

# IKWEZI

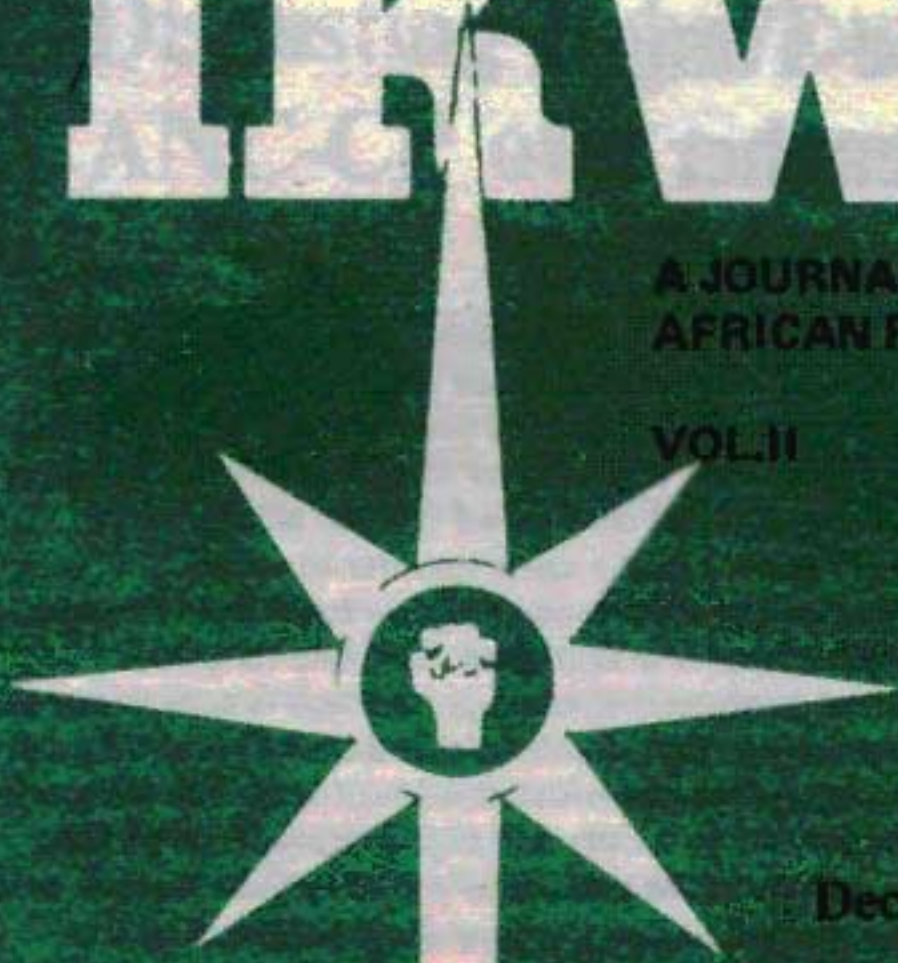
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MAO-TSE-TUNG

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GREATEST CONTEMPORARY  
MARXIST OF OUR ERA;  
ONE OF MANKIND'S GREATEST  
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## Double Issue

THE BLACK REPUBLIC THESIS OF VI WORLD CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL ON SOUTH AFRICA; FORMATION AND DECLARATION OF  
MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF ANGOLA; CREATING NEW SOCIAL RELATIONS  
IN MOZAMBIQUE; WHAT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON ZIMBABWE IS ALL  
ABOUT; CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY; THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION IN  
CONTINENTAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE; THE EMERGENCE AND  
IMPACT OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT IN AZANIA, AND MORE.

50p



# **Eternal Glory to Mao-Tse-Tung, Our Great Leader and Teacher**

Together with Lenin, Mao-Tse-Tung was without doubt the greatest revolutionary the world has ever known. Apart from being the chief architect and inspiration of the great Chinese Revolution which has completely transformed our world for the better - perhaps his greatest contribution to the world proletarian movement was to have inherited Marxism-Leninism - the ideology of liberation of the working class and oppressed nations the world over - and to have defended and developed it from all brands of opportunism, chiefly modern revisionism led by the Soviet Union - in the same manner in which Lenin inherited Marx's teachings and defended it against social democrats of all hues - from the Mensheviks to Kautsky and Bernstein. In this sense he kept alive the vitality of Marxism-Leninism and its great relevance to the great social, political, economic and cultural problems of our age. Our age is supremely the age of proletarian revolutions, of the transition from capitalism to communism, based on Marxist-Leninist ideology. In the course of this defence of Marxism-Leninism against the prostitution of it by the renegade revisionist clique in the Soviet Union, Mao-Tse-Tung elevated it into a new and higher stage, that of Mao-Tse-Tung Thought. His writings are the legacy of the rich and valuable lessons of the fifty year history of the continuing Chinese Revolution. The rich lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a unique event in the world proletarian movement that was the consequence of the degeneration of the revolution in the Soviet Union, are now a permanent part of mankind's revolutionary legacy. This great revolution on the level of the superstructure proved beyond doubt that it was not enough to have a revolution only in the economic mode of production, that if the transition to socialism was to be ensured, a thorough-going revolution on the cultural front totally transforming the old customs, habits and ways of thinking, and leading to the development of 'new socialist things' was absolutely necessary. It was not only necessary to smash the old state machinery of the Army, Police, Civil Service, etc., it was even more important to completely transform education, art and literature, and all varieties of human activity and thought in line with the socialist world outlook based on Marxism-Leninism.

To the millions of people in the Third World who are the worst victims of imperialism he brought *great hope*. That is why he was particularly mourned in the Third World countries where flags were flown at half-mast, solemn mourning ceremonies held, and days of mourning declared. Mao-Tse-Tung through the Chinese Revolution which he led, proved beyond any doubt, that the upliftment of the peoples of the Third World from their centuries old exploitation by colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism was possible, that if a nation was united, led by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party, and that if it persevered in struggle it could win. That a small nation could defeat a big nation, as the historical examples of Vietnam and Cambodia has clearly shown. In the polemic of the Chinese Communist Party, undoubtedly led by Mao-Tse-Tung, against the Soviet revisionists, Mao-Tse-Tung correctly pointed out the supreme importance of the national liberation struggles of the Third World to the world proletarian revolution. He pointed out that the struggles of the peoples of the Third World were the 'storm centres' of the World Revolution. The validity of this thesis is today beyond any doubt.

By his application of Marxism-Leninism to the feudal and semi-colonial conditions of China, Mao-Tse-Tung raised Marxism-Leninism to a truly global philosophy. It became not only an instrument of liberation for the proletariat of the West, it belonged equally to the slaves of colonialism and imperialism, and to the vast army of peasants. Mao-Tse-Tung showed how the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, could remove itself from the shackles of feudalism and colonialism into modern society. He brought to the peoples of the Third World the valuable lessons of Self-Reliance.

Mao-Tse-Tung is not dead. His teachings will remain forever with mankind as it marches, inexorably and inevitably, towards socialism and communism, through all the twists and turns of struggle. For the modern Marxist-Leninists who draw a large part of their inspiration from his teachings, we must re-dedicate ourselves anew to the path blazed for us by this great teacher and leader of the proletarian movement

**ONGLIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO-TSE-TUNG-THOUGHT!**



# Disgusting Behaviour of ANC-CP over Soweto

Although the extravagant and fraudulent claims of the ANC-CP have been exposed during the uprisings they are still engaged in all sorts of gimmicks which are resulting in people being detained, imprisoned and tortured. Their most disgusting gimmick was when recently there was a call for a 5-day strike in Soweto, the ANC-CP held a Press Conference in Switzerland to announce all foreign firms would be occupied by Blacks so that the country would cease to be attractive to foreign investors.

The trials and subsequent imprisonment of Breytenbach, David Rabkin, and now Tony Holliday, are testimony to the bankruptcy of the ANC-CP and the cowardice of its leadership, which, from the carpeted seclusion and comfort of offices in London and elsewhere, have been sending romanticists on suicide missions. It is necessary for the ANC-CP to have a few people arrested now and then to perpetuate the lie that they have a base inside the country. In this way they are assured of funds from innocent observers and sympathisers due to the propaganda of revisionist groups in Europe and North America.

In Africa too the ANC has been working very hard to have the PAC de-recognised by the OAU. They claim to be the genuine representatives of the oppressed, and resort to smearing all others as CIA-fronts, racists, etc. Some African states have fallen for these lies. At the January meeting of the OAU Liberation Committee in Maputo, Samora Machel openly expressed his support for the ANC which he claimed was the only movement trying to mobilise all the people of Azania. He repeated this at the Non-Aligned Conference in Sri Lanka recently, and attributed the recent uprisings to the ANC's organisation. While the ANC-CP have been permitted an office in Maputo, the PAC has not been granted such facilities

What little contact the ANC-CP do have with the people at home is through former members and others, who upon release from Robben Island, are living under restriction. Their attempts to get something going have been hampered by security police infiltration which seems to run from top to bottom. This has been revealed in some of the current political trials e.g. Cleophas Ndhlovu and Joseph Nduli, who were kidnapped in Swaziland by the Security police and taken to Pietermaritzburg to stand trial. Former ANC members, some of whom had even gone to Moscow for training and then joined the Security Police in 1972, are giving evidence against the accused.

Contrast the behaviour of some of the ANC trialists in the dock with that of the SASO Nine, who have been in detention for more than two years, have been beaten up and tortured, yet remain high-spirited. Contrast also the courage of the men and women who have chosen to go to jail rather than testify against their comrades from the Black Consciousness Movement.

While the activities of the ANC-CP on the international scene make things very difficult both for the people at home and for those outside genuinely committed to the struggle, they are a challenge to us.

We have held over from this issue our longish commentary on the events in Soweto, Azania, and their significance both for the struggle in Southern Africa in general and Azania itself. We will give a detailed analysis in our next issue which should follow soon on this one. We have also held over coverage of the events in Angola, where the war in Southern Angola has intensified, and where there is also a great deal of repression against progressives of various factions. A long analytical article on Zimbabwe and Namibia has also been left out. All due to lack of space. But the next issue, we hope, will be able to give a perspective on the general situation in Southern Africa. This is all the more reason why you should help IKWEZI financially, if you think it has a worthwhile role to play in the context of the events in Southern Africa.

*He said: "We are liberating ourselves and will fight if the superpowers in their competition for domination think they should start confrontation in southern africa." "Certainly we are not inviting them to come to southern africa."*

*He said that what should be done by the african countries at this stage of the liberation struggle in africa is to maximize the aid to freedom fighters.*

*But earlier in February 23 1976 in an interview given to the Kenyan journalist, the 'Weekly Review', Nyerere said that he found it extremely difficult to be frightened of the Soviet Union.' Nyerere obviously has thought better of what is happening in southern africa.*

## **US-USSR Contention in Zimbabwe**

**The first World War completely divided the world among the imperialist powers. Since then the struggle among the leading imperialist powers has been for re-division. The Soviet Union, a superpower is the latest imperialist arrival, struggling to oust U.S. Imperialism all over the world. It is now pursuing its hegemonic designs in Zimbabwe.**

Dear Comrades,

**The fierce contention between the two superpowers in southern Africa has once again reared its ugly head in Zimbabwe. The struggle between the two is over which one of the imperialist mauraunders will exercise control in Zimbabwe.**

**The United States backed Portugal's barbaric colonial wars and has given support to the racists in South Africa and Zimbabwe, now seeks a "solution" in Zimbabwe. And so Africa was treated to a Kissinger "shuttle". The purpose of the USA is to hijack the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. If they succeed in getting a negotiated settlement, then they will have in large measure, salvaged the interests of the U.S. led imperialist camp. They are working for the installation of a regime in Salisbury which while having some contradictions with U.S. led imperialist camp, especially due to the role they have played so far, would not in any fundamental way challenge their overall interests.**

**On the other hand, the Soviet Union has been vigorously urging the continuation of armed struggle. The kind of armed struggle which they would, however, like to see develop is the one which becomes increasingly dependent on its military supplies including personnel. For the social imperialists, it is necessary that the old colonial-settler state apparatus go through a drastic change, and that this change be orchestrated by them. They would train the new "people's army", organise the whole repressive state apparatus. Consequently, the new regime for its continued existence would be dependent on the social imperialists.**

**For either strategy to work, the two superpowers have to seek out allies from among the various classes and strata of the people of Zimbabwe. These classes and the strata exist within the national liberation movement, each with its own interests. Unity among them have been given greater focus than the need for unity. The two superpowers carefully study the differences among them, seek out allies and then proceed to nurture the divisions. So the two superpowers in their contention to establish hegemony seek to divide the movement by playing on the differences. Some become classified as "moderates" by one superpower, the U.S., and some get classified as "progressives" by the other superpower, the Soviet Union.**

**There is no doubt, as events now show, that some within the movement do not want the continued persecution of armed struggle if a peaceful "solution" presents itself. The U.S. strategy is to rely on these forces. The Soviet strategy by having the appearance of being militant is all the more deceptive and pernicious.**

**The U.S. is stripped naked today and no African patriot requires any education as to its blood-thirsty nature. This is, however, not the case with the other superpower. The Soviet Union continues to enjoy the aura of being a "socialist state." Such is the strength of this image that many people say**



that while it is true that the Soviet Union is revisionist, it is still a "socialist state." But revisionism is bourgeois opportunism in the working class movement. As Lenin explained, "Revisionism, or 'revision' of Marxism, is today one of the chief, if not the chief, manifestation of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the workers." Lenin said this while combating swindlers like Bernstein and Kautsky. These revisionists did not even wield state power. However, in the case of the Soviet Union revisionism has been in power for 20 years - to build socialism? With the rise of revisionism to state power - the Khrushchev and the Brezhnev cliques - the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has been smashed and replaced by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The social imperialists are new comers and as such also late comers. The world has already been carved up among the various imperialist powers, the chief among them being the U.S. The first complete division of the world among the various imperialist powers took place towards the end of the last century. Since then the struggle has been over its re-division. As Lenin explained in his pamphlet, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." - 'for the first time the world is completely divided up, so that in the future only re-division is possible, i.e., territories can only pass from one 'owner' to another, instead of passing as ownerless territory to an 'owner.' A new imperialist power cannot create territory out of the blue sky, it must contend with the established imperialist powers. It must wrest chunks out of the others. And this is what the Soviet Union is doing. Just as the pre-second world war Germany fought various small wars leading upto the world war so as to grab and carve out its own empire, so today the Soviet Union. Just as Germany 'supported' the national liberation of India and even agreed to build the Indian nationalist Subash Chandra Bose's liberation army against the British, today the social imperialists do the same. That is the substance of its 'disinterested aid' and the fraud of being the 'natural ally'.

The Soviet Union is not interested in a protracted people's war which is independent and relies principally on itself. The experience of Cambodia is a signal example. A movement waging a protracted people's war gives full play to the initiative and creative spirit of the masses. It relies on the people and considers them the decisive force. The Soviet Union considers weapons, technique as the decisive force. That is hardly surprising for the introduction of advanced, modern weapons, especially when the masses have little training in the use of them, means that the Soviets and its allies have to be invited in as experts. And what starts as a trickle of experts becomes a flood of 'proletarian internationalism'. It achieves a quick 'victory' but then a 20 year Friendship Treaty is the price which the masses must pay.

The success of either of these strategies of the two superpowers will result in a setback to the gaining of genuine independence.

The panic in the imperialist camp led by the U.S. and the militancy in the camp of the social imperialists have been the result of, and only of, the successful armed struggle being waged by the people of Zimbabwe. It is the resistance of the people against being removed from their ancestral homes, against imprisonment in the 'protected hamlets' and for democratic rights generally in the land of their birth, it is the people in arms and their sacrifices, it is this struggle, and this struggle alone, waged by the people of Zimbabwe that has brought about the present intensified activity among the imperialists and their local African allies to seek a solution.

The conditions for the successful persecution of the armed struggle are excellent. After all, it was Kissinger who announced to the world that the Smith regime is incapable of continuing to fight. One more rainy season is all that they can manage to 'contain'. The knowledge of this fact cannot do much for the moral of the racists. The enemy has declared to the world that it faces a defeat. What is then to negotiate? Why Geneva? The white racists have only one option - surrender - for there is nothing to negotiate.

So long as the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe unite and persevere in armed struggle, rely on the armed people, combat all interference in their internal affairs and keep the initiative in their own hands, victory will belong to them.

S. MACHAME

## IKWEZI'S NEW ADDRESS

IT HAS COME TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THAT A NUMBER OF LETTERS WRITTEN TO US HAVE GONE ASTRAY. IF YOU HAVE WRITTEN TO US AND NOT HEARD FROM US, THIS IS THE REASON FOR IT. PLEASE WRITE TO US AGAIN AT OUR NEW ADDRESS:

8-11 VICTORIA CENTRE, NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND.



# Super-Power Contention in Southern Africa

## FROM THE "TIMES OF ZAMBIA" SEPTEMBER 1976.

*"But what is more serious is that the continued division of the liberation movements is laying the foundation for a bloody civil war later. Any civil war in Zimbabwe is bound to bring in the superpowers on the side of each of the wavering factions.*

*Since no side would win anyway without the support of a superpower, the same superpower would have to be asked to remain in the country long after the civil war."*

## LORD CHALFONT THE LONDON "TIMES" NOVEMBER 1976

*"For the West, however, it is not a matter of supporting Afrikaaner survival in South Africa, it is much more a matter of identifying and pursuing our own interests. South Africa is the principal supplier of much of the West's mineral resources: its ports provide bases from which it is possible to dominate the Cape shipping route and large areas of the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans.*

*"If those minerals and those ports should be denied to the West, the strategic implications would be profound. The thrust of Soviet foreign and maritime policy in the area since the war in Angola has become so clear that it is difficult to see how it can be any longer ignored.*

*Unless the Russians are to be allowed to pursue their foreign policy aims uninhibited, the West must substitute a realistic African policy for its present posture of impotent holier-than-thou-morauising. It is not necessary to endorse the domestic policies of South Africa, not to award the good housekeeping seal approval to the Bureau of State Security."*

*"It seems no more than commonsense and enlightened self-interest that western policy towards South Africa and British policy in particular should at least reflect a recognition of the country's crucial strategic importance."*

## FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN "SUNDAY TIMES" OCTOBER 1976

*"US Secretary of Defence, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, said in an interview published yesterday that the Soviet Union could damage the Western Alliance by blocking shipping routes around the African continent.*

*"The Soviet activity in Africa could have effects extending far beyond the bounds of this continent or Soviet relations to Africa."*

*"He claimed the Soviet Union had given 17 African nations military aid and had constant access to bases in the East and West African nations of Somalia and Guinea."*

## TANZANIAN PRESIDENT, JULIUS NYERERE WARNS SUPERPOWERS AGAINST INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA -SEPTEMBER 1976

*President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania recently warned the superpowers against military involvement in the situation in Southern Africa.*

*He gave this warning at a Press Conference at the Lagos Airport on his way to Guinea-Bissau.*

*He said that Africans would fight to the last man if the superpowers ventured to trigger off the third world war by exploiting the southern african situation to test their military might in a bid to acquire that territory.*



# The Emergence and Impact of the Black Consciousness Movement

BY HENRY ISAACS - FORMER SASO PRESIDENT

In this article, Henry Isaacs, who had to flee South Africa after being imprisoned, condemns the super 'class' theorists who look upon the struggle in Azania as solely a class struggle between the workers and the bourgeoisie. The race dimension (national oppression), he argues, cannot be overlooked. IKWEZI agrees with his argument as the super class theorists liquidate the national question in Azania and overlook the fact that the political revolution (national democratic revolution) is the prelude to the social revolution.

Stanley Uys, writing in the London "Observer", 11 July 1976, stated that as a consequence of the initial uprisings beginning in mid-June, Vorster was facing a rising tide of Black Consciousness in South Africa. He then went on to point out that the leadership in the Black ghettos had passed from the older "moderates" into the hands of the more "militant" youth, all of whom belonged to one or other organisation within the Black Consciousness Movement - the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), the South African Students Movement (Junior SASM - a body of high school students), or the Black and Allied Workers Union (BAWU). The uprisings did not open the floodgate of Black Consciousness, but served to highlight its impact. Fundamental to the philosophy of Black Consciousness are the concepts of Black assertiveness and solidarity: the Movement has contributed very significantly to the realisation of unity in active struggle. This article attempts to examine the conditions which led to the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement, the nature of the Movement, and its role in the liberation struggle. It will be necessary to focus upon:

- (1) the nature of South African society;
- (2) the withdrawal of Blacks from multi-racial organisations.

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

Throughout this article the people of South Africa are collectively referred to as Blacks or Whites. The term is used here not in the narrow racist sense to signify skin colour, but is used to denote all those persons who, by law or tradition, are discriminated against socially, politically, and economically, and who identify as a unit in their aspirations towards a just society. The term **Blacks** includes African, Coloured, and Asian people, i.e. all those classified as "non-whites." This classification of non-whites is rejected because it is a negative definition of a people in terms of whiteness (white being equated with beauty, value, etc.), and as such detracts from human dignity. Where it is necessary for clarity the constituent groups of the Black community will be described accordingly.

## THE NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

Apartheid is not simply a clinical division of South African society into Black and White, a view which is held by many innocent observers of that troubled country, a view very often induced by the myriad of laws which impose racial separation, or provide for control of racial contact, in almost every conceivable human relationship, from physical intimacy to shared religious or intellectual experience.

Apartheid is a carefully constructed system, designed to use Blacks for the creation of wealth, and then guarantee the exclusive benefits of that wealth to the Whites. Physical segregation is only a means to an end; the achievement and perpetuation of White domination. Segregation and the exploitation of Black labour have always been inextricably linked. The plans for the system were drawn up even before the creation of a United South Africa in 1910, when British colonialism, through the South Africa Act of 1909, surrendered all power to the White settlers without reference to, or consultation with, the majority Black population. In 1894 Cecil John Rhodes introduced into the Cape Parliament the Glen Grey Act, which set the pattern for the whole subsequent "Native Reserves" or Bantustan system; a system designed to permanently deprive Africans of their land and independence. Rhodes' words about Africans are still echoed regularly in South Africa today:

"We want to get hold of those young men and make them to go out to work.....It must be brought



home to them that in the future ninety-ninths of them will have to spend their lives in daily labour, in physical work, in manual labour" - Cecil John Rhodes, speech in Parliament, Cape Town, 1894.

"But we must accept the fact that the Bantu will always be here (in the urban White area) permanently. He is here exclusively on account of his labour and not in a permanent context which can give him access to rights which the whites can have in labour, economic, political and other fields.....This is not discrimination but differentiation between people of unequal status." - J.P. van Onselen, Secretary of Bantu Administration and Development, September 1971.

Apartheid is the Whites' method of solving a dual problem: the desire to harness Blacks to the economic machine, while at the same time ensuring the continuance of White domination. Thus they seek both to draw the Black majority into their industrial society and to shut it out. There is only one way this can be done - by stripping the Blacks of their political rights, their power to organise, their ability to build their own bargaining strength. This is the real meaning of apartheid - it is a whole system employed by a White minority to perpetuate its position of absolute power [It aims not at ending the interaction between Black and White, but at controlling the terms of that interaction for White benefit.]

It is essential to stress that the conflict is not one of colour. It is one of how to live in peace and harmony. As long as there is the exploitation of one man by another there can be no harmony. The exploitative system is therefore the conflict, and neither apartheid nor the expulsion of Whites can be the solution. Apartheid can only be a stop-gap measure, and in all fairness, even its most radical exponents regard it as such. They say they employ it to minimise race conflict, and not to end exploitation of one man by another. To suggest that colour is the cause and source of conflict is a blatant deception: it is only used cunningly to give that impression, and to blind people to the situation of class exploitation.

"Economic interests accentuate the racial divisions and reinforce the denial of a common humanity. Racial separation is not an end in itself, but a means for conserving and promoting racial privilege. Specific laws (such as the Group Areas Act, and the reservation of certain types of employment for a particular racial group) function to enrich the white man, while the whole structure of the apartheid laws serves to maintain his dominant position, both economically and politically."

## **BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS IS NOT FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS**

The dimension of race is, however, not one which can be ignored, because to be born White in South Africa is to be born into a position of privilege, while to be born Black is to be born into a situation of disenfranchisement, dispossession, deprivation, and to be subjected to all the discrimination and humiliation which are concomitant with apartheid. As one Black leader said, "South Africa is the land of milk and honey - if you are White. For Blacks it is a land of bees wax and cow-dung." The Coloured and Indian groups, while enjoying certain residential, occupational and commercial advantages in comparison with Africans, are equally powerless politically and exploited economically. Their hope of eventual absorption into the White power structure has been dashed to pieces: the whittling away of the meagre political rights once enjoyed by the Coloureds and the rejection by the Government of the recommendations of the Erika Theron Commission of Enquiry into matters relating to the position of the Coloureds. The Commission recommended, inter alia, that Coloureds be granted direct representation in the central parliament, that the Immorality Act which prohibits marriage and sexual intercourse between Black and White should be repealed insofar as the Coloureds are concerned, and that the Coloureds be admitted to the "open" (White) universities. These recommendations were rejected in no uncertain terms by the Vorster regime. The idea that the Indians are an unassimilable group which should be repatriated to India has been dropped, largely due to the refusal of the Indian Government to connive at the scheme, as also by the opposition of the Indians in South Africa themselves. But any suggestion that the Indians should be given any meaningful role in the body politics has been firmly rejected. Coloured and Indian youth reject apartheid and its institutions, and in recent years, particularly at the universities, have shown where their loyalties lie. But there is evidence that there is an increasing alignment by the elder generation of Coloureds and Indians with the Africans as well. During the strikes that rocked the country in 1973 and 1974 Indians supported the Africans. In the recent uprisings, Coloureds in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape demonstrated that they see their destiny as being inter-twined with that of the Africans.

While in the early years of the struggle the Indians and the Coloureds did support the Africans, in recent years the solidarity between the three groups has increased in depth and meaning. There are two possible reasons for this; first the rigid enforcement and intensification of apartheid, and second, the fact that the present generation of Coloureds and Indians have grown up only under the system of apartheid, and known Whites simply as oppressors.

Despite the long history of White settlement, social intercourse between Black and White is almost non-existent. A corrugated iron-curtain has been erected, legal prohibitions reinforcing social tradition. There is no real communication between Black and White outside a master-servant relationship.

While Blacks and Whites are integrated into a modern industrial society there is no single working



class. White workers see themselves not in relation to the means of production (in the Marxist sense) but in relation to Black workers, and the whole workers movement has been poisoned by hostility. White workers are in such a privileged position, and pampered, as to make their class position almost irrelevant: in fact although the means of production are owned by a relatively small group of Whites, White workers are essentially a labour aristocracy whose interests are identifiable with those of the ruling capitalist class (i.e. those who own the means of production), and hence have a stake in the maintenance of the status quo.

While many whites may not in fact be aware of Black deprivation (since it is possible for a white person in South Africa to spend an entire lifetime there without ever entering a Black living area, let alone a Black home) very few Blacks are unaware of White affluence and opulence. Blacks outnumber Whites in the so-called White areas by about two to one; almost every white family has one, two, or more Black servants. Blacks are surrounded by luxury of which they have no part, and Black awareness of their deprivation is uppermost. Integration into the modern industrial society has created among Blacks a desire for the fruits of that system, but it has also generated a deep bitterness against Whites "for depriving them of the unfettered use of even those products that come their way."

As the survey "Quotso", conducted in Soweto by Quadrant International S.A., subsidiary of an international advertising group, on behalf of 29 major manufacturing companies in the country, showed:

"The major complaint (among those questioned who were frustrated and unhappy with the present situation) is that Blacks are not given their fair share, either politically or economically.

Whites treat Blacks as inferior human beings, hamper their progress, and keep them on as low a level as possible."

The survey found that, depending on the mentality of the individual, this leads to apathy, frustration resentment or even open hatred.

Dealing with the oft-repeated argument advanced by whites: that the Blacks in South Africa are better off than Blacks in other parts of Africa, the report of the survey states:

"Whites sometime argue that the Blacks in South Africa are better off than Blacks in any other African country, implying that they have no reason to complain. This train of thought is fallacious.

Every psychologist or sociologist will confirm that it is not the absolute but the relative situation of an individual which determines his degree of satisfaction.

The frame of reference is always the immediate environment, not some distant country to which one has no relation. For the (Blacks) the frame of reference must be the (Whites), and compared with the (Whites) they feel they are badly off. It is the (Whites) who set the standard and level for all material aspirations."

## SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE STRUGGLE

While recognising the class nature of the struggle in South Africa, the structural features of the system in which race assumes a cardinal importance cannot be ignored as some dogmatic "Class only" theorists would have it. The principal contradiction at present is between Black and white. Conflict must of necessity work itself out along racial lines because of the racially structured system. This is well argued by Ben Turok, an ex-member of the South African Communist Party, in his brilliant critical analysis:

"It must be recognised that there is a deep and peculiar significance in the lot of black workers. Indeed, blacks are exploited and oppressed in a threefold manner - on the basis of race, as workers, and as people. In the South African case, therefore, the national question must be central both in our analysis and in the realm of praxis: this is the main point I wish to stress in the following discussion!

"Many socialists fear that emphasising the national aspect of the struggle will somehow admit a black bourgeois solution or that the struggle will become so contaminated with racism that it will lose its sense of purpose and direction, leading only to a race war. It cannot be denied that these dangers exist and I shall try to deal with them later. Here we are looking at the formation of black consciousness, in particular among black workers.

Since most Africans and most blacks are proletarians, and since almost all employers are white, conflict over wages, general conditions of work, as well as overt political conflict takes on a colour aspect. That the African proletarian, being the most exploited and oppressed of all, should play the most prominent role in this struggle ought to be clear from the preceding argument. But their role will be played out in national (race) rather than in class terms since this is how the contradiction manifest themselves.

"But even outside the framework of industrial relations, black and white earnings and prospects, and therefore loyalties, are wholly different. Black petty traders, professionals, businessmen and civil servants are all clearly marked out by the stamp of colour which acts with rigorous consistency in determining the place of people in the system. The polarity of race ensures that the difference of income and status within the black communities themselves tends to become diminished within a broader solidarity embracing a wider range of strata.



"Just as a clear conception of common interest has grown among the whites who think only of defending their privileges, so there emerges a counter solidarity among blacks, and both tendencies seem to lessen the internal formation of class consciousness within the respective communities. For the black proletariat there can be no thought of liberation without an alliance of black people of the major strata. The abolition of the colour bar and of white privilege can only be achieved by an alliance of the black disenfranchised directed at the destruction of the white state apparatus. But recognition of this imperative grew only slowly in the South African liberation movement and decades of appeals and protests had to work themselves out before the leap from reformism to revolution could be made consciously, deliberately and publicly."

## THE WITHDRAWAL OF BLACKS FROM MULTI-RACIAL ORGANISATIONS

Although SASO was the organisation which began to formulate Black Consciousness as a specific philosophy, it merely had its fingers on the pulse of the Black community, whose views and aspirations it articulated: hence the rapid growth of the Black Consciousness Movement as a whole. SASO was established in 1969 after a careful examination by Black students of their role within multi-racial organisations like the University Christian Movement (UCM) and the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), and within society at large. Black students saw their domination by White students *within these organisations as being symptomatic of their positions as members of oppressed and privileged groups in the wider society.* As long as the two belonged to and functioned within the same organisations there would always be a conflict of interests. Black students felt that they were part of an oppressed community to which they owed their primary allegiance. This was not to deny that there were no sincere Whites who were concerned about the need for social change: that would have been as absurd as saying that there were no bad Blacks. Conferences about academic freedom and protests for academic integration were meaningless to Black students, who upon leaving such conferences would return to their segregated ghettos where their families were the victims of constant harassment, police terror and brutality.

Black students withdrew from UCM and NUSAS: a period of intense debate, criticism and self-criticism followed. This strategic withdrawal was termed "acceptance of apartheid" "reverse racism". the group most hurt - and which expressed its hurt most eloquently - by the decision of the Black students to go it alone, was the group of liberal Whites. Perhaps it was this hurt which prompted Alan Raton, father figure of White liberalism in South Africa, to say when he was in Edinburgh to receive an honorary doctorate, "Perhaps separate development is worth a try", to which an exiled Black South African journalist retorted, "At whose expense."

Black students were not deterred by the pained whimpers of White liberalism. The essence of politics is that one directs oneself against the group wielding power. Liberals were aware of the powerlessness of Blacks. They were quick to point out the Government's defence budget, there were aware of the ease and brutality with which the police and militia quelled any Black uprisings, they were aware of the teeming number of paid informers in the Black community, and of the hardships experienced by Blacks who were banned and house arrested. Yet they insisted on talking to Blacks. ?

The White liberal in South Africa was that queer character who, while attending his "Whites only" cinemas, living in his "Whites only" suburbs and enjoying his "Whites only" privileges, slept with the comforting thought that he had "friends" across the colour line. To say this is not to sneer, neither is it to deny the role that some Whites have played in the struggle in South Africa. But for too long they provided not only the stimulus but also controlled the direction and speed of the response to the stimulus!

Black students said that if there are Whites who are genuinely committed to the struggle for social change then they should work among the Whites to make them aware of the injustices perpetrated against Blacks, rather than attempt to direct the struggle. In a society where human dignity is daily violated and where differences between people are emphasised and even cultivated as a means of dividing and ruling, the withdrawal by Blacks in order to re-assert their dignity and identity and work towards Black unity has been essential. "A fact to be recognised is that coming together does not mean hating those who are excluded from our togetherness. It simply means that those who are excluded have no relevant place in our activities," said one SASO activist.

## DEFINITION OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

SASO's definition of the Black Consciousness philosophy seems to be the working basis for all Black efforts in the country. This definition is contained in the SASO policy Manifesto adopted at their 2nd General Students' Council in July 1971, which is here re-produced in part:



**“SASO believes that:**

- 3.(a) South Africa is a country in which both black and white live and shall continue to live together:
  - (b) that the white man must be made aware that one is either part of the solution or part of the problem.
  - (c) that, in this context, because of the privileges accorded to them by legislation and because of their continual maintenance of an oppressive regime, whites have defined themselves as part of the problem.
  - (d) that, therefore, we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations, whites must be excluded.
  - (e) that this attitude must not be interpreted by blacks to imply “anti-whitism” but merely a more positive way of attaining a normal situation in South Africa.
  - (f) that on pursuit of this direction, therefore, personal contact with whites, though it should not be legislated against, must be discouraged, especially where it tends to militate against the beliefs we hold dear.
4. (a) SASO upholds the concept of Black Consciousness and the drive towards black awareness as the most logical and significant means of ridding ourselves of the shackles that bind us to perpetual servitude.
  - (b) SASO defines Black Consciousness as follows:
    - (i) Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind, a way of life.
    - (ii) The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the land of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.
    - (iii) The black man must build up his own value system, see himself as self-defined and not defined by others.
    - (iv) The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness by the black people of the power they wield as a group.
    - (v) Black Consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people, hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the Black community.
  - (c) SASO accepts the premise that before the black people should join the open society, they should first close their ranks, to form themselves into a solid group to oppose the definite racism that is meted out by white society, to work out their direction clearly and bargain from a position of strength. SASO believes that a truly open society can only be achieved by blacks.
5. SASO believes that the concept of integration cannot be realised in an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust. Integration does not mean assimilation of blacks into an already established set of norms drawn up and motivated by white society. Integration implies free participation by individuals in a given society and proportionate contribution to the joint culture of the society by all constituent groups. Following this definition therefore, SASO believes that integration does not need to be enforced or worked for. Integration follows automatically when the doors to prejudice are closed through the attainment of a just and free society.
6. SASO believes that all groups allegedly working for ‘integration’ in South Africa.....and here we note in particular the Progressive Party and other liberal institutions.....are not working for the kind of integration which would be acceptable to the black man. Their attempts are directed merely at relaxing certain oppressive legislations and to allow blacks into a white-type society.
7. SASO, while upholding these beliefs, nevertheless wishes to state that Black Consciousness should not be associated with any particular party or slogan.

## **BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS NOT RACISM**

✱ Black Consciousness is not the denial of a common humanity or of a common society. That is an important fact to note in answering the charge that like Afrikaner nationalism, the Black Consciousness Movement is racist. It is not and the differences are these:

- (i) The Afrikaans are committed to separation as a principle. Blacks are forced to accept separation as a legal fact.
- (ii) Whites are committed to separation as a permanent goal; Blacks have decided to separation as a means to an end.
- (iii) Whites have chosen White freely and by choice as a criterion whereby others are defined negatively Blacks are forced to accept Blackness as a legal fact.

✓ An illuminating examination of the concepts of “integration” and “separation” was made by a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement: ↓

☞ “Very often it is assumed that if a person is not an “integrationist” in South Africa he is therefore a “separatist”, and that because an increasing number of black people are rejecting “integration” as a national goal, they are therefore “separatist”, that is, they make the permanent separation of races a



national goal. This is nonsense. The black people who have been accused of being "separatist" are in fact not "separatists" but liberationists. Central to both separation and integration is the white man. Blacks must either move towards or away from him. But his presence is not nearly so crucial for those who pursue a course of "liberation". Ideally they do whatever they conceive they must do as if whites did not exist at all. At the very least the minds of the "new black" are liberated from the patterns programmed there by a society built on the alleged aesthetic, moral and intellectual superiority of the white man.

Liberationists contend that integration is irrelevant to people who are powerless. For them the equitable distribution of decision-making power is far more important than physical proximity to white people.

This means complete emancipation of blacks from white oppression by whatever means blacks deem necessary, including, when expedient, integration or separation. What the new black man is talking about is liberation by all means necessary and this does not depend on whether blacks should integrate or separate. The fundamental issue is not separation or integration. The either/or question does not therefore talk to the point that the new black is making. We will use the word re-groupment to refer to that necessary process of development every oppressed group must travel en route to emancipation."

Moreover Blacks have for long been the object of White racism that they have no desire to reverse the tables. The Black Renaissance Convention held at Hammanskraal in December 1974 was attended by 300 delegates ranging from apolitical priests to radical youth, and was the most representative conference to be held in South Africa for a long time. The convention paid tribute to all those who had taken part in the struggle by acknowledging "that it is not the first to convene a meeting of Black people and states firmly that it wishes to continue in the efforts that have taken place in the past." The delegates then made the following Declaration:

We, the Black people of South Africa.....declare that:

- (i) We condemn and so reject the policy of separate development and all its institutions.
  - (ii) We reject all forms of racism and discrimination.
- WE dedicate ourselves towards striving for:
- (i) A totally united and democratic South Africa, free from all forms of oppression and exploitation.
  - (ii) A society in which all people participate fully in the government of the country through the medium of one man, one vote;
  - (iii) A society in which there will be an equitable distribution of wealth.
  - (iv) An anti-racist society.

## THE IMPACT OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE

The popular uprisings in South Africa testify to the fact that Black Consciousness has been one of the most important developments to emanate from the Black community for a long time. For unarmed people to challenge the military might of a regime armed with, and not hesitating to use, all the modern sophisticated weaponry placed at its disposal by the Western imperialist powers, and to sustain their challenge for such a long time, is an act of remarkable courage and determination. While the success of the liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, served to boost the morale of Blacks in South Africa, and while the intensification of repression in recent years has had the effect of increasing resistance, all of which have contributed to the present mood of militancy, *the crucial variable has been the change in Black's perception of themselves and their situation.* What Blacks are demonstrating is their rejection of things which they appeared meekly to accept for so long - paternalism, lack of consultation, treatment as undifferentiated units of labour, the compound and migrant labour system. Any assessment of the contribution to the liberation struggle by the Black Consciousness Movement has to view the movement in the historical context of the struggle. The Black Consciousness Movement is in fact part of the growth and development of the struggle.

The Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, when police fired on unarmed demonstrators during a campaign against the pass laws organised by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), marked the zenith of non-violent protest in South Africa. Thereafter a state of emergency was declared and both the PAC and the ANC were outlawed; thousands of leaders of all racial groups were detained, others forced into exile. Both parties then decided that change in South Africa could only be achieved through the violent overthrow of the minority White regime, whereupon POOO ("Pure Only") and Umkonto We Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation"), the military wings of the PAC and the ANC respectively, emerged. There was a wave of violence (mainly selective sabotage, organised by Umkonto, aimed at forcing the regime to make concessions. A critique of this tactic is outside the purview of this article; suffice to say that the regime responded with a massive crackdown under a myriad of repressive laws,) and by 1964, after the Rivonia Trial, when



Nelson Mandela and others were sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island, there was a deceptive stability. Aided by its powerful Western allies the South African regime increased its military strength and accelerated its economic development, perfecting the strategy of integrating its economic and defence systems into those of the West.

Internally the balkanisation of the country was accelerated under the so-called Bantustan policy, which envisages the division of the majority of the South African population into nine manageable ethnic units. Unity of the oppressed people presented a revolutionary challenge to White power structure, and had to be fragmented. International criticism had to be appeased; so, to mislead the world into believing that Blacks did not have political representation, and to mislead Blacks themselves into believing that they had direct links with Pretoria, a series of toy telephones were created - the Bantustan Legislative Authorities, the Coloured Person's Representative Council, and the South African Indian Council.

Aided by the White-owned media the regime began to boost its own "leaders" who sought to fill the vacuum created by the banning of the ANC and the PAC and the imprisonment of the elected leaders of the people. Vorster's 'Man Friday', Gatscha BUTHREZI in particular, began to be feted by the White liberals as he addressed groups ranging from White businessmen to Brownies and Girl Guides. He became second only to the famous heart surgeon Chris Barnard in his globe-trotting: he was invited by church and business groups, as also by Richard Nixon, with whom he had a prayer breakfast. The other bailiffs like Matanzima, Hudson Ntsuanwisi, etc., also made the headlines.

Meanwhile fear reigned supreme in the Black community where the security police made use of paid informers: opponents of apartheid were banned and house arrested under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act; critics of the Government were harassed and intimidated. The cumulative effect of all this was that there was a general impression among Blacks that political activity outside the apartheid-created institutions was illegal.

The formation of SASO resulted in an upsurge in Black political activity. Although SASO was a students' organisation it saw itself as being essentially a community oriented movement, and Black Consciousness as a vehicle of the struggle against White oppression. The response of the Black Community has been phenomenal as is evidenced by the emergence of numerous organisations all of which show the change in attitude amongst Blacks - away from an acceptance of White trusteeship and guidance, and in the direction of self-help and self-reliance. SASO was instrumental in establishing the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1972, and the Black and Allied Workers' Union (BAWU). The Black Community Programmes (BCP) is a research body that initiates self-help programmes in the Black community. Various youth organisations and cultural groups have emerged, like the South African Black Theatre Union (SABTU) and the National Youth Organisation (NAYO). Black journalists have similarly organised themselves into a Union of Black Journalists (UBJ), which played an important role in accurately reporting the events during the recent uprisings.

Seen in this light the Black Consciousness Movement has played an important role in the reconstruction after the failure of a long campaign of non-violent struggle, and the initial abortive attempts at revolutionary violence. The politicisation that has been done in recent years was evident in recent uprisings. The political nature of the uprising: the Afrikaans language, although a catalyst of the initial demonstrations, did not remain an isolated issue, but was linked with the whole repressive system, and became a direct expression of the deep hatred for a system which keeps people in bondage. The political consciousness and motivation could also be seen in the targets selected for destruction - Bantu Administration Board buildings, buses, beer halls, shops, clinics, police vans - all the tangible instruments of oppression.

But the recent uprisings cannot be viewed in isolation, but are part of the pattern of resistance to national oppression. The student strikes, strikes by Black workers, and the recent uprisings, show a remarkable degree of organisation as well as the realisation by Blacks of the power they wield as a group. More importantly they have realised that liberation is an achievable goal - an independent Mozambique under FRELIMO next door is a constant reminder. In September 1974 when FRELIMO took control of the Provisional Government in Mozambique, Blacks in their thousands expressed their solidarity with FRELIMO even though the Vorster regime banned all public meetings throughout the country. Hundreds were detained by the security police, scores savagely beaten up and tortured. But those rallies were significant in that Blacks demonstrated that the type of liberation they wanted was the liberation achieved by FRELIMO, and not the prescribed "independence" envisaged for them under the regimes policy of fragmentation.

## CONCLUSION

This does not in anyway pretend to be an exhaustive analysis of the Black Consciousness Movement, or a catalogue of its aims and achievements. Rather, it seeks to present the Movement in its proper



perspective as an inevitable reaction to national oppression. While it is true that the Movement is "colour programmed" at this stage, this is due to the structural features of the system against which it operates. It has been very tempting for certain people to attack the Movement as being racist and chauvinist, and its leaders as being "political infants", such critics ignore the difficult and dangerous conditions under which they operate. Besides a strict system of censorship, any discussion of the need for social, political or economic change can invite arbitrary restriction without trial or indefinite detention without trial. That the Movement has been able to function effectively for so long in the face of bannings, detentions, and assassinations of its leaders, is evidence of its resilience.

→ While internecine strife continues to be the order of the day in certain external missions, a true unity is being forged among the people inside the country, where people are emphasising the need to rely on their own resources. This may well be the beginning of a realisation by the people that "the rice cannot be cooked outside the pot."

But if the Black Consciousness Movement is going to pursue the struggle to its logical conclusion then it has to prepare for revolutionary action by the oppressed against the oppressors. Proletarian forces of the people will have to be formed, trained, and steeled for the seizure of power. This will require new levels of performance; to re-organise and re-orientate the Movement's work on new revolutionary lines; to educate the people in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for power; to establish the necessary alliances and form firm ties for the coming class conflict.

*In order to do this the Movement must be armed with the knowledge of the laws of revolution, so that it can give proper leadership to the struggle, rise above the momentary interests of the people, and raise their level of understanding above the tail of the spontaneous movement. Above all, it must help the people understand the class nature of the conflict between oppressor and oppressed. This is the spirit of the preparatory stage, the period when an internal strategy and tactics of the struggle, under unified command for unified action, must be elaborated.*

*It is obvious that there is still a tremendous amount of work to be done, given the concrete conditions prevailing in the country and the determination of the regime to crush the Black Consciousness Movement. But the new mood of the people, and the change in the balance of power in the Southern African region, are favourable factors.]*

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## CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY - continued from page 72

will unwillingly lose the very gendarmes upon whom they depend for protection from their people. And where there are revolutionary parties of maturity, the banner of national liberation will provide a mass base hitherto unattainable.

As the resulting economic crisis is aggravated, the class struggle and the fight for national independence in the capitalist and revisionist countries of the Second world will intensify.

The United Front between the 2nd and 3rd Worlds will gain strength and will defeat the hegemonic designs of the superpowers.

And as the workers of the 1st world, in the U.S. and the USSR lose their material privileges and their ideological blinkers, they too, will increasingly regain the road of socialism.

the workers of the 1st world will join the 2nd and 3rd Worlds in a common struggle and the horizons of human liberation will widen. The era of imperialism will once again prove to be the era of proletarian revolution.

The future is bright, but the road is tortuous.

The analysis of the Chinese Communist Party also shows that a new world war is brewing. The rivalry between the superpowers is exacerbated daily. Both are involved in a frantic arms race unparalleled in history. Already they have provoked bloodshed in Africa, Middle East and Latin America and they are preparing for a direct confrontation in Europe. As the resistance to their domination increases, the superpowers will increasingly turn towards unleashing a new world war in an attempt to smother these struggles. The peoples of the world must get prepared.

Either revolution will prevent war, or war will lead to revolution.

Countries want independence, nations want liberation, peoples want revolution. This is an irresistible historical trend.

**SUPPORT IKWEZI, PLEASE RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTIONS, IT RUNS OUT WITH THIS ISSUE. WE ARE DESPERATELY SHORT OF MONEY. HELP SELL, DISTRIBUTE IKWEZI. DO WHATEVER YOU CAN TO HELP.**



# **The Independent Black Republic Thesis 1928 - Buried by the South African Communist Party**

The issue of a Native Independent Republic (the so-called Black Republic) as the first stage towards the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government with safeguards for the rights of minorities was a matter that tore the South African Communist Party apart when it was first proposed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in November 1928 at the Sixth World Congress, where a number of resolutions were taken on the world situation and where resolutions on the National and Colonial Question figured prominently. The question of South Africa was an important issue at this Congress.

The Thesis of the VI Congress presented here in full was rejected by the white leadership of the South African Communist Party, for very obvious reasons, as a reading of the Thesis will show. For over 10 years it was debated inside the Party and was never *really* accepted. When the Bunting leadership was pushed out and Douglas Wooton took over the leadership of the Party, accepting the Thesis, it was buried again after Wooton left for England 'to tend his English country garden.' The late Michael Harmel, revisionist ideologue called this period of Wooton's leadership regrettable.

In Azania (which means Black Man's Land), where class oppression runs parallel with ethnicity and where the indigenous inhabitants have been totally dispossessed of their land, the LANGUAGE OF THE PROLETARIAT IS ALSO THE LANGUAGE OF BLACKNESS. This is because class oppression, based on the SUPEREXPLOITATION of Blacks expresses itself as national oppression (racialism) initially.

In the Thesis of the Independent Native Republic the Black nationalist trend in Azanian politics finds its proletarian synthesis. We believe that the theoretical formulations behind the thesis, except for minor changes, are as valid today as it was when they were first proposed. For this reason IKWEZI will re-open the debate on the question of the Black Republic which the SACP has attempted to bury.

The SACP, of course, have never put forward a through-going Marxist argument against the Thesis, as it has never put forward a principled Marxist argument on just about every major theoretical issue involving the Azanian proletarian revolution. It has merely dismissed it as being racist, which says a great deal about the SACP itself. But who are the real racialists? Is it difficult to guess. The rejection of the Thesis shows that the white-led SACP is incapable of leading a serious proletarian revolution in Azania based on the full and revolutionary mobilisation of the Black masses, against the white racialists and oppressors. For the SACP to mobilise the Blacks against the whites is racialism. We must work for non-racial harmony. The SACP thus shows itself to be nothing more than a liberal organisation; that is why it has buried the Black Republic Thesis and peddles the liberal hogwash of the Freedom Charter, where we are told South Africa belongs to blacks and whites, to all who live in it. Nothing about class struggle, of expropriating the expropriators. BUT READ ON, it is not for us to explain it to you. When you have studied it, write to us and participate on the debate we will begin in our next issue.

We believe that the Thesis is as valid for Azania as it is for the rest of Southern Africa - Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique and Angola.

The word 'native' is used here by the Communist International. It is not a word we use anymore in Azanian politics as it is regarded as being derogatory. Nevertheless in some cases we have retained the word, instead of saying Blacks.



## THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION - THE BLACK REPUBLIC THESIS

South Africa is a British dominion of the colonial type. The development of relations of capitalist production has led to British imperialism carrying out the economic exploitation of the country with the participation of the white bourgeoisie of South Africa (British and Boer). Of course, this does not alter the general colonial character of the economy of South Africa, since British capital continues to occupy the principal economic positions in the country (banks, mining and industry) and since the South African bourgeoisie is equally interested in the merciless exploitation of the negro population.

In the recent period in South Africa we have witnessed the growth of the manufacturing iron and steel industries, the development of commercial crops (cotton, sugar and cane) and the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture, chiefly in cattle raising. On the basis of this growth of capitalism there is a growing tendency to expropriate the land from the negroes and from a certain section of the white farming population. The South African bourgeoisie is endeavouring also by legislative means to create a cheap market of labour power and a reserve army.

The overwhelming majority of the population is made up of negroes and coloured people (about 5,500,000 negroes and coloured people and about 1,500,000 white people, according to the 1921 census). A characteristic feature of the colonial type of the country is the almost complete landlessness of the negro population: the negroes hold only one-eighth of the land, whilst seven-eighths of the land have been expropriated by the white population. There is no negro bourgeoisie as a class, apart from the individual negroes engaged in trading and a thin strata of negro intellectuals who do not play any essential role in the economic and political life of the country. The negroes constitute also the majority of the working class: among the workers employed in industry and transport, 420,000 are black and coloured people and 145,000 white; among agricultural labourers 435,000 are black and 50,000 are white. The characteristic feature of the proletarianisation of the native population is the fact that the number of black workers grows faster than the number of white workers. Another characteristic fact is the great difference in the wages and material conditions of the white and black proletariat in general. Notwithstanding a certain reduction in the living standard of the white workers which has lately taken place, the great disproportion between the wages of the white and black proletariat continues to exist as the characteristic feature of the colonial type of the country.

### THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The political situation reflects the economic structure - the semi-colonial character of the country and the profound social contradictions between the black and white population. The native population (except in the Cape Province) of the country have no electoral rights, the power of the State has been monopolised by the white bourgeoisie which has at its disposal the armed white forces. The white bourgeoisie, chiefly the Boers defeated by the arms of British imperialism at the close of the last century, had for a long time carried on a dispute with British capital. But as the process of capitalist development goes on in the country, the interests of the South African bourgeoisie are becoming more and more blended with the interests of British financial and industrial capital, and the white bourgeoisie is becoming more and more inclined to compromise with British imperialism, forming with the latter a united white front for the exploitation of the native population.

The Nationalist Party, which represents the interests of the big farmers and land-owners, and a section of the white (mainly Boer) bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, is winding up its struggle for separation from the Empire and is surrendering before British capitalism (the formula proposed by the leader of this Party, General Herzog, and carried at the British Imperial Conference). Furthermore, this party is already



coming out as the open advocate of the colonial expansion of British capital, carrying on an agitation for the extension of the territory of the Union of South Africa to the north (the annexation of Rhodesia), hoping in this manner to secure a vast fund of cheap native labour power.

Simultaneously with the importation of British capital and British goods, there are imported to South Africa the methods of corrupting the working class. The Labour Party of South Africa, representing the interests of the petty-buorgeoisie and of the skilled labour aristocracy, openly carries on an imperialist policy, demoralising the white workers by imbuing them with a white racial ideology. Nevertheless, the influence of this party is being undermined by the steady worsening of the material conditions of the mass of the white workers. At the same time the South African buorgeoisie is endeavouring to attract to its side certain elements of the non-white population, for instance, the "coloured" population, promising them electoral rights and also the native leaders, turning them into their agents for the exploitation of the negro population. This policy of corruption has already brought about the fact that the leaders of the negro trade union organisations - the Industrial and Commercial Union - having expelled the Communists from the union, are now endeavouring to guide the negro trade union movement into the channel of reformism. The inception of negro reformism, as a result of the corruptionist policy of the white buorgeoisie, a reformism which acts in close alliance with the Amsterdam International, constitutes a characteristic fact of the present political situation.

The united front of the British and South African white buorgeoisie against the toiling negro population, backed by the white and negro reformists, creates for the Communist Party in South Africa an exceptionally complicated but favourable position of being the only political Party in the country which unites the white and black proletariat and the landless black peasantry for the struggle against British imperialism, against the white buorgeoisie and the white and black reformist leaders.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS TASKS

The Executive Committee of the Communist International recognises the successes which the Communist Party of South Africa has recently achieved. This is seen in the growth of the Communist Party, which is now predominantly native in composition. The Communist Party has a membership of about 1,750 of whom 1,600 are natives or coloured. The Communist Party also spread into the country districts of the Transvaal. The Party has waged a fight against the reactionary Native Administration Act. The E.C.C.I. also notes the growth of native trade unions under the leadership of the C.P., the successful carrying through of a number of strikes and efforts to carry through the amalgamation of the white and black unions.

The present intensified campaign of the Government against the natives offer the C.P. an immense field to develop its influence among the workers and peasants, and it is among this section of the South African population that the chief field of activity of the Communist Party must continue to lie in the near future.

(a) The first task of the Party is to reorganise itself on the shop and street nuclei basis and to put forward a programme of action as a necessary condition for the building up of a mass Communist Party in South Africa.

(b) The Party must orientate itself chiefly upon the native toiling masses while continuing to work actively among the white workers. The Party leadership must be developed in the same sense. This can only be achieved by bringing the native membership without delay into much more active leadership of the Party both locally and centrally.

(c) While developing and strengthening the fight against all the customs, laws and



regulations which discriminate against the native and coloured population in favour of the white population, the Communist Party of South Africa must combine the fight against all anti-native laws with the general political slogan in the fight against British domination, the 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.*

(d) South Africa is a black country, the majority of its population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. The bulk of the South African population is the black peasantry, whose land has been expropriated by the white minority. Seven-eighths of the land is owned by the whites. Hence the national question in South Africa which is based upon the agrarian question, lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa. The black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with the and under the leadership of the working class.

(e) South Africa is dominated politically by the white exploiting class. Despite the conflict of interests between the Dutch bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, the basic characteristic of the political situation in South Africa is the developing united front between the Dutch bourgeoisie and the British imperialists against the native population. No political party in South Africa with the exception of the Communist Party advocates measures that would be of real benefit to the oppressed native. The ruling political parties never go beyond empty and meaningless Liberal phrases. The Communist Party of South Africa is the only Party of native and white workers that fights for the complete abolition of race and national exploitation that can head the revolutionary movement of the black masses for liberation. Consequently, if the Communist Party correctly understands its political tasks it will and must become the leader of the national agrarian revolutionary movement of the native masses.

Unfortunately, the Communist Party of South Africa did not give evidence of sufficient understanding of the revolutionary importance of the mass movements of the native workers and peasants. The Communist Party of South Africa carried on a correct struggle for unity of the native and white workers in the trade union movement. But at the same time the Communist Party of South Africa found itself in stubborn opposition to the correct slogan proposed by the Comintern calling for an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full, equal rights for all races.

This opposition shows a lack of understanding of the task of our Party in South Africa relative to the revolutionary struggles of the native masses, which explains partly the still insufficient growth of the political influence of our Party upon the negro masses despite the extremely favourable conditions.

South Africa is a British dominion of a colonial type. The country was seized by violence by foreign exploiters, the land expropriated from the natives, who were met by a policy of extermination in the first stages of colonisation, and conditions of semi-slavery established for the overwhelming majority of the native masses. It is necessary to tell the native masses that in the face of the existing political and economic discrimination against the natives and ruthless oppression of them by the white oppressors, the Comintern slogan of a native republic means restitution of the land to the landless and land-poor population.

This slogan does not mean that we ignore or forget about the non-exploiting elements of the white population. On the contrary, the slogan calls for "full and equal rights for all races". The white toiling masses must realise that in South Africa they constitute national minorities, and it is their task to support and fight jointly with the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists. The argument against the slogan for a native republic on the ground that it does not protect the whites is objectively nothing else than cover for the unwillingness to accept the correct principle that South Africa belongs to the



native population. Under these conditions it is the task of the Communist Party to influence the embryonic and crystallising national movements among the natives in order to develop these movements into national agrarian revolutionary movements against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialists.

The failure to fulfill this task means separation of the Communist Party of South Africa from the native population. The Communist Party cannot confine itself to the general slogan of "Let there be no whites and no blacks". The Communist Party must understand the revolutionary importance of the national and agrarian questions. Only by a correct understanding of the importance of the national question in South Africa will the Communist Party be able to combat effectively the efforts of the bourgeoisie to divide the white and black workers by playing on race chauvinism, and to transform the embryonic nationalist movement into a revolutionary struggle against the white bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists. In its propaganda among the native masses the Communist Party of South Africa must emphasise the class differences between the white capitalists and the white workers, the latter also being exploited by the bourgeoisie as wage slaves, although better paid as compared to the native workers. The Communist Party must continue to struggle for unity between black and white workers and not confine itself merely to the advocacy of "co-operation" between the blacks and whites in general. The Communist Party must introduce a correct class content into the idea of co-operation between the blacks and the whites. It must explain to the native masses that the black and white workers are not only allies, but are leaders of the revolutionary struggle of the native masses against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism. A correct formulation of this task and intensive propagation of the chief slogan of a native republic will result not in the alienation of the white workers from the Communist Party, not in the segregation of the natives, but, on the contrary, in the building up of a solid united front of all toilers against capitalism and imperialism.

In the struggle against the domination of British imperialism in South Africa and against the white bourgeoisie under the slogans of the agrarian revolution and native republic the Party of South Africa will undoubtedly meet with the most brutal attack of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. This can be no argument for not adopting the slogan of a native republic. On the contrary, the Party must wage a struggle for this slogan preparing by all possible means, first and foremost by mobilising the black and white workers, to meet the attacks of the ruling class.

The E.C.C.I. while fully approving the Party's agitation against the native Bills put forward by the Pact Government, considers that this agitation should be further strengthened and intensified, and should be coupled with agitation against all anti-native legislation.

The Party should pay particular attention to the embryonic national organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress. The Party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity. Our aim should be to transform the African National Congress into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialists, based upon the trade unions, peasant organisations, etc., developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party in this organisation. The Party should seek to weaken the influence of the native chiefs corrupted by the white bourgeoisie over the existing native tribal organisations by developing peasants' organisations and spreading among them the influence of the Communist Party. The development of a national-revolutionary movement of the toilers of South Africa against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism, constitutes one of the major tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa.

The Party should immediately work out an agrarian programme applicable to the native agrarian situation. The E.C.C.I. considers that the Party was correct in launching at its last Congress the slogan of "Expropriate the big estates and give them to the landless whites and natives." But this can only be treated as a general slogan. It is necessary to work out concrete



partial demands which indicate that the basic question in the agrarian situation in South Africa is the land hunger of the blacks and their interest is of prior importance in the solution of the agrarian question. Efforts should be made immediately to develop plans to organise the native peasants into peasant unions and the native agricultural workers into trade unions, while attention to the poor agrarian whites must in no way be minimised.

In the field of trade union work the Party must consider that its main task consists in the organisation of the native workers into trade unions as well as a propaganda and work for the setting up of a South African trade union centre embracing black and white workers. The principle that the Party's main orientation must be on the native population applies equally to the sphere of trade union work. The Party should energetically combat the splitting policy of the Industrial and Commercial Union leaders under the slogan of unity of the whole trade union movement of South Africa. Further, the Party should work out a detailed programme of immediate demands for the native workers. The Communists must participate actively in the trade union organisations of the native workers, pursuing the policy of building up a strong left-wing within these organisations under Communist leadership.

The Party should continue its exposure of the South African Labour Party as primarily an agent of imperialism in the Labour movement.

While concentrating its chief attention on organising the native workers in the trade unions the Communist Party should not neglect the work in the trade unions of the whites. Its tasks are the organisation of the unorganised, work in the existing trade unions, to intensify the propaganda for reorganisation of the trade union movement on an industrial basis, increased agitation for affiliation of all trade unions to the Trade Union Congress. In all trade union organisations the Party must strive to build up a strong left-wing under Communist leadership.

The Party must energetically combat the influence of the Amsterdam International in the black and white trade union movement, intensifying the propaganda for world trade union unity along the lines of the Profintern (R.I.L.U.) policy.

In connection with the danger of world war, the present imperialist intervention in China and the threatening war against the U.S.S.R., the Party must fight by all means against the help given to the military policy of Great Britain which found its expression in tacit support of the break of the British imperialists with the U.S.S.R. The Party should not neglect anti-militarist work.

The E.C.C.I. repeats its previous proposal to launch a special paper in the chief native languages as soon as technical difficulties have been overcome. Such a step is of great political importance.

## **Sydney Bunting Dashes to Moscow to Reject Communist International Thesis**

The Thesis of the Independent Native Republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full safeguards and equal rights for all minorities, so upset the majority of the Executive of the South African Communist Party that one of its leading members, Sydney Bunting (father of Brian Bunting, one of the current leaders of the SACP) was dashed off to Moscow to voice the objections of the SACP to the Communist International. Bunting was coldly received and he was not even allowed to represent the South African Blacks at the Negro Commission. However, he did speak at one of the sessions, stating the objections of the white SACP to the Black Republic Thesis. We re-print his speech here in full.

His speech voices the same fear about avoiding black and white hostilities which has always guided the politics of the white CP. There is the fear of the Independent Native Republic slogan provoking white and black hostilities, "a bloody struggle for mutual extermination, or subjection



between whites and blacks as races." If the Africans demand the return of the land which was stolen from them, then this will result in the hostility of the white workers, and they will lose their class sense and side with their white masters. Therefore the 'nationalist' demands of the Africans must be 'controlled'. The best way to do this is to get the black and white workers to fight together in a common class struggle against the capitalists. Today, when the white workers are completely in the camp of the class enemy, this means for the white-led SACP that blacks and whites must co-operate to create a non-racial democracy - a liberal demand totally devoid of all class content.

He actually tells the Bolsheviks and all the other International Communists present that there is no national movement amongst the Africans! There is no African bourgeoisie, therefore there is no national movement and there is only the question of organising the workers and peasants and leading them to the establishment of Soviets.", This liquidates the national question, liquidates the most dynamic and revolutionary element of the struggle of the Black masses, the restitution of the country to themselves, which is the political essence of African nationalism, and is in concord with a major class demand of the national democratic revolution. Therefore, for Bunting, the national and class struggle must be immediately harmonised into one, because the white workers must not be antagonised.

Bunting even goes further and says that the demand to meet fully the national rights of the Blacks is tantamount to a black race dictatorship? Even the guarantee of the Thesis from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint to safeguard the rights of minorities is not enough. This does not mean anything. The main question is to win the alliance with the white workers. Of course, today, in the changed circumstances of Azania, one cannot even mention any idea of alliance with white workers. But the basic arguments put forward here by Bunting has always been the mainstay of the SACP and the Congress Alliance which they dominated. The class struggle between whites and blacks in a country where class and ethnicity run parallel, has always been reduced to fighting for a non-racial democracy. To talk of the restitution of the land to the blacks is wrong, this will result in racial clashes between blacks and whites and cannot be countenanced. We must work for a South Africa where whites and blacks can live together harmoniously. We say that the white bourgeoisie must be completely expropriated - and this means the white population as a whole, because the interests of all whites are synonymous with that of the big white bourgeoisie capitalists - except for a handful of progressives who have no social base in the white population. They must be dispossessed in the interests of the Dispossessed Blacks who produce the wealth of the country but are completely robbed of it. This is the nature of the class struggle in Azania.

Sydney Bunting's arguments presented here is the forerunner of the Freedom Charter, where the white chauvinism of the white-led CP masquerades as non-racialism. But this is the racialism of their non-racialism.

## **Bunting's Speech**

Comrades, I should like to have spoken on colonial or at least on South African matters in general but must confine myself to a controversial matter seriously affecting our South African Party.

There is a proposal in the Negro Sub-Commission that the Party should put forward as its immediate political slogan "an independent native South African Republic, as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full safeguards and equal rights for all minorities"; that the country and land be returned to the black population; and that a native revolutionary movement be developed by the Party.

This formulation is opposed by the majority of our Party, mainly for practical reasons. But we may first consider the more theoretical basis of the formula. This is stated in a draft resolution submitted to the Sub-Commission as follows:

"The national question in South Africa which is based upon the agrarian question, lies at the foundation of the revolution in South Africa."

According to our experience, it seems possible to harp too exclusively on the national chord in colonial matters. In an earlier debate, I ventured the opinion, that it might not be so *universally* true



that the chief function of a colonial people was to engage in a *national* struggle (predominantly agrarian in character) against foreign imperialism and for independence; and that in South Africa at any rate, the class struggle of the proletariat (chiefly native) appeared more capable of accomplishing the same task.

It is often said that the colonial thesis of the 11 Congress is authority to the contrary, but I do not find anything to that effect in the thesis. It says, of course that we should "support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations and in the colonies" - "*the form of support to be determined by a study of existing conditions*". And it also says

"there are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements, one is the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement with a programme of political independence under the Congress order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all forms of exploitation. The former endeavours to control the latter, but the Communist International and the Parties affected must help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies. For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, which is the first step towards revolution in the colonies, the co-operation of the bourgeoisie nationalist revolutionary elements is useful. But the first and the most necessary task is the formation of Communist Parties which will organise the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and to the establishment of Soviet Republics....."

That is so even when there is a bourgeoisie democratic nationalist movement in existence, and bourgeoisie nationalist revolutionary elements to co-operate with. Until recently, nearly all subsequently Communist theory on colonial revolution has been based on the assumption that such a movement and such elements are in existence in every colony; the present draft colonial thesis is one of the first to deal on a different basis with colonies, like most African colonies, where such elements do not exist.

In African colonies there is as a rule no native bourgeoisie, and consequently no question of the "two distinct movements": there is only the question of "organising the peasants and workers and leading them to the revolution and to the establishments of Soviets."

Put in another way, the class struggle is here practically coincident and simultaneous with the national struggle. The object is the same in each case - the removal of all oppression and the gaining of liberation and power for workers and peasants; the parties are substantially the same, and the weapons and the methods of the struggle also. Hence, there is no very great point or virtue, even where there is no exploited European class present (as there is in South Africa) in emphasising the national aspect of the struggle as more fundamental than the class aspect; rather the reverse is the case.

Now a further complication arises in South Africa from the presence of a white exploited working and peasant class as well as a black one - a small minority, but one which also rises against the bourgeoisie and imperialists, sometimes in a very spirited and revolutionary way, more so indeed than any modern native national movement hitherto, although it has no racial oppression to fight against.

The South African native masses, in their turn, are being rapidly proletarianised and organised as a working class. The native agrarian masses as such have not yet shown serious signs of revolt: indeed as the thesis says:

"In these countries the question of the agrarian revolution does not by far constitute the axis of the colonial revolution."

At any rate a live agrarian movement has still to be organised in South Africa.

The draft colonial thesis in reference to South Africa and other colonies says: (paragraph 12)

"The most important task here consists in the joining of the forces of the revolutionary movement of the white workers with the class movement of the colonial workers, and the creation of a revolutionary united front with that part of the native national movement which really conducts a revolutionary liberation struggle against imperialism."

But this task is no longer so easy. It is no longer a mere case of the national and class movements coinciding as it were automatically. Here the white exploited are of the very race against which the native exploited as nationalists, are fighting. It is almost inevitable therefore that the nationalist movement of the natives will clash with their class movement. Similarly the white exploited, finding their race being attacked as such by a native nationalist movement, are predisposed by their superior economic and political position to side with the masters nationally and forget their class struggle. Special tactics have to be adopted to prevent this and to harmonise the national and the class movements in this special case, devoted principally to neutralising and correcting white labour chauvinism.

Not only have we no native bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie national movement, but we have in South Africa no really nationalist movement at all of the kind contemplated in the draft resolution of the Negro Sub-Commission; certainly no movement for a native republic as such has been observable. The African National Congress, which the resolution wants us to boost up, is a moribund body, it has had its day. In any case its demands were not nationalist demands proper, but such as the following: removal of special



race oppression and discrimination, land and more land, equality with whites, equal votes, equal education, equal justice, equal treatment, rights and opportunities everywhere. It has usually sought redress for grievances by sending deputations to the King of England, which of course, have resulted in nothing. We believe the class stimulus is a greater stimulus even to the native masses, it has actually stimulated greater sacrifices and devotions already, and it has the advantage of gaining, instead of, perhaps, forfeiting the alliance of the white workers. The C.P. in itself the actual or potential leader of the native national movement; it makes all the national demands that the national body makes, and of course much more, and it can "control" nationalism with a view to developing its maximum fighting strength. It can and will respond to the entire struggle of all the oppressed of South Africa, natives in particular.

Some references to the actual work of our Party seems necessary to explain the foregoing.

Our Work among the native masses, our chief activity, conducted so far mainly as a working class movement (although an agrarian movement will be developed as far as we can get contact especially with the distant and not easily accessible native reserves) is limited only by ability to cope with it. We have 1,750 members of whom 1,600 are natives, as against 200 a year ago, and we are adding to that and also rapidly organising militant native trade unions which have learnt to conduct strikes. We are also combating and slowly overcoming white labour chauvinism, which we find yields when confronted face to face with organised masses of native fellow workers. We have carried through joint strikes of white and black workers which were victorious, also an amalgamation of white and black trade unions into one, an unprecedented thing in South Africa. As for the native nationalist movement, we pay it a good deal of attention and whenever we see any life in it we apply United Front tactics. Thus, after years of preparatory effort, we have recently begun to reap substantial success which will continue provided we can find the man power to garner the harvest. Native workers and some peasants are pouring into the Party in preference to joining the purely native bodies, which have let them down and fallen into the hands of the bourgeoisie. They see that the C.P. sincerely and unreservedly espouses their national cause as an oppressed race.

Such are the circumstances in which a native republic slogan would be launched, and we consider it would not in theory perhaps, but certainly in practice, arouse white worker's opposition as being unfair to the minority, and this would not only intensify the contradiction between the national and class movement, but put the whole native movement unnecessarily at a great disadvantage. It would not avail, when such suspicions are aroused, to put them off with smooth, "empty liberal phrases", to the effect that "national minorities will be safeguarded", especially when no definition is given of these safeguards. Expressions like "South Africa is a black country", "the return of the country and the land to the native population", etc., though correct as general statements, do invite criticism by the white working and peasant minority who will have to fight side by side with the black workers and peasants if the bourgeoisie is to be overthrown. They certainly seem to indicate a *black race dictatorship*: they either are an exaggeration or they are calculated to be generally understood as one. If the white working class feels, from the very exclusiveness of the phrase "native republic", that the intention is to ride roughshod over it, it will say, rightly or wrongly: "Under a native government built on a nationalist or racial foundation and thus biased against whites, any safeguards of the white workers and peasants would go to the winds at the first clash. And as regards disposal of the land, the draft resolution does not even speak of safeguards. As the slogan will certainly be interpreted by the exploited whites, it means that the exploited whites are to become in their turn a subject race, that the native republic in spirit, if not in letter, will exclude all whites, and that the land without exception will belong to the natives. The slogan will have to be redrafted on less nationalist lines if it is to avoid giving that impression.

Of course no one denies that the *immense majority must and will exercise its power as such*, from which it follows that a minority of the exploited is also entitled to its proportionate voice and share in power and land. The "native republic" is defended, indeed, as a mere expression of majority rule, but it obviously goes beyond that, and the little difference makes all the difference, it handicaps propaganda, when it comes to combatting white chauvinism.

It is certainly strange that we of the C.P.S.A., who are accustomed at home to work almost exclusively among and for the native masses, and who are always attacking white chauvinism, should find ourselves obliged here to take up unwonted cudgels for the white minority. But the reason is, first the need for labour solidarity, and secondly, a true valuation of the forces at our disposal. Our infant native movement lives and moves in a perpetual state bordering on illegality; on the slightest pretext it can be suppressed either by prosecution or legislation or by massacre or by program. We are therefore always looking for allies, or rather for shields and protections behind which to carry on; and even the bare neutrality, much more the occasional support, of the white trade unions, etc., is of incalculable value to us. It undoubtedly helps us to avoid being driven underground, which in a country like South Africa would make our work almost impossible, and besides, in a political agitation for liberation of the mass of the people publicity is a very valuable weapon. We have always instinctively felt this need of white labour support, but it is only when threatened by this slogan with the loss of it, that we realise how very useful it is to us, and how impossible it is to agree with the defenders of the slogan who say "To hell with white labour support, damn the white workers." We who have had all these years to work in both camps, black and



white, who have learnt the art of going it on uncompromising Marxian lines by long and hard experience of the enormous difficulties arising out of this very race question, the crucial question of South African labour - on a matter like this we must be heard. We say that the white workers are unquestionably going to be alienated by the present slogan and that instead of support from white labour we are thus quite likely going to get its hostility and Fascist alliance with the bourgeoisie. This in turn will also encourage the government to prosecute and the courts to convict everyone who preaches the slogan. Indeed a further sequel may be violent race hostilities, a bloody struggle for mutual extermination or subjection between whites and blacks as races, and what is worse, between the white exploited and the black exploited, a struggle in which the class struggle is completely obscured and forgotten, and in which the unarmed side courts defeat.

Our present policy is endorsed by good authority. The amendment of the C.P.S.U. to the E.C.C.I. theses of Comrade Bukharin for instance says:

"53, the Congress observes a growth of Communist influence in South Africa. The Congress imposes the obligation upon all Communists to take up as their central tasks the organisation of the toiling Negro masses, the strengthening of Negro trade unions and the fight against white chauvinism. The fight against foreign imperialism in all forms, the advocacy of complete and absolute equality, strenuous struggle against all exceptional laws against Negroes, determined support for the fight against driving the peasants from the land, or organise them for the struggle for the agrarian revolution, while at the same time strengthening the Communist groups and Parties - such must be the fundamental tasks of the Communists in these countries."

There is nothing here about a "native Republic".

In the draft C.I. Programme there is also nothing about a native republic. But a direction to imbue the colonial masses with the idea of the independence and hegemony of the working class and to advance and at the proper moment apply the slogans of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

After long consideration and having heard all that is said for the draft resolution, and in view of the special complications conditioning Communist progress in South Africa, we are at present, while standing for proletarian equality and for the fullest majority rights, against the creation of any special nationalistic slogan for South Africa, except of course the liberation of the native people from all race oppression and discrimination, and separation from the British Empire.

## Communist International Replies to Bunting

RESOLUTION OF THE POLIT SECRETARIAT OF THE E.C.C.I.  
ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION

Here we publish the response of the Communist International to Sydney Bunting's speech. It reiterates that the South African Communist Party must take up the slogan of the Independent Native Republic as a correct slogan and organise the white workers to fight on the basis of it. There is no question here of subordinating the struggle of the oppressed Blacks to the needs of the whites. The oppressed Blacks are the main force in the struggle against imperialism.

At the meeting of the Polit Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. of October 19th, 1928, among other things, the South African question was dealt with and a corresponding resolution adopted. The South African question has already played an important role in the discussions of the VI World Congress, both in the colonial and in the Negro question. Proceeding from these discussions and former resolutions of the E.C.C.I. it was only necessary to establish the tasks of the Communist Party of South Africa. A clear elaboration of the slogans under which the C.P. of South Africa has to take up the fight, was the more necessary as just in this regard the majority of the Central Committee of the South African Party represented a view deviating from that of the Executive and also of the VI. World Congress. The main question was the slogan of an independent South African Republic of natives. In regard to this slogan Comrade Bunting (South Africa) declared in his speech at the VI World Congress in the discussion on the colonial question that "this formulation is combatted by the majority of the C.P. of South Africa chiefly for practical reasons."

It is clear that this opinion, as represented by the majority of the C.P. of South Africa, shows a lack of understanding for the tasks of our Party regarding the revolutionary struggles of the native masses. This is precisely the reason for the weak influence of our Party upon the native masses in spite of the objectively favourable circumstances



The resolution of the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I. proceeds from an estimation of the economic and social development and the situation in South Africa and emphasises as the most important the disproportion between the living conditions of the working class of the black and white race. Passing on to the political situation the resolution records the political disenfranchisement of the negroes, which is rooted in the colonial character of the country and the great social contradictions between the black and white population.

With regard to the policy of the Nationalist Party, it is stated that it has long ago abandoned its struggle for separation from the British Empire and has capitulated to British capitalism.

“This party of the white bourgeoisie already openly comes forward as defender of colonial expansion of English capitalism and is propagating an extension of the territory of the South African Utopia.”

The policy of the Labour Party, the resolution goes on to say, aims at demoralising the white workers by a white race ideology. But the influence of the Labour Party is already counter-acted by other forces which originate from the deterioration of the material position of the white working masses. The resolution then deals especially with the policy of the African bourgeoisie which is not only aiming to corrupt a portion of the white workers but also the leaders of the Negro trade unions and to guide the trade union movement of the Negroes into the channel of reformism.

The bourgeoisie have already been able to record a certain success with the trade unions of the industrial and commercial workers. This corruption policy of the bourgeoisie, which is being conducted in close alliance with the Amsterdam Trade Union International, forms the characteristic feature of the present political situation. This fact

“creates for the Communist Party of South Africa an extraordinary complicated but favourable situation, as it is the only Party which is rallying the white and black proletarians and the landless black peasantry in the fight against English imperialism, against the white bourgeoisie and the white and black reformist leaders.”

The last and greatest portion of the resolution deals with the Communist Party and its tasks. Proceeding from the organisational position of the Party and its organisational growth, it is pointed out that the work of the Party must be increased chiefly in regard to the native peasants and workers:

The resolution then mentions the point of difference, already referred to, regarding the slogan of an independent South African native Republic and says:

“Whilst the C.P. of South Africa is continuing the fight against all customs, laws and privileges which are to the disadvantage of the native black population, the Party must combine this fight with the fight against all laws directed against the natives and with the general political slogan of the fight against English rule, with the slogan: an independent South African native Republic as a stage towards the workers and peasants Republic, guaranteeing all national minorities protection and complete equality.”

This slogan is then dealt with in detail and it is stated that the “Communist Party, if it rightly understands its political tasks, can become the leader of the national agrarian revolutionary movement of the native masses.” The opposition of the majority of the Party to this slogan shows “a lack of understanding for the tasks of our Party in regard to the revolutionary struggles of the native masses. On the contrary it is necessary

“to say to the native masses that in view of the existing political and economic disadvantage suffered by the natives and their ruthless oppression by the white oppressors, the slogan of the Comintern: native Republic means before all the restitution of the soil and the whole country to the black population of South Africa. This slogan does not mean that we should disregard or forget the non-exploiting elements of the white population”

It is then pointed out in the resolution that the white working masses of South Africa must understand that they represent a minority that it is their task to support the native masses and to fight together with them against the British bourgeoisie and white imperialism. These circumstances render it necessary that the Communist Party exploit the national movement of the natives and develop it towards the national agrarian revolutionary movement against the white bourgeoisie and British imperialism.

The resolution further deals with the concrete forms of agitation and propaganda of the Party, declaring that the E.C.C.I. entirely approves of the agitation of the Party against the native law enacted by the government, that this agitation must be increased and connected with a campaign against all the laws directed against the natives. The Party must consolidate its influence before all among the existing tribal organisations. For this purpose it is necessary that the Party elaborates an agrarian programme.



In the sphere of trade union work the chief task of the Party is the organisation of the native workers in the trade unions and

“propaganda for the formation of a South African trade union centre combining the white and black workers. The principle that the Party has to direct its chief attention to the native population is also valid in the sphere of trade union work. But at the same time the Party must not neglect its work in the white trade unions.

In connection therewith is the energetic struggle against the influence of the Amsterdam International in the black and white trade union movement and the propaganda for the unity of the trade unions of the whole world upon the basis of the policy of the R.I.L.U.

In pointing to the danger of war the resolution emphasises in conclusion that the Party must energetically and with all means combat all support of the British war policy on the part of the South African rulers and conduct appropriate agitation in the army.

The resolution thus forms an important guiding line for the whole activity of the C.P. of South Africa in the present period.

## **How to Build A Mass Revolutionary Party in South Africa**

This is another letter from the Communist International to the South African Communist Party criticising it for not undertaking its revolutionary tasks like true revolutionaries. It was written in 1929 just after the Independent Native Republic thesis was put forward by the Communist International as the correct basis on which to conduct the class struggle in Azania.

The letter accuses the SACP of committing right opportunist errors due mainly to its failure to carry out the 1928 Resolution on the Independent Native Republic Thesis; consequently it tails behind the mass discontent of the African workers and peasants. It accuses the SACP of “not beginning the task of establishing contacts with the basic masses of the native workers.”

But there is no need for us to comment any further. The letter speaks for itself.

### **LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**

To The Communist Party of South Africa.

Dear Comrades,

Recent events in South Africa show that this country, which has the formal rights of a British Dominion, but which in reality is a semi-colony has entered a period of deep crisis which finds expression in:

(a) the crisis in a number of branches of industry and a sharpening of the general agrarian crisis;

(b) the attack of the bourgeoisie ruling class on the native working masses and on the lower paid section of the white workers;

(c) in the upsurge of the class struggle and the struggle for national liberation.

The maturing world economic crisis has affected with special force the whole of the Negro parts of Africa, where already mass revolts have broken out in recent months in French Congo, Nigeria, Kenya, Gambia, the Lower Sudan and Rhodesia.



## GROWING ECONOMIC CRISIS

1. The growing disparity between the growth of South African industry and the limited internal market owing to the extremely low standard of living of the broad masses of the native population, the inability of the technically backward South African industry to emerge on the world market, the penetration of foreign capital, especially of British capital, into the country in spite of the protective policy of the nationalist government, and finally, the fall in the prices on the world market of a number of principal products of South Africa (wool, grain, sugar, fruit, diamonds, etc. which comprise 50% of the exports of the country), all this has brought about a crisis in a number of branches of industry (diamond, clothing, etc.).

The continuous increase in the native population in an already frightfully congested territory, in which they live, the so-called reserves, the simultaneous worsening of the conditions of the mass of the native land workers in the European districts; and the continuous decline in prices for agricultural products while the price of land is greatly inflated, are the causes of the growth and sharpening of the agrarian crisis.

## HERZOG'S REPRESSIVE LAND POLICY

This situation has induced the parasitic land owning class assisted by the colonial government to accelerate the process of transformation of the present feudal-like system of land utilisation represented by the squatter's system- labour tenantry and share-cropping, into large-scale intensive farming, employing actual serf labour. The amendments to the Land Act of 1913, contained in the proposed Native Bills, will, if passed, result in the native peasantry being reduced from the position of a semi-serf to a position worse than slavery; the share-croppers and the labour tenants will be converted into 'servants', obliged to work 180 days a year for the right to live on the land. This would enable the landowners to develop large-scale intensive farming.

## POOR WHITES

Simultaneously, with the worsening of the situation of the native masses, the poor white farmers, and especially 'bywoners' are being expropriated and compelled to migrate to the cities to swell the growing ranks of the unemployed, who are competing with the miserably paid native workers, and this sharpens the 'poor white' problem.

## FIERCE ATTACK ON NATIVE TOILERS

2. The European ruling class, represented by the Herzog Government, which depends on the nationalist Party (the slave-owner farmer of the Boer farmers) and by the South African Party, which represents the interests of British imperialism, - primarily the industrialists and particularly mining industrialists, in its efforts to find a way out of the impasse into which the economy of the country has landed, has commenced a fierce attack on the native toilers and the poorer sections of the white workers. The attack finds its expression in the efforts to force down the standard of living of the workers in general and in the introduction of a whole series of legislative measures directed against the revolutionary movements of the native toilers. The conflict between the two parties of the European ruling class over the "Native Bills" which became more acute during the recent election campaign, is merely a conflict between slave owners, who are disputing as to the methods of attaining their common end, i.e., to transfer the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the Native toilers, who are already inhumanly exploited, and to crush the rising revolutionary movement.



The present role of the South African Party, aided by the Native reformists and under the cloak of the hypocritical liberal phrases is to furnish a smokescreen for the policy of the Herzog Government, which takes part in all repressive measures against the Natives. The raid on the Native quarter of Durban was carried out by a bloc of all the buorgeois parties, including the Labour Party.

3. The Native masses, groaning under the yoke of the ever-increasing oppression and the danger of their already unbearable conditions becoming worse, are in the struggle passing to a counter-offensive against the European slave-owners. This is seen in the increase of the number of strikes, which rapidly assume a political character, the riots in Durban and Robertson, which were accompanied by desperate clashes with the police, the boycott movement, the revolts in Northern Transvaal, the mass demonstrations of the unemployed in Johannesburg, the demonstrations in connection with the Riotous Assemblies Act, in open violation of slave laws, like the pass laws, refusal to pay taxes, etc.

These processes now taking place within the labour and nationalist movements have already strengthened the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions.

### COMMUNIST PARTY WEAKNESS

4. The Party's work has resulted in certain achievements: partial success in the recent election campaign; the increase in agitation among the Native masses, the large number of Native workers recruited for the Party, etc., all of which proves that the Party has become a real political force in the country, which in turn has called forth increased persecutions on the part of the buorgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the ideological and political influence of the Communist Party is by no means keeping pace with the growing mass discontent. The influence and activity of the latter is still confined to a narrow sphere chiefly around Johannesburg. The Communist Party has not yet begun seriously to tackle the question of establishing contacts with the basic masses of native workers. It still has little or no contact with the workers in the mines. The contacts of the Party with the basic masses of Native workers are so weak that it is practically isolated from the spontaneous movement of the masses, and it drags at the tail of that movement.

The Party leaders are committing serious mistakes of a Right opportunist character. The reason for this is the fact that the Party leaders have not yet carried out the 1928 resolutions of the Communist International, which demands that the Party take the initiative in and lead the struggle of the Natives against the foreign yoke under the slogan of the Independent Native Republic.

An independent Native Republic means, primarily, the return of the land to the landless population and those with little land, which is impossible without revolutionary liberation from British imperialism and the organisation of a revolutionary workers' and peasants' government on the basis of Soviets. The correctness of this slogan has been doubly confirmed by the desperate attacks of the South African ruling classes against it, by the opposition of former members of the Party known for their chauvinism and their opportunism, e.g. Andrews, and especially the development of the Native national movement. The principal feature of the Right opportunist mistakes committed by the Party is the failure to understand the decisive importance of the hegemony of the proletariat and the complete independence of the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat, the Communist Party, in the nationalist revolutionary movement and the failure to understand the significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat.



5. In a country like South Africa, where the overwhelming majority of the population consists of peasants, the revolution, in its first stages, can be only a bourgeois democratic revolution, carried out by the peasants and workers under the leadership of the latter.

But the nationalist revolutionary movement in South Africa can be victorious and bring about an Independent Native Republic only under the leadership of the working class. There is no other class in South Africa capable of uniting the diffused, scattered and unorganised masses of Natives who are already rising for the agrarian revolution and for the revolutionary struggle for national liberation.

The Native bourgeois exists only in an embryonic form. The intellectuals (Native teachers, Native parsons) are mostly in the service of the European ruling class. The only class capable of uniting the national-revolutionary fighting front is the Native proletariat, supported by the most exploited masses of the white proletariat. Without leadership from the proletariat, the nationalist revolutionary movement, which is overwhelmingly a peasant movement, is inevitably doomed to defeat, as is every peasant war.

But the proletariat cannot restrict its task only to the nationalist revolution. The latter is a task which does not exceed the boundaries of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and history provides examples when historical tasks like these were carried out by the bourgeois. The agrarian revolution and liberation from the imperialist yoke, which are the main content of the South African nationalist revolutionary movement, have no further aim than the reform of bourgeois society. The proletariat, however, can emancipate itself and the toiling masses from exploitation only under socialist society. For this reason, the proletariat will not stop at an Independent Native Republic; it will go further, and transform this republic into a Socialist Republic.

This ultimate aim must not be lost sight of for a moment. To forget this will inevitably lead to the proletariat becoming absorbed in a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement; the leadership will then pass into the hands of petty-bourgeois politicians and adventurers like Kadalie, and this will inevitably lead to the defeat of the movement. Communists must always bear in mind the example of the Mexican revolution, in which the Mexican proletariat failed to win the hegemony. Only by being organised as a separate and independent force, with its own aims and carrying on its independent policy, will the proletariat succeed in winning the leadership of the nationalist revolutionary movement.

This independence of the proletariat can be guaranteed only by its vanguard being organised into an independent class revolutionary Party, having for its aim the complete carrying through of the nationalist revolutionary struggle, and, as the subsequent stage, the socialist revolution. The South African Communist Party must be such a Party.

6. Failure to understand the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist tasks of the South African proletariat is reflected in the fact that both the leaders and members of the Party have not yet understood the significance of the slogan of the Independent Native Republic. The white members of the Party, who have not yet cast off the remnants of white chauvinism, do not understand the nationalist tasks of the revolution, and try to reduce the whole of the struggle of the South African proletariat to a purely proletarian class struggle, while the native members who are still dominated by petty-bourgeois-peasant nationalism, on the contrary do not understand the tasks of the proletarian class struggle, and try to reduce the struggle to a nationalist-revolutionary movement. The whites do not understand the necessity for the hegemony of the proletariat in a nationalist revolution. The Natives do not understand the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the social revolution.

This lack of understanding leads, in practice, to a position where both sections of the Party, in different ways, commit the same mistake with regard to the growing nationalist revolutionary movement. The whites simply deny the nationalist revolutionary tasks of the proletariat and in this way deny the hegemony of the proletariat in the movement. The



Natives, by restricting the tasks of the proletariat solely to nationalist revolutionary tasks, in practice would cause the proletariat to become absorbed in the broad petty-buorgeois movement, and in this way destroy its hegemony in this movement.

7. In practice, this fundamental mistake (failure to understand the hegemony of the proletariat in the nationalist revolution and its dictatorship in the social revolution, and in connection with this, failure to understand the importance of an independent Communist Party with an independent policy) has given rise to a number of mistakes.

The policy carried by the Party leaders in the League of African Rights is an example of how the Communist Party abandons its independent role. The League bears the character of a political party with a reformist programme. By allowing this League to serve as a substitute for our Party, our Party not only abandons its independent role, but the Communist programme of the Party is eclipsed by the reformist programme of the League.

The League's programme shows to what an extent the Party is lagging behind the Native movement. At a time when the Natives are proving their revolutionary determination to struggle by openly violating the slave laws - refusing to pay taxes - the Party, through the agency of the League, puts forward an extremely reformist mild programme, well within the framework of South African legality, a programme from which the slogan of an Independent Native Republic is completely absent. While Native reformist organisations like the National Congress advance radical slogans in order to catch the masses (for instance, the Cape National Congress put forward the slogan "Africa for the Africans" and advocates an extension of the boycott, etc.) our Party, during the Durban raids, issued a manifesto in which it urges the Native toilers to "keep cool, keep your heads, do not be rushed or bluffed into false moves even by your leaders."

After organising the League the Party handed it over to the reformists, like Gumede and others, joined the League itself as a Communist Party, thus surrendering the right to criticise the reformists. In this way the Party accepts full responsibility before the Native masses for the waverings of the reformists, including the low treachery of the vice-chairman of the League, Modiakgotla, who, speaking in the name of the League at the recent conference of non-European clergy in Bloemfontein, openly supported the Native Bills on the ground that they were beneficial to the Natives. Thus we have an actual union of the Communists with the national reformists in the League, which makes the Native masses believe that not only the League, but the C.P. itself does not differ from the nationalist reformist organisations. One of the fundamental conditions for the independence of the Party is that it openly ceases its affiliation with the League because of its failure to put up a real fight for the rights of Natives.

8. In close connection with the failure to understand the significance of the hegemony of the proletariat in the buorgeois-democratic revolution, are the reformist methods of struggle adopted by the Party in fighting against the Native Bills and the preparation for the demonstration on Dingaans Day. It is quite evident that the struggle against the Native Bill is transforming itself into a struggle against entire system of imperialist oppression. Therefore, special attention must be paid to this struggle. Increasing numbers of Natives are being drawn into this struggle. The Party should have tried to develop this spontaneous movement of the masses into one for the refusal to observe laws and for the boycott. It should have elevated this struggle to a higher plane. The Party should have organised demonstrations of protest among the Native and white workers, organised committees of action, declared strikes in factories and ought to have turned December 16th into a review of the revolutionary forces which are ready to struggle against the existing political order, against the slave-owning government, against its parliament, against the constitution, for an independent Native Republic and for the defence of the Soviet Union. Instead of this revolutionary mobilisation of the masses, the Party gathered signatures to a petition to the South African slave-owning imperialist parliament. Instead of coming out boldly at the head of the nationalist revolu-



tionary movement and leading the masses, which is the only way of guaranteeing the hegemony of the proletariat in this movement, the Party attempted in the manner of the reformists to turn the masses from the revolutionary road.

9. As is evident from Comrade Bunting's letter to the colonial commission of the British C.P., Comrades Bunting and Roux attempted to lay a theoretical basis for reformist views. These comrades have elevated to a theory the chauvinist views they gave utterance to at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, and which were severely condemned by the Congress. They are attempting to revive the theory of South African exceptionalism and are rejecting the thesis of the Sixth Congress on the colonial question as inapplicable to South Africa.

The theory of 'exceptionalism' is most glaringly expressed in Comrade Bunting's letter and contains:

(a) A denial of the revolutionary role of the native peasantry, and consequently, an attempt to skip the bourgeois democratic stage of the South African Revolution to the "pure" proletarian revolution. "It really cannot be honestly said that in South Africa the peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution", says Comrade Bunting in his letter. "Many natives have almost forgotten their claim to the land."

(b) A denial of the nationalist character of the revolution in South Africa and a reduction of the native movement for national independence to a reformist struggle for "equal rights". There is no reason to call it (the native independent movement) more national than proletarian." (See Bunting's letter.)

(c) Hence a rejection of the slogan of "Native Republic". "Native Republic is apparently too one-sided and exclusive and becomes unintelligible." (See Bunting's letter).

Inseparably connected with the above is the fundamentally wrong conception of the role of the native bourgeois in the national movement during the epoch of the proletarian revolution. Bunting says: "Where an oppressed nation consists almost entirely of virtual slaves having no property class well enough placed to be able to stand up against imperialism, TO LEAD and to risk, but at best only an intelligentsia which has no property backing, its national movement is apt to be of a less ambitious type." This bourgeois liberal concept is a direct negation of the proletarian leadership in the national movement and transfers the leading role to the native bourgeois and the intellectuals. Apparently it is believed that the latter, although weak and "with no property backing," is nevertheless the natural and undisputed leader of the native national movement. It is equally apparent that people who hold such views are incapable of fighting against native reformism.

From the above flows the opportunist tactical line expressed in the League of Rights and still more glaringly in Bunting's letter which says that "even the most honest move must choose the line of LEAST RESISTANCE". The Communist Party "is compelled to try peaceful methods.....a moderate policy, because in the attempt to realise an immoderate one it will be immediately suppressed by force."

It is clear that all such theories have their roots in a complete lack of faith in the natives to whom Bunting refers as "degraded", "ruined", "manacled" and "broken into pulp by the Congress" and constitute a total acceptance of European domination. Therefore, these theories which represent a serious obstacle to the revolutionary movement in South Africa and reflect white chauvinism in the Communist Party must be resolutely condemned and rejected. There is no room for them in the C.P.

Without the more ruthless criticism of such anti-revolutionary theory, without recognition and condemnation of ALL mistakes made by the Party owing to misinterpretation of the independent native republic slogan or the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no prospect of working out a correct Bolshevik political line corresponding to South African conditions."

10. The first, fundamental condition for the creation of a truly Bolshevik and truly



revolutionary proletarian Party, which would take the lead in the rising bourgeois democratic revolution (both agrarian and national) of the broad masses of peasants and agricultural labourers, and lead them in conjunction with the whole proletariat to the social revolution, is the working out of a Party programme, or at least a programme of action on the basis of the programme and resolutions of the Communist International, formulating the immediate political tasks of the Party. Such a programme of action should include the slogans of the Independent Native Republic, which must be linked up with the slogans like the repeal of the curfew and pass laws, the refusal to pay taxes, the abolition of the compounding and recruiting system, the abolition of restrictions of natives in city areas, freedom of speech, press and assembly, a united front of the poorer sections of the white workers with the native toiling masses, the struggle for the economic demands of the workers, against expropriation of the natives and for a return of the land to the native toilers; the organisation of the peasant committees of action, struggle against native reformism as the last reserve of the bourgeois ruling classes hampering the revolutionary movement of the natives, the exposure of and of MacDonald's "Labour" Government which continues the policy of war, the treacherous role of the II International, rationalisation and savage oppression of the colonial peoples in general and the Negroes in particular, and also the role of Ballinger as a South African agent of the Amsterdam International and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress; and advancing our slogan of the revolutionary alliance of the black and white workers in the struggle against imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation in opposition to the slogan of "Peace in industry" advanced by the reformists.

11. The working out of a revolutionary Party programme or a programme of action is possible only on the basis of a determined and consistent struggle against all manifestations of opportunist and chauvinist tendencies in the Party ranks, against all deviations from the correct line laid down by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, and the Tenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, especially against the Right deviation, which is the most dangerous and which objectively represents a tendency to put the Communist Party, not at the head, but at the rear of the masses who are rising to the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions.

12. However, the working out of a revolutionary Party programme or a programme of action, and its recognition by the Party members is inadequate in itself for the creation of a real mass Party of the proletariat. It is essential that the Party be properly organised, accordingly, that, as Lenin, "it should be a true vanguard of the revolutionary class and that every single reference member of the Party take part in the struggle, in the movement, in the daily life of the masses."

This task, raised by the E.C.C.I. in its letter of 1928 ("the chief task of the Party is to reorganise on the basis of industrial and street nuclei"), has not yet been carried out by the South African Communist Party. The Party is still an amorphous organisation, incapable of making all its members take part in the struggle and in the movement. The overwhelming majority of the members pay no dues, i.e., they do not make even the minimum material sacrifices for the Party. Far from having factory and street nuclei, the Party has not even local Party organisations. The Polit-Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party has not a constant membership. This means that it is not composed of professional revolutionaries who devote all their time and energy to revolutionary work but of comrades who do not systematically carry on revolutionary work. There is a general lack of understanding in the Party that a revolutionary organisation which is persecuted and hounded, must be as quick to act, as firmly welded, and as capable of sacrifice as in time of war. Lenin wrote: "This army (an army of Communists) must be properly trained, in a practical manner, properly organised, tried in all kinds of manoeuvres, in various battles, in offensive and defensive operations, studying the experience of its movement, all the while testing its strength with the utmost care and severity. Without this long and hard schooling there can be no victory."



Such an army must be based on Bolshevik organisational principles (Bolshevik forms of organisation, Bolshevik Party discipline, Bolshevik self-criticism). The first step in this direction must be the re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory and street nuclei. The Party must pay particular attention to recruiting members from among the workers employed in large-scale industry, especially the miners.

Only by organising the Party on the basis of factory and street nuclei and testing the discipline and devotion of every individual member in the daily struggle and in the work will it be possible to discover the most active, the most class-conscious and best prepared among those who come into the Marxist-Leninist Party, to organise Marxian and Leninist courses for them, work systematically to promote their development and thus create the basic Party cadres. In this connection particularly careful attention must be paid to the native comrades drawn into the leading bodies of the Party.

A very important means of rallying the Party, consolidating its ranks, raising its ideological level, is the improvement of the Party press. Efforts must be made to issue the Party paper regularly, to link it up with the masses through a network of workers correspondents. The Party paper must meet the needs of the workers, deal with the fundamental questions of political life and the internal situation in the Party. The Party paper must serve as the rallying point of all the forces of the Party, and primarily of the Political Bureau.

13. Only by organising its ranks and work on the basis of Bolshevik principles will the Party be able to cope with the tremendous tasks raised before it by the revolutionary awakening in South Africa.

In view of the growing mass movement, the first task that confronts the Party is to establish close contact with the masses to find the organisational forms by which to embrace the masses and thus in the shortest possible time to secure the Party leadership in mass actions. The Party must immediately set to work to fulfill this task, making use of the experience of mass organisation, which has been gained already in the course of revolutionary mass actions.

## TRADE UNIONS AND NATIONAL STRUGGLE

14. The experience of the I.C.U. which in a short time recruited an enormous number of members, shows enormous possibilities for organising mass trade unions in South Africa. It would be a serious political error, however, for the Party merely to repeat the tactics of the political adventurer, Kadalie. The I.C.U. organised by Kadalie was not a trade union in the real sense of the word. It incorporated a vast number of non-proletarian elements who flocked to it because in its programme it stood for the struggle of the political rights of the natives. *Kadalie's Union was, therefore, a petty-buorgeois nationalist party - very muck like the League of African Rights.* The only way to prevent the formation of such petty-buorgeois reformist nationalist parties, which deceive the masses of Negroes with their high-sounding phrases about fighting for independence, is by the Communist Party firmly and persistently carrying out a revolutionary line in the struggle for an

Independent Native Republic. The masses must be convinced by deeds as to who is really carrying on the fight, who is merely paying lip service to it, and who is hampering the struggle.

Therefore, while resolutely rejecting the organisation of unions which incorporate non-proletarian elements, the Party must at the same time see to it that the real proletarian unions do not restrict themselves merely to the economic struggle, but that they carry the struggle to a higher political level, and thus become revolutionary trade unions which would undertake the task of rendering every assistance to the buorgeois-democratic revolutionary nationalist movement, Under the leadership of the Communist Party the



revolutionary unions as the main bodies guaranteeing the hegemony of the proletariat in the buorgeois-democratic revolution, must also take part in the anti-imperialist struggles of the Natives of South Africa and in the agragian revolution of the Native peasants and agricultural labourers, which is directed primarily against the white landlords and farmers.

“The Federation of non-European workers” (African Trade Union Federation) which is affiliated to the Profintern, must become the base for the development of the revolutionary trade unions. Only by taking upon itself the independent leadership of the economic struggles of the workers, organising the unorganised by means of strike committees, committees of action, unemployed committees and other organs of the mass movement, can the Federation draw the most active Negroes and white workers into its ranks and extend its influence among the broad masses. Only by broadening its mass basis, by carrying on its practical work along revolutionary lines and by an untiring struggle against the reformist tendencies, will the Federation be able to cope successfully with the tasks which the sharpening class struggle and the maturing national liberation movement impose upon it. The Party must exert every effort to extend the influence of the Federation among the working masses, to give it definite organisational form and to strengthen its leadership.

## THE PEASANTRY

15 The revolutionary trade unions must serve as the principal mass support of the Party. But in order to secure the hegemony of the proletariat in the buorgeois-democratic revolution, the proletariat represented by the Communist Party, must organise the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of whom are landless, and the agricultural workers.

In the “white areas” the Party must immediately begin to organise the Native poor peasants, the share croppers and labour tenants, and at the same time establish separate trade unions organisations for the farm workers. The party must see to it that the farm workers unions, which are under its influence should affiliate to the peasant organisations, to organise fractions in them and through these lead the peasant struggle. All organisations must be based on the immediate demands of the respective sections of the population in the various districts.

In the Transkei and similar “Native areas” the Party must form organisations which shall express the partial demands of the Natives in these territories, and see to it that the landless peasants, who comprise an ever-increasing part of the population, play a leading part in the struggle of the Natives in these areas. Inasmuch as these districts, especially Transkei, constitute a labour reserve for the South African Chamber of Mines, the Party must try to utilise this as a possible avenue for extending its activities to the mines.

The Party must also spread its activity to protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, using for this purpose the existing revolutionary organisations like Lekhotla La Bafo in Basutoland.

In general, the agragian work of the Party should be conducted under the general revolutionary slogans of the Communist Party, supplemented by specific demands such as the abolition of all taxes (hut tax, head tax, tax on cattle, etc.) extension of arable and pasture land, the expropriation of usurers, active resistance to labour recruiting. The Party must strive to organise mass actions of the peasants around these demands, linking them up with the slogan of “Independent Native Republic and the Confiscation of all the land.” As to the later slogan, every member of the Party must understand that the revolutionary *solution of the agragian problem calls for the confiscation not only of the land expropria-*



ted from individual Native owners or tenants, or from native traders during recent years or even decades, but also for the seizure of all land in all districts and territories and its distribution among the toiling Native peasants (and white agricultural labourers and white peasants). This task can be accomplished only by a revolutionary Worker's and Peasant's Government in the future Independent Workers and Peasants Republic.

16. At the present time the Union of South Africa is the only country on the Black Continent where there is a comparatively highly developed labour movement led by the Communist Party. This imposes upon the Communist Party of South Africa the enormous task of taking the initiative and being the ideological and organisational leader of the revolutionary Communist movement in the other parts of Black Africa. Hence, one of the most urgent tasks of the Party is to establish direct contacts with the revolutionary toiling masses in the African countries so as to assure the hegemony of the proletariat in the coming agrarian national (bourgeois-democratic) revolution of the toiling masses in all parts of Africa, preparing thereby the ground for the establishment of independent Native workers and Peasants Republics as a transitory stage towards the subsequent Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Africa.

Special attention must be paid to the establishment of close contact with the revolutionary toiling masses of Southern Rhodesia, Kenya and Portuguese East Africa, and to drawing them into the revolutionary struggle of the South African toilers for land and freedom and for a South African Native Republic.

PRESIDIUM OF THE E.C.C.I.

## **What the Geneva Talks on Zimbabwe is All About**

Those who are familiar with the Kissinger study on Southern Africa will not be surprised by these frank Washington Notes of the U.S. State Dept. Herein the directors of the U.S. Empire look at their interests with cold realism, weighing the pros and cons of how to protect them, and to blunt the revolutionary struggle that threatens it.

The notes point out why Kissinger wanted to put an end to 'radicalisation', and to the armed struggle that will end in 'radicalisation', his fears of losing the great mineral wealth of Africa, and the Russian threat to take everything away from him. Thus the document tells us about the real interests of U.S. Imperialism behind the bland phrases of 'racial harmony,' and 'minority rule', etc. **MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL IT TELLS US WHAT THE GENEVA TALKS IS ALL ABOUT.**

### **KISSINGER REPORT**

The Secretary of State has just returned from a widely publicised whistle-stop tour of black Africa. Congressional liberals hailed him on his return for initiating a new policy of concern and attention, and for creating an alternative to Communist gains. The right wing, led by Ronald Reagan, has attacked Kissinger for inviting a "bloodbath". Is it new? Will it work? Is it progressive? This edition of Washington Notes tries to analyse the "new" Africa policy and to put the trip and the Lusaka policy speech in context so these questions can be answered.

### **THE RATIONALE FOR THE KISSINGER TRIP**

The main purpose of the trip was to prevent "another Angola" in Rhodesia and Namibia. In the Angolan war, U.S. actions had been heavily criticised as reactive, secret, divisive, and supportive of South African aggression. By seizing the initiative, Kissinger hoped to provide "our African friends once again with a moderate and enlightened alternative to the grim prospects of violence." It has no



moral change of heart which moved Kissinger to embrace black majority rule but the rise of black militancy and an increasing level of successful guerilla war. He told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"Events in Angola encouraged radicals to press for a military solution in Rhodesia. With radical influence on the rise, and with immense outside military strength apparently behind the radicals, even even moderate and responsible African leaders - firm proponents of peaceful change - began to conclude there was no alternative but to embrace the cause of violence."

".....We were concerned about a continent politically embittered and economically estranged from the West; and we saw ahead a process of radicalization which would place severe strains on our allies in Europe and Japan."

Kissinger was most explicit as to why the United States must stop "radicalization":

"The interdependence of America and its allies with Africa is increasingly obvious. Africa is a continent of vast resources. We depend on Africa for many key products: cobalt, chrome, oil, cocoa, manganese, platinum, diamonds, aluminium, and others.

In the last two decades American investments in black Africa have more than quadrupled to over one and a half billion dollars. Trade has grown at an even faster rate. The reliance of Europe and Japan on Africa for key raw materials is even greater than our own."

At the same time, Kissinger told the Senators: "We are bound by a moral dimension - cultural heritage of 23 million Americans and the moral sympathy of over 200 million Americans who understand the motivations of peoples who would establish their freedom and prosperity against great odds." But the nitty gritty was clearly continued western control over Africa's trade, investments and raw materials.

Kissinger was faced with an uphill struggle to convince Africans that U.S. advocacy of majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia by peaceful means alone was not designed to buy off, postpone, delay or subvert the process of revolutionary change which is now underway. The African countries immediately bordering Rhodesia have concluded that armed struggle is the only way now open to achieve majority rule. Guerilla attacks mounted from Mozambique bases have rapidly increased in intensity, frequency and effectiveness, especially in the last two months. Vital railway lines have been cut, deep inside Rhodesia for the first time. In Namibia, SWAPO attacks using Angolan bases have also increased in their effectiveness and penetration. At the same time, "peaceful means" have never been more clearly seen to be fruitless. The Smith regime has proved intractable even in arriving at a "deal" with the moderate Nkomo. United Nations resolutions calling for U.N. control and supervision of Namibian self-determination processes have not been able to secure South Africa's withdrawal from the Namibian territory.

## KISSINGER'S NEW AFRICA POLICY

Kissinger laid out most of what his new initiative would entail in a speech delivered at a lunch in Lusaka, given in his honour by President Kaunda on April 27. It should be remembered, however, that much of the U.S. African policy was not stated in Lusaka was stated elsewhere for other audiences and on other occasions, or as a matter of practice not highlighted in public speeches. Because Kissinger was dealing in what he loves to do best, the manipulation of crises, the most explicit and specific parts of his Lusaka speech deal with Rhodesia, which he believes to be the most urgent problem. His ten "elements" Rhodesia plan looks at first glance like an impressive program, but a detailed analysis shows that much of the specifics are insubstantial, a refurbishing of old positions or dubious of political impact and implementation.

## THE TEN ELEMENTS FOR KISSINGER'S ALTERNATIVE FOR RHODESIA

1. Acceptance of British Prime Minister Callaghan's proposal that majority rule be achieved not later than two years after conclusion of settlement talks. Smith rejected this proposal out of hand and neither the militant Zimbabwean army nor external ANC politicians would be likely to accept anything short of immediate majority rule. But Nkomo has shown willingness to be flexible about a transition period if blacks are given parity in cabinet and parliament. With "immediate majority rule" and "never in my lifetime" the rallying cry of the warriors on either side, the relevance of the two-year transition to majority rule formula is dubious.

2. No U.S. diplomatic and material help to Rhodesia until a settlement. In Dallas on March 22, Kissinger warned against "practicing regional retreat" and said that U.S. policy is based on "two equal principles": support of majority rule and no "military intervention", especially by Cuba or the Soviet Union. The Rhodesian Front took comfort from Kissinger's warnings; it believes that when push comes to shove, the



U.S. will find ways of redressing the military balance by the use of mercenaries or U.S. naval or air power. While in Lusaka, Kissinger played up his advocacy of majority rule, but to his Senate Foreign Relations audience he used diplomatic code language reminiscent of his Angolan war statements to demonstrate his cold-war commitment to his Second Dallas principle: "Soviet or Cuban military intervention would raise the gravest questions."

While Mozambique and ZANU, the Zimbabwe movement with the most guerillas in the field, have relied heavily in the past on Chinese military and economic assistance, there are signs that the Soviet Union may be more heavily involved in the future. Samora Machel, Joaquim Chissano (Mozambique's Foreign Minister) and the Mozambiquan defense minister have all recently been to Moscow to discuss economic aid, military training and equipment requirements, presumably not only for themselves but for their Zimbabwean proteges as well. On the issue of Cuban troops, Machel has categorically stated that "the Zimbabweans will defeat Ian Smith without Cuban participation." Furthermore, the deputy premier of Cuba, Carlos Rodriguez, recently declared in Tokyo that the Rhodesian revolution should be carried out without the use of foreign troops. There are continuing reports of a small number of Cubans involved in the training of the guerillas.

At no point has Kissinger drawn the line as to what intervention by the Soviet Union or Cuba would be unacceptable. So long as he keeps warning against it, Smith and his Rhodesian supporters are bound to calculate that the western powers will not allow radicalization by arms to take place. Kissinger never mentions Chinese aid to the Zimbabweans. It is at least conceivable that Kissinger would see the Chinese participation as a way of keeping the Soviet Union out of Mozambique and Zimbabwean affairs. The Chinese do not have the airlift or arms supply capability of the Russians and they do not have a fleet in the Indian Ocean. But Kissinger clearly is against "radicalization" and would certainly favour the accession of moderates such as Nkomo if that is possible.

3. Repeal the Byrd Amendment and press others to adhere to sanctions. Reagan's right wing challenge means that Ford must woo conservative politicians. He is therefore most unlikely to round up Republican votes in the House of Representatives, which is the critical branch of Congress on this issue. Until and unless he does, Democrats will rightly pin the blame on the President and introduce but not move on the repealer. Meanwhile, the Administration is showing its customary doublemindedness on this issue. Treasury Secretary Simons has said repeal would raise chrome prices while Deputy Commerce Secretary Sherwin testified in April that he hoped South Africa would be able to carry Rhodesian chrome exports after the Mozambican border closure. Thus Kissinger's Lusaka promises on the sanctions issue are no more credible thus far than similar statements he made to the African ambassadors at the United Nations last fall two days before a repeal attempt failed in the House of Representatives, an attempt which the White House did nothing to support.

4. Clear and direct communication from the U.S. to the Salisbury regime of "our view of the urgency of a rapid negotiated settlement leading to majority rule." The Administration believes that the Rhodesians are dangerously isolated and therefore self-deluded as to U.S. intentions. This scarcely seems possible. The Rhodesian information office, one of two in the world, is very much a part of the Washington scene and knows very well what is being said and done on Capitol Hill and the State Department. Nevertheless, an emissary will soon be sent from State to see Smith and explain the position. The British on their own account have done this before to very little effect.

5. U.S. citizens citizens will be advised against entering Rhodesia and American residents urged to leave. The U.S. embassy in South Africa carried out this directive on May 13. There is little evidence that these actions will end the scandal of U.S. tourism which has produced as much as 16 million dollars per annum for Rhodesia in foreign exchange. According to the New York Times, a dozen Americans in Rhodesia who were interviewed responded with "everything from diffidence to anger". Only missionaries in the country seemed to be thinking of leaving. The warnings are dependent ultimately on the state of the guerilla war for their efficacy and they have little independent value. But it may serve to change perceptions created by Rhodesian official reassurances.

6. Compensate Mozambique 12.5 million dollars for closing its border with Rhodesia. The sum in question comes from already appropriated funds for fiscal year 1976 economic aid. It could go in the form of P1 480 food in part and could be channelled through multilateral agencies if Mozambique prefers. The total was arrived at by computing what could be promised without going to Congress. (Right wing Senators are currently filibustering authorization for 25 million dollars in new money to help compensate the country closing borders with Rhodesia on the ground that it might go to a Marxist government. A five person UN commission has just completed a three week tour of Mozambique and found that the compensation for the border closure which Mozambique needs amounts to 165 million dollars in the first year, with larger amounts in successive periods. Twelve million dollars is a rather small contribution to such a need, especially in view of U.S. imports of chrome and nickel worth over 60 million dollars to Rhodesia in 1975.

The U.S. is ready to alleviate economic hardships for any countries which decide to enforce sanctions by closing their frontiers. Only Botswana and South Africa, of the four countries ringing Rhodesia, have



not formally closed their border. But Zambia and Zairean copper exports have been reportedly sent through Rhodesia because of disruption of Angola's Benguela rail line. So there are four possible recipients.

The Congressional Black Caucus had suggested helping Botswana and Kissinger is said to have picked up the idea to try to please them. But Botswana's railroads are owned and operated by Rhodesia. Replacing rolling stock and personnel would be costly unless Botswana grabs the equipment without warning. Even so South Africa would need to be co-operative, for Botswana needs to sell milk and meat to South Africa and receive food and manufactures in return.

Is the U.S. prepared to compensate South Africa if it closes its border with Rhodesia? The issue is very unlikely to arise. Vorster has recently reiterated that he opposed sanctions and border closure against Rhodesia. Such a move by South Africa would be unprecedented. Vorster knows that boycotts could be turned against South Africa as a tool to achieve majority rule. He has enough internal opposition to withdrawal of South African military help to Rhodesia. The Rhodesian and South African economies are deeply intertwined and the South Africans are not prepared to write off Rhodesian assets yet.

8. Humanitarian aid to Rhodesian refugees. Most such refugees are in Mozambique. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees has not yet made an official request, but is studying the situation.

9. Aid to an independent Zimbabwe and aid to transition to majority rule. This proposal is linked to the first proposal which defines what Kissinger sees as a possible scenario: expeditious negotiations; then a transition period of up to two years; then majority rule; and finally, after that, independence. The aid offer was made to induce negotiations, and naturally those who follow U.S. political purposes and are willing to negotiate will get rewards of aid. But this does not necessarily mean that Kissinger will wait until negotiations start again to initiate aid. A representative of the Nkomo wing of the ANC has recently visited State and Congress and a 2 million program is reportedly being studied seriously. It would be administered through the African American Institute and one or more African countries such as Zambia. The training would include such practicalities as aircraft piloting, which would prove [ indispensable if moderate blacks are able to fight off "radicalization". AAI is understood to have already concluded preliminary plans to administer these programs. In a section of his Lusaka speech entitled "a vision of the future" Kissinger laid out his plans: "For Namibia and Zimbabwe, training programs (for administrators and technicians) should be testified now so that needed manpower will be ready when majority rule is attained.

10. Assistance to a "secure future" and "civil rights" for whites in Rhodesia. Clearly, this promise is designed to allay white fears that a settlement would threaten their lives, property or security. It might mean physical protection by means of a peace-keeping force combined with an evacuation airlift. It could mean compensation to paid white farmers and small businesses whose land or property could be redistributed to Africans. Some Rhodesians now want to leave but cannot afford to take losses. It could mean legal assistance in working out a code of civil rights or protect white interests from rapid expropriations or nationalisation. Administration officials have picked up on this theme and are characterizing the new policy as putting equal emphasis on majority rule and protection of minority rights.

## KISSINGER'S LINE ON NAMIBIA

Kissinger's statement on Namibia indicates a significant softening of the U.S. position via a vis self-determination under United Nations auspices. In January, the United States supported a Security Council resolution calling for U.N. supervision and control of political self-expression and elections in order to achieve Namibian self-determination. Kissinger deliberately dropped the word "control" from his Lusaka speech. By implication, he sanctioned a continuation of South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia. By urging South Africa to set a time-table for self-determination and to include "all people and groups in Namibia in political discussions, the U.S. was trying to persuade South Africa to broaden the fraudulent "Turnhalle" constitutional talks to include elements of SWAPO, and organisations which have boycotted the talks. According to Senator Percy. Vorster is open to including SWAPO although he thinks they are "born in sin" and "filled with Communists". Although he labelled Percy's remarks as "sensational" and "misleading", he seems willing to let the leadership at the Constitutional talks take the responsibility for inviting SWAPO or others. There seems to be a move afoot to find some moderate elements in SWAPO willing to take part in the talks, which SWAPO has consistently denounced as impossible to join so long as South Africa remains in control of Namibia.

## SOUTH AFRICA: THE CRUX OF THE POLICY

On South Africa itself, Kissinger was mild and vague. There are clear signs that South Africa is viewed by the U.S. as a key to the "moderate" solution.

Kissinger described apartheid as racial discrimination which has been institutionalized, enshrined in law, and made all-pervasive". He said that South Africa must recognise that the world will continue to insist that the "institutionalised separation of races must end." He asked for a reconciliation of all .



racism. All of this seems like a mild and restrained formulation of the "South African problem" which has been described by the United Nations as a "crime against humanity". But most interestingly, he did not call for majority rule in South Africa but a "clear evolution towards equality of opportunity and basic human rights for all South Africans." He said that South Africans were not colonialists but Africans. He failed to say anything about South Africa's move to legitimise its bantustan policy by granting independence to the Transkei, failed to call for a release of political prisoners, a dismantling of the policy state apparatus, or to deal with a host of other issues.

His silence on these issues is understandable, since Kissinger hopes to use South Africa to bring about a settlement in Rhodesia and Namibia:

"In the immediate future the Republic of South Africa can show its dedication to Africa - and its potential contribution to Africa - by using its influence in Salisbury to promote a rapid negotiated settlement....."

Immediately on his return to the United States Kissinger met with Ambassador Botha for 40 minutes; President Ford said on television that a meeting with Vorster himself might be a distinct possibility; Kissinger acknowledged to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that South Africa was a key to a moderate solution and that the U.S. would soon engage in "serious discussions" with South Africa over South Africa and Namibia. South African radio and press were quick to make the most of these moves to the right, claiming that Kissinger's trip had given him new insight into the positive role South Africa could play. The question therefore emerges: what is Kissinger willing to offer to get South Africa moving?

Congressman Andrew Young speculates that if South Africa abolishes the "cruder realities" of apartheid, gets Smith to step down and sets a timetable for self-rule in Namibia, the U.S. might consider abolishing the arms embargo, advocate softer monetary policies in the World Bank and IMF, extend Export-Import Bank loans and recognise the Transkei. This approach is already foreshadowed in the Lusaka speech which promises U.S. relaxation of trade and investment restrictions concerning Namibia (such as they are) "once concrete movement towards self-determination is underway."

#### ASSESSMENT: WILL IT WORK?

Very little of this "new policy" is really new, but it is a very significant reworking of old themes. In the notorious NSSM 39, Option 2 (the option selected) advocated easing of tensions by drawing whites and blacks together in the region. The option proposed that the U.S. should talk to the South Africans and relax the U.S. restrictions "selectively" to promote reforms short of majority rule, while giving aid to black states so as to encourage them not to harbour guerilla movements. The latter half of this proposed "balancing" of interests was never really implemented. Now, however, in a belated recognition of African realities forced upon him by recent events, Kissinger is ready to pay greater attention to the black African states. In fact, he is prepared to use aid as a primary political weapon to achieve a moderate solution.

The economic carrots which Kissinger can dangle before the eyes of Southern African black states are quite substantial. We have already touched on the border closure compensation promised to the states surrounding Rhodesia. Security supporting assistance at a level of 30 million dollars is being opened up not only for Zaire but also a like amount for Zambia in hopes that its possible radicalization can be averted by "stability" PL 480 food, commodity credits and Ex-Im credits are other carrots.

Elsewhere on the continent the U.S. is using military credit sales and aid lavishly to buy political influence. Kenya will probably get 60 million dollars, Ethiopia 175 million dollars, Zaire 30 million dollars. Thus a tragic arms race is underway on a continent for which Congress set a 40 million dollars ceiling still theoretically in effect. (The ceiling was lifted at the President's request in the 1976 military aid bill which Ford then vetoed.) It is idle for Kissinger to warn against outside military intervention and to foster a unified peaceful African approach while arming a moderate bloc. In many cases the arms are used to suppress internal revolt by populations rebelling against corrupt and wealthy elites who favour western interests.

The Secretary retains sticks as well as carrots with which to deal with the black states. He remains determined to deny MPLA the fruits of victory in Angola. In Dakar, he repeated that no U.S. recognition would be considered until all Cubans left Angola. At the U.N. he threatened to veto Angola's admission. Meanwhile the guerilla war continues in Moxico, Cuando Cabango and Cabinda. While MPLA leadership is under internal attack from leftwing elements for making too many concessions to multinational corporations, FNLA is drumming up support in Portugal for a war of revenge.

Has Kissinger succeeded in forming a coherent bloc of moderate African regimes to stop radicalization and armed struggle in southern Africa? He told the Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee that his trip had raised the distinct possibility that "moderate African leaders can take the lead away from the "men with the guns". His design is thus a plan to sidetrack, if not derail, the liberation with guns.

By dealing with the four "Frontline" Presidents as a bloc through which aid to liberation movements must go Kissinger hopes to isolate Mozambican radicalism. To make such manipulations possible he will use aid to those of the four willing to co-operate politically. The vulnerable economies of all the states makes such aid a more plausible weapon. At the same time aid can be supplemented by South Africa's



economic leverage on the four states. Botswana is a hostage to South Africa's economy and is virtually surrounded by white-ruled territory. Mozambique's economy is also linked to South Africa's through the Cabora Bassa Dam, the export of South African cargoes via Maputo (formerly Lourenco Marques) and mining jobs for Mozambicans. South African technology and credits are important to Zambia.

President Kaunda was said to be moved to tears by Kissinger's speech and declared that it went beyond his wildest expectations. Zambia played a key role in arranging South Africa's detente initiatives. It has played a police role in supervising and attempting to control military elements of ZANU and SWAPO. It acted as a conduit to cover for CIA and Lornho company support for UNITA during Christian "humanism" but he is not averse to taking a tough stand against left wing elements. He favours moderates such as Nkomo and aided Nkomo's negotiations with Smith by lending him Zambian legal experts.

In Tanzania, Kissinger got a restrained but cordial reception. Nyerere and Kissinger took the measure of each other's intellect and personality, assessing realistically the limits which bound each of them to certain policies. The upshot seemed to be a respectful agreement to disagree on the issue of the necessity of armed struggle. While in Tanzania, Kissinger met with Mozambique's foreign minister, Joaquim Chissano, who was on his way back from Bulgaria. Clearly, Kissinger fears Mozambique as being "very radical". It is certainly unlikely that Mozambique or Tanzania, for that matter, will be deterred from supporting mounting liberation struggles in Rhodesia.

## Some Aspects of the Zimbabwean Struggle

By A.K.H. Weinrich

This article which was originally presented as a paper at a Conference in Mozambique in July 1976 outlines briefly some of the political aspects of the struggle in Zimbabwe.

While many readers will find this an interesting paper in the information it imparts on matters of interest concerning the Zimbabwean struggle IKWEZI would like to make a comment on the anti-capitalist approach taken here. While we agree with the sentiments against capitalism we must emphasise that in our view this can only be consummated through the leadership of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party, rooted in the worker-peasant alliance, and organised independently of the national movement which are usually led by petit-bourgeois elements that merely engage in socialist rhetoric. One cannot be serious about the struggle against capitalism (and imperialism) if one is not equally serious about the precise road that leads there. This as far as IKWEZI is concerned is the road of Marxist-Leninist organisation.

Marxist-Leninists who think that they can work in a nationalist movement and somehow turn it into a revolutionary proletarian organisation by getting key positions in the organisation are absolutely mistaken. The Marxist-Leninist Party, led by the most advanced, most experienced and most dedicated elements who have proven themselves also in mass struggles, and whose sterling proletarian qualities are known to the masses, must organise the vast majority of the oppressed masses i.e. the workers and peasants on a clear cut proletarian ideology. This is its indestructible base and power. On this basis it can enter into alliances with petit-bourgeois movements to consummate the national democratic revolution, but it must also exercise hegemony in the nationalist phase of the revolution. It must also create a peoples Army to lead the armed struggle and overthrow the oppressive state apparatus of the bourgeoisie. Only in this way will it eventually be able to exercise hegemony in the national democratic revolution and to lead it onto the road of socialism and peoples democracy. This is precisely the task of the most advanced sections of the Zimbabwean revolution today, i.e. its Marxist-Leninists. But it is a task it has to apply to the concrete conditions of the Zimbabwean Revolution.

### BACKGROUND DATA

Zimbabwe, the country still officially referred to as Southern Rhodesia, lies between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers. The structure of the land results in a topography with a NE/SW central backbone sloping into the two great river valleys. In the higher central region the rainfall is highest, most minerals are found there and the soil is best. It is here that the great majority of white settlers have made their home. The lower lying areas are climatically less advantageous and a disproportionately large section of the African population lives there.



The people of Zimbabwe fall into the two major racial groups of Africans and Europeans, and into several smaller ethnic units. In 1975, out of a total population of 6.3 million, 95.1% were Africans, 4.4% Europeans, 0.2% Asians and 0.3% Coloureds, that is, persons of racially mixed parentage and their descendants. Most of the first generation Zimbabwean Coloureds have African mothers and white fathers, because since 1904 it is a criminal offence in that country for an African man to have sexual intercourse with a white woman. (Immorality and Indecency Suppression Act).

Coloureds form an economically deprived and underprivileged section of the population. On election days they are officially associated with Europeans, but on all other occasions they are discriminated against, especially in the labour market and in social life. Asians are mainly businessmen and control much of the wholesale trade. Whereas some Coloureds have joined the guerilla movements, some Asians have given financial support to J.Nkomo, whom they consider more 'moderate' than other leaders, in the hope of business guarantees under a future black government. Most Asians and Coloureds live in their own ethnic communities. Some 86% of all Coloureds and 90% of all Asians live in towns.

The European population is also a predominantly an urban population, for 82% of them live in the towns, but most of the remainder live on large farms. Until recently, about a third of the white population was born in England or other European countries; this section is almost totally urban. A further third was born in South Africa and the remaining third were locally born. Most of the farmers are of South African descent.

Yet although only 50,000 of all Europeans live in the rural areas, Europeans have taken half of the land for themselves. These few families own farms and ranches of thousands of acres, although they make use of only a small proportion of that land. Still, their large farms enable them to control the agricultural market.

The reason for this agricultural superiority lies in the history of white settlement. For since their arrival, whites have refused to live together with blacks and as early as 1930 the Land Apportionment Act divided most of the land between these two races. The Land Tenure Act of 1969 claimed to be a definite and final partition of the land, setting 45 million acres aside for exclusive European use and 43.6 million acres for exclusive African use. The rest of the land - Zimbabwe having some 96 million acres - has been assigned as national land, including game parks and the like

Agriculture plays an important role in the economy of the country and the land allocated to each racial group is therefore an important index of the group's economic well-being. In view of overcrowding, soil erosion and outdated farming methods in the African areas - the result of the fact that 95.1% of the population are confined to less than 50% of the country's land - it is surprising that African agriculture produces approx. equal amount of crops as does European agriculture, a fact constantly passed over by government propaganda because 72% of the African output is locally consumed. European farming areas are thinly inhabited, for there is only one white person per square mile plus 13 African employees.

In their urban settlements, whites have built up industries run on cheap black labour. For this labour force housing had to be provided and so African townships have sprung up surrounding the towns built for Europeans.

All European settlements are connected by good roads and often by rail, but African farming areas have little access to the line of rail, and roads are poor where Africans live.

Africans are welcomed in European areas as workers and some 40% of all men, though fewer women, have left their tribal homes to find wage employment. Consequently the population density in African areas is not 75 persons per square mile, as population figures would indicate, but less. Yet the soils can hardly bear even their present population. In spite of the tiny plots available to rural families - most holdings are merely six acre allotments - many Africans have no access to land at all and so a rural proletariat has already been created.

Today 16.4% of all Africans live in towns and 15.3% work and live on European farms; the rest live in various other white settlements. The demand for African labour by Europeans, therefore, means that even in land set aside for Europeans Europeans are heavily outnumbered by Africans; in the towns there are four to five Africans for every one European and in the European farming areas there are 13 Africans for every one European. In the African areas there are no Europeans, except for some administrators and missionaries. In the country as a whole the ratio of Africans to Europeans is 22 to 1.

The basis for the political strength of the white settler community is their superior economic power, and hence every effort is made by the white government to exclude Africans from it. The unjust land distribution is basic to white wealth. A second factor is the educational system, for it is only through education that skills can be acquired which qualify a person for economically remunerative work.

The present educational system provides 89% of all Europeans with ten years of schooling or more, but it only provides 0.5% of all Africans with an equivalent education. Moreover, about 50% of all white school leavers are qualified to go to university, but only a very tiny percentage of all Africans can do so.

The immediate effect of this discriminatory education system is a gross discrepancy in earnings. In



1975, for example, when 15.8% of the African population were employed in the wage economy, the average annual income of each worker was R\$393 but in the same year the average European worker earned R\$2,490) resulting in a difference of RS 2,097. It is in European agriculture that this discrepancy is worst, because there the African farm labourer earns only R\$158 a year, whereas the average European farm employs 40% of the total African labour force. African workers form the most exploited section of the African population and hence they are also the most dissatisfied of all Africans.

These are the essential background data without which the Zimbabwean situation cannot be understood.

## **RACE AND TRIBE**

The importance of race is evident from the above figures. Differences within racial groups are of relatively minor importance and among Africans they would be even less important today than they are, had they not been artificially stimulated by the Government.

Until the Rhodesian Front came to power in 1962, the white urban population had an exceptionally high proportion of professional and managerial people, most of whom were English. In fact, during Federal days it was difficult for people from southern Europe to settle in Zimbabwe. The Rhodesian Front Government changed this selective white immigration because it was not so much concerned about a British cultural heritage as simply about a large white population. Many of the new immigrants did not speak English and many were only semi-skilled and so competed for jobs for which Africans were qualified. This caused great resentment in the black population. The most recent wave of immigrants has a high proportion of refugees from Mozambique and Angola. Although few of them speak English, they are welcomed because they provide soldiers in the war against guerillas.

Europeans consider the ethnic differences among themselves insignificant because of their overall opposition to Africans. For the same racial reasons class differences between whites were played down in the past, especially in the 1930s, in order to present a united front against black people.

Whether in the past Africans ever wished to play down ethnic differences in order to unite themselves in opposition to Europeans or not is of little importance, because they were not allowed to unite, for Europeans have always considered African unity dangerous and so they set out to emphasise tribal differences among the black population.

The indigenous population of Zimbabwe consists of two major tribes and several minor ones. Among the latter count the Tonga in the NW and the Shangaan in the south. These smaller tribes, constituting about 4% of the indigenous population, have not as yet been politically important.

Of the major tribes the Ndebele constitute less than 16% of all blacks and the Shona over 80%. The Shona are subdivided into five dialect groups, the Zezuru and Karanga who make up the rest. The cultural differences among the Shona group are minor and all speak a mutually understandable language. The Ndebele and Tonga speak distinct languages.

During the second half of the last century, the Ndebele, newcomers from the south, raided the Shona. When the white settlers arrived and provoked the Ndebele to rebellion, they smashed their nation and totally destroyed its political system. But they were never able to inflict a similar defeat on the Shona, for these lacked political centralization and so could not be dealt with at one blow. A curious development then took place: Cecil Rhodes negotiated with the defeated Ndebele and, ever since, the settlers have given privileges to Ndebele chiefs at the expense of Shona chiefs. One reason is that most Ndebele chieftainships are European creations, whereas most Shona chieftainships today have remained identical with those of the past.

The privileged position of the Ndebele is reflected in larger subsidies paid by the Government to Ndebele chiefs and in the recognition of many Ndebele chiefs who rule over only a very few people. When in 1950 the Government amalgamated small chiefdoms, mostly Shona chiefs were deposed. The greatest Government discrimination against the Shona occurred in 1967 when the Whaley Commission drew a line through the centre of the map of Zimbabwe, declaring the west to be under Ndebele, the east under Shona influence. This line greatly increased the Ndebele territory at the expense of that of the Shona. The 1969 Constitution enshrined this division. Also on the chiefs' council, a Government institution, and in Parliament Shona and Ndebele are represented in even numbers.

The relativity of African ethnic differences in Zimbabwe was forcefully brought home to me when I analysed the results of a country-wide marriage survey, for I found not only that the differences in marriage customs between the various Shona dialect groups were minor - there is a gradual transformation of certain customs as one moves from the Manyika in the east over the Zezuru in the centre to the Karanga - but I found even that the differences between marriage customs of the Ndebele and Shona have become less significant today than they had been in the past.

I think that it is reasonable to suggest that, if the Government had not set out to divide the indigenous



population in order to rule it more securely, the present tribalism which disrupts the nationalist movements would not exist in its present intensity. I base this statement on certain documents coming from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, documents which state quite clearly the Government policy of exploiting to the utmost tribal divisions in the liberation movements. That Ministry is also in possession of extensive genealogies of all important nationalist leaders, for it considers the information contained in these genealogies essential for the exploitation of potential cleavages. It is easy to see that the tribal tensions within ZAPU in 1970 and ZANU in 1975, have not lacked the interest of the government. In fact, they may have been intensified by Government agents.

## **POLITICS AND DIVISIONS AMONG AFRICANS**

The Southern Rhodesian Government has not only striven in a general way to divide Africans along tribal lines, it has also set out to divide African political institutions wherever these exist, whether these are created by the Africans themselves, or whether they are European institutions into which Africans are allowed to participate in some small way. An institution of the latter type is parliament. Parliament, in fact, has given Europeans an opportunity to divide Africans not only along tribal lines, but also along lines of economic interests, for the 16 seats offered to African are equally divided between Shona and Ndebele, irrespective of the uneven population size of the two groups, and each contingent of tribal representatives has again been equally sub-divided between urban and rural delegates. The intention has been to guarantee Government support from the rural representatives, because these were elected by an electoral college of chiefs, and chiefs were thought to be loyal to government. Government, however, had overestimated the loyalty of tribesmen, for these soon joined with townsmen in a united front against government. However, the influence of black members of parliament is not very great and nationalists tend to deride them as members of a new black elite which has only tenuous links with the masses. The apathy of the few enfranchised Africans to cast their vote bears out their relative insignificance.

More important is the Government's attempts to oppose the traditional political leaders of the Africans, the chiefs, to the modern leaders, the nationalists. As late as March 1976 the Rhodesian Front Government claimed that the political support of Southern Rhodesia's African population lay not with the nationalists, but with the chiefs. But the evolution which the institution of chieftainship has undergone makes a mockery of this statement. The facts are as follows.

After the early settlers had crushed black opposition by force of arms, district commissioners, then called native commissioners, took over all the functions formerly performed by chiefs, because the administration feared that chiefs might organise further resistance. Chiefs became little more than messengers of the commissioners. It was only in the 1950s when African nationalism became widespread, that Government policy changed and chiefs were given some recognition and consulted on various policies. But chiefs only gained real power under the Rhodesian Front in its attempt to eliminate all nationalist opposition. Much legislation was passed in the 1960s to increase the chief's powers and in April 1976 the Rhodesian Prime Minister announced that four African chiefs would soon be sworn in as ministers of his government. However, chiefs never become dangerous to Government, because they are civil servants, paid by the Governments, and not politicians. As chiefs they can always be deposed if they fail to co-operate.

The Government, through its district commissioners, has been convinced that the chiefs are utterly loyal and hence it came as an utter surprise at the time of the Pearce Commission in 1972 that many chiefs voted against the settlement terms. Chiefs, in fact, as I have shown in my book, *Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia*, greatly vary in their support of the Government, some clearly stand for the white administration, others stand as clearly for the nationalist cause, while others straddle a precarious middle course, trying to reconcile irreconcilables.

In the concrete political situation of today, chiefs are not very important. It is nationalists who have begun to direct the political destiny of Zimbabwe; and the two important nationalist groups are ZANU and ZAPU. The internal wing of the ANC, now mainly identified with ZAPU under the leadership of Nkomo, tries to win majority rule through negotiation, a task judged impossible by the more militant members of the external wing of the ANC, consisting mainly of ZANU members.

According to European practice in Southern Rhodesia of dividing Africans and incorporating more moderate black representatives into their system, they have made overtures to Nkomo hoping that he would agree to a settlement favourable to European interests.

Although this policy is intended to widen the rift between black nationalists, it has also the effect of consolidating the newly achieved unity of the more militant blacks and their determination to fight. This militancy is not confined to men, because African women too have joined the guerilla army. This is a new and important development which will greatly alter basic assumptions concerning the position of men and women in the new society of Zimbabwe, for the revolution which has begun will not stop on



obtaining racial equality, it will continue until all people have attained equal rights, men as well as women.

## **DIVERGING CLASS INTERESTS AMONG AFRICANS**

It is in the economic sphere that Europeans have been especially successful of driving a wedge between Africans. For they have succeeded in winning to their side some financially successful Africans who have come to see their security depending on a continuation of the present system. In trying to gain some recognition by Europeans, these men have cut their ties with the African masses and so deprive them of a leadership which they, with their greater learning and financial means, might have been able to give. To the Europeans the economic success of a few black men is of great psychological importance, because it confirms them in their belief that their society is indeed based on advancement and merit and that the fact of so few successful Africans proves that they themselves must have outstanding abilities, otherwise they could not enjoy such high status.

A rough break-down of the African population in country and town shows the following classes. The great majority of Africans live in villages, cultivating some acres of tribal land and grazing some cattle on communal pastures. The average family engaged in this subsistence agriculture earns some R\$82 a year from the land, subsidized by some R\$42 from husbands or sons in employment. Many Africans in the tribal areas, however, are landless and so Government has irrigated some 60 patches of tribal land and settled on these some 70,000 people. There under the strict control by European managers, they can grow two crops a year from tiny plots and make a profit approximately equal to that of tribesmen owning larger holdings of dry land.

Since 1973 the Government has set up protected villages, based on the model of the aldeamentos in Mozambique (during Portuguese rule) in which by March 1976 some 200,000 persons had been resettled. An average protected village is the home of some 2,000 to 3,000 people who live in family units, each family having a ground space of 15 by 15 yards, and nothing else. Here they have to build their own huts, keep their chickens and goats, and cope with life as best they can. In some areas people have been allowed to continue cultivating their old fields, in others not. But even where they have been allowed to plant their crops, the army has often destroyed these before harvest in order to cut the guerillas off from food supplies. For these resettlement schemes have been set up in the areas in which guerillas are operating, and their aim is to isolate guerillas from the local population. The people in these villages are the poorest of all and they harbour great hatred against the Government. Many people from these villages join the guerillas, and so do many other tribesmen, especially those who are landless.

But there are some peasants who make a good living. These men have accepted modern farming techniques and on land holdings as small as those of their neighbours they reap crops worth some RS 270 a year. These constitute about 3% of the tribal population. A further 3% of rural Africans have obtained title deeds to farms, averaging about 200 acres in size in the central region of Southern Rhodesia, but varying with rainfall. These men make about \$300 a year from their farms.

When these special farming areas were first established in the 1930s, it was stated in parliament that the aim was to create an African middle class which would form a buffer between destitute African peasants and the European farmer. Most of the African farmers with title deeds are indeed disinclined to engage in nationalist politics and feel bound to the present economic system which gives them greater advantage than it gives to the majority of the Africans. They fear that a black government might undermine their privileges. It was therefore of interest to me to learn that during the 1970 tensions within ZAPU one leading politician alleged that his opponents had accused him of being by nature a capitalist and not a true revolutionary because his father owned a farm and so his origin was not that of the working class of Zimbabwe.

The rural areas have also a small group of businessmen and civil servants, especially teachers. These have more cash at hand than the peasants, but they still stand close to the people. In the past they have often acted as leaders of the nationalist movement. In fact, the rural population of Zimbabwe is highly politicised. The innumerable transistor radios play no unimportant role in this.

African working on European farms and mines earn very little and so few class divisions exist among them. But urban Africans have access to different types of employment and here economic differences are most marked. Most townsmen still earn far less than has been considered a basic minimum when the Poverty Datum Line was established in 1974. Calls for radical change, therefore, come mostly from these poorly paid men, but also from small self-employed businessmen and craftsmen who can hardly support their families. The most restless townsmen, however, are the unemployed, especially the educated young men who have been unable to find work. Since they see no chance of improving their situation by constitutional means, they have in large numbers begun to vote with their legs, that is, tens of thousands have crossed over the last 12 months into Mozambique to join the liberation army.

Very different from these men are members of the emergent elite, who have some stake in the present capitalist system of Southern Rhodesia. Foremost among these are a few very successful businessmen who



who are given wide press coverage in order to show that the present system allows full scope for human initiatives to members of all races. Some of these newly rich Africans openly support the government and on independence celebrations, on 11 November of each year, they attend with Europeans the speeches given at municipal centres.

Another group are professionals: lawyers, doctors, university lecturers, or personnel managers in large white firms. Attitudes among these differ. Some feel obligation to identify with the masses, but only to the degree that it does not affect their own position. Personnel managers, for example, often work hard for an improvement of the working conditions of lower qualified Africans in the white firms, and university lecturers may take a moderate part in nationalist politics, but few ever commit themselves to such a degree as to endanger their own position. As a consequence this group contains many opportunists who participate or withdraw, or change sides between factions in the nationalist movement, as soon as victory seems to incline one way or the other. Only very few, and then mainly self-employed men - an outstanding example is the lawyer, Edson Sithole - dare to commit themselves totally, for they know that they will sooner or later have to go underground or surrender their freedom.

As a result of this caution, a large proportion of the new African elite has become marginal to the struggle of the people; quite a few of them are even regarded as traitors by the masses. E. Zvobgo, an ideologue of the radical ANC external wing, wrote in 1975: "Because of the capitalist model upon which Rhodesia is founded, the African elites were created through a "colonial" education. The desire and attempt by doctors, school inspectors, etc. to be 'European' is the consequence. ....These 'Euro-Shonas' and 'Euro-Ndebeles' will have to be watched. They have hungered and craved for too long to live in European company, away from the noise of the masses, to be entrusted with responsibility for reconstruction and development when Zimbabwe comes. We have seen how black bourgeois elites elsewhere in Africa ambushed the dreams of the peasants at independence, installing themselves in power.... .... The African elites are even a greater threat to the survival of the masses than the colonialists.'

Many members of the new elite have not only moved away from the masses, but they have even curtailed or cut off their ties with their own kinsmen in order to avoid the traditional duty of sharing their wealth with their brothers and sisters. In associating only with the few who are their social equals, they have become encapsulated in their narrow social circle; they live in exclusive middle class black townships and try to emulate the life lived by Europeans.

## THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW IDEOLOGY

.....The older nationalist groups are more militant than the late ANC. Thus a document entitled "ZAPU ideological concepts" states: 'A revolution is not only inevitable in Zimbabwe, but necessary. To destroy capitalism, racism and all their devices or apparatuses, it must be an armed revolution.. . It must be a People's armed revolution.. . and result in a complete and thorough change of the system of life.' ZANU in its constitution of 1964 dedicated itself to a "relentless struggle against the undemocratic settler regime in Zimbabwe." In recent years ZANU has become more militant and some of its spokesmen plead for clear Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thinking.

Inside Zimbabwe the people want nothing more than a united front. An increasing number prefer a radical stand to compromise. It is mainly the elite which supports a negotiated settlement, which by definition, under current circumstances means compromise.

Among the soldiers in the external wing of the ANC strong efforts are made to overcome tribalism which has done great harm in the past to both ZANU and ZAPU and which has been encouraged, though not created, by the white government. Ideological training is given to recruits in order to create a new consciousness and to eliminate tribal allegiances. In every respect, therefore, the main aim of this group is the very opposite of that of the white government.

Whereas this new consciousness is gaining ground in the military camps, not too many Zimbabweans overseas, whether in England or the United States have so far been touched by it. At a public meeting in January 1976 R. Mugabe told a London audience that it was a disgrace that they, better educated men and women than the masses in Zimbabwe and the cadres in the army, should be more tribalistic than their less educated brothers and sisters. The fact is that most Zimbabweans in exile have received professional training, hold responsible positions and earn large salaries; few of them intend to return to their country in the foreseeable future. Those who believe and live by socialist principles are in a minority. This means that most of them share the characteristics of the black elite in Zimbabwe. Moreover, since they do not suffer much racial discrimination in the U.K., they enjoy their elite position even more than do their brothers at home.

.. .....The Rhodesian Front has adhered loyally to its principles. They are based on racial segregation and capitalist economy and so stand diametrically opposed to the aspirations of Africans.



## CONCLUSION

The lines of demarcation in Rhodesia are now clearly drawn: on the one side stands the white ruling class which controls all power in the country. This class has co-opted a significant section of the African elite. On the other side stand the exploited masses of Zimbabwe, dedicated to the liberation struggle. Some members of the elite have identified themselves with the people and share in the leadership both inside and outside the country. The general thinking of this mass movement is socialist and radical and opposed to the basic tenets of capitalism. Most loudly to be heard is the cry of the peasants for land and the cry of all for recognition of their human dignity.

# What Kind of Zimbabwe

By A.C. Chakaodza.

In the era of imperialism, colonialism, fascism and monopoly capitalism, the people of Zimbabwe wish to see national democratic revolution established in Zimbabwe. This National Democratic Revolution must move over uninterruptedly into the Socialist revolution. This can only be accomplished as has been done in China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cambodia - by rallying the masses of the people - the exploited peasants and workers, the progressive section of the society - revolutionary intellectuals, students, etc. under the leadership of ZANU-ZANLA guided by Marxist-Leninist principles. This would lead to the overthrow of Imperialism and its lackeys in Zimbabwe and to the re-organisation of the economic, social and political structures on Socialist lines.

The people of Zimbabwe look forward to a thorough-going land reform as the basis for industrialisation because of the wealth produced by the peasants would be channelled into industry and the peasantry itself becomes a large internal market for the goods produced in the country.

Through such land reform programmes in conditions for socialism, the peasants would be organised into co-operatives and collectives which would be in keeping with the new relations of production. Capitalist relations of production should be done away with and socialist relations of production be put in its place.

The revolution has other tasks apart from the collectivisation of industry. It must carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry while striving to develop agriculture and light industry, it must step up the socialist revolution in ideology, culture, technology and turn the country into a socialist country with modern industry and modern agriculture and sciences.

To carry out these tasks a new type of state power is needed. There should be a People's Democratic Dictatorship. The People's Democratic Dictatorship should be the form that the dictatorship of the proletariat takes in the first stage of the transition to socialism. It is, unlike the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, not a single class dictatorship, but a dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes led by the worker-peasant alliance. The political tasks of this dictatorship should not only be to govern but to suppress the bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes and to move ahead with the goals of socialist construction. The proletariat of course, cannot undertake these tasks with the old state machinery; it has to set up new organs of power.

1. It has to do away with Parliamentary structures which only reflect the power of the exploiting classes.
2. In its place it must set up workers and peasants organs of power which reflect the power of the people.
3. Parliamentary democracy based on one man one vote is bourgeoisie democracy. In the name of freedom of speech and other bourgeois civil liberties, power is centred in the hands of western capitalists and indigenous capitalists - the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. This must be destroyed.
4. The Army, Police, Civil Service, the whole state administrative apparatus reflects the power of the exploiting classes and they are used to consolidate their power. When the workers and peasants through the ZANLA freedom fighters, seize power from the Smith regime, they should set up their own organs of power to consolidate their position against counter-revolutionaries. In the neo-colonial



**countries of Africa, the parliamentary structures are even meaningless in the face of the might of Imperialism.**

**If the new Zimbabwe is to take a socialist dimension, ZANU-ZANLA should reject the Kissinger proposals which are being sold with the help of our neighbouring brothers, under the guise of a two year transitional government. If you agree to attend a constitutional conference based on what has already been agreed by non-Zimbabweans, Zimbabwe would be a neo-colonial political order, the guerilla movement would be completely liquidated and exterminated from the face of our motherland. The masses of Zimbabwe would be mere onlookers.....**

## **New Social Relations in Mozambique**

**This address by Gina Machel, wife of Samora Machel, President of Mozambique, describes how new types of social relationships were constructed in Mozambique by FRELIMO during the war of national liberation, replacing the old pre-capitalist and colonial structures. The new socialist culture, she argues, can only be born in the matrix of the revolutionary struggle, and it must serve the interests of a society meant to put an end to class exploitation. True revolutionary culture cannot be separated from social change and the class struggle to serve the workers and peasants. For this reason ideology and politics must be put in command - "the priority is always the transformation of human beings and their reciprocal relations."**

**It does not seem possible to speak of revolutionary change and culture in Southern Africa without immediately speaking about imperialism. Revolutionary change can only be seen within a context of anti-imperialist struggle, and genuine culture only asserts itself in this liberation process.**

**In the international context, in relation to the African continent and particularly within the Southern African framework, the People's Republic of Mozambique affirms itself as an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist base. Internally, the construction of a new society without the exploitation of man by man, the effective correspondence of words and action in positions adopted in the international arena, meant that the independence of our country immediately signified a fundamental shift in the balance of forces in the south of the continent, with heavy repercussions on the situation in the racist colony of Southern Rhodesia and the sub-imperialism of the Republic of South Africa.**

**We say that this has been one of the characteristics of Southern Africa during the last three years, with imperialism suffering defeats on a variety of fronts. Defeated by the weapons of the Mozambican and Angolan peoples, having to face the launching of armed liberation in Zimbabwe, seeing countries and governments which had seemed to be unconditional supporters remove themselves from its sphere of influence, and facing the sharpening of the class struggle in the Republic of South Africa, international imperialism apparently retreated in Southern Africa. In reality, its economic domination remains as strong as ever. What sometimes seems like a retreat is no more than a strategic withdrawal. The evidence is that imperialism, to remodel itself after these successive blows, is already putting a new strategy into practice and preparing a new offensive whereby, defending its interests, it can keep Southern Africa under its jurisdiction.**

**The evidence is that in the case of Mozambique imperialism is trying to create conditions for the destabilization of the worker-peasant power that we are building, as a way of deviating or neutralising our revolutionary process. Because concretely, revolutionary change is a fact in Mozambique today at every level: political, economic, cultural and social. We are entering a new phase of struggle for the construction of a Democratic Popular State, for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and for national reconstruction. The revolutionary process in Mozambique puts in question not only the whole society that was inherited from colonialism, but also the equilibrium of imperialist domination in Southern Africa.**

**The current phase of the Mozambican revolution is not, correctly speaking, a new phase. In reality the building of a people's democracy was begun during the process of national liberation struggle. Thus,**



the objectives in Mozambique today are clear: to extend throughout the country the gains won during the armed struggle and materialised primarily in the liberated areas.

The gains won during the people's war reach all sectors of reality and its transformation. They are political, ideological, economic and social conquests that materialise and result from a violent and total rupture with the negative aspects of the traditional system, and the colonial and capitalist system. The model of the liberated areas, which in itself embodies all these gains and experience of their development, in addition also represents the basis of a new future society, specifically Mozambiquan and revolutionary.

Fundamentally, the model of the liberated areas in Mozambique raises important problems for the understanding of revolutionary change and its possibilities in the context of the Southern African situation. On the one hand, introducing the process of the anti-imperialist struggle into the very national liberation process in terms of politics, military action and national reconstruction. On the other hand placing the need to destroy former social relationships within traditional or capitalist social structures. Finally, demonstrating the viability of non-capitalist economic development that breaks with imperialism.

The model of the liberated areas also shows the function of culture in its relations with power, social structure and revolutionary change.

The first liberated zones appeared in 1967, a direct product of the advance of the national liberation struggle. Gradually, vast areas of the north were abandoned by the colonialist troops, followed by the administrative authorities and, immediately afterwards, the traders.

The existence of the liberated areas necessarily made new demands on the organisation and mobilisation of their inhabitants. FRELIMO rapidly found itself in the position where, apart from political and military responsibility for the advance of the struggle, it also had to take on administrative responsibility. As a priority it was necessary to meet the basic needs of the peoples immediately through the supply of food, clothing, soap, matches, health and education, administration and justice.

It was the political and administrative organisation of FRELIMO that enabled the creation of new structures to substitute the old colonial order. The first embryonic structures appeared in 1968. The first exploiters soon appeared in many of these zones, taking responsibility for agricultural production, for the direction of the cooperatives or the people's stores, taking for themselves profits, services, part of the crops, the very supplies of the liberated areas. They in fact substituted themselves for the former colonialist exploiter, even - in cases where they were not already - coming to be the local authorities.

In many cases they were publicly denounced by the people themselves in meetings with leaders. In others, however, they prospered, completely filling the place left empty by the colonialist and substituting themselves for him.

The question isolated here but one which could be found in other parts of the model, with the same conclusions, brings us to the heart of the problem of social structure and its transformation. Comprising classes, groups or institutions and reciprocal relations in the production process, social structure tends to constitute an obstacle to development when it functions unadapted within the new order. **THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION DOES NOT LIE IN DEFEATING THE DOMINANT CLASSES, BUT IN TAKING POWER TO DESTROY THE FORMER SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS.** It is on these that a system of exploitation similar to the one thought to have been defeated can be reconstituted.

## **THE CREATION OF NEW TYPES OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS**

With the advance of the struggle these contradictions were surmounted in 1968, through the establishment of people's management commissions. It was clear that the bases for a new society existed in the liberated areas. It was no longer a question of making provisional reforms, but one of building a model for the future national government and system.

The substitution of the old structures by the new structures created by FRELIMO was done by breaking with colonialism, but also with traditional authority.

As with all underdeveloped social formations, Mozambique before the launching of the armed struggle was a transitional society in which one mode of production dominated elements of other modes of production. The laws of imperialism - and of local capitalism which is its product - make themselves directly felt on certain specific spheres such as the national market, the State, the administrative apparatus. At the same time, the spheres or partial systems of under-developed societies function more or less by their own logic - pre-capitalist - while being dominated by the capitalist logic which is aimed at destroying, integrating and transforming them.

It is within this dynamic that Portuguese colonialism functioned, particularly in relation to the regulos or traditional chiefs. Using the traditional authority structure colonialism came to count on large numbers of subordinates who comprised a genuine network of agents at its service. With the appearance of the liberated zones, the regulos who had served the Portuguese usually followed them when



they withdrew. Others integrated themselves into the local committee structures or, in larger numbers, stayed on the sidelines of the whole process, maintaining neutral positions. A considerable number of tribal chiefs, however, in some cases those who had been deposed by the Portuguese, affirmed their traditional authority over their tribes and as such came to be respected and obeyed. While not openly opposing FRELIMO, in the majority of cases they fomented tribalist or regionalist tendencies.

Since its foundation FRELIMO has been irreducibly against tribalism, regionalism and racism. On the other hand, a correct definition of the enemy enabled it to be clearly identified in each phase of the struggle. The party cadres basically used political education against tribalist or regionalist tendencies, with the holding of meetings and collective discussions.

The main weapons against tribalism, regionalism and racism, however, are the collective production process, the combat units, the bases and the schools where men, women and children from the most different parts of the country work together, know each other better all the time, exchange experiences, and in this way through political education and collective work, national unity is developed and strengthened.

Gradually with greater intensity after 1968, the new structures of the liberated zones extended to reach into the smallest villages. They included a political commissar as a priority, apart from people responsible for various sectors - production, health, security, education and people's militias. Their task was to make the line of the party known and to follow its application, to mobilise, organise and raise the political consciousness of the masses.

On the other hand, there ceases to be any separation between political action and military action. This unity of functions, which reflects the political characteristics of a people's liberation war led to the constitution of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, a powerful vehicle for development. All fighters in their units or permanent detachments must dedicate themselves to production aiming at self-sufficiency in food, must study, spread new ideas and set an example.

With the withdrawal of the colonialist forces, it was only the authorities and foreign traders who followed them. The big companies, the landowners, also left the lands they had occupied, and without them forced labour and obligatory cultivation ceased to exist.

The people could then organise their own consumer production freely, returning to many agricultural products that they had not been able to produce before due to the amount of work they were obliged to do on the gathering or cultivation of export products.

Sometimes it was FRELIMO itself who redistributed the land, introduced agricultural products unknown in the region, taught better methods of production, encouraged the clearing and cultivation of new land, and called for greater productivity.

At the same time it raised the consciousness of the peasants for collective production and the establishment of cooperatives. Overcoming various kinds of resistance, in the liberated zones of the North and Centre, cadres obtained the obvious results: production increased sharply, achieving figures never reached before. The examples were pointed out and publicised by all possible means. On the eve of independence there were cooperatives in all the liberated provinces. In many cases it was the party which supplied seeds, implements and agricultural tools.

But this was not all: both the cooperatives and the peasants, in groups or individually, and the fighting units, had to produce increasing surpluses - destined to feed combatants at the war fronts or in transit, peasants whose crops had been destroyed by Portuguese bombing, and displaced villagers.

In the consumer co-operative articles of primary necessity were exchanged for agricultural products which in their turn were exported abroad through Tanzania. Their sale was aimed at reusupplying the stores: cloth soap, salt, farming tools, clothing. One problem was immediately posed in many communities, a basic economic problem. It was necessary to decrease imports but increase exports. Small craft industries, using centuries-old methods and technique, began to extract and smelt iron and copper, discovered small salt mines, started the rudimentary production of soap: traditional utensils that had in some cases been substituted by imported articles were made and used again. Finally, activities began based on the spoils of war - metal from mined trucks, from fragments, from unexploded bombs, to make farming tools. Craft work had an equally important role in exports. Freed from colonial commercialism that forced them to mass produce in order to sell cheaply, the wood carver invented new themes, new shapes. In the art galleries of Europe, Maconde carvings from Mozambique caused a sensation. Grouped together in small villages, the artists formed cooperatives, guided by the party.

In all fields of production, therefore, productivity reached levels never before achieved, the area of cultivated land was increased, traditional industry and techniques met many small and large basic needs.

The great stimulus undoubtedly came from the abolition of the forced cultivation of obligatory crops, from the disappearance of the big companies. But not only this: the collectivisation of land,



cooperativism, the raising of political consciousness about the objectives of production, the example of leaders and fighters - these are, without doubt, many of the other decisive factors.

## **MAN THE DECISIVE FACTOR**

What is shown quite clearly by this necessarily very general outline of production in the liberated areas, and their economy, is that, above all, another kind of production development is possible even in a war situation and with virtually no adequate productive tools. **SECONDLY, THAT IF IT IS TRUE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSTRUMENTS OF PRODUCTION IS A FACTOR IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS, IT IS NO LESS TRUE THAT THE DECISIVE FACTOR IS THE MEN WHO HANDLE AND USE THEM TO PRODUCE MATERIAL GOODS. IN SHORT THE LOW LEVEL OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IS NOT AN INSUPERABLE OBSTACLE TO DEVELOPMENT WHEN THIS HAS EFFECTIVELY BEEN BROKEN WITH IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM.**

Finally, in all the aspects of the model of the liberated areas to which we have referred, there is one common denominator: the primacy given to raising political consciousness, to ideology. In other words, politics is placed in command, a sentence that has a very concrete meaning, the priority is always the transformation of human beings and their reciprocal relations. Today in the people's Republic of Mozambique, priority continues to be given to the strengthening of all ideological work, the essential condition for the progress of the revolution and the education of the new man. It is also the condition that led reconstruction in the liberated areas to reach increasing heights and, through their consolidation, the victory of the national liberation struggle.

It was also in the liberated areas that the firm foundations for the new Mozambican culture was laid. The conditions that made this possible have already been mentioned; particularly the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Afterwards, by the gradual collectivisation of production and by the truly popular exercise of political power. At the same time, by the introduction of new concepts of education, of social assistance, of social well being, by the constant fight against ambition, opportunism, tribalism, facism and corruption.

These characteristics, that must be fought in all their forms, do not stem from a mere abstraction of reality. They correspond concretely to the way in which, for many years, **THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES** within FRELIMO and the liberated areas, showed itself.

It was, in fact, in the first liberated regions that there arose openly the contradictions latent since the foundation of the party, arising from the very objectives of the struggle and the economic, and political and social system to be established in independent Mozambique. To the correct conception that the liberation struggle was aimed at the installation of a society and system based on the interests of the broad working masses and without exploitation of man by man, there was opposed the conception that independence should be partially proclaimed and that the objective of the struggle was to substitute the colonialists by a new privileged class of Mozambicans.

Elitism, opportunism, negritude and racism were some of the other manifestations of this conception. In many parts of the liberated areas its defenders effectively took the place of the colonialist exploiter.

The two lines confronting one another represent two cultures in confrontation, two conceptions of the world and of life, irreconcilable and antagonistic. Compromise between the two is impossible. The process of the struggle could only have culminated with the break.

It was in this process, too, that the armed struggle was transformed into people's revolution and moreover, into cultural revolution.

The objective of the struggle also came to be the creation of a new world and a new man: man defined by his class, independent of his race, colour or ethnic origin, engaged in the transformation of reality and in the struggle against all forms of exploitation, the man who learns revolution by doing it. The very conception of culture assumes its class character: the true culture is the revolution.

In the liberated areas the new culture that developed consisted of a collective and common way of production, a common behaviour, a common form of expression, a common way of defining priority needs, material goods, usages, a common way of facing the world. The liberated areas are a kind of melting pot in which all the elements are amalgamated, fused and unified.

Mozambican culture is the element of consolidation of national unity and an integral part of the Mozambican personality.

The Mozambican personality is the product of the resistance always offered by our people to foreign occupation, exploitation and oppression. It is this resistance, fundamentally cultural, that at a given moment takes on a political, armed economic form so as to be later transformed into people's revolutionary war.



It is in this transformation that the Mozambiquan personality assumes new values: the values of the working and peasant class. For this reason it equally assumes the internationalist dimension of the struggle.

The launching of the armed struggle is, then, a cultural act. When FRELIMO took up arms this was also against the interests and objectives of colonialism, against its values, that is: against colonialist culture.

With the definition of our culture in terms of revolution - or of revolution in cultural terms - it was also clearly defined that foreign cultural values are all those cultural values of the dominant classes of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism.

Theories such as negritude and African authenticity are nothing more than theories of the dominant classes of neo-colonialism, of imperialism. Mozambican anti-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist culture affirms itself through a violent rupture with these racist, bourgeois and therefore reactionary theories. They are theories aimed at diverting the working masses from the true objectives of their struggle and to serve the new exploiters, despite their being historically unmasked.

In the People's Republic of Mozambique, in this phase, we are also fighting for the triumph of worker-peasant power at the level of the State apparatus, the economy, education and society.

Simultaneously we fulfill the tasks of national liberation: the mental decolonisation of institutions, the liberation of the national economy from its dependence on the monopolies and imperialism, the destruction of the roots and vestiges of colonialism in people's mentalities, the affirmation and development of our Mozambican personality.

The nationalisations that took place throughout the first year of independence and the strategy of the implantation of communal villages, for example, constitute the correct application to the national whole of some of the decisive factors of the liberated areas: the land belongs to all, the schools and the health services open to all the people, justice accessible to the collective, etc. At the same time, the struggle of ideas, politics in command, the primacy of ideology, the mobilisation, organisation and conscientisation of the working masses are some of the other facets of the present reality, a reality that is a revolutionary change.

It is against this reality that imperialism in Southern Africa is attacking in the most varied ways. This situation will always exist while the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia are not free and while the apartheid regime of the Republic of South Africa persists.

Historically, countries like Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana were considered reserve areas in the African sphere of imperialism. Situated on the geographic and economic periphery of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia - countries occupied by the large multinational companies and that guarantee favourable factors for exploitation - our countries were never given the perspectives of being able to free themselves from this domination.

In Mozambique many of the combats we fought were against South African and Rhodesian troops, in alliance with the Portuguese colonialists, the arms that we faced and the napalm bombings that massacred our people were - as they are - supplied by the same powers that continue to dominate today, through their agents in power, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the republic of South Africa.

For a long time, therefore, we have regarded Southern Africa as a whole to be liberated. Our independence can only be considered truly consolidated in a Southern Africa free from racist and colonial oppression, in a Southern Africa traversing together the long and difficult paths of revolutionary liberation.

True social change, true culture, will only thus be possible.

## **Reader Criticises Machel for Dual Attitude to White Settlers**

A reader criticises Samora Machel for his dual and differing approach to the question of white settlers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. His reply is in response to an interview that Machel gave to *Le Monde* and which was carried in the last *IKWEZI*. An interesting sidelight to the debate on the 'Black Republic' that *IKWEZI* is re-opening to Azanian revolutionaries, carried elsewhere in this issue.



Concerning the article which appeared in IKWEZI, August 1976, entitled "We are leading a class struggle to create a new man" Samora Machel answers an interviewer of Le Monde on the question "What type of struggle must the Rhodesian nationalists lead?" Quote, Machel: "A great confusion still reigns today as to the correct definition of the enemy. People still reason in terms of the whites who dominate the Blacks. Only a people's war is going to define the enemy, other than in terms of colour or race. All Rhodesians, Black and whites, will then discover that this fight is a class struggle which opposes the exploiters to the exploited, the oppressors to the oppressed, that this is a war of liberation which must not only free men but also their minds." To cut it here; on the face of it, it is a good answer. Let me quote another reply to the question:

"What can be the role of the Portuguese in Mozambique today?" Machel says "The Portuguese in Mozambique are not Portuguese. Now, the role of foreigners in Mozambique can be important but secondary, because it must be Mozambiquans who play the decisive role. The friendship between the two persons calls for the destruction of colonialism...." That is enough.

See any contradiction between the two quotations?

To Machel, Rhodesia is not a colony; only Mozambique was a colony. In other words Machel recognises the UDI of the settler-colonialists - by default, perhaps. To Machel the whites in Mozambique are Portuguese and foreigners, but in Zimbabwe they are Rhodesians. The country belongs to both 'Black and white'. Not in Mozambique.

If Machel thinks the same way of Mozambique, it is alright. But what stinks is ideological dishonesty. His viewpoint of 'Black and white' in Zimbabwe smacks of the Kliptown Freedom Charter which damns the ANC of S.A. - and certainly not of the class struggle.

The class struggle is not the primary contradiction in Zimbabwe. Colonial domination is the primary contradiction. The colonial and national oppression of the people of Zimbabwe requires that the colonial people unite against settler-colonialists, and "friendship between the two persons calls for the destruction of colonialism" to quote Machel himself. This is the struggle of the National Democratic Revolution, the oppressed and subjugated nation against the oppressing, subjugating nation. It is no matter that the mother-colonialist country, Britain, washes her hands. The fact is that the whites that are not Portuguese? The Russians? That is a different matter. The whites in Zimbabwe who will take citizenship and pay their only allegiance to an African majority State will then, and only then, be regarded as Zimbabweans. Not before. It is only then that the class struggle assumes the primary contradiction, and the stage is set for the socialist revolution, following uninterruptedly the national and democratic revolution.

It is not ignorance of this analysis of the Zimbabwean Revolution, because Machel knows it to be the only true analysis of the Mozambiquan revolution. It is dishonesty; an attempt to justify the wrong policies regarding the Zimbabwean and Azanian revolutions which Machel stubbornly adheres to at the orders of Moscow. The Azanian question is also a colonial and national question. The fact that the independence of the white-settler colonialist minority was not in Azania a UDI like Rhodesia does not make it a genuine thing. Independence was granted by the colonialist country, Britain, to the wrong national group, the settler-colonialists, a minority. It is different from Australia, New Zealand or the U.S.A. because there the settler-colonialists are in the majority. But even then, making this concession, the independence in these countries was granted without the consultation with and approval of the indigenous, subjugated and "massacred" nation.

It is this dishonesty which makes Machel stick to the 'Big 6 fraud' of FRELIMO, MPLA, ZAPU, SWAPO and ANC (S.A.) (Tambo), the liberation movements which are supported by Russia, and are coterised by this superpower. It is true that some of them like SWAPO and FRELIMO itself were supported also by China. But the grip which Moscow has on Machel accounts for this dishonesty, and is proving counter-revolutionary in the wake of the Azanian Soweto uprising where Machel won't a liberation movement like the PAC to use Mozambique to join the uprising in a guerilla onslaught, just because it's not one of the Big 6. Meanwhile the dying children of Soweto are let down.

## **Historic Formation of Marxist-Leninist Party of Angola - Split from MPLA**

The formation of the OCA (Communist Organisation of Angola) is one of the most important political events of recent times in Angola, and is destined to constitute one of the high points in the history of the Angolan people's struggle for their total emancipation.

Created in principle in 1975, the OCA remained in secret for organisational reasons. It sets itself the difficult but great task of founding the Communist Party of the proletariat of Angola, the vanguard that will lead the workers, peasants, patriotic sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals in the struggle for Popular Democracy, for effective National Independence, and for the ending of the exploitation of man by man.

The independent organisation of Angolan communists appears at a time when their country



is avidly contested by the two imperialist superpowers - the USA and the USSR. These two superpowers do not hesitate to use Angola as an arena for their rivalry, to manipulate and arm local agents, and to decide the destiny of the people behind their back.

The Angolan communists organised themselves at a time when it became impossible to continue any longer within the MPLA, a movement that in the past united nationalists and revolutionaries. However, the very great influence of the political leadership of sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of a bourgeois nationalist political line managed to transform it, in the present political and military situation, into a movement under the orders of Soviet social-imperialism. Under the pretext of the struggle against American imperialism and its agents, FNLA and UNITA, and the Zairean and South African invasion, the MPLA opened the doors to Soviet social-imperialism. This fact demonstrates that the MPLA is dominated by a new rising bourgeoisie which is not interested in creating a popular-democratic regime that serves the workers and peasants. This transformation has not been grasped, nor accepted, by many anti-fascist sectors in Portugal. These sectors are still taken in by the propaganda of the revisionists that presents the MPLA as the legitimate representative of the Angolan people. However, the repression that the MPLA has launched against communist and revolutionary nationalists, and even against the true anti-fascists inside the MPLA, must draw the attention of these sectors to the Angolan reality, to the new developing contradictions. In a word, it must draw their attention to the new content of the class struggle as it develops in Angola today, and to the class interests that the political leadership of the MPLA represents.

During 1975 the activity of the revolutionaries was centred essentially on the consolidation of popular organisations and in combat in the front line, against the forces that repressed the "1st Week of Popular Power", an initiative that had great popular support and which, as a result, the MPLA was forced to support on the last day. As well, during the armed conflict in Luanda, while the population and the soldiers of FAPLA responded to the massacres of the FNLA, the leadership of the MPLA signed at Nakurru an accord with FNLA and UNITA which presupposed the disarming of the people and the equal representation of the three movements in the organisation of popular power. Such a politics of concession and collusion was accompanied by the opening of the door to the penetration of Soviet social-imperialism.

After August 1975 the leadership of the MPLA assisted in attacks against the CAC, banned references to Popular Democracy and to China, closed down the revolutionary newspapers, "Angola", "4th of February" and "Popular Power", and imprisoned revolutionary elements that worked in the Centre of Revolutionary Instruction of FAPLA and militants of COP. recently a campaign of persecution and a search for "Maoists" has unfolded, accompanied by intense campaign of slander and anti-communism. This anti-communist crusade is conducted by the social-fascist tendency led by Nito Alves, Minister of Internal Administration, and Ze Van Dunen, the motive force in the recently created DISA (Department of Information and Security of Angola) an ultra-secret police force. The main target of the attacks and slanders of Nito Alves & Co. is the OCA. The number of revolutionaries and anti-fascists imprisoned has recently multiplied. Thus, in the prison, side by side with Rui Ramos, a long-time militant of MPLA, editor of the paper "Angola" a founder member of the "Association of Angolan-Mozambique Friendship", editor of "Victory is Certain", central information organ of the MPLA, and the militants of the CAC, are anti-fascists such as Pinto de Andrade, past honorary president of the MPLA, a leader of the "Active Revolt" (a faction within the MPLA since 1974), and Gentil Viana, also of "Active Revolt" and many other revolutionaries and anti-colonialists belonging to the political organisms of the MPLA, the popular organisations, and the structures of the various military regions. Among the anti-popular and repressive acts that caused most revulsion among the population of Luanda was the suspension of the Co-ordinating Organ of the Popular Commissions of the Bairro de Luanda.

The anti-reformist elements were replaced by petty-bourgeois elements in the confidence of the MPLA.

On the 18th September militants of the popular commissions of the Bairro de S. Paulo were imprisoned, and on the following day Sr. Zamba, a member of Nito Alves co-ordinating group, gave the inhabitants of the bairro the reasons: among the usual slanders of leftism were phrases like: "DOWN WITH MARXISM".

These are just a few examples of the repression against which the Angolan people are resisting, showing that the forces of progress and national independence are alive and well in Angola.

- Kuranov Tudor, the Russian shadow of Iko Carrera, holder of the post of the secretary of state of the ministry of defence of the RPA, is the most real proof that the power of decision at a military level belongs not to FAPLA but to the Soviets and Cubans.

- While the pro-American forces in FNLA were being expelled from the Northern Zone 5000 tons of coffee were being sent to the USSR in Cuban ships. The coffee was bought at a price of 180\$00 (escudos) per 15 kilos (i.e. 38% of the internationally fixed price of 467\$00 to 472\$00 per kilos). To make this deal possible, the government bought the coffee from the peasants at 6\$50 per



kilo, i.e. 97\$50 per arroba.

- In a report of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Co-ordination of 1st December 1975, it was stated, "Our territorial waters extend for 200 miles and as at the present time, we have no possibility of patrolling them or profiting from them, we should impose certain tax in fish on the Soviet fishing fleet in Angola, which would then relieve our consumer market"....."Extractive industries - without doubt the USSR is the most appropriate to help us in this domain." Thus they proceed to hand over Angola to the rape of Soviet social-imperialism.

- Several times the USSR cut off military support to the MPLA during the anti-colonialist struggle for various reasons. Such support was suspended on 25 April 1974 and re-established only after the arrival in Luanda of the first MPLA delegation. Starting from 12 July 1975 the USSR again furnished military support to the MPLA, but this time in quantities thousands of times superior to the time of the anti-colonial struggle, and of more modern types: tanks, missiles, heavy artillery, jet fighter bombers and numerous light weapons. There was more than 100 million dollars worth of war material.

Since November, the Russians have sent to Angola 1000 Russian military technicians, and a Cuban army of 15,000, independent of FAPLA, which has exclusive control of the sophisticated Soviet armaments and which, on not a few occasions, has entered into conflict with the local inhabitants.

Since the publication of the above article it has now come to light that prisoners have been publicly threatened with execution, and there is also an unconfirmed report that a representative from Guinea-Bissau has intervened in Luanda on behalf of Pinto de Andrade and the militants of "Active Revolt".

## **Declaration of M-L Party of Angola on Southern African Situation**

*Nowadays we run the risk to see generalised to all Southern Africa a big dispute between the two imperialist superpowers of the USA and the USSR, that until now has been developing in our country, Angola.*

*Being until recently the strong fortress of the North American Imperialists that supports firmly the fascist and racist governments from Zimbabwe to South Africa this region of the African continent is strongly coveted by Russian social imperialism, as much as being immensely rich economically, as well as for the strategic privileged position it occupies*

*Encouraged by their victory in our country (where they have available nowadays a powerful army of occupation comprising of 15,000 Cubans reinforced by Soviet military technicians and armaments with the most sophisticated war material built by the USSR) the Russian social-imperialists are preparing to carry on their available political expansionism and to drive out North American Imperialism from the positions they still have in Southern Africa.*

*So with the pretext to support the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia against the fascist and racist governments of Salisbury and Pretoria, the Russian social-imperialists actually intend to put the Southern African countries under their dependency and transform that region of the African continent into a strategic fortress in order to continue their politics of exploitation and aggression against the peoples of the world, creating a new threat to the stability and peace of the world.*

*The Communists and all the Angolan people support firmly and without reservation the liberation struggles of the people of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia against racism, fascism and American imperialism, the declared enemies of the peoples of the world; and they know that struggles can only be won through recourse to armed struggle.*

*But the Communists and all the Angolan people know from their own experience that the struggle will have to be the work of the people of these countries and not of foreign military forces; they are nothing more than new forces of oppression. Again as our recent experiences show clearly the struggle against the imperialists and internal reactionary forces must rely on the popular masses, and before everything must come from their own forces. The massive supply of highly sophisticated weapons and armaments, the great gifts of financial help and the great contingents of soldiers fighting in foreign*



*countries that social imperialists appear now abruptly to offer, these are nothing more than the way they have to strangle the national independence of those to whom they give their offer. We have recently seen the selling of Angolan coffee to Cuba at a price three times less than that of the international market as the first step in the political exploitation and pillage of our country, by the Russian social-imperialists; this is only a little example of the interests that guide the hypocrisy of that kind of politics that calls itself 'internationalism' of the USSR and its Cuban lackeys.*

*The presence of a Cuban army of occupation (the only force that uses the most sophisticated Soviet armaments) having a General Staff and their own logistics over which they have no control (the Russians) is an attempt against our national sovereignty as grave as the colonial occupation of the Portuguese or the invasion of South Africa and Zaire. The presence of the Cuban occupation army serves to oppress and to rob our country of its resources, and the exploitation and oppression of our people serves as a springboard to elevate and fix the Cuban colonisers in Angola.*

*For that reason the Communists and all the people of Angola at the same time want the removal of all the foreign armed forces from our country. They will fight firmly so that our country does not become a base to serve the Russian social-imperialists and their invading armies, as that action will be translated to the people of Angola and to our fraternal people in all of Southern Africa in the new suffering and sacrifices which only benefits the interests of the Soviet imperialists and their lackeys.*

*Against the war between the two superpowers, the people of Southern Africa must firmly resist, especially all the foreign forces from their countries, and go on with the popular armed fight against the fascists and racism, imperialism and social-imperialism - for peace and national independence.*

## **MPLA South Africa Collaboration**

**FROM THE "RAND DAILY MAIL", OCTOBER 1976.**

*"The general manager of the South West African Electricity Commission, Mr. J.P. Brand, confirmed yesterday that work on the Calueque project had been stopped following a request by the Angolan authorities.*

*But reports that Swawek's machinery had been confiscated were unfounded, he said. On the contrary the MPLA government had dispatched a special unit to guard the equipment at the commission's request.*

*He said that recently the Angolan authorities had asked for a work stoppage at Calueque Dam, part of the giant hydro-electric scheme straddling the Angolan-South West Africa border.*

*Calueque is about 40 kilometres inside Angola.*

*Mr. Brand would not comment on the reasons for the request but it is believed to be the result of a major drive by the MPLA against pockets of FNLA and UNITA resistance in southern Angola.*

## **African Liberation Struggle in Continental and International Perspective**

**This article proposes to examine some aspects and problems of the changing imperialist strategy and the ever developing anti-imperialist struggle in Africa, viewed as a dialectical unity of opposites. Specifically, it examines some of the salient features and trends of development of imperialist policies and anti-imperialist struggles in Africa over the past 15 years.**

**On the positive side there is a qualitative transition from the first flowers of African independence to the first fruits of African liberation. On the negative side, though, and as a bitter reminder of the great persistence and power of imperialism, they mark, too, the transition from the first Congo crisis**



to the present civil war in Angola, both equally products of imperialist rivalry, power-politics and intrigue. This analysis is intended to focus, in particular on the possible repercussions for Africa and the African people's liberation struggle, of the total defeat of US imperialism in Indochina, as well as the complete disintegration of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

The writer underlines the danger to Africa of Soviet social imperialism and the new rivalry for domination it has engendered in its contest with the U.S., so well exemplified by the situation in Angola.

The national and class struggle for socialism and peoples democracy is well on but it has thus far lacked one vital element: the leadership of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist, proletarian or Communist Party.

The year 1975 saw historic victories in the world-wide struggle against imperialism. In Asia it is, of course, the year of IndoChina, while in Africa it is the year of the final dissolution of the Portuguese colonial empire. The great victories won by the Indochinese peoples and by the peoples of the Portugal's African colonies, have proved once again that the people's revolutionary war alone can break the power of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They are a major defeat for world imperialism and, as such, a great encouragement to the peoples of the Third World still suffering under imperialist oppression in various ways. It is in this spirit that this paper purports to examine some aspects and problems of the changing Imperialist strategy and the ever-developing anti-Imperialist struggle in Africa, viewed as a dialectical unity of opposites. Specifically, it will examine some of the salient features and trends of development of imperialist policies and anti-imperialist struggles in Africa over the past 15 years - from 1960, the so-called "Year of Africa", to 1975, which may rightfully be designated as the Year of Mozambique. On the positive side, these two dates mark a qualitative transition from the first flowers of African independence to the first fruits of African liberation. On the negative side, though, and as a bitter reminder of the great persistence and power of imperialism, they mark, too, the transition from the first Congo crisis to the present civil war in Angola, both equally products of imperialist rivalry, power-politics and intrigue. The analysis is intended to focus, in particular, on the possible repercussions for Africa and the African people's liberation struggle, of the total defeat of US imperialism in IndoChina, as well as of the complete disintegration of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

It might be useful briefly to sketch some of the theoretical and political background, and the ground-rules (so to speak), for the following discussion. It rests, in the main on the Marxist theory of imperialism gained in the course of the long struggle against it. In his article "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", Lenin pointed out that "Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is three-fold: imperialism is (1) monopoly capitalism (2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism (3) moribund capitalism." It is worth remarking that the true significance of the latter two characteristics of imperialism has often been missed even by those otherwise loyal to the spirit of Lenin's ideas and politics in general, owing to his repeated underlining of the first characteristic, i.e. monopoly as being fundamental economic feature, the quintessence of imperialism." In point of fact, the parasitic and moribund features of imperialism are inseparable from - are, indeed, a necessary function and consequence of - its monopolistic character. The massive build up of military power of all sorts and the attendant militarisation of the national economy is one characteristic expression of the parasitic nature of imperialism; the suppression of democracy at home and the oppression of foreign peoples and nations abroad is another. The moribund character of imperialism is revealed in the ceaseless competition, rivalry and conflict among the imperialist powers, on the one hand, and in the growing resistance and intensified struggles of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, on the other; it culminates in imperialist wars in the first instance, and in wars of national liberation in the second: imperialism = war. It was this insight into the parasitic and moribund character of imperialism, as well as its general characteristics as monopoly capitalism, which led Lenin to proclaim that "Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

In his work, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" Lenin, as he himself noted later, was chiefly concerned to present "a composite picture of the world capitalist system in its international relationships at the beginning of the 20th century - on the eve of the first world imperialist war." It must be remembered that in that work, as in all his work, he looked at the problem primarily from the point of view of the strategy and tactics of the Russian and world proletarian revolution. In the actual work, Lenin's principal concern was to study and analyse the processes of the transformation of "free" or competitive capitalism into monopoly capitalism, by tracing the movements of the concentration and centralisation of capital as realised in the eventual full domination of finance capital. While, understandably, he dealt mainly with the international aspects, economic and political, of these processes and movements, he limited himself, for the most part, to examining the international activities of



monopoly capital in the advanced capitalist countries, i.e., the centres of imperialist development and "decay", and in particular, the sharpening contradictions and conflicts among the few major imperialist powers leading to imperialist war.

The "international relationships" that interested Lenin were, thus, chiefly those among monopoly capitalists and imperialist powers, and he said little about the imperialist web of international relations insofar as it embraced and enslaved the "objects" of victims of imperialist oppression and plunder - the lands and peoples of what was then known as the "East", as well as Africa and South and Central Americas or the "tricontinental" Third World of our time - as, indeed, he said little about the effects of the rise of monopoly capitalism for the class formations of and class struggles in the advanced capitalist countries except in the most general terms, and with the striking exception of his discussion of the phenomenon of "labour aristocracy." All in all, he had little to say about the political arrangements, social institutions and economic mechanisms, whereby those that bore the main brunt of imperialist oppression were dominated, controlled and plundered. This remained the case even when, in the last years of his life, Lenin began to give greater emphasis to the national liberation struggles of the peoples of the East as an integral and increasingly important part of the world proletarian revolution.

In any event, the point is that Lenin's analysis, in focussing attention on the "economics" (narrowly conceived) or, even, on the more broadly defined international political economy of imperialism seen as a stage in the life history of capitalism, was to stamp the whole subsequent debate on imperialism - at least on the "old" Left, and among the orthodox Marxist of the Third International (while among bourgeois economists and social scientists the topic was not as yet quite fashionable or 'safe' enough, Schumpeter excepted) - with its two overriding features, the sources at once of its initial vigour and its later debility: its 'economism', and its virtually exclusive preoccupation with the monopoly capitalist centres of the world imperialist system. Therein resided, in the beginning, the very originality and great strength of Lenin's theory, though later these same features were to serve as a hindrance to the further creative development of it. No discussion of imperialism which fails to take this theory as its essential and immutable point of departure for purposes of concrete investigation and analysis, can get anywhere. But, equally clearly, any discussion of the subject which does not aim or dare to go beyond Lenin's contingent 'economism' and his metropolitan bias, but seeks instead either to score cheap points against Lenin or merely to reiterate and update his formulations of 60 years ago, is doomed to remain quite jejune and sterile, as is amply borne out, I think, by much of the recent, highly recondite and largely useless literature on the subject of the 'economics of imperialism'.

It may be noted in passing that the so-called 'neo-Marxist' school, on the other hand, makes the opposite mistake, while still remaining trapped, by and large, in economic thinking; though there are it must be added, some honourable exceptions. Partly as a reaction against the difficulty presented by the fact that finance capital seems no longer to perform the pivotal role which it did in Lenin's original scheme, but chiefly as a reaction against his manifest neglect of the actual arrangements of international oppression and exploitation and their legion of ill-consequences for the principal victims of the imperialist system - the countries and peoples of the Third World - the assorted new theories of 'underdevelopment' and/or 'dependence' have tended to concentrate attention on these same arrangements and consequences to the virtual exclusion of the total world picture of which they necessarily form but a part. Thus, in much of the neo-Marxist literature on the underdeveloped countries, we encounter either silence or ambiguity on the subject of imperialism: either imperialism does not figure at all in the argument, or polite noises are made on the subject which, while apologising for Lenin's imagined errors and excesses, fail largely to account how and why, precisely, under-development and dependence are not just a legacy from the distant colonial past, dead and forgotten, but rather a product of imperialism, present, alive and real.

To complicate matters further, the great bulk of the available literature on nationalist movements, and even on liberation struggles, in countries of the Third World has been produced chiefly by "policy scientists" of liberal or social democratic persuasion hailing from the 'metropolitan' countries, by those who have no necessary or clear understanding of imperialism. Thus, looking at the literature of the Third World in its entirety, one encounters a curious three way division of scholarly labour between 'orthodox' Marxists, neo-Marxists, and of course non-Marxists. These groups may be further sub-divided according to their particular political orientations: the first between Stalinists and Trotskyists, the second between revisionists and populists, and the third between liberal and social democrats. In addition, non-denominational utopian radicals and 'Third Worldists' of all sorts, who do not easily fit into these categories, are at present in high season! The result of this medley, not surprisingly, is a fairly general confusion and mystification about the character of imperialism as a world system, and in particular the widespread tendency to view various manifestations and movements of anti-imperialism in isolation from *the changing forms and tactics of imperialism itself*.

The ensuing discussion, which is intended to stimulate thinking on some of these issues, rests on three parameters. All too briefly and schematically, these are as follows: First, both unity and rivalry among various monopoly-capitalist interests and imperialist countries which, by the very logic of uneven capitalist development, are all caught up in ceaseless striving to defend and improve their respective positions.



Contradictions among the various imperialist interests and countries are the essential seed-bed of imperialist wars, and any attempt to examine the behaviour of a particular imperialist power in isolation from the system of inter-imperialist contradictions and conflicts, of which it is an integral part is fundamentally misjudged. The struggle for the division and redivision of the world into 'spheres of influence', especially in the Third World, is the most acute as well as typical expression of inter-imperialist contradictions.

Secondly, as between the handful of imperialist countries and the vast mass of the so-called 'underdeveloped' countries of the Third World, imperialism is a many-sided system of international oppression, military, political, economic and cultural. Exploitation is, of course, the essence of this system, while domination, which is typically secured by politico-military means, and various forms of 'dependence' (colonial, neo-colonial or some other), give this set of unequal relations a formal expression. But it is oppression at the 'local', colonial level which constitutes the key-link in the whole chain of imperialist domination and exploitation, in the sense that in its absence neither domination nor exploitation could occur effectively or for long; so that the destruction of this system of oppression, at the level of the colony (or neo-colony), is the first essential step for the effective and final abolition of international domination and exploitation. The struggle against oppression, national and international, is in effect a struggle for national independence and people's democracy: it tends in short, in the direction of a revolutionary struggle for national liberation. The chief agent of oppression is the state, while the chief weapon in the armoury of oppression is the fostering and exploiting of divisions and conflicts among the oppressed and exploited masses. The state apparatus is, in the main, manned and maintained by those from within the 'host' country, who serve as the functionaries and gendarmes of imperialism against their own people.

Lastly, the relationship between imperialist oppression and anti-imperialist resistance is a dialectical one, and the changes of the form and technique affected by imperialism are unintelligible, save in relation to the development and progress, and the consequential changes of strategy and tactics, of the anti-imperialist struggle. This struggle, tends, in certain conditions, to assume a revolutionary direction and character; and the typical reaction of imperialism is to try and meet revolution with counter-revolution. It means, first and foremost, the building up by imperialism of the forces of counter-revolution, militarily, economically and politically, with a view to smashing the revolutionary movement with brute physical strength. But it means also, what is no less important, the attempt to direct, control and neutralise the movement from within, by fostering divisions among the people and by turning the liberation struggle away from the path of revolution and people's war by holding up the prospect of 'peaceful solutions' whether through parliament and the like, or international diplomacy. It is in this setting that we can begin our discussion of some key issues of imperialism and anti-imperialist struggle in Africa.

## **UNITED STATES: VIETNAMISATION AFRICAN STYLE: THE ATTEMPT TO SMOTHER PEOPLES WAR**

Any discussion of US imperialist strategy in Africa over the past 15 years must begin with a preliminary assessment of US aggression and total defeat in IndoChina, which in the period under review was the single most ambitious imperialist venture ever undertaken by the US, and at a time when the world ascendancy of US imperialism was undoubted and virtually unchallenged.

Speaking historically the Indochinese revolution is, manifestly, a continuation of the Chinese Revolution. Yet, speaking politically, the victory in Indochina is possibly of even greater significance than that in China some 25 years earlier. Strategically, the crushing defeat suffered by US Imperialism the world's mightiest and most advanced imperialist power ever -- at the hands of the peoples of relatively small, weak and 'backward' countries as those of Indochina, is a most heartening vindication of the truth that imperialism is, indeed, a paper tiger, and a fresh proof that victory in a people's war is primarily the outcome, not of size, terrain or technology, but of a people's unity and determination, of national self-reliance and international solidarity, and above all else of a correct leadership and political line. This cannot but be a great inspiration for the peoples of the Third World, many of whom living in countries which in terms of size, population and the rest, are much nearer to Cambodia and Vietnam (than China), and among whom the struggles of the Indochinese peoples commanded great enthusiasm and support. For the African people there is, moreover, the example nearer home of Guinea-Bissau, where a people's war for liberation was long and heroically fought, and finally won, despite the apparent handicaps of size, terrain and resources: for as Amilcar Cabral put it, 'our people are our mountains', referring presumably to those 'experts' and 'specialists' who think that you must first have mountains before you can have a revolution.

Tactically, the defeat of US imperialism in Indochina because of the very character and situation of US imperialism in the post-1945 world, will have two interrelated, though somewhat contradictory consequences, insofar as the new strategy of the US for the Third World and the struggle of the people of the Third World against US imperialism and world imperialism are concerned. First, its defeat in Indochina has decidedly put US imperialism on the defensive, relatively speaking, and is already causing it to retrench and rationalise its activities somewhat all across the globe. More important, it



means that US imperialism cannot afford and dare not embark again in any part of the Third World on a direct military venture even remotely comparable in scale, duration, intensity and expense, to its war of aggression in Indochina. The mood of isolationism engendered in the US by the defeat of Indochina and the attendant prospect of non-delivery of promised US assistance in the event of 'trouble' is, not surprisingly, producing much unease among the numerous clients and puppets of the US throughout the world, from Israel to Indonesia. To that extent the new situation promises particularly well for the Third World people's wars against imperialism. The sheer enormity of US imperialism - which in its global spread, and its overwhelming power is without precedent and as yet without parallel - thus gives its crushing defeat in Indochina an exceptional importance.

Secondly, however, this very enormity must warn us against underestimating the strength, resourcefulness and ingenuity of US imperialism, its very considerable and proven ability to recoup its losses and revamp its forces in defending and furthering its world interests, even when obliged, now and again, by those successfully resisting its bombing and bamboozlement, to surrender particular positions or interests. Specifically, the scaling down of direct military involvement of US imperialism against people's war in the Third World will likely mean a corresponding stepping up of its indirect intervention and covert attempts at control and manipulation, calculated to prevent the people from getting ready and organised for wars of liberation against imperialism. Such a new course in US policy towards the Third World has, in fact, long been under preparation, and consists in the attempt to incorporate a new counter-revolutionary dimension, designed to prevent as well as to smash revolution, into the older neo-colonialist strategy elaborated in the heyday of the world ascendancy of US imperialism.

The search for less direct, less expensive and less dangerous forms of US involvement in the Third World was, for the first time, seriously and systematically undertaken by the Nixon-Kissinger team in 1969, and was designed to produce a relatively cheap and 'peaceful' strategy of counter revolution. Indirect, inexpensive, non-dangerous and peaceful, that is to say, for the US rather than for its victims in the Third World, for whom the new strategy had to be the complete opposite - aggressive, costly, dangerous and warlike to a degree - if it was to 'work' as a miracle cure. It must be stressed that it was new only in its urgency to stem the tide of people's resistance and revolution, and in the explicitness and concentrated intensity of its obsession and fighting insurgency.

First outlined by Nixon in Guam in mid-1969, the new strategy was, right from the outset, closely identified with Vietnam, and indeed came to be known as the policy of 'Vietnamisation', as a sort of a back-handed compliment from aggressor to victim. The label of 'Vietnamisation' was wholly apt first because the original impetus for the new policy was provided by the ever pressing need for US imperialism to extricate itself from its war of aggression in Vietnam, which particularly after the Tet offensive of early 1968 it knew was unwinnable and perforce must be stopped, and secondly because the new policy was in fact first elaborated and tried out in Vietnam. Vietnam was its cradle, its first testing ground and also its first burial place. Later on, it was tried elsewhere in Indochina too, but again without success; and, once more, Indochina will long remain an inspiring example and instructive case study in the theory and practice of 'Vietnamisation'. Inspiring, because of its ignominious failure in Indochina; and instructive, because 'Vietnamisation' was, and remains, the policy of US imperialism for the whole Third World in the era of national-liberation struggles and peoples war.

In a nutshell, the new strategy consisted of a systematic and massive building up and deployment on a large scale of local, 'home-grown' reactionary forces equipped and financed from abroad, but through the agency of faithful friends and allies - the puppet regimes aided, abetted and advised by US imperialism for the purpose of stemming and finally rolling back the tide of national-liberation struggle and people's revolution. Its watchword was, in Eisenhower's notorious phrase: 'to make Asians fight Asians,' but with American weapons and experts, to be sure. This was indeed, the essence of the policy of Vietnamisation. But the important point is that it was, and still is, the US imperialist strategy for the whole Third World - for the Middle East, for South-East Asia, for Africa, for the Caribbean, and particularly for all those regions and countries of the Third World which are as yet relatively loosely secured to the US world-empire, or where the forces of the national-democratic revolution are as yet relatively less advanced.

In fact, it may be argued that the policy of 'Vietnamisation' formulated in 1969-70 - of which the so-called Nixon doctrine was but a generalised statement - was conceived not so much to 'save Vietnam', which was already by then 'past saving' as to safeguard the US world-empire after the defeat in Indochina. For several years before the end, the US administration had foreseen and accepted the loss of Indochina: and both its bombings and its negotiations before the Paris peace accords, and its antics of sabotage afterwards, were designed primarily to cut down the scale of its losses, to slow down the tempo of its defeat, and above all to prevent the undermining of its 'credibility' among its clients and allies, that is, the erosion of its power and control in other parts of the US world-empire. It would thus be a great mistake to assume that in consequence of the failure of 'Vietnamisation' in Indochina, US imperialism had for ever renounced the use of this technique elsewhere in the Third World. Indeed, having regard to the very size and circumstances of US involvement in and retreat from Indochina, we are likely to see a much more widespread and persistent counter-revolutionary backlash from US imperialism - in the form, though, not of



direct US military involvement but of 'Vietnamisation', as adapted to local conditions and accordingly, varying a little from region to region. A defeat here, as in Indochina, or a setback there, as the breakup of Portugal's African empire, will surely cause the US to step up rather than give up its pursuit of 'Vietnamisation' elsewhere. 'Vietnamisation' of the Third World, the building up of dykes against the tidal-waves of revolution and people's war, still remains, and must so remain for a long time as a fundamental and necessary part of the 'Great American Dream' of US imperialism for a trouble-free world of 'free enterprise'.

To recapitulate, though the victories in Indochina and 'Portuguese' Africa mark a serious weakening of imperialism and its pulling back from some established positions, we must not turn a blind eye to its very considerable powers of recovery and renewal as a world system and its ability to regroup its forces in new places and in new ways, nor fail to recognise that it has still left much room for expansion and 'experimentation' in various parts of the Third World, not least Africa.

In Africa the reduced probability of direct and outright US military intervention against the African peoples wars must be counter-balanced against the much greater likelihood of its ever-increasing infiltration and intervention, both open and undercover, and ranging all the way from economic and military through political and diplomatic to scientific and cultural 'aid', in all parts of the continent. It is worth noting that the US National Security Council plan later named 'Tar Baby' - which was the blueprint, as it were, for 'Vietnamisation' African style - was first drafted in 1969-70, at about the same time as the first exercises in 'Vietnamisation' in south Vietnam and Cambodia. Baldly put, in the words of the original memorandum, it envisaged a broader association on the part of the US "with both black and white states in an effort to encourage moderation in the white states, to enlist co-operation of the black states in reducing tensions and the likelihood of increasing crossborder violence, and to encourage improved relations among states in the area." One could not ask for a finer script than that for the drama of 'dialogue and detente' now being played out in southern Africa.

The victories of the African people's wars in the Portuguese colonies, which had been expressly discounted by the authors of 'Tar Baby' and the specialists advising them, have falsified one of the key assumptions of the whole project, and indeed knocked off one of its main props in practice. But the plan is in its essentials - the building of closer ties with the racist regimes, the suppression of African armed struggle, and the fostering of co-operation between countries across the colour-line (itself a deliberate mystification, as it makes race or colour, rather than imperialism, the main 'problem' the main source of 'tension' in the region) - still the official policy of the US for Africa. The setback in 'Portuguese' Africa has, if anything, rendered it even more necessary to US imperialism than before.

But in order to grasp fully the specific features of US imperialism in Africa and not simply its rather abstract general strategy, we need to examine the matrix of inter-imperialist, inter-African, and class contradictions within which it is firmly and inextricably lodged, and which determines the specific character of its particular initiatives and responses. In respect of the first, we should note briefly not only the more usual kinds of competition and rivalry among imperialist countries, but also the relatively new phenomenon of sub-imperialism of which South Africa is the supreme example on the African continent.

In dealing with the run-of-the-mill inter-imperialist contradictions, we must take into consideration, of course, the continuing rivalry and conflicts of interests between US imperialism and the other imperialist powers which are its 'allies' of long standing. They have had to accept US leadership in Africa as elsewhere, and in outright contests of power with the 'leader' they have had to bow before his superior strength; nevertheless, they constantly seek to probe and exploit whatever room for manoeuvre and manipulation, and for recovery and expansion, they can find so long as it is profitable. British imperialism is still deeply implicated in Rhodesia, though its official apologists like to pretend that it is all a matter of stubborn whites and quarrelsome blacks. French imperialism having tired somewhat (it would seem) of its African wards, is now turning its eyes farther south, while West German imperialism is becoming ever more deeply entangled with the South African fascist regime in every way.

## **SOVIET UNION: 'FRIENDSHIP' AND CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA**

However, the chief threat to US imperialist hegemony in Africa comes, not from the rather old, anaemic and enfeebled imperialisms, but from its present chief partner in the enterprise of raising "a new structure of world peace", the other - younger, more vigorous and more aggressive - superpower. The US-Soviet rivalry is now, clearly, the mainspring of imperialist conflict in Africa; and a comparison of the Congo in 1960 with Angola in 1975 is as good a measure as any of how in recent years the balance of power between the two superpowers has been shifting markedly in favour of the Soviet Union. In the old imperialist style the Soviet policy in Africa seeks to foster divisions and conflicts among the African people and countries, while in a new imperialist style all its own it seeks to divert the African liberation struggle from the path of active resistance and revolution, in various places and by various means. The latter is best exemplified by the



case of South Africa, where the Moscow-controlled South African Communist Party has long sought to infiltrate and seize control of the ANC with a view to 'directing' and doctoring the African liberation movement. It has sought to do this not only organisationally but also by pushing a political line which has had the effect of seriously dividing the Marxist-Leninist forces from the African nationalist forces, because of the sectarianism of its politics (masquerading as 'multi-racialism') and the bureaucratism of its organisation and methods of work. This had led it, furthermore, to concentrate on international work as opposed to local political work, and to rely mainly on diplomacy as opposed to armed struggle. In this the political line of the SACP is but an echo of the revisionist line of the CPSU.

But it is the civil war in Angola which illustrates most vividly the fact that rivalry between the two super-powers is now the main source of imperialist power politics and of the many-sided foreign interference in Africa, and the chief danger to the interests, independence and unity of the African people. It demonstrates moreover, that of all foreign powers, imperialist or 'socialist', the Soviet Union is today the single most active source of foreign interference in Africa, and thus increasingly the single greatest threat to African independence and African unity. At a fairly elementary level this may be seen in the rather crude attempt, recently, by the Soviet ambassador in Uganda to browbeat Amin, in his capacity as chairman of the OAU, to recognise a particular government in Angola, and in the hectoring message addressed some months later earlier by the Soviet regime to the annual summit meeting of the OAU.

Without going, at this particular moment, into the question of the nature and causes of the present splits *within the Angolan national movement the fundamental point about the current situation in Angola is that* it has been brought about, not by differences of tribe, region, ideology or personality - as in commonly alleged by many foreign observers, usually writing in support of one Angolan organisation and/or imperialist power or other - but, first and foremost, by foreign intervention, prompted by considerations of imperialist advantage and competition and taking the form of massive supplies of military equipment and 'advice' of arms and experts to the rival Angolan organisations. ....such generosity is only a new exercise in 'making Africans fight Africans'.....The civil war in Angola is, thus, in a very real and basic sense the child of imperialism, the offspring, in particular, of inter-imperialist rivalry and competition between the US and USSR. In order to justify their activities the rival imperialist interests have had the recourse to the time-honoured practice of dividing and setting up Africans against each other, by sticking all sorts of labels to the various organisations and groupings of Angolans. The real enemy in Angola, the real source of the civil war, is imperialism, and in particular inter-imperialist rivalry, and not this or that Angolan organisation. That US imperialism, South African sub-imperialism, and Zairean expansionism are all deeply implicated in the civil war in Angola is hardly to be wondered at, considering the immense riches of the country. But it is the Soviet Union which is at present the most deeply involved in the civil war - far more actively and directly than the other superpower which for the moment is working 'indirectly' - and which by its decision to give all-out support to one Angolan organisation until the latter wins final victory has exacerbated the division between it and the others and is, thus chiefly responsible for the present bloodshed in Angola.

In short, then, the gravamen of the charge against the Soviet policy in Angola is that it has had the effect, first, of sharpening the divisions among Angolan organisations, and secondly - and more important - of encouraging and giving other imperialist powers the excuse further to step up their own 'assistance' and interference on the other side. The victims of this foreign interference, whatever its motives or sources, are in any event, the African people. Even on the most generous interpretation of Soviet 'motives' the truth must be faced that at the very least its policies are fostering and encouraging the forces of division among the Angolan people and among the African countries, as well as conferring an element of respectability on other imperialist powers interference in Angolan affairs, and in so doing are bolstering the imperialist system in Angola and Africa.

## **SOUTH AFRICA: DETENTE AND EXPANSION OF A LEADING SUB IMPERIALIST POWER IN AFRICA**

Next, we must turn our attention to the phenomenon of sub-imperialism, which is an increasingly important feature of the strategy of counter-revolution in the era of people's wars. It signifies the rise and growing domination of some relatively strong and vigorous capitalist countries sited in different areas of the Third World, which are being built up by US and world imperialism as concentrations of economic and military power, as the powerhouses that feed the batteries of 'freedom' and 'order', i.e. of repression and counterrevolution in their respective regions. While these regional powers are evidently and of necessity junior partners to US imperialism, it would be a mistake either to underestimate that they have a degree of independence as well as expansionist ambitions of their own, or to overlook their periodical conflict of interests - their occasional 'lovers quarrels' - with their chief partner.

The leading sub-imperialist power in Africa is, of course, South Africa; and in one sense 'Tar baby' was nothing but the certificate issued in Washington of South Africa's new status and its new role *within the wider African strategy of US imperialism, having regard to the by then manifest inability of the European ex-colonial powers to shore up the neo-colonial order in the region. The new Washington*



Pretoria axis and the developments of South Africa as the 'center', or the main base, of counter revolution in Africa, are thus two sides of the same coin. All the rest follows from this fundamental fact. Israel, Iran, Brazil are, in addition to South Africa, the three other sub-imperialist powers with African connections and ambitions, and more and more these four countries co-operate with each other and co-ordinate their activities with a cosy, club-like informality, doubtless swapping lurid stories about 'terrorism' and useful tips about torture. For South Africa, to play its part well calls for good lights and good publicity, but it calls too, for the scrubbing of its face and the brushing of its hair. In short it calls for 'liberalisation', for a limited and controlled 'modernisation' of its system of racial and national oppression, which is precisely what Vorster is promising his followers at home and his friends abroad.

Vorster's diplomacy of dialogue and detente with 'independent' or 'Black Africa' is yet another aspect of the same process of expansionist face-lifting, in this instance designed to argue that the new 'moderation' as well as the proven wealth and power of South Africa entitle it to a role of 'natural leadership' in the continent.

At present, the search for a peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe that would make armed struggle both unnecessary and impossible is the centre-piece of this elaborate exercise, and is calculated to prevent a Mozambique-type liberation struggle from taking shape there. Moreover, the very considerable application of energy resources - African and international, black and white - to this search shows how very important 'peace' in southern Africa is to very many parties, near and distant. At the same time, however, Vorster and Co. are probably prone to count their blessings too early and too liberally.

Clearly different parties to the game have different objectives in mind and approach the play differently. Thus the patent immoderation of the Zambian authorities in the pursuit for peace, which has led them to try and bash some sections of the Zimbabwe national movement which are in their judgment an obstacle in the way of a peaceful solution, is in marked contrast to the efforts, for example, of Mozambique representatives which have been directed primarily at helping the Zimbabwe nationalists to unite round the principle of African majority rule and the acceptance of (and material help for) armed struggle. Zambia's reasons for actively seeking 'peace' in southern Africa, Tanzania's reasons for passively supporting it, and Mozambique's reasons for apparently acquiescing in it, as well as their different degrees of political support and material help for the Zimbabwean national movement and armed struggle, all these suggest that each regime has to consider both its own immediate circumstances and needs and the wider interests and aspects of the African liberation struggle. Nor are all the countries that ostensibly take a stand against DETENTE WITH South Africa necessarily always clean - as for example, Zaire or Kenya or Nigeria, which have sub-imperialist pretensions and 'leadership' ambitions of their own and presumably regard South Africa as an interloper.

It is thus obvious that the detente exercise affects and involves all the countries of Africa, whether directly or indirectly, and a purist either/or stance (on the issue, say, of negotiations) simply will not hold. Particular moves, mistakes and setbacks in the battle do matter, of course. But the important point to grasp is that the final outcome, in southern Africa as elsewhere, will be decided, not by what happens in Pretoria, Lusaka or Salisbury - or for that matter in Washington, or Moscow or Peking - but by the ceaseless struggle between, on the one side, the forces of reaction in league with imperialism that is, the alliance of foreign and local exploiters, and on the other side, the forces of national liberation and the peoples democratic revolution, that is the alliance in resistance and the struggle of the oppressed and exploited masses. This struggle goes on both within individual African countries and across Africa as a whole.

Neo-colonialism and counter-revolution - or, in effect, the unity-in-contradiction of US imperialism, South African expansionism, and African reaction; the contradictions within the camp of imperialism, between its world principals, its regional managers, and its local agents; and the struggles of the African people for national independence, democracy and socialism - these are the hard stuff of African politics: the politics, in short, of national and class struggles. The central theme running through it all is the manner in which the forces of African reaction are at present firmly in control of state power in the great majority of independent African countries. This is the key to the successful functioning of the system of neo-colonialism and the smooth running of the engine of counter-revolution. The present ascendancy of reactionary forces and regimes in most parts of Africa, in the services and under the protection of imperialism, is neither surprising nor fortuitous, but is rather the result of a long and careful process of the grooming and building up of these reactionary elements and social strata by imperialism, by means of their being 'co-opted' into its system of oppression and exploitation as functionaries and beneficiaries.

## **AFRICA : LIBERATION AND REVOLUTION: CLASS STRUGGLE CONTINUES**

Against this background of imperialism, neo-colonialism and mass struggles in Africa, the collapse of the Portuguese Empire in Africa is an event of momentous importance. The rise of the first truly



liberated countries on the continental stage will, without a doubt, significantly alter the balance of forces between imperialism and the African liberation movement, particularly and immediately in southern Africa. It is in part for this reason that those who wish for no truck with the African liberation struggle are working 'double time' to find a solution in Zimbabwe that would help to 'pacify' the whole area. But even more significantly, it was the way in which this collapse was brought about, through the victory of protracted peoples war, which gives the independence of Portuguese colonies a singular importance. This independence is the fruit of a new 'model' of revolutionary liberation struggle and its victory a great inspiration to all the African people still suffering from and struggling against imperialist oppression in its various forms.

The development of the African revolutionary struggle is, not surprisingly, giving rise to its own revolutionary theory, much as in the earlier period the African national movement produced its theory and ideology, in the works, notably, of Kwame Nkrumah. The writings and speeches of Amilcar Cabral and Samora Machel are a living proof of how the African people, through their leaders and spokesmen, are beginning to produce a revolutionary theory of their own, a theory which while it draws upon the vast storehouse of world revolutionary experience is, first and foremost, an expression of African realities and a product of African revolutionary experience. Its specificity is thus vital as its universality necessary. Samora Machel, even in his comparatively short period of leadership of FRELIMO, has greatly enriched the theory of the Mozambiquan and African revolution. In particular, his eloquent and lucid exposition of how the independence movement in Mozambique was progressively transformed into a revolutionary movement in the crucible of the struggle itself, serves both to pinpoint the specific characteristics of the Mozambiquan national movement and the people's revolution and to distinguish it from the orthodox 'models' of independence and revolution.

'The antidote to cure colonialism is armed revolution. That is the only way to win total independence.' This simple legend on a FRELIMO poster is, in fact, a conveniently pointed formulation of the theory of the Mozambican peoples war. There is, first, the stress on armed struggle; but while armed struggle is obviously important, it is not fundamental: the fundamental thing is, rather, revolution - more specifically, a people's revolution of which the typical and necessary political-organisational form is people's war.

In many parts of Africa and Asia the long and bitter experience of colonial wars of aggression and 'pacification campaigns' had produced an acceptance, and even an ideology, of pacifism among the oppressed, the 'non-violent resistance of a Gandhi or the 'positive action' of a Nkrumah. In these circumstances the conscious acceptance of armed struggle as the only effective means of defeating imperialism and colonialism by smashing its apparatus of oppression and repression at all levels, was for the oppressed masses often a long and difficult first step to take. For the present generation of African nationalists in Portuguese colonies, though, this was not too difficult or long a step to take, owing to the peculiar 'backwardness' and stubbornness of Portuguese fascist colonialism, which around the benchmark year of 1960 - when very many British and French colonies in Africa were being put through a crash programme of 'peaceful evolution' - resolutely set its face against such modern nonsense, and thus gave African nationalists their first tuition in the need for armed resistance.

But once pacifism was rejected and armed struggle recognised as being necessary, the other, and in some ways the greater, danger arose of 'militancy' being equated with militarism and the consequent spurning of all other forms of struggle. The chief lesson of all the countries where people's war has won victory is, precisely, that victory was and could only be won with and indeed firmly embedded in political struggle; and, though the main fighting took place in the rural areas and the main body of the fighters came from the peasantry, the armed struggle in the countryside was, in fact, carefully dovetailed with ostensibly 'peaceful work' of mass mobilisation and organisation in the urban areas and among the urban masses, with work on the front of economic struggle being a chief means of political preparation and mobilisation. This unity of military and political struggle, and of rural and urban activity, is thus fundamental to victory in a people's revolution, and is posited on a people's war being a long-drawn-out affair allowing no short cuts or quick solutions. So far as the broad strategy of people's war is concerned, the Mozambican revolution bears out the experience of the Chinese and Indochinese revolutions.

Where the African experience thus far differs, however, from that, for example, of China and Indochina, is in the domain, not of the strategy, but of the leadership of the revolution, i.e., the character and perspectives of the class leading the revolutionary struggle. Both the defence and consolidation of the hard-won national independence and the continuing unfolding of the revolution in the direction of socialism - the crowning, that is to say, both of the national and class struggle - ultimately rests upon the leadership of the working class as expressed in its M-L ideology and as exercised by its vanguard organisation.

Now the leadership (in this precise sense) in the African people's wars has been provided, neither by a Communist, Marxist-Leninist or proletarian party, nor by a typical class-based bourgeois political party (political parties by definition operate within a given system whereas the whole point of a



revolution is that it seeks to overthrow the system'. Rather, it has been provided by liberation movements - of which FRELIMO is an outstanding example - which are a new type of political organisation, a multi-class united-front national-political organisation, which is in a sense a wholly and peculiarly 'transitional' formation corresponding to the specific conditions of African colonial societies. A liberation movement is the expression and embodiment of national unity, of a whole people united and organised in the struggle for total independence, even while the class struggle goes on within its ranks. As a 'national' organisation in the movement may appear to be in the same class as 'congress-type organisations of yesteryear, like CPP, TANU, ANC, and RDA, but is in reality qualitatively different from these because of two inter-related reasons: first, that while its goal is independence, its programme is, objectively speaking, revolutionary; and secondly, it is not and cannot be as clearly and unambiguously a class organisation of the African bourgeoisie (and petty bourgeoisie) as were the congress-type organisations.

To say this is not to say, however, that the liberation movement, or the national struggle which it leads, leads, is or can ever be 'above' or free from the mundane reality of class contradictions and class struggle. Rather, as the experience of Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau amply attests, the class struggle is reflected in, and indeed waged through, the struggle between differing or opposed lines over the objectives, methods and perspectives of the liberation struggle itself. The principal theorists of the struggle in both Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique have consistently argued for the essential unity of national and class struggle.

Cabral's pioneering analysis of the class structure of Guinea-Bissau is, of course, well known as a classic of African political thought. Though the class analysis provided or rather implicit in Machel's work is much less systematic, he seems to be even more aware of the class struggle which lies at the heart and constitutes the very motive force of the struggle for national liberation. Machel's constant stress on the need for greater national unity has always been firmly grounded on the still more imperative need to promote and defend the people's revolutionary line, as opposed to the line of reform and compromise favoured by imperialists and African reactionaries, the foreign and local exploiters of the African masses. Specifically, this revolutionary line takes the form of persistent and heavy emphasis on the paramount interests - and latterly on the absolute leadership - of the working (i.e. worker/peasant) masses, which in his Independence address he sees as being ever more necessary and vital in view of the 'tough class struggle' which is approaching in the new phase of the national struggle - the struggle for national reconstruction - just beginning.

This stress on national unity and class struggle is, thus, the very opposite of the gospel of class collaboration (to say nothing of the collateral myth of Africa's 'classlessness'), which was typical of an earlier phase of the African national movement and which, in the name of national unity, required the complete submission and 'silence' of the African masses to their 'betters', the nationalist leaders who were, in fact, class representatives of the African bourgeoisie. Thus was constituted the transition, via 'Independence', from colonialism to neo-colonialism, and the foundation laid for the ever more intensified oppression and exploitation of the African workers and peasants by imperialism and its local allies and agents. By contrast, Machel recognises that the class struggle will and must become even more open and acute in the new phase of the people's democratic revolution, and of national construction and development. There is as yet little indication or precise guidance as to how things are likely to develop in future, in particular how the class struggle for socialism, or how the leadership of the working class will be actualised politically and organisationally in the absence (for the present) of a Marxist-Leninist theoretical commitment and of a leadership ('vanguard') organisation of the working class. For these reasons the consolidation and further development of the revolution in Mozambique (and Guinea-Bissau) will be watched with the greatest sympathy and interest by democrats and socialists across Africa and throughout the world.

# China's Foreign Policy and Analysis of the World Situation

BY QUEBEC-CHINA FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY

For the Peoples Republic of China, the process of history is that of humanity's struggle for its liberation and dignity. The misery that we witness about us - a downtrodden and bleeding humanity; in hunger, ignorance and fear; millions, their backs broken in forced labour; millions of others, their spirits stultified by religion and drugs or on the verge of madness; hundreds of thousands napalmed and tortured, others degraded in prostitution, servility, serfdom and wage-slavery - for the Peoples Republic of China this is not due to fate or human nature but the result of social systems based upon exploitation, wherein oppression is the chief means of ensuring the material privileges of an elite few.



**But where there is oppression, there is resistance.**

**One day this struggle will result in the creation of an egalitarian community, a society without classes, of material plenty, wherein all human beings will voluntarily and consciously affirm their humanity in selfless co-operation with one another.**

**The world today is divided into a series of nation=states. A few are socialist - Albania, Cambodia, Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, Peoples Democratic Republic of Laos, Peoples Republic of China, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam - where relationships of exploitation have been abolished.**

**For the most part, however, we find the social systems of semi-feudalism and capitalism. The former is based upon the exploitation of the peasant by the landlord, the latter of labor by capital. Both these two systems are sustained by the existence of imperialism. How so? And what, moreover, is imperialism?**

**Imperialism is a system of international competition and domination rooted in Capital's need for increasing profits. It is the highest state of capitalism. Its fear of labour and its desperate search for new markets, raw resources, and cheap labour lead to the tactics of armed intervention, territorial division, annexation, unequal treaties, l'endettement of governments and the ransoming of entire populations. Superprofits amassed from its economic plunder create a labor aristocracy at home, and puppet regimes abroad - thus forestalling economic, social and political crises while at the same time exacerbating world contradictions. The armies of the imperial powers, like international gendarmes, patrol the world, bolstering local elites in their suppression of liberation struggles.**

## **ANALYSIS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

**The world is full of contradictions. How does China analyse the international situation at the moment?**

**For the Peoples Republic of China there are four fundamental contradictions that characterize our present era:**

**Firstly, the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.**

**Secondly, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries**

**Thirdly, between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries themselves.**

**And fourthly, between the socialist countries on the one hand, and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other.**

**The sharpest is between that which opposes the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social imperialism on the other.**

**For the Peoples Republic of China the struggle between these four contradictions has led to the division of the globe into three worlds:**

**The first is composed of the United States and the U.S.S.R. - the former a wounded lion, the latter a young tiger and the main danger; the two superpowers struggling between themselves, contending for global hegemony and threatening a new world war.**

**The 2nd world is composed of the states of Western and Eastern Europe, Japan, New Zealand, Australia and Canada - on the one hand the junior partners of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., but on the other hand increasingly the object of their expansionist designs.**

**The Third World is composed of the states of Africa, Asia and Latin America - the major victims of imperialist domination, but also its Achilles heel, and thus the principal force in the world revolution.**

## **STRATEGY**

**Today the strategy of the Peoples Republic of China is to unite the forces within both the third and the second worlds in a global United Front against the superpowers of the First World.**

**Thus China has attempted to establish the diplomatic relations with all nation-states, regardless of their politics, on the basis of the following five principles of Foreign Policy:**

- 1. Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty**
- 2. Mutual non-interference in internal affairs**
- 3. Equality and non-interference in internal affairs**
- 4. Mutual non-aggression**
- 5. Peaceful co-existence**

**Faithful to these principles, China has steadfastly insisted upon the rights of the reunification for the**



Democratic Peoples Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea. In the exchange of its own ambassadors, China demands that it entail the recognition that Taiwan is an integral part, a province of the Peoples Republic of China.

In the Conference on the Law of the Seas, China has constantly upheld the right of nations to a two hundred mile fishing and exclusive economic zone, and the right of all nations to share in underwater resources in international waters.

She has consistently condemned aggression whether it be the Soviet occupation of Poland in 1956, and Czechoslovakia in 1968 or American intervention in Guatemala, Santo Domingo and Indo China as well as India's partition of Pakistan and its annexation of the kingdom of Sikkim.

Both the American "Alliance for Progress" and the Soviet "Council of Mutual Economic Aid" have been thoroughly exposed as props for the institutionalised plunder of its members. And protests have been lodged against the subversive activities of the C.I.A. and the K.G.B. as well as the establishment of American and Soviet military bases in the Phillipines, Panama, Somalia and Cuba.

With regard to the second and third worlds, China encourages national independence and supports the establishment of multinational independence and supports the establishment of multinational coalitions, as the European Common Market or the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, in order to increase these states ability to strengthen their political sovereignty and protect their natural resources

The establishment of diplomatic relations should not be understood as an end in itself, but as a precondition, a potential means of transforming the international balance of forces.

Isn't the struggle for the establishment of relations based upon mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, mutual non-aggression and peaceful co-existence between states, a positive step towards the goal of an egalitarian world?

Is not the very nature of imperialism and social-imperialism rapacity? Aren't its favourite weapons annexation, subversion and war?

Does not the application of the five Principles of Foreign Policy undermine the foundation of imperialism, expose its true character, accelerate its downfall, and re-open the horizons of human liberation?

Doesn't the call for national independence facilitate the struggle for national liberation? Is not national liberation a potential catalyst for social revolution.

Moreover, aside from the establishment of state to state relations (which, by the way, in no way imply approval of the government) China has established people to people contacts to facilitate mutual understanding, as well as party to party relations based upon the most militant solidarity.

China's strategy consists in a United Front against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Is this really possible?

## **SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM**

But before anything else, isn't the Soviet Union a socialist country?

No, it is not.

Let us not be deceived by the red flags flying over the Kremlin, the memorization of Marxist-Leninist works in the schools of the Soviet Union or the existence of a party called the "Communist Party of the U.S.S.R." There is an enormous gap between theory and practice.

"The stones are crying out again in Holy Russia." A new managerial class has arisen that runs factories on the basis of quotas and material incentives and appropriates the means of production through the signature of state contracts geared to yield the highest rate of profit rather than the most socially necessary goods. The decision of labor and wage differentiation is increasing. The right to strike is non-existent. Inflation and unemployment have once again become the norm. The black market is rampant.

Russian culture is imposed upon nations and the flames of anti-semitism are officially fanned. Criticism is conceived either criminal or the mark of mental illness. An alienated population turns increasingly to alcohol and drugs.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union under control of revisionists, is increasingly a social-fascist organisation. Far from comprising the most conscious and devoted elements of the working-masses, it represents the most corrupted and the privileged. The secret police are omnipresent, and daily, the militarization of society increases.

But what does China mean by calling the U.S.S.R. "Social-Imperialist?" Essentially it means that the Soviet Union is socialist in words and imperialist in deeds - that its nature is the same



as that of the United States.

Let us look at the facts.

Doesn't the Soviet Union control the countries of Eastern Europe and exploit the African, Asian and Latin American peoples? Don't its military boats patrol the waters of the world? Does it not hire mercenaries to do their dirtiest work? Doesn't it finance political parties abroad, engage in espionage.

Even though it avowedly struggles for peace and the ideals of an egalitarian world, aren't its principles the same as the U.S. imperialists - the limited sovereignty of other nations and the superiority of its own people - whether under the cover of the World Congress for Peace or the Warsaw Pact. Hasn't it subdued its satellites through a "rational division of labour?" Isn't opposition to its policies muffled in the mental hospitals of Moscow, the kangaroo courts of Odessa and the streets of Prague?

Isn't the strategy of the U.S.S.R. a carbon copy of that of the United States - the subordination of the the Third World, the subversion of Europe, the sabotage of revolutionary movements and the destruction of the socialist countries?

For how else can one explain Soviet arms sales to the Fascist government of Indonesia in 1965, the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the arrest of Burmese patriotic students in the German Democratic Republic in 1969, the refusal to support or even recognise the Royal Cambodian Government of National Unity from 1970-75, the refusal to send the SAM-6 surface-to-air missiles to the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1972, their cessation of arm deliveries to Egypt at the very height of the October War, their abandonment of the Korean struggle for reunification, their plots against the Peoples Republic of Albania, and the massing of more than one million troops along the Chinese border. How else can one explain the facts that

- the Soviet Union takes 100% of Hungarian bauxite, Czechoslovakian uranium, Polish zinc and lead and Mongolian fluorine.
- that 80-90% of all iron and wood, 75% of laminated metals, fertilizers and oil products, 60% of all cotton and coal used by the countries Eastern Europe is imported from the U.S.S.R.
- that under the burden of export-contracts with the Soviet Union, countries like Bulgaria once self-sufficient in vegetables, must now import these products to provide for its own people.

Doesn't this depletion of raw resources and dependence upon the Soviet Union for finishes goods, signal their loss of their economic independence and political sovereignty? Yes, it does.

Moreover, how can the apologists of Soviet Social Imperialism explain the facts that:

- that the U.S.S.R. has invested 200 billion dollars in Brazilian bituminous mines.
- that Soviet floating fish-factories steal the resources of the Japanese, Nordic and Canadian peoples.
- that Czechoslovakia is 2.5 billion dollars in debt to the Soviet Union, Egypt 5 billion and Cuba 6 billions.
- that the U.S.S.R. bought oil from its "ally" Iraq at 6 million pounds sterling and resold it to the Federal Republic of Germany for 18 million pounds sterling.
- that coffee beans bought in India reappear in Europe, under a new label and at higher prices.
- that railway wagons bought dirt cheap, also from India, were sold to France and Great Britain at 30% higher prices.
- that the Soviet Union sold its "friend" India nickel at 30,000 dollars a ton and paper at 3,640 dollars a ton while the world market prices were only 15,000 and 2,848 dollars a ton respectively.

How will they explain an increase of 50% in its military budget since 1964, the reality of 500,000 Soviet troops upon the soil of the German Democratic Republic, the existence of 4,200 combat aircraft, and military expenditures for the year 1975 totalling 114 billion dollars.

In the name of disarmament has it not increased its strike capability? Under the cover of "detente", has it not expanded its frontiers? In the name of "socialism", does it not practice "imperialism"? Doesn't its wild ambitions betray its Hitlerite tendencies?

The U.S.S.R. is a wolf in sheep's clothing. It is a greater danger than the American imperialists.

## **DETENTE AND DANGER OF NEW WORLD WAR**

Today both superpowers are engaged in a feverish arms race, the purpose and consequence of which can only be the outbreak of a new world war.

Essentially competitive by nature and ruthless in character the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are bolstering their "defence" capacities in order to protect "their" markets and resources abroad. Both are arming themselves to the teeth, each one seeking to outdo the other.

In the field of military research the United States leads in integrated circuitry, highspeed bypass turbo-fans, alloys, inertia instrumentation, precision guided weapons, numerically controlled machine



tools and far outpaces the U.S.S.R. in air to air missiles, avionics and satellite sensors. However, the Soviet Union leads in high pressure physics, welding, anti-ship missiles, chemical warfare, lasers, artillery technology, magnetic hydro-dynamic power generation, and is considerably advanced in titanium fabrication and radio wave research.

There is equality in nuclear weapons research and general aerodynamics.

In terms of actual hardware, the Soviet Union is leading the race. Whereas the U.S. military budget for 1975 was some 90 billion dollars, that of the U.S.S.R. was 114 billion dollars. The Soviet Union has 4.8 million troops as compared with 2.1 million of the United States, 35,000 tanks vs. 9,000 American tanks, 40,000 armed personnel carrier to 14,000 U.S., 1610 ICBM to 1)54 American, 784 submarine carrying carrying ICBM vs. 656 U.S. In Europe this is even more pronounced where you have for example 11,000 Soviet planes to 800 of the U.S., 2.4 million troops vs. 289,000 for the U.S.

The Soviet navy is expanding at four times the rate of the U.S. navy, building tactical aircraft 70% faster than the U.S. Its military budget has increased 50% between 1968 and 1973, a seven fold use in construction of nuclear submarines, a two fold rise in construction of nuclear warheads since 1968. One third of state budget is geared to defence; 60% of all factories are geared for war productions. To improve its strike capacity Soviet Union replaced its SS4 and SS5 mobile middle distance nuclear weapons with SSX20 capable of striking MiddleEast, Asia and Europe and recently replaced its long distance multiple warhead model the SS9 with the SS18. A call for "detente" in this context is nothing but a manoeuvre calculated to gain a tactical advantage in preparation for a strategic strike.

Yes, the U.S.S.R. is the main danger in the world, but in each particular country either one or the other superpower can be the principal enemy.

## UNITED FRONT BETWEEN SECOND AND THIRD WORLDS

Let us come back to the strategy put forward by China concerning the United Front between the second and third world against hegemonism and reaction.

Can one seriously expect the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, Oceania and Canada to sever their relations with the United States and the U.S.S.R.? Yes. As the struggles of the third world increase the pressure upon the superpowers, as the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.'s fear of domestic revolt deepens, and as their need to expand economically increases, the exploitation by the two superpowers of their junior partners in the second world will intensify and their underlying antagonism will be revealed.

Hasn't Europe become a zone of contention between the superpowers? How else can one explain their financing of political parties in Portugal, France and Italy. Are the 10,000 American troops in Italy and the 75,000 troops of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia there to safeguard "democracy" or "socialism"? As the peoples of Western and Eastern Europe realise more and more that political sovereignty and economic independence is the precondition for peace and prosperity, their governments will be increasingly obliged to disassociate themselves from superpower domination.

The example of the Third World acts as a catalyst and the struggle of these countries pushes those of the second world to take their distance from the superpowers. This is what happened during the oil crisis when France broke with the tradition of negotiating with the oil producing countries as a member of the Western bloc dominated by the United States. For the first time, France concluded a bilateral contract with Saudi Arabia thus breaking the American or the countries of the second world in its orbit who, before, were obliged to follow prices established by the U.S.

Today an alliance between the Second and Third Worlds implies an alliance between the newly independent states and their former colonial masters, between progressive countries like Algeria or Guinea Bissau and reactionary ones like Sudan or Iran. Is this really possible?

Yes! *Circumstances change and today's enemies can be tomorrow's allies.* To the degree that the imperial powers of the second world uphold the banner of national independence, disassociate themselves from the hegemonic designs of the superpowers, and support the cause of the third world they objectively become progressive.

Is this a new question? No. Didn't the revolutionaries and peoples of former colonies fight alongside their imperial masters during World War II? Yes they did. Was this an error in judgment? A betrayal of principle? Not at all. For at *that moment*, the principal contradiction was between the peoples of the world and the forces of Nazi Germany and Japanese fascism. Moreover, it was precisely this battle that accelerated the anti-colonial struggles in Africa, the independence movements in South Asia and led to the liberation of Korea, Vietnam, Romania, Albania and the peoples Republic of China.

Furthermore must not we reassess our notions of progress and reaction? Can one call a government progressive if it sells out its peoples destiny for a few pieces of silver? Are automobiles, tractors, television sets and telephones an adequate exchange for the right of self-determination? Governments that are internally backward, yet resist.



Isn't it true that a government, *internally backward* yet resisting foreign domination, is progressive, while a benevolent regime tied to either the U.S. Imperialism or Soviet Social Imperialism is reactionary? For doesn't the latter strengthen their hegemony and thus prolong the misery of its own people and all the peoples of the world?

It should thus be noted that for the Peoples Republic of China, the criteria for inclusion in the United Front is not exclusively a state's *internal* policy, but essentially its external policy, not a product of a government's nobility but of its own objective interest; not an automatic result of the establishment of diplomatic relations with China nor necessarily a factor of the class or party leading the country, but of the objective results of its actions, i.e., do they strengthen or weaken the position of either superpowers?

The policy of such a United Front consists in distinguishing between allies, friends and enemies and between primary and secondary enemies in "uniting all forces that can be united." "developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle and isolating the die-hards," in "making use of contradiction, winning over the many, opposing the few, and crushing one's enemies one by one and waging a just struggle, to one's advantage and with restraint."

It is on the basis of these principles, tested in its own struggle, that China has undertaken the battle against hegemonism and international reaction.

It is on the basis of these politics that the Chinese Communist Party was able to lead the Chinese people to victory against Japanese aggression, Kuomintang reaction, and American intervention through the stages of the new democratic revolution up to the consolidation of proletarian power through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Mao-Tse-Tung rejected the Trotskyite theory of fighting on all fronts. To do so would be self-defeating he realised. No doubt abstract principle would have been upheld, but such a policy would have led directly to the loss of the revolution itself.

In 1936 the Chinese Communist Party formed a United Front against Japan based upon an alliance between workers, peasants and intellectuals on the one hand, and patriotic landlords, capitalists and the Kuomintang on the other. "Casting the net as wide as possible", all those who upheld an independent China were mobilised - regardless of their class position, party affiliation interest or motivation.

Thus in 1937, the Chinese Communist Party neutralized the old British imperialism, even strengthened it, temporarily, to prevent it from slipping into an alliance with ascending Fascist Japan. The British thought that by helping China against Japan they would gain ground. The British could not understand that in the meantime the Chinese Communist Party was consolidating its own position, that the defeat of Japan would leave a stronger and more independent China, that an armed Chinese population would be difficult for the British to control. The evaluation of the Chinese Communist Party was to prove accurate.

In August 1939 Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. in February 1941, a Neutrality Pact was signed between the Soviet Union and China's enemy, Japan.

Were these actions a violation of principle, a betrayal of the Chinese Revolution? No, they were not. They were the able application of flexible tactics, destined to assure the preservation of the then socialist Soviet Union, and thus maintain her support for revolutionary causes throughout the world. What was the purpose of the two pacts? The first was to prevent an Anglo-German Alliance against the Soviet Union; the second, to prevent fighting on both the Eastern and Western fronts. Had Stalin refused to sign, the Soviet Union, the only socialist country at the time would have been destroyed; and the world would have come under Nazi domination, thus setting back liberation movements around the globe.

For the Third World to permit these superpower tactics to succeed or to refuse to consciously cultivate an alliance with the Second World is only to increase its isolation and prolong the suffering of its peoples.

For the Second World to reject an alliance with the Third World for the creation of a new world order is to act in a short-sighted manner. It is to sacrifice the possibility of building an independent, prosperous and stable society for a couple of fast bucks and it will only lead to the perpetuation of their crises.

In fact, the future of humanity lies in the success of an alliance between the Second and Third Worlds.

It is in the alliance of the Second and Third Worlds that the success of the United Front against superpower hegemonism lies. And this fact is understood by both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Both are desperately trying to deny the existence of the Third World either by talking about a Fourth or Fifth World or by dividing up Third World into reactionary and progressive regimes and fostering conflict among them. Both superpowers are attempting to maintain the integration of the Second World into their own orbit by proposing joint-investment ventures into Africa, Asia and Latin America or by propagating racist theories propounding the 'inferiority' of the peoples of the Third World.



## PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Upon what principle does this United Front strategy base itself? What is the fundamental principle of Chinese foreign policy? Is it proletarian internationalism? What does it mean? And how does it manifest itself?

It means that even though the working-class takes power in one country, no worker can be totally free until all of humanity has been emancipated.

And if humanity is still enchained, we know that this is primarily due to the existence of imperialism, which maintains oppressive and exploitative societies throughout the world.

Thus the cornerstone of a revolutionary government's foreign policy must be the destruction of this system. Its essence is an alliance with oppressed nations and the revolutionary workers of the capitalist and revisionist countries in a world-wide front against imperialism and social-imperialism. Though every effort must be made to enhance the possibility of this victory, this does not mean that a socialist country must destroy itself. On the contrary, it has a duty to preserve itself. Didn't Lenin sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 with Imperial Germany, ceding to it part of the Soviet Union? Yes. Was this a compromise? Yes. Was this violation of principle? No. On the contrary, it was the affirmation of the principle that the only standard by which one can judge the foreign policy of a country, is not one of abstract definition, but a concrete evaluation of its consequences upon the totality of international relations.

Let us analyse the character of Lenin's compromise, the purpose for which it was signed. Was it an act of capitulation? No. On the contrary. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed out of necessity, not to abandon the Russian Revolution, but to consolidate it, thus permitting it to continue and to increase support for global liberation. Had the Soviet Union persisted in the war, its internal weaknesses would have assured its destruction.

The test of revolutionary character of one's actions is not destruction by one's enemies. Vindication of correct policy does *not* reside in *permanent defeat* but lies in the accomplishment of one's tasks culminating in final victory.

But given the duty of a socialist country to forestall the *inevitable* attack by imperialist powers against itself, isn't there a *danger* that this concern can transform the basis of its foreign policy from internationalism into big-power chauvinism? Yes, and all the more so in a country like China where the feudal rulers of the past encouraged chauvinism in order to divide the people.

What then, is the guarantee against this danger? Only the constant awareness of this possibility, vigilance against revisionist forces and the reaffirmation of revolutionary ideals through the mobilisation of the masses.

Did not one million Chinese volunteers sacrifice lives in defence of the Korean Revolution? Wasn't China openly the rear base for the liberation struggles in Indo-China? Aren't Chinese children taught the songs and dances of the national minorities and to greet foreigners as Aunt and Uncle? Isn't the entire population studying Lenin's notes on IMPERIALISM? Didn't the campaign against Confucius and Lin Piao deal with questions

of Foreign Policy?

However, the ultimate guarantee for the existence of a socialist country, of obtaining the breathing space necessary for defense preparations lies in its indissoluble unity with other socialist countries, the exposure and neutralization of the aggressive tendencies of Imperialism and Social Imperialism, the mobilization of the maximum number of governments against hegemonism, and above all, the expansion of revolutionary forces throughout the world.

Does this mean that China should export revolution? No. Genuine liberation is not a gift from the Gods, or from foreign armies, but a process involving great courage and enormous sacrifices, by which an actively mobilized and politically aware people, *emancipate themselves* by relying upon their *own* forces.

A revolutionary government can alter the international balance of forces, isolate diehards or even create new social forces amenable to revolutionary goals, it can perhaps accelerate certain processes and thus enhance the *potential* for revolution. It can never, however, be the primary force in the liberation of another people, let alone substitute itself as their saviour!

Between socialist countries China has established relations of proletarian selflessness. Grain is bought in Canada to permit annual rice contributions to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Foreign currency received through the export of Chinese goods, buy machines on the capitalist market for Albania to ensure the independent character of its economy.

Between the newly independent states China has established the Charter of Economic and Technical Assistance containing the following eight principles:

1. Equality and mutual benefit in trade.
2. No strings attached



3. No interest loans with optional repayment
4. No dependent relationship: all aid must build up the independent character of the recipient's economy.
5. No long gestation period: all investments must be short term and provide quick returns.
6. No second best, i.e., all goods must be top quality.
7. No mystique: recipient countries are taught not only to repair but also to reproduce the good themselves.
8. No privileged status for Chinese technicians sent abroad.

One of the most well-known projects is the Tan-Zam Railway - built in defiance of American and Soviet engineers to free land-locked Zambia from dependence upon South Africa and increase logistic support to freedom fighters in Southern Africa.

After five years and eight months of back-breaking effort the Tan-Zam was officially opened on July 14, 1976. 18,665 kilometres in length, it comprises 300 bridges, 21 tunnels, 140 stations and more than 102 locomotives. It has a daily capacity of 20,000 tons. China estimated the cost at 500 million dollars, and she has assumed all costs higher than this cost. The loan of 500 million itself, is not due until 2013.

The railway was built by 40,000 African workers helped by 14,000 technicians and labourers. The Chinese workers lived in the same conditions as the African workers, without any special privileges. In order not to be a burden, the 14,000 Chinese grew their own vegetables, and raised chickens, thus providing more than 80% of their food requirements. Medical clinics installed by the Chinese for their work team was open to the African and the Chinese doctors took the time to learn the local languages.

The development of the Tan-Zam involved the creation of a furniture factory, a sawmill, a spare-parts factory for the railway machinery, and a technical school for African students. All these served the construction of the railway but they will remain in place after the departure of the Chinese work team. The technical school, by the way, was not part of the original contract. It was a gift from the Chinese.

During the construction of the railway the African workers learned how to work as the Chinese do, that is to say in teams, and they came to reject privileges amongst themselves. This class consciousness will perhaps be the most precious gift China will have given to new Zambia and Tanzania.

In support of national liberation struggles China supported the peoples of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola; and supports the people of Azania and Namibia against South Africa, and the right of the Palestinian people to their homeland against Zionism.

On the question of Angola, China supported morally and materially all three liberation movements, the MPLA, UNITA and FNLA.

Upon the signing of the Agreement of Alvores in January 1975 between three liberation movements and Portugal, confirming independence of Angola, all new aid was halted in uniformity with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. As of November 11, Independence Day, all aid had ceased. At that time China reaffirmed its belief in a Government of National unity to safeguard territorial integrity, heal the wounds of colonial division and begin the construction of an independent economy.

Simultaneously, China criticised all external forces seeking to utilize the Angolan people for their own ends - the United States, South Africa and especially the USSR who under the cover of socialism sought to provoke a civil war by promoting one particular movement, and this in order to transform it into a client thereby gaining access to the raw resources and natural bays of Angolan soil.

But why didn't China support Bangladesh against the government of Pakistan in 1971? Isn't support for the right of self-determination unconditional? Not at all. It depends upon the consequences of that struggle. If it is genuine, i.e., if it undermines the forces of Imperialism and Social Imperialism, it will be supported regardless of the movement's leadership. If it is fraudulent, a trick to deliver the people into the hands of new colonialists it will be shunned or exposed. If it is led by proletarian forces, it can surpass the limits of national liberation and will benefit from fraternal aid.

The right of self-determination is not an abstraction; if any truth is applied to all concrete situations, it will become an empty phrase. Thus, on the question of Pakistan, China upheld the just struggle of the Bengali people but refused to support the Awami League which sought merely to facilitate India's annexation of East Pakistan, and this, in the interests of Soviet Social Imperialism.

The struggles of the Indo-Chinese people against U.S. imperialism, on the other hand, were supported to the hilt. China served as the rear base for the Vietnamese Revolution and sheltered the Government Royal Union of Cambodia after the American coup of 1970.

Did China then betray the Chilean Revolution by refusing to break diplomatic relations with the Junta in 1973. Not at all.

Let us first clarify the facts.



China's first action at the time of the coup, was to denounce it, expose American interference and praise the noble ideals of President Allende. This was immediately followed by a downgrading of diplomatic contacts, from the level of ambassador to charge d'affaires. Simultaneously, China criticised the revisionist leadership of the Chilean Communist Party and the complicity of the USSR for insisting that Allende take the "peaceful road to socialism" in face of historical fact. Hadn't the Paris Commune proven tragically the bankruptcy of this theory 100 years earlier? Hadn't recent events in Indonesia and Indo-China confirmed this judgment.

Yes, China refused to enter the charade of diplomatic wrist-slapping. For who broke all relations with the Junta? For the most part, the very countries responsible for the massacre - on the one hand the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, like Poland, who peddled the idea of the "peaceful road" while their own experience was to the contrary. On the other hand, certain capitalist countries of Western Europe also broke relations but only to saveface in the wake of their complicity in Indo-China.

Moreover, what would the breaking off of all relations accomplish? Was there a government in exile as in Cambodia? Was there a peoples army capable to defend its gains? Was part of Chilean territory liberated?

The refusal to recognise that the Fascist Junta is the government of Chile, that it indeed has authority over the territory and population, is an infantile gesture.

Should China, then, have no diplomatic relations, isolate itself completely, minimize its utility to the world's peoples and increase its vulnerability to imperialist attack by breaking all diplomatic relations whether with Chile, or the fascist regimes of Paraguay, Phillipines, India or their masters, the governments of the U.S. and the USSR?

One must always distinguish state to state relations and the commerce it entails from approval of the regime.

Did not Lenin once remark that "there are different kinds of compromise". One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each variety of compromise, One must learn to distinguish between a man who has given up his money and fire arms to bandits to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture, and giving bandits money and guns in order to share in the loot."

In support of popular revolution, China has consistently exposed the socio-economic foundations of the world's problems in Conferences on Food, Development and Population as well as before the U.N.O.

China sent volunteers to Korea, organised gigantic demonstrations in support of May 1968 in France, encouraged the struggle of black Americans, and has constantly affirmed its faith in the creative power of the peoples of the world.

Concerning genuine revolutionary movements, China extends moral, technical and diplomatic aid, depending upon the stage of struggle and the maturity of the forces in combat.

However, China's chief aid to revolutionaries lies in the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party against opportunism in the international workers movement, in its defence of Marxist-Leninist ideology against revisionism, in its continuation of the revolution at home, the propagation of its own historical experiences, in its insistence upon equal relations between Proletarian parties, do not require the people in those countries to follow suit, in its understanding, in its affirmation that compromises between itself and capitalist countries, that peaceful coexistence refers not to relations between oppressed and oppressor nations or peoples nor between classes, but to those between independent nation states, in its awareness that socialist revolution is not merely a change of personnel in power, in its demand that true revolutionaries fight against all forms of injustice regardless of the colour of the flag waves, and finally in its reaffirmation of the fundamental revolutionary principle that neither God nor the Czar nor a hero will liberate humanity, that "the emancipation of the working-class must be the work of the working class itself."

The analysis of the Chinese Communist Party reveals that the greatest potential for immediate revolutionary breakthrough lies in the resolution of the contradiction opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism on the one hand and the oppressed nations of the third world on the other.

The more that the countries of the Third World fight for the establishment of international relations based upon mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit in trade, reciprocal non-aggression and peaceful coexistence between states, the more the superpowers will expose their true nature. Their violent reactions will oblige an even greater unity and determination among the oppressed nations. Even the verbal acceptance of the principle of national independence by backward rulers of these nations will sharpen contradictions and put social forces into motion which they cannot ultimately control. And as the U.S. and the USSR are weakened under pressure of the Third World, these same governments

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