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AFRICA :
BEWARE OF RUSSIAN
SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM
AND
SUPER POWER RIVALRY

THIS ISSUE INCLUDES: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA (AFRICAN NATIONALISTS); WHITE-LED SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY PARTY USE MARXISM-LENINISM TO MAINTAIN WHITE PRIVILEGES IN SOUTH AFRICA; HARRY HAYWOOD, AFRO-AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINIST ON THE BACKGROUND TO THE BLACK REPUBLIC; BASIL DAVIDSON AND REVISIONISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; FRELIMO THESIS ON CONVERSION TO MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY; ANGOLAN MARXIST-LENINISTS ON MPLA; MASSES AND REVOLUTION IN THE PEOPLE'S CONGO; BLACK ARTS FESTIVAL; IMPERIALISM AND AID; NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION

50p

EDITORIAL (1)

THE LAND AND WEALTH TO THE BLACK PEOPLES OF AZANIA.

We have withheld our own analysis of the 1928 Black Republic Thesis of the Communist International. Instead we carry a very interesting account from the pages of the Afro-American Marxist-Leninist, Harry Haywood's forthcoming autobiography to be published in spring this year. The account gives a background to the Thesis drawn up at the Comintern Conference and shows the early history of the racialism and chauvinism of the white "communists" of the SACP.

Haywood's account should be read in conjunction with the reply document of the ANC (African Nationalists) who sharply trace the history of manipulations that the white SACP have been engaged in in sabotaging the freedom struggles of the Black peoples in Azania. It is these same people who try to teach the Black peoples of Azania to hate the great Peoples Republic of China, a Third World country that the people of Azania naturally look upto. But the days of the Slovos, Carnesons, Buntings, etc. are fast coming to an end. Their Black hangers-on better take note and not be foolishly playing their game. There is no future with them, despite all the Cuban mercenaries and Russian armaments they might be able to harness.

Both these articles should be read in the light of the extract from Mao-Tse-Tung's Ten Major Relationships, which enables Azanians to correctly approach the question of white racialism, to reject the "non-racial democracy" approach that the white CP wants us to accept.

It is also important for Azanian revolutionaries to approach the question of national oppression (racialism) from a class point of view and for this reason we carry an article from an old school of writing showing the umbilical links between South African capitalism, Imperialism and national oppression. It is important not to look at South African Capitalism apart from its roots in the history of Imperialism, which nurtures and sustains it in the country, and to whom it is a much junior partner. Failure to do so will mean that we cannot have a correct concept of national independence, and the meaning of our slogan: THE LAND AND THE WEALTH TO THE BLACK PEOPLES OF AZANIA.

The articles of the Angolan Marxist-Leninists on the situation in Angola during the war of intervention by the two super powers, the USSR and the USA, should be read in conjunction with the article on the "Masses and Revolution in the People's Republic of the Congo." Both of these underline the new types of "socialism" that is being promoted in some African states, in some cases - as with Somalia - under the patronage of the Russians. This type of "socialism" while it might carry with it certain welfare benefits, is often mere rhetoric and phrase-mongering, and really constitutes a form of state bureaucratic capitalism and new elitism. What we have is that an unrepresentative movement (as in the case of the Neto clique of the MPLA) seizes State power and declares itself a Marxist-Leninist Party. This so-called Marxist-Leninist Party, without basing itself on mass mobilisation intends to bring socialism to the unenlightened masses by administrative decrees. This was the road of the Russian Revolution and that has led right back to the restoration of capitalism in Russia, and even given rise to a social-imperialist phase in Russia's history. While we do not categorise FRELIMO in the same manner we also realise that the danger remains with it too.

The documents of the Angolan Marxist-Leninists throw a great deal of light on the real nature of the MPLA which its apologists cannot shrug away. Certainly the class analysis that the Angolan Marxist-Leninists present reveal who are the true revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the country.

On the question of Zimbabwe while it is the policy of IKWEZI not to interfere in the internal affairs of the liberation movements, and we believe that the Zimbabwean revolutionaries if left to themselves will eventually be able to sort out their problems through struggle and attain unity against their common imperialist foes, nevertheless we cannot accept the crude interference of the Front-Line States in matters that are really the business of the Zimbabwean Liberation Movements. Let them sort out the question of their representative organisations and leaders. The Zimbabweans through their own struggle were able to raise the level of their struggle to a high level, that threatened to topple Ian Smith, and probably make the greatest revolutionary breakthrough in South African history, until the Front-Line States interfered.

This interference, while in some ways plays into the hands of the Russian social-imperialists, also lays the seed of future divisions in the country. The fact is that neither MUGabe nor Nkomo have the major mass followings in Zimbabwe, and whilst we have no illusions about the petit bourgeois nature of Bishop Muzorewa, the fact is that the mass of the Zimbabwean people trust him as a honest leader and support him. His organisation, the ANC, is the only mass organisation of the Zimbabwean people. They are sick and tired of ZAPU and ZANU who have no mass followings inside the country. The nature of the Zimbabwean struggle can only radicalise the ANC and bring it under the leadership of the most revolutionary elements, as Chen Chimutengwende describes in his article on "Zimbabwe and the Dangers of Neo-Colonialism."

(2) Oppose Russian Social-Imperialism in Africa

In our last issue we carried an article pointing out that the continent of Africa was now undergoing a new phase of imperialist rivalry: that between Russian social-imperialism and Western Imperialism led by the United States. Recent events on the African continent have borne out how true this is. It is not only a question of Angola where there was flagrant and wily interference on the part of the Russians and their pawns, the Cubans, under the cover of repulsing South African aggression. The South Africans who had no desire to interfere in the first place, and did so under the promptings of that other Super Power, U.S' Imperialism, in its contention with the USSR, have long ago withdrawn

but the Cuban Army is still in Angola, on the one hand fighting against UNITA guerillas, whom the combined might of the Russians, Cubans and MPLA have failed to subdue, and on the other hand virtually running the country on behalf of the Angolans. If that has not reduced the MPLA to a puppet status we don't what can. The Cubans could sit down with Annibal Escalante and Blas Roca and become integrated into their Communist Party that sided with Batista at the time of the revolutionary struggle led by Castro and Gueverra, but they find intolerable that Savimbi should be incorporated into a national government in Angola, so that the killing and sufferings of the Angolan people can be brought to an end, and the Angolans can be allowed to run their own affairs.

It is becoming clear also that the intervention in Angola is not going to stop there and that the Soviet imperialists having a taste of victory wish to push on with their advantage. The recent incursions into Zaire, reportedly led by Cubans, demonstrates quite clearly that Angola is going to become the base for Soviet aggression against African countries. At the time of the Angolan War of Intervention, when Zaire asked for the return of the Katangese mercenaries, who in the past were hired by the Portuguese fascists to kill innocent Angolan people, and whom the opportunist MPLA had no hesitation in hiring - 6,000 of them, far outnumbering the other mercenaries, - it knew what it was doing. The fear that the MPLA would use the Katangese mercenaries against Zaire has come true. Can any progressive or democrat sanction the breakaway of Katanga (now called Shaba) from Zaire, over which so much Zairean blood was spilt. Is this not encouraging tribalism and the weakening of an African state.

The Soviet Union and its revisionist apologists like Basil Davidson have for long been attacking Zaire as a CIA agent, etc. There has been a deliberate attempt by the revisionist world in recent months to pick out Zaire for attack. Certainly we would like to see a genuinely anti-imperialist and people's government take over from Mobuto. But that is a task that Zairean revolutionaries must undertake. We would definitely support and welcome a struggle of that sort that is indigenous to the peoples of Zaire. What we are not fooled by is under the guise of labelling Mobuto as a CIA agent, etc. others wish to bring Zaire under its heel and threaten its national independence as the Russian social-imperialists are doing at the moment. **WE SAY WITHOUT ANY HESITATION: HAND OFF ZAIRE.**

As far as we can learn the invasion in Shaba, Zaire, has not in any way been linked with the struggle of the Peoples Revolutionary Movement. They are too weak to muster such an uprising in anycase.

In the case of Zaire the Soviet Union and the revisionists label the country as 'reactionary'; yet in the case of India, they supported Indira Gandhi, a fascist butcher who put thousands

of Indian revolutionaries into gaol, and murdered many thousands more. In Equatorial-Guinea, the Cubans give protection to one of bloodiest butchers on the African continent. This duplicity can only fool the naive Leftists who like to engage in slogans and phrase-mongering. It certainly does not fool those who understand the deeper motives of the social-imperialists

The Cubans are obviously a pawn in the whole game. How can Cuba, a country that itself is in tremendous debt to the Soviet Union have the resources to be meddling in so many countries in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, except that she acts as a pawn and a mercenary for the social-imperialists who make use of her quite cynically.

It has been reported that in her attempt to woo Ethiopia, where the social-imperialists need bases to give them control of the vital Red Sea area, Cuba has denounced the Eritrean guerilla movement fighting for national self-determination. This is hardly an example of the proletarian internationalism that was supposed to have been practised in Angola! Cuba of course has the advantage of posing as an African country, Latin American country and Third World country, and in every instance she speaks unabashedly on behalf of the interests of the social-imperialists.

In Sudan the Russian social-imperialists made three attempts to topple Numeiri, once through a coup d'état engineered by elements of the revisionist Sudanese Communist Party. It failed but they tried again, and Sudan is again the target of Russian attack and criticism. The social-imperialists attempts to apply an economic stranglehold on Egypt is now well known. The Russians hoped that by dominating Egypt they could dominate the Middle East situation and oust U.S. imperialism from its leading role in the area. But they still persist in criticising Egypt in the manner of Great-Russian chauvinism.

Super Power rivalry as a result of the Russian thrust has also revealed itself in Uganda, and the recent Western campaign to discredit Idi Amin is nothing more than the Western fear that Amin is heavily armed by the Russians and that, maverick and crazy as he is, he might upset the East African apple cart, which is very comfortable to Western Imperialism at the moment. We would like to see the butcher Amin toppled but let him be thrown out by an indigenous movement of the Ugandan peoples. It is a known fact that many of Amin's officers are being trained by the Russians, and that he himself is not unaware of the Russians' intentions and that on some occasions he had some of his leading officers trained in the Soviet Union shot. What is more most of these officers return from the Soviet Union having duly imbibed a healthy dose of anti-China propaganda.

In Ethiopia also the Soviet Union has been interfering in a crude manner and has incurred the wrath of the People's Revolutionary Movement, the EPRP. Her interests in Ethiopia has been that of naked big-power interests, as it attempts to gain a crucial base in the mainland.

In Southern Africa, apart from Angola, the Russians are desperately trying to edge out the Chinese in Mozambique, and to bring SWAPO under its umbrella. In the case of Zimbabwe they exclusively support ZAPU and indeed ZAPU's infrastructure is totally manned by pro-Soviet elements. ZAPU has a standing army of about 4,000 stationed in Somalia and Zambia ready to take over the country once the war is over. This Army is not engaged in any fighting at the moment. Trained in conventional warfare it is the sort of Army geared to take over a country and establish a government. Through its influence in Mozambique ensuring a role for Nkomo in the Patriotic Front, the Russians are in fact ensuring the future of their progenies. In the case of South Africa the social-imperialists have the Tambo wing of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party completely wrapped. Both these organisations cannot exist for a single day without Russian support.

So all in all the Russian thrust in Africa is a very serious one and African revolutionaries must awaken up to it.

Is the Russian intervention a good thing. Definitely no. The Russians are not interested in creating genuinely socialist states in the African countries. Like any other imperialist power they are interested in bringing these countries under their control in the interests of their own domination. They wish to create a new world-wide empire under the guise of Marxism-Leninism. The present crisis of Imperialism affords them an opportunity to push the U.S. imperialists out of their positions of strength. Hence their current phase of expansionism.

It is important to note that the Soviet push is meant not only to edge the Western imperialists out, it can also enable her to bargain more effectively with the West over trade, aid, etc. Was not the question of allowing Jews to leave the Soviet Union to bash in Arab skulls in the Middle East related to the Soviet Union being granted preferential trade arrangements with the U.S. Collusion is as much a factor as competition, as the OCA analysis of joint Super Power exploitation elsewhere shows. The meaning of detente means collusion as much as competition.

Harry Haywood Reminisces About Jimmy La Guma and Black Republic

A WORD IN INTRODUCTION

The following are two short extracts from the book, 'Memoirs of a Black Bolshevik', which will be published in late spring of 1977 by Liberator Press, Box 7128, Chicago, Illinois 60680, U.S.A.

Harry Haywood was a leading member of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. from 1924 until his expulsion in 1959 for opposing the revisionist take-over. In his book he treats the activities and line of the party both in its good revolutionary period of the 1920's and 30's, and its degeneration into Browderism and finally its complete refutation of Marxism-Leninism in the mid-1950's.

Haywood was a delegate to the Comintern, having first been sent as one of several Afro-American Communists to study in the Lenin School in Moscow in the early 20's. He participated in the drafting of the Communist International's positions on the Afro-American national question in the U.S. and the Black Native Republic position on South Africa.

The first extract sketches his impressions of the South African communists, in particular it is a fond remembrance of James La Guma, with whom Haywood collaborated on the South African resolution.

The second extract treats the first meeting of the Negro Commission of the Communist International, which occurred during the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in the summer of 1928. Elsewhere in the book comrade Haywood describes the commission in this manner:

"Although set up as an independent commission, in reality it was a sub-committee of the Colonial Commission. The resolutions formulated by it were included in the final draft of the Congress Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies. The Negro Commission was set up on August 6, 1928 at the 23rd session of the Congress. It was a memorable day, particularly for us Negro Communists - a day to which all had looked forward. At last there was to be a full-dress discussion on the question."

The Negro Commission had 32 delegates representing 18 countries, including the U.S., South Africa, Britain, USSR, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Turkey, India, Palestine, Syria, and others. The Chairman was Ottomar Kuusinen, who was also a member of the CI Secretariat and Chairman of the Colonial Commission. The U.S. delegates included five Black communists, among them Harry Haywood, his brother Otto Hall, and James Ford; and two white members, Bittleman and Lovestone. Also on the Commission were Bunting, two representatives of the Young Communist International, and several other delegates including a Swiss and some Soviet members. Other participants who were not Commission members also addressed the meetings. These included Manuilsky, a CI official, and Skrybnik, a Ukrainian CI delegate. "The hall," Haywood recalls, "was always crowded with interested observers."

The first order of business with the Commission was the passage of a new resolution on the Negro Question in the U.S. It was published on October 26, 1928 as "CI Resolution on the Negro Question in the U.S." in an issue of THE COMMUNIST

Then the meeting moved on to South Africa. The following extract describes part of the struggle which took place then. Although this is only a brief description it captures much of the flavour and essence of the struggle. Headlines and italics are our own.

EXTRACT ONE (MOSCOW 1927)

BUNTING DENOUNCES NATIONALISM

Our draft resolution on the US Negro question was turned over to the Petrosky (Bennett), chairman of the Anglo-American Secretariat. He seemed quite pleased with it, expressed his agreement, and suggested some minor changes. He agreed to submit it to the Negro Commission at the forthcoming Sixth Congress.

I continued to work with Nasanov on preparations for the Congress. By that time we had become

quite a team. Our next project was the South African question, a question which also fell under the jurisdiction of the Anglo-American Secretariat.

We were assigned to work with James La Guma, a South African coloured comrade, who had come to Moscow to attend the Tenth Anniversary celebrations and stayed on to discuss with the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee of the Communist International - Ed.) and Anglo-American Secretariat the problems of the South African party. Specifically, we were to draft a new resolution on the question, restating and elaborating the Comintern line of an independent Native South African Republic. This line, formulated the year before with the cooperation of La Guma, during his first visit to the Soviet Union in the spring of 1927, had been rejected by the leadership of the South African party.

La Guma, as I recall, was a young, brown-skinned man of Malagasy and French parentage, which in South Africa placed him in the category of "Coloureds", a rung above the Natives on the racial ladder established by the white supremacist rulers.

Coloured persons were defined as those of mixed blood, including descendants of the aboriginal Hottentots and also descendants of Javanese (Malay) slaves, mixed in varying degrees with European whites.

La Guma, however, identified completely with the Natives and their movement. He had been General Secretary of the I.C.U. (Industrial and Commercial Union, the Federation of Native trade unions) and also Secretary of the Cape Town Branch of the A.N.C. (African National Congress the Federation of Native organisations). Later, after his expulsion from the I.C.U. by the red-baiting clique of Clements Kadalie (a Native Social-Democrat) La Guma became Secretary of the Non-European trade union federation in Capetown.

La Guma was the first African communist I ever met; I was delighted and impressed with him and was to find, in the course of our brief collaboration, striking parallels between the struggle of the U.S. Blacks for equality and that of the Native South Africans; in both countries, the white leadership underestimated the potential of the Black movement.

La Guma had made his first trip to Moscow the year before. He and Josiah Gumede, president of the A.N.C., had come as delegates to the inaugural conference of the League Against Imperialism which had convened in Brussels, Belgium, in February, 1927. Gumede attended as a delegate from the A.N.C., while La Guma was a delegate from the South African Communist Party. It was his (La Guma's) first international gathering, and he had the opportunity to meet with leaders from colonial and semi-colonial countries and discuss the South African question with them. Madame Sun Yat-Sen and Pandit Nehru were among those present. The conference adopted the resolution of the South African delegation on the right of self-determination through the complete overthrow of imperialism. The general resolution of the Congress proclaimed: ' Africa for the Africans, and their full freedom and equality with other races and the right to govern Africa.'

After Brussels, La Guma went on a speaking tour to Germany, after which he came to Moscow. Although the Brussels conference had called for the right of self-determination, it left unanswered many specific questions that are raised by that slogan: : Were the natives in South Africa a nation? What was to be done with the whites? La Guma was to find the answer to these questions in Moscow, where he consulted with the E.C.C.I. leaders, including Bukharin, then President of the Comintern. He participated with E.C.C.I. leaders in the formulation of a resolution on the South African question, calling for an "independent South African Native Republic, with equal rights for racial minorities as a stage toward the final overthrow of capitalist imperialism", and the return of the land to the Natives.

It was this resolution which was rejected by the South African party leadership in 1927, at its annual conference in the latter part of December. La Guma returned to South Africa with the resolution in June 1927; Gumede also arrived home in the same month. The resolution was received hostilely by the Bunting leadership.

(Bunting was a British lawyer who had come to South Africa some years before; an early South African socialist and a founder of the Communist Party, he was the son of a British peer. As Bunting later commented, he used up the small fortune he had inherited in the support of Party work and publications.).

Bunting and his followers insisted that the South African revolution, unlike those in the colonies, was a direct struggle for socialism without any intermediary stages. To the Comintern slogan of a "Native South African Republic," Bunting counterposed the slogan of a "Workers and Peasants

Republic.' This concept of "pure" proletarian revolution was an echo of what we had found in the U.S. party in respect to Blacks. But here, the error stood out in grotesque relief, given the reality of the South African situation with its overwhelming Native majority.

It was against this background that La Guma and Gumede left to go to Moscow to attend the Tenth Anniversary celebrations and the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union. At that gala occasion at the close of the Congress I first met Gumede. La Guma apparently was not in Moscow on that occasion; he was probably out on a tour of the provinces. Both he and Gumede travelled widely during their visit to the Soviet Union.

After the Congress of the Friends of the Soviet Union, La Guma stayed on in the Soviet Union to work with Nasanov and myself on a draft of a new resolution on the South African question; our purpose was to develop and clarify the line laid down in the resolution formulated the previous year. Our draft with a few changes, was adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and the E.C.C.I.

As already noted, Bunting had put forward the slogan of a South African 'Workers and Peasants Government.' According to him, the South African revolution would be a direct struggle for socialism. Bunting's formulation denied the colonial character of South Africa; therefore he failed to see the inherent revolutionary nature of the Natives' struggle for emancipation.

As opposed to this, our resolution began with a definition of South Africa "as a British dominion of the colonial type" whose colonial features included:

- (1) The exploitation of the country by British imperialism, with the participation of the white bourgeoisie (British and Boer) with British capital occupying the principal economic position.
- (2) The overwhelming majority of the population were Natives and Coloured (5 million Natives and Coloured, with 1½ million whites, according to the 1921 census).
- (3) The almost complete landlessness of the Natives, who held only one-eighth of the land, the great bulk of which had been expropriated by the white minority.
- (4) The corruption of the white workers as registered in the "great difference in wages and material conditions of the white and black proletariat," and the widespread corruption of the white workers by imperialistic racist ideology.

These features, we held, determined the character of the South African revolution, which, in its first stage, would be a struggle of the Natives and non-European peoples for independence and land. As the previous resolution had done, our draft (in the form adopted by the Sixth Congress of the E.C.C.I.) held that as a result of these conditions, in order to lead and influence that movement, Communists, black and white, must put forth and fight for the general political slogan of "an independent Native South African Republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic, with full, equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white."

"South Africa is a black country," the resolution went on to say, with a mainly black peasant population," whose land had been expropriated by the white colonisers. Therefore, the agrarian question lies at the foundation of the revolution. The black peasantry in alliance with, and under the leadership of the working class is the main driving force. Thus, along with the slogan of a "Native republic the Party must place the slogan 'return of the land to the natives....'"

The formulation of "return of the land to the natives" does not appear in the resolution as finally adopted, which instead included the two formulations: (1) whites must accept the "correct principle that South Africa belongs to the Native population" and (2) "... the basic question in the agrarian situation in South Africa is the land hunger of the blacks and that their interest is of prior importance in the solution of the agrarian question."

With the new resolution completed, La Guma returned to South Africa with it. In the year since the first resolution, the opposition to the line intensified, and had already come to a head at the party congress at the end of December, 1927, even before La Guma's return.

Bunting put forward his position in a fourteen-page document in the early part of 1928. He equated the nationalism of the Boer minority to the nationalism of the Natives, and justified his opposition to nationalism on the basis that all national movements were subject to capitalist corruption, and in the case of South Africa, a national movement among Natives "would probably only accelerate the fusion, in opposition to it, of the Dutch and British imperialists." Since it would only thus consolidate the forces against it, it was not to be supported.

Bunting not only underrated nationalism, he played on the whites' fear of it, and raised the

spectre of Blacks being given free reign, with a resulting campaign to drive the whites into the sea. He was echoing the spectre that was haunting whites who remembered the song of the Xhosas.

*To chase the white men from the earth
And drive them to the sea.
The sea that cast them up at first
For Ama Xhosa's curse and bane
Howls for the progeny she nursed
To swallow them again."*

According to Bunting, the elimination of whites seemed to be implied in the slogan of "a Native republic". He regarded the phrase, 'full safeguards for minorities,' as having little meaning, since whites would assume that the existing injustices would be reversed; that, in effect, Blacks would do to them what they had been handing out for so long.

While Bunting had held that all nationalism was reactionary La Guma distinguished between the revolutionary nationalism of the Native and the 'nationalism' of the Boers (which in reality was simply a quarrel between sections of the ruling class). He argued that you must not hold back on the revolutionary demands of the Natives in order to pacify the white workers who are still "saturated with an imperialist ideology" and conscious of the privileges they enjoyed at the Natives' expense. Bunting held that the road to socialism would be travelled under white leadership; but to La Guma, the securing of Black rights was the first step to be taken. As the Simons described it, "First establish African majority rule, he (La Guma) argued, and unity, leading to socialism, would follow." He called on Communists to 'build up a mass party based upon the non-European masses,' put forward the slogan of a Native republic and thus destroy the traditional subservience to whites among Africans. (Reference to Simons from J.H. and R.E. Simons' Class, and Colour in South Africa page 390).

The argument continued up through the Sixth Congress. The delegation from the South African CP was lily-white: Bunting, his wife Rebecca, and Edward Roux who had been studying at Oxford. La Guma was left at home while white Party leaders proceeded to the Sixth Congress, in an unsuccessful attempt to repeal the resolution on South Africa.

Though defeated at the Congress, the Bunting leadership did attempt to apply the new line, though with misgivings. In the election campaign of 1929, they used the program as their election platform. However, the bitterness from the fight remained, as shown by the expulsion from the party of La Guma in that same election campaign.

EXTRACT TWO: THE STRUGGLE AT THE COMINTERN'S SIXTH CONGRESS "SOUTH AFRICA IS A BLACK COUNTRY"

There was keen interest as the Commission moved to the next point on the agenda - South Africa. Here again it was a fight against the denial of the national liberation movement in the name of socialism, the same right deviation on new turf. But in the South African setting, where four-fifths of the population was Black colonial slaves, the deviation stood out in grotesque relief.

It was true that in the past year or so the South African Party had intensified its work among the Natives, a 'turn to the masses.' As the Simons noted, by 1928, there were 1,600 African members out of a total of 1,750 in the party. The year before there were only 200 African members. The party had pursued a vigorous policy in the building of Black trade unions, in conducting strikes, and in fighting the most vicious forms of national oppression, pass laws and the like. The Party's official organ, THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKER, had been revived on a new basis. More than half the articles were now written in three Bantu languages, Xhosa, Zulu and Suto.

Sidney Bunting, leader of the South African Party, had emerged as a stalwart fighter for Native rights in the defense of Thibedi, a framed-up Native Communist leader. As a result about a hundred Natives had been recruited into the Party, and two were now on the Central Committee. On the whole the Party was making a turn to the Native masses. But it still lacked the theory which would enable it to tap their tremendous revolutionary potential.

As did most of the white leading cadre, Sidney Bunting exhibited a paternalism with respect to the Natives. This paternalism was rooted in an abiding lack of faith of the revolutionary potential of the native movement. They saw the South African revolution in terms of a direct struggle for socialism. This white leadership, brought up in the old socialist traditions and comprised mainly of European immigrants, had not absorbed Lenin's teachings on the national and colonial question.

These shortcomings had been brought sharply to the attention of the Comintern by La Guma. The result was the resolution on the South African question on which La Guma, Nasanov and I had worked the previous winter. It recommended that the party put forward and work for an Independent Native South African Republic with full and equal rights for all races as a stage towards a Workers' and Peasants' Republic. This was to be accompanied by the slogan, 'Return the land to the Natives.' The resolution was not only rejected by the party leadership, but they had now sent a "lily-white" delegation to the Congress to fight for its repeal. Whatever their hopes were on arrival in Moscow, they now seemed dejected and subdued. Having sat through the discussion on the American Negro question, they undoubtedly saw the handwriting on the wall.

From the start, the South African delegation was on the defensive, having been confronted by other delegates with the inevitable question, "Where are the natives?" What answer could they give? It was evident to all that their's was a mission on which Natives could not be trusted, even those "brought up in the old tradition," to use the phrase of Roux. We Blacks asked about La Guma. They replied, "Oh, he was here just a short while ago and had his say. We felt that the other viewpoint should be represented."

After copies of the E.C.C.I. resolution on South Africa had been distributed, the South African delegates took the floor to challenge the line of the resolution. The South African revolution, they argued, was a socialist revolution with no intermediary stage, an argument which posed a sort of South African exceptionalism. The argument ran that South Africa was not a colonial country. Bunting then contended that "South Africa is, owing to its climate, what is called a white man's country' where whites can and do live not merely as planters and officials but as a whole nation of all classes, established there for three centuries, of Dutch and English composition."

Bunting's statement came under attack on the floor of the Congress notably by Bill Dunne. Bunting defended himself, holding that his description was solely factual, and was not an 'advocacy of a White South Africa,'The very view we have combatted for the last 13 years.'

At one point Bunting argued that there were no Native peasants, they were all proletarians. Hence, the slogan, "return the land to the Natives," was wrong. He objected to Natives being called "masses" ; 'Our workers,' Bunting said, "are not only mere 'masses', they are as truly proletarians as any in the world," he proclaimed.

Comrade Rebecca Bunting, addressing herself to the land question in a Commission meeting, denied that the land belonged to the Bantu in the first place. Both the Bantu from central Africa and the Boers coming up from Capetown had forced the aboriginal Hottentots and Bushmen off their land. Thus, there was no special Native land question.

REBECCA BUNTING SHOWS HER CHAUVINIST FANGS

The real question on Rebecca Bunting's mind, however, was not that of land, but of the position of the white minority in a Native South African Republic. She came right to the point. "Who will guarantee equality for the whites in an independent Native Republic? Their slogan, as you know, is 'Drive the whites into the sea'." We listened to her in amazement, and a laugh went through the audience. The cat was finally let out of the bag, and a mangy, chauvinistic creature it was!

Manuilsky stepped forward, his eyes twinkling. "Comrade Bunting has raised a serious question, one not to be sneezed at. What is to become of the whites? My answer to that would be that if the white Party members do not raise and energetically fight for an independent Native Republic, then, *kte znaet?* (Who knows?) They may well be driven into the sea!" That brought the house down.

.....The Commission finally affirmed the resolution and it was passed onto the floor of the Congress where the fight continued.

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JIMMY LA GUMA ON THE BLACK REPUBLIC

"James La Guma's statement on the "South African situation" explained that the Black Republic Resolution has been rejected by the central executive of the SACP "for reasons which are abundantly refuted by everyday facts." La Guma pointed out that this attitude drove the Africans to the conclusion that the SACP Central Executive "considers the mass movement of the natives should be held up until such time as the white worker is ready to extend his favour." (Azania News ?AC organ).

The Class Structure in South Africa and Its Relation to the Colour Bar

We reproduce this article from a Cape Town radical Journal of the 50s because we agree with its main argument of the connection between the needs of South African capitalism and racialism. (It is imperative that Azanian revolutionaries approach the question of national oppression (racialism) from a class point of view.) Of course the national oppression of the native inhabitants reaches further in history in the colonial conquest of the country. The article also concentrates on the internal dynamism of capitalist exploitation, but is not unaware of the umbilical links of South African capitalism to its senior partner, Imperialism. Since the article was written there have been many changes in the South African political scene, and certainly the author's prognostication that the walls of racialism will be broken down by the needs of capitalism has certainly turned out to be untrue, simply because in the 50s Afrikaaner petit bourgeoisie capitalism assumed state power and needed to even more fiercely exploit the Black masses in an effort to consolidate itself with Anglo-American Imperialism, whose main intermediary was the United Party. This also necessitated making greater concessions to the white working class and the Afrikaaner farmers, who were one of its principal support.

South Africa—A Capitalist Country.

Classes are rooted in production, in the means of exchange and distribution. To characterise the class structure of a country, therefore, it is necessary to analyse its mode of production and distribution and the precise relationship each section of population has to the productive process. Who owns the means of production? How are these operated? On the basis of common ownership, or private? How are the goods accruing therefrom distributed, and what purpose does such distribution serve? Are the goods distributed on the basis of private appropriation or common ownership? Does the means of distribution serve the purpose of common use or private accumulation of wealth?

In South Africa the chief means of production—the mines and factories—are the fundamental contributors to the national wealth, and they are owned by a small group of people who employ a large wage-earning class producing commodities for a market, for profit. South Africa is, in short, a capitalist country: that is, a society in which the two main sections of the population stand in a definite relationship to the instruments of labour: a small minority that owns to produce for profit, and an overwhelming majority that works the labour devices on the basis of wage-earning. The commodities produced are distributed by their capitalist owners through the medium of money.

While it is true that goldmining is employing less labour than the factories and farms, and while it is also true that its contribution to the national income is smaller than that of manufacturing, it is nevertheless the mainstay of the capitalist economy. The Chamber of Mines publication, *Mining Survey*, September 1951, for instance, describes goldmining as the predominant earner of vital foreign exchange, a magnet for attracting overseas capital and investments, a vast market for other South African products and a prime generator of incomes. Besides paying over £48 million in cash earnings to all workers, it spends more than £46 million on South African products, agricultural as well as manufacturing. Indirectly, therefore, the goldmining industry subsidises and protects other capitalist enterprises in this country.

To-day, the manufacturing industry is, however, becoming ever-increasingly important in the economic life of the Union. It contributes more to the national wealth, hires more labour and produces more than goldmining. Hence according

to *The Industrial Commission Report* 1951, "manufacturing is the most important industry in the present structure of the Union . . . It is a well-known fact that the first structural change in the South African economy was the sudden transformation during the period, 1870 to 1890, of the mainly self-supporting agricultural economy to a more capitalistic agricultural-mineral economy, and that it was only during the twentieth century, under the influence of World War I and World War II that secondary industry began to play an increasingly important part in the structure of production" South Africa is now competing on the world market. The economy, far from contracting, is expanding. According to *The Industrial Commission Report*, of 1951, mining contributed 24.7% to the national income of which gold contributed 10.8%; trade and commerce comprised 13.9% of the national income and manufacturing 22.5%.

The expansion of the capitalist economy implies the employment of larger and larger layers of the dispossessed elements in the productive process. The growth of the proletarian class, mainly African in composition, is a cardinal factor in the class structure of this country. In the Western Cape, 22.4% of those employed in the manufacturing industry are Africans; in the Southern Transvaal it is 60.4%; in Durban and Pinetown, 50.4% of those employed in manufacturing are Africans, and in Port Elizabeth they constitute 32.4%. To-day about two million Africans are employed in industry for varying periods of the year. More are becoming permanent urban dwellers and absorbed into semi-skilled occupations from which the colour bar had hitherto excluded them. It is this class which is gradually undermining the very basis of the colour bar structure.

The third group of capitalists consist of the farmers, mainly Afrikaners, comprising 5% of the total population, owning about 60% of the land surface and together with the mining magnates and secondary industrialists receiving 60% of the national income.

The Social Structure.

In South Africa, class relations are obscured by, and moreover, tend to coincide with, colour and racial considerations. This unique feature of our social organism must carefully be analysed to reveal the true class content of this multi-racial set-up. While 5% of the population are mine and factory owners—all white—the remainder of the white population comprising 15% of the total inhabitants receive 45% of the national income. In relation to the means of production they are workers: that is, they hire their power to labour to the owners of the means of production. But this group of white workers occupies a unique, a privileged and protected place as wage earners. Skilled jobs with accompanying high rates of pay are their monopoly; they occupy the positions of technicians, of overseers, civil servants and administrators, many of whom, because of the presence of toiling black labour, gradually becoming efficient and skilled, do not contribute their full share to the productive output. Their maintenance as a privileged, protected group is becoming more and more in open conflict with their labour output and the need of the capitalist magnates to employ labour which can do the same work and even more efficiently at very much lower costs. The further development of capitalism in this country is clearly calling for measures to reduce the economic status of this class, a status which carries the majority well into the ranks of the middle class.

At the base of the social structure are the non-Europeans, forming 80% of the population, but receiving only 16% of the national income. The overwhelming

majority of this element are proletarians and semi-proletarians whose economic exploitations flows from their political or national oppression.

Unlike India or Indonesia, the development of capitalism in this country has prevented the emergence of any significant bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. For less than 10% of the non-Europeans approximate in varying degrees to the status of a middle class. They are some Indian capitalists and merchants, some African landholders, and non-European professional men—teachers, doctors, lawyers and clerks—whose livelihood takes them into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie.

The native petty bourgeoisie—like every other petty bourgeoisie—are both an exploiting and exploited section. They are, first of all, the exploiters of the proletarians who, in the process of buying commodities from the capitalists through the retailers and merchants, are forced to pay more so that this small middle class can profit as intermediaries. Secondly, this small middle class are largely dependent on and made subordinate to the interests of big capital and the fluctuating fortunes of capitalism in general.

In South Africa, moreover, the native petty bourgeoisie are not merely restricted and exploited by capitalism; they are also restricted and curbed in their economic activities by colour oppression. Various statutory measures based on the colour bar and the need to protect a white minority prevent the native bourgeoisie from establishing themselves anywhere, getting a ready sale for their products, buying land anywhere and marketing their goods speedily and with the necessary State aid.

The non-European working class is exploited in a dual capacity: first of all like workers in all capitalist countries, the black wage-earner is exploited by the employees of labour who pay them far less than the value of their labour output; and secondly—this has no parallel anywhere else—his exploitation is intensified by an industrial colour bar which relegates him to semi-skilled and unskilled positions, or rather so-called semi-skilled and unskilled positions, with very low rates of pay. Whites doing the same or more or less the same work as the blacks receive far higher wage rates. In a word, the non-European worker is exploited both as a worker and as a non-European.

Colour oppression in the Union therefore tends to blur the basic and fundamental class exploitation of the mass of the people: the exploitation of the non-European workers, the lesser exploitation of White and non-White traders, merchants, small landowners and retailers as well as the largely technical exploitation of the white labour aristocracy. Of cardinal importance to the sociologist is the indubitable fact that colour oppression flows from, and is largely the result of, economic or class exploitation. The one strengthens the other.

Capitalist Development and the Future of the Colour Bar.

The colour bar we know to-day developed at a certain stage in the evolution of modern capitalism. It is intimately bound up with the beginning of diamond mining in Kimberley and gold mining on the Witwatersrand after 1870.

As to its origin, let us listen to the rather surprising admission of the Nationalist-inspired *Industrial Commission Report of 1951*: "The occupational distribution of the population initially originated in the cultural differences between the various groups under particular historical circumstances. These historical circumstances are to be found in the mining developments in the latter part of the nineteenth century which led to the immigration of skilled European workers to South Africa, local supplies of trained labour being absent or inadequate African

labour was forthcoming for work which did not require any previous training. Consequently colour differences coincided with occupational differences, particularly in the Transvaal."

At the inception of capitalism in this country it had therefore perforce to import white skilled labour to operate the instruments of labour. To attract the white skilled artisans the bourgeoisie offered very high wages. This placed this group of workers in a special position compared with the presence and abundance of cheap black labourers paid at very low rates, the former's position in the process of social production became more unique. The circumstances of the time created a wide gulf between these two labour categories. This is the industrial colour bar—a system of segregation on the basis of colour in labour relations, a system which operating *de facto* from the outset finally received *de jure* recognition, first in 1911 and then in 1926, and extended to other industrial processes as well as to the political superstructure.

And this is how the white labour aristocracy arose: not as a result of Imperial preference for white labour and their economic sadism to the black workers, but as a result of the needs of capitalism to run a great modern industry.

Since Union, however, the circumstances which gave rise to the industrial colour bar have gradually withered as a result of the acquisition of skill on the part of the blacks who are now able to do skilled work with little training. There is in other words no economic reason why the industrialists should continue maintaining a small group of privileged white workers when there are others who are able to do the same work at very much less financial expense.

Yet the position of this group is still firmly entrenched. In the gold mining industry, at any rate, the wage gap separating white from black has been rigidly maintained. Skilled work there is still the preserve of the whites, if not in fact then at least in law. It is in secondary industries that we see the cracks in the colour bar structure. Larger and larger layers of African labour are being employed in the factories. The wage gap between white and black labour is gradually narrowing. "To what must this narrowing of the wage-gap between the cash wages of the European and non-European worker be attributed but to the progressively increasing extent to which non-Europeans are being employed in skilled and semi-skilled work?" asks *The Industrial Commission Report of 1951*.

To effect the gradual absorption of the blacks into the productive process, the industrialists are undermining the obsolescent colour bar system, not by making a frontal attack on it, but by the most subtle and careful devices lest they incur the open hostility of the whites. One method is the re-classification of jobs whereby "skilled" now becomes "unskilled" and "unskilled" becomes "semi-skilled." To be sure, the rationalisation of production makes this division in labour processes artificial for nowadays not much training is required to handle labour devices.

Various government commissions appointed to investigate labour and productive processes have repeatedly warned the white workers that they cannot hope to maintain their positions at the top of the labour ladder indefinitely, and that segregation in the process of capitalist production is inimical to the need for economy and efficiency. *The Industrial Commission Report of 1935*, for instance, writes: "Social aspirations and policies should be in harmony with economic realities and should not be in conflict with the economic policy of encouraging the expansion of industry and employment and thereby of the national income, the source of all wage

payments. The policy requires that everyone should be employed in that capacity where he or she is as productive as possible. The full application of such a policy therefore runs counter to the idea of 'colour bars' and colour bar legislation as well as uneconomic white labour policies." In 1951 the *Industrial Legislation Commission* issued a sharper warning: "If European workers wish to maintain their high standard of living and high wage level," it says, "they must realise that this can only be done by increasing production through better training and greater devotion to duty and not by means of artificial protection. No country can afford the luxury of a pampered class who incidentally would be the first to suffer adverse conditions."

So there we have it: the colour bar must, in other words, go unless the white workers can justify their wage rates by increased production. The question is: Will they be able to produce to something which can justify their present wages? And even if they are able to speed up production, can the present state of affairs continue indefinitely when a vast black labour force is knocking harder and harder on the colour bar door, waiting to do the selfsame jobs of the whites at very much lower costs? In the answer to this question lies the future of the colour bar. The objective requirements of capitalism itself are coming violently into conflict with this outmoded institution. It will either have to be amended out of all recognition or be abolished. And with it will have to go that group which it had hitherto sustained and pampered—the white labour aristocracy.

Class and Colour.

It is therefore clear that the laws of economic necessity must finally overrule all considerations of race and racialism, colour and colour prejudice. Since Union, Imperialism, for the purpose of exploiting the resources, material and human, of this country, effectively had perforce to use a small white minority as a social bulwark. This has led to the creation of a unique economic and political arrangement: the establishment of a complete white democracy as the basis and the screen for the national enslavement of 80% of the population. In this lies the meaning of *Herrenvolkism*.

This unparalleled relationship between white and black has led sociologists and politicians to believe that colour considerations were and still are the impelling forces in this country. They do not understand that the *modus dominandi* of Imperialism differs in various parts of the world, depending on the extant and concrete conditions prevailing in each area of capitalist exploitation. In this country, Imperialism has had to reckon with a permanent white population who untiringly fought for a place in the economic life of the country and who forced the hand of the foreign overlord to grant them not only political autonomy but also singular economic privileges, so singular, indeed, that many have come to think of this arrangement as the result of a capitalist system blinded by colour and racial considerations. Even those who propound the rather vulgar doctrine that economics must *always and in all instances* determine events and the social and political institutions, have fallen a victim to the racial theory.

At bottom, however, race is still an economic factor working in a new guise. The racialism and colour prejudice of the whites were utilised by the British bourgeoisie to establish and consolidate itself. It was only on this basis that the exploitation, the more effective exploitation, of the black masses became a reality.

The economic concessions to the whites therefore paid dividends in the long run. The point is that these economic concessions have served their purpose, have served the social and political needs of Imperialism. The economic factor is now attempting to break through the colour bar walls of the social structure. This break-through will reveal the true class content of society. It will reduce the white labour aristocracy to the position of the usual worker, who has to fight without the protection of an industrial colour bar for a place in the process of production. It will assimilate the black workers, break down social and residential segregation and regard all and sundry as equals for the purpose of their effective exploitation.

Objectively, therefore, the further development of capitalism in this country is calling for a colour bar-less society, a society in which both black and white will stand in the same relationship to the system of production and distribution, a society in which there will no longer be preferential and differential treatment based on colour considerations.

Conclusion.

Economic exploitation and political oppression are inseparable, but because of the peculiar dual nature of exploitation in this country. I consider that the most important task of the liberatory movement is the removal of the colour bar and Herrenvolk institutions. This struggle can only be made effective on the basis of the principled unity of all oppressed and exploited non-European groups.

The collapse and the abrogation of the colour bar is not an automatic process. On the contrary, it is a process which the national liberatory movement must hasten and direct, by participating in the general struggle for full democracy. I regard the removal of the colour bar as a means to an end. It is but the first step on the road of struggle for freedom from economic exploitation. The abolition of the colour bar will be the means by which a powerful African proletariat will have been forged to carry the struggle on to a higher plane, against economic exploitation.

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS RACIST CAPITALISM THE LAND AND THE WEALTH TO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF AZANIA!

Our white Leftist mentors never tire of creating new confusing vocabulary for us, poor ignorant Blacks!

The latest one is "Racist Capitalism". This non-word presumably is meant to mean that the plight of the Blacks in South Africa is the result of their exploitation as workers by capitalism that is racist. What utter nonsense. This is nothing more than another device to maintain white privileges in S.A.

Azania (Black Mans Land) is a country in which an invading white settler population from abroad took the land and its country away from its native inhabitants and enslaved them. It was a colonial conquest serving the needs of a foreign colonial power. Later with the discovery of gold and diamonds British imperialism exploited the country industrially and developed capitalism and the capitalist mode of production in the country. The Land Deprivation of the African people was combined with their super-exploitation under local capitalism and foreign Imperialism acting in partnership. This situation of the white population as a foreign colonial conqueror remains up to this day even though they have been settled in the country for a long time. The white population is not interested in true national independence of the African people, which means returning the land and the country back to the native population (setting up a Black Republic). He wishes to maintain South Africa as part of the white Imperialist world. Therefore he is antagonistic to the nationalistic aspirations of the native inhabitants (and as is the case with the South African white "communists" - who, in essence are the left wing of the South African white racials) they denigrate nationalism. Where the African people use to utilise the wealth of Azania in the interests of Pan-Africanism, the creation of a powerful federation of African socialist states, the white population wish to use it to dominate other parts of Africa and to keep it under imperialist domination and tutelage.

Correct Approach to Problem of White Racialism in South Africa

LEARN FROM MAO-TSE-TUNG

The Ten Major Relationships by Mao-Tse-Tung is a document re-issued recently by the Chinese Communist Party to throw theoretical light on the dispute involving the "Gang of Four" and concerning the relation between Revolution and Production. It is written with a simplicity and clarity that the masses can understand and yet it deals with complicated problems of the Chinese Revolution. It also serves as a model of how to analyse and handle contradictions in the resolution of problems - the concrete resolution of concrete problems - which is how Lenin defined the Marxist method and style of work. In his brilliant analysis of the problems that China has to face in her development towards a modern socialist industrial base with modern culture, science, technology and defence Mao-Tse-Tung brings to it a richness that combines philosophy, political economy and dialectical materialism.

We present herein an extract from the Ten Major Relationships which bears relevance as to how we should approach the racial question in Azania and to the manner in which the white-led, revisionist South African Communist Party distorts the correct approach to this question. The excerpt concerns the relationship between the Han nationality, which comprises over 98% of China's population, and the various national minorities in China. Mao-Tse-Tung himself belonged to the Han nationality.

In the excerpt Mao-Tse-Tung is looking at the correct attitude to be taken towards national minorities and locates the problem in the chauvinism of the Han majority. He calls upon the Han majority to change its attitude towards the national minorities, and to constantly review its attitude towards them. There is no question here of integrating the minorities, the favourite policy of liberals, revisionists and other sham Marxists. Rather, as is the practice in China, the policy is to encourage the national minorities to use their language and customs and to preserve their traditions. It is also the policy in People's China, whilst urging greater birth control upon the Han majority, to encourage greater population increase among the minorities. This is in sharp contrast to the treatment of the national minorities in the Soviet Union, where as early as in 1956, Mao-Tse-Tung had already discerned the 'abnormal' relationships between the white Russian majority and the national minorities who suffer from racial persecution and oppression, where their traditions, language and customs undergo Russification.

But what can we, Azanian revolutionaries, learn from it?

Firstly, we should learn to approach the problem from a materialistic point of view, i.e. to look at the root source of the problem instead of approaching it from an idealistic point of view of the races living together, non-racial harmony and other such liberal claptrap. Approaching it from this materialistic viewpoint the problem of racialism in South Africa is clearly a problem of the white man's racialism. The Blacks are the victims of this racialism. It is for the white man to lift himself out of the racist shithouse into which he has plunged himself and not for Blacks to bend over backwards to accommodate themselves to this racialism in the name of the races learning to live together. Those who are solely responsible for practising racialism in South Africa should lift themselves out of it, or face the consequences.

This materialistic approach is radically different from that of the revisionist South African Communist Party (that now operates through the ANC of South Africa) which tries to peddle to us in the so-called Freedom Charter that the land belongs to all who live in it, i.e. it belongs equally to those from whom it was stolen and to those who stole it, i.e. the burgled and the burglar are equal. Just as much they try to peddle to us that if we do not integrate with the whites to create a non-racial democracy, then we are the racialists! Just as much by peddling this multi-racial, non-racial democracy approach, they overlook the sharp class divisions between the whites and the blacks in South Africa, which is the real base of the white man's racialism. The South African struggle is in essence a class struggle between the white bourgeoisie and the Black oppressed.

THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS BY MAO-TSE-TUNG

Comparatively speaking, our policy on the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities is sound and has won the favour of the minority nationalities. WE PUT THE

EMPHASIS ON OPPOSING HAN CHAUVINISM, Local-nationality chauvinism must be opposed too, but generally that is not where our emphasis lies.

The population of minority nationalities in our country is small, but the area they inhabit is large. The Han people comprise 94 per cent of the population, an overwhelming majority. If they practised Han chauvinism and discriminated against the minority peoples, that would be very bad. And who has more land? The minority nationalities, who occupy 50 to 60 per cent of the territory. We say China is a country vast in territory, rich in resources and large in population; as a matter of fact it is the Han nationality whose population is large and the minority nationalities whose territory is vast and whose resources are rich, or at least in all probability their resources under the soil are rich.

The minority nationalities have all contributed to the making of China's history. The huge Han population is the result of the intermingling of many nationalities over a long time. All through the ages, reactionary rulers, chiefly from the Han nationality, sowed feelings of estrangement among our various nationalities and bullied the minority peoples. It is not easy to eliminate the resultant influences in a short time even among the working people. So we have to make extensive and sustained efforts to educate both the cadres and the masses in our proletarian nationality policy and make a point of frequently reviewing the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities. One such review was made two years ago and there should be another one now. If the relationship is found to be abnormal, then we must deal with it in real earnest and not just in words.

We need to make a thorough study of what systems of economic management and finance will best suit the minority nationality areas.

We must sincerely and actively help the minority nationalities to develop their economy and culture. In the Soviet Union the relationships between the Russian nationality and the minority nationalities is very abnormal; we should draw a lesson from this. The air in the atmosphere, the forests on the earth and the riches under the soil are all important factors for the building of socialism, but no material factor can be exploited and utilised without the human factor. We must foster good relations between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities and strengthen the unity of all the nationalities in the common endeavour to build our great socialist motherland.

National Independence and Social Liberation

HENRY ISAACS ARGUES HEREIN THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE MEANS LITTLE IF IT IS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REGENERATION OF THE MASSES; THAT IS THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL EMANCIPATION MUST LEAD UNINTERRUPTEDLY TO THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.

Historically the present era of national liberation movements in Africa was preceded by one of African nationalist movements. These movements envisaged reform based on the existing European nationalist model; they were bourgeois movements seeking not to change the system, but to rearrange the social order - to replace the colonial ruling elite by an African elite. The bourgeois nationalists accepted and worked within a European set of values. They sought independence.

Independence in the narrow legal sense is synonymous with self-government: that is the overt retreat of the colonial power from the governing body of the nation. Many African states have formally attained independence - they have their own national flags and anthems, and a black administration. However, this independence is in many cases quite nominal; in reality they are still dependent on outside economic and political interests (neo-colonialism), and the masses inside the country are still oppressed and exploited even though the colour of their immediate masters has changed. This is independence without liberation. We are now seeing the emergence of liberation movements in some of these independent states: for example the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) in Zaire and the Zambian Liberation Front (ZLF) in Zambia.

The African Liberation Committee of the OAU states as its aim the obtaining of formal independence for African territories still under the yoke of white minority rule. However the majority of the liberation movements supported by the OAU are working towards something more than formal independence. Genuine national liberation movements seek not only political independence, but also social and economic independence for the people of their countries; the control of the country's resources by its people, and the end of exploitation of man by man both within the country and internationally.

“.....we felt the need to create a new society, strong, healthy, and prosperous, in which all men, free from all exploitation, would co-operate for the progress of all.” (Samora Machel, 1969).

The achievement of such goals requires an upheaval in the social order within the country: history shows that this is possible only through the evolution by struggle of popular mass support. Thus the reformist tactics of the bourgeois nationalists have, in the face of unyielding regimes and the development of a revolutionary ideology, progressed to armed struggle.

National liberation movements then are revolutionary movements, and their struggle for liberation a revolutionary struggle. The development of a revolutionary ideology arose from a new analysis of the situation of the colonised peoples. While the bourgeois nationalists saw their situation within the context of the colonial society and its values, the liberation movements reject colonial imperialist values and seek to unite the oppressed masses in the struggle against their colonial and neo-colonial masters.

“We felt especially that the struggle to create new structures would fall within the creation of a new mentality. Developing a healthy and revolutionary mentality.....requires the destruction of inherited corrupt ideas and tastes”. (Samora Machel).

They seek to awaken the people to the realities of their own situation (conscientisation). From the awareness of a common oppression will arise support for, and then participation in, the struggle against the colonial and neo-colonial masters. The struggle cannot succeed without the united support and the participation of the masses.

“The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilising the masses and relying on them.” (Mao-Tse-Tung).

Participation is more than the bearing of arms; it is the creation of a new liberated society. This involves the creation of new democratic procedures of government and the re-organisation of social structures on the principles of equality. Cabral describes it thus:

When we consider these features we see that the armed liberation struggle is not only a product of culture. It is also a determinant of culture. And this, beyond all doubt, is the prime compensation to the people for the effort and sacrifice that are the price of their war.....”

After the setbacks for the PAIGC in 1965 Cabral also said:

And with all this, as a proof of insufficient political work among our armed forces, there has appeared a certain attitude (mania) of ‘militarism’ which has caused some fighters and even some leaders to forget the fact that we are armed militants and not militarists.....”

“(For) consider these features inherent in an armed liberation struggle: the practice of democracy, of criticism and self-criticism, the increasing responsibility of the populations for the direction of their own lives, literacy work, the creation of schools and health services, the training of cadres who come from worker and peasant backgrounds, and many other achievements.

NATIONAL LIBERATION, THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM

The situation which has given rise to the domination of national liberation movements was not created solely within the borders of the nation states fighting for liberation. It began with the internationalisation of capitalism from its U.S. base in the post world war 11 period, initially in the reconstruction of Europe, and then elsewhere. The underdeveloped nations, whose underdevelopment was grounded in colonialism, then were faced with a western capitalist economic stranglehold on commodities and resources, which created a situation of dependence. This dependence led to the emergence of elites within the countries, who benefit from the neo-colonial relationship and who seek to maintain their countries neo-colonial status. This they have done by creating systems of internal domination.

In their struggle then national liberation movements have a significance which transcends national barriers. They are movements against external dependence (neo-colonialism) and against internal domination (elitism). They are thus of necessity anti-imperialist and committed to revolutionary change, and they will be opposed not only by the internal elites but also by the imperialist powers. In the 1960s Kennedy declared that wars of national liberation could not and would not succeed. He was proved wrong by the defeat of Western imperialism in Vietnam. This victory has strengthened other oppressed nations in their struggle, as has the victory of FRELIMO in Mozambique. National liberation movements have provided a focal point for Third World solidarity by their anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist goals; a focus which would not otherwise exist in the diversity of Third World nations.

National liberation movements have forced the recognition that wars of liberation are a valid category distinct from simple terrorism. The 28th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1974 invited representatives of national liberation movements recognised by the OAU "to participate in the relevant work of the main committees of the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs, as well as conferences seminars, and other meetings held under the auspices of the U.N. which concern their countries." This gave these African national liberation movements a status similar to that previously granted to the PLO. It broke the monopoly of governments to be the sole representatives of the people of nation states in international forums. Also during 1974 the U.N. General Assembly called for urgent economic, financial and technical aid to be granted to FRELIMO to help it in the pre-independence period; thus acknowledging FRELIMO as the rightful representatives of the Mozambiquan people.

In an effort to forestall the victory of national liberation movements in Southern Africa, both African governments have been working overtime to manipulate the situation in their own interests. This can be seen in the current "Kissinger initiative" over Zimbabwe, where it is patently clear that the U.S. has been attempting to play off against each other South Africa, the Smith regime, the four "front-line" states, and the Zimbabwean liberation movements, to achieve a settlement most likely to be in the interests of Western capitalism. It is also noteworthy the number of times recently that the Western capitalist powers have exercised their right of veto in the U.N. in matters likely to benefit the national liberation movements and possibly jeopardise their own long term interests.

South Africa, seen by many as the last bastion of white minority rule in Southern Africa, is attempting to combat liberation movements both internally (by increased arms expenditure, more repressive legislation, etc.) and also internationally by:

1. Building closer economic and military links with major Western powers, including acquiring nuclear capacity, and participation in NATO.
2. Attempts to build a "Sixth World" coalition with countries like Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Israel.
3. Increased and more direct interference in the affairs of neighbouring states, particularly Zimbabwe and the "front-line" states - Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola.
4. Attempts to gain international recognition of the Transkei as justification for apartheid.

Seen in this context, the struggle of national liberation movements is not only an internal matter for the peoples of the countries, but it demands the active support of all people concerned with the issues of equality and justice.

Some Indians & Coloureds Should not Allow Themselves to be used by White C.P.

The ANC (African Nationalists) have given a powerful reply to the lies and distortions of the white-led South African Communist Party (SACP). The SACP arrogantly presumed to reply for the ANC (Tambo wing). Does this not prove who controls the Tambo ANC. The authors of the reply, called their document "In Defence of the African Image and Heritage." Defiantly calling themselves African Nationalists, they accuse the white CP of sabotaging the genuine interests of the African people in Azania. Indeed they bluntly state that the so-called white communists are racials, who deliberately and persistently distort the national question and control and divide the Black liberation movements in an effort to maintain the white status quo in the country.

The ANC (African Nationalists) trace the history of the white-led CP and expose its racist origins from the time it emerged out of the reformist white workers movement of the 20s; always putting the interests of the white workers before that of the national movement, continually denying the specificity of the national oppression of the African people culminating in the rejection of the Black Republic Thesis put forward by the Communist International; and mistakenly reducing the struggle in South Africa to one between workers and bourgeoisie. In this way they attempt to legitimise white settlerism in Azania, and deny that the country and the land was taken away from the indigenous inhabitants and must be returned to them. Therefore they must denigrate African nationalism and equate it with racialism.

We believe that the white-led SACP are agents of the South African State, deliberately set out to sabotage the Black peoples struggle. They utilise Marxism-Leninism in an attempt to achieve

this. How welse does one explain the fact that ever since its inception in the 20s (it was formed even before the Chinese and Vietnamese Communist Parties!!!) it has never had a revolutionary perspective. How is it that in a country where the oppressed are all Blacks the leadership of the what should be the most revolutionary organisation in the country is in the hands of whites. Are Blacks incapable of becoming proletarian leaders and forming a mass-based proletarian movement. They have succeeded in doing so everywhere else in the Third World without white tutelage.

'Surely a Terrible Nemesis will Overtake the White-Led SACP and its Hangers-On'

**SA“C“P Whites Attempt to Dominate Africans in name of Marxism-Leninism;
Tambo's ANC Dominated by White SA“C“P; Too Many Members of White
SA“C“P Have Betrayed South African Struggles**

The White dominated South African Communist Party has issued a Statement that deliberately distorts what they call "facts" and attribute the distorted versions to us. The SACP is unable to reply to any of the substantive issues that we have raised in criticism of both the Tambo group in the African National Congress of South Africa and also the SACP domination of the Tambo group.Clearly the SACP has no answer to the problems of revolution facing the African people, mainly because the White-controlled SACP also believes in White domination of the Africans, even doing so in the name of Marxism-Leninism.

1. In its Statement the SACP lumps together in a vulgar way and out of context disjointed phrases from three documents because they arose under different circumstances. One document to which neither the Tambo group nor the SACP has a reply is the Obituary on the death of Robert Resha. We wish to re-iterate the fact that Resha was vilified too in his lifetime by the same enemies of African freedom who continue their vituperation against Resha's colleagues today. Neither the Tambo group nor the SACP published a tribute to Resha when he died; but today they pose as his "comrades" after having politically isolated him into his grave.....The second document that they distort is a tribute that Mzimkulu A. Makiwane paid to Resha on the occasion of a memorial service to unveil a tombstone to Resha's memory. In it Makiwane clearly showed how the SACP white leadership hijacked the ANC. The last document is a rejection of the bogus expulsions written by T.X. Makiwane. We advise readers interested in S.A. liberation struggle to read the three original documents for themselves and not to rely on the SACP jumbled extracts.

2. The SACP has no right to reply on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the ANC to issues specifically addressed to the ANC as regards decisions taken by the N.E.C. of the ANC concerning ANC members. The SACP must explain why it usurps the authority of the ANC to respond to criticisms directed specifically to the ANC leadership or is the ANC no longer capable of speaking for itself? *The ANC of Tambo is now simply a front or cover organisation used as a tool to achieve the objectives of the SACP. Those objectives of the SACP reside in domination of Blacks by Whites in the name of Marxism-Leninism.* This SACP strategy of domination of the ANC is clearly set out in the SACP 1970 Report of the C.C. to the SACP Plenary Session. In paragraph 36 it states:

"The 1965 plenary session of the Central Committee recorded the need for those comrades directly involved in the strategic areas to keep the C.E.C. informed on the main outlines of the ANC activities both inside and outside the country in order "to enable the C.C. to provide adequate political leadership and guidance. But as time went on it became more and more clear that the absence of proper institutional links with the ANC in the new conditions acted as an obstacle to the ability of the Party to exercise its vanguard role."

So the SACP established the "proper institutional links with the ANC" by fighting for open membership to admit Whites into the ANC as full members; by gaining positions of authority in ANC organs such as the Revolutionary Council (R.C.) which is composed almost entirely of C.P. members. In the R.C. all decisions are instigated by three Party leaders - Joe Slovo, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Reggie September. *The 1969 Morogoro Conference was used to gain complete C.P. control of the ANC.* The "links with the ANC" were needed by the Party to enable it to "exercise its vanguard role". So the Party, not the ANC, is in the vanguard role of directing the struggle for the national liberation of the African people. This accounts for the arrogance of such whites as Slovo and Carneson in giving instructions to Africans on what the Africans have to do to liberate themselves. *They have reduced the Tambo group of the ANC to mere puppets dancing to the music of His Master's Voice. For how long are White South Africans going to continue to exploit Africans economically, dominate them politically and humiliate them socially? We say this practice*

must be stopped immediately. The Slovos and the Carnesons have no right even to attend meetings of Africans where plans to overthrow White domination are discussed.

3. We owe no allegiance to the white-controlled SACP.....*Too many members of the Central Committee of the SACP have betrayed the Black People's struggle and yet the SACP has never issued a single statement denouncing them. We have already mentioned the Central Committee member Arthur Goldreich as an enemy of the oppressed people- be they Arabs in Palestine or Africans in South Africa. He lives now in Israel; has fought on Israel's side; has not been denounced by the SACP. We now have to add Joe Matthews, Secretary of the Revolutionary Council (R.C.) to this list of traitors. His position is particularly informative because he and his friend Joe Slovo are architects of the disastrous policies adopted by the ANC at its 1969 Morogoro Conference. Joe Matthews, a leading member of the C.C. of the SACP procured for himself the post of Secretary to the Revolutionary Council formed at the 1969 Morogoro Conference. He soon afterwards deserted. He was not denounced by the SACP. He now denounces the Oliver Tambo leadership of the ANC-in-exile as "buffoonery". According to the "Sunday Times" of 18th April, 1976 Matthews stands for the following:*

- (a) That the independence of the Transkei should be accepted as a hard reality and recognised.
- (b) That the ANC should abandon armed struggle and adopt a new policy of peaceful reform.
- (c) That Nelson Mandela should be released and bans on ANC and PAC should be lifted. If political leaders are released, they will have to accept all laws in South Africa Statutes like the Suppression of Communism Act, or face re-arrest.
- (d) That Blacks should enter into dialogue at all levels with the Boer Government rather than with the Liberals who have no power.
- (e) That the ANC made a mistake in its policy of being so closely aligned with the Communist bloc. *(it would be more appropriate to say aligned with the Soviet Union against China - Ed.)*

Well, Joe Matthews is still a leading member of the Tambo group, the Secretary of the Revolutionary Council and a leading member of the Central Committee of the SACP.

5. GHETTO NATIONALISM: How SA "C" P White Leadership Uses Racialism Tag Against Africans (sic); White Leadership of SA "C" P Disdains Africans; White "Communists" Hate and Fear African Nationalism; Set Themselves as Leaders of African People and Earn Cushy Jobs; Make ANC Appendage of Moscow Against China

The White leadership of the SACP has devised an effective swear word - racist - which it uses against all its African opponents. This has paid handsome dividends up to now in blackmailing the ANC members into accepting self-seeking Whites as leaders of the African people. The White leadership of the SACP has nothing but disdain for the African people whom they regard as inferior in the same way that the Vorster regime regards Africans as children who cannot be entrusted with determining their own future. The White controlled SACP is also terribly afraid of African nationalism. They fear the African Revolution against White minority rule. They have tried to give an interpretation of African nationalism that divides the African militants into 'reactionaries' and 'progressives'. We know that this division of the Africans flows from the inability of the SACP to give a proper assessment of the national question in South Africa. They try to ride two horses when they deal with the strategy and tactics, let alone, the theory of the South African revolution.

In the 1970 Statement of the C.C. of the SACP the following policy was recommended to the non-African minority communities:

"48. Does all this mean that there is no longer a role for bodies like the SAIC (South African Indian Congress) even in the ad hoc, uncertain and ill-defined form in which they exist today. We believe they do have a role. These organisations are still formally legal.....this legality cannot be entirely disregarded and advantage should be taken of it to advance the liberation struggle..... Bodies like the SAIC and the CPC can still initiate certain levels of activity amongst their communities. They can draw in elements both inside and outside the country who would at the moment not necessarily find a place in the spheres of revolutionary activity with which the ANC and the Party are concerned. But these bodies need to activate their communities politically so as to draw them closer and closer to the struggle and to involve the best elements into the more demanding and closely knit revolutionary structures."

After calling upon the non-African communities to "activate" themselves as organisations, the SACP shows no shame in attacking us for "spreading racialism and a Savimbi kind of nationalism". The SACP speaks of Ghetto nationalism. They say:

"Like Vorster, they (i.e. the African nationalists in the ANC) believe that the place of a Coloured and an Indian is to work only in his own ghetto amongst his own people."

The two positions of the SACP on the role of the non-African communities shows clearly that the White leadership of the SACP is determined to use the non-African minorities to confuse fundamental questions of our struggle. In 1970 they saw an independent role for the organisations of the non-African communities and called upon them to reactivate these bodies. It should be noted that this was the advice of the SACP even though the Morogoro Conference had served their other objective of capturing the leadership of the ANC.....The 1976 SACP slogan of "ghetto nationalism" and Savimbi kind of nationalism clearly shows how their own previous pronouncements are "ghetto nationalist" in spirit and letter. *Marxist phrasemongering does not hide and never will succeed to hide the White racist superiority attitudes of the SACP towards African nationalism. They hate and fear African nationalism to such an extent that they will do everything in their power to destroy it even if that means dividing the African national struggle for liberation from the yoke of foreign rule.*

The SACP go on in their statement to say: "The rare character of their so-called nationalism is revealed further in their statement that it is the duty of non-Africans in the struggle to 'humble themselves'. This is clearly the language of racism not of comradeship or revolutionary nationalism."

In fact this "language of racism not of comradeship or revolutionary nationalism" is a verbatim report of the 'language' of Moses Kotane, General Secretary of the SACP and also Treasurer-General of the ANC now ill in Moscow. He uttered these words at the 1966 Joint Consultative meeting of the N.E.C. of the ANC and leaders of the other sister organisations. *To be exact, this was in reply to the late Michael Marmel, another prominent member of the C.C. of the SACP who wanted to know what the role of Whites, and other minority communities was going to be. Moses Kotane thundered:*

"YOU MUST HUMBLE YOURSELVES AND SUBORDINATE YOURSELF TO THE CAUSE", etc.

He went on to call upon the non-African communities to accept African leadership without asking for membership of the ANC or the formation of bogus 'Councils of War' when they had not even decided as organisations to wage war. As soon as Kotane fell ill in 1968, his White SACP comrades engineered the disastrous Morogoro Conference in 1969 where they 'gained' open membership of the ANC and the

"one white, one Indian, and one coloured" as the SACP 1976 Statement itself admits got themselves included on the Revolutionary Council.

(Brian Bunting has now written a biography of Moses Kotane, where everything is presented as milk and honey by this rogue. By such deceptions and associations they attempt to pass themselves off as leaders of the Black community. - Editor).

The White is Joe Slovo, the Indian is Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and the coloured is Reggie September (All of them are so politically bankrupt that if they returned to South Africa to-morrow and got so much as five Black people behind them they would be lucky.- Editor.) All are members of the SACP. None of their national organisation has decided to wage war (They hardly exist-Editor.) *Slovo belongs to no national organisation of his own people as the Whites who fought for ANC membership dissolved their organisation, the Congress of Democrats (C.O.D.) in 1960 soon after Sharpeville when Vorster's fascist measures became draconian. But then what could we expect from the C.O.D. Whites who also dissolved the C.P.S.A. in 1950 in the face of the enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act. No, they are cowards who cannot stand up and fight for themselves. They must hide behind the Blacks; control and direct the struggles of the Africans; instigate 'expulsions' in the ANC; secure good 'cushy' jobs in universities, colleges and international agencies using ANC credentials; live with the white middle class in South Africa, and abroad make sure that they can live on the misery, poverty and socio-economic degradation of all the Black oppressed people in South Africa. They are experts on African oppression; they speak for the African and use the ill-gotten gains of the bogus Morogoro Conference to legitimise their usurpation of power in the ANC. These white middle class liberals headed by the Slovos who masquerade as Marxists will stop at nothing to maintain their privileged position in the national liberation struggle of the African people. It is, of course, the Tambo clique that allows this appalling state of affairs. But the African people in Soweto; in Zululand, in the O.F.S. and in the Eastern Cape are beginning to give their complete rejection of this bogus White leadership of Blacks. The revolutionary Coloured youth in the Western Cape have joined hands with their African brothers to reject White domination. The White liberals in the ANC must heed the signals. The time for white bankap is over - even in Tambo's ANC. O.R. Tambo must show a little more courage by removing the white liberals from all ANC organs. African unity is more important than making the ANC an appendage of the Sino-Soviet dispute used by the Moscow-supported White liberals such as the Slovos.*

6. WORKING CLASS: White SA "C" P Born Out of White Workers Movement Distort Marxism to Preserve White Interests in South Africa; How the White "C" P Manipulates Africans; No Correct Concept of Working Class and National Liberation

Throughout its document, the SACP talks of the working class without bothering to analyse it in the S.A. context. This is a persistent failing of the SACP that reflects the fact that the SACP grew out of White trade union bodies whose membership racially excluded Black workers. The White workers in South Africa are a privileged class and constitute an integral part of the state and political machinery for the subjugation of the Black people. They provide the social basis for the State machinery of repression in upholding the white supremacy that places them in a position of privilege and power. They are not just a 'labour aristocracy' as defined in Marxist terms; they are the main force of the ruling class providing both the manpower and leadership for the ARMY, NAVY, POLICE AND PRISONS. From the ranks of the White workers are forged the instruments of White domination - socially, politically, economically.

Why does the SACP attack us for pointing out the very real need to consider the national struggle for liberation in a manner that does not confuse it with the class struggle? The class struggle in S. A. has this fundamental peculiarity of a White working class that is not only the social basis of White political domination but forms also a part of the expansionist character of the S.A. state as is evidenced in the role of S.A. White military forces in Namibia, Angola and Zimbabwe.....Let us put the question differently: which is the main contradiction in South Africa - Is it the contradiction between the Black oppressed people and the White oppressors - or is it simply a struggle between capital and labour? Is it the contradiction posed by the presence of massive foreign imperialist investments in South Africa against the interests of the African people? Is it the imperialist role of S.A. as a policeman for Western, and her own interests in Southern Africa as evinced by S.A.'s recent aggression against Angola and continued defiance of the U.N. over Namibia and Zimbabwe? Whilst we do not deny the close nature of the class and national struggle in S.A. we reject with contempt the SACP's loose interpretation of working class to include the very oppressors who constitute part of the main contradiction in our view - namely, the national oppression and complete dispossession of the Black people by the White ruling class. We are not going to confuse our people on this question - and no amount of talk about "revolutionary nationalism" and "bourgeois nationalism" will make us abandon a position which alone makes possible the mapping out of strategy and tactics for a revolutionary alliance of anti-fascist forces. The question of fascism is different from the question of national oppression. Whites too who oppose the apartheid state and its fascist machinery suffer the penalties prescribed for such opposition. But that does not convert those Whites into victims of national oppression. It does create a basis for anti-fascist solidarity. The SACP uses the "working class" label to give respectability to its White leadership whose origin is petit-bourgeoisie. Indeed in some instances their origin goes up to levels of big capitalist factory ownership (e.g. the Slovos.) (In the case of Julius First, the father of Ruth First, he owned a furniture factory and he was always in trouble with the Labour Department for the way he treated his workers. Julius First was the 1935 Treasurer of the SACP and probably still hovers around the SACP - Editor). The class composition of the White leadership of the SACP has led them to the grave errors of principle in evolving an appropriate theory of revolution for the S.A. situation. Now they try to use the glory of FRELIMO and the MPLA to disguise their own political bankruptcy.

In 1922 the white workers in S.A. went on a strike directed against Black workers whose wages and conditions were going to be improved. At one time the SACP supported the White workers. At another time the same SACP vacillated between support for Black peoples struggles and support for the White workers whom they continued to see as a revolutionary force in the period 1922 to 1928. The 6th Congress of the Comintern put an end to this opportunism but as we have correctly pointed out on page 12 of our Statement, the slogan of the

"Independent Native (i.e. Black or African because in those days Native referred exclusively to AFRICANS) Republic as a stage towards a workers and peasants government, with full protection and equal rights for all minorities."

was resisted by the SACP.

The delegation which went to the 6th Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1928 was headed by S.P. Bunting and included Rebecca Bunting (his wife) and Eddie Roux. On page 37 of the C.P. document we read that

"Already by 1928, of the 1750 Party members, 1600 were Africans. It was also during the middle and late twenties that names famous in South Africa's working class and national movements, like J.B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Albert Nzula, were already leaders and activists of the Party. By 1929 Albert Nzula was the Assistant General Secretary of the Party and was acting as Editor of its official organ, the S.A. Worker."

Yet out of the 1600 African C.P. members not one was seen fit to be in the delegation of an International Congress to discuss the fate of the Blacks. Out of the 150 white C.P. members the three were chosen. Eddie Roux dismisses both the position of the delegation took and the myth of the African majority in leading C.P. organs.

referring to our statement the SACP writes that "every single line bristles with deliberate distortions and lies" and ask "Why then do the authors of the Makiwane document falsify so blatantly when they say that the Party "resisted the slogan."

Eddie Roux, on Page 61 of his book "Rebel Pity" puts it categorically clear that : "Bunting and indeed with him the majority of the South African Party were opposed to the slogan, which they realised would make it impossible for them to continue work among the white workers." Well, Messrs Slovo & Co. who is falsifying what here?"

Further on, we read with curiosity the following revelation: "*Actually the African majority was only a mechanical gesture, more a manner of speaking than a meaningful reality.* The new Native members, though continually and intensively coached in the theory and practice of the new line, the fight against the reformist danger, were in fact bewildered and always subservient. Their presence was unreal." (Rebel Pity by Eddie and Win Roux, p. 98). Eddie Roux was a member of the Political Bureau during this period. The SACP should stop throwing mud at our faces! It becomes crystal clear that they have material interests in confusing the fundamental issues of our national struggle.

7. AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM: How White "C" P Prostituted Struggles of Blacks to Meet Needs of Racist White Workers in Early History; Fear of Being Swamped by Blacks

On page 38 of the "African Communist" the SACP attacks our statement for stating that "It (the SACP) opposed all moves aimed at consolidating African trade unionism, insisting on a multi-racial set-up despite the fact that the White working class had shown its determination to carve for itself a position of privilege and was to support Industrial Colour Bar and Job Reservation." Well, it is a fact of history that South African Marxism emerged at a time when the White working class totally accepted the predominant racial ideology of the White ruling class. The White working class became an integral part of the colonial settler White community and enjoyed all the rights and political power that the system denied to the "Natives". With the 1931 Statute of Westminster, and the Status of Union Act, No. 69 of 1934 the Whites acquired the basis for shedding their "colonial" image and proclaimed themselves as the "supreme and sovereign" rulers. We shall not go into the share of British Imperialism in this spurious transformation of a White settler community into "legitimised indigenous" rulers. When the 1922 strike of the White miners' against the Chamber of Mines came, the CPSA stood on the side of the White reactionary workers who resorted to strike action to prevent the African miners from gaining meagre wage increases that constituted no threat to the living standards of the Whites. The SACP then had no compunctions about supporting a reactionary tendency - and did so in the name of the international working class slogan "Workers of the World Unite." (The actual slogan under which the white workers marched was "Workers of the World Unite to save the white working class." - Editor). The SACP chose the side of a corrupt white working class rather than relate to the emerging African nationalism. The immigrant White workers coming from Europe feared competition with cheap black labour. Instead of allying itself with the Black workers in order to smash the racist industrial structures - they sought to keep the Black worker under. The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (I.C.U.) founded in 1919 developed into the largest organisation of Black workers. Its leader, Clements Kadalie, excluded the Communists from holding office in his union in 1926. But the White racism of people like W.H. Andrews and Bennie Weinbrun, both White trade unionists and leading CPSA figures, did not endear the C.P. and White workers to the Black workers when the two C.P. leaders played an instrumental role in seeing to it that Kadalie's ICU was refused affiliation to the S.A. Trade Union Congress. (W.H. Andrews was officially castigated as a "white chauvinist" by the Communist International, was removed from the Party as a right-winger, but was brought back again in the late forties - Editor). Bennie Weinbrun was quite open about the real motives of the C.P. leaders in this anti-working class activity - he said

".....we were all afraid he (Clement Kadalie) would swamp us (the White Workers)." (A fear that exists among all whites in South Africa today, whether they call themselves Communists or whatever fancy name they give themselves - Editor).

And that was the attitude of the CPSA in 1927 - one year before the the 6th Congress of the Comintern adopted the historic "Independent Native Republic" resolution - not the lies on the page 23 of SACP Statement.

The S.A. Trades and Labour Council (S.A T.L.C.) also collapsed in 1953 in the face of the bulk of the White workers acceptance of the racist ideology of the Industrial Conciliation Act which consolidated the privileged class position of White workers as part of the economic and political system of apartheid. The answer was the formation of the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U.) which was really a multi-racial set-up. Its value was that it did ally itself with the national liberation struggle but remained a federal body led by whites in the most senior offices though there were scarcely any white trade union affiliated to it. (Leon Levy, who was one

of the most senior officials of SACTU left South Africa to completely forget about the South African struggle - Editor).

8. CONTROL AND GUIDE TACTICS OF THE SA“C“P: White ‘C“P Rejects

Correct Independent Native (Black) Republic Thesis of Comintern

From 1928 to 1935 the CPSA entered the second phase of its life. During this period it unhappily put up with the 1928 Comintern directive on the “Independent Native Republic”. In fact the Comintern had to send an envoy, Eugene Dennis, to see that the CPSA honoured both the spirit and letter of the 1928 resolution. In 1929 Douglas Wolton, the head of the CPSA, at the time, returned from the Comintern in Moscow - “armed with directives from the Comintern for the bolshevisation of the Communist Party of South Africa”.

MOSES KOTANE EXPELLED

In 1935 Kotane put forward the slogan of a united front of non-white organisations. The SACP attacked him for bourgeois reformism because he stressed that these united fronts must be free of CPSA domination. This is how Eddie Roux records the events that followed and led to the abandonment of the 1928 Resolution on the “Independent Native Republic”:

“In particular he (Bach, a White CPSA leader) was presently able to accuse Moses Kotane of bourgeois reformism. This was because Kotane had put forward the suggestions of forming a united front of Non-European organisations, a sort of all-in association in which the Party should not thrust itself too openly into the picture. *Kotane maintained that the Party inevitably destroyed every united front mass organisation by blatantly taking control and dominating its policy.* This he considered bad strategyKotane argues that a united front to be successful must be a real unity in which Africans could and make decisions and feel that they had genuine power and control.”

We fully endorse Kotane’s view on this matter in so far as control of one organisation by another is destructive.

“Bach did not stop at rejecting and criticising Kotane’s proposal but found in it evidence of a fundamental deviation. The trouble was, he said, that Kotane’s interpretation of the slogan of the Native Republic was incorrect. So now once more the slogan controversy flared up but at a different level. It was no longer a question of being for or against *the slogan which by now we all in theory accepted,* but of being for or against a certain interpretation of the slogan, Kotane.....held that the original formulation of the slogan was correct, namely that the Native Republic was a stage towards a workers’ and peasants’ government. But while the Comintern representative had been in South Africa a change had come about so that the Native Republic was not synonymous and synchronous with the workers’ and peasants’ government: *the idea of stages had been jettisoned.* It was this new version which Bach now insisted on. And he

now argued that *Kotane’s plan for a united front not blatantly dominated by communists was evidence of his lack of understanding of the Party’s true role as guide and leader in all worker’s organisations.*”

So Moses Kotane and 5 others were expelled from the CPSA in September 1935. This was the second group of expulsions - the first having been four years earlier when S.P.Bunting, W.H.Andrews, Solly Sachs, Bennie Weinbrun, C.B.Tyler, F.Weinbrun were removed.”

OLD EVIL DESIGNS OF THE SA“C“P: How White “C“P Tried to Expel

Their Stooge Duma Nokwe

But expulsions are an evil design of the SACP to which it resorts to silence its critics. *In the ANC these methods are alien.* Duma Nokwe was ‘expelled’ by the ANC Youth League branch of Orlando in 1954 soon after his return from a Youth Festival in Europe. At the annual ANC Youth League conference in Uitenhage in 1954 it was Milner Ntsangani, the Conference speaker, Alfred Kgokong Mqota, the late Lungile Kepe and the late Robert Reshawho showed the “unconstitutional” nature of the ‘expulsion.’ The Conference restored Nokwe’s membership. But he forgot that experience when he allowed himself to be used as the ANC hatchet-man of the white-led SACP. Perhaps Nokwe’s mind had already begun to be unbalanced when he undertook all these divisive activities on behalf of the SACP. It is his white bosses headed by the Slovos who are to blame for this shameful page in ANC history. The ‘expulsion’ of Duma was deemed unconstitutional because he was not given an opportunity to defend himself; there were also no clear allegations against him that amounted to contravention of the ANC Constitution and policy. He was expelled in his absence. The decision to ‘expel’ the 8 was also unconstitutional although this time it is Duma Nokwe who is guilty of perpetrating an unconstitutional act. We have no knowledge of any clear allegation against each one of us separately. A clumsy attempt was made to call us a faction but there is no evidence of factional activity - only the slanderous diatribe of the White-led SACP that does not even try to disguise its malice and venomous hatred of any African who subscribes to the policy of *African self-reliance in political thought and action.* Soweto proves that in order to overthrow the White oppressors, Africans must unite and rely on their own sacrifices and leadership. Whites must no longer be allowed to meddle in African affairs. *The decision to ‘expel’ us from the ANC was taken by*

whites in the SACP. That is why the SACP saw to it that they attacked us in their mouthpiece the 'African Communist' No. 65, 1976" - speaking on behalf of the ANC openly this time and the Tambo clique could do nothing about that. They are used as tools of the SACP.What a mockery of the ANC! What an insult to the spirit of Chief Luthuli - for whites and Indians to have the effrontery to 'expel' Africans from their own national organisations! And then they used the SACP Journals to speak on behalf of the ANC in a further attempt to destroy the African leadership of the ANC. HISTORY WILL REVERSE THIS BETRAYAL WITH A VENGEANCE. SURELY A TERRIBLE NEMESIS WILL OVERTAKE THE WHITE-LED SACP AND ITS HANGERS-ON.

9. OUR AFRICAN OUTLOOK: White "C" P Fear African Unity and Work Against It

We shall continue to and uphold African nationalism as our liberatory outlook. Our entire ideological perspective is based on African nationalism - that political philosophy that rejects White domination and imperialist exploitation. A philosophy that is the mainspring of the African revolution against colonial rule and monopoly domination. It takes different forms in different historical conditions but it is a uniting force out of which new forms of social organisations grow..... We uphold the banners of African nationalism which white racist rule so assiduously sought to destroy and and which the SACP too very violently attacks. THEY FEAR AFRICAN ONENESS BECAUSE IT WILL RE-UNITE SOUTH AFRICA WITH THE REST OF AFRICA IN REBUILDING OUR PLUNDERED CONTINENT.

10. TAMBO CATCHES A MALICIOUS SACP DOCUMENT: Joe Slovo Promotes Himself as Field Marshall of National Liberation Struggle

The SACP has tried to thwart the African's liberatory outlook. One successful method they use has been to malign African leaders. In 1971 they called upon SACP members not to cooperate with Robert Resha, M.A.Makiwane, T.X'Makiwane, J.D.Matlou, Raymond Kunene, Thami Mhlambiso, Alfred Kgokong and Mzwai Piliso. O.R. Tambo caught the SACP document and objected to its circulation. The SACP white leadership promised not to do it again. But what they did was to engineer the 'expulsions' of the 8 that brought the ANC crisis out into the open again.

It has been alleged in the SACP attack on us that some of the 8 leaders 'expelled' were present at the 1969 Morogoro Conference. This is true. If they accepted some of the resolutions of that Conference in good faith it is because they were not aware of the evil designs and machinations of the Slovo clique. *Now all the motives of the White-led SACP are clear. Slovo is busy projecting himself as the MILITARY expert for the ANC. Dadoo is used as the voice for minority interests whilst effectively having taken over the ANC leadership, Reggie September and Alex la Guma play the same roles.*

Those who believed in the good intentions of the White-led SACP and its affairs are clandestine to the ANC whilst every ANC thought or deed or office is open to the SACP members who exercise this dual role effectively in the interests of the SACP. Those who were present at the Morogoro Conference in 1969 have seen the grave mistake they made in accepting the Morogoro resolutions. They have changed their minds and say so openly. There is nothing wrong or shameful about somebody correcting his own mistake. Indeed, there is an old Chinese saying which warns that -

"HE WHO COMMITS A MISTAKE AND DOES NOT CORRECT IT - IS COMMITTING ANOTHER MISTAKE."

11. "C"PSA RESISTANCE TO THE NATIVE REPUBLIC: Blatant Racism of White "Socialists"

Earlier we have already shown how dissension arose between the CPSA and the Comintern leadership on the implementation of the 1928 Comintern Resolution concerning the "Native Republic". The Comintern at different times sent its own representatives to ensure that the CPSA was honouring the "Native Republic" resolution. But historical evidence shows that some of these representatives fell under the duress and influences of the white-led CPSA who always saw the racist white South African worker as the ally of the African worker and peasant in spite of the nakedly racist national oppression of all Africans.

The Comintern representative referred to earlier who aided and abetted the abandonment of the essence of the 1928 Independent Native Republic slogan in 1935 was George Hardy of the Communist Party of Great Britain who even advised the CPSA to ally itself with the S.A. Labour Party. (The Communist Party of Great Britain was accused by the Comintern of doing little with regard to the colonial question, and it generally took a chauvinist attitude towards the struggles of the colonial peoples. It was upbraided by the Comintern for this. - Editor). To curry favour with the racist S.A. Labour Party in pursuing Comintern "Peoples Front" policies, the CPSA agreed to omit any mention of the 'Native Republic' in 'Peoples Front' manifesto. The aim was to attract appeal for a gain white support at the expense of the 'Natives'. In their book "Class and Colour in South

Africa", H.J. and R.E. Simons record the Hardy episode in biting language:-

"Substituting reformist phrases for left slogans, Hardy guided the Party into making a great turn to the right. Under Hardy's guidance, the Party became less intensively militant and more broadly respectable. Its paper was re-named the S.A.Worker in June 1936 and made a severe cut in the space given to news and comment in Bantu languages."

Our document does not "blatantly falsify" when it says the Party 'resisted the slogan' of 1928 on the Native Republic. The Party in 1935 adopted a reactionary position towards the Blacks that is far more heinous than the tame phrase "resisted the slogan." It is the upper middle-class leadership of the Whites who dominate the ANC and the SACP that deliberately falsifies history. This racist attitude of the CPSA towards the Blacks is even evident in the writings of W.H.Harrison, "Memoirs of a Socialist" who was a founder-member of the CPSA. He wrote:-

"But alas! Native psychology is not capable of visualising Utopian schemes that may in the dim future mean his emancipation. I would like to give them an opportunity of establishing a Native Republic, with a 8 million Natives as members of the C.P. What would the Party do with them?"

12. THE SA "C" P MIDDLE CLASS LEADERSHIP: Chauvinism of Section of Indian Petit-Buorgeoisie Leadership; SA "C" P First Party in History of World Communist Movement to Dissolve Itself; Bullshit of "Theory of Internal Colonialism"

The SACP say we are a "middle class clique." What a white racist fraud they are - and insulting to Black leaders to boot. We are the sons of Black workers and peasants - one and all. It is not ourselves but the Slovos who own factories in South Africa run on very cheap black labour. We shall not go into the social origins of the Indian leadership of the SACP because they too are deeply embedded in the exploitative activities of the Indian merchant class whose supercilious behaviour towards the Africans led to the Durban riots of 1949. (The South African Indian Congress, and its various provincial branches were very much dominated by the Indian merchant class and a section of the Indian petty buorgeoisie - lawyers, doctors, etc. - who took racist attitudes towards the African people and whose inclinations were more towards integration with the whites. The Indian working class kept away from these organisations because they belonged to the "larnies", the Indian working class slang for a rich person.

The third phase of the CPSA as a legal body covers the period 1935 to 1950 when the CPSA dissolved itself. (The CPSA is the only Communist organisation in the whole history of the international communist movement to have dissolved itself - a most unique distinction indeed!) - Editor). This dissolution is a distinction which only the Party and the White Congress of Democrats enjoy. Other parties elsewhere in the world under worse conditions of repression chose to fight. *But the white-dominated CPSA chose to dissolve itself. When that epoch making event took place, the the Central Committee of the CPSA comprised 10 whites, 3 Africans, 3 Indians and 1 Coloured.* Even if the Blacks wanted to do so, they could not "resist" successfully whatever whims and fancies the 10 Whites had on matters of theory and practice. The "Independent Native Republic" was later replaced after 1950 when the CPSA became the SACP by the theory of "internal colonialism" or "colonialism of a special type" - a figment of the Whites who refuse to see clearly the contradiction between White oppressors and exploiters on the one hand and the mass of the Black people on the other. The C.P. of the U.S.A. has developed a clear theoretical line to the phenomenon of White racism against Blacks. *Even though the Afro-Americans are a minority in the USA the CP of the USA has more clearly and honestly tried to grapple with the social dimensions of White racism* by providing that all matters affecting Blacks as a minority be resolved by Black members of the Party first and foremost. The SACP is more concerned with depicting the African nationalists of S.A. as racists. To protect White interests, they have developed SACP theory into becoming an instrument for the defence and championing of minority interests against the African majority.

13. SA "C" P MANIPULATION OF BLACK MINORITIES

The Coloured and Indian people are deliberately used in this trick of the Whites to perpetuate their own dominant position over all Blacks. Those Blacks from the oppressed minorities who allow themselves to be used to protect the privileges of Whites do more harm than good to themselves. Some whites claim that they are in positions of authority by virtue of the fact that they have special skills and expertise. We know that this is a thinly-veiled cover to justify White leadership of Blacks in the national struggle of the Blacks for their own liberation as a people. Ben Turok explains this situation as follows:-

"But there were whites of a different stamp. They could hardly be faulted on the grounds of their commitment. At most it may be said that they (together with many Blacks) strove to to play down African nationalism in the Alliance in order to develop a non-racial

democratic programme.

There was also an implicit assumption in the Alliance that all racial groups could play a somewhat equal role and the necessity of *always ensuring the leading role of Africans was sometimes forgotten*. Perhaps the participation of Whites in the movement *did inhibit the development of self-confidence and leadership qualities of Africans* as some people suggest, since White South Africans, like intellectuals in any movement, tend to work with greater confidence, *using their talents and expertise with effect*.

The idea of "internal colonialism" like that of White domination of Blacks in the Black liberation struggle have both occasioned some heart-searching among some S.A. Whites whose political integrity emerges as they ask the awkward questions relating to the revolution in South Africa. Harold Wolpe is no longer certain about the theoretical applicability of the idea of "internal colonialism" in the South African situation and has argued tentatively in that direction.

14 CONGRESS ALLIANCE: How the Morogoro Conference was Manipulated; S.A. Whites Have no Revolutionary Organisation of Their Own; Have No Social Base But Want to Lead Blacks; Indians and Coloureds Must Not Allow Whites To Use Them To Preserve White Privileges

On page 16 of the C.C. of the SACP booklet entitled "The Enemy Hidden Under the Same Colour" they say that the open membership decision

"explicitly referred only to the external mission of the ANC. They conveniently omit to mention that the decision explicitly excluded non-Africans from serving on the N.E.C. of the ANC." This is a silly way of defending oneself. You are a member of the ANC outside but you are not a member inside S.A. You are a member of the ANC outside S.A. but you are not a member of the N.E.C. of the ANC and never will be both inside and outside S.A. What hypocrisy causes the SACP to devise this type of humbug? Of what use is membership of an organisation if you are not allowed to take part in the decision-making organs of that organisation? It appears to us that this is a more brutal form of racist "exclusiveness" in thought and organisation than our view that there should be no deception in our dealings with all sections of our national liberation struggle.

The "Congress Alliance" is dead. The mockery of open ANC membership outside South Africa clouds an important issue - namely, what role the non-African communities must play in the fight to smash the apartheid system. *To pretend that all Blacks are Africans is to create the basis for serious dissension on cultural, social and linguistic grounds among the Black people as a whole later on. The Indian people have a different historical background to that of the Africans. They have a different language and follow different cultural patterns of life from the African. Their religious beliefs and practices are different from those of the African.*

The Coloured people too have a distinct historical and cultural background as an oppressed minority. For many years the Boers have tried to present the Coloured people as an appendage of the Boers. All this has failed. We stand for full, equal and common citizenship for every person irrespective of race, colour, creed, or language or religion in a new South Africa. We believe that cultural diversity, linguistic and religious patterns will continue to reflect the varied nature of the peculiarities that are embodied in our national situation. We do not believe in forcible suppression of any of these social forms of diversity. We stand for a united, free and democratic South Africa, where all people regardless of colour, race, sex or creed shall live in harmony.

The significance of the 1969 Morogoro Conference decision is that it was taken by a Consultative Conference of hand-picked delegates of Africans, Coloureds and Whites in exile. It was taken without a mandate from the ANC membership both inside as well as outside South Africa. It contravened the ANC Constitution and established confusing exile political practices, by enabling non-Africans to assume positions of leadership in an otherwise purely African national organisation. The total effect of all this was to wrest control of the very political instrument through which Africans can retrieve their national birthright from the White racist regime of South Africa.

We want to build an African united front that recognises the right of the non-African communities to fight shoulder to shoulder with the African people but "bogus open membership of the ANC" only delays a full discussion of the national question and the formulation of fundamental principles of a Black United Front of all revolutionary organisations of the oppressed people in South Africa. We believe that the main political force in South Africa is and has always been African nationalism. The African people of South Africa are the main revolutionary content of the South African struggle for national liberation. Their unity is a prerequisite that should herald a unity of all democratic and anti-fascist forces in South Africa. Their liberation will mean the liberation of all oppressed minority groups in South Africa. We are presently engaged in a programme of forming an African United Front of South Africa on an organisation to organisation basis and we consider it proper that the oppressed minority groups of South Africa should "reactivate" their national organisations and

rededicate themselves to the struggle that is being spearheaded by the African people inside South Africa.

The SACP Statement as reported in the African Communist presents Dadoo as follows:-

"Indeed reports indicated that the sudden disappearance at all public levels of the liberation front of leaders like Dadoo (whom the South African masses had always regarded as more than mere communal leaders) was being interpreted by many as reflecting a new policy of African exclusiveness." (Dadoo is also a puppet of the white Communists and even though he is the Chairman of the SACP it is Joe Slovo who is his big boss - Editor).

This is a lie. Dadoo never disappeared from leadership levels outside South Africa. The ANC included him as well as Reggie September, and M.P. Naicker, Mosie Moolla and Maulvi Cachalia in responsible positions long before the Morogoro Conference in 1969. What the ANC did was to present them as leaders of the non-African minorities allied to the ANC in struggle. They were not given a false membership. Dadoo, September and Naicker were in the ANC delegation to the 1st Tricontinental Conference in Cuba in 1966. Dadoo was in the small ANC group that met both the Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa and the Prime Minister - Fidel Castro. He was presented as a leader of the Indian people of South Africa. September too enjoyed our support as a leader of the Coloured people. In 1968 Dadoo, September and M.P. Naicker were again in the ANC delegation to the Khartoum Solidarity Conference with the people struggling against Portuguese colonialism and White racist regimes in Southern Africa. In 1969 Dadoo, September and M.P. Naicker were in the ANC delegation to the Cairo Conference in support of the struggle of the Arab people against Zionist conquest of their lands. Dadoo and September were in Robert Resha's "ANC collective" (which the SACP 1976 Statement acknowledges, see p. 32 "African Communist" No 65, 1976) set up to solve the complaints of non-Africans in London. M.P. Naicker worked in Alfred Kgotong's Publicity Department as a Senior Editor, so also did Dr. A.S. Randeree. *Why then did they need ANC membership?* They did not suddenly disappear at all public levels as the SACP Statement deliberately tries to deceive public opinion.

THE WHITES OF SOUTH AFRICA HAVE NO REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF THEIR OWN AND, THEREFORE, CANNOT EVEN PRETEND THAT THERE ARE SOCIAL FORCES WHICH THEY LEAD IN SOUTH AFRICA. The White-led SACP should stop deceiving the world on this issue.

AFRICAN NATIONALISTS WARN SOME INDIAN AND COLOURED CHAUVINISTS NOT TO PLAY WHITE "C."P's GAME TO MAINTAIN WHITE PRIVILEGES IN SOUTH

IT IS TO BE REGRETTED THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS AND THAT OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HAVE BECOME SO SUBSERVIENT TO THE WHITE-CONTROLLED SACP AS TO ABANDON THEIR ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES. THE LEADERSHIP OF THESE MINORITY GROUPS HAVE AT THE BEHEST OF THE WHITE-CONTROLLED SACP ASSUMED DIRECTION OF THE TAMBO-LED AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF S.A. AND MUCH AGAINST THE WILL AND IN THE FACE OF THE DETERMINED RESISTANCE BY THE TRUE ANC MEMBERS OUTSIDE AND INSIDE S.A. (Reggie September and Co. should bodily be lifted off their pants and thrown out of the offices at Rathbone Street by the African dissidents and true members of the ANC of South Africa - Editor.) IN THE PROCESS OF THIS POLITICAL TREACHERY BY MINORITY GROUPS LEADERSHIP WHICH HAVE IN THE PAST PRESENTED THEMSELVES AS GENUINE ALLIES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE, THE NATIONAL ORGANS OF THE INDIANS AND THE COLOURED OF S.A. HAVE BEEN LEFT TO DISINTEGRATE.

We as African leaders will continue to work for revolutionary unity of the oppressed Black people but not under false banners. *WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THE NATIONAL EMANCIPATION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE; FOR THE RELEASE OF THE ANC AS AN ORGANISATION FROM THE CLUTCHES OF WHITE BUREAUCRATS AND NON-AFRICAN STOOGES OF THE SLOVO CLIQUE.*

We stand by the spirit of the address of one of ANC's founding fathers Pixley Isaka ka Seme entitled "The Regeneration of Africa" which he delivered at Columbia University in 1906:

"Oh, for that historian who, with the open pen of truth, will bring to Africa's claim the strength of written proof. He will tell of a race whose onward tide was often swelled with tears, but in whose heart bondage has not quenched the fire of former years. He will write that in these later days when Earth's noble ones are named, she has a role of honour too, of whom she is not ashamed. The giant is awakening! From the four corners of the earth Africa's sons, who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to the future's golden door bearing the records of deeds of valour done.....The African already recognises his anomalous position and desires a change. The brighter day is rising upon Africa. Already I seem to see her chains dissolved, her desert plains red with harvest, her Abyssinia and her Zululand the seats of science and religion, reflecting the glory of the rising sun from the spires of their churches and universities. Her Congo and her Gambia

whitened with commerce, her crowded cities sending forth the hum of business and all her sons employed in advancing the victories of peace - greater and more abiding than the spoils of war.....
Yes, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period. The African people,, although not a strictly homogenous race, possesses a common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising itself into one common controlling idea."

We reassert this view of Africa's oneness. SOUTH AFRICA IS PART OF AFRICA NOT AN APPENDAGE OF EUROPE. HER FREEDOM SHALL REFLECT THE RE-UNIFICATION OF AFRICAN SOCIETY IN THE GREAT COMITY OF FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES OF AFRICA IN THE 20TH CENTURY. THE AFRICAN IMAGE, AND THE AFRICAN HERITAGE WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE DILUTED AND DESECRATED BY THOSE WHO LOOK SUPERCILIOUSLY UPON ALL THAT IS AFRICAN.

15. THE AFRICAN IMAGE OF THE ANC: White "C" P Organise to Hijack ANC; White "C" P Try To Use Name of FRELIMO To Adorn Themselves; African Nationalism Powerful Force of the South African Struggle

When Nelson R. Mandela returned from Africa in 1962 he stressed that the ANC should promote its African image because the African leaders in different countries stood for PAN AFRICAN UNITY and the ANC was duty bound to fall in line with the African revolution as it developed throughout the continent both in form or content. We followed that policy upto 1969 even though we scrupulously adhered to close ties with our non-African allies. Long before 1969 Jassat, Mosie Moolla, Dr. Dadoo, Reg September and many others worked closely with the ANC. *The demand for ANC membership started with Joe Slovo's house in 1965 where O.R. Tambo, Robert Resha, Raymond Kunene, Alfred Kgotong met the Slovos, Dadoo, Harmel, Rosalynde Ainslie, Hilda Bernstein, Abdul Minty, Vella Pillay and Ronnie Segal. Robert Resha and Alfred Kgotong opposed this demand and openly stated that these non-Africans wanted membership because they wanted power in the ANC.* During the following year the SACP led by the now discredited Joe Matthews advanced the demand for a Council of War in which non-Africans would be included. Again the ANC opposed and rejected this demand. From the time the struggles in the SACP and the ANC took a different form. Whilst manoeuvring to gain ANC membership, the SACP got some ANC leaders to be 'suspended', others to be deliberately isolated through campaigns of vilification. At the 1969 Morogoro Conference, only Robbie Resha and Thami Mhlambiso opposed the demand for "open" ANC membership.

In the meantime it is the ANC and the Black people who suffer, not the ambitious Whites who reap all the fruits a White person automatically acquires under the S.A. racist system. They enjoy the best of all worlds. They are of the ruling class everywhere and remain so in personal life-style and political arrogance. (Even when they move to London and other European quarters it is for them like moving from Johannesburg to Cape Town. Whilst Black South African refugees have to suffer from racial discrimination in Britain and all over Europe they do not suffer these disabilities. John Sprack who is a great anti-apartheid spokesman here in Britain can become an ASTMS Divisional Officer when Black workers can't even become shop stewards to voice their legitimate grievances on the shop floor. Not only that they capitalise on their association with the South African liberation movement, for there is a tendency in the capitals of Europe is listen more avidly to a white representative of the struggle than a Black one. This is why Richard Gott, who writes mainly about Latin America, can praise the Slovos and others as the champions of apartheid.)
can praise the Slovos and others as the champions of anti-apartheid - Editor.]

The C.C. document entitled "The Enemy Hidden under the Same Colour" says at page 22:

".....our Party has the distinction of being the first organisation in the history of our Continent to call unambiguously for black majority rule on the basis of universal suffrage."

The SACP even in 1976 have no hesitation in displaying their political supremacy over Blacks in theory and practice. After having abandoned the "Independent Native Republic" slogan in 1935 and having substituted it with the spurious "internal colonialism" or "colonialism of a special type" slogan, they now boast about their reformist demands. The demand for voting rights can be found in the documents of various African organisations in the Cape before 1910. *But the basis of African nationalism and that of full and equal citizenship by all the oppressed Black minorities derives from the blatant colonial dispossession of the African people by the White invaders. In other words - the Land Question - the right to the land, the historical birthright of the African people was always and remains the potent force on which African nationalism developed. We have consciously linked African nationalism with the objective of social liberation - namely, the struggle to abolish the exploitation of man by man.*

The SACP White leadership who oppose the political philosophy embodied in the concept of African nationalism and who oppose the African image of the ANC reflect their social and class roots as petit-bourgeois White roots firmly fixed in the historically conditioned modes of thought that characterise White superior attitudes towards Blacks in South Africa. Many efforts have been

made to reassert African revolutionary principles to guide the national liberation movement. But in exile the ANC has been subjected to severe SACP pressure to abandon these principles. This has led to internal squabbles in the ANC.

When seven MK (Mkhonto we Sizwe) cadres retruned from the ill-fated suicidal Zimbabwe campaigns in 1968 they drew up a Memorandum to pin point certain basic weaknesses in the ANC. That was subsequently used to start a campaign of witch hunt amongst the ANC leadership. Later Christ Nkosana (also known as Hani) one of the suthors of the memorandum reasserted his belief in the correctness of the Memorandum they drew up in 1968. In the ANC Report Commission of Enquiry of the 9th August 1970 set up by O.R.Tambo and headed by the Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo - Chris Hani's evidence is summarised as follows:-

"Several witnesses expressed misgivings about the way the 'Memorandum of the Seven' (1969) was handled. Comrade Chris stated that after leaving prison in Botswana he found the Movement in a stalemate position. There was no longer any direction, there was general confusion or an unwillingness to discuss the issues of the revolution."

The "stalemate", the lack of "direction", the "confusion and unwillingness to discuss issues of revolution" is still the order of the day in the Tambo ANC. It emanates from the attack on African nationalism and the African image by the white-led SACP. They are *determined that they will define for the Africans what political theory is correct for solving problems of revolution and liberation struggles in South Africa.*

To conclude on this question of nationalism and the falsification that the white-led SACP tries to spread using the good name of our victorious comrades-i.e.-arms in FRELIMO and MPLA we ask ANC members and all supporters of our struggle to read and study very carefully an official document of the ANC presented by the late Anton Muziwake Lembede - one of the forerunners of the ANC Youth League. O.R.Tambo should remember Document 53 of the ANC Youth League because he was a Youth Leaguer then.

Document 53. "Policy of the Congress Youth League." Article by A.M. Lembede, in Inkundla ya Bantu, May 1946.

The history of modern times is the history of nationalism. Nationalism has been tested in the people's struggles and the fires of battle and found to be the only effective weapon, the only antidote against foreign rule and modern imperialism. It is for that reason that the great imperialistic powers feverishly endeavour with all their might to discourage and eradicate all nationalistic tendencies among their alien subjects: for that purpose huge and enormous sums of money are lavishly expended on propaganda against nationalism which is dubbed, designated or dismissed as 'narrow', 'Barbarous', 'uncultured', 'devilish', etc. Some alien subjects become dupes of this sinister propaganda and consequently become tools or instruments of imperialism for which great service they are highly praised, extolled and eulogised by the imperialist power and showered with such epithets as 'cultured', 'liberal', 'progressive', 'broadminded', etc.

All over the world nationalism is rising in revolt against foreign domination, conquest and oppression in India, in Indonesia, in Egypt, in Persia and several other countries. Among Africans also clear signs of national awakening, national renaissance, or rebirth are noticeable on the far-off horizon.

A new spirit of African nationalism, or Africanism, is pervading through and stirring the African society. A young virile nation is in the process of birth and emergence. The national movement imbued with and animated by the national spirit is gaining strength and momentum. The African National Congress Youth League is called upon to aid and participate in this historical process. African nationalism is based on the following cardinal principles:

- 1. Africa is a blackman's country. Africans are the natives of Africa and they have inhabited Africa, their Motherland, from times immemorial; Africa belongs to them.*
- 2. Africans are one. Out of the heterogeneous tribes, there must emerge a homogeneous nation. The basis of national unity is the nationalist feeling of the Africans, the feeling of being Africans irrespective of tribal connections, social status, educational attainment or economic class. This nationalistic feeling can only be realised in and interpreted by (a) national movement of which all Africans must be members.*

AFRICAN LEADERS WILL COME OUT OF THE LOINS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE

- 3. THE LEADER OF THE AFRICANS WILL COME OUT OF THEIR OWN LOINS. NO FOREIGNER CAN EVER BE A TRUE AND GENUINE LEADER OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE BECAUSE NO FOREIGNER CAN EVER TRULY AND GENUINELY INTERPRET THE AFRICAN SPIRIT WHICH IS UNIQUE AND PECULIAR TO AFRICANS ONLY' SOME FOREIGNERS, ASISTIC OR EUROPEAN, WHO POSE AS AFRICAN LEADERS, MUST BE CATEGORICALLY DENOUNCED AND REJECTED. AN AFRICAN MUST LEAD*

AFRICANS. AFRICANS MUST HONOUR, VENERATE AND FIND INSPIRATION FROM AFRICANS HEROES OF THE PAST: SHAKA, MOSHOESHOE, MAKANA, HINTSA, KHAMA, MZILIKAZI, SEKHUKHUNI, SOBHUZA AND MANY OTHERS.

4. *Co-operation between Africans and other Non-Europeans on common problems and issues may be highly desirable. But this occasional co-operation can only take place between Africans as a single unit and other Non-European groups as separate units. Non-European unity is a fantastic dream which has no foundation in reality.*

5. **THE DIVINE DESTINY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IS NATIONAL FREEDOM.** *Unless Africans achieve national freedom as early as possible they will be confronted with the impending doom and imminent catastrophe of extermination; they will not be able to survive the satanic forces, economic, social and political unleashed against them.....Moral and spritual degeneration manifests itself in such abnormal and pathological phenomena as loss of self-confidence, inferiority complex, a jeeung of frustration, THE WORSHIP AND IDOLISATION OF WHITE MEN, FOREIGN LEADERS and ideologies.*

Freedom is an indispensable condition for all progress and development. It will only be when Africans are free that they will be able to exploit fully and bring to fruition their divine talent and contribute something new towards the general welfare and prosperity of mankind; and it will only be then that Africans will enter on a footing of equality with other nations of the world into the commonwealth of nations; and only then will Africans occupy their rightful and honourable place among the nations of the world.....

7. **AFTER NATIONAL FREEDOM, THEN SOCIALISM.** *Africans are naturally socialistic as illustrated in their social practices and customs. The achievement of national liberation will therefore herald or usher in a new era, the era of African socialism. Our immediate task, however, is not socialism, but national liberation.*

What Lembede (one of the leading forces of the A.N.C. Youth League) said in his statement in 1946 is what we as African Nationalists have said in the past, are still saying today, and will continue to say in our struggle for national liberation. This is our stand! The Statement is still an official document of the A.N.C. from which the Tambo wing deviated at the disastrous 1969 Morogoro Conference. It should be clear to our readers that by this deviation a new A.N.C. (multi-racial) was formed by Tambo at Morogoro. Lambede's statement is a clear enunciation of A.N.C. policy which many African leaders and members (in exile) have sought to defend against the overt and covert S.A.C.P. onslaughts and for which some of the A.N.C. leaders have paid the penalty of rumours, isolation, questionable suspensions and unconstitutional and bogus expulsions.

The white-led S.A.C.P. has no right to categorise African Nationalism into compartments of 'narrow', "bourgeois", "reactionary", "progressive" or "revolutionary". This is a reflection of their white supremacist arrogance whereby they arrogate unto themselves the role of being political "Messiahs" and pontificate to the African people of South Africa on matters pertaining to their own national destiny.

The A.N.C. is the political home of all the African people of South Africa - the S.A.C.P. is not. African Nationalism is the common bond which unites the African people of South Africa in their struggle for national liberation. The A.N.C. has never sought to divide African Nationalism into any political streams nor has it ever attempted to exclude from membership any African on the basis of political ideology. Hence throughout its history in South Africa, African Communists and African Nationalists have always worked together harmoniously as members of the A.N.C. for the common objective of national emancipation.

(Point 16 deals with Angolan Nationalism and the African Nationalists support for MPLA, which the "corrupt white-led C.P." tries to distort.

17. WHO EXERCISES POWER IN THE A.N.C. THE WHITE "C."P EXERCISES POWER IN THE A.N.C.

Throughout this document we have thrown light on how the SACP set out to capture power in the A.N.C. and to use the Revolutionary Council as an instrument of SACP domination over the entire national struggle for liberation in South Africa. *We have warned that the Black oppressed minorities must beware of the SACP stratagem of posing as the defender of minority interests because the interests the SACP protects are those of White privilege in the national liberation struggle to decide policy and direct revolutionary warfare. We finally assert that the A.N.C. at home will never accept this type of White domination and see no reason why it should do so outside. WE HOPE THAT THE INDIAN AND COLOURED PEOPLE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE USED AGAINST THE AFRICANS BY THE S.A.C.P. WHO ARE DETERMINED TO DOMINATE THE A.N.C. We are*

not the only ones to point out that power does not lie in the ANC. The Commission of Enquiry of the ANC headed by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC, John Pule Motshabi, Jack Silunko, Modise Mampuru, James Sturt (Recording Secretary) and Dr. A.S. Randeree reported views and conclusions reached by them on 5th June, 1971 that vindicate our assertion that the S.A.C.P. has hijacked power from the A.N.C. At page 14 the Commission Report says:

“Comrade Nkobi stated that even as a member of the N.E.C., and the Revolutionary Council, these were things about which he was not informed. This may or may not be the result of factionalism but it certainly raises the question of where exactly does power lie in the A.N.C., what and who is the ultimate repository of power.”

So not only does power not lie in the ANC, but there is *factionalism* in the National Executive Committee of the ANC, and in the so-called Revolutionary Council long after the SACP saw to the “removal” of genuine ANC leaders from all activities in the national struggle.

At p. 18 of the SACP Statement the following appears:-

“For example, the ANC’s Revolutionary Council is overwhelmingly African in composition including in its ranks only one Indian, one Coloured and one White, and with 100% African membership at its Headquarters. According to this group, this is enough to put the Revolutionary Council ‘under the hegemony’ of the ‘clique of non-Africans.’”

Yes, we repeat that it is enough to put the R.C. under the hegemony of a clique of non-Africans. Eddie Roux showed how “mechanical” African majorities in the SACP organs had no meaning (see p. 98 of “Rebel Pity” by Eddie and Win Roux). Tom Nkobi in his evidence to the ANC Commission reported above shows clearly that the Revolutionary Council was dominated by the SACP Whites. Tom Nkobi is Treasurer of the ANC whilst Kotane is ill; he is a member of the NEC of the ANC; he is a member of the Revolutionary Council; he is at Headquarters, he gave evidence in an ANC Commission headed by Alfred Nzo, the ANC Secretary-General which reported as stated above on p. 44.

In Part Three of the Commission Report headed “Conclusions of the Commission of Enquiry into the incidents at Roma Township” at page 31 under the sub-heading “THE ANC OF SOUTH AFRICA” we find the following gem on the powerlessness of the ANC:-

“The Commission is concerned that a member of both the NEC and the RC, the highest organs of the ANC (S.A.) should complain that he is not informed of all aspects of ANC (S.A.) work. The Commission is not aware of the reason for this but the obvious question is power and authority in the ANC(S.A.). To the Commission it is self-evident that in the absence of a Conference power and authority must be vested in the NEC. To it must lead all information and work and from it must flow guidelines and directions. Or is there an unnamed source of power and authority?”

Our answer to this question “WHERE DOES POWER LIE IN THE ANC?” is simple. IN THE TAMBO WING OF THE ANC POWER LIES WITH THE WHITE CONTROLLED SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. THE SACP USES THAT POWER TO DOMINATE THE ANC, TO MISGUIDE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND TO DRIVE WEDGES AMONG THE BLACK OPPRESSED PEOPLE. WE RE-RESTATE THAT THE SACP HAS HIJACKED THE ANC AND LEADERSHIP OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE SACP IS MAINLY CONCERNED WITH EXTRACTING GUARANTEES FROM AFRICANS AMOUNT TO GIVING THE SACP WHITE LEADERSHIP ROLES IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA EVEN BEFORE AFRICAN EMANCIPATION IS ATTAINED. A Commission of the ANC headed by the Secretary-General of the ANC as its chairman with all other members of the Commission being “trusted people” freely chosen by written order of O.R. Tambo as President of the ANC, has asked the question that have sought to answer. POWER AND AUTHORITY OVER THE ANC, AND THE ENTIRE CONGRESS MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA HAVE BEEN USURPED BY THE SACP WHITE LEADERSHIP. WE ARE STRUGGLING RELENTLESSLY TO REDEEM IT FOR THE AFRICANS IN THEIR OWN ORGANISATION, THE ANC, AND FOR THE OTHER OPPRESSED BLACK MINORITIES IN THEIR OWN SOVEREIGN ORGANISATIONS.

18. THE LATEST TAMBO-SACP BETRAYAL.

The political paralysis that has set in in the ANC as a result of its being controlled and dominated by the SACP white leadership, has been demonstrated more recently by the recent events of the June 16 Soweto Movement inside South Africa. Never before had the objective conditions been so ripe for the beginnings of armed struggle in S.A

CREDIT FOR THE JUNE 16 SOWETO MOVEMENT MUST GO TO THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT SPEARHEADED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (SASO), THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS’ MOVEMENT (SASM) AND THE BLACK PEOPLES CONVENTION (BPC). The height of the revolutionary situation has now

passed, except for a few remaining flashes. In all this political activity the involvement of the exiled sections of the old liberation movements of S.A. viz the ANC, the PAC and Unity Movement has been disappointingly NIL. These exiled organisations have been conspicuous by their absence from the scene of battle.

It is now more than 15 years since Oliver Tambo left South Africa and established the ANC 'Mission Abroad' for purposes of preparing for guerilla warfare inside South Africa. Yet Tambo has nothing to show for all the material support that the outside world has given him. Not a shot has been fired in defence of the defenceless Black people of South Africa. THESE ARE THE DIRECT RESULTS OF SURRENDERING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC TO THE SLOVOS OF THE SACP. The judgment of history will be that Tambo sold his soul to the SACP white leadership and in the process betrayed the struggle of the African people of S.A

18. A CALL TO AFRICAN UNITY: South Africa is an African Country;

In the light of this grave political situation, we call upon all the members of the ANC outside South Africa to close their ranks and rally behind the African Nationalist leadership of the ANC in order to disengage the organisation from the clutches of the white-led SACP and stand up and fight for national independence. Some of the ANC members have been victimised through ostracism, suspensions and bogus expulsions. To all of them we say that the ANC is their political home.

We appeal to our brothers and sisters in the PAC, in the Unity Movement and in all other African political organisations in S.A. to put away the petty quarrels and brother-against-brother feuds which have plagued us all over the years while our house continues to be on fire. These divisions are a luxury which we can no longer afford as the oppressed indigenous people of S.A. We must learn from the unity-in-action which our people have so ably demonstrated inside S.A. during the June 16 Soweto Movement. We urge that all African Liberation movements of S.A. come together in a genuine United Front (with armed struggle as its basis) for the prosecution and intensification of the struggle for national independence.

We of the African Nationalist leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa stand for African Unity. We stand for a United Front of all African Liberation movements of South Africa. In our view such unity of the African people provides the bedrock from which will spring all revolutionary struggle in S.A. and through which basic revolutionary change will be ushered in. SOUTH AFRICA IS AN AFRICAN COUNTRY!!

Zimbabwe and Danger of Neo-Colonialism

By Chenhamo C. Chimutengwende

Today the major contradiction in Rhodesia remains the clash of interests between the two sections of the country's population: namely, the colonised, nationally oppressed and indigenous African majority, and the ruling white settler minority which is backed by Western imperialism. The Rhodesian European minority, which from the beginning was determined to hold state power indefinitely by denying Africans any meaningful and equal democratic rights, employed a racist philosophy as a justification for maintaining its privileges at the expense of Africans.

After the area had been transformed into a British colony by military conquest, the Africans immediately began resisting the sub-human role in which they were cast. They had been turned into second-class citizens in the land of their birth. Over the years, the apparently disparate African elements became increasingly united as they were commonly oppressed - irrespective of ethnic origin, social status or class; as their land was wrested from them; as they were forced to work for minimal wages; as they suffered open segregation based on colour in every sphere of life in this "great new visionary Christian civilisation". Whether he was a chief, or educated, or rich, or Christian, or an African from another country, or from an ethnic group considered more amenable to the conquerors, an African was treated as befitted his "proper African status", i.e. one whom it was "proper" to oppress. In practice, the role of an African in society was one of working for a whiteman - to make the whiteman wealthier and add to his comforts, irrespective of the reward apportioned to the African. The entire state machinery was geared to perpetually safeguarding the social and material interests of the white ruling minority and international imperialism generally.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

Although the government tried (as it continues to try) to use the customary colonial technique of "divide and rule", national oppression had the effect of counteracting 'tribalism'. Nationalism became superior to, and more revolutionary than 'tribalism'. Nationalism became the most effective way of mobilising all social groups, classes, sexes and religious sects for the common struggle for national liberation and independence. Class struggle takes the form of national struggle. *Everybody, from chief to peasant, from businessman to worker, from intellectual to illiterate, from christian to atheist, from socialist to aspiring capitalist, was needed in the struggle and had a role in the national cause.* Nationalist movements for national emancipation and independence were formed. The state machinery was duly used to eliminate these movements, but the struggle continued in one way or another. Organisations came and went, leaders emerged and faded away, splits and various other internal disruptions manifested themselves for a while and then disappeared, but the national cause moved from strength to strength. Yet, in spite of this African development towards national integration and nationalist unity, the ongoing process did not, and could not, eliminate internal contradictions totally; it was simply that, in the interests of the national cause, all other contradictions temporarily became subordinate considerations. *At this stage of engineering national liberation, the main contradiction is that between the masses of African people and the white ruling class supported by Anglo-American imperialism.*

Although Africans are divided into several nationalist movements, they remain united in their main objectives, i.e. equal rights, the end of racial discrimination and independence from colonial and settler domination. Each liberation movement is a united front in terms of the ideological tendencies and the class interests it represents. *The petty-bourgeois intellectuals dominate the leadership of every Zimbabwean liberation movement. No matter how militant it is, the ideological outlook of the petty-bourgeoisie by its very nature is capitalist and at its best social democratic.* It is not dissimilar to the nationalist leadership of most of the ex-colonial world which replaced capitalist and racist colonial administrations with capitalist, multi-racial native-dominated administrations. This is why at the Geneva Rhodesia Conference, the main issue for a big part of it, was the "date of independence" and not the content of it. Such a conference can only mean the African nationalists inheriting the pre-independence government structure.

The Zimbabwean nationalist organisations do differ from time to time on points of emphasis and methods of struggle. Their international allies are often bitter enemies which affect the running of the Zimbabwe struggle. Personality clashes also do play a dominant role at various stages of the development of the Zimbabwean nationalist struggle. But in spite of all these problems, the struggle goes on.

THE TRUE SOCIALISTS MUST DOMINATE THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The socialist element is found in all the Zimbabwean nationalist movements. It is in the general membership, among the cadres and in the lower ranks. The harder and longer the struggle against colonialism, the stronger the socialist elements becomes. The tactical approach of socialists is to 'unite with all those who can be united against the main enemy and isolate your enemies one by one.' While operating on a minimum programme, and accepting that the national cause is paramount during the period of national liberation, the socialists are the only political element who are generally free and welcome among the masses of the people to state publicly what they believe. *The masses are responsive to progressive ideas.*

The socialists consistently point out that after national liberation and independence have been achieved, the primary struggle will be the class struggle and the social revolution and the transition to the transformation of social relations from exploitative to non-exploitative ones. After independence has been won, the struggle does not stop; not only will it continue - it must. The true and long-term objectives of the struggle, after all, is the elimination of exploitation of one person by another - which does not come with national independence. The stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution must be transformed into the struggle for socialism; class contradictions between Labour and Capital, between the internal bourgeoisie and the working class and the labouring masses then become paramount. Indeed, the two stages are part of one continuous process.

Socialists are generally given, by the Zimbabwean people, a more serious hearing than defenders of other ideologies. Socialism is in fact a world conquering ideology. Even aspiring capitalists within the national movement for liberation and independence find that they have to call themselves 'socialists'. One discovers such dissemblers by both their practice and their intellectual opposition to the concept of

class struggle. *As history teaches us, if true socialists are not dominant in a national movement, the regime formed after independence by that national movement becomes an integral part of the international imperialist network.* It will be neo-colonialist. The people's struggle for true liberation will have been co-opted and diverted for some time. The socialists, progressives and other patriots have to co-ordinate their efforts and work hard to prevent the people's struggle for true and revolutionary liberation from being hijacked by imperialism, and to ensure that the continuous revolutionary process through class struggle is not mischannelled or turned into neo-colonialism. The enemy can turn defeat into a victory through his machinations and manipulations if there is complacency among the revolutionaries. Neo-colonialism is imperialist co-option of a people's struggle. It is reactionary forces turning defeat into their victory. But like all other imperialist victories they are temporary and in the long run sham victories.

The white settler ruling minority throughout the history of Rhodesia has, from time to time, tried to reach a compromise with the forces of African nationalism. When the going gets tough, the settlers try to compromise, usually with the encouragement of Britain and her allies - who have had greater experience with the struggle of the colonial peoples. But each time the compromise is found to be a stratagem to co-opt the national struggle or cause confusion between, on the one hand the petty-bourgeois leadership - ever ready to compromise - and on the other hand the vigilant masses of the people. *One finds that most elements in the African leadership ideologically favour compromise with the settler rulers and an alliance with imperialism.* After all, the social system advocated by these elements embodies the same ideology as that of the enlightened imperialists. It is capitalism minus racism. They would like capitalism to be more flexible so that they could be part of it, without being discriminated against. They want capitalist multi-racialism. Or, to put into their mouths a question which is the general concept in the minds of the more right-wing petty-bourgeoisie militants within the national movements: "If the white upper classes in Europe are free to exploit their own working classes, why can't we have the freedom to exploit our own people in the land of our ancestors."

DOMINANCE OF PETIT-BUORGEOIS LEADERSHIP IN ZIMBABWEAN STRUGGLE

The stronger the African national movement becomes, the more contradictions develop within the white ruling community. Usually the more threatened the ruling class is, the more brutal it becomes. The more brutal it becomes, the more determined the African become, and sniff victory. The more determined the Africans become, getting better organised and stronger as a movement, the more divided does the white community become, developing contradictions with international imperialism. The greater its contradictions with imperialism, the more does the white community as a ruling class become isolated and demoralised. The more isolated and demoralised a ruling class becomes the sooner its days get numbered. As its possible life-expectation gets shorter, so do the various white factions seek alliances with power-hungry petty-bourgeois opportunist black elements in the nationalist leadership. The more that happens, the greater the danger of neo-colonialism triumphing.

The imposition of a neo-colonialist solution in Zimbabwe is the aim of the numerous "talks about talks" and all the other "Rhodesia conferences" that have taken place intermittently between the nationalist leaders and the Rhodesian government. The enthusiastic response of the African leadership to these Anglo-American-South African sponsored talks and conferences clearly reveals the collaborationist nature of the petty-bourgeoisie which is the dominant element in the leadership of the liberation movement.

But, over the years, in the course of the struggle, the anti-imperialist consciousness of the general population of Zimbabwe, the youth, the workers and the freedom fighters has reached such a peak that a neo-colonialist solution will be vigorously and decisively fought against and if such a solution were by any chance imposed in Zimbabwe, it would sooner rather than later prove to be an unworkable one.

It is important as a background to this analysis to give a brief account of the reasons why the Anglo-American-South African sponsored detente exercise in Southern Africa was brought about and to state the position of the nationalist leadership and the independent African states. The Western and Southern African governments' efforts have been aimed at achieving detente between South Africa and the independent African states. The urgent and first step towards this was an attempt at solving the Rhodesian problem and, according to the South African Government resolve the South West African (Namibian) conflict by implementing the policy of Bantustans.

Enjoying the support of South Africa and Portugal, the Rhodesian government was not worried about guerilla warfare, although by early 1974 the Rhodesian guerilla movement was becoming stronger and

stronger and Rhodesia was beginning to feel the pinch. As for South Africa, Rhodesia was a useful buffer zone against South African guerillas coming from Zambia and East Africa. It made military sense for South Africa to fight South African guerillas hundreds of miles from her own border. South Africa therefore sent 2,000-4,000 military personnel to help the Rhodesian forces after Rhodesian declaration of independence.

South Africa and Portugal too had always thought that because of their interests the NATO countries of Europe and North America would come to the assistance of white ruled Africa if it was African guerillas who were militarily backed by Russia and China. These interests are economic and political. US and Western policy towards Southern Africa was aimed at protecting those interests. It was a policy "based on the premise that blacks cannot gain political rights through violence.....The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them..... Violence would only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for communists."

The racial nature of the conflict and the need to maintain influence among members of the Organisation of African Unity made it difficult for the US to align herself publicly with the white minority regimes and the Portuguese colonial policy in Africa. So the US tried to maintain a low profile in the area.

Then the coup d'etat in Portugal on 25 April, 1974, which meant that Angola and Mozambique were to become independent under the guerilla movements, changed the whole political picture in Southern Africa.

EFFECTS OF ANTI-COLONIAL PORTUGUESE WARS

The effects of the Portuguese colonial wars on the contradictions within metropolitan Portugal had been underestimated, especially by the "Vorster-Smith-Caetano alliance". Portugal had been involved in 14 years of colonial wars which were absorbing half of Portugal's state budget annually. Inflation; mass emigration of young workers, peasants and technicians; the desertion of soldiers from the army; the growing number of people, especially the young, killed or handicapped; all these developments connected with the war in Africa escalated the contradictions within Portugal itself. The war in Africa helped to produce a left-wing government in Portugal which was determined to give independence to the African colonies under the leadership of the guerilla movements. This meant that Rhodesia could no longer defend its borders against guerillas, since from Mozambique's independence on June 25 1975, Rhodesia was now sharing nine-tenths of her borders with independent African states: Zambia to the north, Botswana to the west, and Mozambique to the east.

As members of the OAU, Rhodesia's neighbours are duty bound to help Zimbabwean guerillas and to implement UN economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Mozambique's sea ports were to be closed to Rhodesian goods and South African ports and the railway link with Rhodesia were not capable of handling all Rhodesian goods.

South West Africa was to have a long border with an independent African state, Angola, from November, 1975. This would mean that South West African guerillas could pass in and out of South West Africa more or less freely. In fact, a few months after the Lisbon coup d'etat, more than 2,000 mostly young Africans fled South West Africa through Angola for guerilla training in independent Africa. The effects of the success of the resistance movements in Mozambique and Angola, through guerilla warfare were and are incalculable. Many young people in Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa have been become uncontrollable. In South Africa attempts were made to organise public rallies in support of FRELIMO, the Mozambique liberation movement. A Rhodesian Roman Catholic magazine with the widest circulation among Africans and run by Africans, MOTO, was banned by the Rhodesian government for having congratulated FRELIMO on its victory in Mozambique and expressing the wish that Rhodesian Africans would one day succeed too.

General William Yarborough, former head of the U.S. Special Force and now US security consultant, in early 1974 came to Rhodesia's north-east province where most of the guerilla warfare had been taking place. The purpose of the visit was to advise on the defense of "strategic villages." Yarborough's observations was: "Southern Africa had the makings of another Vietnam." The Rhodesian security forces, making their own observations, had also told Ian Smith that "the war against the guerillas was, in the long run, military unwinnable." Before the Lisbon coup d'etat, the Zimbabwe guerilla movement, far from being on the decline, was growing as increasing areas bordering Rhodesia were coming under the control of FRELIMO guerillas, who were assisting Zimbabwe freedom fighters with bases nearer their target areas inside Rhodesia. With FRELIMO's coming to power in Mozambique, Rhodesia

was no longer going to remain a "buffer zone" for South Africa.

The former British protectorates of Lesotho and Swaziland, which are surrounded by South Africa, the hitherto cooperative Malawi and the neutral Botswana "began to assert their independence" from South Africa. "Even the pliant Chief Matanzima of Transkei, sent to the UN as the most obedient black spokesman for 'separate development' and the Bantustans, came back with dire warnings about the need for change and demanding more crumbs, which is unacceptable to Vorster." King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho at a banquet given in his honour by Nyerere in 1975 said that African countries were aware of the economic advantages they would derive by establishing trade and economic links with South Africa, but such advantages were outweighed by the indignities of apartheid.

NEGOTIATIONS NEVER RULED OUT

Direct and indirect contact between South Africa and members of the OAU like Malawi, Ivory Coast and the Gabon have always existed. There has always been a division in the OAU between the more reactionary African states who wanted dialogue and trade with South Africa and the more progressive ones who wanted no economic and trading contact until the question of racism had been tackled. South Africa wanted dialogue and trade without changing her domestic policies, and as a result the more progressive line in the OAU dominated. But the OAU as a whole had never ruled out the possibility of negotiations with the Portuguese, South Africa and Rhodesia. What the OAU wanted were negotiations which would more peacefully lead to majority rule in Southern Africa and then after that, the establishment of economic and trade relations and not vice versa.

The Lusaka Manifesto of the OAU states that "on the objectives of liberation as thus defined we can neither surrender nor compromise. We have always preferred, and we still prefer, to achieve it without physical violence....If peaceful progress to emancipation were possible in the future, we would urge our brothers in resistance movements to use peaceful methods of struggle even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change. But while peaceful progress is blocked by actions of those at present in power in the states of Southern Africa, we have no choice but to give the peoples of those territories all support....." The Mogadishu Declaration of the OAU supported "unreservedly" the stand taken by FRELIMO and PAIGC of Guinea-Bissau in their negotiations with the Portuguese. As devout Christians, most African heads of state, like Kaunda and Nyerere, would in principle opt for negotiations if the white minority regimes showed willingness.

Basing her approach on the Lusaka Manifesto and the Mogadishu Declaration, and in consultation with Tanzania, Botswana and Frelimo, Zambia sent Vernon Mwaanga to consult Henry Kissinger, the US Secretary of State, and the then British Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan, on Rhodesia and Southern Africa during the second week of August 1974. On 29 September 1974, South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, visited Ivory Coast to meet some representatives of certain tractable OAU member states to seek support for his Bantustan policy and also to offer to help pressurise Rhodesia's white minority to settle with the Rhodesian African nationalists.

In October, Donald B. Easun, US Secretary for African Affairs, was in Lusaka organising a conference of US ambassadors in Southern and Central Africa which took place early in November 1974, where US policy in Africa was reviewed. When he returned to the US, he told Congress: "I do not honestly see how one can look at the situation in South Africa and feel that change is not going to occur." Peaceful change in Southern Africa was seen as conducive to the establishment and maintenance of US influence in the area. It would prevent another Angola from being established in Southern Africa.

ARMED STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE: FAVOURABLE FOR SOCIALISTS

After the Lisbon coup, it became clear that if a peaceful settlement was not reached in Rhodesia between the present African nationalist leadership soon, the white minority leaders would have to settle eventually with marxist-oriented leaders who would be bound to emerge and take over the resistance leadership as the armed struggle developed. The examples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Algeria support the notion that the more protracted the armed struggle is the more likely it is that the leadership will pass into more progressive and socialist hands. Such a development would be contrary to the interests of most of the present nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe and to those of

international imperialism and the neo-colonialist African states. This explains why in spite of the refractory nature and bigotry of the Smith regime in Salisbury so many hopeless negotiations have taken place, and continue to take place, with the African nationalist leadership.

While it is not wrong in principle to negotiate with the enemy, a truly anti-imperialist liberation movement should not negotiate with the enemy when that enemy is still arrogant, intransigent and not ready to give in on fundamental issues. The struggle should continue unabated. The Zimbabwe masses expect their senior leadership to give priority to the organising of the struggle and not for the whole leadership to spend weeks or months 6,000 miles away in Geneva negotiating at a conference convened and chaired by the main enemy; with fares and allowances provided by the same enemy and multi-national corporations; and when Ian Smith the leader of the Rhodesian regime is inside the country organising his struggle against the African people.

Concentration Camps in Rhodesia

This article, by A.K.H. Weinrich, who writes from first hand knowledge of what is called strategic resettlements, an euphemism for concentration camps, where whole tribes, numbering thousands, are arbitrarily controlled at gunpoint are similar to the hamlets introduced in Malaya and Vietnam. This is what Bishop Muzorewa of the African National Council (Zimbabwe) had to say about them in the Positional Paper presented to the Geneva Conference:

“.....Where under the pretext of the Law and Order Maintenance Act Africans have been locked up in the so-called “protected villages” where many of them die from poor sanitation and disease. Where Gestapo-like methods of interrogation of suspects are used. There are cases of persons who have undergone continuous interrogation for 24 hours depriving such victims of sleep and rest until they collapse. People are beaten up with rubber tubing or sjambok - a whip made of hippo skin. The so-called security forces employed to carry out these diabolical activities take round the clock shifts to do the dirty job.

People are forced to give evidence in order to extricate themselves from torture. In the same category of those methods of torture the regime uses the ‘electric snake’. This particular method is used on people susceptible to violent intimidation and cause nervousness. Some of these methods of torture include the pulling and pressing of the private parts of African men and women using pliers.

Some of our people are being beaten to death or maimed as a result of this savagery. Permanent impotence and sterility at times have resulted from such torture.

The most notorious and oldest method employed by the Rhodesian Front regime’s torture squad is what I may call the water-and drum-and pulley-system. The naked person is suspended from the ankles with the head down and with the hands cuffed behind the back. The victim is then lowered gradually by a pulley chain system until the head is immersed in a drum of icy cold water. The process is repeated several times. Some people have been pricked between the fingers nails and the flesh with a needle, or scorched on the lips with a burning cigarette. Bedbugs are sometimes bred and set onto victims.

The Rhodesian security forces continue to impound the cattle, sheep and goats of the African people in the war zones. There is indiscriminate maiming, killing and massacring of civilians; for example the cold blooded murder of over 675 refugees of the Nhazonia camp in Mozambique. Christian missionaries of various denominations continue to be harassed and deported.

Almost daily, we hear of men and women who are shot dead for allegedly breaking the so-called curfew regulations. The regime’s security forces and farmers are given orders to “shoot anything that moves after 5.00 p.m.” For example, a pregnant African woman was brutally shot down while collecting firewood two hours earlier than the curfew regulations deadline.”

The main purpose of the strategic resettlements is to isolate the guerillas from the masses - a fruitless task as this article shows. For despite the stringent and brutal restrictions the villages still help the guerillas and indeed live amongst them. The guerilla, of course, cannot survive without such mass support. As Mao-Tse-Tung has said: the guerilla must learn to live amongst the masses as a fish swims in the water. The masses are the solid bastion of the revolutionary struggle and without their support no revolutionary struggle can ever succeed. This is the secret of Invincible People's War. This is why Smith is doomed to failure, he is isolated and hated by the masses and the guerillas are not.

The strategic resettlement of almost a quarter million Africans in Rhodesia into 'protected' or 'consolidated villages' has arisen out of the war situation which today sterminess many aspects of Rhodesian life. In fact, it was only in 1974, by which time the guerillas had established bases as close as 40 miles from the capital, that the white population realised that fundamental changes were taking place. This realisation came with the announcement that the African people of Chiweshe tribal trust land had to be resettled into protected villages.

This resettlement was decided on only after government had failed through rewards or punishments to restrain the African population of Chiweshe from giving active help to the insurgents. The move had been preceded by the distribution of leaflets which publicised that anyone who had information which led to the capture of guerillas or to the discovery of weapons would be highly rewarded. It had also been preceded by the imposition of collective fines on villages in which guerillas were thought to have been accomodated. All the cattle in such villages had been confiscated, including those of men who were working in town and could not possibly have been involved in the alleged offence. It was only after government experienced the ineffectiveness of even a new law, passed in September 1973, which made it a capital offence not to report the presence of guerillas, that resettlement of whole populations was being considered.

Government strategists had two models in mind when they embarked on their policy: the protected villages of Malaya, set up in the 1940s - many Rhodesians had served in the British Army during the Second World War and were familiar with these settlements - and the aldeamentos put up by the Portuguese in Mozambique during the last years of the war for independence in that country. To prepare Rhodesians for this move, long and positive articles appeared in the Rhodesian press about these aldeamentos.

The policy of resettlement was first implemented in the Zambezi Valley and then spread to other areas as the battle zone between government troops and insurgents expanded. By early 1976 three strategic areas could be distinguished: the Zambezi valley, the tribal areas on the plateau in the north east of Rhodesia, and the remoter tribal areas in the north east and east which are farther from the capital and white settlement than the tribal areas in the second category.

The first protected villages were established in the Zambezi valley because this was the first operational area since the intensification of the guerilla war in 1972. A broad strip of land along the border was declared no-go area and defoliated. The villages situated there were destroyed, and many also in the adjacent area, and most of the people were resettled in the camps. The publication about it stressed that the people were for the first time in their lives living in houses made of modern building materials and so enjoyed facilities they had never known before.

The reality, however, was different. For even if modern building materials had been used, the new shelters were in no way superior to traditional African huts, because the Zambezi valley is an exceedingly hot region and the tin shelters turned into stoves during the day and were bitterly cold at night.

By the end of 1975 some 8,000 people had been moved from the no-go areas and some 6,000 had passed through a transit camp at Cutsa which soon became notorious for its poor living conditions. At one time four to five children were dying daily in the camp from cholera or measles. There were only three water taps in Cutsa and two African orderlies for medical attendance. By the end of 1973 2,939 people were still living in this camp, 1,315 had been settled in protected villages and the rest had found accomodation with friends and relatives in other areas.

THE PEOPLE ARE STARVED

As time went on, more and more people were settled in protected villages. Mr. Latham, district commissioner in the Zambezi valley, wanted to work out a strategic plan which could be used in other areas of the country to isolate the local population from the guerillas. By the end of 1974 he had set up several more protected villages and the Mukumbura protected village, which consists of three fenced-in camps in close proximity, had then some 4,300 people. Mukumbura has been selected by the government as a show piece to demonstrate to journalists and other visitors how the government has provided protection for the people. A written report from a reliable resident there says:

"I am living in Mukumbura village I. This camp is today the home of 13 former villages and of one chief. The chief, however, Chiswiti, is not living with us; he is in prison because he had accomoda-

ted guerillas before his people were moved to the camp.

"The majority of the people in the camp are old men, women and children, because the youngmen are away at work or have joined the guerillas. The old men are often called out for drill and have to march and turn right and left. But they do not know where right and left is and many run away. Families are daily fleeing across the border into Mozambique because they cannot stand life here anymore.

The people are also very hungry. Village headmen had been promised 15 to 20 bags of mealie meal per month for their villagers, but now they get only 9 bags. One bucket of mealie meal is allocated to each adult and half a bucket to each child. Also one bucket of beans is given to each family, irrespective of how large the family is. This is far too little food and the people are very hungry. They have been promised food every month, but now they receive it every third month. Each camp at Mukumbura was given a garden in which we should grow our own vegetables. Each village headman was allocated a section from which each family could get a small bundle of vegetables once the rains had started. But now that the rains have started, the people are suffering from a strange sickness. They start shaking and then they die. Children die almost daily and some adults have also died. On 27 November 1974 the doctor was here and stated that the deaths were caused by poisoning: the army had used defoliants in May to clear the no-go area of vegetation.

By now the rains have washed the chemicals into the soil and plants have absorbed the poison."

The report concludes with a diary of events dating from 18 November to 20 December 1974. It lists 12 families who fled into Mozambique, three children and a woman who had been shot at by the army and four persons who had been shot dead by the army; finally it gives details of the case of one girl who had been raped by white soldiers. On Nov. 28 the government removed all drums, rattles and other musical instruments from the camp because the people were suspected of using them to give signals to the guerillas. Since most of the guerillas are local men, they are blood relatives of the people in the camp and so contacts are maintained.

In December 1974 government took the garden plots from the people and declared that the land would in future be ploughed for them; they had merely to offer their labour to cultivate it. For this they would be paid a modest wage: 30 cents a day for adult labour and 15 cents for child labour. At first the people refused to co-operate, but soon they were forced to work on the land. The people in Mukumbura thought that they had a strong reason for refusing to cultivate the land. The people in Mukumbura thought they had a strong reason for refusing to cultivate the land: all their cattle had been taken away from them and sold for a mere five or six dollars a head, that is, for a quarter of the price normally paid for African cattle.

NETWORK OF CONSOLIDATED VILLAGES

In early 1975 a new type of settlement was designed, called a "consolidated village." At Mary Mount Mission in Mount Darwin I saw the people who had been ordered to abandon their old homes and to erect new shelters near the main road. The stated government intention was to give the people better access to schooling and medical facilities. But the resettlement was to give the army a better control over the people and to isolate them from the guerillas. Many of the abandoned homes were not more than a stone's throw away from the new grass shelters along the road. Their new shelters were mere windbrakes and could give the people little protection against the cold and rain. Government claimed that the people's dilemma was their own fault because they had been given advance warning of the move; it was only because they had not believed the warning that they found themselves homeless.

By 1976 most of the people in the Zambezi Valley who had at first resisted resettlement were moved into consolidated villages. The Zambezi Valley is one of the most underdeveloped areas of Rhodesia. Few schools exist in the valley, most people are illiterate, and the young men who leave their homes for long stretches of time to work, mainly do as unskilled labourers on European farms and mines. It is here that the poverty and suffering of the people is at its most acute and that freedom is more restricted than in any other resettlement area.

In Chiweshe when the earlier government measures to restrain people from giving help to the insurgents failed, a total resettlement was planned and carried out. It began on 25 July 1974. Early that year 21 sites of approximately a 100 acres each had been chosen and surrounded by a high chain-linked fence with barbed wire at the top, and by strong electric flash lights on poles facing outwards. The people were given short notices of the move and on the fixed day lorry after lorry drew up at their villages to transport them, men, women and children, together with whatever belongings they could take, to the fenced-in areas. These were now called 'keeps', reminiscent of mediaeval strongholds. No resistance was tolerated. The people and their goods were deposited in the keeps and each family was allocated a ground space of 15 by 15 yards. Members of a former village were assigned adjacent spaces and were told to start building. In very few cases was building material provided. When the people complained, they were told that they could dismantle their old houses and use their poles, grass, doors, window frames for rebuilding. Hardest hit were old widows who had no one to build them a shelter.

No toilet facilities were provided either. People were told to dig themselves private latrines of several feet depth. But before they could do this, they used the open adjacent country for defecation. As more and more people were taken to the keeps, little space was left for unloading their goods. In some instances the lorries were emptied on the ground which had been used for defecation. Thus even maize and groundnuts were poured out there. The people were outraged. *The operation of shifting 48,960 people, the entire population of the tribal area, into these 21 villages took exactly three weeks.*

Six months after the removal of the people in Chiweshe, on November 1974, a neighbouring tribal area, Madziwa, was resettled in like manner. Government had realised the social disruption of the first move and so warned the people of Madziwa of the intended resettlement. The people were told to build themselves shelters in the newly erected fences. *Some 16,500 men, women and children of four chiefdoms were resettled in ten keeps.*

For some 250 people in Madziwa, however, this resettlement was not the end of their trials, for in early April 1975 they were moved 470 miles into the Beitbridge area near the Rhodesian border with South Africa. Government alleged that their second removal was a punitive action because they had continued to assist guerillas with food. The removal affected 187 children, 47 women and only 21 men - many men had been arrested. Before the people of Madziwa were moved to the south, security forces destroyed their huts and crops and sold their cattle.

As Zambia closed its borders to guerillas during the detente exercise, the liberation army shifted its base to Mozambique and the eastern region became a new battle zone. Hence further protected villages were set up east of Madziwa and stretching towards the Mozambique border. In 1975 about a hundred people who had lived near the Tete road on the Rhodesian side of the border with Mozambique were resettled in Makaha protected villages; they were accused of having harboured terrorists. When the district commissioner informed them of the move, he also told them that they could not take their cattle with them. Those that sold their livestock at a government sponsored sale received only receipts but no cash and were told by the district commissioner that government would keep their money to buy food for all those who would settle in the keep. Thus they lost their total savings for wealth lay in cattle.

LUXURIOUS CONDITIONS FOR WHITES

lest it be thought that the appalling conditions of the resettled people are due to financial constraints in the ministry of Internal Affairs, here is a 'Rhodesian Herald' report of the new headquarters:

"The houses for the Internal Affairs staff are cool and airy, placed to catch breezes blowing up from the plains. A large swimming pool is being built next to the new squash courts. Tennis courts and a club house are next on the list.

A large dam, stocked with bream, has been built at the bottom of the hill, and a water purification plant has been installed. Wives of staff members will be able to travel the 48 km to Mtoko in comfort on a tarred road. Imagination has been used in designing the houses. Large pantries have been built to enable housewives to store food, and local glitterstone is a feature above fireplaces."

Because of the expense of protected villages and their disadvantages the government switched to consolidated villages. People had to settle on either side of a road which was to be regularly patrolled by the security forces. During the first month of the implementation of the new policy, 7,500 people were resettled in this way in the Mrewa area. The people of Maramba and Pfungwe in that district were given a month's notice and told to put up new shelters for themselves in the prescribed area, and eventually they had to sleep in the open. Some 86,000 people of Uzumba were moved into consolidated villages in July 1975. By the end of 1975 about 60,000 people from the Mrewa district had been moved into consolidated villages, and by March 1976 39 consolidated villages existed in the district. Yet the district commissioner admitted that the people were still feeding the guerillas.

As the war along the Mozambique border intensified, government carried out resettlement along the eastern border. In June 1976 some 6,000 people from Chikore mission farm were resettled in three consolidated villages at the south eastern border with Mozambique. The villages were sited near perennial streams, African business centres and schools and this resettlement had become necessary because many students of the mission school had crossed the border to join the guerillas. By August 4, according to the Minister of Internal Affairs, there were 116 protected villages in Rhodesia. The main road through Chiweshe passes through each of the 21 villages and all travellers documents are checked. A research assistant, who went to the northernmost village in Chiweshe, had his identity checked 41 times until he reached his destination. Nobody is allowed to enter a keep unless he is a local resident and so has a local pass, reinforced by a black stamp on his hand for easy identification, or a written permit.

In some villages the water supply is far away and women face great problems in collecting water for cooking and washing. However, even in this keep the water supply poses a problem. The women have started washing their clothes north of the keep, but government installed pumps lower down stream so that the drinking water for the people is contaminated. In the many keeps in which the water

supply is inadequate, women get up hours before sunrise to take water from the tap inside the fence to make sure their families have enough for the day. In Madziwa women have to walk upto six miles at times to reach a watering point for washing their clothes, and upto three miles to fetch drinking water. The camps are surrounded by a high wire fence with flash lights housing the administrative headquarters. Although the gates of the keeps are closed at night, and although armed district assistants walk around the outer fence to keep watch many guerillas with the help of villagers climb over the fence to receive food and other assistance. Many an African district assistant who sees a guerilla approaching is said to walk off in the opposite direction. *Many guerillas are even living with the people in the keeps and they have become centres of agitation. In March 1975, when a district officer held a meeting in the keep, the atmosphere was openly hostile to him. He soon became aware that several guerillas were in his audience, but he could do nothing about it.*

THE PEOPLE SUPPORT THE GUERILLAS

The people's close co-operation with the guerillas is not only due to their general sympathies with the liberation struggle, but also to the fact that many of the insurgents are local men whose relatives are now in the keeps. Living conditions in the keeps are hard. On a stand 15 by 15 yards a family has to build its shelter and latrine, and accomodate its chickens and small livestock. A special problem was caused by the lack of toilet facilities. The administration instructed the people to dig pits of three to five feet on each family plot, but the people were enraged to have to eat and live in the sight of their own defecation. Both Madziwa and Chiweshe had been relative prosperous communities by local standards, but they had to be abandoned. In some cases the houses were destroyed to deprive guerillas of shelters; others were left standing. Some people now live within sight of their old homes, but are not allowed to enter them. No compensation has been paid to the people for their loss. Only those whose relatives in town occupy large homes could rescue some of their furniture by taking it out of the area, for on their new plots there is no room for tables, beds and cupboards.

Since a great help which the guerillas receive from the people is food, regulations lay down that no food may leave a keep. "In the past families usually shared their food with relatives and friends, but today this is no longer possible. A family in keep 20 cannot even buy food from a family in keep 21, because the maize, or whatever else is bought, may not leave the gates of a keep without permission from the authorities, and such permission is not easily given. Those who ask for such permission are told to sell their food and to take the money over to the other keep so that their friends can buy themselves the food." (President of the Chiweshe Residents Association).

But the difficulties in obtaining food do not end there. After several buses had been blown up by land mines as they passed from one keep to another, many buses now stop at keep 1. People who want to go to keeps 2 and 3 must walk there on foot. They are allowed to sleep in keep 1, but when they leave the next morning, they may take nothing with them except the clothes they wear; hence even workers in town cannot take food home for their wives and children. Nor can maize produced in one keep be taken to another for grinding. Vegetables grown in gardens outside the keeps have generally been destroyed to cut the guerillas off from food. *This then is the first and most important purpose of a protected village: to starve the guerillas. The hardships which this imposes on the people are of very secondary importance to the administration. This purpose, however, has not been achieved, for the people still assist the guerillas with food, especially when these climb into their keeps at night. Even district assistants cooperate in getting the food to the insurgents. The flow of young people who are joining the guerillas has greatly increased since the creation of protected and consolidated villages.*

The government's claims that the protected villages are meant to become growth points of future economic development are lies.

African district assistants help the Protecting White Authority who in each keep is a white officer, often a very young man just out of high school. The assistants handle weapons, stand guard at the gates, check everyone who leaves or enters, and patrols the outer fence at night. Many abuse their power, especially making sexual demands on young women in the camps.

BLOOD DEBTS MUST BE PAID IN BLOOD

The most important problems caused by resettlement occur in family life, health, education and agriculture. Not only has the neighbourhood life of the people been disrupted but as in the case of the Shona, the kinshipness and family life which is the pivot of the Shonas is completely disrupted. Even in the families themselves people can no longer relax. The Shonas are used to a strict segregation of the sexes in the home life. Each man has his own hut and so has each of his wives. Growing up boys and girls have huts of their own. The whole kinship ideology of the Shona is based on this respect for privacy. But under the present crowded conditions a whole family, parents and growing children, have to sleep in one tiny hut and so the people's sense of modesty is constantly outraged.

People suffering from the most common diseases, typhoid and diarrhoea receive no medical

care, especially those who live in the more distant village in the north of Chiweshe, since they can no longer go to the mission hospital in the south because of the daily curfew from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. The few hospitals and clinics are overcrowded, many sleep on the floors of the passages; others just wait for death in their huts. The death rate has also been greater in the keeps than in the former villages.

There has also been the disruption of education; with resettlement many of the schools have been closed, thirty in Chiweshe alone. It is only schools inside the villages are allowed for use; even schools just outside the fence have to be abandoned. And whereas education for white children in Rhodesia is free, no black child can attend until the school fees are paid in advance. With the total disruption of the local economy this is almost impossible.

The so-called protected villages are nothing more than concentration camps. It has incurred the people's wrath and it is atrocities of these sort that augurs ill for the future of the white man in Rhodesia.

Front-Line States Interference Must Stop

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ZIMBABWE TO THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE OF THE O.A.U. AT ITS MEETING HELD IN LUSAKA ON JANUARY 29, 1977.

.....In 1972 the war for national independence in Zimbabwe was intensified. Our people, united under the ANC, were able to receive and protect the guerillas regardless of what organisation they came from. A war that had been sporadic for ten years became a national war. The nation had overcome past divisions, following the formation of the African National Council led by Bishop Muzorewa.

In 1974 a new chapter was written in the history of our struggle for national independence, not only in Zimbabwe, but in the whole of Southern Africa. The political map in this region was irrevocably altered, following the collapse of the Portuguese empire. The independence of Mozambique undermined the feasibility of the politics of buffer zones to which South Africa had adhered. The Salisbury-Pretoria-Lisbon axis was broken, and the concrete situation which emerged, dictated new tactics to our adversaries.

It was in this situation that the South African fascist prime Minister, assumed a new stance and declared that the consequences of the liberation struggle would be "too ghastly to contemplate". It was in this situation that detente was born. It was in this situation that the liberation movements and the world were told that "voice of reason had been heard from South Africa." In fact, there was no voice of reason, it was all high treason! However it was in this situation that the Frontline States or some of them contacted Ian Smith, in an exercise which brought about the release of former detainees belonging to ZAPU and ZANU culminating in the Unity Accord of December, 1974.

Mr. Chairman, ten years of division during which the O.A.U. had ceaselessly advocated for Unity among the Zimbabwe liberation movements, had brought home to our people the historical fact that division in the face of the enemy did not constitute correct strategy and could consequently not contribute to victory. Unity has always been the slogan and watchword of all the oppressed peoples that have undertaken the sacred task to change an oppressive social order.

We say all this before this Conference, because of late, vigorous attempts are underway aimed at forcing the people of Zimbabwe to abandon their Unity, symbolised by the ANC and rally behind ZAPU and ZANU under the guise of a non-existent Patriotic Front.

Mr. Chairman, serious discrepancies exist between the Frontline States and the ANC led by Bishop Muzorewa. *We as a movement responsible to our people first and foremost, are violently opposed to the notion whereby the Frontline States have taken upon themselves the responsibility to determine the tactics and strategy of our struggle for national liberation.*

Mr. Chairman, we believe that so long as there are nation states and so long as each African State jealously guards its sovereignty and values this sovereignty above the OAU, no African leadership, no matter how revolutionary it considers itself to be may assume upon its shoulders, the awesome burden of leading and directing the struggles of other people.

Mr. Chairman, where has the assumption by the Frontline States to determine the tactics and strategy of the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement led us to this day? To call a spade a spade, we have been led into a blind alley! The Zimbabwe liberation movement outside Zimbabwe is now back to square one, notwithstanding all the dramatic pronouncements to the contrary. To cite some instances:-

(1) Having been told by the Frontline States to unite our armies and organise the armed resistance against Ian Smith; before this could be achieved, we were suddenly informed that an agreement had been reached and signed in Pretoria and that we had to prepare for talks with the enemy at Victoria Falls.

(2) John Vorster suddenly appeared and on the eve of the talks we were told that if we made matters difficult at the talks we should not expect any sympathy from the Frontline States.

(3) When the talks finally collapsed, Joshua Nkomo then one of the four signatories of the Unity Accord was provided with all the publicity in Zambia which among other things enabled him, to hold a divisive Congress, thereby splitting the ANC.

(4) Talks between Nkomo and Smith took place against the background of opposition by the Zimbabwe masses and Zambia sent diplomatic, technical and judiciary personnel to assist Nkomo in his talks.

(5) When Bishop Muzorewa sent members of the ANC military department to make contact with the the guerillas in Mozambique they were arrested and put into isolation by the Mozambique Govt.

(6) The Chairman of the Frontline States declared that a so-called 'Third Force' comprising guerilla commanders had been formed which owed no allegiance to any leaders belonging to former organisations.

(7) Thousands of cadres loyal to the ANC from home and abroad went to Mozambique and when they refused to fight under the command of the fictitious 'Third Force,' they were all put into labour camps as cowards.

(8) Killings started amongst the third force and those cadres of ZAPU that refused to abandon their leaders had to retreat for dear life from Mozambique.

Mr. Chairman, we wish to submit that there exists no unity between ZAPU led by Joshua Nkomo and ZANU led by Robert Mugabe. The claim that there is unity in the so-called Patriotic Front merely represents the wishes of the Frontline States and has no bearing on the real situation. You will recall that similar claims were made in 1973 regarding what came to be known as the Joint Military Command. No such thing existed except on paper yet the OAU and the world at large were called upon to recognise the J.M.C.

.... The support which the ANC enjoys at home amongst the Zimbabwe masses reflects opposition by our people to all kinds of divisions as symbolised by ZANU and ZAPU.

.....Mr. Chairman, much negative propaganda has been unleashed relating to the performance of the ANC at the Geneva Talks. It will be recalled! Mr. Chairman, that the coming of Dr. Kissinger to Southern Africa was opposed by the ANC led by Bishop Muzorewa. Consequently when Dr. K. came we refused to meet him on the grounds that we believed that nothing good could come of it. At the time we pointed out that Kissinger's trip would merely sow confusion and was designed to prepare ground for a neo-colonialist settlement of the Zimbabwe dispute. We had given up all hopes of a so-called negotiated settlement in Rhodesia and our people went along and accepted this position. That is why they opposed the talks which took place between Ian Smith and Joshua Nkomo. Kissinger, South Africa and the Frontline States, following their diplomatic contacts made way for the Geneva talks. Smith's army was still intact but we were actually told that Smith had surrendered. We knew nothing of the sort had taken place. Smith said he had accepted majority rule. We knew that this was a lie. We realised what sort of majority rule Smith was referring to- a majority rule which excludes the people of Zimbabwe from participation in the formation of the Government.

When we got to Geneva we proposed that the people of Zimbabwe should choose their Govt. on the basis of one man one vote. To our surprise this popular demand was violently opposed not only by Smith from whom we expected opposition and the British imperialists but by other fellow delegates including the Front-line states. We were told that we should insist upon a date for independence. We were told that Smith was a fascist and could not allow elections: if Smith could not allow elections, Mr. Chairman, then it could only mean one thing: and that is he was far from being defeated and that he originally never "surrendered".

In a nutshell then Mr. Chairman, what it all meant was that there was no need for the Geneva talks because the devil was as yet unchained.

We were further surprised Mr. Chairman, when Mr. Nkomo also opposed elections on the grounds that Smith was a fascist. We wondered Mr. Chairman, as to when it had finally dawned on Mr. Nkomo that Smith is a fascist and could not allow elections! We remembered that not long before that Smith had given permission to Mr. Nkomo to hold a congress in Highfields at which he was elected President of a splinter ANC.

NO REAL UNITY BETWEEN MUGABE AND NKOMO

We are saying all this, Mr. Chairman, not because we wish to re-open old wounds. *Our main reason for talking in this blunt manner is that the ANC led by Bishop Muzorewa is being unjustly accused of collaborating with Ian Smith and on the strength of this false accusation, it is being suggested to*

the OAU that the ANC be denied assistance and that all assistance be given to the non-existent Patriotic Front. Where, Mr. Chairman, has the ANC collaborated with Ian Smith? By what sort of logic can it be insinuated that demanding one man one vote is tantamount to collaboration?

Mr. Chairman it has been suggested that the ANC has no cadres. This is not true. The true picture is that some countries in the Frontline States have deliberately sabotaged all efforts aimed at forming an ANC Army. *We have earlier on referred to thousands of comrades whose whereabouts we do not know in Mozambique but whom we know to have been sent to labour camps for refusing to join the now defunct Third Force and remaining loyal to the ANC.*

Here in Zambia, comrades loyal to the ANC are in the Remand Prison at Kamwala where they are being told to join ZAPU and ZANU if they wish to be released. It is surprising that knowing all this the Frontline States keep on harping on the lie, that the ANC does not wish to fight the enemy when it is those very countries that are sabotaging our efforts for the simple reason that they want their friends to be in a powerful position.

Mr. Chairman, we submit that the Liberation Committee and indeed the Organisation of African Unity must thoroughly and without bias examine the conduct of the Frontline States regarding Unity in Zimbabwe. Unscrupulous methods pregnant with contempt and disrespect for truth and public opinion have been and are still being used by some members of the Frontline States to the detriment of the stability of a future Zimbabwe. Where Mr. Chairman is the Third Force which we are told had been formed and whose leadership was said to owe no allegiance to any former political party in Zimbabwe. It dissolved into thin air amidst killings, which were later revealed by Nkomo himself at the last meeting in Mauritius. The ZAPU leader then stated among other things that the Liberation Committee should re-examine the whole military situation and command in the Zimbabwe struggle, in the light of the findings of the International Commission of Enquiry on the murder of Chitepo. What prompted Mr. Nkomo to make these remarks? simply because many of the ZAPU cadres had been killed. Why? Because no political affinity exists between the Liberation Movements. *It is not armies that can unite the two political movement, it is the political affinity of different parties that can unite armies.* Obviously therefore, guerillas loyal to Mugabe and those loyal to Nkomo do not have the same political objectives. *They are hoping to outmanoeuvre and this intense political rivalry reflects itself in the inability of their guerillas to live and fight together, without killing each other.* So then, Mr. Chairman since all these facts are public knowledge especially among the Frontline States, *what is this Patriotic Front behind which the people of Zimbabwe are being exhorted to rally? It is as fictitious an organisation as was the JMC, Third Force, or the ZIPA. It is ZAPU and ZANU as separate as ever. It is division incarnate.*

Mr. Chairman, what next will the Frontline States do? First they spearheaded the recognition of the ANC, then undermined its consolidation. Between 1974 and now in a space of two years, the world has been introduced to three organisations:-

- (1) Third Force
- (2) ZIPA
- (3) Patriotic Front

OAU SHOULD SET UP COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

Mr. Chairman, it is our conviction that so long as the frontline States retain the right to liaise with imperialism on the timing of negotiations, so long will it be tempting to them to choose leaders for Zimbabwe. *It is usually at the height of the resistance of our people that a series of fairy tales regarding the possibility of a "peaceful solution" to the Zimbabwe problem are brought forward by the Frontline States.* This usually diverts the attention of the masses from the serious business of struggle. False hopes are raised resulting in dismay and recriminations in the aftermath of these political akra-ka-dabras. It is the Zimbabwe liberation movement which pays for all these political acrobatics.

Mr. Chairman, when armed struggle re-commenced in 1976 under the direction of the Frontline States, we were given two conflicting versions for its purpose. Some leaders of the Frontline States said the war was aimed at gradually destroying the fascist state structure. But others said it was aimed at "delivering" Ian Smith to London for talks! Surely Mr. Chairman, we do not believe that it is noble for any sons and daughters of Zimbabwe to spill their precious blood so that Smith can surrender to Britain at a Constitutional Conference?

If we are convinced that Smith is a fascist which he is, then, let us do what the allies and the whole progressive world did with Hitler. They simply refused to talks once hostilities had started until Hitler capitulated. But for this it is necessary to mobilise the Zimbabwe people and to avoid taking political postures that encourage division.

Mr. Chairman, why is it that when Mr. Nkomo was talking to Smith unilaterally, he was not condemned by the Frontline States? And why is it now when Bishop Muzorewa is not talking to Smith, he is being accused of collaborating with Smith?

For the first time in ten years, Mr. Chairman, the people of Zimbabwe are able under the ANC to fight as one. But the Frontline States are destroying this for the sake of their personal frineds.

Notwithstanding all this the Zimbabwe people are fighting both in the towns and rural areas. Only recently Ian Smith hanged eight youth of the ANC who had initiated urban guerilla warfare. *We demand that the OAU should intercede with the Frontline States so that we are allowed into our own camps.* Hostile propaganda against the ANC should cease unless it is based on fact. We strongly object to the view that an ANC Camp would divide the guerillas which are already divided by ZAPU and ZANU for tribalistic reasons. The ANC calls for unity of the Zimbabwe people both at home and abroad.

What we see emerging, Mr. Chairman, is not so much, an Angolan type situation but an Israeli type situation, whereby until the Palestine liberation movement was able to assert its authority, some neighbouring countries played havoc with the strategy for the struggle of the liberation of that country, putting their own interests before that of the palestinian people.

Mr. Chairman, we believe that the Zimbabwean liberation movement as a whole should wrest from the Frontline States the right to decide what particular leaders should be in power in Zimbabwe. It is the people of Zimbabwe who should decide their fate. It is they as a whole who are doing the fighting and most of the dying.

Mr. Chairman, the ANC requests that there should be set up a military commission of inquiry on regional basis of the OAU to ascertain in the guerilla camps the loyalty of cadres to the Patriotic Front. We say, this because we know that many guerillas have left home to join the ANC, and that they are being forced against their wills by some Frontline States to fight under ZAPU and ZANU. This is why so many killings take place.

This Mr. Chairman is the reason why we heard some people proclaim in this Conference that was no need to create a third army. An ANC Army would not be a third army. It would be the national army because the whole Zimbabwe national is united under the African National Council led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa. *It is the African Frontline States who are striving to create two armies in Zimbabwe, one under ZANU in Mozambique and another one under ZAPU in Zambia.*

Mr. Chairman, the ANC is happy to note that nobody here has dared state that the African National Council does not enjoy the support of the Zimbabwe masses.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we wish to recommend to the Liberation Committee the following:-

That since there is no unity to speak of in the Patriotic Front and observing that what has been heard so far from leaders of the Patriotic Front themselves are reports of killings amongst the guerillas, and that pending investigations into these killings, the so-called Patriotic Front does not represent a viable vehicle for the unity of the Zimbabwe people, that the question of unity in the Patriotic Front is still a mere intention, which cannot as yet receive recognition by the Liberation Committee until it is seen that unity has been established as a fact.

Frelimo Declares Itself a Marxist-Leninist Party

In a recent Congress held in Maputo, Mozambique, FRELIMO announced its intention of declaring itself a Marxist-Leninist Party. In our September 1976 issue we carried an article about the problems of FRELIMO converting itself into a Marxist-Leninist Party. Unlike many other organisations which call themselves M-L FRELIMO at least has a history of People's War, the mass line and radical politics that makes it more amenable to the idea. But there are also considerable problems that FRELIMO has to face before it can adequately undertake this task. What we were mainly concerned about was whether the socialist road was going to be based on the Mass Line, on the genuine participation of the masses, or whether it was going to be another administrative, bureaucratic type, where rhetoric covers up the actual capitalist nature of relations. We sincerely hope that the increasing reliance that the Mozambiquans are developing on the Soviet Union in relation to its confrontation with Smith and Vorster will not take it along the Russian road. That will be a disaster.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE THIRD CONGRESS OF FRELIMO

The date of the Congress, which was the first since Independence, was announced by the Politico-Military Committee of FRELIMO on October 6, in a message which set out the broad aims of the Congress.

The announcement followed a meeting at Party Headquarters on September 22, presided over by the President and attended by members of the Central and Executive Committees of FRELIMO, provincial governors and Party headquarters personnel. One of the decisions taken by this meeting was that several commissions should be set up to prepare papers to be presented by the Central Committee to Congress for approval. It was also decided to hold a national seminar, in which all the FRELIMO structures, including the mass organisations, would participate and prepare watchwords to mobilise the people for the tasks necessary in preparation for the Congress.

At the closing ceremony of the seminar on Nov. 4, President Samora Machel defined the task of the Congress. *"Once more we accept a new battle. The first stage, leading the people to independence is over. But now, in the second stage, our task is the building of socialism. This is the exact word. This is what the Congress demands. The building of socialism in Mozambique."*

Addressing the 80 delegates from all over the country, the President said that the Third Congress would analyse the question of the transformation of FRELIMO into a vanguard party of the worker-peasant class, and study the application of scientific socialism to the revolutionary process now underway.

In addition, the Congress will establish the priorities in this phase of the struggle, launching an ideological offensive which will lead to a complete break with the structure of the old society. After the seminar the participants returned to their provinces to carry out the task of mobilising the people for the preparations for the Congress.

The following are the thesis put forward by the FRELIMO leadership for discussion and approval at the Congress.

FRELIMO AND THE MOZAMBIQUAN LABOURING CLASSES IN THE BUILDING OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

The Mozambiquan people, after heroic resistance to colonialism and a victorious people's liberation war, under the leadership of FRELIMO, proclaimed the total and complete independence of Mozambique and extend to the whole country the conquests of the people's revolutionary war, installing the power of the worker-peasant alliance.

Our entry into the phase of building People's Democracy - i.e. the fact that we have carried out the tasks of national liberation and of the national democratic revolution (the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, against feudalism and fascism) - is due to:

- (a) the popular nature of the organisation and of the leadership;
- (b) the nature of the political line, which corresponds to the objective interests of the labouring masses.

1st Thesis

Synthesising the causes of our victory in his speech on January 8, 1975, to the 24th session of the OAU Liberation Committee, Comrade Machel explained that in the present phase of imperialist domination, the national liberation movement can carry out its historic task only when it assumes, practises and creatively develops the scientific ideology of the labouring classes and integrates the liberation struggle in the general struggle against the system of exploitation.

The experience of our struggle proved to us the interdependence between the liberation struggle against colonialism and imperialism and the class struggle against the new exploiters.

The successes on the front of class struggle created greater trust of the masses in FRELIMO and its leadership, permitting as a result a greater engagement of the masses in the fight against the colonialist oppressor, ensuring that their sacrifices are enriching a better future.

The impetus of the struggle against the new exploiters develops parallel to the growing defeats of colonialism and imperialism, these new exploiters being more and more deprived of the support of their accomplices and masters.

The positive solution of the antagonistic class contradictions in our midst, the elimination of the new exploiters in leadership posts, increase the popular dimension of the struggle and transform the struggle for national liberation into a People's Democratic Revolution, the patriotic war reaching the dimension of people's liberation war.

It was these transformations in the nature of the struggle waged which enabled us to expose, resist and defeat the attacks of the enemy, their manoeuvres and their subversive actions. It was these transformations which enabled us to carry out the process of national liberation and to prevent

defeated colonialism from being replaced by neo-colonialism, blocking the internal bourgeoisie's chances of acceding to power after the defeat of the colonial bourgeoisie.

Thus the masses sacrifices were not in vain and the dynamic of the revolutionary process was maintained.

2nd Thesis

The winning of power by the Mozambiquan working masses intensified the class struggle at national level and at the same time increased the aggressiveness of imperialism against our country.

The internal reactionaries and imperialism, the permanent enemy, cannot resign themselves to defeat and therefore, although they are on the defensive, they multiply their subversive and provocative acts against the revolutionary power and sovereignty of our state.

As Comrade Machel explained, faced with an enemy whose nature is to commit crimes and aggression against us, the proper strategy is to combat reaction while it is weak, prevent it from consolidating, disorganising it while it is still concentrating to attack us, organise the people to smash the enemy.

The class analysis of our society shows us that the overwhelming majority of our people, who belong to the worker-peasant alliance, are in radical and frontal opposition to the handful of old and new exploiters.

The exploiting classes can be classified by origin in two groups: the colonial bourgeoisie, demobilised and in disarray because the defeat of Portuguese colonial-fascism, is systematically abandoning the country; the small and middle internal bourgeoisie, numerically small and with a very weak economic base, but which are desperately trying to replace the colonial bourgeoisie as an exploiting force and intermediary of imperialism.

Joined in an alliance with these forces, one in full decadence (the colonial bourgeoisie) and the other extremely feeble (the internal bourgeoisie), are marginal elements from the labouring masses, corrupted by the process and crimes of the colonial wars. Together they are weak but their penetration in the apparatus of the state and the economy and above all their situation as internal representatives of imperialism make them highly dangerous. Likewise their cultural values and tastes, being those of the colonial-capitalism which used to dominate society, still predominate and pervert society, especially the urban zones and the disorganised strata of worker and student youth.

Strong because of its support from the broad masses, strengthened by the prestige of its victorious against the aggressors in our country, FRELIMO unleashed powerful offensives and delivered mortal blows against the forces of reaction and the bourgeoisie:

- starting the process of dismantling and destroying the colonial-capitalist state apparatus and setting up the bases for the worker-peasant state;
- taking control of the principal financial instruments and the main industries, blocking economic sabotage and imposing state control on the vital sectors of the economy;
- nationalising the land and rented buildings, principal economic base of the forces of the internal bourgeoisie;
- nationalising education and creating a new justice, uprooting the bourgeoisie's power in these sectors, uprooting its control of the Mozambican's minds;
- nationalising health, the funeral agencies and eliminating the trade in sickness and death.

These blows against the class enemy permitted us to consolidate power, accelerate the disintegration of the colonial bourgeoisie, block the growth of the internal bourgeoisie, disorganise it and demoralise it. The broad masses resolutely support these gains which were immediately materialised in the taking of cities by the people, the substantial lowering of house rents, the increases in school attendance, the increase in the number of people, using hospital establishments, etc. Using various direct or indirect attempts at sabotage, the enemy tried to neutralise, pervert or empty of their content the new popular victories. The enemy here and there managed to spread confusion and impede the process of materialisation of the achievements, but taken as a whole, the capitalists' actions were a failure, the victories were consolidated and became irreversible.

3rd Thesis

The conditions for building People's Democracy in our country have been created:

- the country has been liberated;
- the worker and peasant class is imposing its power in the state and society.

People's Democracy is for our people the historic stage in which we consolidate the ideological base and build the material base for the passage to socialism. It is the stage in which the whole of society, under the leadership of the worker-peasant alliance -

strengthens the power of the labouring class;

consolidates ideological and class unity

carries out the liquidation of the vestiges of feudal and colonial-capitalist society, destroying in particular the exploitation of women and youth, and the decadent and corrupt values of the old society;

breaks definitively with dependence on, and integration in, the imperialist system;

constructs a powerful system for the defence of national sovereignty and the Revolution;

builds heavy industry, starting point for an advanced and strong industry;

leads the broad masses to win and exercise power on the fronts of education, science, culture and health;

definitively establishes the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

In this stage the ideological struggle is accentuated, so as to build the New Man, the socialist Man, the Man free from all superstitious and obscurantist subservience, the Man who dominates science and culture and assumes the fraternal and collective relations and duties of society.

4th Thesis

The undertaking of this task presumes the creation and organisation of the vanguard Party of the worker-peasant alliance, guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

In his message of September 25, 1970, Machel referred to the task of organising this force. Without a revolutionary Party and without revolutionary ideology it is impossible for the revolution to advance. This presumes the transformation of FRELIMO into a vanguard Party of the worker-peasant alliance, a Party armed with the scientific ideology of the proletariat. At the same time, the broad patriotic, anti-imperialist and popular front, which will mobilise and organise the broad masses in the glorious task of building the New Society, must be preserved, consolidated and expanded. While the class vanguard is organising itself in Party Committees, the broad masses will be organised in the democratic mass organisations, under the leadership and in the framework of the Party - FRELIMO.

5th Thesis

Taking agriculture as the base and industry as the dynamising factor, making the building of heavy industry the decisive factor in the battle to break with misery and imperialist domination, we will build the material base of People's Democracy.

The battle for the co-operatives and the communal villages will create the conditions for the socialisation and industrialisation of our vast agricultural potential.

The battle for the co-operatives and the communal villages will create the conditions for the socialisation and industrialisation of our vast agricultural potential.

Getting the best out of, and utilising, our natural resources, parallel to the maximum utilisation of existing industrial capacity and taking advantage of our situation as a maritime country on a route essential to the world economy, will enable us to give decisive support to agriculture and promote the rapid economic growth of the country.

"The transformation of the whole of our country into a school in which everyone learns and teaches, everyone raising their political, technical, scientific and cultural knowledge, will guarantee the training of the cadres necessary to the development and putting into practice of our class's power in science, culture and technology."

To preserve and expand the gains of the revolution against imperialism and reaction, to support the advance of the revolutionary liberation struggle it is necessary to continue the drive for the building of powerful and modern armed forces, rooted in the mobilised and organised People.

6th Thesis

The Mozambiquan Revolution is an integral part of the world proletarian Revolution. Internationalism is a major and fundamental constant of our Revolution.

At international level we struggle to strengthen the natural alliance that unites us to the workers and peasants parties, to the progressive and national liberation movement in the rest of the world, to the world democratic movement.

This vast anti-imperialist front should be constantly consolidated and expanded in the common fight for independence and freedom, for justice and progress, for peace.

The task of FRELIMO is to act so that the unity of workers and peasants, fundamental weapon in the battle, is continuously reinforced in the process of the struggle. In its methods and criticism FRELIMO will always distinguish between the errors of a friend and the action of an enemy, and will avoid any confusion being created about who is a friend and who is an enemy, no matter how serious the friend's errors.

7th Thesis

As the leading force of society and the state, the Party must guide, mobilise and organise the broad masses in the task of building People's Democracy, carry out the construction of our state apparatus which materialises the power of the worker-peasant alliance and serves as an instrument for the construction of the ideological, political, economic, cultural and social base of socialist society.

Basil Davidson and Revisionism in Southern Africa

Davidson Basil, Joe Slovo and Anthony R. Wilkinson, SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION. London, Penguin Books, 1976.

Published analyses of Africa have become increasingly dominated by European leftists who profess revisionist modes of 'revolutionary Marxism'. SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION epitomises this trend in its most despicable form. The editor of the Penguin Africa Series - Ronald Segal (originally from Cape Town) - has been responsible for the publication of this series of paperbacks on Africa, predominantly revisionist in character. The works on Southern Africa are particularly inclined towards a certain political line that reflects the policies of the notorious South African "Communist" Party (SA"C"P). In fact, some authors in the Penguin Africa series are top members of the revisionist SA"C"P, a fact concealed from the readers. While some of the books in the Penguin Africa series have redeeming academic features, the NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION represents the crudest exposition of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

THE NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION consists of three descriptive articles, ranging from the insubstantial to the slanderous. Anthony R. Wilkinson indulges in repetition and offers little analytical insight about the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe. Joe Slovo - one of the more doctrinaire and less perceptive members of the SA"C"P - manages to present some analysis of the movement towards revolution in Azania, but merely repeats the discredited viewpoints of the SA"C"P. Basil Davidson revives distorted tales of the liberation struggle in the former Portuguese Colonies in Africa and hands the reader the "big lie" about the Angolan Civil War. Of course, all three sections of the book are timely, because of the increasing contradictions in the region. However, the article by Basil Davidson assumes the greatest significance, since his need to popularise the act of aggression committed by the Russian imperialists is of greatest relevance to the manner in which the continuing struggles in Southern Africa and elsewhere are resolved.

Basil Davidson has been widely praised as a populariser of African History and of various causes in both Africa and elsewhere. But Davidson has also been criticised for a lack of in-depth analysis and empirical data. When a piece such as the one in the NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION appears, it becomes blatantly apparent that Davidson employs a journalistic perspective to advertise a definite political line. Although not a major official revisionist hack, Davidson does exemplify most of the negative features of the European revisionist "Left". While claiming to support such revolutionary concepts as mass participation, Davidson clearly espouses the belief that ultimately

a modernising "revolutionary" elite backed by Russian tanks will bring success - clearly a revisionist and social-fascist line.

The high point of the *NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION* is Davidson's description of the Angolan Civil War. Other insights into the struggle against Portuguese colonialism have appeared in Davidson's earlier dubious contributions to the Penguin Africa Series - *In the Eye of the Storm*, and the *Liberation of Guine*. Davidson's approach to the Angolan Civil War is to neglect the principal contradiction of Russian imperialist aggression and to emphasise the feeble efforts of the Western imperialist powers, as well as those of South Africa and concerned African states, to stem the social-fascist onslaught. Davidson then proceeds to glorify the unimpressive performance of the MPLA and to unreservedly attack UNITA and the FNLA with every slander at his command. As a result, the reader is given the impression that the heroic MPLA and the Angolan people, with minimal assistance, defeated the South African racists, the Western imperialist powers, and their Angolan puppets. The exact opposite was the case. A long-term calculated campaign to gain control of Angola through a social-fascist section of the MPLA and through the use of Cuban mercenaries became the short-term "success" for Russian imperialism.

Davidson refers to the Russian imperialist formula for victory at merely one passing juncture in his article: "These military successes were due partly to the improved morale and organisation of the army of the MPLA, and partly to the substantial delivery after June 1975 of war supplies by the Soviet Union and of troops by Cuba. By December, these Cuban troops had proved decisive". (page 87). This ambiguous statement simply relates the effect of Russian and Cuban aggression. However, a much lengthier and clearer explanation is required to establish the nature of the principal contradiction in the Angolan Civil War. The step-up of Russian military aid to the MPLA began no later than March 1975, according to documented sources. Several hundred Cuban "advisers" in collusion with some Portuguese colonial officers transformed this aid into "victories" for the MPLA forces in Luanda and other urban centres in Angola during the months of July-August 1975. But the rapid advance of anti-revisionist, anti-Russian imperialist forces effectively smashed the MPLA as a fighting force in the ensuing months. From November onwards, Russian arms aid and diplomatic pressure were pitted against a majority of the Angolan people. The contradiction between Russian imperialism and the Angolan people became indisputedly the principal contradiction. The fact that the popular forces in Angola were backed by a wide range of forces - some very dubious - gave the modern revisionists the opportunity to obscure this contradiction. However, the continuing struggle of the popular forces, particularly UNITA, demonstrates that the Russian and Cuban occupation of Angola cannot be wished away: it can only be destroyed.

MPLA of 1974 COULD HAVE LIBERATED NO-ONE

Davidson's two-pronged attack on reality primarily depends on discrediting the FNLA and UNITA, while grossly exaggerating the role of the MPLA in the liberation struggle. In Davidson's earlier work on Angola, *In the Eye of the Storm* he deftly depicts MPLA as an "advanced" liberation movement, but he fails to convincingly degrade the FNLA and UNITA. Davidson's steadfast faith in the Neto-clique in the MPLA has prevented him from approaching the Angolan situation in a dialectical manner. Therefore, Davidson's line of argument about Angola eventually is revealed to be simplistically committed to an incorrect line. As is the case with other works by

Davidson, the reader is left with an intense desire for facts and their interrelationship. *THE NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION* article represents an extreme example of social-fascist illiteracy; Davidson is unable to deftly repeat even his biased solidarity for the MPLA. By including glaring inconsistencies and contradictory assertions in the article, as well as theoretical rubbish, Davidson has written a masterly piece of "white" propaganda that works against the Neto clique in the MPLA and their Russian masters.

While maintaining his unqualified support for the MPLA, Davidson refrains from glorifying the MPLA campaign against the Portuguese colonialists. Instead, Davidson admits in places the lack of progress and internal battles of the MPLA. These admissions are countered with such lame excuses as: ".....these districts (of MPLA 'activity') were very thinly populated, and were geographically so wide and ecologically hostile as to make centres of population, too difficult". (page 61). Such factors have never imposed great difficulties on people's armies, but on their adversaries. While Davidson fails to discuss the problems of leadership and ideology that prevented MPLA progress,

he does point to one of the symptoms of incompetence: "Stagnating movements of armed struggle are movements headed for *internal trouble*. Only in 1975, during a 'second wave of liberation' against invading forces, could this stagnation begin to be fully overcome by the MPLA". (pages 61).

Davidson, therefore, inadvertently implies that only Russian imperialist support for the Neto clique could bring the MPLA both victory and an end to dissension. Certainly the MPLA of 1974 would have liberated no-one. Russian assistance was at a low-point. The MPLA was split into three major factions at least - the Neto clique, Chipenda's 'Eastern Rebellion Group', the de Andrade brothers group in Congo-Brazzaville. The MPLA military campaign had largely disintegrated, with the best troops allied with Daniel Chipenda. Davidson briefly covers the period of disintegration from 1971 onwards and ascribes several reasons for splits within the MPLA: (1) Dissension over the decision (by Neto and Chipenda - under OAU pressure) to ally with the FNLA in 1972; (2) "A lack of internal discussion about major decisions", and (3) "Presidentialism" on the part of Neto (page 83).

Davidson fails to delve below the surface of dissension to examine the contradictions within the MPLA. The role of Neto and his gang should deserve special attention because of the clique's central role in numerous purges, acting as agents of the Portuguese "Communist" Party (Cunhalists) and the Russian imperialists. The specific ideologies and origins of the various sections of the MPLA also are a determinant of the movement's performance. Even in the lengthier *Eye of the Storm* Davidson fails to discuss the issues involved. In other works, only Richard Gibson in *African Liberation Movements* (Oxford University Press, 1972 and 1977) and Colin Legum and Tony Hodges in *After Angola* (Rex Collings, 1976) discuss the contradictions in the development of the MPLA.

The 1974 coup in Portugal and the subsequent ascendancy of the Portuguese "Communist" Party (P"C"P) after July 1974 permitted the Neto clique of social-fascist functionaries to seize control of the MPLA in Luanda and to increase in power. Davidson forgets about the bitter struggle within a crippled MPLA and praises the collusion between Portuguese colonial officers and the social-fascists. Davidson takes an openly social-fascist position by professing that the only two conditions were required for the MPLA (supported by a small minority of Angolans) to seize state power in Luanda:

"One was continued support for the MPLA from the local administration and army, so as to discourage dissidence, put down banditry, and allow the nationalists (sic) a chance to gain practical experience in new fields of administration. The other was that there should be no foreign-launched attempts at armed intervention against the national movement." (page 85).

COLLUSION BETWEEN MPLA AND PORTUGUESE COLONIAL OFFICERS MPLA WISHES TO PRESERVE ROLE OF PORTUGUESE SETTLERS

Davidson has, in fact, described the active co-operation that persisted between the MPLA and the Portuguese colonial occupiers until 11 November 1975. The Alvor Agreement and other accords were merely devices, employed by the Government in Portugal, to placate the mass-supported UNITA and the FNLA. Covering the range from social-fascist to fascist, the Portuguese officer corps in Luanda colluded with Russian imperialists to ensure the shipment of Russian weapons and Cuban mercenaries, and the penetration of KGB agents into Angola. This criminal role by some of the Portuguese officer corps has subsequently been exposed with the defeat of the Cunhalist P"C"P by the broad masses of the Portuguese people.

The seizure of Luanda and other major urban centres in Angola, with heavy backing from the agents of Russian imperialism, was the major aim of the Neto clique. A secondary goal was to win the support of a section of the skilled Portuguese population for a neo-colonial Angola under the control of the social-fascist ruling class. Davidson devotes considerable space in the *NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION* to the problem of the white community (which reflects his affinity with the white-controlled SA"C"P and other revisionists concerned with Africa.). The MPLA leadership is shown, by Davidson, to be concerned with the preservation of the role of Portuguese settlers in Angola. Certainly, the MPLA, with its "non-racist" principles and its mulatto-dominated leadership, did not have the type of Pan-Africanist instincts that would have severely proscribed the colonial elements in Angola. Davidson sees the counter-revolutionary "non-racialism" of the MPLA as the sign of an advanced liberation movement. Davidson attacks the opposition movements by slandering the heroic 1961 Carmona Uprising and by attempting to contrast it with the conciliatory attitude of the MPLA: "This counted for much with the Portuguese who still had bitter memories of the massacre of several hundred white civilians during the 1961 rising associated with Holden and the UPA (afterwards FNLA)." (page 83).

The social-fascist Davidson openly takes the side of the Portuguese colonialists against an insurrection of the African masses. The Carmona Uprising, while demonstrating the desperate motivations of the oppressed African masses, was far more revealing of the genocidal character of the white community. Thousands of African lives were taken in retaliation for a few hundred slain Portuguese. Social-fascists like Davidson, will be disturbed at the slaying of Portuguese settlers or at the jailing of a petty-buorgeois, such as Neto, but they are afraid of the mobilised African masses. Despite murmurings about mass participation (not mass control), white social-fascists, such as Davidson, Slovo, and Solodinikov, do not conceal apprehension that the black African masses will preclude the role of white "experts" on Africa, white Russian imperialism, and white exploiters in general from the soil of Africa.

The MPLA failed to build an alliance with the Portuguese community, because this secondary aim conflicted with the central aim of seizing control of Angola by a social-fascist putsch. Thus, most of the Portuguese community of 350,000 fled in the face of MPLA gunfire, not because of mysterious CIA-inspired agitation, as Davidson seems to suggest. While more dedicated to forms of Pan-Africanism, the FNLA and UNITA were pressing for a peaceful democratic Angola. Davidson attempts to denigrate this fact by dismissing Portuguese support for the FNLA and UNITA as originating from a small clique of reactionary "Luanda settlers". These were the same settlers who had attempted to exterminate all possible support for the FNLA after the Carmona Uprising of 1961.

Davidson pays far more attention to UNITA -at the expense of the FNLA - than in previous writings. This shift reflects the growing fear of the Russian-backed MPLA of the eventual liberation of Angola by the people's army of UNITA. Davidson repeats the revisionist lies that UNITA has been a puppet of the Portuguese Army, of the CIA, of South Africa, and of "Maoists". He claims that UNITA followed a military strategy of "mountain-topism": a strategy that permitted UNITA to control isolated areas of Angola in agreement with the Portuguese. The fact that some of the "mountain-tops", i.e., liberated areas, of UNITA were in the richest area of Angola (the region surrounding what is now the occupied capital of Angola: Huambo) does not prevent Davidson from slandering UNITA.

DAVIDSON SLANDERS ANGOLAN MARXIST-LENINISTS

The other subject of Davidson's attacks are the Angolan Marxist-Leninists. While not posing as great a threat to the MPLA as UNITA, the Angolan Marxist-leninists have developed the most perceptive critique of the Neto clique. Davidson mentions part of the critique that: "accused the MPLA leadership (Read: Neto clique) of conducting a "populist-fascist policy", (page 102), that made the MPLA "no more than 'the instrument of a petit-buorgeoisie seeking to become a national buorgeoisie.'" (page 94). Davidson counters the threat of Marxism-Leninism by claiming that such organisations as the Active Rebellion Group, the Amilcar Cabral Brigade, and the Organisation of Angolan Communists have been "CIA-inspired" and have acted as "splittists", Davidson does not mention that the Marxist-Leninists share prisons with other revolutionaries who dared to oppose the Neto clique. Davidson sees these "ultra-leftists" as part of the "political conflicts of the left in Portugal, and no doubt, the Sino-Soviet dispute". (page 93). Of course, by attacking the Angolan Marxist-Leninists, Davidson places himself squarely on the side of the social-fascist Cunhalists and the the Russian imperialists.

The principal necessity of fighting Russian imperialism has made the Angolan Marxist-Leninists correct in their decision to divorce themselves from the Netoclique, to construct a broad anti-imperialist front against the two Superpowers, and to build an Angolan Marxist-Leninist Party. Contrary to Davidson's line, October 1975 - when the Russian imperialist cause was at a low point - was as good a time as any to commence the reconstruction of the MPLA and the Angolan Communist Party. Eventually, a mass-based reconstruted MPLA will arise to merge with UNITA and other Angolan patriots to carry through the Angolan national democratic revolution. Then the construction of a Marxist-Leninist Party of Angola can be completed, as well as the transition to socialism.

True to the social-fascist line and to support for Russian imperialism, Davidson's errors are not confined to a section of the NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION. All of his books are filled with revisionist analysis, social-fascist slanders, etc. In his evaluation of the struggles in Mozambique and Guine-Bissau, Davidson believes that once FRELIMO achieved some "mass participation" from the

peasantry and "organisational purity", the success of the liberation struggle was only a matter of time, and.....the deployment of new weapons" (page 61). Such an analysis of a liberation struggle ignores the contradictions that the movement had to confront and the stages that the struggle had to go through - which clearly indicates a revisionist analysis of revolution. FRELIMO faced very difficult contradictions after 1970, especially Operation Gordian Knot, and PAIGC experienced several crises before liberating Guine. Davidson's revisionist error stems from his belief that a liberation movement must receive outside supplies of weapons at a certain stage if it is to avoid stagnation and to achieve victory. Davidson puts forward the anti-popular, social-fascist notion that sophisticated weapons, not a mobilised people, will be the determining factor in a liberation struggle. Davidson follows the Russian imperialist concept that it is better to rely on Russian arms aid in order to achieve a quick "victory" than to revolutionise the African people through protracted people's war. The Neto clique showed its social-fascist colours by preferring to seize state power and maintain it through Russian arms and Cuban mercenaries than through people's war.

ELITIST APPROACH TO MASSES AND REVOLUTION

Another outrageous revisionist theory, professed by Davidson, is the key link of "petit bourgeoisie class suicide." Davidson's constant concern for the deterioration of "progressive" governments and leaderships throughout the African continent has made him an adherent to such an anti-popular theory. The key to the success of people's revolutions in Africa and elsewhere depends not on the "restraint" of a social-fascist petty-bourgeoisie, but on the control exercised over a revolutionary movement by the working class and peasantry. Davidson's theory of 'mass participation' fall short of worker and peasant control, leaving bourgeois elements free to establish themselves as the ruling class.

It is a very short step from the social-fascist concept of "petty-bourgeoisie class suicide" to the openly fascist notion of a "modernizing elite". Davidson envisages the task of petty bourgeois leadership as one that "was to develop indigenous structures (cultures, concepts, patterns of behaviour, and the rest), and thereby to modernise them: to transform them, that is, into the framework of a society 'capable of respecting everything that the world today has conquered for the service of mankind' ". (page 71).

Davidson includes comments from Marcelino Dos Santos and others to bolster his contention.

But the expression of Neto is most diabolical: "We are trying to free and modernise our people by a dual revolution: against their traditional structures which can no longer serve them, and against colonial rule". (page 70). Neto demonstrates the desire of the "modernising elite" in Africa to control the development of the African initiatives in order to stifle revolutionary initiative and to secure and preserve state monopoly capitalism - the sign of a true social-fascist. These elitist elements survive in Mozambique, Guine-Bissau, and in other reputedly revolutionary African countries. Besides, the theory of "modernisation" denies the existence of classes and contradictions among the African people. Basil Davidson, in attempting to construct a "positive" image of African history and development, excludes class struggle from his accounts as something that might cast shame upon the African people. On the contrary, the violent struggles carried on by the oppressed masses of Africa through the ages hold the key to the development of African national culture - revolutionary in content. The overthrow of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal order throughout Africa will permit the African working class to make their own history, to bring their own revolutionary African culture. Africa should accept the techniques and knowledge developed elsewhere, but the workers and peasants of Africa must - and will - develop their own revolutionary culture, without the assistance of a "modernising elite."

Basil Davidson, as a proponent of social-fascist revisionism, committed glaring errors throughout his writings. In the 1970's, with his association with the Neto clique and others, Davidson has become an open agent of Russian imperialism. Of course, Davidson vigorously denies the existence of Russian imperialism, but he continues to write glowing articles about countries where Russian domination is obvious. For instance, in his article, "Somalia: Towards Socialism", *Race and Class* (a journal now controlled by revisionists) Volume XVII, Summer 1975, Davidson brings his simplistic revisionist mind to bear on a contradiction-riddled country and fails to even mention the massive presence of the forces of Russian imperialism. Davidson fails to mention that under Russian tutelage the Somali military has become the best equipped by far in Africa. He does state that Siad Barre and

some of his colleagues were trained in Russia in the 1960's. However, Davidson does not see Somalia as a Russian-semi-colony dominated by a Khrushchite combination of a supreme social-fascist military beneath the facade of a revisionist intelligentsia. Instead, he sees the leadership as a "patriotic but progressive group of soldiers with power and a group of left-wing thinkers from civilian life." (page 31).

(To be continued).

Angolan Marxist - Leninists on the MPLA

We present documents of the Angolan Marxist-Leninist Movement, the OCA (Organisation of Angolan Communists) formed at the time of the war of intervention of the two Superpowers. The OCA constitute the most advanced elements of the MPLA that split from it, realising its petit-bourgeoisie nature and its alliance and betrayal of Angola to Russian social-imperialism. These documents give an account of the war and MPLA's role in it that the revisionist world has tried to cover up. We see here not the socialist MPLA of Wilfred Burchett and other neo-revisionistic apologists, but the opportunistic MPLA of the Neto Clique, suppressing the mass movement, imprisoning and torturing democrats and revolutionaries; fooling the workers and peasants with a socialist demagogy and instead setting up Vigilante Committees to control the mass upsurges of the workers' movement; instead of galvanising the masses in a popular war against the foreign aggressors, refusing to arm the masses, and setting up a new security police run by the Cubans and the Russian KGB.

The documents analyse the class nature of the MPLA, reveal its petit-bourgeoisie base. This is of special significance, as they present the first clear cut class analysis of the forces at work in Angola, Azanian revolutionaries must undertake a similar class analysis. The documents also reveal the political maturity of the Angolan Marxist-Leninists. On the question of Party building, mass work, political lines, the tasks of the revolutionaries, they show a remarkable clarity, and in some ways make them the vanguard of Southern African struggles against imperialism and social-imperialism.

Throughout the documents the OCA regard UNITA and FNLA as puppets of American Imperialism. It is not a position that we totally agree with. Whilst we are not unaware of the reactionary elements within these organisations (all national movements by their very nature contain these elements, and sometimes they constitute the leadership of the national movement, but one does not dismiss the whole national movement because of them) the fact is that UNITA is currently fighting a war against Russian and Cuban occupation of the country, a task to which the OCA also addresses itself.

The OCA documents also revealingly prophesy that the MPLA under the aegis of social-imperialism will sometime declare itself a worker's party to fool the masses even more. It also has ominous significance and shows the new type of state bureaucratic capitalism that the social-imperialists are setting up in the name of socialism and Marxism-Leninism. We see in the clear cut contours of the Angolan situation how the social-imperialists wish to establish their hegemony and world-wide empire. In this they have willing agents of the type of the Neto clique that is only too willing to constitute a new ruling class under the aegis of social-imperialism and in alliance with it. This is why Marxist-Leninists must not draw a line between the revisionists and imperialists. The revisionist parties are now direct agents and new type neo-colonial agents of social-imperialism. In the case of South Africa the so-called South African Communist Party is poised to play this role, and for this reason they have completely taken over the Tambo wing of the A.N.C. We who know these people - the Ruth Firsts, Slovos, Carnesons, Buntings, Dadoos, etc. know them to be a bunch of crooks and rogues and there is as much socialism in them as there is in an elephant's fart.

In Angola itself as the documents point out all its internal affairs, information, security services, the customs and immigration as well as the banks and financial affairs are in the hands of the Soviet Union and Cuban mercenaries.

One should not overlook either the actual resistance of the Angolan people to the Cuban presence in the country, and the fact that the Cubans have been killing thousands of Angolan workers and peasants (whom presumably they went to save from imperialism). Just what are the Cubans doing in Angola, now that the South Africans have left. Why too does the MPLA a supposedly mass based movement, need the support of the Cuban mercenaries in the country. Is it not a fact that the Neto clique does not have a mass base and needs the presence of the Cuban mercenaries to keep them in power?

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA FROM APRIL 25 1974 TO THE ALVOR AGREEMENT, FORMATION OF AMILCAR CABRAL COMMITTEES.

The fall of fascism in Portugal on April 25 1974 brought about a powerful movement of the popular masses and the class struggle became clearer and intensified.

The first period stretches from April 25 to the Alvor Agreement in January 1975 and is marked by the appearance of several organisations of reactionary colonials and by the massacres perpetrated by colonial reaction in June and November, particularly in Luanda. But this period is also characterised by a great popular organisation of Self-Defence Committees and Popular Committees in areas which faced up to the colonial aggression. Moreover a powerful working class movement grew up throughout the country which led to important economic and political struggles in Luanda, Lobito and Benguela. At the same time a great progressive movement developed amongst the students.

It was at the end of this period, especially in Luanda, that the popular district committees started to organise. They were elected freely by large assemblies of the people and subject to dismissal anytime. At Luanda the co-ordinating organ of the CPBs was set up with delegates elected by the committees; they were to play an important role. At the same time Workers Committees were elected in several factories in the country and in several quimbos (villages) Quimbo Popular Fronts set up.

In the absence of bodies of delegates for the liberation movements inside Angola, these mass movements were in part controlled and directed by several committees which had unimportant links with the MPLA. Amongst these mention must be made of the Amilcar Cabral Committees - a force which spurred on the popular struggle during this period.

The Amilcar Cabral Committees developed the self-defence movement in the districts, brought together huge popular assemblies and organised the election of the CPBs of which they assumed control until its dissolution in September 1975. They brought into being the workers committees and their election in the factories; they developed and directed a lot of working class struggles during this period as well as undertaking propaganda on a large scale for Popular Democracy and for Marxism-Leninism, advocating the formation of a Marxist-Leninist wing inside the MPLA.

During this period the MPLA and the FNLA remained outside of Angola with the exception of a reduced number of secret committees of the MPLA who developed propaganda work for the Movement and for the denunciation of colonialism.

The Situation in Angola from the Alvor Agreement up until the Generalisation of the War; The First Week of Struggle for Popular Power Opposed by MPLA

From the Alvor Agreement until the beginning of the war, in its generalised form (July 1975) there were present in Angola three movements in a tripartite government 'experiment' which functioned very little and always to the detriment of the workers: prohibiting access to information; ferocious repression of the popular organisations namely the CPBs and the CTs; the anti-strike law; the militarisation of the ports and railways; and the laws against the democratisation of schools.

The popular masses struggled against the fascist repression in order to expose the fascist movements. They were led in Luanda by the OC of the CPBs and at different points in the country by the respective popular organisations such as the Quimbo and Libata Fronts; in the countryside by the General Reunion of the CTs of Lobito, Catumbela, etc.

At the time of this struggle the First Week of Struggle for Popular Power brought about at the end of January 1975 by the OC of the CPBs of Luanda and by the Amilcar Cabral Committees, which was at its height at the time of the First Great People's Assembly of Luanda, including about 40,000 people had a particular importance.

This important day's struggle had a great repercussion throughout the whole country. Amongst the important days of struggle can be counted the great working class demonstrations of May 10 in Gabela, Catumbela and Luso, etc.. All these struggles were conducted by popular and workers organisations and by the revolutionary sectors of the MPLA. The transition government was strongly fought by the revolutionary ardour of the masses who all along knew how to protest energetically against its systematically anti-democratic and anti-popular way of acting and its cover for the repression brought to bear by the puppet movements on the masses. The government which inherited the exploitative and fascist traditions of the Portuguese government could not have had a long life!

As far as the MPLA is concerned what was its attitude at this time? It has always kept itself in tow of the popular struggles. It has never openly opposed popular organisations and movements but it has always vacillated and has never openly supported them. However, it occasionally appeared in order to retrieve its position.

For example the MPLA had nothing to do with the First Week of Struggle for Popular Power; which until the last moment it refused to support. It was only on the sixth day of the week during -

which the demonstrations in the districts of Luanda and throughout the country showed a strong popular mobilisation that the MPLA appeared to call its militants and sympathisers together to join in the First Great People's Assembly in Luanda which took place the day after as being the last demonstration of the week.

It can be said that with the exception of a few committees, one single sector of the MPLA encouraged the popular struggles, accompanied and developed the struggles in the factories in the districts and in the countryside throughout the country. We are referring to the DOPs of the MPLA and particularly to the COP of Gabela, Lobito, Luso, Luanda (whose leadership and several of its militants belonged moreover to the Amilcar Cabral Committees).

The Start of the War and the Repression of the Revolutionary Movement; MPLA Opposes Peoples' Power and Try to Control Popular Organisations

With the expulsion of the FNLA from Luanda in July 1975, war spread rapidly across the whole country, but after about a month the situation became more stable, resulting in the following positions:-

- (1) The FNLA supported by Zaire occupied the Angolan province of Uige.
- (2) UNITA and the troops of Chipenda controlled the provinces of Huambo and Bie.
- (3) South African troops controlled Cunene.
- (4) MPLA controlled other provinces.

From July to October a fierce ideological debate was carried within the MPLA and in the areas it controlled, and the MPLA began a systematic repression of all revolutionaries, both those within the movement itself, as well as those who were beginning to organise themselves independently.

The centres of political orientation, the Amilcar Cabral Committees, and most of the popular and workers organisations (such as the CPB co-ordinating committee at Luanda, supported by the majority of the CPB's and the CT co-ordinating agency in Lubito) maintained various popular positions:

- (a) The creation of true popular militias and the opening of a prolonged offensive against foreign aggression
- (b) The strengthening of popular and workers organisations, which should be freely elected, subject to recall and not proposed and controlled by the MPLA.
- (c) The creation of superior forms of popular organisation with effective powers such as: councils of popular and workers deputies, committees of workers, assemblies of popular regional commissions, etc.
- (d) The satisfaction of the needs and problems of the people; the organising of food supplies, the occupation of the land by the peasants, etc.

However, the leadership of the MPLA, supported by the whole of the petit bourgeoisie, some sectors of the corrupted workers (who already constituted a veritable, though recent African workers aristocracy) and by large sectors of the MPLA itself, totally opposed this line. They prevented the creation of popular militias and disarmed those which already existed (particularly those in Luanda, Gabela, Lubango and Benguela) creating in their place a popular defence body, a puppet organisation which never included more than 800 people, and never had any weapons. The MPLA leadership also prevented the creation of higher forms of popular organisations, and established a rigid control over those which existed; they outlawed and destroyed all the propaganda for these organisations, hounded and intimidated the militants organisations and numerous revolutionary and democratic militants. They prevented the popular committees gaining access to the sources of information and broadcasting; they slandered and repressed the co-ordinating body of the CPB in Luanda as well as the popular organisations in other towns, and neglected food supplies and other concrete problems in the life of the people.

In other areas they protected the corrupt activities of the petit-bourgeoisie who in the meantime were occupying places left by the massive exodus of over 100,000 white settlers.

At this time the newspaper "Poder Popular" (Popular Power) reappeared and acquired wide acceptance and influence among the working class and the popular organisations and which played an important part in the defining of a truly popular policy and the enlightening of the great mass of the people, and in progressive demarcation of the revolutionaries in relation to the MPLA.

MPLA Forms Strict Security Force With Help of Numerous Elements of Portuguese Communist Party; MPLA Represses Revolutionaries

DURING THIS PERIOD THE MPLA FORMED A STRICT SECURITY FORCE WHICH INCLUDED NUMEROUS ELEMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY WHO

HAD COME FROM LISBON AND WHO WERE CONTROLLED BY THE EX CHIEF OF THE UEC IN ANGOLA, CITA VOLES.

At the head of this repressive system was placed an individual whose apparently left wing attitude fooled many in Angola and abroad, and who at this time showed himself to be a clever social-fascist, the puppet of social imperialism, champion of the repression of the revolutionaries and the masses, Nito Alves.

The MPLA then began a system of severe repression of the revolutionary elements. Dozens of militants from the regional popular committees were hounded, intimidated and arbitrarily imprisoned. Revolutionaries within the MPLA itself were imprisoned, while militants of high standing among the popular organisations were imprisoned and tortured, and others were obliged to flee inland or abroad.

Meanwhile, using a policy which was both demagogic and repressive the MPLA suspended the co-ordinating committee of the local Popular Committees in Luanda, which left the way open for MPLA control of the individual Committees. All who realised and condemned these reformist tendencies were dismissed and their places taken by the MPLA sympathisers in order to promote the movement's bourgeois and social fascist policies. Workers and worker committees found themselves under increasingly fascist control as a result of the rules laid down by the MPLA and UNT. Censorship of the radio and Press was introduced, the revolutionary newspapers, "Poder Popular" and "Angola" were banned, as were the General Assembly of the Workers Committees of Benguela, and the co-ordinating body of the Workers Committee of Lobito and Ctumbela.

On the one hand, the invasion of the north by Zaire, the occupation of Cunene by South Africa, and the threat of foreign mercenaries and South Africans fighting in central and southern Angola, and on the other hand the MPLA's repression of popular and revolutionary organisations forced the communists of Angola to appreciate the real need to organise themselves independently with as their main aim the construction of the Communist Party, and to this end they created the Communist Organisation of Angola. At the time of its first Conference, October, 1975, an invasion force, starting from Cunene and composed of European mercenaries and South Africans had captured Lubango and Mogamedes which aroused the anger of people throughout the country. At this period Soviet supplies of arms to the MPLA were small and consisted mainly of light weapons, and there were about 300 to 500 Cubans in the country.

It is in this context that the principal conclusions of the 1st Conference of the OCA, as later revealed in its main mouthpiece, the *Journale Communiste* (Nos, 1,2,3) should be studied. A brief analysis of the attitude of Angolan revolutionaries, especially the Amilcar Cabral Committees upto the time of the founding of the OCA shows that they made some quite serious mistakes. Their principal mistake was their lack of faith in the role of the party and their concentration on "entrism" - concentrating their efforts on changing the MPLA from within. This was wrong on three counts; the increasing identification of the MPLA with the interests of the rising Angolan petit bourgeoisie; increasing subordination to social-imperialism; and the growing social fascist elements within it, leading to the repression of revolutionaries.

As a result of these mistakes the Angolan revolutionaries committed they fell prey to activism and spontaneism, scorning organising and theoretical training; they acted as propagandists for the MPLA in relation to the working class and the most advanced sections of the masses, giving them the impression that it contained a great radical force, capable of taking charge of the movement.

However, the revolutionaries do take credit for having animated and led the struggle and for having correctly defined the objectives of that struggle. These errors, which were common to all sections of the Angolan revolutionaries, did not prevent the Amilcar Cabral Committees, above all, from fighting for the creation of a solid marxist wing, and from forming links with any organisation likely to follow this line. This struggle, though important, was boycotted and betrayed by various elements who let themselves be intimidated or bought off by the offer of important posts in the MPLA or the state machinery. Despite this, the struggle was able to reinforce the wider revolutionary conflict in some areas, though success was never secure.

However, the experience afforded by the Amilcar Cabral Committees, and the political orientation centres, the struggle of the popular organisations and the newspapers, "Poder Popular" and "Angola", and the failure of the "organising movement", impressed on an ever increasing number of revolutionaries the bourgeois nature of the MPLA, the impossibility of giving it a revolutionary character and the necessity for organising themselves independently to fight for the creation of a true Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

The War and the Intervention of the Super Powers; Russians Do Not Trust Angolans with Sophisticated Weapons; MPLA Unable to Conduct Popular War

Starting in mid-October the super powers intervened more directly. Angola was openly invaded by foreign troops, and the war was conducted in the hope of splitting the country. Troops from

South Africa and Uige had already occupied Angola and Uige respectively, but particularly from October the use of foreign mercenaries both in the north and in the south became obvious and a large force of South Africans made inroads and in a short time conquered large areas of the south and the centre of the country.

At this time faced with the incursion of the mercenary force, the inability of the MPLA to conduct a popular war, as well as its inability to arm and mobilise the masses, was clearly demonstrated. The corrupt and buorgeois nature of its military commanders was also revealed - with the results already foreseen at the 1st OCA Conference, i.e. the shameful defeats of the MPLA at Lubango, and Mocamedes, the abandoning of Lubito, Benguella and Novo Redondo, etc. At the time of independence the MPLA found themselves surrounded in the Luanda region.

IT WAS THEN THAT THE HORRIFIED MPLA PETIT BUORGEOISIE REALISED THAT THE ARMS ALREADY OBTAINED WERE INSUFFICIENT. THEY NEEDED AN ARMY TO FIGHT IN THEIR PLACE, AND IN THE PLACE OF THE PEOPLE, WHOM THEY DID NOT DARE ARM.

From then on there started to arrive every day more than a dozen Russian planes each carrying over 80 tons of material, and dozens of ships carrying the most sophisticated weapons. Russia sent over 200 million dollars worth of equipment to Angola, as opposed to 80 millions sent by the U.S. and her allies.

AT THE SAME TIME THOUSANDS OF CUBAN MERCENARIES WERE SENT ROBBING THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA OF THEIR SACRED DUTY TO FIGHT TO FREE THEIR COUNTRY FROM IMPERIALISM AND ALSO SUBJECTING THEM TO A NEW FOREIGN DOMINATION.

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM'S UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE IN ANGOLA, UNDER THE PRETEXT OF UNSELFISH HELP IN FACT REPRESENTED A RE-COLONISING OF ANGOLA BY SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. THIS WAS THE FIRST ARMED INTERVENTION WHICH SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM HAD BEEN ABLE TO CARRY OUT SO FAR FROM ITS FRONTIERS' IT WAS IDENTICAL IN ALL RESPECTS WITH THE NORTH AMERICAN MODEL OF IMPERIALISM CLEARLY SHOWING THE EXPANISIONIST CHARACTER OF SOCIAL IMPERIALISM WHICH IS NOW THE MOST AGGRESSIVE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

The SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS SUPPLIED BY THE USSR NEVER REACHED THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA', NOR WAS IT EVER ACCESSIBLE TO FAPLA. THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA REMAINED PERIPHERAL TO THE STRUGGLE, WHICH SUITED THE MPLA BUORGEOISIE AND THE SOCIALIMPERIALISTS'

From mid-November the contingent of CUBAN MERCENARIES grew from 500 to more than 15,000 men. This army of occupation had its own headquarters which was independent of FAPLA, and was also the sole recipient of Soviet weapons.

DURING THE WAR FAPLA (WITH LIGHT WEAPONS ONLY) OCCUPIED THE FRONT LINES OF DEFENCE AGAINST THE WELL-ARMED INVADING FORCE, WHILE THE CUBANS OCCUPIED THE REAR, FIGHTING THE ENEMY BUT AT THE SAME TIME SHOOTING AT FAPLA SOLDIERS AS THEY WERE FORCED TO RETREAT BY THE SERVANTS OF NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

Russian 'support' prevented the total defeat of the MPLA and from November to January they held the temporary frontier in the districts of Quanza North and Quanza South, Luanda and Mallange. Up until the end of January, however, the social-imperialist forces had made no significant progress.

At the beginning of January, Kissinger and Dokrinin, a Russian ambassador, met in the United States. Later Kissinger led an American delegation to Moscow, and Angola was obviously discussed. They made a deal about Angola whereby both countries would jointly exploit Angola. (See section elsewhere on Super-Power collusion in Angola).

SUPERPOWER WAR BRINGS DEATH, PRIVATION, SUFFERING TO ANGOLAN PEOPLE; RUSSIA BEGINS FLEECING ANGOLA.

At the same time those African countries which had ties with the U.S. and the EEC countries after the meeting with Kissinger in Brussels recognised the MPLA. Also, Mark Moran, U.S. senator and specialist in foreign affairs came to Luanda to open negotiations. Some days later Cabinda Gulf Oil announced that it was re-starting operations and the MPLA announced that it could not interfere with the monopolies. What can one conclude from all this? That in Moscow Brezhnev and Kissinger retreated and those of Russia advanced. Russia was to control the machinery of the state, but America would continue to exploit the people of Angola as she saw fit.

The defeat of the invading armies from Zaire and South Africa like the defeat of the lackeys of North American imperialism did not represent a victory for the people of Angola. On the contrary

if one tiger was being pushed out through the front door (and his tail was still on the inside) another tiger, more dangerous and full of vitality was coming in through the back door. **FOR THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA THE WAR BROUGHT ONLY DEATH, PRIVATION AND SACRIFICES. OUR COUNTRY BECAME THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN ARENA FOR A FIGHT BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS' AND THE SUBJECT OF A CRIMINAL DEAL BETWEEN THE USA AND USSR.**

The MPLA sold itself to the USSR - a fact which the champions of social-fascism (Nito Alves and Zo Van Dunen) no doubt ratified during their recent visit to Russia for the 25th Party Congress.

As well as the 2,000 military specialists (i.e. KGB) the Russians have already got a hold on the government. The reincarnation of Iko Carrera - Kuranov Tudor, who is Secretary of State in the Ministry of Defence of the people's Republic of Angola is just an example.

The Russians receive economic compensation for their present benevolent "aid". The report presented on December 1 1975 by the Minister of Economic Co-ordination (the contents of which were not revealed to the public) stated "as our territorial waters extend for 200 miles, and since at the moment we are incapable of controlling or exploiting them, we could impose a tax in fish on the Soviet boats which are currently fighting there." Further on the said report referring to the mining industry says "without doubt the USSR is the best placed to help us in this field."

In general the report gives the USSR control in mining, fishing, banking and shipping, as well as the possibility of exploiting other areas. Social Imperialism's exploitation soon began. No sooner was Uige re-conquered than the government ordered the Angolan Coffee Authority to collect the 5,000 available tons of coffee, which were then secretly loaded at night onto a Cuban boat bound for Russia. An "arobe" of coffee (12-15 bags) costs on the international market 467-472 escudos, but the Angolan coffee was sold to the Russians for 180 escudos per arobe. The Russians therefore paid 60,000 escudos for the 50 tons instead of 158,000 - a calm theft of 100,000,000 escudos.

We have seen how the war brought the Angolan people a new oppressor - social imperialism. But can we say that North American imperialism no longer exploits the people of Angola? Nothing could be more false. In the first place it must be noted that the Angolan economy is dependent on American imperialism which controls various important economic areas. These interests are not threatened however.

To conclude: for the present America and Russia share the commercial exploitation of the country, with Russia controlling the machinery of the State. The MPLA Government has sold itself to both imperialists and social-imperialists.

The Present Situation and the Revolutionary Struggle; Conflict Between FAPLA and Cubans; Slanders Against China and Albania; Revolutionaries Organise

On the social and political level the situation is characterised by the increasing suffering of the people and by fierce repression of revolutionaries and the popular organisations.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FAPLA AND THE CUBANS AND BETWEEN THE LATTER AND THE PEOPLE' SUBJECTED THE PEOPLE TO INCREASING HUMILIATION.

The flight of the colonists enabled the African bureaucratic petit-bugeoisie to take over a number of administrative jobs left vacant in the private and public sectors, an easy and orderly take over which soon fell into complete corruption. At the same time a section of the working class was promoted to supervisory positions, creating a workers aristocracy which ran many of the Workers' Committees and Vigilance Committees set up by the MPLA to control the working class movement. The workers and popular organisations strictly controlled by the department for the organisation of the masses have today no popular support and are unable to mobilise the masses.

AT THE SAME TIME THOSE WHO PROTEST AGAINST THE ARBITRARY ACTIONS AND ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO PROTEST AGAINST THE CUBAN PRESENCE AND THE ORIENTATION OF THE MPLA OR THOSE WHO HOPE TO REMAIN SEPARATIST, ARE SUBJECT TO SEVERE REPRESSION.

Repression, corruption in the bourgeoisie, general sufferings and the arbitrary conduct of the MPLA, which oppress the people of Angola are beginning to create massive popular unrest. On the level of information, the bourgeoisie is trying to spread its reactionary ideology, dressed in a populist guise, and to advertise revisionism. Bourgeois ideology is attempting to implant itself in the working people, and in line with this, the MPLA bourgeois-controlled press, **LIKE THAT OF THE SOCIAL-FASCIST COUNTRIES POURS OUT ITS DAILY SLANDERS OF CHINA AND ALBANIA.** However, the revisionists forget that the very attitude of social-fascism, like bourgeois and revisionist ideology, carries with it the seeds of its own destruction.

The policies of social-fascism give rise to antagonistic contradictions and intensify the class struggle. If they predominate for the moment, they will, nevertheless be swept away by a revolutionary movement.

TODAY IN ANGOLA REVOLUTIONARIES ARE ARISING. DESPITE THE SEVERITY OF EXPLOITATION, AND THE AGGRESSIVE SITUATION THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTIONARIES

REFORMED WITHIN THE OCA DARE TO RISE UP AND GIVE BATTLE AGAINST THE SUPER POWERS, FOR POPULAR DEMOCRACY, FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, FOR BREAD AND FOR THE LAND.

Through the central popular body Vanguardia Operaria, through its secret work amongst the people and within the popular organisations - especially through oral propaganda - the OCA has denounced the living conditions of the people, imperialist meddling, the aggressive attitude of the MPLA, and all the aggressive actions and abuses that the people are subject to.

All this increases popular discontent, and gradually the masses are recognising the bourgeois and social-fascist nature of the MPLA, and despite the fierce repression, they are mobilising for the struggle. Although its main objective is defined as the construction of an Angolan communist Party on Marxist-Leninist lines to be the vanguard of the people and the working class in their struggle against imperialism and for popular democracy the OCA knows that the objective can only be achieved by daily action among the people, by agitation, by propaganda, and by organising the working class and the mass of the people.

To this end the OCA has set out a programme of immediate campaigns for bread, for democracy, for the land, for peace, for national independence, aimed at bringing together the proletariat, the uncorrupted petit bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and progressive students, as well as all patriots and true democrats, on a wide front to oppose imperialist and social-imperialist interference.

Taking up arms against imperialism and social-imperialism, mobilising the masses for the struggle, the revolutionaries of Angola are the life-blood which nourishes the people in their hope for bread, land, peace, democracy and independence.

The revolutionaries of Angola are forging themselves in the fire of their struggle, and though still weak and faced with obstacles and repression they will take their place in the forefront of the people's struggles and lead the masses in their just fight for independence and popular democracy.

Summary of Principal Political Conclusions

Summary of the Principal Political Conclusions; MPLA new Intermediary of Exploitation of Angolan People

The 1st Conference stated that the present situation in Angola is characterised thus:

(a) in the first place, by the existence of a foreign aggressor led by Zaire and South Africa, covertly by the false movements UPA/FNLA/UNITA with the military support and mercenaries of the USA and various western, capitalist powers.

(b) in the second place the situation is characterised by the flight en masse of more than 400,000 colonialists as a result of the coming independence and the war. The colonialists occupied not only the management of the large companies belonging to the imperialist monopolies and the higher echelons of the civil service (the colonial bourgeoisie - about 5,000 of the population, but they also occupied the property and the management of practically all the medium-sized and small industrial firms of more than 10 hectares (medium and petty property owning bourgeoisie - about 35,000) and also all the middle grades of the civil service, the majority of the jobs in the services and in business, foremen, clerks, booking clerks, etc. (European petty bourgeoisie in the service industries - about 45,000 of the population they occupy nearly all the specialised jobs (working class aristocracy) and also most of the means of repression (police, army, civil defence, etc.).

(c) in the third place the situation is characterised because, by the flight en masse of the colonial bourgeoisie that up till then served as an intermediary in the exploitation of the Angolan people by imperialism, all the Angolan bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie (about 30,000) has risen to the posts left vacant by the colonial bourgeoisie, and receive large salaries, buying the houses, the cars and many companies left by the fleeing colonialists. They also assume the habits, the vices and the life style of the bourgeoisie and become totally corrupt. This rising Angolan bureaucratic petit-bourgeoisie totally dominates the State, the MPLA and the commanders of the FAPLA. It is preparing to set itself up as a new bourgeoisie and to be the new intermediary in the exploitation of the Angolan people on behalf of imperialism and social-imperialism.

(d) in the fourth place the rising petit bourgeoisie, quickly corrupting certain sections of the working class by offering them the vacant jobs of the skilled workers and specialised workers, and placing certain workers (a minority) on the managing committees of the abandoned companies, the fascist production commissions, thus creating a national working class aristocracy, corrupted and sold out to the bourgeoisie, that will be the political projection of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement, for the diversion of revolutionary objectives, and to keep it subordinated to bourgeoisie policies.

(e) in the fifth place

The repression and the oppression reaches also the mass of soldiers and the uncorrupted sections of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, and the party that represents it, the MPLA, hardly shows itself to be ready to fight the foreign aggressors to guarantee the privileged positions they have recently occupied.

On the Class Character of the MPLA and the Necessity for an Autonomous Communist Organisation; the MPLA cannot be Changed from Within

The 1st Conference stated on the class character of the MPLA the following:-

(a) The petty bourgeoisie since discovering itself into becoming the exploiting bourgeoisie and the party that represents this new bourgeoisie - the MPLA - is no longer interested in creating a regime of popular democracy, neither ending the exploitation of man by man, and barely concealing the seizure of power for gaining the privileges of the fleeing colonialists, for maintaining the exploitation of workers and peasants, also repressing and oppressing the uncorrupted sectors of the petty bourgeoisie.

(b) As a result the rising petty bourgeoisie and the party that represents it, the MPLA, have shown themselves unable to solve the concrete problems of the popular masses, employing a populist demagoguery to deceive them, but showing increasingly their popular fascist base through their bourgeois fascist and corrupt practice and by the constant and systematic violation of democratic freedoms.

And this occurs when the MPLA closes down progressive journals and prevents freedom of expression and information to representative voices of the masses; when the MPLA resorts to total control of all popular and workers organisations, transforming them into MPLA Committees, instead of being organisations controlled by the people; when the MPLA employs UNTA to watch over, to control and fund the workers so that they appear to be fascist syndicates and creates fascist Committees of Vigilantes in the factories; when the MPLA resorts to intimidation, imprisonment and threats of the firing squad against all revolutionaries and even against the democratic and progressive sectors within its own ranks.

(c) The MPLA shows itself incapable, because it is a bourgeois party, to lead a truly popular war against the foreign aggressor. They keep an army apart from the masses, with commanders who are in many cases fascists, bourgeois and corrupt, wanting pleasures and the easy life and they oppress the soldiers and the people. The MPLA creates Defence Committees instead of creating truly popular, militias, and of arming the people. It is leading a positional, classical bourgeois war and not a truly popular war (that the MPLA would never know how to lead) a war that promotes a full participation by the armed people largely mobilising and organising them, combatting the corruption and the bourgeois practices and setting up a solid proletarian discipline. But this the MPLA will never do because they have a bourgeois political line at the service of the new exploiting bourgeoisie under training (and so it is completely impossible to defeat the forces of the foreign aggressors, only with a revolutionary policy, a communist line, uniting and leading the large popular masses leading a truly prolonged war will it be possible to defeat the foreign aggressor and completely expel imperialism from our country.

(d) With the class base of the MPLA, with the popular-fascist policy of the leadership supported by the the new PIDE (the security force) it is absolutely impossible to bring about the transformation of the bourgeois movement from within or even make it respect its own ideology and the rules of democracy, contrary to the thoughts of various progressives (and more naive) democratic sectors which continue to be linked by an umbilical chord to the bourgeois movement, they are unable to make a class analysis of the new political situation and their party and finish in the camp allied to fascism and counter revolution, which they will ultimately take part in.

(e) The MPLA is nothing more than the party of a petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming a bourgeoisie, the party that defends the exploiting interests of a new bourgeoisie together with the exploiting interests of social imperialism.

OCA Warns that the MPLA Will Start Speaking of Popular Democracy and Socialism to Deceive the Masses; Will Try to Form False Communist Party

But profiting from the prestige acquired in the war for liberation (that the petty bourgeoisie has every interest in conducting, as colonialism prevented its own exploiting aspirations), profiting from the fascist and terrorist character of the other movements, the MPLA wants to appear the masses as a movement which claims to be democratic, which leans on the words "Popular Power" and that in this way will have a certain prestige with the masses.

However, in practice the MPLA claims to control and limit the popular and workers organisations,

not resolving any of the vital problems of the masses (hunger, lack of bread, water, transport, speculation, etc.) support and give incentive to the corruption of the new bourgeoisie, claiming to 'control' the people and impose upon the people its directives and a new exploitation, and it resorts to the most brazen violations of democracy, intimidation, arbitrary imprisonments, rape, torture, violent repression of all progressive journals and in general of all progressive forces.

From under the "popular" cape the MPLA shows itself to be in fact, anti-popular, bourgeois and exploiting; from under the "democratic" cape the MPLA is in fact anti-democratic and repressive. The cape of popular demagoguery barely conceals the fascism which becomes daily more evident. All the people are starting to notice this increasingly.

On the political level we can characterise the MPLA as a popular fascist party - popular in words and fascist in action. For day to day new working class comrades are made to work for the corrupt workers commissions and fascist vigilante commissions, new peasant comrades (who don't see any agrarian reform, see the land abandoned by the colonialists, not being mobilised for their occupation, not being armed to defend themselves) and also non-corrupted comrades from the petty bourgeoisie (who experience daily the exhibition of luxury cars, the taste for expensive drinks among the petty bourgeoisie which is not called alcoholism, the embourgeoisment and the prostitution of the cadres of the MPLA and the leaders of FAPLA who daily take part in the corruption and repression) they realise the anti-popular and anti-democratic bourgeois and fascist character of the MPLA.

(f) As the repression increases so the unsatisfied necessities of the masses, and the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the people, between the comrades and the soldiers have become more acute, and the MPLA sees itself increasingly obliged to intensify the verbalism of the left, and will *shortly start to speak freely of popular democracy and socialism and the leadership of the working class (Within a bourgeois movement led by the bourgeois!)*. On the other hand in practice the MPLA persecutes and threatens to shoot all those who defend de facto the popular democracy and the leadership of the working class (leadership which to be effective can only be by the working class Party and outside the bourgeois movement).

These new demagogic and populist manoeuvres of the bourgeois will never deceive the revolutionaries and will be unmasked by the masses.

The naive progressives who every time there is a demagogic 'leftist' speech (which generally happens before or after an act of repression against the revolutionaries) allow themselves to become enthused and exclaim "it obvious the leadership is not at fault, things are moving."

But the repressions, the imprisonment, the shootings, the bourgeois war, the corruption, the embourgeoisment are the bourgeois characteristics of the MPLA that as a bourgeois movement can't (and does not want to) correct. It is this impassive, quiet, peaceful left which has said for the past 14 years "things are moving". In reality these left elements of the MPLA are falling into the counter-revolutionary camp.

(g) *As the last demagogic manoeuvre to try to counter the contradictions within itself and between itself and the people it is possible that the revisionist sectors of the MPLA (alias the long distant commandos of Moscow and Lisbon via the PCP (Portuguese Communist Party) have claimed to form within the bourgeois movement a false Communist Party, a false worker's party to try to better deceive the masses. It is important that all revolutionaries and the people see once and for all that the MPLA is becoming increasingly a bourgeois fascist movement that each day is increasingly selling out to the arms which it is receiving from Russia, Cuba and Portugal (in this last instance we refer to the revisionist PCP members in Angola and for whom the MPLA will always have places in the the leadership awaiting them.)*

The MPLA is not changing from within. Each word to the left is accompanied by a step to the right. The defence of popular democracy, of the so-called construction of a false party from within the MPLA will be no more than new demagogic manoeuvres that will deceive the naive, but will not deceive the masses for very long.

(h) *From the analysis of the political situation, the class character of the MPLA, from its political line, and from its bourgeois practice and in the service of the rising new bourgeoisie, from the type of bourgeois war that the MPLA led, it is to be concluded that only a true autonomous and an Independent Communist Party (created and maintained outside the MPLA) in agreement with the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism can guide the working class, the peasantry, the non-corrupted sectors of the petit-bourgeois and the intellectuals in the struggle for popular democracy and in the war against foreign aggression. Only a true communist party, autonomous and independent from the MPLA can unleash and direct a popular war, the only means of defeating the foreign aggression and expelling imperialism from our country. Only a true communist party can unite and guide the people along a just political line, and lead it to rout the exploiting rising bourgeoisie, to completely unmask the bourgeoisie, corrupt and fascist character of the MPLA, to destroy the exploiter's state and set up a popular democratic state with the workers and peasants in power,*

the only means of ending exploitation of man by man in our country, and fighting the rule of imperialism and social-imperialism. However, the principal task of all communists and revolutionaries is to organise themselves in an autonomous and independent way and to fight for the construction in the shortest period of time of the Angolan Communist Party. It is the principle of all progressives to convince once and for all, those whose illusions permits the growth of popular fascism, to give their support to the construction of the Communist Party, and to unmask and abandon the buorgeois movement.

It is necessary to form an anti-imperialist front but this front will have to be formed around a communist party outside of the MPLA, outside its leadership and its buorgeois line. This front will be led by the working class line, by the line of the communist party and the buorgeois who agree to follow this leadership instead of trying to demagogically tempt the working class to the movement dominated by the buorgeois that can only deceive and betray them.

On the Participation of the Communists in the War Against Foreign Aggression and the UPA/FNLA/UNITA; the Revolutionaries Must Serve the Masses

The 1st Conference decided that, in the face of the foreign aggression, of which the country is a victim, the Communists must actively participate in the war against foreign aggression. To participate in the war, the Communists must unite in the military struggle and in political work within the Army and the masses they must undertake the Communist political education of the soldiers and the people they must increasingly make propaganda of the Communist line, always showing that the war against the foreign aggression can only be won if it is led politically by the working class and its Communist Party, if an effective popular war is not to be limited to the conquest of cities, thereby disheartening the peasants, if it not to be limited to the expulsion of fascists, in order to maintain in Angola the rule and the exploitation of the new burgeoisie over the workers and peasants, but must lead to the setting up of a popular democratic machine that will put an end to the exploitation of man by man.

To participate in the war the Communists must not only undertake the work of organisation and communist propaganda, but must also undertake on a large scale the work of incitement amongst the soldiers and the people starting from the dissatisfactions, and created by each event of the buorgeois war, unmasking the buorgeois character of the war and of the MPLA, unmasking the corruption, the fascist injustices of the corrupt buorgeois commanders, leading soldiers and the people to see the necessity for a communist organisation and communist leadership.

The Conference also decided that to participate in the war the Communists must be more courageous and belligerent in the struggle against the foreign aggression, they must distinguish themselves by their exemplary behaviour and by their communist practice, they must arouse the friendship, the admiration and the support of the soldiers and the people. *Contrary to the corrupt, the fascist, buorgeois commandos who despise the soldiers and the people and who turn away in the struggle, the communists must ally themselves to the soldiers and the people, they must live among them, they must learn about their problems and their needs, they must be the humble servants of the people and must always be an example of dedication, of the spirit of sacrifice, of courage and firmness and revolutionary vigour.*

On the Unmasking of the Buorgeois Movement; The MPLA Must be Exposed as a Buorgeois Movement

The 1st Conference concluded that the communists and the revolutionaries must launch on every every front a far-reaching political and ideological offensive to unmask the buorgeois movement to the to the masses. It is necessary to painstakingly explain from all the political facts, from the inability of the MPLA to resolve the people's problems and inability to lead a war, from the cases of corruption from within the MPLA and the commanders of FAPLA, to the inability of the buorgeois party to impose discipline in the Army, that all this is more than simple mistakes by the MPLA or this or that leader, that it is the reflex of the buorgeois political line that dominates the MPLA and its leaders.

The Communists and all revolutionaries who are aware that they must make widespread propaganda, must make a start of and reveal all the cases of corruption within the MPLA, and all the facts that show the buorgeois movements contempt for the people and the soldiers, and must bring all these events to the notice of those comrades who are in the vanguard of the masses and they must show how this reveals that the MPLA is a buorgeois movement and is the party of the rising burgeoisie.

The propaganda at the moment is an extremely important political weapon that the Communist

must use so that the people know the truth, so that the people recognise the MPLA, so that the people transform its support that it gives to the party of the bourgeoisie with a wave of hatred against it and the new bourgeoisie into a wave of support for the working class and its party.

To those who say that to unmask the MPLA is wrong because it was they who led the war, we reply, that with this bourgeois leadership of the war the Angolan people will know nothing but defeats, the MPLA is unable to lead a popular war and this has already been proved.

In many cases of our country it is the MPLA which occupies the cities and is unable to make guerilla warfare, mobilising, organising and arming the peasants.

Throughout the country as a whole the MPLA refuses to arm the people as a whole, choosing to withdraw arms from people who are armed. The MPLA is incapable of winning this war and it is not the fault of the Communists that this should come about. It is the result of the bourgeois war that the MPLA is leading.

Also the MPLA does not want to construct effective popular power to fight the corruption (which it fosters) to end exploitation. And it is not the fault of Communists that this is happening, it is the fault of the class base of the MPLA and of the bourgeois role of the MPLA. It is necessary that everyone is firmly behind the communist line which will never divide the people, which will firmly unite it, which will never disarm the people, which will decidedly arm it, which will never allow it to lose the war, which will not prejudice the workers, peasants and the uncorrupted sections of the petit-bourgeois, who give them the power to serve the Popular Democratic State.

Just as the petit-bourgeois runs aimlessly after trinkets, luxury and corruption, when they start to see the defeats piling one on the other as the inevitable result of the bourgeois leadership either they will become the enemy or they will join the revolution and accept the leadership of the party.

On the Strategic Objective of the Struggle; the MPLA's New Style Democracy and New Style Party will Hide New Type of Exploitation by this New Bourgeoisie

The 1st Conference defined the strategic objectives of the communists struggle in Angola as the realisation of popular and democratic revolution, that defeats the rule of imperialism and the bourgeoisie and setting up a popular democratic state.

Only a popular democratic regime will give power to the workers and peasants, will fight the exploitation and rule of the country by imperialism, social-imperialism and put an end to the exploitation of man by man. The working class and peasants can have no other regime to aid them.

It is not enough to just expel the foreign aggressors as the new Angolan bourgeoisie will exploit the people under the umbrella of 'National Democracy' or a false 'Popular Power.'

But in this Popular Democratic State there is no such thing as true democracy for the people. In this popular democratic state there will be no power for the people. In this popular democratic state the working class will continue to be exploited in the factories, as they will be led by a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and a working class aristocracy of corrupted boot-blacks. In this popular democratic state the peasants will continue to be exploited, there will be no true agrarian reform to divide up the abandoned land, the great farms, or ranches, for the poor peasants, thereby giving the land to those who work it.

To say that popular democracy is the strategic objective of the struggle of the communists and the revolutionaries, the working class and the peasants means that all the tactical objectives that they define, and the tasks they carry out, must always be directed towards the carrying out of a popular democratic revolution. The various classes which support the struggle for popular democracy - the working class orientated by its vanguard party - the Communist Party - will be able to lead the struggle in all its present phases and, in the future, in the whole process of the struggle to build socialism. The working class will have as its allies in the struggle for popular democracy the peasants and the non-corrupted sections of the petit bourgeoisie and the intellectuals.

The enemies of the struggle for popular democracy will also be the alliances of the petit bourgeoisie becoming the exploiting bourgeoisie, the party that represents this class, the MPLA, social-imperialism whose motives for coming into Angola is to substitute its own exploitation for that of American imperialism. This enemy is all the more dangerous for using popular demagoguery, it also confirms that the struggle for popular democracy has taken firm roots within the masses.

Defining as the strategic objectives of popular democracy one must take into account the following aspects:-

(1) It is not enough to talk a lot about popular democracy in order to fight effectively for it.

Communists know that the struggle for popular democracy must pass through the definition of objective tactics. These are the central objectives of our struggle all the time.

(2) In this way the Communists know that this so-called Communist Party (of the MPLA) cannot bring a popular democratic state, nor any popular democratic revolution, nor any effective popular war. In this so-called Communist Party the workers and the peasants are necessarily decided by the

bugeoisie. So the communists define as their central objective tactically as the construction of the party and they confirm that this Party will have to literally be born outside of the bugeois movement.

(3) *The Communists know that without expelling the foreign invaders no popular democracy will come about as there will be oppression on a large scale. So the communists define as their immediate tactical objective the active and organised participation in the war against the armies of foreign occupation.*

(4) *But the Communists also confirm that it is not sufficient to expel the aggressor and to give power to the people. The bugeoisie movement itself that gained throughout the country will maintain its exploitation on behalf of social-imperialism and the new Angolan bugeoisie. It is certain that it will speak about a new style democracy and a new type of party, but this will only be to hide and mask the new type of exploitation by this new bugeoisie.*

(5) So the Communists confirm that:-

(a) It is necessary to lead the struggle against the terrorist lackeys of imperialism, with the construction from now on and in the areas where the foreign aggressor is being expelled - of a regime of popular democracy under the leadership of workers and peasants i.e. to say, under the leadership of the communist party that guarantees maximum democracy for the people and for all progressive forces and fights the corruption and rule of the new bugeoisie.

(6) However the communists distinguish those progressives that talk a lot about popular democracy but don't do anything towards the struggle for it; these progressives say the bugeois movement will fight for popular democracy; just as those who say that popular democracy is an objective to be fought for later (and who all their life that popular democracy is to be fought for later) and that until a create a regime "neither capitalist nor socialist", of "peaceful involvement", or "everything for the people", but who in practice bring about the rule of the new bugeoisie and the anti-popular and anti-democratic regime.

(7) The Communists confirm that all those who talk about national democracy, talk about the rule of the petit bugeoisie in Angola, those that say there is no bugeoisie in Angola; that there are only proletarians and workers and that we already have popular democracy, all these are lackeys of the new bugeoisie, are revisionists and social traitors ready to deceive the masses and to be the new intermediaries in the exploitation of the workers and the peasants by imperialism and social-imperialism.

The Tasks of Communists and Revolutionaries in the Struggle for Popular Democracy based on Workers' and Peasants' Power

(a) **THE ORGANISATION OF COMMUNISTS:** In this period we must intensify and enlarge communist organisational work. A Communist should work even when isolated.

All comrades who want to join our organisation must from now on do communist work. Even when they are isolated for long periods of time, they must carry on organisational work, they must create communist cells, they must organise semi-legal groups of those who sympathise with the communist line. They must construct a communist organisational structure on the enemy side.

The communists cells must meet at least once a week, they must discuss in depth the question of propaganda and the communist line, they must criticise it and make political analysis and theorise on the situation. They must study Marxism-Leninism; they must discuss the problem of the party, they must carry out organisational and political activity within the communist line assuring the carrying out of directives that are determined by propaganda and applying the general line to each concrete situation.

The communist cells must create a large network of semi-legal groups of sympathisers. These groups led by communists must study Marxism-Leninism, must read widely and discuss important Marxist books; they must debate the military and political situation; analyse and discuss the mistakes of the revolutionary movement in Angola, such as spontaneity, contempt for theory, entryism, etc.; they must propagandise against the bugeois movement relating and denouncing all the facts that contribute to its unmasking; they must distribute propaganda whenever this is available; they must lead movements against the corrupt, fascist, bugeois elements, they must write slogans on the factory walls and housing estates in the cities and in the countryside; they must promote legal meetings; and study sessions where these political questions can be discussed and where the new PIDE of the security forces can be denounced.

In all this work of debate and discussion in the legal and illegal meetings great care and intelligence is necessary, but it must be done and the communists must lead it. It is only in this way we will be able to increasingly counter the influence of the bugeois movement over the masses, to mobilise new people, to discover the most belligerent amongst them and organise them.

(b) PROPAGANDA: All militants must intensify propaganda against the bourgeois movement, must launch a large scale ideological and political offensive in that sense and keeping in sight what has been said on Point 4.

(c) **The Link with the Masses and the Carrying out of Work with the Masses**

A Communist when he is involved in political struggle must necessarily link himself to the masses. A Communist vanguard is only such when it is linked de facto to the masses. Isolated from the masses, the Communists will be defeated. The carrying out of persistent, methodical work in order to ally with the masses, to know their needs and aspirations, of launching and leading mass movements, is fundamentally in order to forge a communist vanguard. Only raising the movement of the masses, drawing it away from the influence of the bourgeoisie, placing it under communist leadership and imbuing this mass movement with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, only in this way can the communists create and develop the invincible material force that must defeat the bourgeoisie.

This persistency, tenacity and struggle are necessary. It is necessary to finish with the immediacy and spontaneity. And it is necessary to work always with unyielding spirit, with fairness and with confidence in the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the communist line. It is necessary to organise the advanced elements. It is necessary all of us together improve our political and theoretical training and it is necessary that we all learn to study and to have a deep knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, it is necessary to call to the fight, to organise and to politically educate all those who excel themselves in battle. The bourgeois practice and the bourgeois party daily creates dissatisfaction and discontent that must lead the communists to find new ways of unmasking the bourgeois party, to *discover the advanced elements who are aware of what the MPLA is, to organise them and to launch mass movements against the corruption, authoritarianism and against the fascist outrages of the corrupt and the bourgeoisie who are the leaders of the MPLA and commanders of FAPLA.*

Theoretical Study of Marxism-Leninism

All communists and revolutionaries must undertake the study of Marxism-Leninism.

A contempt for theory is one of the mistakes of the revolutionary movement in Angola. The contempt for theory leads to spontaneity. It must be overcome immediately.

From every point of view we must undertake a serious study of Marxism-Leninism by developing the theoretical and political debate we will learn about marxism-leninism. In moving towards the building of a communist party we must make a joint, systematic effort to study theory and to deepen the theoretical and political debate between communists. All cells and groups must set aside an hour every week for theoretical and political debate (on such themes as: the party, how to form it, the revolutionary movement in Angola, its mistakes, etc.).

All militants must draw up its own plan of theoretical study and make collective plans on the structural unit. Everyone must write analyses and studies of political and theoretical topics; theory, and particularly the communist line must be developed, learnt and applied. It is necessary to interpret politics from a firm Marxist base, it is necessary to fully develop our capacity to analyse and criticise, it is necessary to forge the communist political line and the strategy and tactics of the communist struggle. All communists must inform themselves of Engels teaching: the Marxism which is a science and which must be studied. There must be more courses on Marxism-Leninism, the most advanced elements must be organised and must take part in the courses and they must intensify the political and the theoretical debate. The spreading of Marxism-Leninism and the organisation of courses for the most advanced, the proletarians, the people and the army, is a basic task for all communists and revolutionaries. The setting up of semi-legal and clandestine groups, in which theory is studied together with popular and working class comrades who are aware of the nature of the bourgeois movement, is where it is possible to analyse the political and military situation drawing up plans for each area of struggle is an extremely important medium, which communists should never underestimate in educating new comrades and in calling them to participate in the clandestine political struggle.

The Fight Against Sectarianism

All communists must strongly fight sectarian tendencies. Communists must fight to gain the support of the majority, to organise malcontents, democrats and anti-fascists, mobilising them for the struggle by the isolation of fascist reactionaries and the corrupt bourgeois. When sectarianism occurs it shows its narrowness and results in the mistaken idea that the communists live isolated in a world apart. On the contrary the communists must isolate all the defenders and propagators of the bourgeois line and do communist work everywhere, to take away from the influence of the bourgeois movement all the malcontents who are daily under the influence of

demagogy and fascist methods of the bourgeoisie.

The Fight Against Entryism

All communists and revolutionaries must continue to fight unceasingly the entryist concepts which are apparent in the revolutionary movement in Angola. It is necessary to investigate and show once and for all that the MPLA is a bourgeois and fascist movement, that it is a party of the rising bureaucratic petty-bourgeoisie. That this is the nature of the MPLA and it cannot be changed.

The demagogy of one or another responsible element of the bourgeois party which is used to try to deceive the masses can only deceive and create illusions in the naive "revolutionaries". *The subjective attitude of the President of the MPLA or any other element is a recent problem, they are not going to alter the character and class nature of the MPLA, they won't change an inch their policy in the service of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and as national exploiters, they aren't going to change their methods of fascist action and the repression of revolutionaries.*

The MPLA is a bourgeois fascist party which serves the rising bureaucratic bourgeoisie. It represses and continues to repress all the revolutionaries who fight for the setting up of the organisation and the independent line of the working class. The MPLA is going to suffocate the revolutionary movement in Angola, it is going to try to destroy it because its class nature dictates that it must - it is the bourgeois party. Its tactics, its demagogic words will never serve to feed new entryist illusions, by which it might be possible to transform the MPLA from within into a working class party. *Only an independent working class organisation can take on a just leadership in the war and launch a truly popular war and only in this way is it possible to finish off FNLA/UNITA.* The MPLA is unable to conduct this war....because to fight effectively for popular democracy means fighting for the destruction of the government and the state of the bourgeoisie, and this means fighting for the destruction of the MPLA.

Conclusion

We must work, however, according to the principle of applying ourselves to strategic defence increasing our forces and giving priority to organisational work. We must conserve and increase our forces, avoid decisive confrontations with the enemy until we have sufficiently strong forces; we must fight immediacy and impatience and go on increasing our forces for the long and difficult struggle which awaits us.

The communists are enemies of immediacy and spontaneity because these mistakes lead to the subordination of strategic interests seen in the medium and long term these immediate interests are circumstantial and transitory. *All communists must maintain with firmness as their main tactical objective at the moment the struggle for the construction of the Communist Party and all other tactical objectives must be subordinate to this.* But this struggle for the construction of the communist party is not only by organisational work but also by propaganda against the bourgeois movement and by the continuation of work with the masses. The struggle for the construction of the Party involves allying the vanguard movement to the masses, creating within the masses agitation and communist propaganda and organising them for the tasks of the popular and democratic revolution.

In every factory, in every place of work, everywhere that the masses are, the communists must organise communist cells; must organise and lead groups, semi-legal or clandestine of democratic sympathisers, anti-fascists, and all malcontents. Mass work and propaganda must never be despised and despising them means de facto compromising the struggle for the construction of the Party.

The Conference exhorts all comrades on every front of the struggle to discuss the justice of the political conclusions of the conference, the line traced and the tasks set out. The conference exhorts all comrades to apply the line in general to their specific fields of action, and to re-inforce their confidence in marxism-leninism and the communist line, to understand that the communists are fighting against the current and this will empty completely our ranks of vacillating and hesitant elements, which far from breaking us, reinforces our ranks, leaving united and organised all the elements truly dedicated to the working class struggle, strong and confident in the victory of the proletarians and communist line.

The Conference exhorts all communists on every front to redouble their effort, their courage and dedication, to firmly fight the liquidationism and capitulationism which feed the hesitant and vacillating elements and which translates into the fear and the emptiness of the petty bourgeoisie which de facto is not dedicated to the struggle of the communists. Everyone must realise that the war will be long and has nothing to do with seizure and immediacies. We must carry on with firmness and assurance, eradicating from our ranks incorrect ideas and practices.

But to carry on implies that we must reinforce our ranks with the communist line and practices and know how to honour the glorious tradition of struggle by communists throughout the world.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism!

Forward with the Struggle for the Construction of the Communist Party!

The Working Class will Overcome!

Super Powers Collude to Jointly

Exploit Angola

OCA'S ANALYSIS

At the end of January and the first weeks of February the military forces of the MPLA, the Russians and the Cubans "advanced and conquered" a series of areas previously occupied by the mercenary forces of North American imperialism (the armies of South Africa and Zaire and the terrorist bands of the puppet UPA/FNLA/UNITA). For the most part these areas were no more than purely and simply abandoned by the forces of American imperialism, who withdrew and left the land open for the advancing Cuban, Russian and MPLA military forces. How is this withdrawal of North American imperialist forces explained?

At the beginning of January 1976 the Americans and the Russians met in the USA. Kissinger and the Russian ambassador, Dokrinie, met. The two super powers conspired against our country and our people.

From 21st to 24th January there took place in the Soviet capital, high level conversations between the Russians and the Americans. The reason for these meetings was that the two super powers were discussing the "limitation of strategic weapons". But it is clear that the Angolan question was discussed and that they decided on the immediate future of our country.

On 20th January as he left for Moscow, Kissinger, declared that "the U.S. believed that the forces supported by the U.S. in Angola are almost certain to meet defeat", that is the imperialist ultra-reactionary, Kissinger, was no longer prepared to support the puppet terrorists of the UPA/FNLA/UNITA, Zaire and South Africa, but nothing was really lost and American interests in Angola could be safeguarded. Therefore he went to Moscow where he negotiated with the Russians how the two super powers could jointly exploit our country. After the Conference in Moscow Kissinger said that the Angolan problem should be tackled.

On January 22 Brezhnev, leader of the imperialist, reactionary government of the Soviet Union, called a meeting in Moscow of the ruling Russian elements to consult them on "continuing the negotiations resulting from ideas put forward by Kissinger. But what could Kissinger have advanced that brought about this meeting in Moscow?

On January 23, in Moscow, a high American official said about the Angolan problem that "the negotiations with the Soviet Union was making only marginal progress." By this the American imperialists tried to hide that they were *negotiating* about Angola.

But what did the Russians and the Americans decide in Moscow about the future of our country and our people? What did they agree there?

After these Moscow meetings completed on 23 January, the military forces of American imperialism started to withdraw from Angola. That is to say from the end of January and the beginning of February the armies of South Africa and other puppet movements began to withdraw as the Russians, Cubans and the MPLA advanced.

After the Moscow meetings, there was a top American official in Luanda, a foreign affairs advisor of Senator John Tunney. This person, Mark Moran, was in Luanda for a week, he met almost all the leaders of the MPLA and was very well received by them. On leaving Luanda he said: "I have the impression that the MPLA would like to have improved relations with the USA and in return does not demand recognition by the USA."

After the Moscow meeting there was recognition of the MPLA government by a whole series of African and European countries, the majority of the African countries that now recognise the MPLA are those who at the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa didn't want to do so. The majority of these states are allied to American imperialism and have to take orders from their American patrons, for they now recognise the MPLA government. The European members of NATO and the EEC also suddenly recognised the MPLA Government after the Brussels meeting where Kissinger met the Nato ministers. He gave them his orders.

THE ANGOLAN WAR - WAR BETWEEN TWO SUPERPOWERS

Also on february 21 the Angolan National radio gave the news that one of the administrators of the American monopoly companies, Gulf Oil, had announced internationally that the American company was going to resume its work in Angola, in Cabinda, where it exploits our petrol. Comrades! What can be drawn from all this? Did the Americans abandon our country to the Russians? No! In Moscow the Russians and the Americans discussed the situation in our country and signed an agreement between their respective interests and decided temporarily to finish

with the war, which was basically a war between them, between the two super-powers; on the one side the Americans with their puppet forces and on the other the Russians and the Cubans with their military forces (*there are more than 30,000 Cubans in Angola, more than the soldiers of the MPLA*) and under the umbrella of the puppet bourgeois MPLA.

They agreed in Moscow to jointly exploit our country. The Russians are going to exploit our country and our people because they have the MPLA government which will do what they want. But the Americans are not far behind; they are going to exploit the riches of our country through their monopoly companies, the Gulf Oil in Cabinda and CFB in Mining Diamant, etc. American capital continues to manipulate our country and in Cabinda Gulf Oil is going to re-start its petrol exploration and that the American senators are already sending emissaries to "make peace" with the MPLA (In fact throughout the war Gulf Oil paid royalties to the MPLA Government and a Western correspondent who wrote about MPLA nationalising Western investments was summarily expelled from Angola - Editor).

The Ministry of Economic Coordination, talking about the mining industries in December 1975 said that although the mining industry belonged to foreign monopolies, "in the immediate future our attitude to these countries will depend on their attitude towards the People's Republic of Angola". Thus the MPLA government sells itself to everyone, it sees our country and people handed over to the Russians, but leaving a share for the Americans.....in accordance with the principles agreed in Moscow. The Americans order their puppets to withdraw and the Russians order the MPLA to open doors for the Americans so that they can exploit the wealth of our country. (In fact the Russians also guaranteed that the Cunene River project will be safeguarded for the South Africans at a meeting in London - Editor).

But our country continues to be an area of contention between the two super-powers. They came to a temporary agreement, but in their anxiety to dominate the world and to gain more colonies they are obliged to keep a permanent mutual fight and nothing could prevent them from doing so again and making our country a country at war.

The MPLA government, a prostitute, who sells itself to one after another, always controlled by the Russians, lead our country and our people into a humiliating situation when our destiny is decided in Moscow and Washington by the Kissingers and the CIA and the Brezhnevs. But our people, the workers and peasants and soldiers will unmask all the puppets and traitors that that sell themselves to the foreign imperialists.

**Down With the Imperialist Governments of the USA and USSR!
Neither the Americans nor the Russians Will Rule Our Country!**

A WOMAN OF THE PEOPLE CRUELLY ASSASSINATED BY CUBAN SOLDIERS

Our country has already suffered the effects of the Russian and Cuban neo-colonialism that has become established in our country with the help of the MPLA government!

In the early hours of 12th February in the queues formed to gain access to the so-called "Peoples Shop" in Terra Nova in Luanda, a woman of the people was barbarously and criminally assassinated.

A Cuban patrol making his way through the queues under the pretext of "keeping order" was greeted by the Angolan people with protests. The Angolan people shouted to the neo-colonialists: CUBANS GO HOME! ARE YOU KNOW THE POLICE OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE!"

The Cubans didn't like it, they started to argue and insult the people and they fired!

The assassinated comrade, a woman of the people, fell victim of quite random shots fired by the neo-colonialists, by the Cuban fascist police in the service of the new bourgeois and the government of the MPLA/DISE/PIDE!

When the comrade fell dead the outraged people turned in fury against the Cuban fascists and shouted at them full in the face "Cubans go home! ASSASSINS! ARE YOU GOING TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL ARMY! ARE YOU GOING TO KILL US! ASSASSINS! ASSASSINS!"

The MPLA/DISA/PIDE/CPA/CUBAN/RUSSIAN government didn't open the so-called 'People's Shop' in Terra Nova for two days. And when it did open again, it opened with Cubans to control and enforce discipline!

How long are the people going to allow the bourgeois government to collaborate with the Cuban fascists, allowing them to assassinate our people. How long? The assassins and their PROTECTORS will be hounded by our people, workers, soldiers and peasants, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the working class party.

The Masses and Revolution in the People's Republic of the Congo

Given the new types of so-called 'socialist' states that are busily being set up in some African states, and some of them, as in Somalia, under the aegis of the Soviet Union, this article dealing with the nature of the Popular struggles in the Congo-Brazzaville reveals precisely what was happening there under the banner of socialism. The article makes it quite clear that there can be no talk of socialism without mass participation, particularly under the leadership of the working class and its Party, based on the workers-peasant alliance. Even more importantly in the initial stages, in countries like Congo-Brazzaville, it is absolutely necessary to mobilise the peasants under a correct agrarian programme. This is precisely what the Marxist-Leninist elements in the Republic of Congo failed to do, and why they failed. The Socialist Struggle must always be based on the Mass Line or face total failure, becoming another form of bureaucratic capitalism.

With the winds of revolution currently blowing across Afrika, the problems of applying Marxism-Leninism to Africa are assuming greater significance. As reputedly "progressive" regimes attempt to remodel their countries through the introduction of "scientific socialism", they have committed glaring mistakes that only illustrate the "underdevelopment" of Marxism-Leninism in Africa. In most cases, the central elements of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the involvement of the masses in the revolution, and the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie are neglected in favour of revolutionary rhetoric and elitist leadership. In the popular outcry for political and economic power, radical leaders have either been too cynical or too handicapped to guide their countries beyond the stage of *revolutionary gesticulation to the actual application of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism*. Even in those African states that have founded parties that are supposedly Marxist-Leninist, the revolutionary initiative of the masses has been a phenomenon that has been suppressed more than encouraged.

The execution of national democratic revolutions and the advance towards socialism in Africa has been blocked fundamentally by a lack of proper organisation of Marxist-Leninist lines. The broad coalition of class elements that composed the pre-independence Congress movements in Africa is inadequate for the eventual achievement of socialist revolution. Yet many progressive African leaders continue to utilise these coherent organisations for the implementation of radical reforms. As a result, the bureaucratic capitalist class and sections of the feudal landed class are able to frustrate the aspirations of the masses and well-intentioned political figures. The Convention People's Party (CPP) in Nkrumah's Ghana, the *Partie Democratique de Guinee* (PDG), and the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) have all established revolutionary tendencies, but they have not acquired the ability to replace bureaucratic capitalism and its imperialist backers with self-reliant, revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat (and poor peasantry). They have possessed neither the scope nor the power even to commence the protracted struggle towards such a goal; they have merely idealised the achievable results of socialism without initiating the actual struggle. Therefore, front or congress organisations have completely lacked the centralised Marxist-Leninist organisation to carry forward the revolution and have most often proved vulnerable to disintegration and replacement by military regimes.

Within the last decade, certain African leaders have proceeded to overcome the limitations of loosely conceived political organisation by introducing selective "parties" that have been committed to various forms of "scientific socialism". Usually organised through the efforts of primarily military and state leadership, these parties have lacked the spark of the participation of the revolutionary working masses. Therefore, these new organisations remain largely socialist in form, but bureaucratic capitalist in essence. The most striking example of this phenomenon is the recently-founded Revolutionary Socialist Party of Somalia that has been praised by several arch-revisionists, most notably Basil Davidson. Yet for the past six years, the Somalian revolution has been almost entirely a military show, with reforms being planned and conducted from government offices. Mass initiative and consultation of the people has been neglected, in favour of expensive projects proffered by foreign aid donors under the nominal control of the Somali

state. The development of state capitalism and most sophisticated armed forces in Africa has taken precedence over mobilising the considerable revolutionary potential of the Somali working class and peasantry. Cynical observers are inclined to say that the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Somalia was founded merely as a device - similar to the Cuban "Communist" Party - to ensure the control of militarists and bureaucratic capitalists, with the fond blessing of the Soviet social imperialists. At this early state of the party's development, such a judgment is a well-founded speculation.

FRELIMO AND THE MASS LINE

The revolutionary organisation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, FRELIMO, has attempted to avoid the pitfalls of bureaucratic control by emphasising the role of mass organisation and political training of the workers and peasants of the country. The war for national liberation of Mozambique provided an excellent opportunity for the mobilisation of the revolutionary potential of the masses and for the development of FRELIMO into an experienced, revolutionary organisation. However, the entire history of FRELIMO has confirmed the proposition that revolutionary development is a dialectical process - full of intense struggle and set-backs. Whereas FRELIMO survived the national liberation struggle by purging and re-educating elements opposed to the total victory of the oppressed people of Mozambique, it may not be able to cleanse itself of elements who seek bureaucratic privileges and who oppose revolutionary change. Although FRELIMO has successfully weathered a coup attempt, it is presently too underdeveloped to resist the infiltration of bureaucratic capitalism. The mass organisations - *the grupos dinamizadores* - and the party-building organisations - the *comites do partido* - are developing too unevenly to provide coherent guidance in the execution of the national democratic revolution. There is a very real danger that elements in the high echelons of FRELIMO who favour the Soviet social imperialists and their bureaucratic capitalist formula for development will eventually gain ascendancy - with the tacit acquiescence of President Samora Machel. With the current economic, military, and political problems under which Mozambique is struggling, the odds that the revolution will be sabotaged are growing smaller.

The only current prospects for the success of a Marxist-Leninist movement in Africa lie within the liberation movements of Zimbabwe and Azania. But with the convoluted development of the revolution in both countries, any assessment of the chances for an eventual socialist revolution there are mere conjecture. The problem once again lies with the foundation of a Marxist-Leninist grouping - and then party - within the ranks of a liberation movement that contains considerable elements who are hostile to Marxism-Leninism. Only when the liberation struggle is at an advanced stage of development can Marxist-Leninists emerge from their respective organisations and from clandestine operations to develop the party and its mass organisations with the people.

SOCIALISM FROM ABOVE

The People's Republic of the Congo represents one of the longest-lived examples of an African country that has attempted to adapt Marxism-Leninism to an African condition. Therefore, it provides the best case for the analysis of the progress and the considerable mistakes that have characterised revolutionary development in Africa. *The Parti Congolais du Travail (PCT)* has developed the most revolutionary appearance of any political organisation in Africa, but fails to substantiate most of its revolutionary rhetoric in practice. The performance of the PCT and the Congolese state is closely related to the class background of the leadership and not to the relatively advanced state of organisation and consciousness of Congolese workers and students. These aspects of the people's Republic of the Congo deserve considerable attention, as does the international dimension. The Congo's geographical situation and exposure to continued imperialist penetration are essential factors in the determination of the policies of a country that lacks tremendous natural wealth of a large, well mobilised population.

The most recent demonstration of the contradictions within the Congolese Revolution occurred in April 1976 with a general strike by thousands of workers and students that coincided with rumours of the death of President Marien Ngouabi. The general strike clearly exhibited the concern of the most militant sections of the Congolese masses over the non-revolutionary policies that had been adopted since 1972 by the Congolese party and the state. In response to the revolutionary demands of the workers and students, the Congolese state responded with repression. President Ngouabi ordered the arrest of the leaders of the general strike and branded the demonstrators as "reactionaries". Among those arrested were J.J. Okabando - leader of the *Union de la Jeunesse Socialiste Congolais (UJSC)* - and A. Khondo - head of the major trade union in the country; both were strong supporters of the purported aims of the Congolese Revolution. This deplorable incident was not an isolated one in the recent history of "Socialist Congo", nor in many other Third World countries - such as Cuba - where "radical" military or bureaucratic leaderships insist on imposing "socialism from above." Usually, if the masses attempt to supersede the reforms of the regime in power, wide-spread repression results. The attachment of the party

and state of the People's Republic of the Congo to "socialism in words", but bureaucratic, dependent capitalism in deeds is also reflected in the Congolese regime's strong support for various factions of the MPLA in Angola - an organisation that has now become notorious for its "progressive", bureaucratic dictatorship that is heavily dependent on the Soviet social imperialists and their Cuban mercenary army for survival.

LACK OF ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL QUESTION AND MOBILISATION OF PEASANTRY

The problems of the Congolese Revolution can be understood through the particular historical development of Congo-Brazzaville. As in most of Africa, Congo-Brazzaville was composed of several substantial pre-capitalist groupings which were undergoing dialectical change towards eventual unification. The major grouping in Congo-Brazzaville was the Bakongo which was linked to the greater Bakongo Empire of the Central African coast. In turn, the Bakongo in the region of Congo-Brazzaville were divided into smaller local groupings, basically organised along lineage lines. In the centre of Congo-Brazzaville was located the second largest grouping - the Bateke - and further north was the Boubangui, from where President Nguabi originated. The divisions between peoples and between groupings in the territory were exploited and aggravated by French colonial rule. The contention that arose has not only been reflected in the divisions between national political leaders and parties, but, more importantly, in the complex contradictions that persist in the countryside. Thus far, the national question and the mobilisation of the peasantry have been too difficult matters for the 'theoreticians' of the Congolese Revolution to dissect.

The French colonialists developed Congo-Brazzaville as an outlet for goods from French Equatorial Africa and as a "plantation" for French settlers. But most importantly, Congo-Brazzaville has served as a conduit for the richly-endowed territory of the Belgian Congo. In fact, besides France, Congo-Kinshasha has exercised a dominant influence over Congo-Brazzaville. Thus, intrigues and attempted coups in each territory have usually originated, in part, from the neighbour across the Congo River. With such a history of development, it is not difficult to understand why the people's Republic of the Congo has not been able to substantially reduce its dependent position. Of course, the history of the Congolese Revolution and class struggle have to be closely examined as well as in order to ascertain the failure of self-reliance in Congo-Brazzaville.

As in most of the other Francophone African territories, the struggle against colonialism was led by the middle classes and petit bourgeoisie. The principal instrument of the independence movement was the *Rassemblement Democratique Africain* and the grand forum was the French assembly. The aim of a preponderant majority of the RDA was merely to secure a transfer of power from French hands to those of their local agents. However, resistance to colonialism and imperialist exploitation was definitely not the reserve of the African middle classes. In Congo-Brazzaville, the working class had achieved a long history of struggle on the railways, on the plantations, and on the docks. The revolutionary potential of the Congolese working class was a factor in the decision of the French colonialists to establish neo-colonial regimes throughout the African territories. The problem for the Congolese working class was that the leadership of the major trade union - the *Confederation General Africaine du Travail (CGAT)* - had reformist and economic tendencies that deprived the working class of a primary outlet for the anti-colonial struggle. Only later, when the rank-and-file exercised strong pressures, did the CGAT become a revolutionary political instrument. Therefore, the brunt of the revolutionary, anti-colonial struggle fell to the students and their small, but effective organisations. Returning from schooling in France or studying at local secondary schools, these students demonstrated strongly against the neo-colonial conditions that France demanded in exchange for independence. Their hero was Sekou Toure of Guinea who led the people to sever all links with France. Unfortunately, the Congolese students achieved nothing, except an awareness of their limitations without an alliance with the masses.

France found a willing neo-colonialist bourgeoisie in Fulbert Youlou, the first president of Congo-Brazzaville. Under the rule of the "Youlist" clique, Congo-Brazzaville established itself as one of the most dependent and reactionary countries in Africa. By ensuring France's role in Congo-Brazzaville and by speaking out for a continued French role in Africa, the Youlist clique was able to secure for itself one of the most extravagant standards of luxury in Africa. Even so, the Youlist clique soon ran into much political and economic difficulty over its policies of neo-colonialism, nepotism and tribalism. Soon after a surprise visit by Sekou Toure to Brazzaville in which he delivered a strong speech against neo-colonialism, the students and workers of the country rose in massive demonstrations against the Youlist clique. From the 13th to the 15th of August, 1963, everything stopped in the country as the masses filled the streets. When Youlou and his followers realised that the armed forces were against them, they surrendered.

STRUGGLE FAILS BECAUSE OF LACK OF M-L LEADERSHIP

The August Revolution in Congo-Brazzaville demonstrated the weaknesses of the neo-colonial state and the strength of the student-worker alliance. However, the only successful mass uprising in the history of Congo-Brazzaville was by no means thorough-going. *There was no protracted struggle in which a Marxist-Leninist leadership could emerge at the head of revolutionary worker and peasant masses; neither were the peasants mobilised to provide their essential support.* Thus, in the future, the student-worker alliance could be isolated in its attempts to further the aims of the revolution through the manipulation of tribal contradictions in the countryside. Furthermore, the heavy military involvement in the revolution could only mean problems of elitism and commandism for the Congolese Revolution in the future.

Immediately after the August Revolution, A. Massamba Debat assumed political authority over Congo-Brazzaville and inaugurated the process of sweeping away Youlism and instituting mass democracy. No socialist revolutionary, President Massamba-Debat proved himself to be a true democrat by encouraging the participation of workers, students and technocrats in the reconstruction of Congo-Brazzaville. In December 1963, Massamba-Debat and his colleagues instituted a wave of reforms, setting up the *Conseil National de la Revolution (CNR)* as a widely representative ruling body of state, establishing the *Mouvement National de la Revolution (MNR)* as the mass organisation of revolutionary Congolese and the *Jeunesse du Mouvement National de la Revolution (JMNR)* as the important youth wing, and introducing a new constitution that provided for democratic elections and a 55-man legislature. These reforms formally established the role of the masses in revolutionising Congo-Brazzaville. Economic reforms, accomplished by Massamba-Debat and Premier P. Lissouba, saved Congo-Brazzaville from the catastrophic legacy of the Youlist clique. The nationalisation of infrastructure and the encouragement of commerce and agriculture brought about a revival of the economy. Diversification of aid and trade, especially with People's China, Korea, and the Soviet bloc opened new prospects for accelerated development.

The diversification of Congo-Brazzaville's economic contacts was a reflection of revolutionary shift in the country's foreign policy. Relations with France cooled to the breaking point, but still managed to continue, while ties with the U.S. collapsed in 1966. China, Korea, and the Soviet bloc began to play a substantial role in the development of Congo-Brazzaville, partly because of demands from revolutionary elements. As far as Africa was concerned, Congo-Brazzaville reversed its position from neo-colonialism to revolutionary Pan-Africanism. Massamba-debat and his colleagues moved the country into close alliance with the radical group of African states, led by Nkrumah's Ghana and Sekou Toure's Guinea. Congo-Brazzaville fully participated in the campaign against UDI in Rhodesia and broke relations with Britain over its failure to react. Congo-Brazzaville refused to recognise the Ghanaian military government that overthrew Nkrumah in 1966.

Congo-Brazzaville gave substantial backing to African Liberation movements and the African Liberation Committee. In its relations with Congo-Kinshasha, Congo-Brazzaville shifted from the role of neo-colonialist antagonist of Lumumba and his supporters before 1963 to the role of revolutionary opponent of the regimes of Tshombe and Mobutu. Congolese soil no longer was the base camp for imperialist intrigues in the country across the Congo River, but instead became the training centre for the Muleists, the Popular Revolutionary Party (PRP) led by Laurent Kabila, and other revolutionary Pan Africanists who were backed and trained by the Chinese and others. On the other hand, Congo-Kinshasha quickly became a base for imperialist intervention in Congo-Brazzaville, and several coup attempts were launched from across the Congo River.

CUBA'S OPPORTUNIST ROLE IN SUPPRESSING POPULAR REVOLT

With the democratisation of Congo-Brazzaville and with the increasingly anti-imperialist position of the Massamba-Debat regime, Congolese Marxist-Leninists expanded their role in the Revolution. The MNR and the JMNR successfully campaigned for further state control of the economy, for accelerated health and educational programmes, and for the establishment of a people's militias. However, despite increased political education, social reforms, and Marxist-leninist power, the Congolese Revolution did not continue; the struggle against imperialism and oppressing classes slackened; and contradictions arose between some of the leading forces in the Revolution. In particular the military came to feel threatened by the increasing assertion of control over military affairs by the MNR and the JMNR. In addition, a group of officers from the north of the country, led by Captain Marien Ngouabi, opposed what they saw as a southern threat, masquerading as a revolutionary movement. Subsequently, after the demotion of Captain Ngouabi in July 1966, a large section of the

the first Congress of the PCT, attended by 700 members, where the leadership of the group and the primacy of his form of "scientific socialism" were assured. Nguouabi continued the democratic confirmation of his power by holding a referendum for a new constitution in December 1972 and by holding a referendum for a new constitution in December 1972 and by holding "successful" elections for a People's National Assembly in August 1973. In addition, Nguouabi presided over the dismantling of the Commissariats as the institution of local government and initiated local elections. While the introduction of various forms of democratic rule in the Congo was not a bad thing, coupled with the adoption of reformism and the relaxation of control over forms of exploitation, this democratic trend essentially meant that decentralisation and decomposition of the national democratic dictatorship.

Although Nguouabi maintained the revolutionary rhetoric of the period before the inter-party struggle of February 1972, his regime became progressively more reformist. Nguouabi actually stated that the major contradiction for the people's Republic of the Congo was no longer class struggle, but the struggle with imperialism. *Even this admission of the degeneration of the Congolese Revolution was not sufficient, since the Nguouabi regime became intent on improving relations with imperialism. Despite the nationalisation of formerly French-owned infrastructure, the Congolese government was able to reach new accommodations with French and U.S. companies engaged in raw materials extraction. Nguouabi personally visited France in March of 1972 and arranged entry into the Union Douniare Economique del Afrique centrale (UDEAC). Also Nguouabi succeeded in concluding the process of normalising relations with the neo-colonialist states of Gabon and Congo-Kinshasha (Zaire). In regard to the world-wide struggle, led by the People's Republic of China, against modern revisionism and social fascism, the People's Republic of the Congo shifted from a stance sympathetic to China to one that favoured association mainly with Russia, Eastern Europe, and Cuba. For instance, Nguouabi and the PCT played host to a delegation of the so-called "Communist" Party of the USA in 1974. The changing pattern of the Congo's foreign relations was but another indication of the degeneration of the Congolese Revolution.*

NGOUBA'S OPPORTUNISM

The struggle in Angola introduced more intense contradictions within the Congolese context. Although the Nguouabi regime announced its solidarity with the "anti-colonial, anti-imperialist" struggle of the MPLA, other considerations contained greater significance. Therefore, until late 1974, when Neto won Soviet-backing and the power struggle within the MPLA the Congolese government tended to back the militant de Andrade faction of the MPLA as well as the Cabindan separatist movement, FLEC, probably with the intention of gaining leverage over the post-colonial political situation and over the oil-rich areas of Northern Angola and Cabinda. However, once the ascendancy of Neto became apparent, Nguouabi became the first African head of state to betray the OAU position of neutrality between the three liberation movements. The Congo became a way-station for the shipment of Russian arms and advisors to Angola and, after Nguouabi's trip to Cuba in the summer of 1975, for the massive invasion of Cuban mercenaries. In adjusting the position of his regime to the extraordinary situation in Angola, Nguouabi established himself as one of the most prominent sell-outs of self-reliant Pan-Africanism in favour of the sugar-coated advances of Soviet Social-Imperialism.

Internally, the struggle in Angola gave rise to a militant campaign of support, however, the support rendered was an oblivious of the principal danger of Soviet social-imperialism as was the rest of "progressive" Africa. The solidarity given to the "cause of progress" was indicative of the lack of a true Marxist-Leninist understanding of revolution, both in the Congo and the rest of Africa. However, the dubious campaign of support for the MPLA was accompanied by a resurgence of the mass movement of students and workers. Although Nguouabi has subsequently responded with repression, the movement has forced concessions on the revival of the Revolution and on the release of political prisoners. If the tremendous revolutionary energy of the Congolese students and workers can be properly harnessed by a strong organisation of Congolese Marxist-Leninists, then the process of reversing the apparent defeat of the revolution can be ignited.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (M-L) SEND GREETINGS TO IKWEZI.

Text of the Message reads:

"The 7th Central Committee of the PCP(M-L) elected on January 18 1977 warmly greets you and wishes you a year full of victories in the revolutionary struggle, in the struggle against the darkest force of our time, Russian social-imperialism.

Signed on behalf of the Central Committee - da Silva.

Black Arts Festival - Imperialism and Aid

This paper presented at the recent Black Arts Festival, held in Lagos, Nigeria argues that at one time in history the now developing countries were in the van of civilisation and scientific progress, and that many of the industrial and technological achievements of the West were based on the advances made in the Third World countries, notably, Egypt, China, Persia, etc. The author argues that the current ascendancy of the Western imperialist countries has nothing to do with racial superiority, and that the Third World countries must now consciously work to catch up and match the Western world. This means ensuring that Western Imperialism does not hijack the achievements and resources of the Third World for itself; that the Third World countries must set itself national goals that will ensure its progress in the field of science and technology.

Modern chemistry.....began to be practised around 395 A.D. at the fall of the Roman Empire. During this period two great civilisations converged at Alexandria - the Greek and Egyptian civilisations.The disturbing aspect of the "Sacred Science" is the mythical origin which the alchemists attributed to their knowledge. A legend in the Eastern countries told of angels having intimate relations with wives of human beings: and according to some alchemists, the "CHEMA" (from which originated chemistry) was a book containing the secrets revealed by angels to their "obliging female friends." These secrets were a mixture of formulae in metallurgy, practical chemistry, pharmacy, astrology and even sorcery.

Later on, the same alchemists came to consider their science as having been revealed by the god HERMES (Trismegistus) to his priests; in fact at Memphis in Egypt, the knowledge acquired from Hermes was summarised in 42 sacred books. Experts think that from the etymological point of view the word alchemy which appeared in the third century, is derived from "Chemi" and "al" which are borrowed from the Egyptian language.

All the procedures described by the western alchemists were only extracts borrowed from those those which made ancient Egypt famous and which were exclusively known to the priests and kings in Egypt.

The alchemists had in their possession a wide knowledge of science. They knew how to use charcoal and mineral coal, how to prepare copper, silver, gold, mercury, tin, lead, antimony, zinc, iron, arsenic, platinum, hardened steel and fabricated alloys of metal.

The magical aspect of alchemy disappeared slowly, too slowly in fact; and between the 10th Century and 11th Century alchemy became separated from sorcery and then started to develop rapidly. In the 8th Century, the Arabs, after conquering extensive territories in Asia, Africa and Europe, gathered the doctrines of alchemy and assimilated them. At Cordoba (Spain) they had very well documented libraries but which were doomed to be destroyed during the Inquisition, following the Spanish "Reconquista". The Arabs expounded the theories in very clear terms, started practising medicine and pharmacy and were the first to distinguish between the two. They were also the first to regulate the practice of pharmacy and to coin the following technical terms: alcohol, alkali, borax, elixir, lacquer, "alambic" (still).

The greatest alchemist known in history was GEBERT (JABER) an Arab who lived some time between the 8th C and 9th C. 500 works are attributed to him, but among those only 10 are known. In these works he deals with nitric acid, aqua regia, silver nitrate, caustic potash, and the reaction of gas on solids.

During the same period, in the West, things were by far less easy; the church was silencing all the rebels who dared to oppose its dogmas or the idealistic theories of Aristotle. The 11th and 13th Centuries piloted the Knights of Europe towards the Middle East, where they rushed onto the Crusade. The Christian world therefore became familiar with alchemy. But the Inquisition was so severe that the alchemist GERBERT was accused of practising magic and having dealings with demons; but let us note that this very man became Pope Sylvester 11 soon after!!!

SOVIET UNION'S DEBT TO THE WEST

SUPER POWER COLLUSION INDEED : According to a report in the "Economist" the Soviet Union and the Comecon countries owe America 48.5 billion dollars!!! After acknowledging that it will be difficult for them to pay it back easily it adds: "The Carter administration is thinking of linking the economic help the Soviet Union gets from America to the way Russia behaves in, say southern Africa or the Middle East." It adds further: "Before Russia becomes such a partner, the political conditions the west requires of it need to be spelt out." (Economist, March 26, 1977).

As for the Chinese they introduced gun powder to the West. China and Islam also introduced the use of paper to the West. We are not insisting on the evolution of chemistry which can be said to date from the era of Lavoisier.

PHYSICS

Physics also dates back to very ancient times. The Chaldeans invented Arithmetic and practised astronomy. The same applies to Egyptians, but the Chinese very quickly distinguished themselves in this field. We owe the discovery of the compass to them. The Chinese emperors used the compass in navigating round their vast territories and in addition made use of the "magnetic charriots".

.....In the 17th Century the Arab armies swept across the world, and once they had their empires established, they showed evidence of their remarkable drive for science. Bagdad became the world's intellectual capital. The Arabs developed optical science, thanks to Alhazen, during the 11th C. Alhazen explained the rainbow by applying a method which was proved successful in other optical research work: the bringing together of mathematics and physics. Other authors - IBN ALHAYTHAN and the Persian, by name AL FARISI (14th C) also explained the rainbow using the "transparent" globe as a model. But to make a better identification of Arab contribution to this subject, we shall cite the German physicist POGGENDORFF (1796-1877) in his history of physics: "The Arabs play an important role in the evolution of physics just as in the evolution of the other sciences.....They aroused the taste for the natural sciences in the Western world where scientists were gradually returning to civilisation.

For almost three centuries, from the 8th-11th C the Arabs indeed revealed a marvellous activity. This period forms an Oasis in the middle of a long period of inactivity in the history of this people, and in the history of the physical sciences..... .. "A century and half later, the revival of the sciences and particularly of physics, began in Christian Europe....."

Let us remember that the Middle Ages was essentially a sterile period as far as physics is concerned, and that the Renaissance was to witness the revival of studies in physics.

THE CONCEPT OF PIONEER AND NON-PIONEER COUNTRIES

Pioneer Countries: A pioneer country is one which makes a particular scientific invention or creates a particular technique.

Non-Pioneer Countries: Are the countries which received the science or techniques after their creation. If we limit ourselves to the present time, we can see that Europe in general, America, and Japan belong to the first group whilst the second group is composed of the countries of the entire Third World, including China.

Meanwhile, if you have understood the short summary on the history of the sciences, you will easily notice that today the non-pioneer countries were in fact the pioneers in the past and pioneers of very high standard too. *Thus it seems that the Third World (China, Africa, Egypt, Greece, the Arab countries, Persia.....) had been the cradle of the sciences and techniques, only to revert to the position of asking for the same today, from the very people they had initiated into the secrets. But peoples of the Third World should not worry over this situation because it is a purely racial phenomenon which should not be attributed to our "inability to assimilate" pure science or new techniques.* In fact, this phenomenon is equally observed in the industrialised countries that are among the pioneer countries. From the 18th to the 19th C, Great Britain was unquestionably a pioneer country in comparison to France for example, and therefore in comparison to the rest of the world. Around this same period, the USA, Russia and Japan had no scientific infrastructure and were merely non-pioneers; on the other hand, since about 30 years, the USA has become the very model par excellence of the pioneer country. The same applies to the USSR and Japan. The position of the non-pioneer countries is probably unpleasant. . and it would be childish to attribute a racial or metaphysical significance to it. In fact a non-pioneer country like Mali could become a pioneer country in 20 or 30 years or even earlier in fields that are peculiar to it.

THE QUESTION OF THE ACQUISITION OF THE SCIENCES AND TECHNIQUES

.....A science, a technique is introduced into a country, and is communicated to other countries by whatever means of transmission that is available, and these countries use the new invention to their profits. This the new technological means are quickly put into operation to the benefit of the regional and even national economics. But that is possible only when the businessmen or governments adopting these innovations have not been subjected to the economic or political hegemony of the country which originated this technology; for instance, France adopted the railway which she took from the English, but the French National Railway Company (SNCF) was developed to the exclusive profit of the French, and not to the benefit of the subjects of her Gracious Majesty, the Queen of England.

Thus in the hands of indigenes, these technical skills are placed at the service of the industrial and commercial activities which are developed in the interest of the same nationals, and consequently a qualified National man-power engendered by these new techniques develops.

But with imperialism and colonialism this acquisition process is going to take a new character. On the one hand the economic systems and the techniques themselves have become more complex and on the other hand the imperialist system seeks to make higher and higher profits by 'cashing' in on the transmission of her science and her techniques to non-pioneer countries - the countries of the Third World. As from this moment the transmission of knowledge is going to be distinguished from its acquisitions in the true sense of the word. The example which is often given is the introduction of a system for mining the various precious mineral ores in Peru and Mexico. The true indigenes of these countries have never been taught the real technique. Thus the economic, political and social problems closely influences the process of acquiring new techniques, even among the imperialist countries.

The problem becomes dramatic when it touches on the Third World trying to get initiated to the pure sciences, and to the most modern techniques....The imperialist countries which want to work a mine, drill petrol or develop an industry, arrive in the "under-developed" countries with their personnel and equipment, and show no interest in the training or initiation of indigenes in these techniques. The imperialist countries will even see to it that the least possible number of indigenes should be taught the techniques and science which are determinant in the operation of the industry in question. This situation is further aggravated where the "under-developed country" is colonised either politically and militarily or economically by the imperialist countries. The capitalist industrial communities and the imperialist countries are conscious of the importance of scientific research as an element of social and economic development; and have "interest" in restricting the rapid progress of countries whose political and economic situation they exploit, in order to continue to keep their grips on these countries a little longer!!!

CONDITIONS TO BE FULFILLED IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE THE NEW TECHNIQUES

The training of technically qualified personnel is indispensable for the acquisition of techniques for a non-pioneer country. This, on the other hand, creates a number of political, economic and social problems.

The non-pioneer or developing countries should undergo certain changes which will allow the integration of the new industries wanted in the national economy and for the benefit of the national economy. In short, the various ways of thinking should be changed by influencing them through the only means compatible with the dignity of man - EDUCATION. Such a change equally entails creating in the nationals of non-pioneer countries some awareness, so that they would thus understand the need to possess, themselves, the financial and technical means, necessary for the operation of the technology to be acquired. *They should also be aware of the need to stop the exportation of profits to the imperialist pioneer countries.* To this end one can cite the case of Japan, which had acquired the European techniques to its own benefit and has now become a pioneer country via-a-vis Europe.

MEANS OF FULFILLING THE CONDITIONS MENTIONED

Education is the sector that is most qualified to give the intellectual training necessary for the assimilation of new techniques. Thus, it seems a pressing issue for African countries and the countries of the Third World to intensify the study of physical sciences, an indispensable counter-balance to a fundamentally theoretical and abstract education. There is certainly a literary, philosophical, religious and artistic tradition in all countries of the Third World and in all African countries. But which African country has a scientific tradition? Her learned men and engineers trained and fashioned in the *National* crucible? The creation of this tradition through a rapid but solid training of national staff on the *national soil* is therefore an urgent issue. Education should adopt a certain measure of technic, for example, in the form of audio-visual, technological and practical work.

Thus one sees the importance of basic education. *The will to render its education really national and its scientific research more effective should be added to this condition for a non-pioneer country.* People of the third world must be conscious of the fact that lack of training, in the general meaning of the term, and an awareness of the whole of the national problems leads to ineffectiveness of action.

There is a big problem which is topical nowadays; it is what is generally known as the 'brain drain'. Frankly speaking the problem is rather on the level of policies of "stabilisation and fixing of national intellectual values" on national soil. The low salaries in the developing countries is also responsible for the loss of *national intellectual values*. These souls are hungry for democracy and the key to the problem is in the magic word, democracy; some maintain that African intellectuals example, are trying to install the Western type of democracy in our society; that is not true; if true patriots agree that democracy is one and the same thing everywhere, they do know that it will take appropriate forms in African countries. It is left to us to give it a form.