obvious that the theory of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the greatest contribution made by Chairman Mao to the theory of the proletarian revolution.

This demonstrates to those countries where the proletarian revolution has triumphed, the correct road to follow in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and prevent the restoration of capitalism and build socialism.

The anti-party gang of four, by distorting and thus opposing this theory, made obvious their extreme right nature. We rejoice that the 11th struggle between the two lines in the CPC has resulted in the permanent expulsion from the party of this collection of old and new counter-revolutionaries, who unreservedly practised revisionism, and not marxism, created schisms, and concocted plots and intrigues in the vain hope that they could take over the leadership of the party and restore capitalism in China.

WE rejoice equally that this 11th Congress reaffirmed the correctness of the great theory of Chairman Mao on the division of the world at present into three. This theory shows to the wor'd proletariat - including the proletariat of the oppressed countries of the third world - who, on an international scale, are their principal enemies (the two superpowers - USA and USSR - which form the first world) who is their principal ally (the vast third world) and which are the intermediate forces that they can and must rally and unite (the second world) or neutralise in order to strike decisive blows against their principal enemies.

This very clear theory, which stems from a proletarian class outlook and is based on an exhaustive scientific study of different countries on a global scale, correctly points the finger at Russian social-imperialism as the most dangerous enemy of all peoples at the present time and the principal focus of a Third world war arising from its competition for world hegemony with the other superpower.

Our African Continent and its Indian Ocean islands is today the subject of a bitter rivalry between the two hegemonic powers. The social-imperialist and social fascist USSR is a latecomer to the neo-colonial feast and is frantically accelerating its expansion and infiltration, thus revealing to the peoples of the Africa the hideous face of a superpower on the offensive, bent on enslaving the people, seizing colonies and zones of influence to the detriment of its American rival and the imperialist countries of the second world.

Through the armed aggression of Cuban mercenaries, the USSR has placed Angola under its influence and attempted to invade Zaire. It also infiltrated governments and armed forces to gain power, often by coup d'etat. But its most dangerous tactic is the infiltration of national liberation movements. By this means, the Soviet Union has caused numerous setbacks in the liberation struggle from following the correct road of new democracy led by the proletariat, as indicated by Chairman Mao.

However, all the efforts of Russian social-imperialism to recolonise Africa and other Third World countries are doomed to fail, like those of their predecessors and rivals.

The peoples of Africa, by their own practice, are increasingly unmasking this aggressive superpower which hides its real nature by usurping the glory of the Great October Revolution, and the prestige of the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin.

As the experience of recent times has shown, the confirmation of comrade Hua-Ku-Feng in the post of Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC is a guarantee that the leadership of the party is in the strong hands of an eminent Marxist leader chosen by Chairman Mao himself as his worthy successor. It is also a guarantee that the great socialist China, principal bastion of the revolution, is and will remain red.

WE will continue to firmly support great red China, principal bastion of the revolution and of socialism. The patriotic youth who are active in our organisations is determined to proceed along the road of integration with the workers and peasants, to place themselves conscientiously under the leadership of the proletariat as it assumes its historic mission to lead the revolution through all its stages.

WE will work unceasingly to reinforce the bonds of revolutionary friendship and cooperation between our respective peoples and the fraternal Chinese people, between our respective organisations and the Communist youth league of China, in order that side by side, till the end, we can conduct the struggle against our common enemies, the struggle for the triumph of the world revolution, a course to which Chairman Mao dedicated his whole life.

Association of Gabonese Students

Association of the Students of Comoro Islands

Federation of African Students in Italy

National Union of Central African Students

National Students Union of Cameroons