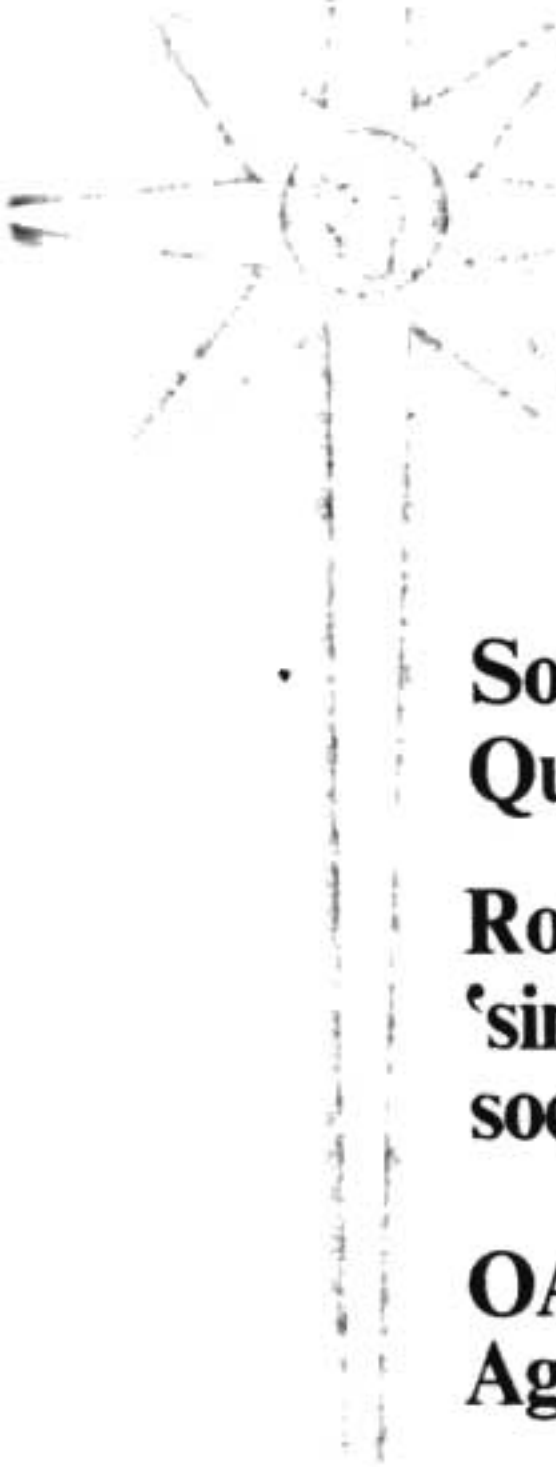


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**Some Notes on the National  
Question in Azania:**

**Robert Mugabe (ZANU) slams  
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# Editorial

**ANC-CP ATTEMPTS FRAUDENTLY TO PROJECT ITSELF AS LEADER OF SOWETO STRUGGLES; FALSE CLAIM OF UNDERGROUND; MASHINI REFUSED PERMISSION BY BRITISH NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS TO SPEAK AT SOWETO RALLY; AZANIAN STUDENTS BEATEN UP IN EAST BERLIN AND MOSCOW; EAST GERMAN AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO PUBLISH ISSUE OF SECHABA COVERING TAMBO'S VISIT TO CHINA.**

The totally fraudulent claims of the ANC-CP with regard to the leadership of the Soweto struggles and its allegedly underground should come as no surprise from the gang of rotten and bankrupt agents of Soviet social-imperialism that lead the organisation at the moment after having captured the leadership of the ANC at the Morogoro Conference in 1969. We know that only SASO, BPC and the Soweto Students Representative Council can lay claim to the leadership of the heroic struggles of the peoples of Soweto. The ANC-CP was not there. Its as simple as all that. All the talk about the ANC-CP underground is a load of bullshit. After all how does one disprove that there is an underground. This underground must be so underground that even Tambo will never be able to find it. Of course the ANC-CP must be desperately trying to form something since it must live up to its own claim that it is leading the struggle in Azania. It is more concerned that the young stalwarts of SASO and BPC will wrest the leadership from it in the country.

The ANC-CP is now busy trying to propagate the lie that it is leading a great struggle inside the country, and it is doing this through its contact in the revisionist, social-democratic and liberal circles. In France it works through front organisations of the French Communist Party like the MRAP. These front organisations like the various Anti-Apartheid movements that they also control give exclusive support to the ANC-CP (and in the case of Zimbabwe to ZAPU), thus promoting the interests of the Soviet Union in Southern Africa. In Britain the so-called Communist Party of Britain supports only the ANC-CP and together with them control the Anti-Apartheid movement, a movement that all South Africans and Blacks boycott. Recently an exhibition organised by the CPGB in London on the events in Soweto made no mention at all of the role played in it by SASO and BPC, nor in any of its voluminous writings on South Africa does it mention the Black Consciousness Movement. This is unwarranted interference in our politics and must come to an end. The CPGB should take its dirty revisionist nose out of our business. Like so many other metropolitan Communist parties it still feels that it has a right to dictate what is good for movements in the colonies. The CPGB has the same racist intent to protect the interests of the whites in South Africa in the name of multi-racialism as the white 'communists' of the so-called South African Communist Party.

There was also the recent case of Tsietsi Mashini who was forbidden by the National Union of Students from appearing on a public platform celebrating the June 16 Soweto events. Undoubtedly this was the work of the CPGB under the influence of the ANC-CP. The CPGB has considerable influence in the NUS. But what right has the NUS to decide whether Mashini should appear or not. The fact is that Mashini was a leader of the original Soweto uprisings. Azanians must firmly grasp that when Mashini is treated in this way today others will be treated in a similar manner tomorrow. All the Azanian movements and groups must condemn this unwarranted interference in our affairs.

In its efforts to propagate the lie that it led the Soweto events the ANC-CP hijacked a number of destitute SASO students from Botswana, offered them scholarships, etc. and then sent them around the world to lie about the role of the ANC-CP in Soweto. One such person, Colin Mbatha, was flown from DarEs Salaam to Western Germany recently. This young man of about 20 years unabashedly plugged the line he was indoctrinated in and even embarrassed his own Anti-Apartheid supporters with some of the things he had to say. He announced to the small gatherings that China was not a socialist country, that Maoism was detrimental to the interests of the Chinese people (the typical bullshit of Pravda and the 'African Communist') that there was no such country like Azania, that the PAC was a CIA created organisation and that leading members of the PAC who had left the organisation and come over to the ANC had exposed the PAC. What is pathetic about this is that young people should have their heads filled with this sort of nonsense. The

ANC-CP that promotes such rubbish reveals its own political degeneracy. The rank and file of the ANC-CP who do not agree with this drivel should challenge it.

Just as much they should protest against the beating up of 9 Azanians in East Berlin and 3 in Moscow because they had sympathies with the African Nationalists. Of course this was done with the connivance of the Soviet and East German authorities. This hooliganism is indicative of a future social-fascist rule that the ANC-CP will perpetrate in Azania if the imperialist designs of the Soviet Union is successful.

Recently also we have had another example of interference from the East German authorities and the slavishness of the ANC-CP to the revisionist countries. This involved the publication of Tambo's visit to China in 'Sechaba' which is printed gratis in East Germany. The members of the ANC wanted to devote the whole issue of 'Sechaba' praising Tambo's visit (which also reveals what many members of the ANC-CP really feel about China) but the East German authorities hedged and hedged and then flatly refused to publish that particular issue. Here we have a good example of 'equal' relations between the ANC-CP and its revisionist helpers.

Another sign of that slavishness and kow-towing to the interests of the Soviet Union showed itself when in an effort to boost the blood-stained regime of Mengistu of Ethiopia, the Russians organised an AAPSO (Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation) Conference in the country. And who do you think should take the lead in organising the Conference. None other than the ANC-CP. To the ANC-CP it does not matter that Mengistu is butchering thousands of men, women and children and that his regime is as reactionary as any other neo-colonial state. The EPRP in its bulletin, 'Combat' was forced to criticise the ANC-CP for this behaviour.

The ANC-CP - the most slavish and willing agents of Soviet social-imperialism in Africa - is trying to grab hold of the leadership of the struggle in Azania. But it is living in a fool's paradise, it represents the minority tendency in the country, and the leadership itself has great difficulties in controlling its rank and file members of the organisation. It has a great deal of Soviet money channelled through the revisionist South African Communist Party, but very little political support in the country. But despite this it will stop at nothing - cheating, lying, hoodwinking - and the despicable manner in which it attempts to split the Black Consciousness Movement, first attacking it for being racist(!), then trying to flatter it and when this fails attacking it again and trying to claim the fruits of the BCM's work, is a challenge to all Azanian revolutionaries. The young stalwarts of SASO and BPC are heroes of our struggle and we can never attack and criticise them as if they were enemies. Those who attempt to split and attack SASO and BPC instead of working with them politically, must one day beware of the wrath of the Azanians masses. The South African Communist Party which has constantly subverted our liberation struggle ever since it rejected the correct Black Republic Thesis of the VI Communist International must be completely eliminated from the ranks of the liberation movement. The SACP is totally alien to the peoples movement. It is neither South African (it is led by elements coming from the white settler class of oppressors and have no organisation of their own and have no base even in their own white community) nor Communist (they are in fact racials trying to preserve white interests in South Africa in the name of multi-racialism and non-racial democracy, liberal solutions dressed up as Marxism) nor a Party (they are a hodge podge of BOSS, KGB and ZIONIST agents).

## Stand Up To Soviet Social-Imperialism

Robert's Mugabe's condemnation of the role of the Soviet Union during his recent Peking visit throws the greatest light on the role of the Soviet Union in the Southern African liberation movements. While thanking the Chinese for their disinterested aid to the Zimbabwean struggle he said: "that the so-called help of social imperialism has sinister motives. With this help they want to attain spheres of influence and hegemony, and to bring their puppets into positions of power." Mugabe should know what he is talking about, he has first hand knowledge of the Soviet Union's motives in the Zimbabwean struggle, where the Soviet Union at no time supported ZANU, which initiated the armed struggle and which is the more radical organisation in the country.

Mugabe's censure of the 'sinister motives' of the Soviet Union comes at a time when at the

recent OAU Conference several heads of state condemned superpower interference in the affairs of Africa and also passed a resolution against mercenarism. The question of superpower interference was the dominant issue at the Conference, and there can be no doubt that the resolution was related directly to the Soviet Union and Cuba. The African states are also fast learning about the nature of Cuba's military role in Africa as a mercenary for the Soviet Union.

Robert Mugabe's statement is a clear indication that the liberation movements in Southern Africa will have to take a firm stand against the hegemonist politics of the Soviet Union, which has the same big power imperialist interests as U.S.led Imperialism. Southern African revolutionaries must firmly grasp that the Soviet Union today is an imperialist power wishing to subjugate nations through their puppets. The Soviet Union threatens the national independence of every single country today. Everywhere it behaves as an aggressive expansionist superpower. The Venezuelan paper, "El Universal" stated recently that the Soviet Union has carefully planned tasks on the African continent. The Soviet intervention is not something that the social-imperialists suddenly thought about. It was carefully thought out and planned as a base from which to penetrate deeper into other African countries.

The Soviet Union practises a fascist type oppression at home, racially oppresses the non-Russian nationalities, is the only imperialist power with colonies,(i.e. the Eastern European countries). spends a fantastic amount on arms expansion under the cover of detente.

Everywhere in Southern Africa it attempts to split the liberation movements, supporting one movement and not another. Is Angola today a united country? And has it not been reduced to a neo-colonial dependence on the Soviet Union. And even during the recent attempted coup by Nito Alves it was the Cuban soldiers who had to come to the assistance of the Neto government. Where were the MPLA soldiers. The 500 or so Cuban families have taken over the large plantations left by the Portuguese settlers and the residential areas of the Cubans and Russians are a prohibited area for Angolans.

The Soviet Union is only too willing to bring its puppets into power in Southern Africa even through direct military intervention as in Angola. If it can get the slightest chance to intervene militarily it will do so. It capitalises on the global unpopularity of the racist regimes in Southern Africa, particularly South Africa, and by posing as a socialist country and ally of the national liberation struggle it hides its imperialist motives. All imperialist powers throughout history pose as friends and helpers of the people they wish to subjugate, when their real intentions are to exploit and plunder their resources. Today no one is deceived by the intentions of the old imperialism led by the U.S. but many have not seen through the socialist mask of the Soviet Union.

The Southern African liberation movements must take a firm stand against both the imperialist superpowers. We must rely on ourselves and never allow any foreign force to tell us which is the best liberation movement or what policy to pursue. That is only for us to decide. We will define our liberation goals and decide which political organisation represents our best interests.

Nor should we be deceived by the so-called 'aid' of social-imperialism. All its agents in Southern Africa are busy peddling this line that we cannot win without Soviet aid. When a small country like Cambodia with a population of two million can organise themselves and within a matter of five years completely defeat militarily the biggest imperialist power the world has ever known, U.S.Imperialism, then every other country can achieve this feat. A mobilised people is the real power in any country. When a people are awakened and mobilised they can achieve all sorts of miracles. We will only win genuine freedom by relying on ourselves.

There are many Third World countries that can give us the aid we want and will support our liberation struggle to the hilt.

In the case of Azania we should have no doubts that the ANC-CP are direct puppet of the Soviet Union.

**ROBERT SOBUKWE ON SOWETO:** "In Sharpeville we overcame the fear of the consequences of disobeying the law.....It became respectable to go to gaol and emerge as what Kwame Nkrumah called a 'prison graduate'. We stripped the white man of that weapon against us. The white man now, in Soweto, had to fall back on his ultimate weapon, the gun.....Soweto has been a lesson in overcoming the fear of the gun. And now that he relies on the gun and we too can get the gun, confrontation is inevitable."

# Full Support for ZANU

IKWEZI received a number of criticisms for what was (mistakenly) construed to be a hostile attitude towards ZANU. Given the slight (but unintentional) bias of the article we feel that the criticisms were justified. We were criticised for saying that ZANU had no mass following inside the country and for publishing Muzorewa's statement to the OAU. It was also felt that we were supporting the ANC against ZANU. But nothing could be further from the truth.

The fact is that we fully support ZANU in the Patriotic Front, even though we are aware that the Soviet Union would like to manipulate the Front for the exclusive benefit of ZAPU. We fully support the programme of ZANU as enunciated in 'Zimbabwe News', June-September 1976. That programme correctly defines the nature of the national democratic revolution and its link to the socialist revolution. It also claims to base itself on Marxism-Leninism. We are also aware that ZANU is aware of the hegemonistic designs of the Soviet Union in Zimbabwe. ZANU's tactic of forming a united front with ZAPU in the Patriotic Front in order to avert an Angolan type situation is a correct one. To allow the Soviet Union to separately build up ZAPU to a position where it could gravely impair the unity of the liberation forces is something to be averted at all costs. This too is one of the concerns of the front-line states.

But the question must also be asked: Is there not a similar danger in keeping the ANC out of the Patriotic Front, for Muzorewa is not unrepresentative. The recent decision of the OAU to recognise the Patriotic Front but at the same time to invite the ANC and Sithole to join the Patriotic Front, we feel, should help in forging a greater unity of the liberation forces.

We still feel strongly about the interference of the front-line states in the internal affairs of the liberation movements, and some of its adverse effects is to be seen with regard to Azania where a totally unwarranted bias is being shown towards the ANC-CP, although we do not believe that this situation can last very long.

## Soweto - Era of Mass Struggles Begin

What are the political lessons to be learnt from the recent upheavals in Soweto?

Without doubt Soweto has generalised the growing resistance of the African masses to the fascist regime. The upsurges were not only confined to Soweto but spread to several other parts of the country and culminated in the successful two day strike. The resistance also had an air of anticipation and sense of a pitched combat. The people of Soweto led by the youth and students were determined to hold demonstrations on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, as a mark of respect also to the 500 people killed and thousands more injured. The youth of Soweto led by SASO AND BPC and the Soweto Students Representative Council were determined to persist in struggle despite the fact that over four thousand of their members have been detained and hundreds other have had to flee the country into exile. The South African fascist state fully prepared for this uprising and days before the demonstrations Soweto was surrounded by armed camps of South African fascist police. It is this defiance in the teeth of this show of force meant to cow the people of Soweto that makes the recent upheavals that more significant. (Certainly there was not the white led South African Communist Party here pulling the strings in the background and trying to dampen the militancy of the Black masses.).

The recent Soweto uprisings must be understood in terms of the uprisings that have been occurring in the country over the past few years, giving rise not only to the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement revolving around the students uprisings, but also, and even more importantly the great upsurges of Black workers, demanding higher wages, trade union rights, etc. The persistence of these mass uprisings despite the brutal fascist repression indicates that Azania is now going through a period of mass struggles, that is that we have arrived at the pre-revolutionary period, when despite all the brutality of the South African fascist state, the masses continually rise up in struggle, using the forms of struggle available to them at this stage of their struggle - strikes, demonstrations, stone-throwing, burning of public buildings, etc.

This pre-revolutionary period, which is characterised by constant mass uprisings is the preparation period for revolutionary period, when the masses are consciously organised through a revolutionary party for well defined liberation goals, when all the upheavals of the pre-revolutionary period become a training ground for higher forms of political organisation. And it is precisely through this persistence in struggle that the masses and their representative organisations begin to achieve greater political maturity: it is forged in the struggle itself.

The situation in Azania bears some resemblance to the situation in China. In China it was the students uprisings and the Fourth of May Movement that gave birth to the Chinese Communist Party, which basing itself eventually on the mass peasant uprisings that had been going on in China for decades on end, went on to consummate the Chinese Revolution in 1949. In Soweto too and in the country in general students are in the forefront of the upsurges, but at the same time stimulating the general population to rise up. The students movement must link up with the peoples movement and the peoples movement must eventually become the predominant mass movement. This is the dialectics of a number of successful uprisings in the Third World today.

It is also during the period of mass upheavals that the question of armed struggle becomes a serious issue and can be seriously translated into reality. Any armed struggle that does not base itself in the masses is doomed to failure from the very beginning. The era of mass uprisings creates the psychological climate for the successful preparation for the armed struggle. This era of mass uprisings creates a mood of optimism and confidence and imbues the revolutionary forces with the greater determination to struggle. The armed struggle will take the form of Peoples War, that is it will involve all the Black oppressed masses in the country, except for a tiny handful of collaborators. The precise tactics of Peoples War in a highly industrialised country will have to be worked out in terms of the concrete situation in the country. This Peoples War has got nothing to do with whether we have mountains or do not have mountains. This Peoples War is the mobilisation of the masses under the concrete conditions prevailing in our country for the seizure of power from the white fascist bourgeois state backed by Western imperialism. Such a war cannot be prosecuted successfully without the masses being mobilised under a correct political programme that also unites them on the basis of a common political understanding of the tasks to be undertaken. Unity and organisation and the determination to struggle to the bitter end is what will bring us freedom in our country.

The current mass uprisings will in themselves teach the oppressed Black masses that only armed struggle can bring them liberation. Why is this so? Because they will learn from the limited nature of the strikes, demos, etc. that they will have to overthrow the whole South African state if they are to win even limited democratic demands. The four million whites in the country will never on their own free will give the Black oppressed masses "one man, one vote," even. (We do not agree with the slogan one man, one vote because we believe that the first task of the national democratic revolution is to return the country and the land to the African people from whom it was stolen: that is to put an end to the colonial nature of the country: this must be linked under the leadership of a revolutionary party to the struggle for socialism, to put an end to all the capitalist and imperialist structures in the country). Already among SASO and BPC there is the growing realisation that liberation can only come through armed struggle.

In this pregnant situation in Azania we must beware of the gimmicks of the ANC-CP. They are professional at this. They send some poor souls - filled with a romantic image of the revolutionary struggle - and then when he is arrested or killed, he is conveniently turned into a martyr. These gimmicks of the ANC-CP are in the end counter-productive and the liberation movements in the country should have no hesitation in censuring them for this adventurism. Peoples War and the armed struggle, if it is not to involve senseless loss of lives or arrests must be based on careful preparation and the full mobilisation of the masses arising from the current political strikes and demonstrations.

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# Soweto and the South African Economy

By Henry Isaacs - former SASO President

The economic consequences of Soweto have not been those of a dramatic change from boom to bust: South Africa has been in economic difficulties since 1975 at least, but the uprisings seem to sharpen her dilemma.

As with most developed economies there has been a major turn-round in South Africa since the boom years of the 1960's and early 70's. Foreign capital was readily available to South Africa during the world economic boom of the 60's, and the unprecedented rise in gold prices in the early 70's (from 35 dollars per ounce to almost 200 dollars per ounce) prolonged the period of economic growth. From the situation of a large balance of payments surplus in 1972, however, South Africa faced a huge balance of payments deficit in 1976. This was brought about partly by excessive government expenditure on the further development and enforcement of its apartheid policy (e.g. Bantustans) and on the boosting of the social and economic position of the Afrikaners within the White racial grouping. In addition government spending on munitions and fuel soared; the radical changes in the Southern African political situation in 1974 and 1975 caused them to begin strategic stockpiling of fuel and weapons for the final defence of the laager. The dramatic rise in oil prices has no doubt contributed to the problem.

By May 1976 inflation was running at an average annual rate of 13% (the April figure was 16.4%); there were predictions of an absolute decline in the country's Gross Domestic Products for the first time since World War II; the balance of payments deficit was increasing with continued high levels of imports; gold reserves were declining and the Treasury had to resort to raising loans of increasingly shorter maturity periods abroad in order to cover the deficit. At March, 1976, outstanding foreign loans totalled R1,005 million, double that of a year previously, of which almost 25% would have to be repaid during the 1976-77 fiscal year.

The effect of the high inflation rate on the Black population was summarised by Stern in the *International Currency Review* (1): "Inflation is a tax borne primarily by the poor. Capital and credit controls reduce funds needed for economically justifiable projects that add to employment. Therefore it would appear that the Government's programmes will tend to affect the least fortunate most of all."

Dr. Johan Cloete, Governor of the Reserve Bank, quoted in the same Review, estimated that incomes would not increase by any more than 10% in 1976, which with an annual rate of inflation of 12% to 13% would mean a decrease in actual buying power. This directly contradicts the statement by the Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood, in a later issue of the same journal (2) that Black wages have risen faster than the rate of inflation. He further said: "In 1974 Black wages rose by 26%; and last year (1975), they were increased on average by 30%. I concede that these increases occurred from a relatively low base, but this must be considered against the historical background and in the geographical context of Africa. You cannot rush these things: In any case Black worker's wages are far higher than in other parts of Africa, and indeed, than in a great many countries throughout the world."

But Senator Horwood's claims are not supported by the Statistics given by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in their Annual surveys, which more closely support Dr. Cloete's estimation. Neither is Senator Horwood's comparison of Black wage levels in South Africa with those of Africans in other countries valid: it is not the absolute wage level which determines the injustice but the inequitable distribution of the country's wealth, such that whites who constitute only 17.3% of the population receive between 70% and 76% of the national cash income.

Deflationary measures introduced by the Government in an attempt to restore the economy caused a sharp rise in unemployment. This too has been largely borne by the Black community: the Federated Chamber of Industries reported that in Mid-'76 30,000 Africans were losing their jobs each month. "But one calculation that employs Department of Statistics figures has shown that by April this year (1976) the number of African jobs created in mining, manufacturing, construction and trade had fallen 100,000 short of the projections contained in the government's Economic Development Plan which prescribed a rate of economic growth to keep the Blacks appropriately docile. Another calculation has indicated that the number of Africans absorbed into manufacturing averaged 1990 per month between October 1970 and October 1973; in the following year the figure reached 2,850; yet in the 18 months between October 1974 and April 1976, it was only 1230" Charles Simkins of the University of Cape Town's Economic Research Unit calculated unemployment would be close to 2 million by the end of 1976: this is equivalent to 20% of the economically active African population. The government-created Bantustans are not economically

viable; they cannot adequately support their present populations, let alone absorb such a large army of unemployed. These conditions in the Bantustans combined with rising unemployment and high inflation, causes Black awareness of the economic injustices they suffer under apartheid to be heightened - this was undoubtedly a factor in the spread of the uprisings and in the high success rate of the workers' strikes. The *International Currency Review* places even more emphasis on the effects of the economic injustices: "The Township riots were almost certainly triggered by the sharp increase in prices.....With unemployment rising and near-starvation incomes declining in an inflationary environment, not only is the disparity between Black and white wages exacerbating racial tensions, but a larger proportion of the Black population is finding that money rewards for work do not meet bare necessities."

As one journal observed: "The Blacks of South Africa want better jobs, more pay and better education - this was what the Soweto riots were about. But they can no longer be bought off with bread and butter concessions. More and more they are demanding a transformation of the whole system."

The uprisings strained the already beleaguered South African economy: the cost of continuing and increasing repression necessitated further increases in the defence and security budgets. Replacement of facilities destroyed in the uprisings and the costs of conciliatory measures have further boosted government expenditure and at the same time South Africa has been experiencing increased difficulties in attracting foreign capital. We examine each in turn.

### **FURTHER INCREASES IN DEFENCE AND SECURITY BUDGETS:**

One of the major requirements for controlling inflation is a substantial cut in the government's spending. However, the uprisings have underlined for the South African government the need for adequate defence of white South Africa's interests, both along its borders and also internally, necessitating increased defence expenditure. Thus there is a conflict of interests - but the desperate fight for survival has proved stronger.

The Portuguese Coup in April 1974, with the subsequent accession to power of Black Marxist governments in Angola and Mozambique, the deepening difficulties of the White minority regime under Ian Smith in Zimbabwe, and the international pressure for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia have effectively tightened the net of hostility around South Africa. These circumstances have also given heart to the oppressed people within the country. White South Africa can no longer be any illusion about the need to vigorously defend itself both internally and externally. Thus Pretoria embarked on a policy of munitions stockpiling and of strengthening and expanding its armed forces and security forces.

In the 1975 fiscal year the defence expenditure was R1.5 billion, an increase over the previous year of about 70%. This massive increase was to provide for several features:

(a) Modernisation of S.A. Defence Force: the land forces were to be sub-divided into a counter-insurgency force and a conventional force.

(b) Expansion of the S.A. Navy, with the purchase of further submarines from France, and the construction in South Africa of six fast guided missiles carrying craft for the defence of the strategic Cape Sea route. This was in addition to the continued development of the Simonstown Naval base, and the construction of an underground maritime communications centre, Silvermine, near Fish-Hoek, with subheadquarters at Walvis Bay (in Namibia) and Durban.

(c) Further recruitment into the Defence forces with the establishment of a S.A. Indian Corps Training Battalion, a S.A. Indian Corps and an African Corps.

(d) Expansion of facilities in South Africa for manufacture of sophisticated military equipment.

In 1976 there was further increase of 40% in the defence budget as S.A. continued its arms build up and expansion of its defence force. A new military base at Umtata in the Transkei was established and the S.A. Defence Force personnel were deployed there to train a Xhosa army. It should be noted here that S.A. was able to accumulate sophisticated military equipment despite the arms embargo against her. In 1976 Lockheed sold 6 Hercules aircraft, worth over 50 million dollars to South Africa. These planes were used for military support during S.A.'s invasion of Angola. Also in 1976 the British Marconi Company signed a contract with the S.A. Defence Department for nearly 20 million dollars for a communication system called Troposphere Scatter Scatter to be installed in the Silvermine Complex.

"It is believed that the system can be used to detect persons and weapons in an anti-guerilla struggle." Also France in 1976 contracted to build two nuclear reactors in South Africa thus giving the country a nuclear capability.



The 1977 defence budget provides for a 20% increase in expenditure over 1976, bringing it to 18.5% of the total budget expenditure. On 3rd April the Defence Minister, P W. Botha, announced a shortage of defence manpower and said that the measures under consideration included extending voluntary national service to include White girls, and extending compulsory service for White males from one year to two years.

The expenditure on internal security has increased in a fashion similar to that of the military. The police and security forces have been increased in strength, and equipped with modern weaponry, armoured vehicles, detection equipment, etc. The Troposphere Scatter communications system can also be used for surveillance within South Africa.

In early 1976 Vorster proposed the establishment of a Parliamentary Internal Security Commission. It was necessary, he said, to protect S.A. from "the enemy" at home. The Defence Amendment Bill also published in January 1976, was designed to give an even freer rein to defence and security forces; the definition of military services was extended to include the prevention or suppression of terrorism; for defence purposes South Africa was defined as Africa South of the Equator and an indemnity clause frees all members of the Defence Force on active duty from all criminal liability for acts committed during service.

Since the uprisings there has been a continued escalation of government expenditure on defence and internal security. In addition the uprisings triggered a frantic rush by the White population to purchase small arms. "Arms dealers have run out of stocks of revolvers, pistols, shotguns and various kinds of ammunition but queues still form daily in their shops to put their names on waiting lists. Only Whites may buy firearms in S.A." Weaponry training of all ages and either sex was encouraged and local community defence, or vigilante squads were formed. The state of mind engendered in the Whites allowed police and security personnel to employ open brutality without fear of public criticism from Whites and at the same time permitted the increase in government expenditure on defence without much criticism.

## **REPLACEMENT OF FACILITIES AND COST OF CONCILIATORY MEASURES.**

The following excerpts indicate to some extent the Pretoria regime's dilemma with regard to its domestic policies:

"having initially acted with repression, it is quite possible that the S.A. government could, at some stage, decide that the political and social price of a severe anti-inflation recession may be too high since Black unemployment would fall even further."

"Of course the alternative to any premature reflation would be for the government to remove legal restraints on Blacks' advancement in the commercial and industrial sections (mainly by eliminating the labour restrictive clauses of the Environment and Planning Act) and to reverse current educational policies so that Whites who can afford it pay for their education instead of receiving it free, while Blacks who cannot afford it are educated at the State's expenses. The effect of such reforms would be to direct the burden of inflation increasingly onto the Whites, and to begin the major task of reducing the disparity in income between the Black and White populations.

"But even though limited measures such as these would be very far removed from amounting to the enfranchisement of the Blacks, they would be quite unacceptable to most of the White population - since they would give legal sanction to the concept that S.A. is a multi-racial society. At the same time they run counter to the government's eccentric policy of trying to balkanise S.A. into independent tribal territories which would be entirely dependent for their economic survival on the assistance provided by the White government and S.A.'s industrialised economy."

The reactions of the government to the economic problems presented by the uprisings seem to have been dictated less by an overall economic planning than by the demands of its White electorate for a position of continued absolute privilege. Thus they have embarked on a programme of increased repression to contain the unrest, and of minor social, rather than political, concessions designed to curb growing Black dissatisfaction.

If the cost of the increased expenditure on domestic surveillance has been high the cost of the second half of the programme is also high. Replacement of amenities destroyed during the uprisings will greatly boost government expenditure, while doing little more than returning facilities in the Townships to pre-Soweto levels. Further expenditure will be necessary to actually improve leisure amenities for Blacks - with which the government hopes to distract them from the root causes of their condition. But the replacement and extension of amenities are to be

carried out within the confines of ~~the~~ increased repression: there is to be no allowance for human dignity, no real attempt to improve social conditions in the townships, as can be seen from the following report:

"windowless, reinforced concrete liquor shops with radio links to local police stations are to be built in the Black township of Soweto to replace those destroyed in last years rioting. The 'bunkers' will be built of fire-proof concrete and will cost an estimated R120,000 each, according to a spokesman for the West Rand Bantu Administration Board which runs Soweto. Bullet-proof glass will separate customers from staff."

In November 1976 the government announced what was considered to be a major concession it promised to introduce free and compulsory education for Blacks. This scheme would be introduced gradually from the lower school levels, reaching eventually the higher school levels. This will require a vast sum of money for more school buildings, equipment, teachers, etc. It was estimated in 1975 by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education that should compulsory education be introduced from the age of seven years and the teacher-pupil ratio be reduced to 1:30 an additional 97,000 teachers and classrooms would be required which would cost R126 million in salaries and R330 million in classrooms.

It will undoubtedly increase the government's average expenditure on each African child's education from its yearly average of about R28, but is unlikely to reach the R484 spent on each white child. In fact the announcement did not contain any guarantees for an improved educational standard for Blacks and the philosophy of Black education remains unchanged. This philosophy was enunciated by J.N.LeRoux, Nationalist M.P. in 1945: "We should not give the Native an academic education. Otherwise who is going to do the manual labour in the country? We should conduct our schools that the natives.....will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country."

Thus there has been no real improvement in the sphere of education for Blacks. They are still destined to provide the unskilled and to some extent semi-skilled labour for S.A. industry. Following from this there has been little change in the system of job reservation: employment opportunities for Blacks are still very restricted, and are likely to remain so, despite a call from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce) and White businessmen for "more skilled and responsible jobs for our Black and Brown partners in the economy to keep its wheels turning" and for "calculated political and economic adjustments."

Instead the government is accelerating its Bantustan policy in an attempt to siphon the Urban Blacks out of the "White" areas. There is to be no permanent urban African population, the seat of unrest, but only migrant workers on temporary leave from their homelands. These measures will do little to alleviate Black conditions or to curb the unrest as the political awareness of the urban Black population increases.

They will not solve South Africa's 'racial' problem, but they have exacerbated her economic troubles. Officials in Pretoria predicted a recovery in S.A.'s economic position during the second half of 1976. One major reason given for this was a planned sharp reduction in public sector spending to reduce liquidity, and thus inflation, but the uprisings upset this plan; public sector spending increased still further and the economy sank deeper into the mire.

## DIFFICULTIES IN ATTRACTING FOREIGN CAPITAL.

J.J.Cloete, economist with Barclays National Bank of South Africa, is reported to have said: "Capital is in short supply. The sources we have available to us may well be inadequate. The shortage could hold back our future development."

This statement was made before the Soweto uprisings; even then South Africa was having some difficulty in attracting foreign capital which it requires for its continued growth and development. The Soweto uprisings have exacerbated this position: ".....the net inflow of capital had ~~fallen~~ from a monthly average level of R160 million in 1975 and in the first quarter of 1976 to less than ~~R20~~ million per month during the second quarter. The first month of the September quarter actually ~~resulted~~ an outflow of R4 million - *despite* net foreign borrowings undertaken by the government and banks, worth R153 million."

The government is experiencing great difficulty in borrowing any funds - either at home or abroad. At home the government's special defence bonds and two public gilt issues were not well supported. Abroad, despite Senator Horwood's denials, there has been increased resistance among potential lenders; fears of increasing political instability and uncertainty about the extent of South Africa's borrowings have contributed to this. Lenders have not been convinced of Vorster's ability to deal with South Africa's political and economic problems, and this is undoubtedly reinforced by the opposition to the Nationalist Government's policies voiced by large sections of South Africa's business community in the second half of 1976.

The S.A. Treasury does not reveal details of all foreign loans and there is some doubt about whether or not S.A. has reached the limits of her credit overseas. West Germany in particular feels that she has, and is reluctant to finance loans. Data released privately by Senator Horwood indicate that S.A.'s public sector foreign indebtedness amounts to close on R4 billion which accounts for approximately 15% of the G.D.P.

Moral issues may also influence the availability of overseas funds. Following the uprisings, church and anti-apartheid groups, and trade unions have brought increased pressure to bear on potential lenders not to advance money to S.A. and indeed to withdraw their investments. There has been a polarisation of opinion over the morality of investment in S.A. The opposition of Church and other groups to such investment has been quite effectively countered by S.A. propaganda issuing from the mouths of those who invoke the "Communist" threat and also from Black stooges - the various Bantustan leaders. This is well illustrated by an editorial which appeared in the *Washington Post* (nov. 7 1976) and which is here reproduced in full:

"As the dimensions of S.A.'s racial crisis become more apparent, the question of whether American firms should invest or otherwise do business there is bound to sharpen. Such dealings are certain to be seen by some critics of apartheid as steps that prop up the state directed system of racial discrimination and that make Americans partners in the exploitation of cheap Black labour. At the moment, for instance, various church groups are trying to head off Citibank's participation in an international consortium that is planning a 100 million dollars-plus loan to S.A. The loan will "help solve the republic's balance of payments problem," a church figure says. "And one cause of that balance of payments problem is defence spending. This kind of open-door, or *carte blanche* policy is a real investment in strengthening white minority rule.

"We have no quarrel with the contention that American commercial dealings in S.A. should not be conducted on a business-as-usual basis. Legitimate questions of policy and morality are involved that do not arise in dealings with, say Britain. We do not share, moreover, the businessman's easy piety that business is an agent of benevolent social change and that, by some automatic chemistry of its own it can help transform the society where the dealing takes place. It depends entirely on circumstances. In any event, the kinds of change that can flow from enlightened business practices - like Polaroid's attempt to ease discriminatory practices in its small S.A. subsidiary - are marginal. The "action" now lies elsewhere, in politics and in the streets.

"What seems to us the dominating consideration in this question is that South Africa's Blacks so clearly want American (and all outside) trade and investment to continue. What to critics is the support of apartheid is to the actual victims of apartheid their daily bread. It is exactly that simple. Chief L.L. Sebe of the Ciskei, one of the nine designated Black 'homelands' within South Africa, was in Washington the other day, to make that point, among others. A quarter-million of the 1.5 million people of his territory have had to leave to seek work elsewhere. 'We need American investment for jobs', he said. 'investment is a noble cause in picking our people up.' Chief Sebe did not disguise his dismay over American 'liberals' who urge measures that would result in the further economic deprivation of his people. Citibank's participation in a loan should be seen in just this light. Presumably the loan will support the white economy. But it will also support the whole economy of South Africa, of which the most vulnerable members are the Blacks.

"According to a certain Maoist strategy of desperation, which appeals, understandably enough, to some S.A. Blacks, things must get worse before they can get better. The white economy must

be reduced to a shambles, despite the Black suffering that would result, in order to bring down white power. But this is a strategy that ill benefits sponsorship by anyone who is not prepared to share personally in the anticipated catastrophe. The responsible alternative, to the limited extent that that there is an alternative, is to support steps that improve the economic welfare of Blacks, especially when these steps - trade, investment and so on - are clearly within the capacity of Americans to take. That American firms may profit from such dealings does not eliminate their value to African Blacks.

We realise perfectly well that this does not resolve all of the problems of American policy towards South Africa. While searching for the other elements, however, Americans should not lose sight of the basic daily requirements of the people they most wish to help."

Obviously S.A.'s increased diplomatic offensive in the U.S. has not been in vain. In 1976 the S.A. Information Department doubled its staff at its Washington Embassy. Besides the general staff increase the Department included "information" officers from the Bantustans on a rotating basis, with the first two being from the Transkei.

In the 1976 fiscal year 77.6% of S.A.'s foreign loans came from the IMF, which continues to support the present Pretoria regime. The other major loan was from a consortium in which Citibank is said to have taken a leading role, and was for R95 million.

Also of concern to Pretoria must be the increasingly short maturity periods of loans received. The burden of refinancing will be heavy, and is compounded by the continued high public expenditure. A Johannesburg merchant banker estimated that unless Pretoria made massive spending reductions, the country would need to find at least R5 billion in new foreign loans within the next three years; R2 billion of this would be to refinance existing debts.

Overall the economic outlook for S.A. is grim. The situation is well summarised thus: "So whatever encouraging signs S.A.'s trade balance may be showing, and however much the country's reserves are replenished by IMF and other loans, it can be taken for granted that unemployment and wage problems among the Blacks will have a much more profound, albeit indirect effect on the future external value of the Rand, than any other factor. Indeed the potential for increasing and chronic unrest among the under-privileged majority of the population can hardly be over-stated." (*International Currency Review* - 8.4.1976)

## **WINNIE MANDELA SAYS: 'WE ARE NOT BLACK RUSSIANS': CALLS FOR SETTING UP OF SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF AZANIA.**

**EXCERPT FROM INTERVIEW GIVEN BY WINNIE MANDELA TO CORRESPONDENT OF SWEDISH NEWSPAPER, "EXPRESSEN", MARCH 31 1977.**

**Question: Which organisation do you think has the largest support?**

**Winnie Mandela: Amongst the politically conscious youth it is 50-50 between the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela who is incarcerated on Robben Island and the PAC led by Robert Sobukwe who was released from prison and now lives under house arrest in the diamond city of Kimberley. Both organisations are banned.**

**Question: What kind of political system will you have in a liberated South Africa?**

**Winnie Mandela: We shall establish a socialist republic of AZANIA (our emphasis). Private property will be abolished and we shall establish a one-party state. We shall have a kind of state controlled mixed economy and huge private agricultural holdings will be abolished. Raw materials and the mines will be nationalised. We shall establish an African socialist system similar to that of Tanzania. WE DO NOT INTEND TO BECOME BLACK RUSSIANS (Our Emphasis).**

**Question: Do you think it will take long before you live in Azania?**

**Winnie Mandela: It all depends on the struggle in Rhodesia. If the regime there can be overthrown as quickly as possible, revolutionary struggle will gain momentum here too. It may take 5-10 years. But we shall be free.**

# **The National Question in Azania**

**"The correctness or incorrectness of the political line decides everything" (Mao-Tse-Tung).**

**The successful prosecution of the Azanian revolution will depend ultimately on the correctness of the political tasks to be undertaken.**

**From this point of view we have to correctly understand the national question in Azania. The national question is so-called because it defines the nature of the national oppression that our people suffer from. National oppression affects all Black people of all classes, and is the result of foreign domination. Overcoming this national oppression is what constitutes the political tasks of what we call the national democratic revolution. Racialism is merely the form that national oppression takes, but the nature of national oppression is much deeper than one of its aspects that we call racialism which merely regulates social relations between blacks and whites.**

**The national democratic revolution is so-called because it means winning our national and democratic rights in the country of our birth. It is national and democratic because our country has been taken away from us by foreigners (white settlers acting in partnership with foreign imperialism) who by controlling the resources and the wealth which we create with our labour, also deny us our democratic rights to enjoy the fruits of our labour and our dignity and happiness as human beings.**

We present herein, in opening the debate and discussion about the national question in Azania, following the publication of the Black Republic Thesis in our last two issues, two viewpoints on the national question, which while discussing the same question lay different emphasis. The one from an old Cape Town radical Journal of the fifties writes from a Marxist viewpoint, and correctly defines the main task of the national question as the Struggle for Self-Determination and National Independence. He gives the ideological background to this question as it also relates to other Third World colonial and semi-colonial countries, and makes a number of interesting points about the nature of the national movement.

But this analysis lacks one very vital element. It does not directly answer why there should be a struggle for national independence. It appears to view the struggle for national independence as dismantling the structures of imperialism in the country which must lead to the struggle for socialism because only the proletariat can fully undertake this task.

But what is lacking in his analysis is answered by Edwin Makoti, a theoretician of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania. For Makoti the essence of the national question is the colonial and semi-colonial nature of the country. Hence the title of his article, the Native versus the National Question. This we believe is the correct analysis of the national question in Azania, i.e. the national question is a colonial and semi-colonial question. Whilst winning the other democratic and national rights is a task of the national democratic revolution and pegs in the daily struggle against national oppression, as is defined in the first article on the national question, overcoming the colonial and semi-colonial nature of the country is its major task. In other words the country and the land must be returned to the "natives". This was the essence of the Black Republic (Independent Native Republic) Thesis of the VI Communist International in 1928. That Thesis stated: "South Africa is a black country..... 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 the 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."

That is why the Communist International Thesis defined the first task of the national struggle as the setting up of the Independent Native Republic. That is why the Pan-Africanist Congress has re-named South Africa as Azania and why we have the words "Afrika Mayibuye!" in our national anthem. It means "Come Back, Africa" because the country has been taken away from us by the white settler colonisers.

It is from this point of view that the PAC has been questioning what it calls the "bogus independent status" of South Africa. To acknowledge this so-called independence (for whites only) is to legitimise the colonial nature of the country, and this we will never do. In this sense our struggle is no different from that of the Palestinians, who also want their country and land returned to them, they being forcibly thrown out of it.

It is from this point of view that Makoti's article on the National Question is the much richer and more correct. This is why Nationalism is such a dynamic force in the country and as Makoti points out represents a culture of resistance- "men concern themselves with nationalism when their manhood is either denied, disputed or disparaged." Nationalism is an essential ingredient in the anti-colonialist phase of the struggle. But for Makoti the question is not only one of national liberation, it is also one of social emancipation, of the razing of the semi-colonial nature of the country by smashing the core of multi-national imperialist combines that control the South African economy. "The Black people of Azania regard the country as a semi-colony of the "consortium" of 1632 multi-national companies whose capital investments form the basic core of its economy and recognise the South African government as a colonial authority over the Black people."

This approach to the national question and the national democratic revolution, which is more revolutionary and dynamic and correct, stands in stark contrast to the other viewpoint in the South African liberation movement which sees the struggle as merely one between workers and capitalism. For this viewpoint racialism is nothing more than a form of economic exploitation. This simplistic and incorrect viewpoint liquidates the colonial essence of the national question and liquidates the

(continued on page 78)

# The National Question and Its Relation to South Africa.

## I. What is the National Question?

On the continents of Africa and Asia to-day—in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya, Tanganyika and Egypt, in Burma and Indo-China, Indonesia and Ceylon—millions of people are engaged in a titanic struggle against their foreign rulers: the Imperialist powers. These struggles are the political products of capitalist development having reached a definitive stage in its historic evolution: that of Imperialism which had come to divide the terrestrial globe into two camps. The one is the camp of a handful of civilised nations which, with the aid of their modern military machines and powerful political instruments, are oppressing the second larger camp of colonial and semi-colonial countries for the purpose of their effectual exploitation economically.

According to the classical meaning of the term, therefore, the national question is the question of how the oppressed and exploited national groups can liberate themselves from the yoke of Imperialism to realise the slogan, "*For National Independence and the Right to Self-Determination*": "national independence" meaning that every national group has the right to rule themselves and to establish their own autonomous political organs free from outside interference; "self-determination" meaning that, flowing from political independence, each group has the right to complete separation from other groups and nations and thereby to determine its destiny and mould its own institutions in all human spheres: economic, social, cultural, linguistic and religious.

We must therefore regard all the various demands for national independence and the right to self-determination as *particles of the general democratic world movement*; "particles" in the sense that every national movement is, in the first instance, directed at the overthrow of Imperialism in its own country; "general" in the sense that, in as much as Imperialism is a universal system, each dependent country being a link in an uninterrupted Imperialist chain, every national struggle has the effect of weakening and undermining the entire system. As such, all national struggles assume an international democratic form almost from the word go.

In the *formal and theoretical* sense, we should, however, not regard the national question as the question of abrogating capitalism as a system of commodity production. A national movement is, first of all, and in its immediate tasks, a revolt against the *modus dominandi* of capitalism in its highest form—that of Imperialism. The oppressed and exploited groups are immediately concerned with the complete elimination of Imperialist oppression and exploitation from their respective countries. The liquidation of foreign instruments of coercion, of foreign investments and enterprises, the elimination of those institutions and barriers which stultify the economic and cultural growth of the oppressed national groups, these are all the immediate tasks of the national movement. *Nominally, at any rate, the national struggle aims at removing all those restrictions and barriers which curb the free development of capitalism in the colonial countries.* For by removing a foreign parasitic force which, in its own interests, has perforce to stultify the economic and cultural growth of the colonial peoples, the national movement, *theoretically*, at least, widens the

scope of capitalist development in the emancipated countries. Theoretically speaking again, the success of a national movement creates more opportunities for the native bourgeoisie to thrive and prosper within the framework of a capitalist system, free from the cruel tentacles of Imperialism; the liberation of the rural areas from foreign domination affords the rural peasants, big, small and potential, more opportunities to establish themselves as capitalist farmers; goods hitherto accruing to the foreign parasite are now made available for home consumption; culture correspondingly thrives; national traits and characteristic hitherto suppressed are revived and blossom forth on the basis of increased native productivity. This is one view on the aims of the national struggle. But how do things work out in practice?

There is the other view according to which the struggle for national liberation is, *in its practical application, in reality*, indissolubly bound up with the fundamental social reconstruction of society. The protagonists of this standpoint reason thus: The flourishing of the capitalist system in its highest stage—Imperialism—is contingent on the intensification of colonial exploitation on which the entire system rests. The liberation of the dependent countries is therefore tantamount to removing the whole foundation of capitalism which, in the absence of new fields of exploitation, virtually faces extinction as a system. While therefore, the immediate aim of the colonial movements is for political independence, the realisation of this is at one and the same time a blow to the entire system of capitalism on a world scale. One cannot under such circumstances envisage the emergence of a national bourgeois state in the liberated colonies. Nor will such a state be able to solve the national problems of the emancipated groups within the framework of a tottering capitalist system. They therefore conclude that the solution to the national question lies in the complete economic and social reconstruction of society. The national struggle must therefore be *uninterrupted* and *permanent* in character: “uninterrupted” in the sense that the struggle for national independence has the effect of weakening the capitalist system; “permanent” in the sense that, flowing from this, the economic and cultural problems of the national groups can be solved only by transforming the national struggle into a struggle against the capitalist system itself by abolishing private ownership in the means of production, the economic exploitation of man by man, and by inaugurating a classless society based on making the wealth and goods produced accessible to all.

## **2. How Classes Interpret the Term “National Movement.”**

Of indubitable importance to the political student is the fact that *a national movement is heterogeneous as regards both ethnic and class composition*. In evaluating any national struggle therefore—its character, its aims and its final outcome—the following questions are crucial: What groups and classes are participating in the national struggle? How do the economic and social interests of each group or class express themselves on the plane of politics? What is the specific weight of each class?

Various national groups, each again consisting of classes with diversified and often conflicting economic interests are, in the first instance, united in their struggle against a foreign power which in varying degrees impedes the development of each. By forming a united front against the foreign overlord, all the groups and classes liberate themselves *temporarily* from their individual class and ethnic interests. *The class struggle subordinates itself to and is for some time obscured by the national struggle*. Thus in India, where one phase of the national struggle has ended, the

native urban and rural bourgeoisie, the peasants and workers, were united against British Imperialism and each subordinated its own peculiar class interests to the task of national liberation. It was only in the course of fighting for their political independence that the interests of the constituent class elements—in this case, the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie—came to the forefront to steer the national movement along a course favourable to the realisation of their own individual class interests.

Thus each class reads into the term "national movement" its own meaning according to its own class position and interests. The industrial bourgeoisie regards national independence as the removal of all restrictions which curb their development as an exploiting and investing class within the ambit of bourgeois capitalist relations; the peasantry sees in a successful national struggle the re-division of the land on the basis of private property in the means of production; and the workers, on the other hand, see in the national struggle a struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, and finally, a struggle against economic exploitation and private ownership itself.

Each class will finally attempt to identify the interests of the national movement with its own peculiar class aims, and dress its class political policy in the guise of a national ballroom dress. Thus it will not only attempt to speak in the name of the entire nation, but in order to ensure the success of its class policy, it must gain the backing of other classes as well.

The two great modern classes to-day—the industrial bourgeoisie and the proletarians—representing diametrically-opposed interests, are at all times endeavouring to gain the necessary support of the intermediary classes: the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry in the rural areas both of whom, because of their peculiar economic position, cannot lead. They can play a great auxiliary but *necessary* rôle either under the hegemony of the industrial bourgeoisie or the proletarian party.

### **3. Has the National Question been solved in India and Indonesia?**

The partial success of the revolutions in both India and Indonesia goes to show that the national movements in these countries were essentially bourgeois democratic in its methods of struggle and in its partial results. They testify to the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the population, the peasants, representing bourgeois property relations, were in the absence of a strong proletarian force and leadership, led by the industrial native bourgeoisie. Both these countries were given political independence and sovereignty by their respective Imperial masters. But does the granting of political independence by the metropolitan countries automatically mean that the national struggle has been concluded? Does the granting of independence mean the elimination of Imperialism as a force in colonial countries?

In actual fact, these countries have simply been given a higher status in the colonial ladder. While they have been given political autonomy, this constitutional independence is merely the screen for the continued economic exploitation and national oppression of the bulk of the Indian and Indonesian millions. But this new arrangement has been made possible only by an agreement between the Imperialists and the native bourgeoisie, an agreement made behind the backs of the peasant and proletarian millions. It is an agreement whereby the native bourgeoisie have allowed the foreign powers, in return for political independence and for a share as junior partners in colonial exploitation, to continue jointly with them, their system of rapacious accumulation.



In other words, having gained the political hegemony of their respective national movements, the native bourgeoisie sold the national popular movement to the foreign powers in order to realise their own class aims and interests as an exploiting section of the nationally oppressed constituent elements. Economic exploitation continues in both India and Indonesia and indirectly now the Imperialist powers still exercise some political control. Thus the economic and cultural stultification of the national groups not only continues but is being intensified. And all this behind the screen of *de jure* independence.

The next phase in the national struggle will be the re-awakening of the peasant and proletarian millions who will perforce have to deal not only with the foreign capitalist class but with their own native bourgeoisie who so ignominiously stabbed them in the back.

#### **4. The Unique Character of the National Struggle in South Africa.**

The whole character of the national question in South Africa has no parallel anywhere else. This is partly due to the peculiar historic evolution of this sub-continent, on the one hand, and the consequent social and political structure, on the other.

How do we apply the traditional slogan—"For National Independence and the Right to Self-Determination"—to the national question in South Africa? Is the application of the slogan in its usual form not anachronistic in as much as the Act of Union, 1909, The Statute of Westminster, 1931, and The Status and Seals Act, 1934, gave South Africa full independence and nationhood? Has't South Africa the unfettered right to determine her own affairs and mould her own institutions untrammelled by outside interference?

The answer to these questions lies in the singular social and political arrangements in this country as the result of the presence of a large permanent white population. The whole character and the aims of the national question is complicated by this white element which is not a feature of any other colonial and dependent country. From the point of view of this white minority constituting 20% of the population, South Africa is independent with all the elements of democracy. But from the point of view of the black majority, constituting 80% of the population, South Africa is not independent, without any element of democracy whatsoever; it is an Imperialist dictatorship in the guise of a white democracy. South Africa has, in a word, democratic independence in *form* but not in *content*. The oppression and exploitation of 80% of the people is based on and screened by a 20% white democracy. It is on the basis of this 20% democracy, established along the lines of colour, that Imperialism rules and exploits the oppressed national groups: the African, Indians and Coloureds. This has led to the establishment of Herrenvolk institutions which remain unique: an exclusively white parliament, white economic, social and cultural privileges and amenities, an industrial colour bar and social and residential segregation. The blacks are, in short, pariahs, voteless and rightless. This is the unique position of the nationally oppressed groups in South Africa.

The national struggle in South Africa is therefore not *directly* and *immediately* a struggle against an Imperialist overlord. *The demand for national independence expresses itself, in the first instance, as the struggle of voteless and rightless Non-Europeans against the colour bar and white Herrenvolkism and for the extension of full democracy to all.* It is only *indirectly* a struggle against Imperialism in the sense that it is immediately attacking institutions, created by a foreign oppressor

on the basis of which, and under whose guise, it oppresses and exploits 80% of the people. The abolition of these foreign institutions based on colour and race discrimination therefore finally means the elimination of the Imperial factor, unless, as in India, the foreign bourgeoisie continues its oppression and exploitation in a new form. This is how the slogan "For National Independence" is applied here.

It is in this light that the other half of the slogan—"The Right to Self Determination"—becomes clear. Thus the achievement of full democracy by the national groups means that they will for the first time have the right to determine their economic and social relations, free from those coercive methods suppressing their national growth. They will be free to develop those characteristics in their national make-up which can flourish in a new modern industrial society. Culture and education are made accessible to them, and it is on this basis of complete unfettered freedom, independence and real autonomy, that they will determine whether to integrate themselves with the other liberated groups to forge a real national unification of their country.

### **5. The National Movement and the White Minority.**

The national movement proceeds not only from the principle that all oppressed groups have the right to freedom but that *no group oppressing other groups can be free and independent*. Herein lies the attitude of the national liberatory movement to the white minority in this country. Thus a national movement ceases to be a liberatory force the moment it frees one group for the purpose of oppressing other groups.

The small permanent white population in this country presents itself as a problem to the national movement. It is precisely a problem because, firstly, no national movement can ignore a group of people who had been raised by Imperialism to the status of junior exploiters and oppressors; and secondly, it is a problem because the national movement will perforce have to adopt a policy to this group not only at some stage in the course of its struggle but also after the achievement of democracy.

There are those to whom the whites constitute no problem in as much as they consider them as a group which forms an inextricable part of the oppressing and exploiting Herrenvolk machinery and one which will have to go with the elimination of the slave institutions. Such an attitude of mind runs in flagrant contradiction to the meaning of national liberation. As a national particle of an international liberatory force, a national movement is interested in the liberation of all within the ambit of its operations.

At present, in so far as the whites, on the basis of Herrenvolk institutions, are co-partners in the oppression and exploitation of the non-whites, and in so far as they are seeking to consolidate their position or widen the scope of their rôle, in so far precisely will the national movement fight them. It will not make any concessions to reactionary white nationalism and chauvinism. For this ideology simply means the continued oppression and exploitation of 80% by 20% of the population. It will at all times advocate full equality for *all*.

At some time in the course of the national liberatory struggle, the movement will be called upon to adopt a positive policy towards the white minority. For the support of sections of this minority will not only be desirable but necessary: necessary from the point of view that the reconstruction of South Africa calls for experience in technical skill and administration, and here the whites can play an important rôle.

The national movement must at all times, wherever possible, make the distinction between Herrenvolk institutions and the people who, unwittingly serving foreign interests, benefit from these institutions. Since all institutions are transitory, it is clear that at some stage in the evolution of this country, these selfsame institutions will recoil on the whites themselves. And it is precisely at that stage that a strong national movement can forge links with those whites who are seeking a solution to their problems and see the answer to them in the national struggle itself. By solving the national problem, the movement can also then proceed to solve the white problem and bring liberation to the Europeans.

## **6. The Composition of the National Movement.**

Elsewhere in this issue, H. E. Abrahamse in "The Class Structure of South Africa and its Relation to the Colour Bar," assesses the specific weight of the various classes composing the South African social structure. We are here only concerned with his objective facts and figures from which the following conclusions can be drawn which point to two unique features of the class constituent elements participating in the national struggle.

The first is that, because the system of colour oppression and class exploitation have tended and still tend to coincide, the development of capitalism in this country has assiduously prevented the emergence and growth of any significant native bourgeoisie, urban and rural, big and small. And secondly, flowing from this, the vast bulk of the oppressed sections consist of proletarian and semi-proletarian elements. These two facts have no parallel in any other liberatory movement. They are of crucial importance to the character of our national movement and the course it will follow.

Theoretically, the national struggle in South Africa aims at removing all those restrictions which prevent the complete integration of the non-Europeans, economically, socially and politically, with a modern industrial system. Thus in its formal aspect, the national movement is directed at completing the industrial revolution begun after 1870, by establishing a colour bar-less society and so give capitalism full opportunity for development.

There are some who maintain that precisely because of their numerical insignificance, the native bourgeoisie cannot hope to gain the political hegemony of the movement. They argue that because of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the proletarian elements, the movement will take a strong leftward swing and become predominantly proletarian in content and in its method of struggle. These proletarian elements will under the proper proletarian leadership, so they argue, push the insignificant propertied classes so far to the left in the course of the struggle, that they will have no hope of realising their own class interests by remaining in the national struggle. This predominantly proletarian movement will therefore proceed to solve not only the national question but also the question of economic exploitation.

Will the development of capitalism in this country not, however, create favourable conditions for the crystallisation of a native bourgeoisie? In view of the backwardness of the proletarians, the fact that they are still largely unorganised and not integrated fully with the capitalist system—would this not give the native bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements an opportunity to play a large part in the national movement for some time to come? These questions and views will come up again and again for discussion.

## **7. *The Historical Necessity for National Liberation.***

The whole character of Imperialist oppression and exploitation of colonial countries proves that while the capitalist system is able to introduce new and advanced techniques into backward countries, it is unable precisely because of its parasitic nature, to develop human society after a certain stage. Imperialism can only remain Imperialism as long as it is able to continue as a system of accumulation based on the partial or complete suppression of economic and cultural enterprises in colonial countries. From this it follows that Imperialism is unable to deal with those problems it brings in its wake: poverty and disease, the need for cultural growth and transmission, the problem of stimulating the development of progressive traits and characteristics.

It is in this light that national liberation becomes a historical necessity, a necessity that gains expression on the human subjective plane that the old order cannot and will not solve the pressing problems of humanity and that it consequently cannot develop society beyond a certain stage. From this flows the conscious conviction, not only that the old order must go, but that it moreover contains those dynamic forces which can abrogate the old and usher in the new. And it is on this basis alone—a further development of this conscious conviction—that the problems of humanity can be solved and society developed on a new and higher plane. This is the meaning of freedom—the recognition of necessity.

A national liberatory movement can therefore not be driven to its goal by grievances, present or past. Nor can it be driven by such idyllic abstract conceptions as “justice,” “philanthropy” and “humanitarian principles.” Such an approach to the historic process is supra-historical and emanate not from the material needs below but from idealistic concepts from above. And thus they are out of touch with the real needs of mankind.

The fundamental task of the national emancipatory movement leadership is to point out to the people by utilising every petty issue or grievance that there is no need for them to suffer and that the national movement can alone, on the basis of a radical reconstruction of society, solve their needless suffering and make a new economic, cultural and spiritual growth possible.

## **8. *The Pre-Requisites for a Successful Democratic Struggle.***

An American political observer, Dr. Homer Jack, on a recent visit to this country, gave it as his considered opinion that in about ten years' time the non-Europeans would have achieved full democracy. He evidently based his judgment purely on the present objective conditions which obtain in this country, conditions which, to be sure, are fraught with danger to the Herrenvolk social structure.

Implicit in Dr. Homer Jaek's contention is the view that the historic process can automatically and by itself lead to the downfall of the old and the emergence of the new. For no mention is made of the part human agency can play to hasten this social transformation. In point of fact, he gives one to understand that like the movements of planetary objects causing eclipses and seasons, social change can take place outside human agency.

Such a view based on abstract mathematical calculation and mechanical reasoning disobeys all the laws of history and the science of politics. For it is precisely because the direct and conscious intervention of the people in objective processes is necessary to effect social change, that places the science of politics outside mathematical calculation and scientific exactitude.

History is made by people under definitive conditions. While these conditions can be determined with a certain amount of precision, no one can exactly say *when* the people will take a hand to subject these objective processes to their conscious will. This depends on a number of factors under which *the subjective is finally the most decisive*. While, therefore, objective conditions may be ripe for social change, the conscious entrance of the people into these processes is fundamental before any transformation can take place. This is the meaning of politics.

The fundamental pre-requisites for a successful democratic movement are three-fold in character. Firstly, *society must become so outmoded that the rulers, unable to deal with the demands and needs of humanity, become confused, corrupt and bankrupt*. Secondly, *there must be present in the oppressed people the conscious conviction that the old order can no longer solve their problems and that the only way out of the dilemma involves nothing less than a transformation of our social organisation*. And finally, *there must be present a political instrument, an organisation, a leadership, to give practical effect to this political conviction and historical necessity*.

The whole problem of emancipation must, in the final reckoning, hinge on the organisation of the people under a disciplined leadership acutely aware of its historic mission and destiny. It must be a leadership which, as the conscious instrument of the historic process, participates in the day to day struggles of the people to draw for them, on the basis of their own experience, fundamental conclusions: the conclusion that the old order can no longer solve the problems of humanity; and that only a successful national movement can win liberty and democratic freedom for all.

## The Native versus the National Question

By Edwin Makoti, Member of the Central Committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, and a leading Azanian theoretical writer.

UNESCO's kind invitation to have us participate in this meeting has given us the opportunity to pose some of the most serious problems facing our people in their struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.....In a period covering nearly 3¼ centuries the people of that country have not agreed to arrive at an equitable solution to the problem of regulating national relations in a historic way to enable man to live in fellowship with his fellowmen. In addition to that there is a world-wide tendency to regard the struggle for self-determination in Azania as a race struggle - against apartheid - thus conveying the impression that it may be peacefully feasible to persuade the apartheid to abandon their racial madness in order to pave the way for sane social relations in the country.

The history of Southern Africa has been one of mortal struggle between two conflicting attitudes and objectives, namely, the native question versus the national question. Some historians like to think that the conflict started in 1510 when Africans repulsed an invading contingent of Portuguese troops under the command of Viscount D'Almeida who was killed in the struggle that ensued. The Africans who had successfully defended themselves and their property were called a number of names from which the slogan 'native question' derived, thus "calling the white disease by a black name in order to blame the invaded for the invader's aggression." *The national question is a slogan of resistance out of which a revolutionary movement is capable of emerging.*

*It is our view that the primary problem of the peoples of Southern Africa who live under White minority rule is one of breaking up the colonial structures that were forcefully and brutally built up in the past four centuries of colonialism on the continent.* These structures are called by a variety of names. In racist South Africa they cumulatively answer to the slogan universally known as APARTHEID or, as it is fondly called by its exponents, multi-nationalism. Apartheid is practised in both Namibia and Zimbabwe as a matter of State policy while internally there is also a struggle between two main groups of Europeans (called Whites) in South Africa, so that, the oppressed and exploited people of

Southern Africa essentially live under the sway of the domestic colonialism of the South African government.

It seems pertinent to this discussion, in our view, to trace the clash of cultures in the evolution of the South African State around which this situation is centred. Certain factors are unavoidable; the State is historically the product of class divisions in society and serves as an instrument for the management of the affairs of the ruling class in its relations with the classes it dominates. It tries to cover up the class conflicts or to hold them in check while fostering "peaceful" competition within the ranks of the ruling class and its various factions. In South Africa race or colour is used to distort these relations while at the same time the State claims to represent only one race but enacts laws to which the disenfranchised races are subjected. Now there is a sham movement to rectify the anomaly by a greater absurdity which is called 'ethnic independence'.

In a limited analysis of this nature we can only try to trace the philosophical foundations and ideological justifications of White racism on one side and the cultures of resistance, rebellion and revolution on the other and attempt to see how the challenge of the decade - ethnic independence - is not only *the logical outcome of colonial intrigue* but also the desperate offspring of bourgeois despotism which is unavoidable in the circumstances. These are inherent in the nature of the South African State and the part it plays in the social relations of the people of Azania in particular and those of Southern Africa in general.

*The South African State owes its colonial authority over the people of Southern Africa to the practice of "native policy" it inherited from British colonialism in 1910 when the four British colonies formed the Union of South Africa under licence of a British Act of Parliament.* On the other hand despotism has been defined as a feature of colonialism which is practised under the guise of a "superior" civilisation. In its practice colonialism has gone on rampage to separate indigenous peoples from their past history and traditions and to strip them of their civilisation. There were three ways to do this: break up the native communities, uproot their way of life especially their mode of production, and undermine all that they hold dear in their society. These methods depended on brute force and employed the power of the State to smoothen the change.

## THE NATIVE QUESTION

*The colonial stake in South Africa is the political control of the country and the exploitation of its riches.* The country consists of the land and its peoples. The wealth consists of the country's natural resources and the labour, actual and potential, of its peoples. The land covers 472,589 square miles with nearly 2,000 miles of coastline and a temperate climate in much of the country's 4,000 feet above sea level. The coastal areas have a sub-tropical climate. Much of the land surface is made up of ancient rocks with a series of continental sediments rich in minerals. Unlimited mineral resources, according to tourist brochures, have made it the richest country in Africa. The population of the country stands at about 25 million people, 21 million of them Black and 4 million White. *The Black people of Azania regard the country as a semi-colony of the "consortium" of 1632 multi-national companies whose capital investments form the basic core of its economy and recognise the South African government as a colonial authority over the Black people.*

## RACIST COLONIALISM

There are two current theses which serve as a basic foundation of the philosophy of racist colonialism as practised by the South African government. The first is borrowed from Report No. 13 of the Human Sciences Research Council of the Department of Education which states, inter alia, that when Johan Van Riebeeck and his band of Dutch East India Company employees set anchor on South African soil in 1652 they found "a gloriously vast and open land which was largely inhabited by small wandering tribes of Bushmen and Hottentots and countless herds of wild animals." They settled on the land, grew slowly and spread over the mountains and along the great open plains, peacefully settling land that belonged to nobody but the wild animals and the wandering tribes which were today here and gone tomorrow.

In 1806 the Dutch settlement became a British colony. On the eastern frontiers of that colony a clash of interests arose between White settlements and a "wave of Black men which had come rolling down from the north" along a wide coastal strip. This resulted in a series of "kaffir wars" but peace was eventually established and White and Black began to settle down to living peace-

fully side by side on the promised land. In the course of time the peaceful settlements so established became the Union of South Africa under the British Crown.

The State Information Department takes over from here the web of history in a publication called "Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality" and tells us that in 1960 the Whites in the Union of South Africa decided, by way of a referendum, to adopt a republican form of constitution and, in 1961, discarded the last constitutional link with the British Crown and became the Republic of South Africa. By the latter action the Whites relinquished part of the country which had been scheduled for incorporation into the Union, and thereby allowed the peoples concerned to become independent as the States of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The Whites, we are told, are willing once more to abandon claim to more of such land to give ethnic independence to several nations in various parts of the country.

Government policy in this respect is to regulate the independence process on the basis of creative self-withdrawal so that the emergent Black nations may exercise their political rights and national independence within the geo-political jurisdiction of their own ethnic homelands. This pattern of political development leads to a mosaic of Black and White peoples with separate national identities which will be practically independent but economically interdependent, a principle that is *sine qua non* to the policy of separate development. *The Whites are, by this account, regarded as a permanently established African nation which is geo-politically rooted on part of the continent which has, in the course of more than three centuries, become their only motherland.* They claim the land as their own on the basis of three historical realities, namely purposeful and uninterrupted occupation and habitation, effective and sustained economic development, and continuous and effective political control.

It is pointed out that the Whites are not responsible for the destitute situation of the ethnic "homelands" where the best available land in the country is located with its rich mineral deposits. That the people there lack capital, expertise and management talent in a situation where natural resources and opportunities exist in abundance, cannot be blamed on the Whites. Even the "urban Blacks" did not leave their respective homelands activated by a desire to conquer the "White" parts of the country. Their vast migrations were caused by the push-effect of underdevelopment and the simultaneous pull-effect of rapid economic growth which stimulated the demand for labour. They thus came to sell their labour for short periods to earn the cash required for the upkeep of their families in the "homelands" and turned themselves into a large supply of cheap unskilled labour willing, to the point of desperation, to sell itself for the lowest wages. This is described as the political reality.

The cultural reality of racist colonialism is based on the Calvinist Code which divides people into two categories, the ELECT of God and the REST. This code inspired the 1881 Afrikaaner Bond Programme, the founding of the Afrikaaner Broederbond in 1918, the 1928 Swart Gevaar (Black danger) political manifesto, and the publication in 1942 of the draft republican constitution according to which the country's population was to be divided into two categories, White citizens and Black subjects. The final objective of the 1881 programme laid down that South Africa already mainly belonged to the Afrikaners by just right and demanded that each member of that chosen race solemnly undertake to contribute all his efforts towards maintaining, strengthening and expanding that position to cover the whole African continent, and must, to that end, be armed with the best possible arms and maintain expert use of the rifle and be ready to assert the nation's right whenever duty called. The programme expressed repugnance towards the ambition of the Black races to elevate themselves to equal rank with their overlords, in direct conflict with scriptural authority, and vowed never to allow a policy that incited the Black races to rivalry with their superiors.

## **LIBERAL COLONIALISM**

The exponents of the philosophy of liberal colonialism did not intend to be left behind in this aspiration. The colonial Prime Minister of the Cape Colony responded to the challenge in 1887. Mr. Cecil Rhodes propounded his policy thus: ".....either you have to receive them on an equal footing as citizens or call them a subject race.....I have made up my mind that there must be denied the franchise." Rhodes urged the colonial government to adopt ("in the dealings with the barbarians of South Africa") the system of despotism that had worked so well in India. The one-time governor of Java, Sir Stamford Raffles had already pointed out in 1817 that the East Indian Company had

“employed all existing machinery of despotism to squeeze from the people the last dregs of their labour....with all the practised ingenuity of politicians and all the monopolizing selfishness of traders”. The practice of despotism manifested itself in four specific areas of social life, namely, administration of private property, religion, social custom as a means to human status, and labour in the social relations of production. In the dealings with Africans this went in the name of “native policy”.

*Native policy, according to Lord Selbourne, was the mechanism for disallowing instability and uncertainty of labour and guaranteeing its abundant availability in as wide a territory as possible at every given moment in history.* This had to be inscribed into the laws of the country which define and enforce the relations of every individual to all others and prescribe the rules for carrying out commerce and business both of which depended upon the knowledge, application and manipulation of those laws. The making of those laws and their interpretation and enforcement must be in the custody of those whose business interests were paramount and at whose instigation they were made. That function could not be entrusted to anyone else.

The objectives of liberal colonialism can thus be summed up in a few strategic words which Lord Selbourne, in his memorandum of the unification of the South African British colonies urged upon the White people. He warned them that no White man could live in the country without designating the relative places that Whites, Coloureds and natives were to fill in the society. He advised them to form themselves into a public opinion that was capable of prescribing the permanent foundations upon which the whole structure of South African society would have to rest; “there must be a national mill where the facts would be sifted, blended, ground and distributed to all parts of the country”, and explained that continued disunion meant the absence of control in all national matters which meant that business rested on shifting sands and inclined to speculation rather than enterprise because the nation could not settle in unison the question of a continuous supply of labour for the exploitation of the country's principal sources of wealth. *The place of “native policy” in the national scheme of things was a labour question.*

These sentiments were shared by the ruling classes in the colonies who expressed their approval in the resolutions passed by their respective parliaments and were later to be prominently placed, as a major decision of the 1907-08 White National Convention, and ultimately inscribed into the constitution of the Union of South Africa. The South Africa Act of 1909 defines “native policy” in a specific section and in the schedule attached to the act. The section defines “the control and administration of native affairs and of matters differentially affecting Asiatics throughout the Union” while the “schedule” applies to “natives in the colonies and other territories not originally included in such Union.”

The “Schedule” was the instrument for the incorporation of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland under the colonial authority of the South African government. *The main question facing the liberal faction of colonialism is that when the South African government is urged to abandon apartheid, it is suggested that the purposes of “native policy” be surrendered. Who, then, is to approve the act of surrender? In other words we have to answer a series of questions: For whom does the South African State legislate? Does it represent a class or a race? Is apartheid a class or race ideology? What position does South Africa occupy in the international division of labour in so far as the social relations of production in the country, and region are concerned?*

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

*Having briefly outlined the political motives (ideology) of colonialism, we would have wished to discuss the structures and hierarchies it constructed, the native institutions it set up and the disabling land and labour laws it enacted to ensure the hegemony of colonial relations and the fulfillment of colonial purposes in the region, before dealing with the cultures of resistance that developed to maintain the fighting morale of the oppressed people.*

*Men concern themselves with nationalism when their manhood is either denied, disputed or disparaged. The concept of nationalism, therefore, has nothing or little to do with race or religion as such. The national question is the matter of how man shall live in peace and harmony with other men. Man lives and has his social being in a social environment. His relations with his fellowmen are determined by their economic needs which arise within the framework of social relations.*

The significant portion of our social milieu thus begins with the expansion of the markets



founded by the rising commercial capital of Western Europe at the turn of the 15th century which resulted in the increased search for raw materials which are available in large quantities in Africa, and the early settlement of Europeans in our country. *The penetration of these settlers into the interior of the country involved loss of sovereignty by, and the alienation of large portions of the land of, the indigenous people.* The subsequent partition of Africa was the consequence of subjugation and subjection that followed in the wake of this movement.

Five events of historical significance set the pattern of the colonial relations that exist in Southern Africa today. In our country these were the establishment of a White settlement at the Cape and the resultant movement of aggression and dispossession known as the Great Trek, the introduction of slavery into the country and the creation of "native labour reserves" following the military defeat of our people; the importation of indentured labour for the canefields of Natal and the goldfields of the Transvaal; the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886, and the unification of the White colonies in 1910. *The latter was the crowning act of subjection of the Africans to the colonial authority of the White minority.*

## **NATIONALISM AS A CULTURE OF RESISTANCE**

The culture of a given society is the expression of the conditions of life of its people and the reflection of its politics and economics. In a colonial society the culture of the oppressed and exploited people must necessarily be one of both resistance and survival to boost the fighting morale of the nation. *The national question for us therefore is a matter of land; of who owns or works on it and how its primary products are distributed to provide men with his primary needs.* It is equally a matter of political power, of who wields it and in whose interest; and, it is as much a matter of the role of the individual in the public affairs of his country and his personal status among his peers. In the conditions of life of our people the most conscious activity that is open to all our people is the voluntary pursuit of a culture of resistance and revolution manifest in the whole of their social being.

*The Black people of Azania consider that their struggle is one of national liberation and social emancipation. This was stated clearly in 1949: viz, ".....the desire to achieve freedom by which we mean freedom from White domination and the attainment of political independence .....like all other peoples the African people claim the right of self-determination....." The national liberation struggle of the people came to the conclusion that the struggle must be based on the main contradiction in the society and not merely upon its local peculiarity, that is, it must be based upon eliminating the general features of colonialism rather than the specific feature of White domination alone which deceives the people into thinking that the only enemy of freedom in the country is racist colonialism and that therefore they have a friend and ally in liberal colonialism. The strategy of liberation is that we must deal with the conflict as a whole and not with one factional aspect of it only, for in doing that, we are actually binding the liberation movement to the shirt tail of the other faction and that cannot but be the highest form of opportunism on our part.*

*In the struggle to retain the land we have it on the best authority that the people resisted the Dutch invaders from the outset by refusing to trade in livestock or to cede land as pasture. They ultimately went to war in defence of their land. In his report, Jan Van Riebeeck, leader of the Dutch Dutch settlers wrote: "They strongly insisted that we had been appropriating more and more of their land.....and strongly urged that they should have free access to their land.....At first we argued that there was not enough grass for their cattle as well as ours, to which they replied, "have we then no reason to prevent you from getting cattle since, if you have a large number, you will take up all our grazing grounds with them; as for your claim that the land is not big enough for both of us, who should rather in justice give way, the rightful owner or the foreign invader? This movement of resistance against land robbery coupled with the refusal to enter the service of the settlers resulted in the introduction of slavery into the country. When slavery was ended another movement movement of aggression emerged.*

The "Great Trek" was resisted valiantly for more than a century in which our divided people were conquered piecemeal in the uneven contest of the time. The movement of resistance was based at what was called the eastern frontiers of the Cape Colony and constituted, in Professor Eric Walker Walker's words (History of Southern Africa, Longmans, 1968, p.115), "a prolonged series of

skirmishes (which) ended in favour of the colonists." There were nine such wars of resistance euphemistically known in history as "kafir wars."

An earlier movement had arisen from the colonial objective of "extirpating the Bushmen." The remnants of various peoples such as the Namaqua, Korana, Bathwa, some slaves who had escaped from the colony and the "coloured" descendants of the San, Khoi and Dutch settlers, had moved northwards in search of independence and had settled along the banks of the Senqu (Orange) River which is now known as Griqualand. Their unity into one national group had been inspired by the spirit of national resistance. It was said of them that the "Griqua were in a position to bar the way to the north at a moment when the Bantu threatened to close the way to the east." *It was also said that had it not been for the missionaries, the reorganised Griquas would have descended on the colony like vultures upon their prey. The missionaries set up a number of communities under their control and divided the people by allegiance to different chiefs who looked upon each other as rivals and by different religious denominations.*

*The resistance movement called MFECANE or Lifaqane started in Zululand. King Shaka was the product and leader of that movement. He waged wars by which he sought to establish one authority in place of the many clan authorities then in existence and responsible for the weakness of the African people. Those who fled from their homes were welcomed and welded together into Basotho under the rallying leadership of King Moshoeshoe in the strongholds of the Maluti mountains. Others who went further south were given land and pasturage by King Hintsa whom they acknowledged as paramount authority. The last act of rebellion, when the military power of the Africans had already been broken, was staged by Chief Bambata in 1906 against oppressive labour laws, alleged stock theft reprisals, increase in land and poll tax. That notwithstanding the African people have not resigned themselves to military defeat.*

*The next phase of the resistance movement, ETHIOPIANISM, was expressed through the church and emerged as an attempt on the part of the Africans to set up their own churches independently of the colonial churches. Black churches began as a revolt of the Black clergy within the missionary churches. Edward Roux says of them, in *Time Longer Than Rope* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison) that "at the back of it all was the growing feeling of national consciousness and revolt against Whites, not only in religious matters, but in everything." What is now called religion or religious worship was, among our people, a way of life, a cultural attachment to heroism and the good things of life and was reflected in national habits and customs, war-cries, ceremonial occasions and in their songs and dances and work ethics. The heroes and martyrs of the past featured prominently in that culture, scrupulously preserved and conscientiously carried down from one generation to another.*

A further movement of unity in resistance emerged with the founding of diamonds and gold in Griqualand and the Transvaal respectively. Here Africans came from all parts of the country and worked together in the mines and subsequently on the railways. In their respective homes they were faced with local and regional problems but in industry the problems had become national. The fact that they shared common disabilities forced them to develop ideas of united effort and therefore of nationalism. They discovered the intentions of the whites regarding the people of the protected territories of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and in 1909 and again in 1912 they met to develop the spirit of nationalism. In his opening address at the 1912 meeting the convenor, Dr. Seme, pointed out that "the regional and tribal divisions among Africans had to be overcome by a spirit of African nationalism." This was the movement, which, in 1944 demanded a clear ideological outlook based on African nationalism and Africanism, a basic policy outlining our ultimate objectives, and a militant programme of action.

This is how the South African Native National Congress was formed on 8 January 1912. In the course of time the entire Black people founded the All-African Convention in 1935 as a federal body to which was affiliated national organisations of all types for the purpose of fighting the Hertzog Bills on land and franchise issues. It was under the auspices of the All-African Convention that a suggestion was made to consider the formation of a national liberation movement. The idea was not pursued further at the time. The largest ever organisation of resistance to be founded by our people was the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa (ICU) which began as a dock workers union in 1919. Its impact on the national scene was so full of potential that the leaders of the present ruling party of the time, General Hertzog and Dr. Malan were forced to make political overtures to its leader Clement Kadalie. Edward Roux was to say of it: "While it lasted it had, more than any other movement of the

natives, raised the prestige of the African people and put fear into the hearts of the authorities. For a time it had even seemed that it was going to change the whole face of South African political and industrial relations. Persecution helped to kill it but the forces of internal disruption were a more fundamental cause of its collapse."

The present national liberation movements are the product of the forces and factors that have made South African history what it is. Their problems have not changed from what they were at the beginning. They have merely become more sophisticated. *The mandate of the movements remains one of national liberation and social emancipation within the framework of self-determination as dictated by the clash between the native and national questions. They are now faced with what we have called the challenge of the decade, the fraud of self-determination that is called ethnic independence.*

## THE NATURE AND ROLE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

There are three specific features of the South African State we propose to examine within the limited scope of our analysis. In his book, "Modernizing Racial Discrimination" Professor H. Adams says that South Africa represents both metropolis and colony in geographical unity and inseparable economic interdependence. He calls this a unique relationship of domination that develops from simultaneously living together while maintaining extreme social distance. He calls the fraud a pragmatic racial oligarchy. This pragmatism is oriented solely towards the purposes of the system, "the smooth, frictionless and tolerable domination over cheap labour and political dependents as a prerequisite for privileges for the minority." *The fraud of ethnic independence is a major part of that "decisive feature of South Africa's version of racialism."*

In a paper delivered at the Conference on "Socio-Economic Trends and Policies in Southern Africa" held in Dar-Es-Salaam towards the end of 1975, Y. Tandon discussed the Theory of Multi-National Imperial Corporate State: The Case of South Africa. He pointed to the necessity to explain rather than merely describe the policies pursued by the South African State. This could not be done "without adequate analysis of the relative autonomy of the State vis-a-vis the dominant classes and the relations between the various fractions of capital." *Tandon argues that "the specific unity and relative autonomy of the South African State and its dominant fractions has to be located within the structure of the world-wide accumulation of capital, that is, the position it occupied in the international division of labour as between the imperialist dominant social formations, and in particular, in relation to the class struggle by the oppressed classes."*

These take three distinct forms: *the unity of class power presents itself in the first place as the unity of a particular race; secondly, the autonomy of the State from society is only partial in the sense that the other races - the disenfranchised ones - are supposed to be nations apart with their own own institutions and residential locations, but are subject to the laws of the State; thirdly, the State does not pretend to be neutral as between labour and capital, it determines the rules by which Black labour is subordinated to capital.* Even White labour is not allowed to aspire to the assumption of State power. It may only negotiate to improve wages and working conditions but is allowed to fight to retain its privileged position against the Black labouring classes.

The second distinct form is the relative autonomy of the State at the level of its relations within the dominant fractions of capital. *The ruling national bourgeoisie started off as an alliance of an agricultural-pastoral and petty bourgeois White community, largely Afrikaaner, and once it had achieved political hegemony it retained its racial unity, and began to transform itself into an industrial bourgeoisie. The third form is that of the relations between national and international capital. Here we find that those whose investment capital forms the basic core of the South African economy justify their business dealings with South Africa while disassociating themselves from the politics of apartheid, which is applied in their particular interest.*

It is in this context that we must now look at "ethnic independence" in South Africa. *Even here there is no pretence about the nature of the exercise - political independence and economic independence - to maintain the purposes of "native policy".* The facts of the situation are too well known to warrant repetition here. It is unavoidable in the circumstances not to look at the so-called independence of the Transkei as an ornamental decoration for Chief Matanzima for services rendered to what Professor Adam has called "the forced renunciation by producers of their right to take full possession of the products they have created." The only claim to repute for such "independence" can only be that it is much more sophisticated than the copper strips that Jan

Van Riebeeck used as a means of exchange in the trade in livestock in 1652. Our forbears had the courage and patriotism to stand up and say so when they arrived at the point that they had a "surfeit" of such worthless value.

It seems pertinent that we should repeat the conflicting statements of the exponents of this "ethnic independence". On 1 May 1951, racist Prime Minister Dr. D.F. Malan said: "Now a Senator wants to know whether the series of self-governing areas would be sovereign. It stands to reason that White South Africa must remain the guardian. We are spending money on all these developments. How could small scattered States arise? The areas will be economically dependent on the Union. It stands to reason that when we talk of native rights of self-determination in these areas we cannot mean that we intend to cut large slices out of South Africa and turn them into independent States."

In 1961, however, Dr. Verwoerd said: "The development of the Bantu States is not what we would have liked to see. It is a form of fragmentation which we would have not liked if we were able to avoid it. In the light of the pressures being exerted upon South Africa, there is, however, no doubt that this will eventually have to be done, thereby buying for the white man, his freedom and the right to retain domination in what is his country (that) was settled for him by his forefathers." In 1972 Dr. Werner Eiselen, regarded as joint architect of the policy of separate development, confirmed that Dr. Verwoerd had never intended that the tribal "homelands" would gain political "independence" but had been forced by circumstances to promise it. What had been planned was the merging of the Transkei and Ciskei, incorporating land owned by Whites, to meet the provisions of the 1936 Native Trust Land Act. "It sounded so nice, to the outside world, when we said that our people were governing themselves, and that they had their own ministers and chief ministers, that we could no longer afford to say that it was not so. The initiative had virtually been taken from South Africa's hands when the rest of the countries in Africa were given independence."

The position of the ethnic leaders is equally dubious. Chief Lucas Mangope for example is a bundle of contradictions. He once said, "I have accepted separate development because I believe it offers a future for my people.....I would only accept one man, one vote, but no White political party offers it; when Dr. Verwoerd put forward separate but equal development, I took him at his word..." He has also said, however, that if the government wants to save South Africa from total collapse it should yield power to the homeland leaders now since they are as opposed to "terrorism" as any White man and "could tip the balance of scales one way or another in the fight against it." It is obvious that he and his colleagues can only wield power in an apartheid State.

We should say something about the attitudes of Chief Buthelezi since he is looked upon abroad as a probable rallying figure for the Black people. What may not be fully appreciated is that he is admired for his rhetoric rather than for leadership. The people are certainly determined to maintain their culture of resistance to White domination but at the same time they know that the ethnic leaders are part and parcel of the system of oppression and exploitation and can therefore offer no radical solution to the country's problems. And they know, above all, that to listen to a radical ethnic functionary will not get them into trouble such as attending a meeting of non-establishment organisation would. Chief Buthelezi has been unable to explain to the people or to his overseas supporters how it is possible for him to rise to the position of Prime Minister in a set-up he despises.

The Kingpin of the fraud of self-determination is, no doubt, Chief Matanzima. Earlier he told a London press conference that he does "not at all collaborate with apartheid." Recently he told his ethnic parliament that he does not agree with the policy, "it was imposed on us". He probably forgot or conveniently ignored an earlier statement attributed to him in which he wrote, "Let there be no doubt about the fact that my colleagues and I openly and unequivocally endorse the policy of separate development; that we regard ourselves as partners in the implementation of this policy, and are intent on the maintaining of cordial relations with White South Africa."

## THE FUTURE OF NATIONAL RELATIONS

A fanciful image of our struggle has been built up over the years. Our people have been regarded as helpless and hopeless children who are unable to decide their own destiny and are looked upon largely as savage tribesmen and women without human values. The Pan Africanist Congress recognised from the outset *that revolution is the work of the broad masses of the people acting in unison and that it had, therefore, to find fitting forms of involving the people in*

*the revolution in their own right. The African people everywhere demand a liberating ideology which is capable of enabling them to bring an end to oppression and exploitation. They demand a liberating programme in which they will take part in determining its strategy and tactics, and in which they will be assigned responsible tasks in moulding their national character and in shaping their destiny in the interests of social developments as a whole.*

*The history of our people shows that the Black man wants his humanity recognised and will employ all feasible means to do so. He has refused to bow down to centuries of sectarian practice by colonialists to dwarf the significance of his humanity and thus maintained his fundamental human values. His resistance to tyranny and the struggle for independence have consistently preserved his human perspective. The colonialists have tried to shatter and batter out of shape the history, culture and the very social being of the Black men by brutal cultural invasion backed by social segregation and military suppression. The PAC saw the imperative need for articulate instruction for the people, especially the young activist, in the history of his people's struggle for national independence and social emancipation. The culture of that training cannot but be steeped in the heroic traditions of our country and continent as part of the history of mankind, with emphasis on the need for understanding the forces at work in the world today:*

*The political line of our organisation, inspired by the principles of scientific socialism, is geared to the solution of the social question in Africa and is manifested in the struggle to regulate national relations on a historical basis. Our political programme includes making the people understand that the national right to self-determination does not include the partitioning of the country to form small tribal States as the racist regime is planning to do.*

*We wish to say, in a brief summary, that members of the PAC see themselves as soldiers of the people who are charged with the historical task of leading the struggle to liberate the Motherland and to ensure that the wealth of our country and the fruits of the labour of its people are equitably distributed among them. **THE PRIMARY TASK IS TO MAKE REVOLUTION STRIVING TO ACHIEVE THE POLITICAL OBJECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIAL EMANCIPATION.** The ultimate objective is to solve, in conjunction with other peoples in the world, the question of how man shall live in peace and harmony with his fellowmen.*

*Our struggle takes off from the point that man is a social being and lives in a social environment. His life is organised around his social relations with other men. This means that while man's activities are organised around his economic needs, social relations form the pivot of human life. The nature and form of man's economic life are an important and decisive factor in the regulation of social relations between man and man. It is imperative that we would organise our economic life to avoid a clash of interest between one man and another. This is not only possible. It can be achieved. At present the economic life of our country is organised around a system of private enterprises where workers are engaged in collective production for private employers who derive private profits from their labour. The private owners are in business to make as much money as possible within the given situation and employ a variety of plans and methods to do so with the least possible expense to themselves. Our working people are just labour units in that process. This comprises the germ of conflict.*

*The central point on this issue is that this clash of interests cannot be avoided within the capitalist system and that it must be replaced with a system in which there are no private bosses and no private profits. This brings us to the inevitable conclusion that in order to live in fellowship with others, man must recognise the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of his fellowmen and strive to eliminate, on his part, the tendency to promote and uphold his own interests at the expense of those of other men. It is only within such a set-up that the human personality can be developed and respect for it fostered. We see the key to this problem as socialism through which the wealth of the country belongs to the people as a whole and is equitably distributed by those who produce it. This is our ultimate objective as well as our historic political mission in the service of all humanity. **THAT IS OUR PRESCRIPTION FOR SANE SOCIAL RELATIONS IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PRESENT COLONIAL STRUCTURES IN AZANIA AND THE SUB-CONTINENT UNDER WHITE MINORITY RULE.***

# The Falsified History of African Dispossession of Their Land and Country in Azania

Ethel Khopung's book "Story of a Dispossessed People" is a history of the Azanian struggle written from a totally different angle from that to which a number of white writers have subjected it. It presents a much more accurate and truthful account of the Azanian struggle. Ethel Khopung deals with many distortions of the liberation struggle and the author is obviously as well informed as much as she is able to write in a simple and readable style. We publish here the opening chapter of her book which dispels the anti-apartheid approach to the Azanian struggle and puts it in the proper perspective of the history of a people Dispossessed by a white settler colonialism acting in partnership with foreign Imperialism. Her main task in this chapter is to dispel the myth that the whites and the Africans came to Azania at the same time in history.

## THE FALSIFIED HISTORY

**RACISM, SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND "FREEDOMS," BANTU HOMELANDS, "WHITES ONLY," NATIVE PASS LAWS, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND FASCIST MINORITY SETTLER RULE OVER THE INDIGENOUS MAJORITY — That is APARTHEID on the surface. But the root of apartheid is the story of a dispossessed people. The story of land robbery. The story of bloodshed, colonialism and invasion. The story of overthrown indigenous African governments. The story of white rule by the gun.**

South Africa was once a blackman's country ruled by its own black indigenous Africans. It was free and independent. The dispossession of the African people started with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck on the 6th of April 1652. The history of South Africa is now the tragic story of military suppression, political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation of a people; unprecedented in the history of the civilised world. In fact, the contradictions that are found in this history bear a clear stamp of the conflicting interests of the indigenous African majority and those of the settler minority. For over 300 years what is the story of a dispossessed people has been falsified in favour of the settlers and their supporters whose writers recorded it in the interests of what they have misnamed "Western Christian Civilisation."

For instance, in 1959 Eric Louw then Foreign Affairs Minister in the South Africa apartheid government said, ".....the Bantu (meaning the African people) began to trek from the North across the Limpopo when Jan van Riebeeck landed in table Bay in 1652". The honourable gentleman did not explain this strange coincidence of events.

Then in 1961 Dr. Hendrick Verwoerd (Prime Minister of white South Africa who was assassinated in his parliament in September 1966) told his audience in London that, "More than 300 years ago two population groups equally foreign to South Africa converged in rather small numbers on what was practically empty country. Neither group colonised the other's country or robbed him by invasion."

Dr. Verwoerd was born in Holland and went to South Africa with his parents in 1905. He was then four years of age. It is difficult to know where this Hollander got his information about the history of South Africa.

Of course, many European politicians and writers have said that this country was roaming wild animals when Jan van Riebeeck built a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company in 1652. In their bid to 'prove' that they occupied an 'empty land' they have even ignored the fact that Jan van Riebeeck was not the first white man to land in South Africa. They have also closed their eyes to the fact that in 1652 Jan van Riebeeck had no instructions to occupy even Capetown! The Dutch East India Company had no intention of colonising this part of Africa.

Commenting on the occupation of the Cape, A.H. Keane says, "It is carefully to be noted that the Cape, left almost to itself for over 150 years after its discovery by the Portuguese (1487), was not at first occupied by the Dutch East India Company with a view to colonisation. A few seafarers had landed from time to time, in 1620 the English had even taken formal possession in the name of James I. without however, taking any serious steps to settle in the district." 1).

A number of white historians have ignored the fact that Jan van Riebeeck did not occupy the Cape in 1652, but landed on it to build a "provision station." Even by European legal and colonial standards there is a difference between landing on a foreign soil and taking occupation of that soil. Of course, the provision station by the Dutch East India Company later proved to be an effective base through which the Black people of South Africa were dispossessed of their country.

The strangest thing, of course, about the history of South Africa is that almost all the white historians have tried to make South Africa "empty land" before they colonised it. In some cases they have suggested that the Africans were intruders in South Africa. Perhaps this helps to justify apartheid and the national dispossession of the African people by the descendants of Jan van Riebeeck, the Voortrekkers and other participants in the crimes of colonialism in South Africa.

For instance, J. W. Williamson writer of **THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH** says, "Far to the eastward, in the better country beyond the Karoo, the frontier Boers were in contact with natives of a different type. These were the Bantu or Kaffirs, a vigorous people with strong tribal organisation, military instincts and power of acting in combination, a much more formidable enemy than the Hottentots or the Bushmen. The Kaffirs had worked gradually southwards from the tropical zone and, **strictly speaking, were intruders in South Africa just as were the white men.**" 2)

Williamson continues, "The nearest Kaffir tribes to the eastern border of the colony were the Fingos, Pondos and Xhosas. North-east of them, in Natal, dwelt the fighting Zulus. North-east of the colony also were the Basutos, and beyond them, what is now the Transvaal, the Matebele. All these tribes could turn out military forces, and the three last mentioned had a discipline and organisation remarkable among Africans. **It was fortunate that as yet they had few fire-arms or horses, and that their only missile weapon was the assegai or throwing spear.**" 3)

According to their traditional knowledge of their country's history, Africans say that their forefathers occupied South Africa many many centuries before the whiteman set his foot on their land. The old people in the "native reserves" (now Bantustans or homelands) have therefore, always treated statements of white politicians and their historians as a big joke.

1. **The Boer States** by A. H. Keane page 147

2. **The British Empire and Commonwealth** by J. A. Williamson page 276

3. **The British Empire and Commonwealth** by J. A. Williamson page 276

Several old people interviewed from time to time in the past have summed up their views as follows :

“Ngumthetho wa Belungu. Bathanda ukuguqul” izinto, NemiBhalo baya ijika va beqonde ukuba. ABelungu ngomafik” izolo kwelilizwe. Obawo mkhulu bathi kudala babephila naMalawo naBathwa. Amaxhwele amanye amakhulu akwa-Xhosa kwakungamalawo. Obawo mkhulu balwe naBelungu, kodwa ke imikhonto yayingasoze imelane nemipu yaBelungu” (That is the habit of the Europeans. They like to twist things to suit them. They never hesitate to change the Scriptures if by that they would get away with some wicked deed. It is not very long when the Europeans came to this country. Our forefathers told us that long ago they lived in this country together with the Khoi and San people (Hottentots and Bushmen). Some of the great witchdoctors among the Xhosas were Khoi. Our forefathers fought in defence of this country but they were defeated. Assegais were too powerless against the might of the European guns).

Other old African people have simply said, “Kajeno re ca lapa ngoan'ika. Ha re na masimo Makhooa a ne a re nkele lefats'e. Bo ntate-moholo ba ne ba loane senna empa ka ha re ne re loana ka marumo le likoto. Makhooa a loana ka lithunya ba ne ba hlolehe 'me naha ea hapuo. Ke 'nete hore khale baholo ba rona ba ne ba phela le Baroa le Bakhothu. Ho nyalloana” (Today we starve my child. We have not enough land to produce food and rear cattle. The Europeans took our land from us. Our forefathers fought with assegais and knob-kerries, but Europeans had guns so they took our land. It is true that many years ago our forebears lived side by side with the Khoi and San people. Intermarriage was very common among them).

### **Reaction of Modern Africans to Settler History**

The modern generation of Africans has of course, become suspicious of not only the statements which have been made by people like Louw, Verwoerd, white historians and other apartheid settler spokesmen, but of the history of South Africa in general. They suspect that the history of South Africa is written to suit the Europeans and to justify the national dispossession of the Africans and the policy of apartheid.

One such suspicion has been voiced by an African scholar of history and archaeology. He wrote :

“White settlers always try to remove honour conferred upon Africans by antiquity. When they (Europeans) came across the Zimbabwe Ruins for the first time, they credited the famous walls to the Phoenicians, Arabs, Sabaeans etc. With more and more archaeological discoveries being made, however, it has now been proved beyond doubt that the Iron Age Black people of Zimbabwe built the Zimbabwe Walls.”

The African scholar continued. “There is also the case of a painting known as ‘White Lady of Brandberg’ in South West Africa (Namibia). The make up of the lady in the painting is Egyptian. Field Marshall Smuts assisted Abbe Breuil to investigate who were responsible for the painting. The South African settler government was interested in the painting because they hoped it might show that Europeans occupied South Africa during the first century of the Christian era. They failed to prove this ridiculous theory. But as usual in 1947 the verdict by Abbe' Bruil was that the Cretans or Egyptians were responsible for the painting.”<sup>4</sup>

It seems that there is no intelligent African in South Africa who does not believe that the land of his forefathers was usurped and the indigenous Africans



dispossessed by the guns of the Europeans. On the occasion of Heroes' Day July 1959, a national leader (for whom the apartheid rulers later made a special law called "Sobukwe Clause") said among other things :

"We are met here today to commemorate our national Heroes' Day. We are, today, going down the corridor of time and renewing our acquaintance with the heroes of Afrika's past—those men and women who nourished the tree of African freedom and independence with their blood; those great Sons and Daughters of Africa who died in order that we may be free in the land of our birth. We are met here, today to dedicate our lives to the cause of Afrika, to establish contact, beyond the grave, with the great African Heroes and to assure them that their struggle was not in vain. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of our beloved land, to drink from the fountain of African achievement, to remember the men and women who begot us, to remind ourselves of where we come from and restate our goals.

"We are here to draw inspiration from the Heroes of Thaba Bosiu, Isandlwana, Sandile's Kop, Keiskama Hoek, Blood River and numerous other battlefields where our forefathers fell before the bullets of the foreign invader. We are here to draw inspiration from the Sons and Daughters of Afrika who gave their all to the cause and were physically broken in the struggle. We are met here, Sons and Daughters of Afrika to take trowel in our right hand and a shield and sword in our left. We are gathered here, today to reiterate our resolve to declare total war against the demi-god of white supremacy. We are here, to serve an ultimatum on the forces of oppression ..."<sup>5</sup>

What Africans know about South Africa is thus in sharp contradiction to what Europeans have said and written. But let us leave this controversy for a while and try and trace the history of the Black people of South Africa. The controversy about the land dispute between Africans and Europeans may be answered as we continue with our discussion. But first, it is important to note that there is a theory that the ancestors of the present Black people of South Africa came from Egypt many years ago. It also seems that while there they lived for sometime with Hebrew people (Jews). This theory is strengthened by the fact that Africans have many customs common to the Old Testament Jewish "culture" such as circumcision, atonement for crime or sin by blood, raising a family for a dead brother and so on.

D. E. Ellenberger and J. C. Macgregor support this theory. They point out that the Basuto women of olden days wore under their traditional dress round their loins a girdle of twisted grass called *thethana*. They think that this word is derived from the Hebrew word *thana* meaning a fig tree.<sup>6</sup> This is the kind of tree whose leaves Adam and Eve wore to cover their nakedness according to Genesis 3:7.

The belief that Africans came from the North and were influenced by Hebrews seems to be also confirmed by a Venda tradition. The old Venda people of South Africa had a sounding drum. It was equivalent to the Hebrew ark of the Lord. The Venda Africans called their "ark" Ngoma-Lungundulu in their language. They kept and used their sounding drum or ark almost in the same way that the Hebrews observed concerning the ark of the Lord.

Now, let us talk about the occupation of the present South Africa. In their book **The History of the Basuto — Ancient and Modern**, D. E. Ellenberger and J. C. Macgregor say that excepting the Bushmen it was the Bantu the present black people of South Africa who first occupied this country. Although it is

4. *Azania News* May 18th/June 1st 1967

5. *State of the Nation Address*, 30th July 1959 by Mangaliso R. Sobukwe

always difficult to give the actual dates, the history of the Black people of South Africa being based mainly on tradition, nevertheless, the two writers have identified the first inhabitants of South Africa as the Iron Age people. It has been found that the Barolong danced in honour of a hammer and iron. Ellenberger and Macgregor have also quoted Rev. Lemue as saying that Morolong actually means a blacksmith? The Barolong and the Bafokeng and other Bantu tribes are believed to have arrived from the "North" over 2,000 years ago (compared with Jan van Riebeeck who came to South Africa only in 1652 about 320 years ago). In South Africa the Iron Age black Africans were more numerous than the San people who are believed to have arrived from the "North" over 3,000 years ago.

It does not seem that the Black people of South Africa entered their present country by invasion and bloodshed. The San people (Bushmen) never resisted them. Instead they fraternised with them and there were many marriages between them and the Black people of South Africa. (Later in our discussion of the dispossession of the Khoisan people (Hottentots and Bushmen) by the European settlers we shall show that there were bloody clashes between the Khoisan people and Jan van Riebeeck's people. We shall also give reasons for these wars). In fact, as late as 1833 King Moshoeshoe married as junior wives two San women. We shall give his reason for this later on.

In passing let us however, put it on record that there were many marriages between the Bantu (Sotho group) and the San people who were living with them along the Vaal areas in the present Orange Free State about 1450 A.D. One marriage, nevertheless caused much trouble. A chief of the Bafokeng tribe married a San woman for his principal wife. This was bitterly opposed by the chief's people. They said that according to custom he was to marry a Mofokeng woman for his senior wife. People who think their blood is "royal" have always been fussy all over the world. For instance, in the 20th century marriages such as those of Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana and Princess Margaret sister of Queen Elizabeth II have been opposed.

It seems this Mofokeng chief was an obstinate type of person. He married the San woman despite the opposition. Things seemed to go on well for as long as he lived. But when he died the tribe refused to be ruled by his sons born of the San woman. Things got so bad that the sons of the San woman left with such of their father's people as were loyal to them. They crossed into Natal but finally settled with a Xhosa tribe called the Tembus in the today's Cape Province. But they were absorbed into the Xhosa society and completely lost their identity. 8) Chief Tyali of the Xhosas is believed to have been a descendant of the sons of the San woman who married the Mofokeng chief. It may be interesting to note that the Vundla clan in the Cape Province, though they are Xhosas consider themselves related to the Bafokeng of Mmutla. They have adopted the hare as their totem and do not eat the meat of this animal.

According to Ellenberger and Macgregor other sons of the Mofokeng chief obviously by black African women also left the Vaal after this tribe's disruption. They moved to what is today the district of Heidelberg which was then called Tebang by the indigenous African people. Another interesting group which is mentioned by Ellenberger and Macgregor is that which sprang off from chief Tabane and Mathulare. These were the Bapedi, the Makhlokoe, the Baphuthing, the Basia and the Batlokoa. These groups lived in areas including

6. *History of the Basuto-Ancient and Modern* by D. E. Ellenberger and J. C. Macgregor page 15

7. *History of the Basuto-Ancient and Modern* by D. E. Ellenberger & J. C. Macgregor page 18.

8. *History of the Basuto-Ancient and Modern* by D. E. Ellenberger & J. C. Macgregor page 19

where the town of Pretoria today stands.

We shall say more about the dispossession of the people of the Transvaal and Orange Free State later. But in passing at this very early stage we would like to mention that the present Lesotho lost much of its territory to the Boers after the 1836 Great Trek (also to be discussed later). What emerges from the history of present day Lesotho is that long before Moshoeshe came to weld the Basuto into a modern nation during the "Wars of Shaka," huge tracts of land in present Lesotho and parts of the Orange Free State were occupied by the people of today's Lesotho. This excludes the Barolong and other Bantu tribes who lived in the Orange Free State before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652.

The Basotho people of Lesotho had leaders like Monaheng, Mokheseng and Mohlomi. Mokheseng died in 1860. Monaheng his father was also called Kali. This was his real name. He was given the name of Monaheng by the San people with whom he lived. This is another sign of peaceful co existence between the Iron Age Black people of South Africa and their San brothers.

Another interesting figure that emerges from the history of the Basotho is Mohlomi. He was a great philosopher and administrator. But unlike the philosopher and administrator King Ngconde of the Xhosa Africans, Mohlomi was also a roving diplomat preaching the message of peace and brotherhood among a number of African tribes he met in Southern Africa.

Mohlomi lived in a place called by the Basotho people, Ngodiloe. This part of the country is today called Ficksburg and is no longer part of Lesotho but part of the Orange Free State. This is a result of wars which were launched by the Boer trekkers after 1836. Mohlomi's importance in history lies in the fact that it was he who taught Moshoeshe the philosophy of peace and made a great diplomat and statesman out of Moshoeshe. To this day the Basotho people have a national slogan, "Khotso ke Nala" (Peace brings prosperity).

Now before we proceed to discuss contact between the indigenous Africans of South Africa with the Portuguese which throws a great deal of light on the occupation of South Africa by the Khoisan and Iron age Black people before 1652, we would like to record for your information the following charts :—

### **Genealogy of the Bapedi**

#### **Approximate Year**

1540	Tabane Matlaisane (Chief of Bamutsha)
1570	Lilale also called Mopeli
1600 Molise	Le-Lellateng Mampuru (Chief of Mafefe)
1630 chief of Bamakau	Moroa — Motsha
1660	Kotope Thulare
1690	'Malekutu Sekuati
1720	Sekhukhuni I
1750	Moroa-Motsha II also called Kholoko
1780	Sekhukhuni II

### **Genealogy of the Bafokeng**

#### **Approximate date**

980 A.D.	Napo
1010	Setsete
1040	'Mutle
1070	Phogole
1100	Mare
1130	Khulo
1160	Molubiane
1190	Phate
1220	Maphate
1250	Mafole
1280	Mekhesi
1310	Morapeli
1340	Mpuru
1370	Tsoane
1400	Ramoroa
1430	Sekete I

It must be noted that this genealogy or family tree is based on the assumption that African chiefs lived for only 30 years. But the truth of the matter is that African leaders lived longer than thirty years. Many lived for as long as 70 years. While King Khama of the Bamagwato lived much longer. Napo therefore referred to above lived for longer than 30 years with his people in present day South Africa, probably about 820 A.D.

1460	Fokeng (or Phokeng)		
1490	Ramoroa II		
1520	Sekete II		
1550	Mogono		
1580	Magobe		
1610	Monoe		
1640	Sekete III		
1670	Liale I		
1700	Ramoroa III		
1730	'Mutle	Sekete IV	Katane
	(no issue)		
1760	Liale II	Nameng	Noge
1790	Tumahole		
1820	Molahlegi, viz.		

In 1905 Mokhatle was chief of the Bafokeng <sup>10</sup>

Because of lack of space we shall not give the genealogy of an important group, the Barolong. The people who danced in honour of the hammer and of the iron showing that they were among the earliest Iron Age Black people who settled in South Africa before 1652.

### PORTUGUESE MET BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS IN 1497

In 1487 Captain Bartholomew Diaz reached the Cape coast situated at the southern tip of Africa. A heavy storm had broken out and harassed the Portuguese sailor so dangerously that he called this area the *Cape of Storms*. But the Portuguese King Emmanoel was more hopeful. He changed the name to "Cape

9. *History of the Basuto-Ancient and Modern* by D. E. Ellenberger & J. C. Macgregor page 348

10. *History of the Basuto-Ancient and Modern* by D. E. Ellenberger & J. C. Macgregor page 357

11. *The Cradle Days of Natal (1497—1845)* by G. Mackeurtan page 7

of Good Hope." It is not clear whether Diaz met the indigenous people of South Africa or not. It is likely that he never met any because he spent all his time in the sea. But his successor Vasco da Gama who landed in South Africa on Christmas Day 1497 and called this part of South Africa Natal (Land of Nativity in commemoration of Christ's birthday, definitely met the African people. It is not clear whether they were Khoi or Iron Age Black indigenous Africans. Many Europeans have always found it difficult to distinguish Africans from Khoi. Jan van Riebeeck himself and his people met the Khoisan people in 1652, but they did not know the difference between the Khoi and San people until 1685.

Anyway according to G. Mackeurtan, author of **THE CRADLE OF NATAL (1497-1845)** and one time representative of the King of England in South Africa; Vasco da Gama landed at a bay north of the Cape. He says that the Hottentots (Khoi) had at first provided beef to da Gama which da Gama described "as sweet as that of Portugal," and entertained his crews with pastoral flutes making "a pretty harmony for Negroes who are not expected to be musicians."<sup>11</sup>

In explaining this apparent confusion about Natal and the bay north of the Cape, Mackeurtan points out that modern Natal until Zululand was added to it in 1897 has always meant the land between the Umtamvuna River on the south and the Tugela on the north.<sup>12</sup> Of course, it is a misnomer to speak of modern Natal and Zululand because almost the whole of today's Natal was the country of the black people called Zulus.

King Shaka himself a much later ruler of the Zulus had his seat of government only 125 miles from the Port of Natal. His people knew the port as eThekweni. The name was changed to Durban in honour of a British military leader Sir Benjamin D'Urban during the wars of resistance by the indigenous people (We shall discuss this later). Anyway to get back to Mackeurtan he adds, "This name Natal really belongs not to the people of Natal but to natives of Pondoland".<sup>13</sup>

This seems to be contradicted by Peter Becker in his book **RULE OF FEAR**. He has written, "In the early decades of the nineteenth century, during the tyrannical rule of Shaka King of the Zulu, the South African territory today known as Zululand and Natal were studded with great military kraals garrisoned by powerful, war-lusty regiments."<sup>14</sup>

For the purpose of this discussion it is not necessary to wrangle about whether or not Natal was in Natal or in Pondoland in the Cape Province. The important thing is that the Portuguese landed on the Blackman's land in 1497. It must also be mentioned that the first Africans which Vasco da Gama met in 1497 seem to have not been Khoi (Hottentots) as Mackeurtan describes them. These people were the descendants of the Iron Age Black people of South Africa. Bryant writer of **OLDEN TIMES IN ZULULAND AND NATAL** confirms this when he says that on December 1497 A.D. a Bantu man emerging from the dense bush on the seashores near Durban, beheld a wonderful sight of Vasco da Gama the first known white man to be seen by Africans in South Africa (See pages 2&3 and 13-15).

### **Portuguese Voyages Round South Africa**

12. **The Cradle Days of Natal (1497—1845)** by G. Mackeurtan page 14

13. **The Cradle Days of Natal (1497—1845)** by G. Mackeurtan page 14

14. **Rule of Fear** by Peter Becker page 3

15. **To the Shores of Natal** by T. V. Bulpin page 29

Now, we shall discuss the Portuguese voyages round today's South Africa. Many of their ships were wrecked. From the survivors of these ships much can be learned about the earlier occupation by the Iron Age Black people of South Africa. For instance, in 1552 one of the largest ships called Saint John was wrecked by a fierce storm as it neared the Cape at Umtamvuna. Much merchandise was lost. But after salvaging what they could, the Portuguese survivors gathered on the beach surrounded by the goods they had managed to save. Some of them began to nurse their wounded and perhaps their dying. Three days after this, it is recorded that nine Africans appeared on a hill and watched the Portuguese survivors below the hill on the shore, "but they withdrew as if afraid." 15)

About five days later these Africans appeared again. This time they were many and driving a cow. They went close to the ship survivors and showed by signs that they wanted to exchange their cow for iron. "When the Portuguese offered a few nails, the Africans went wild with delight: even at that early time the meaning and possibilities of a ship were known to these Africans, but by what means than by tradition of trade north with Arab dhows is unknown." 16)

Two years after the wreck of Saint John another ship called Saint Benedict was wrecked in the area of Bashee River in 1554. It had 473 passengers and was laden with a large store of precious goods. On the 27th of April the same year the survivors of this ship walked a long distance and reached the site of Saint John ship which had been wrecked in 1552. They found many remains of that shipwreck. They were amazed to find a number of local African homes furnished with crockery and other goods salvaged from the wrecked Portuguese ship. 17)

This was not to be their last experience. On the 27th of May they reached the lagoon in Durban which according to T.V. Bulpin, "the Africans knew as eThekwini, but the Portuguese called Pescaria meaning the Fisheries." 18)

It was called by this name because of a number of fish places which were operated by the Bantu fishermen. Here the Portuguese survivors to their surprise met two former slaves of Saint John ship. Through these men they were able to influence the local African tribesmen to trade for fish and food. But when they asked the former slaves to join them this was rejected. The ex-slaves were too happy in their newly found freedom to desire the yoke of slavery.

After the Portuguese had failed to persuade the former slaves to join them, they left. But as they were leaving they met a crowd of Africans emerging from the bush. Among them was a "naked man with a bundle of assegais upon his back and was in no way different from the rest of them, until by his hair and speech we found him to be a Portuguese named Rodrigo Tristao." This Portuguese was the survivor of Saint John ship wrecked in 1552. 19)

The assegais and the way the man was living shows that he had become an African or to be specific a Zulu because this happened in the present day Durban.

Another Portuguese ship called Sant Alberto was wrecked south of Umtata River in March 1593. Its survivors reported that the inhabitants of the land

16. To the Shores of Natal by T. V. Bulpin page 29—30

17. To the Shores of Natal by T. V. Bulpin page 31

18. To the Shores of Natal by T. V. Bulpin page 32

19. To the Shores of Natal by T. V. Bulpin page 32

20: Azania News May 18th/June 1st 1967

South of this river were Xhosas. These Africans were dressed in mantle of ox hide and wore sandals. They cultivated millet (amabele or amazimba) and possessed large herds of cattle. They lived in villages of low round huts. These survivors also noted that the Iron Age Black Africans north of another river the Tugela were skilled workers in iron. 20)

In 1687 a vessel called Noord was sent by the Dutch East India Company in the Cape to search for European survivors of wrecked ships. In January 1689 the crews of this vessel found two survivors of ship Stavenisse. They had wandered back to the site of the wreckage. Another man was found living with Pondos of the Cape Province. He was an old Portuguese sailor. He was married to an African wife and had children. He was a survivor of a ship wrecked along the Pondo coast about 1649. The European crews of Noord vessel tried to "rescue" him by persuading him to go and live with the settlers who had already built the provision station at Capetown. But the Portuguese sailor refused to be "rescued." He spoke only the African language," having forgotten everything else, his God included." as one writer laments. 21)

### **Africans Friendly to Portuguese Sailors**

Another striking feature of the Portuguese contacts with the Africans of South Africa is that they were always received with great hospitality by the indigenous people. This is in great contrast to the way they received the Boer settlers as we shall see later. It is fitting therefore to quote a few instances of this friendship of the Black Africans toward the Portuguese survivors or strangers.

In 1689 the crews of Noord vessel from what is today Lourenco Marques met the natives at the Port (Durban). Though as one writer says these Africans were without the fear of God, he admits that they were friendly and provided an abundance of food and fresh water. The vessel obtained bread, milk, beans, fowls and pumpkin. Some of the members of Noord vessel walked a few miles from the Port along the sea coast to the Umngeni River. The river is said to have been running low. But there were indigenous Africans along its banks. They supplied these travellers with food and at sunset led them across the country back to the vessel Noord; "singing as they went." 22) This was typical of the African hospitality. No wonder the Portuguese sailors never forgot to mention it to their comrades.

The Europeans were often amazed by the treatment the Africans gave them. For instance, after the shipwreck of a ship called Johanna in 1683, there were eighty stranded survivors. They began to walk to a place where they could find help and shelter. "They met natives. Though they were reputed great Barbarians ... they treated these stranded people with such civility and humanity than some nations that I know who pretend much religion and politeness," one of the Portuguese survivors has said.<sup>23</sup> These Africans were not only liberal but they are reported to have helped the strangers and asked for very moderate rewards for their labour. Thus never taking the slightest advantage over the stranded strangers in need.

21. *The Cradle Days of Natal (1497—1845)* by G. Mackeurtan page 64

22. *The Cradle Days of Natal (1497—1845)* by G. Mackeurtan page 63

23. *The Cradle Days of Natal (1497—1845)* by G. Mackeurtan page 54—55

# Joe Slovo - Theoretician or anti-China Hack

Second part of the review of the Penguin publication, **SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION**, by Basil Davidson, Joe Slovo and Anthony Wilkinson.

Davidson's myopia and insubstantial formulations make his work appear shallow and deceitful. Certain authors of the revisionist 'left', such as Giovanni Arrighi and John Saul, have been better able to uphold an anti-popular, social-fascist line through the adept usage of the conceptualizations of 'leftist' academia. But the apparent sophistication of academic revisionists detracts from their ability to reach a wide audience. Davidson's writings have gained a much wider currency among unknowledgeable supporters of African revolution. Therefore, a concerted campaign must be sustained to counteract the words and deeds of Basil Davidson, and to construct solidarity with genuinely revolutionary struggles throughout Africa.

While the works of Basil Davidson are unfortunately well-known, Joe Slovo's regurgitations have been previously confined to the declining adherents of the *African Communist* and other Moscow publications. For the tiny group of whites who claim to be the 'brains' of the 'South African Revolution', Joe Slovo is a discredited, but representative, mouthpiece. Right from the very beginning of his article, Slovo announces his subservience to the revisionist line of the SA'CP. Therefore, it is immediately clear that Slovo will have nothing new to say: the same old tired lies, distortions, and omissions. It does not merit the same amount of attention as Davidson's work, but some critical comment bears repeating.

Slovo's basic point of departure is a poor attempt at mystification and hedging on the national question in the Azanian revolution. He repeats the recent opportunist line of the SA'CP with its genuflections towards African nationalism and Black Consciousness within the ANC of South Africa. But the underlying message issued by Moscow is clearly stated by Slovo: "Thus the two most important determinants in the South African socio-economic structure - class and race - have given birth to two complementary streams of revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary organisation, each influencing the other and often standing in alliance on those aims they share in common". (page 117).

Slovo is referring to the revisionist emphasis on "a capitalist society" (page 119) at the expense of the national question; and he also is referring to the ludicrous notion that the SA'CP and the ANC of SA are the only legitimate representatives of the 'people of South Africa'.

## DEVIATION FROM CORRECT MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL QUESTION

Slovo confesses that the SA'CP has always deviated from a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the national question in the Azanian revolution. The origin of this deviation lies in the substantial white settler leadership and composition of the SA'CP. The correct line of J.V.Stalin on the national question (the 1928 'Black Republic' thesis) was sabotaged and wrecked by white renegades in the SA'CP. Slovo continues this white tradition: "Thus, although the slogan of a Black Republic was, by and large, a move in the right direction, there were deficiencies in the exposition which, not for the first time in the experience of revolutionary movements, mechanically divided the phases of social change into rigid chronological categories" (page 161). Slovo conceals the contents of the Black Republic thesis from his readers, because it directly contradicts the incorrect line upheld by the SA'CP today. Slovo demonstrates that this line is concerned with establishing a multi-racial society: "Broad guidelines are provided by the Freedom Charter (formulated by the most representative assembly ever held in South Africa, the 1955 Congress of the People, and thereafter endorsed by both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party), and that section of the SA'CP's Programme (adopted in 1962) which deals with the national democratic state as the immediate form of the post-revolutionary state in South Africa." (page 144).

The political implications of this line are revealed in Slovo's attack on the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania: "The weakness of the slogan of POQO (We Alone), which dominated the thinking of the breakaway Pan Africanist Congress group in 1958, is thus exposed. An emotional and apolitical cry, it is objectively liable to alienate potential allies in the struggle and to make it easier for the enemy to win them over as opponents of the liberation thrust. It ignores the very kernel of the art of political leadership, which demands in the first place the widest possible yoking of actual and potential allies,



and the exploitation of division and weakness within the enemy camp; without, of course, compromising the main direction of the struggle." (page 131).

Slovo here attacks the PAC line of mass revolutionary struggle, and contrasts this line with the SA'CP/ANC petty bourgeois ideas about 'controlled violence.' (page 186). The SA'CP's line resulted in the Rivonia fiasco, and in the continuing farce of public relations exercises for European consumption (e.g. Breyten Breytenbach and other white 'martyrs'). In contrast, the PAC and other mass organisations have constantly sought to unite all the Black people of Azania and to release their revolutionary energies. The PAC ended the reformist compromises imposed by the false search for alliances with white workers and progressive white 'intelligentsia'. The PAC's refusal to compromise the main direction of the struggle is now being upheld by SASO, BPC and other Black organisations of Azania.

Slovo characteristically follows the SA'CP school of historical falsifications in dismissing Black mass-based organisations in Azania. Slovo has to mention the PAC in relation to the revolutionary upsurge of the Black people in 1960, as the usual SA'CP practice of failure to even name the PAC is no longer possible. The new revolutionary upsurges in Azania have revived the world's memories of the events at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960. The similar emphasis on 'Africanism' and 'Black Consciousness' by the student and worker leaders in Azania today threatens the stranglehold that the SA'CP exercises over the ANC. Hence, the recent split of the ANC into two groups: the ANC (Tambo clique) under the control of the SA'CP and Moscow, and the ANC of SA (African Nationalists) prepared to ally with all revolutionary mass-based organisations of the Black people for the national liberation of Azania. Slovo's meagre references to the new revolutionary organisations within Azania - SASO, BPC and others - are an attempt to downplay their historic significance, and to hide the failure of the SA'CP/ANC to obtain mass support and organisation within Azania. Slovo refuses to even cite the Unity Movement, of South Africa and allied groups which have long struggled to build mass organisations of the Black people. But the Unity Movement, unlike the PAC, does not enjoy the legal recognition of the OAU and the UN and it little known outside Azania. Presumably Slovo feels that it is 'safe' to ignore the important role played by the Unity Movement, and to re-write history for the Azanian people.

Slovo concentrates on the SA'CP analysis of the *internal* contradictions of occupied Azania, but has little to say about the *external* contradictions - the international dimensions of the national liberation struggle. Slovo makes a few passing references to United States and Western European imperialisms, but has no substantive analysis of their changing inter-relationships. Predictably, Slovo totally disregards Russian imperialism in Southern Africa. Indeed, he makes only one vague reference to Russia in relation to an SA'CP theory. Slovo's unwillingness to deal with the external contradictions of the Azanian struggle is part of his deliberate mystification of the realities within Azania. The Soviet Union exists now only in name: in reality it is dominated by Great-Russian imperialism, bent on subjugating the peoples of the world. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by Khrushchev has inevitably led to imperialism, and to make Russia the most powerful rising imperialism today. Prior to 1968, the Russian imperialists were only prepared to risk 'peaceful detente' with the USA in special circumstances: hence Khrushchev's adventurism over Castro's Cuba. (See the excellent analysis of Cuba produced by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA: *Cuba - the Evaporation of a Myth. From Anti-Imperialist Revolution to Pawn of Social Imperialism*. Chicago, 1976). In 1968 the Russian imperialists invaded Czechoslovakia. This marked the transition to more audacious imperialist interventions, backed by vastly-increased military spending and super-exploitation of subject peoples. Hence, the Russian-backed Indian militarist attempt to sabotage and hijack the national liberation struggle of Bangladesh. The defeat of American imperialism by Indochina's peoples seriously weakened the resolve of the US imperialists to contend with Russian imperialism. In Angola, the Russians seized the opportunity to use Cuban mercenaries to install a puppet government, but refrained from any further adventurist moves against the South African regime.

## **SUPERPOWERS BID TO MANIPULATE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS**

The recovery of American resolve under the Carter Administration to contend with Russian imperialism has meant a more cautious assessment of the use of Russian-controlled mercenary troops in Southern Africa. In any event, the Russians and their Cuban hirelings are now bogged down in their own 'Vietnam'; the vain attempt to suppress the national liberation struggles of the Angolan people. The Russians will now find it more difficult to intervene directly by using mercenary troops in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania. The consequence of this changing interrelationship of American and Russian imperialisms, and the fierce resistance of the African peoples to the two

Superpowers, is a desperate search by both Superpowers for African puppets to be agents of imperialism. These imperialist agents are being actively sought amongst both the national liberation movements and African governments. This Superpower collusion and contention can already be clearly seen in the struggle for Zimbabwe, and the frantic bids to manipulate the front-line states and the liberation movements. The imperialist lack of much success in sabotaging the people's protracted war in Zimbabwe has even led to the cruder tactics of the murder of leading patriots. Presumably the failure of the Russian imperialists to attract even minimal support within the Zimbabwean movements led to the choice of Anthony Wilkinson to write an article. Wilkinson avoids giving embarrassment to the social-fascist cause by the simple expedient of ignoring the problem. His article is based on such bland and dated material that it does not merit close attention. For the liberation movements of Azania, the stepped-up Russian and American campaign for total control is becoming more evident. Each Superpower is using every imperialist trick of bribery, corruption, extortion and murder to grab away leadership from the people themselves. False 'leaders' and organisations are being built up, and then hailed as the true and only representatives of the Azanian people. These despicable tactics differ only in minor details from the white South African attempts to bill Matanzima and Buthelezi as 'authentic leaders.'

These last-ditch efforts by the Superpowers and other imperialisms to sabotage the national liberation struggle in Azania may well delay the extermination of South African colonialism. This demonstrates once again the urgent and essential need for unity of all patriotic revolutionary movements and forces in Azania, and the vital imperative to develop the Marxist-Leninist movement and to found a reconstructed Communist Party of Azania.

The people of Azania are not alone in facing Superpower treachery and wrecking in their fight against colonialism. THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE FACE A COMPARABLE FOE: THE SETTLER COLONIALISM OF THE ZIONIST IMPERIALISTS' AZANIAN PATRIOTS WOULD DO WELL TO LEARN FROM THE BITTER EXPERIENCE OF THE PALESTINIANS WITH RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM. SLOVO AND THE SA'C'P ARE LINKED WITH THE PRO-MOSCOW ISRAELI 'COMMUNIST' PARTY' AND PLAY THE SAME ROLE IN SUBVERTING THE STRUGGLES OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COLONIES. EVEN WORSE, SOME SA'C'P MEMBERS HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE OPEN BACKERS OF ZIONISM IN ITS WORST MANIFESTATIONS. (Emphasis ours - Editor).

This filthy complicity of Slovo and the SA'C'P is only one of the many despicable collaborations. The SA'C'P acts as a leading frontman for the Russian imperialists in spreading slanders against China, Albania and the Marxist-Leninist movement. Slovo's subordinate role to Davidson in the *New Politics of Revolution* is only a fraction of the slanders and wrecking activities that the party hacks of the SA'C'P have been propagating since the death of Stalin and the break-up of the international communist movement.

## REVISIONIST PROPAGANDA MUST BE RESISTED

*The New Politics of Revolution* clearly demonstrates that modern revisionism has achieved a powerful degree of hegemony over Southern African analysis. If the editor of the Penguin Africa Series, Ronald Segal, can publish such a dreadful book and escape immediate critical outcry, the licence for even the most blatant agents of Russian imperialism must be great. The implications of the prevailing situation must be examined and closely considered. Propagandists of a social-fascist, Russian imperialist line, such as Basil Davidson and the Dutchman S.K. Bosgra, have had a definite impact on the range of supporters of African liberation movements. The intelligentsia of Africa and elsewhere have been particularly susceptible to widely disseminated misinformation. Dispensers of revisionist material, such as Ronald Segal, must conjecture that if Basil Davidson can be accepted by his readers, then an old plodder like Joe Slovo can be slipped by them as well.

More sophisticated material, such as that which appears in the *Review of African Political Economy (RAPE)*, complements the propaganda of the modern revisionists. The 'left-leaning' academics, government advisers, and even decision-makers of Africa, as well as of Europe and America, are easily influenced by such a combination of intellectual radicalism and fashionable causes. While Russian-line propaganda constructs an appealing heroic image of social-fascists like Neto, academic revisionism produces a rationale for modernisers and 'leftist' experts that evades the issue of mass initiative and control of social reform. The trend among 'leftist' academics and others to study development in Marxist terms has assumed many forms - few of them

revolutionary.

*The task for African Marxist-Leninists and others in the area of revolutionary literature is to commence producing works that will gain wide currency both in the continent and abroad.* Thus far, very little has been accomplished in this aspect. In a recent book, Gutkind, P.C.W. and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds., *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa* London: Sage Publications, 1976, Chris Allen lists more than 300 titles concerning the political economy of Africa; of which only one or two can be termed Marxist-Leninist revolutionary. Of course, revolutionary material is being produced by Africans, but it receives very little or no circulation in wider circles than the countries involved.

Chris Allen fails to mention two books that should set the standard for revolutionary works on Africa. One is: Richard Gibson: *African Liberation Movements* London, 1972. Although Gibson has been slandered by the revisionist community as an agent of the Chinese or the Americans or both, his book still stands as a credible Marxist-Leninist analysis of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and other parts of Africa. Certainly, his work far exceeds that of Basil Davidson in its revolutionary content and its factual information. Although much improvement could be made by Gibson, the book is a starting-point for Marxist-Leninist analyses of Africa.

Ethel Khopung, *Apartheid: the Story of a Dispossessed People*. Dar-Es-Salaam: Sharpeville Day Association Mbizana, is a revolutionary work that has been shamefully concealed from the reader of Africa and the world. Written by an African, the book towers above the deceitful works of the Slovos, the Firsts, the Simonses, and the Buntings of this world. Ethel Khopung is able to capture the sufferings and the aspirations of the Azanian people and to write the revolutionary story of Azania. Khopung exposes the treacherous role of the white SA'C'P in trying to wreck the national democratic revolution in Azania. Khopung portrays both the correct line followed by the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, particularly as regards the national question, and the difficulties of the PAC in applying that line and maintaining organisational solidarity. If given proper backing by a wealthy publishing house, Ethel Khopung's book would undoubtedly be widely-read. Instead the revisionists are trying as hard as they can to keep such books off the shelves and out of the hands of the readers throughout the world.

*(Readers hoping to obtain the above book should write to the Pan-Africanist Congress, P.O.Box 2412, Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania.)*

The revisionist hegemony over South African analysis as exercised by Basil Davidson and Joe Slovo can only be shattered through protracted struggle. Struggle for Pan-Africanism and self-reliance will mean the exclusion of the Superpower interference in the African revolution. Struggle for revolutionary African analysis rooted in the experiences of the toiling African masses will lead to the rapid development of Marxism-Leninism in Africa. And struggle by the European peoples for national independence against Russian imperialism will lead to the consignment of Davidson, Slovo and their ilk to the rubbish bin of history!

## Why the Soviet Union is Imperialistic

In this speech delivered at a mass meeting called by the West German progressive Journal, *Beifreureung*, in West Berlin, during a symposium on Social-Imperialism, Nils Holmberg, the well known Swedish revolutionary author of a three volume analysis of social-imperialism called "Peaceful Counter-Revolution" analysed the economic imperatives behind social-imperialism. We publish his illuminating speech here in full.

When people are living under oppression and are not permitted to express their opposition openly, they start telling stories. Also the Soviet people do so.

Among their stories is one about a team of doctors who discovered how to bring a dead body back to life. Their method proved effective on rats and dogs, but they wanted of course to test it on a human being.

That was difficult since they did not want those in power to know. They might use the method to resurrect some crook like Alexander II or Ivan the Terrible.

One of the doctors got an idea. The Lenin mausoleum was being repaired and he knew where the body of Lenin was stored. So they decided to try their discovery on Lenin.

It worked. Lenin became alive and at once asked what year it was. 1975 they told him. He said: "A lot must have happened during the more than fifty years I have been dead. Please find me a place to work in and bring me every number of Pravda and Isvestia issued since I died."

The doctors did that. Then Lenin asked them to leave him alone and to bring him food once a day. The two following days the man who brought the food found Lenin working like mad. But the third day he was gone.

On the top of a heap of Pravda for the year 1965 they found a slip of paper with a few words: "Dear comrades! Have gone to Switzerland. It is clear that I must start all over again."

That story shows that many Soviet citizens are convinced that a counterrevolution has been carried out in the Soviet Union.

And as I and many others have tried to show in our works, their conviction is well founded.

In 1956, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the revisionist bureaucracy, supported by the non-proletarian elements who then dominated the party, usurped the leadership of the party and the power in the state.

They signalled the importance of what they did by refuting the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, rejecting the general political line that had been followed by the CPSU ever since the October Revolution, heaping dirt on Stalin and last but not least by adopting a revisionist, i.e. a bourgeois line for the party and the state.

The change that they thereby brought about went deeper than anyone just then could imagine.

When the bureaucrats usurped state power they separated the workers from the means of production and made themselves the lords of these and over the distribution of everything that was produced.

In this way the revisionist bureaucrats transformed themselves into a new ruling and exploiting class - the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie - and threw the working class back into the same position as it had been before the October Revolution - the position of an exploited and oppressed class, the members of which could make a living only by selling their labour power to be exploited by those in control of the means of production.

In short the bureaucracy restored capitalism.

But they restored it in a new form, never before seen.

## **RESTORATION OF MONOPOLY STATE CAPITALISM**

This new form of capitalism is a *total state capitalism*. It monopolises in the hands of the ruling class all the natural resources, all factories and workshops, all finance institutions, all the means of transport and communication, and the entire apparatus of distribution. Therefore it is a monopolistic state capitalism.

Finally, when the bureaucrats usurped state power, they crushed the dictatorship of the proletariat and established the dictatorship of the Hitler type.

Investigations and analyses of the form and character of that dictatorship have led to the conclusion that it is a fascist dictatorship of the Hitler type.

Is that correct? I'll come back to that question later on.

The restoration of capitalism in the USSR brought about by the revisionist bureaucracy usurping state power, was a restoration of capitalism *in principle*.

The state capitalism in which it resulted was not yet a developed capitalism.

In order to develop it, the revisionist bureaucrats had to break down the socialist planning system as well as all existing laws and regulations for the socialist system of production.

That took some years, from 1956 to 1965. At the end of this process they were finally able to introduce profits as the aim of production and give the leaders of enterprise the right to fire workers.

But during the whole of this process the system was a capitalist system and a system of exploitation of the working class and the labouring people.

It was capitalism and became more and more a developed capitalism, in the same way as a newborn baby, from its first day of life, is a human being, and with every day becomes more and more a fully developed human being.

Since this new capitalism was a *monopoly state capitalism*, it very early showed that, like all monopoly capitalism, it was developing into imperialism.

When this imperialism first manifested itself against the people's republics of China and Albania, we were not yet clear about what it really was.

We thought it had to do with manifestations of great power chauvinism, by actions carried out by a communist party which demanded to be looked upon as a father party that the communist parties in the other socialist states had to obey, and whose policy they had to conform to.

But now we can clearly see that in reality we had to do with an imperialism that tried to hide itself behind socialist phrases and which we therefore call social-imperialism.

What opened the eyes of many to that fact was of course the occupation of Czechoslovakia, carried out by the Soviet Army and supported militarily by the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria.

That was a clear violation of the socialist principle of the rights of nations to national independence and national sovereignty.

When people began to ask why and wherefore, they soon found out that the Soviet Government for years had forced Czechoslovakia, as well as Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the GDR to build up their economies not according to the interests of their own people, but according to the interests of the Soviet Union. They also found that these people's democracies had been plundered by the Soviet Union by being forced to buy Soviet goods at prices that were way above world market prices and to sell their own goods to the Soviet Union at prices much below the price they could get on the world market.

The Dubcek regime in Czechoslovakia - which basically was just as revisionist as its Soviet counterpart - was forced by pressure from the Czechoslovak people to try to free the country from being plundered by the Soviet Union. If we hold fast to the principle of national sovereignty, we must also recognise that the Dubcek regime had undeniable rights to do this.

## **OPPRESSION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES**

But the Soviet bureaucrat-bourgeoisie and their vassals did not recognise this right. They occupied Czechoslovakia, brought its President and Premier as prisoners to Moscow, forced them to accept the Soviet policy of plunder, and with the help of their quislings, deposed the Dubcek regime, replacing it with G. Husaks quisling-regime and started widespread persecution - which still goes on - of masses of individuals who protested against the oppression of the Czechoslovak nation and all its interests.

Long before all this happened, Soviet imperialism had shown itself in action against other nations - but this it did not outwardly, but inwardly, *inside* the Soviet Union.

Czarist Russia was, as everyone knows, an empire. It was made up not only of the motherland, but also of a long row of countries that the Czars had conquered and whose people they had oppressed and plundered.

In the Oktober Revolution, these peoples joined with the Russian workers with the purpose of regaining their national independence. Some, like the people of Turkmenistan (Kazakstan) took up arms against the Czarist regime *months before* the outbreak of the October revolution.

After the victory of the October Revolution, all these nations created, together with the Russian nation, a union of socialist republics, in which they were assured of national independence and freedom, guaranteed by their right to secede from the union.

When the Soviet revisionist bureaucracy re-established capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union *once again* became an empire made up of the Russian motherland and a group of non-Russian nations which *once again* began to be treated as colonial peoples.

The economic development of these nations had earlier been planned in the interests of the entire Soviet Union as well as of these nations, and had been done together with them. Now it began to be dictated from Moscow, *solely* in the interests of the Soviet bureaucrat-buorgeoisie.

Their culture was suppressed and in fact despised. As the bureaucrat-buorgeoisie became the masters of their economic life, it also forced on these nations within the Soviet Union Russian culture and the Russian language.

Jan Myrdal, in his book, *Turkmenistan*, gives many vivid facts on this development. But it did not happen only in Turkmenistan (Kazakstan). It happened in all the so-called national Soviet republics, even in the Ukraine and in the Baltic republics.

On January 18, 1914, Lenin published in *Proletarskaja Pravda*, an article against the common demands of the liberals and the reactionaries that the Russian language should be made the obligatory and official language in the whole of the Czarist empire. He said:

*"WE are of course in favour of every inhabitant of Russia having the possibility to learn the great Russian language..... What we don't want is the element of compulsion. We don't want people to be driven into Paradise with a big stick: no matter how many phrases you dish up about culture, an obligatory official language means compulsion, means the use of the big stick." (Works, Vol. 20, p. 71-72).*

In his concluding words in the debate on the party program at the 8th Congress of the party in March, 1919, Lenin said:

*For example in the Commission of Education or connected with it, there are Communists who say that our schools are unified schools and therefore don't you dare teach in any other language than Russian. In my opinion such a comrade is a great Russian chauvinist. Many of us are going round with such ideas and they must be fought." (Works, Vol. 29, p.195).*

After the revisionist bureaucrat-buorgeoisie took power, the number of such great Russian chauvinists increased rapidly, and this has resulted in the languages of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union being gradually pushed aside. And at the 22nd Party Congress in 1961, the great Russian chauvinists got the pleasure of seeing that the new party program set the task of making the Russian language the obligatory and official language in the entire Soviet Union.

Of course, there might be some quislings who like that decision. People of the same sort as the members of the Free German Youth in the GDR, who asked that the Russian language should be taught in their schools as "the second mother language." But the great majority of the peoples in the national republics resent it strongly.

When Breznev in his speech at the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union boasted about what he called the "internationalisation" of the whole life of the Soviet Union, he said the following:

*"take for instance the speedily growing Soviet republic, Kazakstan. Side by side with the Kazaks there now lives millions of Russians, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Uzbeks, white Russians, etc."*

And what do these millions of Russians do there? They have taken over the leadership of the Kazakstan Republic from the Kazaks, they sit on all the leading posts in the Kazak economy. They have degraded the Kazak arts to the role of *handicrafts*. They force the Kazak peasants to cultivate not what the Kazaks need in order to eat, but the raw materials the Russian textile industry craves, in its hunt for profits. Their main idea is to ensure the domination of the Russians over the Kazaks.

This policy of national oppression has driven the peoples of the national republics to take up the fight for their national interests and their cultures.

We know of many demonstrations and other actions undertaken by them. The smallest but most desperate of these was the one seventeen party veterans in Latvia carried out in a letter addressed to both the Soviet Union and abroad, attacking the treachery of the bureaucrat-buorgeoisie against socialism and their policy of oppression against national minorities.

The bureaucrat-buorgeoisie has answered these actions by sending in police and parachute troops against big demonstrations, and by arresting or sending to prisons, labour camps or insane asylums those who took part in smaller demonstrations.

Lenin, in an article on the question of nationalities or autonomization, once took up the difficulty of establishing good relations between the RSFSR and the people of the national republics. The reason for the difficulties, he said, was that

*"the apparatus which we call ours, in fact is still very hostile to us; it is a buorgeois and Czarist soup and we have not had any possibility to get rid of it."*

And he continued:

*"it is very natural that the freedom to secede from the union with which we justify ourselves, under such circumstances only will be a scrap of paper, unable to defend the non-Russians against the furious attacks from the truly Russian man, the great Russian chauvinist, who is essence is a brute and a tyrant, such as the typical Russian bureaucrat is. There is no doubt that the infinitely small percent of Soviet and societized workers are going to drown like flies in milk in this flood-wave of chauvinistic, great Russian rabble." (Works, Vol. 36, page 606).*

## **SOVIET IMPERIALISM AND EXPORT OF CAPITAL**

If any of the national republics of the Soviet Union today should try to use the paragraph in the Constitution that gives them the right to secede from the union, we may, on the basis of the Czechoslovak example easily figure out what would happen.

For a long time now Soviet imperialism has shown itself also in various places *outside* of the Soviet Union. I have already mentioned its early attempts on China and Albania. Since then we have seen Soviet imperialism in action in India and against Bangladesh, in the Middle East, in Egypt, Somalia, Nigeria, Angola, Zaire in Brazil and on the seas of the world. I shall not go into all these events, since a mass of facts on them has been given in other speeches as well as in the materials of the conference, soon to be made available to the public.

From all these facts it is plain that Soviet imperialism today appears as the chief competitor of US imperialism in the struggle for world hegemony.

Certain quarters try to belittle Soviet imperialism by pointing out that its export of capital is relatively small in comparison to the capital export of US-imperialism and other imperialist states.

But the question of the size of the capital export is not as important as these defenders of the Soviet Union believe. We may remind them that the capital export of Hitler Germany also was small, in fact very small, but that does not change the fact that Hitler Germany was an imperialist country and the most aggressive and dangerous of the whole lot of them, in its time.

Why was the capital export of Hitler Germany so small? The reason was that instead of exporting its free capital, it invested it in *armaments* - the idea being that with its military might it would be able to rob the riches of other nations, establish its rule over them and exploit them to a much greater extent than any of the capital exporting countries had been able to do.

Why is the capital export of the Soviet imperialists so relatively small? There are probably several reasons. One can be, that the equipment they offer for factories, mines, etc. is not the most modern and not of the very best quality. Another may be, that they demand a higher interest than other capital exporting countries and want not only to be paid, but also to get political and military favours.

But the main and undeniable reason is, Soviet imperialism spends so much on armaments in its efforts to reach military superiority over the United States, that there is not much left for capital export.

As you know, it has not capital enough for the investments necessary in its own country but has been forced to go out and borrow huge sums from capitalist countries.

The main line of the Soviet imperialists is very obviously the same as the main line of German imperialism under Hitler.

## **WHY THE SOVIET UNION WANTS EUROPE AND HEGEMONY THROUGH WAR**

Now I would like to say a few words about another question that people have put to me: why the Soviet imperialists will concentrate their attack on Europe.

Will they really do this?

It seems obvious that they will, if one looks at their military preparations.

The Soviet Union is strongly increasing its military might on its southern flank, in the Black Sea and in the Mediterranean. It has created the biggest military base in the world on its northern flank, and has constantly strengthened and numerically increased its forces in Middle Europe.

Why is Europe so important in a war between Soviet imperialism and its opposite number, US imperialism?

For exactly the same reasons as Europe was important during the First World War - which basically was a war about who would be masters of Asia and Africa.

The imperialist powers that took part in that war carried out a war of rather limited extent in some places in Africa and the Middle East. But the real war, the big battles, *took place in Europe*.

Why? In the first place, because Germany, for example, by defeating and thereby weakening such

countries as England, France and Czarist Russia, could open a free path for itself to the regions that were the real aim of the war and force the defeated countries to draw back from these regions, to the advantage of German imperialism.

For the same reasons, England, France and Czarist Russia fought to weaken and defeat Germany and thereby stop the German threat to their colonies.

In the second place, it was extremely important for the one who wanted victory to control the greatest possible part of Europe's natural resources and great industrial resources, and the enormous market it represented at that time and still does today.

The situation was approximately the same during the Second World War. The battle concentrated on Europe because the power that was master of Europe could count on making itself the master of the greater part of the rest of the world.

Even now, the situation is the same. The Soviet Union wants to take over Europe in order to use its natural resources, its industry, its technology, its labor power and finally also its markets, in order to beat its competitor, the imperialist USA.

The United States, on its side, wants to retain its grip on Europe, to prevent the Soviet Union from carrying out its plan for world hegemony.

It is as simple as all that.

Whenever and wherever the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States continues in the form of war, it will above all be Europe they will struggle for.

Someone may ask, what about China? The Soviet Union has large forces along the Chinese border. I can only answer: as far as I understand it, both superpowers regard China as an object for their aggressive policies.

As imperialist powers, they are absolutely unable to see China as anything else than a future colony to be sucked dry. But neither of them will dare to attack China without first having made sure that Europe is his.

If what I have said just now is correct, what is all this talk of detente and relaxation? It is only attempts to fool the people of Europe, to lull them into a false sense of security and to make it easier for the warmongers to carry out their plans.

Those who are not old enough to remember, should try to find out what happened during the years and months before the outbreak of World War II. Hitler occupied the Saar and grabbed Austria, and as he himself told the world, he did all this because he wanted to *secure peace and detente in Europe*.

When he, Chamberlain and Daladier met in Munich and agreed that Hitler Germany could also take Czechoslovakia, all three gentlemen declared with one voice that now they had saved peace in our time.

They talked about peace and detente, but they meant WAR. And the situation is exactly the same today.

Now I return to the question: is the dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucrat-bourgeoisie a fascist dictatorship of the Hitler type?

In 1934 fascism was defined as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."

And what did the bourgeoisie of that time need fascism for?

In the first place, to crush the resistance of the working class against increased exploitation in favour of armaments.

In the second place, to crush every type of opposition to preparations for the imperialist robbers new war.

In the third place, to whip up hatred among the people against all the countries that were going to be attacked.

Now then, is not the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie the "most reactionary, the most chauvinistic and the most imperialistic elements" you can find in the Soviet Union and in the world today.

Yes, they are.

But they don't represent finance capital, somebody will say.



## WHY THE SOVIET UNION IS A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

Don't they? They represent state capitalism - a monopolistic state capitalism in which finance capital and industrial capital have been welded together into one complete unity.

And why does the bureaucrat-bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union need their fascist dictatorship?

To break the opposition of the working class against the re-establishment of capitalism, to break the resistance of the people against the terrible burden that Soviet armaments puts on them and to break the resistance of the national minorities of the Soviet Union against the ever increasing oppression they are subjected to. And finally, to create hatred against each nation that seeks to stop the plans of the Soviet bureaucrat-bourgeoisie for world hegemony.

The dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucrat-bourgeoisie is in essence the same as the dictatorship of the Hitler type.

Now to the last question: how shall we struggle in order to stop, if possible, the war Soviet imperialism is preparing to unleash all over the world?

The tasks in that struggle will of course be different, in different countries, since their conditions are different. But in all countries there are certain general tasks.

*Firstly*, we must make people see that the Soviet Union is a capitalist and imperialist country of the worst type and has nothing in common with socialism.

*Secondly*, we must, on the basis of facts, make clear to the working class and the people that the Soviet Union's armaments do not serve the cause of peace but are preparations for a new war, and that all its talk of peace and detente has *one single purpose*, to lull the vigilance of the people to sleep.

*Thirdly*, we must carry on an energetic struggle to expose Soviet imperialism's revisionist agencies in all countries.

*Fourthly*, we must firmly fight against all attempts to adapt the policies in any field to the demands of the Soviet imperialists.

*Fifthly*, we must make clear to the people that if the war comes, we must fight it not only by allying with one imperialist power against the other, but by developing a fight to free the people and the world from all imperialism and all wars.

And that means: we must fight for the working class and the people to take the leadership in the *anti-imperialist war*.

It must not happen once again that thousands and millions of working people shall lay down their lives in a struggle to revive the system out of which imperialism and wars are born.

## Aspects of Social Imperialism in Africa

This article was presented by Konrad Melchers on behalf of the interesting West Berlin Journal on African Affairs, 'Africa Kampt.' Africa Kampt is currently attempting to organise a symposium on the role of the superpowers in the Horn of Africa. It is scheduled for October.

The more the struggle of the oppressed nations develop the more the Soviet Union involves itself in this struggle, to turn it to its own benefit. The interference into the armed national liberation struggle today has become one of the major forms of advance of the Soviet Union into Africa which is today one of the main battlefields in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Many people believe that the military "assistance" of the Soviet Union provided to the liberation struggles and the despatch of troops are signs of true internationalism. The propaganda of the Soviet Union calls its interference "proletarian internationalism". The opposite is the case. We analyse the development of the policies of the Soviet Union in its relation to the national liberation movement from 1956 onwards for two reasons. First we want to show that Brezhnev like Khrushchev has not turned to true internationalism and secondly he is pursuing an aggressive

imperialist policy towards the Third World. In Africa the Soviet Union is today the more aggressive and dangerous imperialist superpower.

## THE LINE OF BETRAYAL

Since the 20th Congress of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union), the Soviet Union has taken the stand of big power chauvinism. In the period from 1956 until now two main phases can be determined. In the first phase ranging roughly from the 20th to the 23rd CPSU Congress the international policy of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism was prevailing. Since the 23rd Party Congress 1966 the Soviet Union has turned into an imperialist superpower. And its theme of international policy has become "international dictatorship".

With regard to the national liberation struggle the big power chauvinism of the SU expresses itself in such phrases as: "without the existence of the Soviet Union the national liberation movements cannot possibly win". Behind this selfmade wreath of laurel one has to see that since the new bourgeoisie has got into power the SU does not even have any interest at all in the real victory of the national liberation struggle.

During the phase of "peaceful coexistence" this became apparent through the betrayal of the liberation struggle by the SU, and through the propagation of the peaceful way towards socialism. Today the SU is trying to use the national liberation struggles as spring boards. At the time of Khrushchev the SU tried to split the liberation movements by getting them to renounce liberation struggles. Today it splits the liberation movements in order to turn them into agents of its neocolonialist plans. In the same way the antagonism of the SU towards the strategy of peoples war expressed itself earlier in the general objection to the armed struggle.

Today the SU seems to accept and even to support the armed liberation struggle but in reality is trying to impose its strategy of "modern warfare" and its principle "not people but weapons are decisive in the liberation war."

During the time of the general policy line of peaceful co-existence a leading member of the 3rd World military affairs, J. Botchkarev wrote quite frankly: "The growing might of the socialist community and the support of the countries of this community render to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has now on an international scale become decisive for the victory of the national liberation movements. This does not narrow at all the significance of the struggle which the peoples in former or existing colonies or semicolonies carry out themselves. No revolution would win if the people in struggle to triumph did not show courage, persistence and high standards of awareness. But one has to face the facts. Most of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are small in population and are badly armed and inexperienced in modern warfare, and are not skilled to use the means for such a war. In all these aspects their main enemy, imperialism, is superior by a wide margin." Therefore "the decisive guarantee for their independence is the assistance which the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, renders them." (*Botchkarev: The SU and the nat. lib. mov., New Times 26/1963 p. 6*). Only Khrushchev himself could outmatch these words of mass contempt when he declared at the 'Bucharest Conference' in 1960: "For us who have modern weapons militia are not forces but a cluster of flesh." During this time Khrushchev and his clique openly insulted the armed resistance against imperialism as a provocation of imperialism. N. Stepanov (*New Times 32/1963 p. 9*) wrote: "It is of great advantage to the imperialists to contain the national liberation movement of today as a military form of struggle. This provides them with excuses to put in marines and other forces in order to crush the national liberation forces."

## THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IN AFRICA

Africa has witnessed a number of cases of this policy of cooperation and betrayal with imperialism. The Soviet Union sabotaged the armed struggle of the Algerian people which broke out in 1954 and treated Algeria as a constituent part of France. Khrushchev declared on October 1955: "I had and still have the opinion that the SU should not interfere in the internal affairs of France." Khrushchev responded to the request of the Cameroon liberation leader, Roland Felix Moumie, to support the armed struggle of his people with these words: "Return to Cameroon to serve your people and get into power legally through election." This was not all. With the help of the Communist Party of France the UPC (Union of the Peoples of Cameroun) which carried out an armed liberation struggle was split and the UPC had to face a bloody defeat.

In the Congo as well the SU sabotaged the resistance of the peoples against the intrigues and military interference of the US and the old colonialists from Belgium. On July 13th, 1960, the SU voted in the UN Security Council in favour of the intervention of the UN forces in the Congo.

Behind the forces was the US imperialists. On July 15th Khrushchev cabled to Lumumba: "The UN Security Council has done a useful job." Shortly afterwards Lumumba was murdered. His followers had to hide in the bush and started armed resistance. In 1961 again, Khrushchev persuaded one of them, Gizenga, to surrender. Immediately he was imprisoned and later released to Moscow. Insults were thrown from Moscow against the armed resistance in the Congo: "The adventurism of the initiators of the super-revolutionaries has produced a crop of light-headed performers. The rebels were armed with more courage than military equipment. The tragic events in Stanleyville exposed the whole poverty of the adventurist policy of 'certain victory' under any condition transferred to unprepared soil."

The reaction of the SU and the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies and in Southern Africa give further evidence to the policy of obstruction against the armed struggle. The 'aid' which was provided was mainly limited to scholarships for studies at the Lumumba - and other Eastern European Universities. Only the successful advance of the armed liberation struggle forced the Soviet Union not to miss the train and to provide military assistance on a very low level. Continuously the SU tried to blackmail the liberation fronts. WHEN THE MPLA, E.G. CRITICISED THE INVASION OF THE SU IN THE CSSR (CZECHOSLOVAKIA) THE SU FROZE ITS RELATIONS WITH THE MPLA. With regard to Zimbabwe and Namibia the SU was quite positively spreading illusions about the United Nations as the main battlefield for reaching independence. Some liberation movements harboured this illusion for a long time. In Azania they were also successful in maintaining this illusion of the peaceful road through its infiltration of the African National Congress of South Africa through the South African Communist Party.

The SU spared nothing in propagating the peaceful way. From October 24 to 29, 1966, the international theoretical organ, "World Marxist Review" organised a seminar in Cairo on "the national and social liberation of Africa", which was well attended from all over Africa. Despite the wave of REACTIONARY MILITARY COUPS IN Africa crushing the nationalist governments such as in Ghana (Nkrumah) and Mali (Modibo Keita) and in provocation to the armed struggle in the Portuguese territories the organisers of the seminar emphasised the peaceful way as the central issue at the seminar. The head of the Soviet delegation and chief editor of the 'World Marxist Review' Sobolev pointed out: "In the present democratic phase of the social revolution in Africa it is by far in most cases possible to avoid the civil war between the antagonistic classes isolating the hostile class elements and compelling them to bow to the will of the democratic majority by peaceful political and economic means.....It can be pointed out that the gradual character of revolution and the wide application of the reform method provide an extremely specific character to the revolution in Africa." (*A. Sobolev, World Marxist review, January 1967, p. 21*). And one of Sobolev's friends, the secretary of the Sudan Union Party (Mali), Idrissa Diarra, exclaimed at the seminar: "We want to make our society socialist by peaceful means." Against these attempts which the SU pursued at the seminar eight nationalist organisations from Southern Africa, among them the PAC, ZANU, Basutoland Congress Party, Bechuanaland Peoples Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party declared: "The Soviet ruling clique is conniving with US imperialism to prevent the spread of revolution in the colonial and semicolonial world. Sobolev's revisionist contention that the African countries should peacefully advance along the non-capitalist road is proof of the Soviet tacit support for the status quo in the dependent countries."

## **THE THEORY OF NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT - A HEGEMONIST CONCEPT TOWARDS THE THIRD WORLD**

The SU today does not talk of the peaceful way anymore. This, of course, is not because of the failure in Chile. But it is because the SU has become an imperialist superpower which aims at and considers itself more and more capable of military interferences. Therefore in the SU theoretical discussions of the peaceful way among the "variety of forms in the seizure of power" is at the end of the range. Instead the "non-peaceful forms" are at the top.

Corresponding to its growing expansionism social-imperialism pushes wherever possible for quick solutions. The forms of putschism and military interference have found wide application particularly in Africa. But before we look at the development in Africa in this respect, let us first see how social imperialism ideologically tries to explain this policy. This is also the question of what social base social imperialism has or is trying to get in the Third World, and how it defines it theoretically?

During the time of Khrushchev the SU already started to confuse the anti-imperialist struggle for national independence with the struggle for socialism. Again and again it is repeated that the 'revolutionary democratic forces in the developing countries have got the real possibility to deepen the social essence of the national liberation struggle and to lead it not only along the line of anti-imperialist but also anti-capitalist struggle.' (*Iskenderov, New Times, No. 25/1972 p 24.*)

Therefore when Chou en Lai made his famous tour through Africa from the end of 1963 to the beginning of 1964 praising some African leaders as "leaders who want to pursue the national revolution", Khrushchev rushed to give an interview with African journalists in which for the first time African leaders as Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Nasser, etc. were called authentic socialists "who are capable of leading the struggle for socialism." Soon almost every African leader was styled socialist. Gischetschkin (*New Times No 41 1963 page 7*) for instance commented on the founding conference of the OAU in the following way: "From 32 heads of states 25 have decided for one or the other way of socialist construction." (*N. Gischetschkin, New Times*).

To praise bourgeois nationalists as true socialists meant at the time of collusion with the US imperialists nothing else than an ideological as well as a propaganda-effort to shift them away from the anti-imperialist struggle.

The "theory" which has explored this surprising potential of the bourgeoisie not only to struggle against its own class interests but even to lead this struggle is the Soviet version of the theory of the non-capitalist development. The Soviet theorists have generally come in their theoretical discussions to the conclusion that the non-proletarian class forces, mainly the petit-bourgeoisie - lead the non-capitalist development towards socialism in the developing countries.

At the time of Khrushchev they didn't bother much about the contradiction which exists between this assumption and the basic marxist notion that only the working class can lead the socialist revolution. Khrushchev himself termed the Soviet Union as a "state of the whole people."

After Khrushchev the theoretical discussions arose again about this contradiction. But the "theoretical solution" of it turned out to be a theory of hegemony over the Third World.

How did the social imperialists manage this. *First they threw dust on the working class in the Third World. The deputy chief of the international department of the central committee of the CPSU, W. W. Sagladin, wrote: "one of the predominant peculiarities of the situation in this part of the world is numerically the relatively small strength of the working class. With respect to broad segments of the workers in Asia and particularly in Africa, the low level of culture, petit-bourgeois, tribal, religious through village life forms, and other prejudices are characteristic. (W. W. Sagladin, The communist world movement, outline of strategy and tactics).*

After they have proved this incapability of the working class of the Third World they start cleaning its image again but now by metaphysical means, i.e. by the help of the almighty SU. They write: "The successes of the international workers movement and the growing might of the socialist world system have created the prerequisites in order to improve the reputation of the working class independent from the numerical strength in each country." The influences of the local working class merges with the influence of world socialism." Sagladin's superior, Ponomarev, makes this point more precise. He writes: "In many developing countries the proletariat as a class is presumably not existent for some time not an independent leading force." Therefore "one of the decisive factors (in these countries) is the alliance between the working class and the peasantry on a world scale." What this social imperialist alliance means Mirski tells us. He writes: "The world system of socialism which enables militarily and economically a steady development of the national liberation revolution and fosters the struggle of the recently liberated countries for economic independence and liberation from the rapacious mechanism of the capitalist world economy, therefore takes over the function of the proletarian vanguard with regard to the peoples who are oppressed by imperialism."

*And another prominent Soviet 'theorist' on the national liberation movement, Uljanowski, arrives at the central point, frankly pointing out: "It is the international dictatorship of the proletariat in the person of the socialist world system that.....can develop the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship into a dictatorship of the proletariat."*

In other words the Soviet "theorists" of today pretend that the SU is able to force the bourgeoisie of the developing countries to carry out a "dictatorship of the proletariat". *Here at last it has become clear a new imperialist superpower tries to explain its attempts to subjugate the Third World.*

Today the main instruments of the SU to proceed with its "international dictatorship" over Africa are putschism and military interference into the armed liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

## THE SOVIET LINE OF PUTSCHISM AND ITS APPLICATION TO AFRICA

The army being mainly of petit-bourgeois character and particularly the lower and middle officer ranks perfectly fit into the class content of the Soviet theory of non-capitalist development, i.e. the hegemonistic conception of social imperialism towards the Third World. Therefore the Soviet

the army of the developing countries in general and in certain military governments in particular usually become excited when writing about them. Mirski points out: "As the centre of the new leadership the military patriots represent the politically most motivated part of the petit-bourgeois." And Iwanow writes: "the army officers can form the backbone of the revolutionary-democratic forces in the African and Asiatic states." *In addition the social imperialists say that the army is not an integrated part of the state apparatus, which is dominated by the ruling forces but supposed to be an independent social force.* Garrilov writes: "In a society in which the process of class formation is not completed.....the army is not going to be an autonomous force." And Mirski points out: ".....it would be wrong to assume that the army in the developing countries automatically and completely expresses the interests of the class which participates in power.....In the transitional stage from colonial subordination to independent existence the political power (of the army) can come off from its class background and can prevail for a certain time without being the direct representative of the interests of a certain class."

But sometimes also the social imperialist "theorists" face reality. And so Mirski admits: "Anti-revolutionary and anti-democratic tendencies resulting from the desire to maintain the privileged position of the officer corps as a elite, emerge very clearly in the stage of the unfolding of the social revolution." Here again the "solution" to this deadlock comes straight away from Moscow. Mirski writes: "revolutionary democratic military leaders can head the process of transition to the non-capitalist road of development, but only when the regime is free from close ties with capitalism, is not swayed by domestic reactionary interests, and can rely on the support of the world socialist ~~system~~." (*Mirski: The Army and Politics in Asian and African countries; Moscow 1970, p.315*).

This is a simple ideology of petit-bourgeois military putschism tied up with the hegemonist interests of the Soviet Union.

The development particularly in Africa proves that this quitebold-fashioned imperialist approach finds more and more appreciation amongst the Soviet leaders. The armies in the Third World have become a major target of social imperialist subversion. It starts with arms supply and ends up with friendship treaties. The SU has become the biggest arms supplier in the world exceeding the US by far (1969 404 million dollars worth; 1973 2.5 billion dollars; 1974 5.5 billion dollars). Arms supply means the stationing of military advisers, means training of personnel also in the SU, means influencing the organisational set up in the Army. The most recent expulsion of the Soviet military advisors from the Sudan long after several pro social imperialist attempted coups against the Numeiry government shows that it is considered to bring about long run effects.

Besides Egypt, Somalia is the first African country where heavy social-imperialist interests have come through military channels. The Ogaden question as well as the Djibouti question have for many years been and still are a deep conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia. When Somalia became independent the US imperialists was already for long fully engaged in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian army equipped and advised by American military personnel superceded and still suppresses any resistance and any move towards self-determination of the Somali and other nationalities in the Ogaden. When heavy clashes broke out in 1964 the Egal government which then in the eyes of the SU was areactionary bourgeois government and pro-western regime approached the SU for arms supply. The SU accepted. It gained immensely in terms of its naked hegemonistic interests. The October 1969 coup was mainly led by officers who had been trained in the SU. The Vice-President of the "Supreme Revolutionary Council" Mohammed Ali Samantar, who also holds the post as Minister of defence, chief of staff and head of security - for instance - is clearly pro-Soviet and spends his holidays at the Krim. After this coup Somalia received the decoration of "socialist orientation" and the military cooperation was intensified. Somalia received about 250 tanks and more than 60 MIGs. In exchange it provided the SU with military base facilities in Berbera (harbour, telecommunications and probably missiles), Mogadishu (airport) and Ras Kiambon (harbour). In 1974 the 'friendship treaty', was signed.

As the Ali Sabri attempted coup in Egypt (1971) and the successive attempts against Numeiry show the SU is certainly preparing for further successive coups also in Somalia in order to fulfill its task as the international 'vanguard'. Since as the SU now is fully involved in Ethiopia, and since Somalia as well as the DPR of Yemen reject the plan of "anti-imperialist alliance" of Ethiopia, Somalia and Yemen, which Castro and Podorgony tried to set afoot during their recent visits, we may soon witness another Sudan in Somalia.

Uganda is another example of Soviet penetration through military channels. Here the Su was not involved in the Amin-coup fostered by Israel and Britain. But the Su cleverly used the deep contradictions the Amin regime fell into. By 1972 already the SU took over the lead in arms supply to the Ugandan army. Soon Uganda was said to be on the non-capitalist road of development. In exchange the SU can use one of the largest military airports in Africa in Arua, Northern Uganda, which was originally

built and used by Israel. In Uganda too the Soviet Union is trying to build a second line in the army.

Ethiopia is the most recent case. With the Mengistu coup on February the SU has taken the lead on the side of imperialism. The peculiarity in Ethiopia is that the two factions in the junta which clashed on Feb. 2 both actually were pro-Soviet. And even the strongest opposition party, the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP) on the basis of its own ideological line could not imagine an involvement of the SU on the side of Mengistu.

The Ethiopian case reveals another supplementary means of penetration, that of political agencies. In his writings about the army in developing countries, Mirski stressed the point that "the transition to the non-capitalist road of development needs a strong vanguard party". In Ethiopia the SU doesn't yet have a political party, fully pursuing its interests. But by the end of 1975 the DERG called in "progressive" intellectuals to assist the administration. They formed the "provisional Peoples Organising Office (sometimes called Politburo). The majority of them have not only studied in the SU but had been used for Soviet propaganda work for Ethiopia during the reign of Haile Selassie. Now they have founded a party the All Ethiopian Socialist Movement (Meisun). The political school they have set up is now one of the targets of ideological "assistance" of the social imperialists like similar institutions in Somalia, Congo, etc.

## **THE INTERFERENCE OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**

The interference of social imperialism into the national liberation struggle in Southern Africa has to be distinguished from its infiltration into the armies of the independent African states. Here the conditions of the struggle have resulted in a wide and deep mobilisation and unification of the people for national liberation on the basis of armed struggle.

The Soviet Union is trying to make use of this unfolding armed struggle against colonial and racist rule. Above we have already shown how the social imperialists detest peoples liberation war. And since these liberation wars proceed from victory to victory they cannot be neglected. On the other hand, it is precisely for this reason that the Soviet Union engages in direct military interference which enables them to set up and stabilise dependent regimes. Angola is the first sad example. We are not going to deal with it in this paper. Here it should only be noted that the recent invasion by former Katangese gendarmes into Zaire from Angola has shown that Angola today is not only in a position of colonial type of dependence upon social imperialism but in addition serves as a springboard for the Soviet Union.

In Zimbabwe the SU is trying to repeat its Angolan successes. It talks fully about armed struggle in Zimbabwe. Officially the SU has committed itself to support the Patriotic Front but in reality it only supports ZAPU. This became clear when Podgorny and Castro only met with ZAPU leader, Nkomo in Lusaka and Luanda by the end of March. It is not only because of the old ties between ZAPU and SU but primarily because ZAPU is - in a similar position as the MPLA was - in a weak position. As the ZAPU leaders most of the time followed the road of "peaceful struggle" it does not have an armed force merged with the masses in Zimbabwe. Therefore most of the ZAPU leaders are relatively easy to win for the Soviet strategy of modern warfare. ZAPU is divided on this question. One part is willing to closely coordinate and ally with ZANU on the basis of peoples armed struggle. Another part has left ZIPA and now is building up military camps in Angola with the full assistance from the social imperialists. As long as the Smith regime and the Soviet Union - which objectively are each one's best ally in Africa - are not able to "internationalise" the Zimbabwe Liberation war, the chances of the SU to interfere in a scale comparable to Angola are small. This of course depends mainly on the tactical attitude of the US. At the moment the Carter administration much more than Kissinger seems to be far from any military escalation.

In Mozambique the situation is different. The invasions from Rhodesia and the massacre in Nhazonia refugee camps have produced a shock in Mozambique. The FRELIMO-leadership suddenly realised that they have difficulties in preventing such invasions. And it is certain that with the unfolding of the armed struggle in Azania the Vorster regime will not refrain from such invasions, and even on a larger scale. One has to look at the example of Zionist Israel to see and understand this future course of action. This of course is fertile soil for social imperialists' strategy of interference. The 20 years friendship treaty signed during the visit of Podgorny is a sign of success of the Soviet Union in Mozambique. But we hope that FRELIMO will not depart too far away from its professed principles of self-reliance

Another common ground shared by the social imperialists and FRELIMO is their common support exclusively for the ANC of South Africa (Tambo wing). It is a well known fact that the ANC is thoroughly dependent on the Soviet Union and is its direct agent in Azania. This will

have influence in the way in which the struggle in Azania develops, even though the ANC is thoroughly corrupt and isolated from the masses. The ANC is clearly worried that the leadership of the struggle will be taken away from them by the Black Conscious Movement and in the beginning they railed at the BCM as being narrow nationalists, racialists, etc., even though they now claim credit for what was clearly the work of the BCM.

With regard to Namibia the SU is using Angola as a springboard and is attempting to wean SWAPO away from Chirra, and its attempts do not seem to have been unsuccessful. The SU can undertake these manoeuvres because US Imperialism is isolated, even though it is firmly committed to South Africa, and as long as this remains we can expect an Israeli type of escalation from South Africa.

### **THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-HEGEMONIST FORCES GROW IN AFRICA**

In Southern Africa ZANU strongly adheres to the revolutionary line of self reliance, and protracted peoples war. ZANU leader Tekere has said: "We conduct the armed struggle. We struggle and say: 'we are our own liberators'! From this position we will never turn away. I don't see how the Soviets or the Cubans could interfere. We at least don't have the intention to invite them."

Mozambique of course cannot be compared with Angola because there is no massive Soviet presence in the country. In Azania the PAC leads the struggle against social imperialism and the resistance in southern Angola is increasing. In Somalia the regime appears to become more disillusioned with the social imperialists. In Ethiopia the Mengistu regime is challenged by the masses that the social imperialists will have great difficulties in establishing itself. Here the victorious struggle of the Eritrean people has become of great importance. Finally the unity of the African states is a tough nut to crack, and this unity is now being consolidated through mutual assistance of the African-Arab states. Therefore we can conclude that the intensification of the rivalry between the two superpowers in Africa will also increase the resistance of the African peoples.

## **There are no Antagonisms among African Regimes**

Soviet designs and manoeuvres in Africa have become very evident in recent months and puts its intervention in Angola in a very different light from that of merely repulsing the South Africans. That event was followed by the planned invasion of Zaire under the guise of a so-called army of liberation called the FLNC. The FLNC was nothing more than Katangese gendarmes dressed up as liberation fighters but whose real role was that of a mercenary role for the various imperialist powers in Africa, the latest being Soviet social-imperialism. The Katangese gendarmes are no different from the other mercenaries hired from the West and to make a noise about the one and overlook the role of the other is hypocritical. The invasion of Zaire took place at about the same time that Numeiry of Sudan denounced and broke with the Soviet Union because of its neo-colonialist designs on Africa. Numeiry expelled the Soviet military personnel from Sudan, exposed its cultural infiltration into Sudan and at the recent OAU Conference strongly warned the African states of Soviet designs. The Egyptians at about the same time had similar experiences as Sudan and in a number of statements from Sadat and other top leaders of the Egyptian state, it was made clear that Africa will brook no interference in its internal affairs. This has induced a number of African and Arab states in the Horn of Africa to repulse Soviet manoeuvres which is as brash as it is unprincipled. Hassan Gouled, President of the Independence Rally of Djibouti, denouncing superpower contention in the Red Sea area said: "I wonder what they, especially the Soviet Union, want from Djibouti.....the people of Djibouti will never allow themselves to be dominated by the big powers."

Somalia has expressed concern over Soviet support for the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, a regime that has been anointed Marxist-Leninist by the Soviet Union! In Moscow Ethiopian students protested against the Soviet Union's support for the bloody Ethiopian regime. They were brutally suppressed and 34 of them are to be deported to Ethiopia where certain death awaits them. Similar protests by Ethiopian students in other East European countries have met with a similar fate. The World-Wide Federation of Ethiopian students have sent an open letter of protest to Brezhnev over his support for the bloodthirsty regime of Mengistu, murderer of thousands of men, women and children.

Even in Guinea-Bissau the Soviet Union is being eased out as the government of that country painfully learns what Soviet 'aid' means. Mme. Luis Cabral, wife of the President of Guinea Bissau, openly criticised the Soviet Union for the manner in which it depleted the fishing resources off the coast of Guinea Bissau., evidently a favourite pastime of the Soviet fishing fleet. It discovered too that aid in other manufacturing industries was not as forthcoming too, as the British 'Economist' recently pointed out.

Recently King Hassan of Morocco in an interview with the American magazine, Newsweek, said that the assassination of Marien Ngouabi is connected with the fact that he refused to give the Soviet Union a naval base in Congo-Brazzaville and the Soviet's fear of losing its grip on the country.

The clearest indication of the concern of the African states over the behaviour of the superpowers emerged at the recent OAU Conference in Libreville. Superpower rivalry on the African continent was the main concern of the Conference and in the end the Conference passed strong resolutions against foreign interference in African affairs and against merceranism.

The speech below by Aristides Pereira summarised the feelings and views of many of the African Heads of State. Pereira speech is the more interesting because he represents what one may call the progressive section, and yet he makes no bones about declaiming those who would like to classify African countries into progressives and reactionaries in accordance with their own plans. Those who support the Soviet Union because they feel that it is much more progressive than certain 'reactionary' regimes play the game of Soviet imperialism. But as Pereira says there are no real antagonistic contradictions among the African states..... The Cape Verde Island which is ideologically close to Guinea Bissau is a country also influenced by Amilcar Cabral. It was at one time very close to the Soviet Union and the revisionists are never tired of crowing about this.

## **THE GRANDEUR OF AFRICA IS THROUGH UNITY SAYS ARISTIDES PEREIRA**

It is evident that Comrade Aristides Pereira was excluding the racist regime of South Africa among African regimes when he made the affirmation which is the title of this piece when we had the honour to record his words on the occasion of Africa Day which was celebrated on the whole continent on May 25.

"there are different regimes it is certain, but among us Africans there is always something in common which can help us to find a solution to every problem and to avoid foreign interference. He then said in pointing out the role of African leaders like Nkrumah and Sekou Toure in the construction of African unity "that one of the contributions of the PAIGC towards African unity was the fact of having assembled unanimity around it during the victorious national liberation struggle. The President replied in the following way when he was asked to give an account of the present situation in Africa where lately worrying centres of tension have grown up:

"I think it will be necessary to look back a little into history. All of us remember that until 1957 the only independent African countries south of the Sahara were Liberia and Ethiopia, not including of course the Republic of South Africa. Then Ghana appeared and the Republic of Guinea (1958) and then in 1960 there began the so-called Year of Africa the independence of African states in great numbers particularly on the West Coast of Africa and of course we live all those inspiring moments of the rising up of the African people to shake off colonial rule. And then at the beginning of the 70s we witnessed the formation of two groups in Africa, the Monrovia and the Casablanca Groups. *IN OUR OPINION AND OF AMILCAR CABRAL THIS WAY WAS NOT THE WAY FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA, FOR UNITY, WELL-BEING AND PROGRESS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES.* It was interesting to see at this time, a little time also after the formation of these groups a sudden self awareness on the part of the various heads of state of both groups that it was in fact necessary to think of oneself within the unity of African countries and that the formation of groups would only help our enemies.

## **THE OAU CHARTER IS A SATISFYING DOCUMENT**

After explaining to us that it was in the context of this self awareness that our continental organisation came into being, and after pointing out the role of Nkrumah, who is one of the Palladins of African Unity and Pan-Africanism and of President Sekou Toure and so many other African leaders Comrade Pereira continued:

"As far as we are concerned the OAU Charter is a document which fully satisfies the objectives which it has in view depending obviously on the good or bad will of those who make up this organisation, as to whether its objectives are realised or not. We know the disparity of the regimes



in Africa and consequently we are subject to variations in the situation corresponding to an international conjuncture of events, which has its incidence in certain foreign interests which persist on the continent.

“WE are meanwhile authorised to affirm on the positive role, the usefulness and the effectiveness of the OAU which played a decisive role in the problems of national liberation in the former Portuguese colonies. It was through the OAU that we managed to eliminate the phantom group who only appeared for reasons of opportunism and who making national liberation a trade, we pointed out the true patriots, the serious nationalists who were dedicated to the fight and ready to die if necessary for the liberation of their lands. This was in our opinion one of the most effective contributions that the OAU made to our liberation independent of material help and political support on the international front.

Comrade Pereira stressing that the OAU is at the moment going through a critical phase resulting from the various conflicts and points of friction in Africa, went on to express his optimism, the fruit of a long experience of problems on our continent, and expressed his conviction that the OAU would manage to overcome present differences as it had on other occasions.

“Its clear that perhaps the next Summit Conference will not manage to find solutions, at least not immediately for all the problems which at the moment afflict the African continent, but it is our conviction that a meeting of African Heads of States is always useful because the simple fact of having the opportunity to exchange ideas is in itself a positive fact. We look forward to the next Summit Conference not as a meeting which is going to take decisions and find solutions for all present problems. But we are convinced that perhaps we can find ways of overcoming some of them even if we don't reach any immediate solution, a whole platform of work will be able to be established which may later guide the various conflicts which we are aware of at this moment.

## **TO GO BEYOND THE SPIRIT OF THE GROUP**

There is no doubt that there is at this moment in the bosom of the OAU a certain cleavage. There are groups who are not classified its certain, but there is a tendency on all sides towards a reappearance of the groups of Casablanca and Monrovia, but I have already said that my position is against the formation of groups which could only damage and bring grave consequences to African life giving way to foreign interference in our affairs, said the President when we asked him if he considered that the group spirit which harmed African life at one time had passed away.

In fact with regard to the intensification which at the end of the day have their fundamental question the liberation of the continent from foreign interference and in the first place from the racist blemish which persists in the southern part, there is a tendency to centre all our attention on the differences which separate the African countries with regard to their way of reaching a common end and history is with us to prove that the logic of the group can lead to absurdities which were scarcely imaginable before this was dreamed up. The experience of the system of which were scarcely imaginable before this was dreamed up. The experience of the system of groups has already been lived and the conclusions have already been drawn, Comrade Pereira told us more precisely and he continued that this system of groups is fatal for a harmonious development and for the peace of the African countries who by nature and through their history must be linked in a brotherhood and exercise the greatest tolerance in their relations with each other. Because we see on every side a reciprocal tolerance even amongst opposing regimes who reach the conclusion that the best way is to tolerate each other, so even more in Africa where according to us there aren't really opposing regimes. Today it can be said that the whole of Africa is non-aligned and the best way of defending ourselves from being aligned into blocs against our will is precisely to begin by avoiding blocs in our bosom. There is African unanimity as far as the principal enemy is concerned. It is clear that to speak of our solidarity with the liberation movement of South Africa is simply to confirm our vocation. We think that we are still practically a liberation movement and yet the desire on our part for an unconditional solidarity with the movements which are still obliged to fight in Africa against colonialism and racism is a natural one.

In accordance with the principles of our party and the experience we have it is clear that it is upto the people of Namibia, Azania and Zimbabwe there falls the principle role for liberation from the situation in which they find themselves. African unity with regard to the necessity for a diplomatic, political, material and moral support of these movements is praiseworthy, in spite of some discordant notes concerning methods. In our particular case we have to come down to realities, the support we can give directly to these movements cannot go beyond diplomatic, political and moral support.....even so our position is well thought out and within its limitations it is total support in the sense of helping these people to liberate themselves from a system which is totally outmoded in our century

## **AFRICAN UNITY AS AN ACCESS OF IDEOLOGY**

*The President confirmed on the other hand the idea that African Unity to a certain extent an access on which the ideology of Cabral and the Party turned.*

"The first manifestation of this reality," he said, "is translated above all by the basic principle of our party which is the unity of Guinea and Cape Verde. We must moreover consider this principle as one more contribution on our part towards African unity. Considering that all unity is a fight, although African unity is much talked about, we only see in Africa only one example similar to our own, I refer to Tanzania. Cabral said several times that we supported the principles of the OAU, even saying we would be ready to abdicate our former sovereignty for the benefit of African unity provided that all the conquests of our revolution whether in Guinea or Cape Verde were preserved. That would be the only condition. All that shows the adherence of the PAIGC to the principles of African Unity which we consider fundamental because on the basis of the analysis we have made there's no doubt that the way of progress for Africa and for the *GREATNESS OF AFRICA PASSES THROUGH UNITY*. This is for a very simple reason if we look at the great powers who only are great because they have managed to unite the states of which they are composed.

*AFRICA WITH ALL ITS CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS MUST UNITE BECAUSE THERE IS A GREAT DEAL THAT IS COMMON BETWEEN ITS VARIOUS PEOPLE WHO SUFFERED FOR CENTURIES FROM COLONIAL DOMINATION.* This common factor of colonial domination perhaps will favour the unity that we covet and that we consider indispensable to be able to think of Africa in the future, not only of its material riches but of all its cultural riches and its glorious history. Only when we are united will we achieve this greatness and give Africa the status that it deserves.

It is for this that we fight for this unity and that we think that our continental organisation the OAU must be strongly defended in the certainty whatever maybe the present difficulties we have, we have the power to go beyond them. I do not say immediately but as soon as we achieve this fact. I think that the African heads of state are always ready to talk and that at the present moment solutions for the various problems we are confronting at the moment can be found."

## Zaire M-L on Zaire

The Soviet Union hides the aggression which it is currently conducting against our country behind different masks - civil war and popular revolution in Southern Zaire.

For us it is clear that it is a question of an act of aggression of Soviet social imperialism which must be resisted. The civil war and revolution from which Soviet imperialism now constantly speaks are the actions of paid mercenaries and not an armed struggle of our people to shake off repression.

No power in the pay of imperialism, and certainly not of Soviet imperialism can lay claim to free our people. Basically the present events are a new Soviet escalation in Soviet attempts to turn our country into a colony with its blessings. It is a well known Soviet tactic to exploit the legitimate discontent of the Zairean people with oppression through imperialism with the claim that it occurs as a crisis of capitalism and with the object of turning the discontent against the ruling regime. Certainly the regime in our country is the rule of the upper bourgeoisie in which U.S. imperialism has great support and on which it has placed great hopes for the securing of its interests. This explains why the people of Zaire have never ceased to protest against every act of oppression and to offer resistance. For our people it is not a question of moving from the path which leads to the complete liberation and from the path of true struggle for national liberation and the establishment of a peoples democratic order. Social-imperialism speculates on the legitimate feelings of our people. It is cynical in its unslatable thirst and mad plan of forcing the remainder of the colonial troops onto our people as an army of liberation, and to the madness of forcing onto the Zairean people a so-called liberation front, old veterans who have spent luxurious exile on the Black Sea, and a hoard of pro-Soviet puppets. Around these puppets a mosaic group collects, whom the occasion has brought together and whose common aim is the forwarding of current Soviet imperialistic aggression against Zaire.

We greet and unreservedly support all anti-Soviet imperialistic patriotic and popular actions within Zaire or abroad, whether they are civil or military. They are the living proof in the heart of our people of the glowing wish to free itself from imperialism and to fight bravely against Soviet social-imperialism. Because these things emanate from the people we support them and make ourselves the peoples mouthpiece. We certainly have no illusions over the possibility or the capabilities of the present regime to defend the national independence or to carry through a determined mobilisation of the masses. That is a work of patience and unremitting obstinacy which in the final analysis can be performed only by the proletariat with its Party at its head. It is the tasks of Marxist-Leninists to create such an organisation. It must rely on the great power of the broad masses of the people, particularly the workers and the peasants, amongst

whom it must carry out independent agitation and propaganda work and patient educational work in order to create out of them the front-line troops in the national liberation struggle. In the light of the teachings of Chairman Mao we must in the first place rely on ourselves. We appreciate the great support of the Peoples Republic of China. We must pay attention to the support of the truly socialist countries, from Marxist-Leninists, from the peoples of the world, particularly the peoples and countries of the Third World.

We bow deeply before Chairman Mao, the great teacher of the world's proletariat and educator of the oppressed people and subjugated nations whose magnificent work has contributed above all to showing us the battle situation in his own land and ours, where the ruling classes in our land are hesitating between nationalism and imperialism, and the demands of the battle require that from the proletariat that it leads its own way to socialism under the leadership of the proletariat and pursues the struggle for the democratic national peoples liberation struggle.

In particular, Chairman Mao's analysis of the Three Worlds must be for Marxist-Leninists in our country a sharp weapon in the estimation and assessment of the forces in the present situation. The world struggles forward in great unrest. We experience everyday new divisions and re-groupings of the powers in the international situation.

WE must recognise exactly who will fight with the people and whom the people must fight in order to secure its victories over all its foes. The struggle of our people is conducted in the land of the third world where besides the basic existence of the struggle of the classes there exists the struggle of our people against imperialism, particularly against the superpowers. Presently it is Soviet social imperialism which is becoming the greatest enemy of the people of Zaire and it becomes greater everyday everyday and undertakes considerable effort to reduce Zaire to one of its colonies. We are entering a new phase in our peoples struggles, the task stands clearly before us, that we must squarely face this aggression and defend our national independence without flinching in revolutionary courage and boldness. This struggle must be for us communists closely bound up with the struggle of the basic aims of the masses of the people for real national liberation and the construction of a peoples democratic order.

The night of colonialism, the forced march to the estuary (of the Congos and the Atlantic), the negro trade, they are literally a dry monument that our peoples have banished into the museum of history, none of the African peoples who today, struggling against exploitation and oppression, will give Soviet social-imperialism the opportunity of fetching it out of the museum.

## **African Students Condemn Invasion of Zaire**

It is Soviet social-imperialism which began the aggression against Zaire. After its attempts to penetrate Angola developed favourably, Soviet social-imperialism, through mercenaries, hatched the aggression against Zaire.

The tactics of social-imperialism's penetration into countries of the Third World and into the African countries is well known. The social-imperialists, less unmasked than the Yankee imperialists, take advantage of the reputation of the October Revolution of Lenin and Stalin, gamble with the just struggles of the African people, and camouflage their aggression and their imperialist aggression with terms like "support of the popular liberation struggle" and "proletarian internationalism". The Soviet Union today is a social-fascist land (concentration camps, "psychiatric hospitals", tens of thousands of political prisoners, a gigantic apparatus of suppression led by the KGB, suppression of national minorities, merciless exploitation and suppression of workers, etc.) and outside we have Soviet imperialist occupation of Czechoslovakia, Angola, bases in Somalia, Guinea, Libya, South-Yemen, and expansion of its naval and air forces all over the world, expansion of armaments, etc.). It is today the most dangerous enemy of the liberation movements in Africa and the world. More and more the new czars make use of Cubans. They speculate with the anti-popular character and with the economic and political difficulties of the regime - above all in Africa, in order to inflict like in Angola, a civil war. We support the armed struggle of the Angolan people for complete liberation against the occupation of the social imperialists and Cuban mercenaries and the lackeys of the Neto clique. The sinister plans of the Moscow social-imperialists are based on new bureaucratic bourgeoisie's interests which are made out to be 'revolutionary', but which attempts to dominate the state apparatus of the countries, which are forced to pay tribute to Moscow.

The invasion of Zaire is nothing more than the application of this tactic by the new Kremlin czars, who dream of colonies. We have no illusions of the real character of the Zairean regime which is a regime of suppression, exploitation and subjected to US imperialism. The force that the Soviet Union bases itself upon are pro-soviet forces led by the notorious agent of the Kremlin, Antoine Gizenga. The "FNLC" which the Katanga-gendarme, Mbumba, commands is only the

military arm of the policy of aggression of the new Czars. With the transformation of Angola into a Russian neo-colony these mercenaries, among them former Katanga-gendarmes and opponents of the Mobutu regime, changed their master and have put themselves into the service of the Soviet socialimperialists.

After they formed the military wing of this "liberation front" the new Czars received their chief Nathaniel Mbumba, in Moscow in November 1976. He is the old commander of the katanga gendarmes since the secession of Katanga under Moise Tshombe in 1963. But in their counter-revolutionary propaganda, the pro-socialimperialist journal, "Afrique-Asie" (No. 132, 4-17 April 1977) keeps quiet about this period. It is by no means accidental that this journal only starts his biography after 1967.

The truth is that the "FNLC" is only a counter-revolutionary instrument serving the policy of aggression of social-imperialism against Zaire. The position which in the face of the actual situation is to be taken cannot be independent from the anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle, which all truly revolutionary organisations have to carry out. The contention of the two imperialist superpowers wishing to conquer old positions of the imperialist powers of the second world is clearly shown in Zaire.

The rivalry of the two superpowers threatens directly the imperialist countries of second rank such as France and Belgium. So the intervention of France is an effort to save her neo-colonial interests in Central Africa. This interference of France at the present moment when US imperialism capitulates objectively counteracts the social-imperialist penetration.

It is obvious that the days of French imperialism in Africa are numbered, and that a new bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie under the leadership of the PCO (the pro-social-imperialist French Communist Party) aims at taking over the power in France and spares no effort to pull over France to the camp of socialimperialism and with it of course the regimes which are still dependent on France.

In this complicated situation we welcome the position of the PR of China which decisively supports the people of Zaire in its just struggle of resistance against foreign aggression and to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity and which correctly castigated Russian social-imperialism as the main troublemaker in Shaba.

The African people too have expressed their indignation. Numerous African countries have expressed their disapproval about the new czars and their Cuban mercenaries, whether it was because of the protests of the people or whether they were allied with imperialism. So countries like Mauritius, Egypt, Ethiopia, the Sudan and others have reacted to the Soviet interference and the pro-American regime of Hassan II has even sent troops to support.

The just position of the PR of China shows that Hua-Guo-Feng defends and continues the revolutionary political line of Mao-Tse-Tung in foreign affairs. Despite the lies of the social imperialists with regard to Zaire they represent aggression against Zaire. It is not a liberation struggle that is being suppressed by Mobutu with the help of classic imperialism. The situation in Zaire reveals the plans of the social imperialists in Africa. The main point is to understand that the aggression against Zaire is within the framework of a global strategy of Soviet social-imperialism which aims at world supremacy. As a result of the control of the African continent it would make it easier to control the European continent which is the focus of the contention between the two imperialist superpowers. This rivalry will lead to a third world war. The peoples and the anti-hegemonistic forces have to prepare against this under the leadership of the proletariat in the different countries.

**DOWN WITH SOCIAL IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AGAINST ZAIRE!  
DOWN WITH THE CONTENTION OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS IN AFRICA!  
SOVIET BASE OF AGGRESSION OUT OF AFRICA!  
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE ZAIREAN PEOPLE AGAINST SOVIET SOCIAL-  
IMPERIALISM, AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND REACTION!  
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE FOR COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE  
AGAINST SOCIAL IMPERIALIST OCCUPATION!  
LONG LIVE THE ANTI-HEGEMONISTIC UNITY OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, EUROPE  
AND THE WHOLE WORLD.**

Paris 26 April, 1977.

UNECA (National Union of Central African Students)  
AGEG (general Union of Gabon Students)  
FSAI (Federation of African Students in Italy)  
AEOM (Association of Students from Madagascar)  
UNEC (National Union of Students from Cameroon)  
ASEC (Association of Students of the Comoro Islands).

# Who are the Katangese Gendarmes

The FNLC, the National Front for the Liberation of the Congo, has claimed responsibility for the invasion of the South Zaire province of Shaba, and has as its spokesman, General Mbumba. But what is the FNLC? Who is General Mbumba? The answer to these questions show us what really lay behind the invasion of Shaba.

General Mbumba "earned" his title as an old mercenary of the Katangese Gendarmes in fights against the people of Zaire. The FNLC has emerged out of the remains of the gendarmes, which has lived in exile in the province of Lundu in the north-east of Angola since 1967 - before the invasion of Shaba (after its last sortie in Zaire) resulted in the virtual annihilation and the only escape from the just punishment being to free the country. They were fighting at that time under the supreme command of the famous Belgian mercenary chief, Colonel Schramme to bring Schramme personally at the head of an imperialistic government in Zaire and the overthrow of the central government under Mobutu. Who are the Katangese gendarmes? Let us follow its history from the beginning.

The K-Gs were built up in July 1960 as the mercenary troops of Tshombe, the secessionist leader of Katanga - as Shaba was called at that time - from the recently independent republic of Zaire. Tshombe, however, was a puppet of the Belgian and then the USA imperialists. On their behalf he announced their secession from the central government in order to retain firm hold of the huge natural resources of Katanga under imperialism. They limitlessly financed and controlled every step of the adventures of secession with which Tshombe plunged Zaire for two years into unbelievable chaos and poverty, and exposed the national unity and territorial integrity of the country so recently after independence to breaking point.

Tshombe himself could make use of his position as chief of the Lundu tribe, the tribe, which lives spread out over 3 African States - Zaire, Angola and Zambia, was even before colonial rule a strictly organised kingdom and retained even after independence a strong tribal feeling of unity. The Belgians had already used this to good effect, in that they had played off the different tribes against one another, so as to preserve their colonial rule. Tshombe now continued with this policy, in order after independence to serve in the best possible way the neocolonial interests of the Belgian and American imperialists.

We have therefore touched on the two characteristics of the K-G; they are first and foremost "soldiers of fortune"...soldiers of money and adventure. At the same time the unity of the tribe, tribalism, the rejection of authority of another tribe, plays an important role and strengthens the reactionary character of these troops.

The K-G was built in the 1960s as a tribal secessionist army. Its recruitment was mainly from the ragged proletarian classes on the edge of the towns and Katanga's copper industry. They were lured by a pay which put in the shade, as Chome writes, "all that one pays to soldiers of numerous armies in the world." Belgian mercenaries were engaged as leaders of these troops (former members of the Belgian colonial army) who at the same time had the job of training the K-G and teaching them how to split the nation and subjugate the people. Under the leadership of its white leaders and models these troops, spread, wherever it appeared, fright and chaos. In a short time they were nicknamed the "terrors". Even though this name was mainly coined for the white soldiers in this mixed army, who stopped at no crime, the Katangese themselves were not far behind.

Mention will only be made of the murder of the first Prime Minister of the independent republic, Patrice Lumumba, who was removed by his enemies from Kinshasha to Katanga. He was received there by the leaders of the Katanga secession and the K-G, Tshombe and Munongo, and under unimaginable agony, tortured and murdered. Many weeks later the cynical explanation of his executioners about his disappearance was "shot whilst on the run."

As a result of Lumumba's murder the K-G aroused the hatred and contempt of all Africa, for he was known world-wide as a respected patriot for the fight for independence in the Congo. General Mbumba, who once more commands today the K-G attack, was at that time already exercising "an iron authority over the K-G."

In July 1963 the attempt to secede Katanga failed and the K-Gs fled over the borders to their tribal brothers, particularly to Zambia. But it was not long before they had another opportunity to attack. For in July 1964 Moise Tshombe came once more to power, this time as Prime Minister of the central government. Everywhere in the country opposition grew against the severance of the neo-colonial government, who continued to sell the natural wealth of Zaire's resources to imperialist organisations. It was in particular, concentrated against Tshombe's rule, as he was hated in the

whole of the country and his name stood in all Africa for "comprador bourgeoisie."

The armed struggle spread in the north and north-east of Zaire under the leadership of the national liberation council. The central government had hardly any control now over this part of the country. In this situation Tshombe once more engaged an international killer brigade of white mercenaries, with Major Hoare, well-known in the business, as its head and fetched his K-G back again into the country. Together these two stepped into the field, not shrinking back from any adventure.

Accounts of their exploits are numerous. The present African correspondent of the newspaper, "Die Welt", well known as inveterate friend and propagandist of the fascist regime of white racists in southern Africa, Han Germaine, had at that time attached himself to the mercenaries and afterwards published an heroic 'epic' under the title of "White mercenaries in a Black country." According to him the crimes of the mercenaries were naturally in line of duty of "higher" things, and who would dispute this, who knowing Tshombe and his imperialistic backers. Remarkable is however, that Germaine, stated that the K-G even surpassed the brutality and violence of the white mercenaries.

The K-Gs, according to Germaine, don't kill their opponents, the people. They torture them to death. They in no way fall short of their trainees and models, yes they even try to surpass them. The contempt that people have for mercenaries is of course, the result of how they conduct their business in killing. Let us give Major Hoare a chance to say a few words in order to illustrate the extent of the actions of these people "killing communists is like killing vermin, killing African nationalists is as if one is killing an animal. I don't like either one or the other. My men and I have killed between 5,000 to 10,000 Congo rebels in the 20 months that I have spent in the Congo. But that's not enough. There are 11 million Congolese you know and I assume that about half of them at one time or another were rebels whilst I was down there."

In November 1965 Mobutu assumed power in Zaire after a military coup. Though he was commander-in-chief previously responsible for the white mercenaries and the K-G, after his take over he got rid of their services. Once again the K-G fled over the border and waited, mainly in Angola, in the province of Lundu, for new instructors. After his latest and final fall, they were now without their founder and leader for many years, Tshombe. We have at the beginning already mentioned the virtually operetta type of adventure of the Belgian mercenaries chief, Scratch, of 1967, to which once more the K-G were engaged. It became obvious, now, that the K-G could be used by anyone who recruited them to fight against Zaire, against the national and territorial interests of the country and against the Head of State, Mobutu. Even today nothing has changed.

In the first instance the Portuguese colonialists saw this possibility. After Belgium and the USA lost interest in the K-G the Portuguese colonial government hired them. Once again the K-G took action against the strivings of a people for independence and freedom, only this time it was the people of Angola. They received instructions to fight chiefly in the southern section of the large border between Zaire and Angola against the Angolan liberation movement (FNLA) (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) which operated from Zaire and was supported by Mobutu.

For years the Portuguese colonial government in Angola had with the help of the K-G the means of bringing pressure to bear on Zaire, a continuous dagger, which although it was never fully brought to bear against Zaire by the Portuguese colonial army, never failed to show its effectiveness.

The K-G only first became a direct threat again to the territorial integrity and national unity of Zaire after the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal in April 1974. Despite repeated requests by Mobutu the Portuguese Army especially Admiral Rosa Coutinho, refused to disband the K-G which had in all these years stayed together as a compact army. (The Portuguese Army, at the head of the provincial colonial administration, was in the process of preparing for Angola's independence).

The Army brought the K-G more and more into contact with the Angolan liberation movement, the MPLA, who together had in common an hostility towards the FNLA and Mobutu. The MPLA laid claim to unlimited political power in the whole of Angola, disregarding its growing political weakness in the 1974 internal disputes and disregarding the fact that it had the support of the people in a few parts of the country. In that it supported this attitude and even strengthened it further, the Soviet social imperialists subjugated the MPLA in 1975 by leaps and bounds.

In the first half of 1975 the MPLA was increasingly being forced back to its stronghold, the capital Luanda, in its struggle for power against the FNLA. Only this time with the support of the

K-G was it able to control a strip of land to the east of Luanda and upto the border with Zaire, for the K-G held back the approach of the FNLA in the eastern province of Lundu. The K-G, therefore, was taking an active part in the civil war in Angola, contributing its share to the continuing suffering and misery of the masses in the country, who as usual, were the victims of the civil war between the liberation movements in Angola, stirred up by the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, in particular the Soviet social-imperialists.

Since the Soviet social imperialists built up their military interference in Angola from the middle of 1975 by leaps and bounds and after the country's independence brought the MPLA to power by means of the bayonets of the Cuban mercenaries, the K-G have at last finally found their new and last master. Their training and equipment was taken over by the Soviet Union, supported by the rascals, Cuba and the DDR. Angola placed its territory at their disposal for the preparation of the new aggression against Zaire. The Soviet social-imperialists came at the right moment for the K-G, to create a new trouble spot and to push ahead with their ambition to dominate the whole of southern Africa. The renaming of the K-G into FNLC, is a necessary attempt to give the invasion of this mercenary army a semblance of legitimacy. No one overlooks the fact that in all long years of unwilling exile for the K-G no mention had been made of the FNLC. Only after the establishment of soviet predominance in Angola and the taking over of the K-G was the existence of this organisation served up.

No one who has seriously studied all the facts will be deluded by this attempt at deception. The invasion in the province of Shaba is the work of a mercenary army who since its first action in 1960 in attempting to force the secession of Katanga, has never changed its character. That the Soviet Union makes use of such an army in order to realise its hegemonial plans will help many more people get an insight into the imperialistic character of this superpower. Of course the ideological accomplices of the Soviet social imperialists are hurrying to prove that the K-G never has been the K-G, though they themselves know too well the dismal and bloodridden history of the K-G. Here once again the French newspaper, *Afrique-Asie* is to the fore. General Mbumba all of a sudden is supposed to have left Zaire only after 1967 out of opposition to Mobutu's regime. The fact that in the ranks of the K-G young people are in evidence, who obviously did not participate in 1960, is also held up as evidence. '*Afrique-Asie*' only proves with such arguments that these are in fact no real arguments to disprove the continuity of the K-G. For we all know that every army strengthens its ranks by recruiting young blood. Established is that Angola, despite the agreement with Zaire in February 1976 to disband the K-G, has on the other hand permitted new recruitment (under instructions from the Soviet Union) amongst the population of the Lundu so as to strengthen the K-G for its aggression against Zaire. As far as General Mbumba is concerned, who in 1976 visited both the Soviet Union and the DDR, we have already indicated at the beginning his leading involvement in the secession of Katanga under Tshombe, a fact which '*Afrique-Asie*' would dearly like to forget.

The history of the K-G is the history of a mercenary army in the service of imperialists. Whenever and wherever it is placed in action, it fought against the masses. This is also evident in its latest aggression against Zaire where they are trying to awaken the tribal feelings of the Lundu, so that with the help of tribalism to install existing opposition of the masses against the government in Zaire as their target. The only thing that has altered for the K-G is their employers. This changes, but the K-G remains the same. Belgium, USA, Portugal and now the Soviet Union - in this order the change in the arena of imperialist powers for the division and new distribution of the world is revealed. Today the Soviet Union is the rising and aggressive superpower. Today the Soviet Union is the one who employs mercenary armies to extend its authority because of its unbridled greed for power. But like all imperialists she fails to recognise the resistance of the masses and in Africa today in particular even the continental solidarity of the African states.

**A DISHONEST BOOK:** Wilfred Burceht's recent book on mercenaries in Angola, written in picturesque language, is a very dishonest book.

The real mercenaries in Angola were the Katangese gendarmes - far outnumbering the mercenaries from the West - and yet he makes absolutely no mention of them.

#### **UGANDA AND THE SOVIET UNION: OFFER OF MILITARY BASE**

According to a Radio Uganda broadcast of the 12.5.77 President Amin stated that Uganda could sign any treaty with another independent State. In this context the President could consider the ratification of an agreement with the Soviet Union about the installation of the most modern military base on the African continent in Uganda. The President requested that all spare parts for the Russian military equipment to be flown directly into Uganda, as Uganda is having difficulties in receiving the spare parts from Russia via the normal means. Amin remarked that relations with Russia were very good in the military, cultural, technical and other fields, and that he wanted to

extend the relationship to other sectors. The President informed the Russian Ambassador that Uganda possesses numerous resources and if the Soviet Union wished to make use of some of them Uganda would be willing.....

## **SERETSE KHAMA OF BOTSWANA CONDEMNS SUPERPOWER INTERFERENCE IN AFRICA**

*"There are those who have always contended that international peace and security cannot be threatened by a regional conflict such as that which obtains in South Africa..... But we reject these sinister arguments much as those who advance them consciously disregard the lessons of history. Almost all the wars that have scarred the face of this earth in the past begun as regional conflicts and spread like bush fire all over the world....."*

*What I am trying to point out here is not that we should appeal to the past in order to find the solutions for contemporary problems but that in this day and age of superpower expansionism local conflicts can hardly be confined to the physical frontiers within which they take place.*

*This is becoming increasingly evident in South Africa, as it has always been in the Middle East, where the two superpowers are presently quarelling over spheres of influence. Therefore the argument that the existence of racist oppression in South Africa does not pose a threat to international peace and security is as fallacious as it is irresponsible." (Pyongyang Times- 17.8. 76).*

**NIGERIA'S CONCERN OVER SOVIET NAVAL BUILD UP:** *The Nigerian paper, the "Punch" said in an article recently "Soviet naval build up threaten African coasts." It added: "African leaders are becoming increasingly concerned about growing soviet naval presences in the Indian Ocean, particularly on the Cape route, which provides a vital link between Africa and Europe. The SU already has strategic naval installations in several east african as well as west african states and in other areas abutting the african coast. Most African leaders would like to see firm measures taken to check the dangerous build-up in African waters of naval fleets."* **GABONESE PRESIDENT DENOUNCES RUSSIA'S SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST POLICY:** *The President said that Russia is a social-imperialist country. "We were colonised and have achieved independence now. I don't choose to be dependent again." He demanded that the Russians end their neo-colonization in Africa.*

# **IKWEZI to call International Conference on Social-Imperialism in Africa**

**IKWEZI intends to call an international Conference on the role and nature of Soviet Social-Imperialism in Africa. The Conference will be held sometime early next year either in Germany or London. Date and venue will be announced as soon as the preliminary arrangements are made.**

**The purpose of the Conference will be to expose the intentions and motives of the Soviet Union in Africa today. The threat from Soviet interference is the single greatest threat to the national independence of the African states. In Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Zaire, Angola, Zimbabwe, Azania, Namibia, etc. the Soviet Union has acted like a big power nakedly pursuing its hegemonistic designs as it tries to push U.S. Imperialism from its position of strength. The Conference will aim to look at the Soviet methods of penetration, what social base it relies on to act as its puppets, and what policies it pursues in order to realise its aims and the manner in which the Soviet Union practises its deception.**

**The Conference will also look at how the social-imperialists pursues similar policies in other parts of the Third World and the manner in which the Soviet Union aims to achieve its purpose of world-wide domination.**

**The leading participants of the Conference will be Africans from the African continent who can give first hand accounts of Soviet designs and methods of infiltration. The results and the various papers of the Conference will be published as a book to guide African revolutionaries on the nature of social-imperialism.**

**IKWEZI would like all those who feel that they have a contribution to make to get in contact with us. One method of preparation for the Conference is to get representatives from as many African groups as possible to sit down and prepare the Conference. It is to be as broad-based as possible. Groups, organisations, etc. working on African questions who are interested in the role of the Soviet Union in Africa are welcome to get in touch with us. If you are interested in attending a preparatory meeting to arrange for the Conference please write to us and we will inform you of the date and place of the meeting. Anybody who has a paper to present will be welcomed. Write to IKWEZI, 8-11 VICTORIA CENTRE, NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND.**



# What Rights have Workers under these Laws

## DISCIPLINARY LABOUR LAWS IN ANGOLA

### DISCIPLINARY MEASURES ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTION FOR PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS.

The 'Diary of the Republic', official organ of the People's Republic of Angola, published a number of orders of the Council of the Revolution relating to the law of discipline of the process of production. For your interest we are publishing the text in full:

#### LAW NO. 11/75 OF DECEMBER 15 1975

Considering the war which has been brought about by the enemies of the Angolan people, a firm battle is needed in all fields;

Taking into attention that, to the extent to which the enemy becomes unable to hold up the advance of the national army, the tactic of agitational elements changes from infiltrating the rearguard to choosing for its field of action the bosom of the labouring masses;

Bearing in mind that with this tactic the enemy strives to foment divisions and to disrupt the process of production, lowering production and reducing profitability, and consequently obstructing correct support for the war effort in which is involved the whole of the Angolan people;

Considering that demagoguery reigns in the sphere of production, so that this diminishes in the private sector as much as in the public sector;

Considering that the objectives of our Revolution is to construct the People's Republic of Angola completely independent in political and economic affairs;

Taking into attention that it is not possible to allow the emergence of a new exploiting stratum, seeing that the objective of our Revolution is the elimination for once and for all of the exploitation of man by man;

Considering that the demands of National Reconstruction have for their starting point strong organisation, discipline and vigilance in the sector of production, becoming powerful enough to effect distinctive alterations in this sector, and to impose norms of conduct that affect public and private domains;

Considering that although the labouring masses of the country have gone along with the word of order 'Produce and Resist', it is the case that some workers have taken up opportunistic positions, turning into active adversaries of a revolutionary conception of class struggle;

Considering that there are 'workers' who inject corruption and other distractions into the bosom of the labouring masses, and that there are others who employ subtle forms of agitation in the bosom of the masses and may sow incorrect forms of struggle that weaken the anti-imperialist front, betraying by this method the Angolan Revolution;

It is for all these reasons that in the present historical conjunction the elimination of the exploitation of man by man presupposes the alteration of the relations of production, and there is an overriding necessity for labour discipline in the public and private sectors;

Within these limits:

Applying the powers conferred by clause (e) of article 32 of the same constitutional law, the Council of the Revolution decrees and I promulgate the protection of article 38 the following:

#### LAW OF DISCIPLINE OF THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION PART I CRIMES AGAINST PRODUCTION

Article 1. The following are crimes against production:

- (a) Damaging or deteriorating the means of production, as well as other forms of the same thing that reduce or paralyse the process of production;
- (b) Extortion, even that not committed by a public official;
- (c) Bribery, even that not taking place in a public function;
- (d) Theft and robbery in the place of work;

- (e) Threats or bodily offences in the place of work, or outside it, on account of the exercise of functions, committed against the offended or his spouse, ancestors, descendants or a relative up to the second degree;
- (f) Drunkenness or being in a drugged state in the workplace;
- (g) Passive resistance to work;
- (h) Violation by the workers of the rules in articles 30 and 31 of the Trade Union Law, and by the patronal body of the rules in Article 32 of the same law;
- (i) Concession or leave or holidays that could impair the normal functioning of public or private activity.
- (j) Abandonment on the part of the administrators, directors or other persons responsible *for the activity of private firms* or by elements of the direction of public services;
- (k) Closing off either of all or of significant sections of the firm for the part of the patronal body or its representatives with powers of administration or of management, without the authorisation of the Government;
- (l) Stoppages of work or strikes which are not conducted by the trade unions or by union commissions where the former do not exist;
- (m) Any other actions which gravely damage the process of production.

Article 2. The crimes foreseen in clauses (j) and (k) of article 1 shall be subject to the punishments foreseen in the respective provisions of the penal code.

Article 2. The crimes foreseen in clauses (j) and (k) of article 1 shall be subject to the punishments foreseen in the law on state intervention.

Article 3. The crimes foreseen in clauses (b) (c) (d) and (e) of article 1 shall be subject to the punishments foreseen in the respective provisions of the penal code.

Article 4. The crimes foreseen in clauses (f) (g) and (l) of article 1 shall be subject to the punishment of imprisonment for up to one year.

Article 5. The crimes foreseen in clauses (h) and (i) of article 1 shall be subject to the punishment of imprisonment for up to two years.

Article 6. The crimes foreseen in clauses (m) of article shall be subject to the punishment of imprisonment for no less than six months.

Article 7. Every person who has knowledge of any of the crimes foreseen in this law should notify it in writing or verbally to the Ministry of Labour or its delegations and sub-delegations, which will proceed immediately to institute appropriate proceedings.

Article 8. So long as the judiciary organisation of the People's Republic of Angola has not been reconstructed, the competence to judge the crimes foreseen in this law shall rest with the Labour Tribunal.

1. The trials relating to the crimes foreseen in this law shall have priority over all others and shall always follow the form of a trial by correctional police with the exception of cases of imprisonment in flagrant violation of the law, in which case will be applied the respective provisions of summary proceedings.

2. The punishment of imprisonment may not be substituted for by a fine, nor suspended, and shall be carried out in fields of production.

3. The recourse to sentence of condemnation does not have a suspended effect.

### **DISCIPLINE IN THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION**

Article 9. The following are indisciplines in the process of production:

- (a) Lack of attention to work;
- (b) Lack of punctuality in work;
- (c) Disrespect towards the decisions of the trade unions and the union commissions or of the elements of the direction of the public function;
- (d) Absence from the place of work during the hours of duty without the authorisation of the hierarchical superior, or without being in pursuance of the job;
- (e) Unjustifiable misdeeds;

SOLE: Unjustifiable misdeeds are such as are not accepted by the direction and by the union commission.

(f) Appointments, dismissals, promotions and nominations made without prior consultations with the respective union commission.

*Article 10. The punishments applicable for the disciplinary misdeeds foreseen in the previous article are as follows:*

*(a) Registered censure;*

*(b) Suspensions of earnings or wages for three days, while requiring the worker to carry out his job;*

*(c) Suspension, as in the above clause, for upto six days;*

*(d) Demotion;*

*(e) Sacking, compulsory retirement or dismissal.*

*SOLE: The abandonment of his job by the worker is considered as a crime of passive resistance and as such punishable by article 4 of this law, to which is applicable the punishments in clauses (b) and (c) of this article.*

**Article 11.** The punishment of registered censure shall be applied to the workers who commit any one of the misdeeds foreseen in article 9 for the first time.

*Article 12. The competent authority to apply the punishment referred to in the previous article shall be the union commission of the firm or the public service to which the culprit belongs or the union association where the former does not exist.*

**Article 13.** The punishment in clauses (d) and (e) shall be applied to repeated instances and in accordance with the gravity of the misdeed committed.

**Article 14.** The punishments referred to in the previous article shall be applied by the Council of Discipline, composed by the union commission or the union association and including a representative of the patronal body or the direction of the public service to which the culprit belongs.

**Article 15.** The worker may appeal against the punishment of registered censure within eight days to the Council of Discipline, and he may subsequently appeal against punishments applied by this body within fifteen days to the Ministry of Labour.

**Article 16.** The application of disciplinary punishments which do not result in an appeal to the Ministry of Labour shall be obligatorily communicated to that Ministry.

**Article 17.** The misdeeds declared in clause (f) of article 9 shall result in the nullification of the appointment, dismissal, promotion or nomination improperly made, and the culprit shall incur a fine of between 1,000 and 2,000 dollars to be imposed by the Inspector General of Labour, with appeal, within 15 days, without suspended effect.

## **PART III GENERAL RULES**

*Article 18. Members of the union commissions, union associations, managers of firms or elements of the direction of public services which do not notify the Ministry of Labour of the crimes foreseen in articles 1 and 9 of which they have knowledge, shall be judged and punished as accomplices in the commission of the same crimes.*

**Article 19.** Clause (a) of Article 217 of the Statute of Overseas stands revoked.

**Article 20.** The monies obtained by the application of the punishments in clauses (b) and (c) of article 10 and in article 17 shall go to the coffers of the National Union of Angolan Workers - UNTA.

**Article 21.** The Minister of Labour shall regulate the present law.

**Article 22.** The present law enters immediately into force.

Seen and Approved by the Council of the Revolution.

Promulgated on December 13 1975.

Published.

The Presidency of the peoples Republic of Angola in Luanda, 15 December, 1975.

The President of the Republic - ANTONIO AGOSTINHO NETO.

# A Brief History of Imperialism

This is the first part of an extract from Malcolm Caudwell's forthcoming book, "Wealth of Some Nations", to be published by Zed Press, London. In this account Caudwell traces the history of Western Imperialism and its domination over the Third World countries. Caudwell points out that at the time the two civilisations met, they were on a par economically, and it was the military subjugation of the Third World countries that reduced them to their present vassal state. He also explains why the Third World countries will have to industrialise differently, based on a policy of self-reliance.

By the last third of the 19th century the picture is being fundamentally changed in a host of ways. Technical innovations in transport and communications (the steamship, the electric telegraph, the opening of the Suez Canal) combine with the growing release of capital, expertise and productive capacity from the tasks of completing the domestic transport networks of the industrial countries to make possible a real revolution in international communications. A genuine world market now exists. The products of Western industry, can reach everywhere - and everywhere assault the remaining bastions of handicraft and pre-industrial manufacturing production.....

The enormously expanded capacity of the industrial countries to generate capital permits of its exports on an unprecedented scale.....The export of Western capital all over the world aborts, thwarts and distorts third world development in many ways.

In the first place, the fact that industrially experienced Westerners, possessed of immeasurably greater resources than any available locally, now dominates the non-agricultural sector means petrification of local elites in the pre-capitalist rural economy or their co-optation to the economic and political needs and requirements of the imperialists. ....every economic activity in the colonial or semi-colonial country is now subordinated to the over-riding interests of the metropolitan powers. Only activities compatible with or complementary to these interests are permitted to survive or to develop. These include the distribution of Western imported goods into the interior in petty trading and peddling; the purchasing and delivery to Western warehouses and to exit ports of smallholder cash crop produce; clerical work in Western offices, banks, insurancehouses and the like; all kinds of comprador functions for Western trading and agency houses; all kinds of services, ranging from domestic service to hotel-keeping and the running of bars, casinos and brothels, etc; interpreting and catering to the tourist trade; some construction work; dealing in land; repairing machinery in small workshops; and so on.

Another aspect of the matter is that production of raw materials is now rapidly modernised. Capital therefore impatiently reaches out worldwide to replace older organisations of production of raw materials by new ones; slavery in the southern states of the USA gives way to capitalist planting, farming and processing; the Culture System in Indonesia gives way to the organisation of production by big capitalist corporations, Britain moves directly into Southern Africa, the Malay states and so on. The price of raw materials embarks upon that century long secular slide downwards (1873-1973).

But the 'modernisation' of raw material production is relative, for such 'modernisation' in no way urges the economies of the third world forward towards independent and balanced economic development. On the contrary, it freezes them into an unbalanced and dependent pattern, characterised by primary sector predominance, and by secondary and tertiary sectors specifically fashioned to facilitate imperialist exploitation of their resources and labour. Moreover, the failure of third world economies to move ahead, in conjunction with the surge of their populations, ensures that the labour remains cheap. In turn, the existence of attractive labour-intensive investment opportunities in the third world eases the problems of over-accumulation of capital in the metropolitan countries. But perpetuation of a low-wage economy (and of pre-capitalist subsistence agriculture sector) makes the domestic third world market unattractive to the domestic third world would-be manufacturer and investor, whose entrepreneurial and investment choices therefore harden, on the one hand, into those avenues left open by the imperialists and on the other hand other traditional outlets (land, jewellery, usury) or into Western-owned and managed enterprises.

A third stage emerges out of the prolonged inter-war depression and the interlude between Britain's relinquishing the reins of overall responsibility for maintaining the rules and momentum of the international capitalist economy and America's picking them up. There is also a much more conscious attempt at international economic management and international economic integration for the benefit of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and of their compradors, political gauleiters, mercenaries, and the like in the now post colonial (or neo-colonial) third world.

But even the comparatively brief post-war period cannot adequately be characterised as if it is a single stage of development evincing uniform features throughout. The first thing to notice is that capital investment to the countries of the third world, though of continuing importance is of relatively less weight compared with inter-investment by the imperialist powers among themselves. There are many reasons for this, among them greater political instability in the now independent countries and consequently enhanced risk attaching to investment; the threat of nationalisation and expropriation by incoming radical regimes; the transfer of some raw materials production to the imperialist metropolises themselves (a leading example of which is the substitution of a host of petro-chemical products for formerly imported natural inputs - e.g. synthetic rubber for natural rubber); and the increasingly common practice on the part of imperialist enterprises of financing their third world activities out of profits made on the spot.

By the 18th century, some West European countries, notably Britain, had capitalised upon certain historical, geographical and technological opportunities sufficiently to be able to make the transition to a quite new stage of economic development: industrial capitalism.

The Romans were the first to succeed in embodying in their legal code adequate safeguards for the property owner and the merchant. While the Roman empire could not in itself effect the transition to capitalism, Roman commercial laws, surviving through the dark ages, became in time the perfect legal instrument facilitating the transition from western European feudalism to capitalism.

Western European feudalism in itself had peculiar features which made it specially hospitable to the seeds of capitalism. Dispersion of power among the monarch, the feudal nobility, the burghers of the cities, and the dignitaries of the church, enabled the second to work towards the establishment of capitalist relations of production in agriculture (as and when price and wage relations favoured it) and the third to create for themselves in the growing independence of the cities the conditions conducive to unfettered expansion of manufactures and of both domestic and international trade, and therefore to accumulation of money capital and bullion.

Geography played a part in at least two ways: first, the climate and the soil of western Europe were (and are) ideally suited to pretty reliable high yield mixed agriculture; and, second, the Atlantic seaboard countries of Europe have a uniquely advantageous site for commanding international trade.....access to the oceans which were to become the highways of the world market to come.

*Finally, arising from the seaward expansions of the 15th and 16th centuries onwards, the countries of western Europe were able to seize and concentrate in their own coffers a wealth of plunder of a magnitude far beyond any ever before imagined, far less, seen, in world history hitherto. To the gold and silver looted from Latin America, to the Dutch fortunes built on the bones of the Indonesian peoples, and to the British booty from India, has to be added the huge rewards of the trade in human flesh, supplying slaves to pioneering white planters and mine-owners in sparsely populated lands of recent settlement, such as the Americas. Ernest Mandel has estimated the total haul from such brigandage at over one billion pounds sterling - a staggering sum for the times: as late as 1770, the entire British national income was a mere £125 million. He concludes:*

*"It was this systematic plundering of four continents, during the commercial expansion of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, that created the conditions for the decisive lead acquired by Europe from the industrial revolution onward.....the enrichment of which was paid for, in the literal sense of the word, by the impoverishment of the plundered areas."*

*The capital thus accumulated by the most primitive of means enabled western Europe to make the transition to industrial capitalism; its loss to the rest of the world aborted whatever progress had been made along the same lines and speeded them down the road to underdevelopment.*

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT**

Since the 18th century, there have been distinct phases in the development of underdevelopment. From the beginnings of the industrial revolution proper, in the second half of the 19th century, there is a first stage. During this period, industrial production proper is restricted to the pioneering countries of western Europe (and to their off-spring in North America). In this sphere, surplus value is extracted from wage labour employed in increasingly large-scale manufacturing industry. The peripheral countries of eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America continue to contribute to the coffers of the industrialising countries; 'primitive accumulation' goes on in innumerable forms, the proceeds largely accruing to nationals of the imperialist powers and, to a much lesser extent, to their 'native' agents. Manufactured exports pouring out of the industrialised countries of the northern hemisphere flood the more accessible parts of the

third world and hasten the disappearance of local pre-industrial manufactures and handicrafts. But capital is still comparatively scarce, and therefore is devoted almost exclusively to metropolitan purposes.

A second aspect is that the post-war years have seen a rapid spread of industrialisation in at least some of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is, needless to say, industrialisation of a particular type. Much of it is undertaken by Western and Japanese multinational corporations in order to derive the benefits of a cheap and plentiful labour force, savagely repressive labour legislation that is inconceivable today in the richer countries (except the Soviet bloc ones), generous investment incentives offered by right-wing third world governments, official and unofficial corruption, and other such advantages. Another major section consists of joint ventures in which, by the nature of things, the economically stronger rich country partners tend to dominate. Yet another category consists of entirely local enterprises which spring up to provide services for the others - picking up any opportunity left open by them. Then there are the third-world run state enterprises covering an enormous span of processes and products.

## HOW IMPERIALISM CONTROLS THE THIRD WORLD

Two things must be stressed though. In the first place, such industrialisation as has taken place has been to the gain of the imperialist powers, directly or indirectly: directly by supplying a market for machinery (the manufacture and export of which have grown steadily in relative importance in the overdeveloped countries); indirectly, by enabling imperialist interests to reduce and partly evade the consequences of the squeeze on their profits consequent upon post-war policies of full employment, provision of social welfare, and greater co-optation of social democracy and the trade unions into the management of metropolitan capitalism. *In the second place, in none of the third world countries which have experienced a considerable industrialisation is the resulting pattern of enterprises remotely similar to, or even comparable with, the pattern typical of the countries which have much earlier achieved fully autonomous national economic development. On the contrary, what we have is a highly specific pattern of dependent development.*

This basic dependency has a number of features. One is dependence upon foreign aid, a dependence that tends to grow with the passage of time and that inevitably puts a great deal of power in the hands of those providing the aid. And those able to provide aid, are, naturally the rich and the powerful heavyweights of the international economy, notably the United States, Japan, the EEC countries, and to a lesser extent Russia and some of her stronger East European satellites (such as East Germany). Conditions attached to aid are seldom, if ever, beneficial to the recipient country's short and long-term economic prospects. But that is not the point: they are beneficial to the favoured local elites and most certainly to the aid-giving countries. Some aid simply buys political support in the international community and perhaps also military advantage in the way of bases and the like. But most has a hard economic purpose: construction of infrastructure vital for modern sophisticated investment projects; restriction of local credit to reduce local competition and to preclude local state activity in areas deemed profitable terrain for 'market forces' (namely foreign investors) to operate in dictation and imposition of legislation granting favourable conditions to foreign investors; and the like.

Another is the scale of that segment of the economy effectively in foreign hands. This inevitably cramps the scope of the local initiative (except to the extent favoured by the ruling elites and their foreign advisers for their joint and several reasons). In some cases, as in Kenya or Malaysia, foreign-owned plantations take a lion's share of the cultivable land, exacerbating the problems and poverty of land-hungry poor peasants. Whatever example we take there is the threat of sudden withdrawal of the foreign operators if they feel that a switch of their investments elsewhere would be more profitable. It is true that even the poorest of countries can, with correct political leadership, embark on the road of autarky, as the Cambodian experience shows, but where radical leadership is hesitant, is partly dependent upon liberal middle class support, and is pledged to 'peaceful transition to socialism' foreign investor non-cooperation and sabotage can be fatal (as in the Chilean case).

Yet another factor is the almost invariable presence, prominence and influence of foreign advisers, whose mandate and horizons are inevitably poles apart from the horizons of the local poor and from a mandate tailored to redress local poverty and to iron out local inequality and privilege as the top priority (rather than as some vague commitment, for political cosmetic purposes, in some unattainably distant future). Here we return to our earlier comments on the post-war evolution of development economics, for the imperialist powers require a considerable number of trained people to oversee implementation of aid programmes, allocation of budgetary resources in a 'rational' fashion, drafting of legislation relevant to foreign investment, and a great

variety of other such matters. *Other expert Western development economists are deployed training local personnel to assist in, and some day ultimately take over, these operations. Local candidates for such training readily offer themselves, and the rewards of success are made highly attractive; during training at postgraduate level typically in the USA, or Australia, or western Europe, third world students being groomed for the role of watchdogs of imperialist interests in their own countries are carefully indoctrinated for the task. This indoctrination does not necessarily take the form of outright scholarly propaganda for 'freedom' and free enterprises: orthodox economic courses, and as part of them orthodox economic development courses, embody quite enough built-in biases to guarantee in the majority of graduates at least a fairly enduring internalisation of received economic science 'wisdom'. In any case the successful graduate himself is soon in a position sufficiently privileged, and sufficiently beholden to continuation of the neo-colonial dependence of his own country on the imperialist powers, readily, perhaps, even unconsciously, to rationalise his own role. Most such graduates, however, are I suspect, simply out to make as much money as possible; if it is money that fascinates and motivates you in a poor third world country obviously the best and most direct way to go about accumulating it is to serve as an agent of the ultra-rich imperialist countries.*

Finally, we should note that the way domestic capital behaves in dependent neo-colonial industrialisation is very different from its behaviour in past industrialising processes. The reasons for this are complex but the outcome in neo-colonial countries is clear: local capital, although participating in the industrial sector, also tends to wash back into its traditional - and less productive or non-productive - uses (land speculation, usury, services, etc.). There is not, in other words, a steady progression from less to more advanced uses, such as accompanied industrialisation in the now developed world. One explanation is to be found in the share of local investment opportunity pre-empted by foreign concerns. Another is the restricted local market, its demand held down at a very very low level by the poverty of local wage labour and peasantry, and by the extensive un-and-under employment.

After a couple of decades of capitalist 'development' in the poor countries, under rich country tutelage, what is the outcome? From 1970 to 1975 real production per capita in the 30 poorest countries of the world did not rise at all; if anything there was a slight decline.

## WHY IMPERIALISM SUCCEEDED

### Early Equivalence in Development

When the Western powers first reached Africa, the Americas, and Asia each part of the world still retained almost intact its original real resource endowment. The main items entering into trade were small exotic articles with great value in small bulk - the precious metals, spices and a whole variety of other natural products and artifacts in virtually global demand among the rich but of restricted origin. *It was the demand for spices in the 16th century which brought the Western powers to Asia almost simultaneously by both available routes.*

*As far as the possession of the most valued items of trade was concerned, it could not be said that Europe was better off than rest of the world. On the contrary why Europe went to Asia, and not Asia to Europe, is that Asia was more self-sufficient, and had little need, and but scant desire for the products of Europe. That it was not a question of inferior technology is amply borne out by the fact that Indonesian or Arab merchants were perfectly well able to trade with the Far East, South and West Asia, and both East and West Africa - and as far north as the Ivory Coast at least. These feats of navigation and seafaring had been first accomplished some centuries prior to the European voyages of exploration which so preoccupy many Western accounts of the past.*

Broadly speaking at the time of establishment of more or less continuous contact between further Asia and the West both culture spheres were still in the stage before systematic use of inanimate energy sources as capital.....what can we say about the progress which each had made on the basis of harnessing the 'income' sources of inanimate energy? More generally the ocean-going vessels of several parts of Asia and Arabia were at least the equal, and in some respects superior in design and workmanship to those of Europe as late as the start of the 15th century. Sailing ships marked one of the most important forms of harnessing wind power. Another was the construction of windmills to facilitate such operations as grinding grain. The windmill appears to have been an Asian innovation, entering Europe through the Middle East. The Chinese seemed to have pioneered in the important techniques associated with inter-~~vention~~ of rotary and longitudinal motion, later to be so important for the steam engine and to cause so much trouble to European engineers in the early stages of the industrial revolution. Water-power was also used to generate energy, notably by the water wheel and mill, in both East and west. Water control, in a more general sense, was much more highly developed in Asia than in Europe. This arose from the

requirements of wet rice cultivation, in part, and in part from the water needs of cities, the largest of which in Asia at this time were very much larger than the largest to be found contemporaneously in Europe. Wood was used for metallurgical purposes in both regions - the technology of cast iron and steel were first mastered in China, and the Javanese were casting their own note that both cultures were already using gunpowder on first encounter: the significance of gunpowder is that this particular use of sulphur marks the first significant employment of a combustible fossil fuel mineral to generate power (and to obtain food, to the extent that the firearms were turned against edible animals and birds). In short, there was little - if any - distance between East and West, at least in strictly technological terms, as of say, the 14-15th centuries, and the differences Africa and the West were only marginal.

## THE ENNABLING OF IMPERIALISM

A gap subsequently did open up. Once opened, it widened through time, and continues to widen to this day. *The foundations of their future divergence were nevertheless being laid from the moment that Western metallurgy, and in particular, the technology of armaments manufacture, and Western navigational skills, including techniques of naval warfare, became clearly superior. Africa, India and South East Asia thereby lay exposed to military conquest and economic exploitation.*

The next step of the argument involves us in some consideration of what processes, with what results and long-term implications, were actually going during the colonial period.

Conventional approaches start from the assumption that there are a sufficient number of characteristics shared by all societies before the transformation associated with industrialisation is firmly launched to justify us in using some general concept as W.W. Rostow's 'traditional society.' Rostow argues that the available economic-historical evidence suggests that all societies that have hitherto followed the pioneers in the series of 'stages', and that one may conclude that those societies still trapped in traditional low-level stability will have themselves to go through these 'stages'. He identifies these as: traditional society; pre-conditions for take off, take off into sustained economic growth; maturity; and high mass consumption. *The thinking behind the stages model is saturated with Eurocentrism. It is not only that there is implicit in the whole concept the idea that growth arose spontaneously in the West, while it was triggered off elsewhere by the impact of the modernising Western influences. More importantly, Rostow, plays down the whole phenomenon of imperialism - colonialism, and therefore abstracts from historical reality.*

It will at once be noted that the development of the first industrial countries is not seen in isolation from the fate of the countries that remained, or more accurately became, poor. *On the contrary it is suggested that the development of the presently rich countries was achieved at the expense of the countries that became subjected to imperialism and colonialism: in his totally ignoring this crucial aspect of the economic historical process Rostow commits his basic error. Far from the subject countries of the Third World remaining in some way outside history as 'traditional societies', they were moulded by the impact of imperialism into societies as historically unique in their own way as the industrial countries were in theirs.*

Let us go back to the period before the West started moving inexorably along the path of economic development in the modern sense. It happens that the first countries to industrialise were, by and large, relatively well-endowed with the non-renewable real resources appropriate to industrialisation; where this was not the case - and Japan is the outstanding example - the deficiencies could readily be made good by a combination of trade and imperialism. Even so, it very quickly became apparent that no country could hope to industrialise and to provide high standards of living for at least a substantial part of the population without having secure access to non-renewable real resources that happened to be obtainable in the requisite quantity and quality, *only* outside the home borders. It is worth emphasising this point, for it is precisely here that we locate the roots of what I refer to as overdevelopment.

## THE UNREPEATABLE MODEL

Much conventional economic wisdom in the field of 'development' continues to work on the assumption that the presently poor countries can, given the correct policies, belatedly traverse the path already trodden by the rich countries. But from quite an early point in their evolution, the currently rich countries began systematically supplementing their own domestic real resource endowments with imports drawn from the real resource endowments of economically weaker (*more backward*) or *politically subordinate countries*. *The process continues at an ever-increasing pace. From 1928 to 1965 the share of the developing countries in world iron ore production rose from 7% to 37%, in bauxite from 21% to 69%, and in oil from 25% to 65%. Basic primary products accounted for 59.5% of world seaborne trade in tonnes in 1962, but 67.8% in 1972.*



What do those who talk about there being a 'model' of economic development make of this? Are the countries presently intent upon attaining higher living standards really supposed to model themselves upon the first industrial countries? This would entail their annexing colonies the non-renewable real resource endowments of which are as yet virtually untouched. Aside from whatever difficulties

might attend annexation, all that need to be said is that, as a result of the development of the already rich countries, no such untouched areas exist in today's world. Furthermore, what has taken place historically in the way of a net movement on a massive scale of non-renewable real resources from the poor countries to the industrialised cannot be reversed. True, some metals might be recycled and made available for export from industrialised countries to those striving to embark upon industrialisation.

With demand for non-renewable real resources still rising voraciously, it still seems certain that high commodity prices are here to stay, and the secular trend can only be upwards as scarcities continue to develop. This being so, the industrialised countries will clearly jealously husband whatever they have and grab whatever they can get elsewhere. As the present oil crisis is making clear, prices will settle around what the richest buyers are prepared to pay, without consideration for the poorer. In short, the problems facing the poorer countries are different in kind from those that faced the now rich countries a couple of centuries ago in this - as in many other - directions. *They are starting with already depleted non-renewable real resource bases and that in a world where cheap raw materials are a thing of the past.*

The other aspect of the expansion in international commerce that accompanied the industrialisation of some countries was the destruction of many activities in the non-primary sectors in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, precisely those activities that might well have otherwise provided the starting point for autonomous and balanced economic development. In a very real sense, the countries subjected to imperialism were being forcibly de-developed, as their indigenous textile industries fell before the assault of the cheap-machine made goods of Europe, their sea-going mercantile fleets before the competition of superior Western fleets (backed by political and military power), and their nascent metallurgical industries withered through inanition.

Before arrival of the European imperialist powers in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and - in some parts of these regions - for a considerable time thereafter, it seems clear that part of the economic surplus was being devoted to enhancing the productive powers of society. Some political units were naturally in decline while others were in the ascendant, but this was true of Europe too. In such activities as ship-building, the casting of cannon and production of iron implements, and textile production we can discern the seeds from which further diversification and economic progress might well have sprung had political sovereignty and economic independence not been first eroded and then totally lost. The experience of Japan, so strikingly different from that of the rest of Asia, underlines the crucial importance of independence. To put it in terms of economic surplus, we may say that Japan's leaders set about optimising it and devoting as much of it as possible to increasing the productive powers of Japanese society, while elsewhere in Asia the imperialist powers certainly set about increasing the magnitude of economic surplus - but in order to divert it to enhancing the productive powers of the metropolises and increasing the consumption of the metropolitan masses.

One might isolate any number of striking cases in the Asia or Africa colonial era to illustrate this - Burma, for example, or French Indochina - but probably, the most stark instance is Java. If we go back to, say 1830 and survey the island of Java, we find an island of six million inhabitants, working a soil the fertility of which was prodigious and seemingly perpetual, possessing a number of valuable non-renewable real resources, and occupying a geographical situation and having geographical characteristics ideal for conducting an immense and far-reaching international trade. Japan's population at the time was probably about twenty million, but on an area roughly three times as extensive as Java's, thus giving a similar population density. However, only 16% of the total area of Japan is at all cultivable, compared with some 58% of Java's. (yet Japan) is a superstate, while Java languished as one of the most notorious sinks of poverty in the world.....

How are we to account for this divergence? I do not think one need to look further than the very different socio-political situations in which the two found themselves from the 1830's onwards. Java became victim to Holland's infamous 'Culture System', while Japan was simultaneously entering into the three to four decade period which established the 'pre-conditions' for the Meiji Restoration and industrialisation. On the one hand, the Culture System, in its heyday, epitomises exortion of an enhanced economic surplus by an imperialist power; on the other hand the Japanese experience testifies to what other Asian countries might have achieved had they been able to turn economic surplus to the task of autonomous national development.

Van den Bosch, architect of the Culture System, quite consciously set out to raise the production

of Java in order to rescue Holland itself from desperate economic straits. He succeeded - at the expense of the people of Java, whose labours he 'turned into capital' so well that the time left at their disposal for food production became insufficient and starvation stalked the land. When the State-run Culture System faltered, it was replaced by a highly cartelised business structure no less efficient at inflating exportable economic surplus.

Apart from that portion of it expended on maintaining the traditional Indonesian aristocracy in some luxury in order to enlist their aid in ruling the colony, the enlarged economic surplus was almost entirely devoted by the Dutch to metropolitan purposes: constructing railways, improving port facilities, and in general building up social capital in Holland and relieving the Dutch exchequer and Dutch taxpayer. Surely, no one can doubt that, had the Indonesian people had command over their own destinies through this crucial period (1830 to 1914) they would have been well on their way towards the end of it to something recognisable as economic development?

The contrast with Japan could hardly be more poignant - and pointed. The Japanese elite, once the decision had been taken to secure the country's independence in an Asia succumbing to western imperialism, harnessed every resource of the state to transforming the economy. Foreign investment was excluded (an important point to remember when foreign investment is recommended to poor countries as a way to development) and every fibre strained to become as quickly as possible self-supporting in technology and industrial know-how. ....the enhanced economic surplus was being ploughed back with conscious intent to industrialise the nation and raise the productivity of its agriculture.

## **Ugandan Revolutionaries Base themselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought**

This publication, "The New Ugandan" has come out of the realisation of the great need and importance for the Ugandan activists, patriots, progressives and all those Ugandans who are interested in and are actively working for the genuine liberation of our country, to take up the study of the scientific, revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tse-Tung-Thought and apply it to the concrete conditions of Uganda.

The experience of the oppressed and exploited people the world over, show that in order for the the people to successfully wage revolution and abolish all class oppression and exploitation, they have to wage their struggle under the leadership of a working class party which is based on the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

This was the experience of the Russian people under Lenin and Stalin; under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the workers, peasants and other exploited and oppressed people in Russia overthrew the reactionary rule of the Czar and his foreign imperialist supporters. The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China with Mao-Tse-Tung at the head, overthrew the reactionary, Chiang Kai-Shek clique and his imperialist supporters, and established working class rule.

The Ugandan peoples own experience has shown that without the guidance and the leadership of a revolutionary party, the peoples' liberation movement will be sidetracked, misled and aborted and the fruits of their struggle robbed. This is what happened to the great struggle of our people against the British colonialists for national independence. Our people are still oppressed and exploited, and do not wield political power.

We should use Marxism-Leninism to analyse all the problems facing our country. This revolutionary theory will help us to sum up the history of our people's resistance to the British colonialists and their fight for national independence. It will also enable us to define the political tasks, and develop the tactics and strategy of waging a revolution in Uganda. And with it we shall be able to identify who are our real enemies and friends. We shall be able to answer the following key and important questions: (1) How were the fruits of the struggle for national independence usurped? (2) How and why are our people still oppressed and exploited? (3) what should be done to consolidate the mass movement for the ultimate defeat of the forces of oppression, domination, exploitation.

The reality in our motherland is that the economy, politics, culture, etc., are still dominated by imperialists. Our economy is still a lopsided cash crop economy, dependent and undeveloped. The raw materials cotton, coffee, tea, copper, etc., are produced mainly to satisfy the interests of the foreign imperialists. The markets for these raw materials are dominated by foreign capitalists who along with their local agents exploit the peasants who grow the coffee, cotton, tea, etc. the prices

paid to the peasants for these products are very low. There is no heavy industries and the few light industries available are only those which are primarily profitable for foreign capitalists. This makes Uganda heavily dependent on imports from the same imperialist countries and who sell their manufactured goods at very high prices. The workers who work in foreign owned factories and industries are viciously exploited through wage slavery and can hardly make two ends meet. Our national-economic "development" plans are based on foreign "loans", foreign "aid" and foreign investments which are nothing but various schemes used by imperialists and social imperialists to export capital into our country, infiltrate our economy and make huge profits, making our economy all the more dependent and undeveloped. This is the kind of "independence" and "liberation" talked about by Idi Amin and his fellow comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucrat capitalists, etc.

The working class and the peasantry were the main force of the anti-colonialist movement, without whose struggles national independence would not have been won. Yet radical change, still less revolution, was far away from the minds of the national traitors who posed as the leaders of the independence movement.

These bourgeois nationalists, rich merchants, and comprador, high ranking military bureaucrats gave a narrow meaning to national independence. They sought to compromise the vital interests of the workers and peasants and other working people with those of the foreign imperialist and local exploiting classes (kings, chiefs, landlords, comprador bourgeois, etc). They left the entire oppressive state machine intact. All the oppressive anti-people laws were left on the books. For example, the laws curtailing the political activities of the masses continued to be enforced, stricter laws forbidding workers to go on strike for political, economic or any other reasons were enacted. The same pro-imperialist educational system favouring the rich and discriminating against the workers, peasants and other labouring people was continued. The economic and political ties to the imperialists were not broken and in many cases they were actually strengthened. Imperialist owned banks, insurance companies, factories and plantations continued to thrive untouched.

So the nine years following the winning of national independence did not bring any basic changes to the workers, peasants, small farmers, fishermen and other working people of Uganda. The only change was that many more "black faces" were seen as managers, district officers, government ministers. The palaces formerly occupied by British colonial officials and the big fancy cars and limousines were now occupied by aspiring comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucrat capitalists, etc. However, the struggles of the Ugandan people continued and in fact, intensified, as our people fought for political, economic, and democratic rights, and challenged the neo-colonial regime.

## **IDI AMIN AND THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP**

As the struggle of the Ugandan people against neo-colonialism heated up, the imperialists, and colonialists were looking for better ways of diverting and crushing the Ugandan people's struggles in order to protect their economic and political interests. Another factor operating was that there were contradictions among the national comprador bourgeois and other sections of the reactionary and exploiting classes in Uganda. In this struggle, the British Imperialists and Israeli Zionists took the side of, and assisted, the comprador military officials led by Idi Amin, who staged a bloody military coup and ousted the bourgeois nationalist bureaucrat capitalists. Idi Amin and his fellow gangsters, again with the open support from the international bourgeois propaganda machine, promoted himself as a "liberator" of the Ugandan people. Idi Amin's military regime is nothing but a form of bourgeois dictatorship. It benefits only the imperialists and the local exploiting classes, especially the top high ranking military officials who command everything by the gun. It also benefits a tiny class of rich merchants, bureaucrat capitalists, feudalists, and other compradors who are in alliance with the ruling military officials whom they bribe in order to be allowed to participate in the economic exploitation of the Ugandan people. They are amassing huge profits through the black market, corruption, smuggling, hoarding and over-pricing of essential goods.

Right from the beginning Idi Amin's regime was extremely ruthless, openly terroristic. Within only five years Idi Amin and his fellow gangsters have murdered, in cold blood, more than 350,000 Ugandans! Idi Amin's military dictatorship has plunged the country in deep economic and political crisis, misery and mediaeval backwardness. Our people have no political nor democratic rights at all. Uganda is the country worst hit by inflation. The sky is the limit for the prices of the few essential commodities available for the workers and peasants. Salt, sugar, tea, flour, cooking oil are no longer bare essentials. They have become luxuries for who can afford them except the few rich?

So the questions that face the Ugandan people are: Which way out? How are the Ugandan

people going to overthrow the fascist military regime and win genuine liberation? What is the best path that our people are going to take in order to win true liberation?

The Ugandan peoples history clearly shows that they will never submit to oppression and exploitation. Our people fiercely resisted British colonialism and fought for national independence until the British colonialists were forced to "grant" it. It was the struggles of the masses of the people that finally broke the back of the colonialists. Even when Idi Amin and his fellow gangsters have imposed the worst repression on our people, our people have time and again risen up to voice their discontent and dissatisfaction. The miners at Kilembe Copper Mines went on strike demanding higher pay and improved working conditions. They vowed not to go to work until the government sent a representative to listen to their grievances. Students at Makerere University staged a demonstration protesting the brutality and corruption of the military regime, also Ugandan workers, students, and exiles residing abroad are actively participating in the resistance movement. For example, workers, students and exiles resident in the United States staged a demonstration in New York to denounce Idi Amin's fascist atrocities in torturing hundreds of students, and murdering others, at Makerere University. Ugandan peasants have cut down cotton and coffee growing by more than 40% in protest of low prices and high inflation (more than 300%!) yet these are just minor examples to show that the masses of the Ugandan people are fed up with the military dictatorship. Our people have shown in one way or another their hatred of the repressive military dictatorship.

However, the struggle of our people and their resistance is still unorganised and many times it is spontaneous. This is due to lack of correct revolutionary leadership to guide the struggle of our people. This was the same problem that faced our people during the struggle for national independence, which resulted in the fruits of national independence being robbed from our people. Our people, especially the workers and peasants, know very well what oppression and exploitation are, for they live with it and in it every day and every night and that is why they are struggling to liberate themselves. However, the peoples' resistance movement is still characterised by spontaneous class consciousness, and a general lack of scientific understanding of the root causes of their oppression and exploitation and the best way to fight for the genuine national independence. The Ugandan working class, despite its militancy, is still not conscious of its historic and potential leading role in the struggle for genuine national independence. Furthermore, the working class is still not armed with a proletarian ideology which would guide it in carrying out this mission. Unfortunately in situations like this the imperialists and social-imperialists become even more active in promoting all kinds of bourgeois trends, and other imperialist schemes of "liberation" in alliance with the national traitors. They promote passivity, pessimism, and individualistic tendencies. They slander peoples' armed struggle as being "violent" and "destructive". Instead they promote ideas of "peaceful road", "parliamentary road" through bourgeois elections or "another military coup", etc. They are opposed to the people rising up and overthrowing their oppressors and exploiters with revolutionary violence. They also do this to confuse the people as to who is their real enemy or their real friend. The purpose of these self-appointed "liberators" is to promote their own selfish interests and those of their imperialist supporters and to divert the peoples' movement in a blind alley. The aim of such schemes is to replace one set of exploiter and oppressor with another.

## **DUTY OF UGANDAN MARXIST-LENINISTS**

It is out of studying the experience of the Ugandan people and the experience of other oppressed and exploited people in the world and out of our own practical experience that we have reached the understanding and conclusion that Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung-Thought is of great relevance to the struggles of our people in Uganda for genuine liberation.

It is the duty of Ugandan Marxist-Leninists to arouse interest in this scientific, revolutionary ideology among peasants, workers, patriotic activists, revolutionary and progressive intellectuals and other genuine anti-imperialist forces. How this will be achieved will depend on the various concrete conditions under which one happens to live at the particular time inside and outside the country.

In our experience we found that the method of group study is very useful. Such a study provides an important forum in which serious minded people can meet regularly to engage in the study, discussion and summarizing of Marxist-Leninist works as they apply to the concrete conditions of Uganda. We feel this is one way to create some of the necessary conditions for the building of a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the struggle of the masses of the Ugandan people for a New Democratic state, to embark on a socialist transformation of our society. In conjunction with this the Marxist-Leninists of Uganda should actively participate in a broad united front to oppose the present fascist military dictatorship while all the time maintaining their independence within the united front and always mindful of their task of championing the interests of the peasants and workers.

## **AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE "NEW UGANDA"**

One of the purposes of "The New Uganda" is to provide a forum through which to provide honest, serious and concrete analysis of the main problems facing our people and what to do about them. It is important that we make serious analysis of the history, economics, politics, and other aspects of our country, clearly pointing out the problems facing our country and the root causes of them and the ways to solve them. This forum should thoroughly expose the role of imperialism in our country, and how these foreign exploiters and oppressors are working hand in glove with the local reactionaries, local bourgeois, comprador army officers, bureaucrat capitalists, feudalists, etc. This publication will also enable us to clearly state our class stand and to point out what kind of "New Uganda" our people are fighting for. Another aim of this publication will be to expose the fascist military dictatorship, lay bare its pro-imperialist, anti-popular, and anti-democratic features. We will also expose and repudiate the self appointed sham "liberators" who want to divert the struggle of the people for their own selfish interests.

## **STRUGGLE AGAINST SCATTEREDNESS AND ISOLATION**

The extremely heavy repression imposed on our people by the military dictatorship has forced many of our people into exile to neighbouring countries and also abroad. This includes ordinary people, professionals, students, revolutionaries and progressives, etc. On top of this Idi Amin has unleashed a hoard of spies and agents among the people for the purpose of creating fear, suspicion and mistrust and to make it easy for him to clamp down on any signs of organised opposition so that he may perpetuate his tyrannical rule. This has tended to create the unhealthy situation of scatteredness and isolation among the people in the resistance movement. Of course Idi Amin and his fellow gangsters are killers and murderers but this does not mean we should feel pessimistic and powerless. After all, in the last analysis, it is the ten million Ugandan people who have the real power, if only we get united and organised. It is Idi Amin and his local supporters and imperialist masters who are in the minority, who are isolated and fearful of the people. We shall not be intimidated

## **THE POLITICAL LINE OF "THE NEW UGANDAN" REVOLVES AROUND THE FOLLOWING POINTS**

1. The masses of the Ugandan people have never had political and economic independence since the British imperialists colonised Uganda up to right now. This is so despite the winning of national independence by the Ugandan people in 1962. The reason for this is that the national liberation struggle in Uganda did not go to completion. Instead it was aborted and the fruits of independence usurped. Further more that the struggle for national independence was not led by a revolutionary working class party based on Marxism-Leninism.

All the various governments in Uganda have been different forms of bourgeois dictatorship, the state power being in the hands of a tiny minority of an exploiting class, for the benefit of foreign imperialists and local exploiting classes consisting of bourgeois nationalists, comprador merchants, bureaucrat capitalists, feudal elements, comprador military bureaucrats trained in

Sandhurst, Tel-Aviv, Moscow, United States and other metropolitan capitals and other imperialist outposts.

2. The character of the struggle of the Ugandan people is a two stage revolution, the present stage being a National Democratic Revolution to be followed by Socialist transformation. The main contradiction facing the Ugandan people is imperialism which acts through the local bourgeois, a section of which is presently personified by the fascist military dictatorship headed by Idi Amin.

3. It is the duty of Ugandan Marxist-Leninists to study, grasp and apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Uganda to wage the revolution. It is also our duty to popularise Marxism-Leninism and to disseminate progressive literature among workers, revolutionary intellectuals, progressive and patriotic activists. In this effort we shall actively seek the formation of progressive study groups whenever and wherever possible. The formation of such study will create some of the necessary conditions for the building of a Marxist-Leninist party of Uganda which will lead the struggles of the Ugandan people.

4. As stated above, the struggle for the establishment of a scientific socialist society in Uganda will proceed in two stages, the first being the struggle for a genuine National Democratic state. In

order to achieve this, it will be necessary for the Ugandan Marxist-Leninists to form a broad united front with all other Ugandan progressive forces on the following minimum basis:

(i) Opposition to the fascist military dictatorship headed by Idi Amin by active participation in the work to expose the anti-popular, anti-democratic, pro-imperialist nature of the military dictatorship, through study groups, discussion meetings, seminars, demonstrations, etc.

(ii) Opposition to the foreign political and economic domination of Uganda. Study and make serious scientific analysis of the political economy of Uganda and expose its neo-colonial nature and how it benefits only international monopoly capitalism and the local, reactionary exploiting classes.

(iii) Formation of genuine national democratic government which represents the will and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Ugandan people. A government which is genuinely opposed to the economic and political domination of our country by imperialism and which can protect the vital interest of the workers, peasants, and all the working people and other progressive and democratic groups and individuals.

WE are quite confident that our people who have a long, glorious history of fighting against all kinds of oppression and exploitation will wipe out their enemies and win genuine liberation and rebuild our country.

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN AZANIA

(continued from page 13)

most dynamic aspect of the revolutionary struggle. The exponents of this viewpoint overlook the fact that our forefathers constantly ~~struggles~~ struggled against the colonial conquest of our country and our land, and that our present struggle is a continuation of those struggles, of the battles waged by Dingaan, Shaka, Dininzulu, Makana, etc.

That is why those who wish to liquidate this aspect of the national question peddle the multi-racial line, in one form or the other - either from a liberal viewpoint as a struggle for non-racial democracy - or a so-called Marxist viewpoint, where all the races are equal and all that we have to do is do away with those nasty capitalists. They wish to deny that South Africa is first and foremost an African country that was expropriated from its indigenous inhabitants, and wish to sell us the line that it belongs "to all those who live in it." That is that it belongs equally to the colonisers and the colonised, to those who stole the country from its original inhabitants, enslaved them, and set themselves up as masters.

Our struggle to put an end to the colonial and semi-colonial nature of our country is no different from that of the national liberation struggle of the Irish who wish to put an end to British Imperialism and to re-unify their country. Nor is it any different from that of the Puerto Ricans, Panamanians, Eritreans, Basques, etc. who wish to put an end to the colonial status of their countries.

It is no coincidence that those who deny the colonial status of South Africa come from elements like the white leadership of the South African Communist Party, who long ago showed where they stood with regard to this question when they rejected the Independent Native Republic Thesis of the Communist International. These half-baked Marxists who wish to sell their rubbish in Marxist phrases, describing the struggle as one of workers against the bourgeoisie, reduce the political struggle to a crude economism and struggle for democratic rights on a reformist basis as in the so-called Freedom Charter, drawn up by the hacks of the SACP and smuggled in as an ANC document, but a document that the vast majority of the ANC members rejected, and many of whom did not even know about until it was presented to them as something they had drawn up!!!

The multi-racialists are quick to point out that this approach ignores the interests of the other minority groups. But nothing could be more untrue. As regards the Indians and Coloureds there are absolutely no contradictions between them and the oppressed African masses. They suffer from the same political disabilities, and over the years both minority sections have completely identified with the African cause and struggled with them as the recent events in Soweto have revealed for the umpteenth time. Indians have the same history of colonial oppression as the African people and their identity with the national liberation goals of the African people is only natural. The vast majority of Indian people belong to the impoverished working class and are therefore also natural allies of the African proletariat and semi-proletariat in the countryside. A small section of the Indian petit bourgeoisie has chauvinistic attitudes and they belong mainly to the ANC-CP. But this Congress Alliance mentality is fast disappearing as both the Indians and Coloureds regard themselves as Blacks.

The question of the participation of white 'progressives' poses another problem as very often, coming as they do from a totally racist milieu, they carry with them throughout their lives germs of white chauvinism and liberalism and patronising attitudes. Most of them cannot face up to the revolutionary overthrow of white dominated economic and social structures in the country as it would mean their own demise. So they do not go further than certain liberal attitudes even when they regard themselves as Marxists. It is their particular variety of Marxism that liquidates the colonial nature of the national question in Azania, and presents the struggle on the other hand as one between workers and capitalists. This is very convenient for them in terms of their own interests.

In the third article dealing with the National Question we have extracted a chapter from Ethel Khopung's excellent book on the history of Azania and its people's struggles, called, "Story of a Dispossessed People". The book deals in its early chapters with the falsification of South African history, the particular falsification trying to conceal that South Africa was originally an African country. The falsifiers like to say that the Europeans and the Africans came into the country at the same time. But this very falsification indicates their guilt as colonisers. The extract makes it very clear that Azania was inhabited by the African people, belonging to various tribes, for thousands of years.

*The legitimisation of the status of white settler colonialism involves a great international conspiracy* because Imperialism wishes to preserve the country as a sub-imperialist outpost through which it can exercise control over the rest of Southern Africa and even the other African countries. This is because South Africa is a highly industrialised country - among the 13 leading industrialised countries of the world - (South Africa is the only third world country that is not underdeveloped) - and imperialism wishes to control and utilise this great wealth for itself.

This is why for Azanians Pan-Africanism is important as a revolutionary concept because we use to wish to use our wealth and industrial might to help in the social emancipation of the rest of neo-colonial Africa. Hence our slogan: FROM A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST AZANIA TO THE SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE PAN-AFRICAN STATES OF AFRICA.

Indeed Azania is an African country and as the Communist International Thesis of 1928 stated we must set up "an independent native South African republic as a stage towards a worker's and peasants' republic, with full equal rights for all races, black, coloured and white. Or as Winnie Mandela, wife of the famed Azanian leader, Nelson Mandela put it in its modern form: "to set up the socialist Republic of Azania."

## POEM ON SOWETO

Rex Collins has just published a book of poems on Soweto by Sipho Sepamla. We will review it fully in our next issue. We recommend it highly to our readers as the poems capture the spirit of Soweto - in terms of its pain and suffering - as much as in its spirit of defiance. Here in this poem is a sample of that spirit.

### THIS LAND

There's a man fooling around with himself  
and in trying to make his tomfoolery  
look the real thing  
fools around with me  
I was born by the stroke of wars  
I was born by the ravages of disease  
by the events of plagues  
I know the stench of this land

I have never had to say  
this land is mine  
this land has always been me  
it is named after me

This land defines its texture by me  
its sweat and blood are salted by me  
I've strained muscles yoked  
on the turning wheel of this land

I am this land of mine  
I've never asked for a portion  
there's never been a need to  
I am the land

## SUPPORT IKWEZI

IKWEZI DESPERATELY NEEDS YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT. EVERY ISSUE IS A STRUGGLE FOR US. IKWEZI DOES NOT RECEIVE NOR WISHES TO RECEIVE MONIES FROM SUSPECT ORGANISATIONS THAT SURROUND THE AZANIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND ATTEMPT TO EMASCULATE AND STRANGLE THEM WITH THEIR BOUNTY. WE WISH TO RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD WHO SOLIDARISE WITH US ON A BASIS OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. WE TRY AS HARD AS POSSIBLE TO BE SELF-RELIANT BECAUSE WE SEE HOW THOSE WHO GIVE AID ALSO LIKE TO USE IT TO CONTROL OUR MOVEMENT AND DICTATE OUR POLICIES. VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS WOULD LIKE TO TURN OUR STRUGGLE INTO A CIRCUS ACT BECAUSE THEY REALISE THE THREAT THAT THE AZANIAN REVOLUTION POSES TO IMPERIALISM ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. WE STAND FIRMLY FOR SELF RELIANCE WHICH ALSO MEANS THE ORGANISATION OF OUR MASSES INTO A SOLID UNITY BASED ON A COMMON IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE, FOR ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN WE PRACTISE SELF-RELIANCE EFFECTIVELY. OUR STRENGTH IS IN THE RESOURCES WE CAN HARNESS AMONGST OURSELVES. BUT THE AZANIAN REVOLUTION HAS MANY PROBLEMS OF AN IDEOLOGICAL NATURE TO SOLVE BEFORE IT CAN BE PROPERLY ORGANISED FOR THE STRUGGLE AND BE ABLE TO PRACTISE SELF-RELIANCE.

SO IN THE MEANTIME WE APPEAL TO OUR IDEOLOGICAL FRIENDS ALL OVER THE WORLD TO HELP KEEP IKWEZI ALIVE AND TO ENABLE IT TO DO THE WORK IT WISHES TO DO IN TERMS OF THE LIBERATION OF THE AZANIAN PEOPLES.

A RECENT GERMAN JOURNAL, 'AFRIKA KAMPT', DESCRIBED US AS THE ONLY ANTI-REVISIONIST JOURNAL ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. WE HAVE SPOKEN OUT BOLDLY ON THE DANGERS OF SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM TO AFRICA BECAUSE WE HAVE NO DOUBTS ABOUT THE IMPERIALIST NATURE OF THE SOVIET UNION. NO CONTINENT TODAY IS SO MUCH IN DANGER FROM THE DESIGNS OF THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS AS AFRICA AND WE WILL EXPOSE THEM AT EVERY TURN.

WE APPEAL TO YOU TO HELP FINANCIALLY, WITH STAMPS, ENVELOPES, ETC.

ANY AFRICAN, THIRD WORLD OR MARXIST-LENINIST COMRADE WHO WISHES TO CONTINUE TO MAKE USE OF IKWEZI TO VOICE HIS OPINION ON ISSUES IS WELCOME.

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