

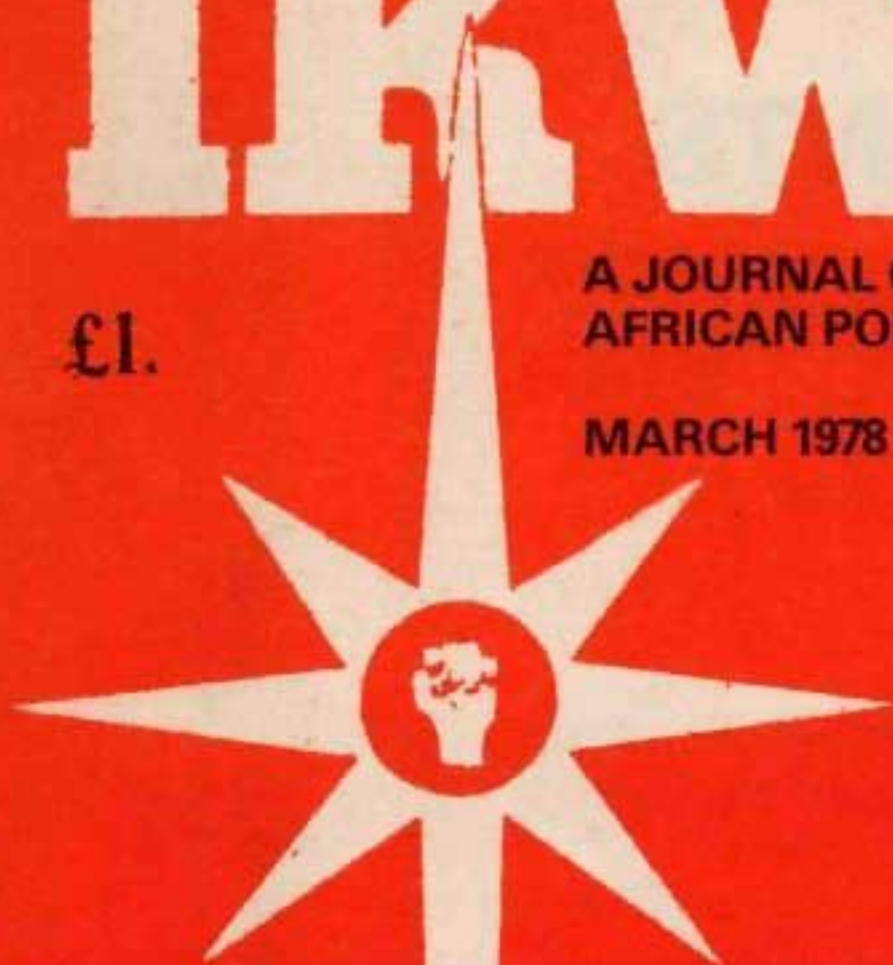
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**THIS ISSUE DEDICATED TO
ROBERT SOBUKWE, GREAT
AFRICAN PATRIOT, PAN—
AFRICANIST AND AZANIAN
REVOLUTIONARY LEADER**

**The Soviet Union is the more
Aggressive of the Two Super-
powers in Africa Today and
Wishes to Recolonise Africa
in the Name of Socialism**

Social Fascism in Angola

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CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA:

The arrangements for the Conference proceed and IKWEZI has just issued the first Bulletin on the Conference giving fuller information. The Bulletin can be made available by writing to IKWEZI.

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ROBERT SOBUKWE — RESPECTED AZANIAN LEADER

When IKWEZI was about to go to Press we learnt of the sad death of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the founder and leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania for many years. He died at the untimely age of 54 when there were still many years of active and fruitful political life before him, in the service of African liberation in Azania. He now joins others who have died recently and who gave their lives in the freedom struggle, amongst them Robert Resha, Taufie Bardien, Abraham Tiro and Steve Biko.

Sobukwe's death is without doubt a great loss to the liberation struggle of the Black masses of Azania. He was one of its most dynamic leaders, a man of rare courage, determination and intelligence. He was also a man of the people who voiced the innermost wishes of the African masses.

In his earlier years Sobukwe belonged to the group of brilliant and outstanding Africanists whose leader was Anton Lembede. They upheld the militant traditions of African Nationalism in the face of the foreign colonial conqueror. It was this tradition that produced such great heroes and martyrs as Makana, Dingaan, Moshoeshe, etc. that the notorious and evil white-led and revisionist South African Communist Party tried to eradicate with its creation, the Congress Alliance. Sobukwe and his lieutenants correctly broke away from the African National Congress to uphold this tradition of militancy and African pride. Overnight the Pan-Africanist Congress emerged as the major and leading liberation movement in the country, and also the most militant. Its militancy led to the Sharpeville events and to the POQO type terrorism which the SACP quickly tried to emulate.

The ideology which Sobukwe and the Pan-Africanist Congress upheld then reasserts itself today in the Black Consciousness Movement and the A.N.C. (African Nationalists).

Sobukwe's legacy is with us and it is a legacy upon which the future traditions of the liberation struggle has further to be built. It must not be tradition bound and must not fear to make those leaps in social consciousness that is necessitated by the needs of the liberation struggle.

In our next issue we will carry a fuller appreciation of Sobukwe, his life and his works.

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THE LONDON «TIMES» ON SOBUKWE:

«He argued that Africans had to prove to themselves and to the world that they could stand on their own feet. They had to gain self-respect and the respect of others. To achieve this they had to «liberate» themselves and not depend on «non-blacks» to do it for them.»

(Times 1st March 1978)

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EDITORIAL

SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IS THE MORE AGGRESSIVE OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS IN AFRICA TODAY

African patriots and revolutionaries must now awaken to the fact that a new and rising imperialist superpower, armed to the teeth with all the paraphernalia of modern armaments and constantly increasing its arms productions, now seriously threatens the national independence and freedom of the peoples and countries of Africa. This imperialist power, Soviet social-imperialism is today not only more aggressive but is as aggressive and contemptuous of African peoples as the old style colonialists who created such havoc and pillage in the past. For us to be asleep to this fact is to allow ourselves to become enslaved again.

Africa today is also in the direct line of Soviet social-imperialism's firepower. It is with our destinies that she is experimenting in her attempts to dominate the world in her rivalry with U.S. Imperialism. The Soviet Union is currently busy picking out strategic points in the African continent and ruthlessly sending in troops to consolidate her position in these areas. Both Angola and the Horn of Africa are strategic points for further expansion. Angola is not only a strategic launching pad for expansion and control over the rest of Southern Africa but it also gives her control over important Western ocean routes and the mineral wealth that the West is so dependent upon. And so too with Ethiopia, which gives her more direct control over the Red Sea area and the Mediterranean. Social-imperialism's activities in these areas is the product of carefully laid out plans, not something that she decided overnight. She knows where she wants to move in and why, when the opportunity presents itself. Cuban troops were stationed in Congo-Brazzaville, waiting, long before the South Africans had arrived in Angola. The same deceit, lies, manipulations, cover-ups, careful planning, that is typical of all imperialisms is practised by social imperialism and indeed the best indication of what she really thinks is to believe the opposite she says her intentions are.

Our continent has now become the hot bed of all types of Soviet subversion from open colonialism (Angola) to coup d'états (Sudan) and

other attempts to overthrow governments (Zaire).

Africa is weak and divided, the legacy of centuries of colonial and imperialist domination, and the Soviet Union instead of helping the African countries in a disinterested manner to stand up takes advantage of her weaknesses to colonise her. A report in the British daily, «Daily Telegraph» recently said that by her brazen behaviour in the Horn of Africa she wanted «to teach the African states a lesson.» A lesson in what - to submit to her will!

In the light of the behaviour of the Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa nobody anymore should have any doubts and illusions about her motives and intentions in Africa - and indeed in the rest of the world. Look at the brutal cynicism of her behaviour in the Horn. First she supports Somalia and anoints her with being socialist - her Western apologists like Basil Davidson write sophisticated lies about Somalia's «socialism» in pseudo Third World journals like «Race and Class» with its bumptious mumbo-jumbo of eclectic nonsense. And then when she switches sides and supports Ethiopia the latter country becomes socialist, and her aid done in the name of proletarian internationalism. Read a copy of the «Ethiopian Herald» and see the manner in which Mengistu garbs his fascist atrocities in the name of socialism and the working class. This is the new social-fascism speaking in the language of Marxism-Leninism. The old style imperialists and colonialists came with God and Christianity on their lips. The new style social-imperialists come with socialism and Marxism-Leninism on their lips. And their «missionaries» like the Cubans speak in the name of proletarian internationalism even when women are raped, villages burnt down and people tortured, as happens daily in Angola.

There is a tendency amongst some African «revolutionaries» not to bracket social imperialism with U.S. Imperialism. Nothing, they say, could be worse than U.S. Imperialism. Where, they wish to know are the multinationals and the economic control that the Soviet Union exercises in our countries if she is an imperialist power. She does not have factories or investments like U.S. Imperialism in Eritrea or Soma-

lia but that does not stop her from behaving like a big imperialist power in these countries and violating every socialist principle in the process.

She pursues her imperialist designs in an entirely different way. She comes into a world that is already controlled by U.S. Imperialism and the only way in which she can challenge this is by bringing governments and states under her direction. Only in this way can she lay hold of the raw materials and bases that she needs to achieve world hegemony. That is why coup d'états and direct invasion as in Angola and the Horn of Africa is her chosen method.

And because her interference is at this stage mainly in the Third World countries she cynically makes use of the Cubans. She hopes that Black Cuban faces will do the job where white ones will be questioned. Sad too that the Cuban revolution, which began as a genuine anti-imperialist revolution, has degenerated to this extent. Castro in his state of dependency appears to have lost all powers of reasoning. It is sad too that Castro should re-discover Cuba's links with Africa when the plight of the Black population in Cuba leaves much to be desired for.

African revolutionaries must now re-adjust their thinking to the new situation where the Soviet Union has emerged as an imperialist power. Our guns must now be directed against both superpowers and especially against social imperialism which is the superpower on the rampage on the African continent. It is a fact that U.S. Imperialism is on the decline and so-

cial-imperialism understanding this wishes to take advantage of her weakness and to consolidate her position in as many countries as she can. *U.S. Imperialism has been weakened by the military defeats she suffered in the Indo-China wars, by over-extending herself against the struggles of the peoples of the Third world. This has resulted in a demoralisation and her awesome power lay helpless before the Soviet challenge. U.S. Imperialism lay exposed before the peoples of the world as a rapacious plunderer while the Soviet Union can disguise itself as a socialist country.*

The social imperialist KGB network also extends to every single country in the world. Based on her extensive intelligence system she knows who are her friends and who are her enemies, and how to take advantage of differences. Look at the expert manner - in the old divide and rule style she exploits national differences in the Horn of Africa.

It is with the view to thoroughly exposing the role of social-imperialism in Africa that IKWEZI is organising an International Conference on Social-Imperialism in Africa. We hope that the Conference can become a rallying point for the development of a broad anti-imperialist, anti-social-imperialist and anti-hegemonic united front.

**AFRICA UNITE AGAINST THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST DANGER!
BUILD THE ANTI-HEGEMONIC FRONT
AGAINST BOTH SUPERPOWERS!**

ADDRESS: IKWEZI, 8-11 VICTORIA CENTRE, NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND

THE BLACK MAN'S QUEST

BY STEVE BIKO

There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic reasons. The leaders of the White community had to create some kind of barrier between Blacks and Whites so that the Whites could enjoy privileges at the expense of Blacks and still feel free to give a moral justification for the obvious exploitation that pricked even the hardest of White consciences. However, tradition has it that whenever a group of people has tasted the lovely fruits of wealth, security and prestige, it begins to find it more comfortable to believe in the obvious lie and to accept it as normal that it alone is entitled to privilege.

In order to believe this seriously, it needs to convince itself of all the arguments that support the lie. It is not surprising, therefore, that in South Africa, after generations of exploitation, White people on the whole have come to believe in the inferiority of the Black man, so much that while the race problem started as an offshoot of the economic greed exhibited by White people, it has now become a serious problem on its own. White people now despise black people, not because they need to reinforce their attitude and so justify their position of privilege but simply because they actually believe that Black is inferior and bad. This is the basis upon which Whites are working in South Africa, and it is what makes South African society racist.

To give authenticity to their lie and to show the righteousness of their claim, Whites have further worked out detailed schemes to «solve» the racial situation in this country. Thus, a pseudo-parliament has been created for «coloureds» and several «Bantu states» are in the process of being set up. So independent and fortunate are they that they do not have to spend a cent on their defence because they have nothing to fear from White South Africa which will always come to their assistance in times of need.

One does not, of course, fail to see the arrogance of Whites and their contempt for Blacks, even in their well-considered modern schemes for subjugation. The overall success of the White power structure has been in managing to bind the Whites together in defence of the *status quo*. By skilfully playing on that imaginary bogey - *swart gevaar* (Black peril) - they have

managed to convince even diehard liberals that there is something to fear in the idea of the Black man assuming his rightful place at the helm of the South African ship.

Any proposals for change emanating from Black world are viewed with great indignation. Even the so-called Opposition, the United Party, has the nerve to tell the Coloured people that they are asking for too much. A journalist from a liberal newspaper like *The Sunday Times* of Johannesburg describes a Black student - who is only telling the truth - as a militant, impatient young man.

It is not enough for Whites to be on the offensive. So immersed are they in prejudice that they do not believe that Blacks can formulate their thoughts without White guidance and trusteeship. Thus, even those Whites who see much wrong with the system, make it their business to control the response of the Blacks to the provocation. No one is suggesting that it is not the business of liberal Whites to oppose what is wrong. However, it appears to us as too much of a coincidence that liberals - few as they are - should not only be determining the *modus operandi* of those Blacks who oppose the system, but also leading it, in spite of their involvement in the system.

The basic problem in South Africa has been analysed by liberal Whites as being apartheid. They argue that in order to oppose it we have to form non-racial groups. Between these two extremes, they claim, lies the land of milk and honey for which we are working. The *thesis*, the *antithesis* and the *synthesis* have been mentioned by some great philosophers as the cardinal points around which any social revolution revolves. For the liberals, the *thesis* is apartheid, the *antithesis* is non-racialism, but the *synthesis* is very feebly defined. They want to tell the Blacks that they see integration as the ideal solution.

Black consciousness defines the situation differently. The *thesis* is in fact a strong White racism and, therefore, the *antithesis* to this must, *ipso facto*, be a strong solidarity among the Blacks on whom this White racism seeks to prey. Out of these two situations we can, therefore, hope to reach some kind of balance - a true humanity where power politics will have no place. This analysis spells out the difference between the old and new approaches.

The failure of the liberals is in the fact that their *antithesis* is already a watered-down version of truth whose close proximity to the thesis will nullify the purported balance. This accounts for the failure of the Sprocas commissions (Study Project on Authority in an Apartheid society, set up by South African Council of Churches and Christian Institute in 1968) to make any real headway, for they are already looking for an "alternative" acceptable to the White man. Everybody in the commissions knows what is right but all are looking for the most seemly way of dodging the responsibility of saying what is right.

It is much more important for Blacks to see this difference than it is for Whites. We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system. We must realise that our situation is not a mistake on the part of Whites but a deliberate act, and that no amount of moral lecturing will persuade the White man to "correct" the situation.

The system concedes nothing without demand, for it formulates its very method of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and, therefore, demands will begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands in whatever way it sees fit. When you refuse to make these demands and choose to come to a round table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you. This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters. This is where the cry *Black man, you are on your own!* becomes relevant.

The concept of integration is full of unquestioned assumptions that embrace White values. It is a concept long defined by Whites and never examined by Blacks. It is based on the assumption that all is well with the system apart from some degree of mismanagement by irrational conservatives at the top. Even the people who argue for integration often forget to veil it in its supposedly beautiful covering. They tell each other that, were it not for job reservation, there would be a beautiful market to exploit. They forgot they are talking about people. They see Blacks as additional levers to some complicated industrial machines.

This is White man's integration - an integration based on exploitative values. It is an integra-

tion in which black will compete with black, using each other as rungs up a step-ladder leading them to White values. It is an integration in which the Black man will have to prove himself in terms of these values before meriting acceptance and ultimate assimilation, and in which the poor have always been Black. We do not want to be reminded that it is we, the indigenous people, who are poor and exploited in the land of our birth. These are concepts which the Black Consciousness approach wishes to eradicate from the Black man's mind before our society is driven to chaos by irresponsible people from coc-copa and hamburger cultural backgrounds.

Freedom is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one's relationship to God and to natural surrounding. On his own, therefore, the Black man wishes to explore his surroundings and test his possibilities - in other words, to make his freedom real by whatever means he deems fit.

At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by Blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. If one is free at heart, no man-made chains can bind one to servitude, but if one's mind is so manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the Whiteman, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do to scare his powerful masters.

Hence thinking along lines of Black Consciousness makes the Black man see himself as being complete in himself. It makes him less dependent and more free to express his manhood. At the end of it all he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood.

Consider the educational system for Blacks. Children were taught, under the pretext of hygiene, good manners and other such vague concepts, to despise their mode of upbringing at home and to question the values and customs of their society. The result was the expected one - children and parents saw life differently and the former lost respect for the latter. Now, in African society, it is a cardinal sin for a child to lose respect for his parent. Yet how can one prevent the loss of respect between child and parent when the child is taught by his know-all White tutors to disregard his family teachings? Who can resist losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word - barbarism?

Thus we can immediately see the logic of

placing the missionaries in the forefront of the colonisation process. A man who succeeds in making a group of people accept a foreign concept in which he is expert makes them perpetual students whose progress in the particular field can only be evaluated by him; the student must constantly turn to him for guidance and promotion. In being forced to accept the Anglo-Boer culture, the Blacks have allowed themselves to be at the mercy of the White man and to have him as their eternal supervisor. Only he can tell us how good our performance is and instinctively each of us is at pains to please this powerful, all-knowing master. This is what Black Consciousness seeks to eradicate.

As one black writer says, colonialism is never satisfied with having the native in its grip but, by some strange logic, it must turn to his past and disfigure and distort it. Hence the history of the Black man in this country is most disappointing to read. It is presented merely as a long succession of defeats. The Xhosas were thieves who went to war for stolen property; the Boers never provoked the Xhosas but merely went on «punitive expeditions» to teach the thieves a lesson.

Thus a lot of attention has to be paid to our history if we as Blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness. We have to rewrite our history and produce in it the heroes that formed the core of our resistance to the White invaders. More has to be revealed, and stress has to be laid on the successful nation-building attempts of men such as Shaka, Moshoehoe and Hintsá (famous tribal chieftains of, respectively, the Zulus, Basotho and Tswana). These areas call for intense research to provide some sorely needed missing links. We would be too naive to expect our conquerors to write unbiased histories about us, but we have to destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652, the year Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape.

Our culture must be defined in concrete terms. We must relate the past to the present and demonstrate a historical evolution of the modern Black man. There is a tendency to think of our culture as a static culture that was arrested in 1652 and has never developed since. «The return to the bush» concept suggests that we have nothing to boast of except lions, sex and drink. We accept that when colonisation sets in, it devours the indigenous culture and leaves behind a bastard culture that may thrive at the pace allowed it by the dominant culture. But we also have to realise that the basic tenets of our culture have largely succeeded in withstanding the process of bas-

tardisation and that even at this moment we can still demonstrate that we appreciate a man for himself.

Ours is a true man-centred society whose sacred tradition is that of sharing. We must reject, as we have been doing, the individualistic cold approach to life that is the cornerstone of the Anglo-Boer culture. We must seek to restore to the Black man the great importance we used to give to human relations, the high regard for people and their property, and for life in general; to reduce the triumph of technology over man and the materialistic element that is slowly creeping into our society.

These are essential features of our Black culture to which we must cling. Black culture, above all, implies freedom on our part to innovate without recourse to White values. This innovation is part of the natural development of any culture.

Being part of an exploitative society in which we are often the direct objects of exploitation, we need to evolve a strategy towards our economic situation. We are aware that the Blacks are still colonised even within the borders of South Africa. Their cheap labour has helped to make South Africa what it is today. Our money from the townships takes a one-way journey to White shops and White banks, and all we do in our lives is pay the White man either with labour or in coin. Capitalistic exploitative tendencies, coupled with the overt arrogance of White racism, have conspired against us.

Thus, in South Africa now, it is very expensive to be poor. It is the poor people who stay furthest from town and therefore have to spend more money on transport to come and work for White people; it is the poor people who use uneconomic and inconvenient fuel like paraffin and coal because of the refusal of the white man to install electricity in Black areas; it is the poor people who are governed by many ill-defined restrictive laws and therefore have to spend money on fines for «technical» offences; it is the poor people who have no hospitals and are therefore exposed to exorbitant charges by private doctors; it is the poor people who use untarred roads, have to walk long distances, and therefore experience the greatest wear and tear on commodities like shoes; it is the poor people who have to pay for their children's books while Whites get them free. It does not need to be said that it is the Black people who are poor.

We, therefore, need to take another look at how best to use our economic power, little as it may seem to be. We must seriously examine the possibilities of establishing business co-operatives whose interests will be ploughed

back into community development programmes. We should think along such lines as the «Buy Black» campaign once suggested in Johannesburg and establish our own banks for the benefit of the community. Organisational development among Blacks has only been low because we have allowed it to be. Now that we know we are on our own, it is an absolute duty for us to fulfil these needs.

Some will charge that we are racist, but these people are using exactly the values we reject. We do not have the power to subjugate anyone. We are merely responding to provoca-

tion in the most realistic possible way. Racism does not only imply exclusion of one race by another - it always presupposes that the exclusion is for the purpose of subjugation. Blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism not to wish to turn the tables. While it may be relevant now to talk about Black in relation to White, we must not make this our preoccupation, for it can be a negative exercise. As we proceed further towards the achievement of our goals let us talk more about ourselves and our struggle and less about Whites.

THE PHENOMENON OF WHITE RACIALISM AND THE COLONIAL NATURE OF THE WHITE BUORGEOIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION:

We publish an abridged version from Cardiff Marney's article on the South African Revolution.

Although we disagree with him on an important aspect he nevertheless presents a damning indictment and argument on the colonial nature of the white buorgeois in Azania. It also gives a forceful account of the nature and the phenomenon of white racialism as it developed in the bosom of European history and was transplanted onto Azanian soil, ready made, to serve the colonial interests of a foreign conquering race. And in thus doing he smashes the notion that the struggle is essentially one between workers and capitalists that self-interested white socialists (and westernised Black «revolutionaries») - at home and abroad - wish to sell to us. Thus he also makes a firm and convincing case for the national democratic revolution, a national revolution that must perforce restore to the indigenous African peoples their nationhood in the land of their birth.

Where we disagree with him - and very vehe-

mently - is when he speaks (we believe in a manner which is contradictory to his general theme) about a Coloured secessionist state even though he correctly admits that the Coloureds are descended from Africans and are Africans. His reason for this, it is to be gathered, is that Azanian revolutionaries have failed to present a correct position on the national question. Leave aside the fact that the Black Consciousness Movement has done so in practice, it would be more accurate to say that this reflects the deficiencies of the national liberation movements - although the Pan-Africanist Congress' position is nearer to a correct position - under petit buorgeois leadership.

But nevertheless we are making it available to our readers as we believe it presents stimulating insights into the Azanian political situation - provocative in one aspect - but very sensible in many others and a challenge to the non-racial democracy, integrationist and multiracial advocates.

Readers opinions are welcome.

Who is the Boer?

The first shocks of the European invasion of South Africa more than 300 years ago were taken by the ancient and aboriginal Khoikhoi and San people. These people who comprised South Africa's first line of defence against the onslaught for more than 100 years are those who are reviled as «Hottentot» and «Busman». Their resistance was overcome; their numbers were decimated through genocidal assaults; they were miscegenated and acculturated as the lowest and most despised order in the European orbit. The myth of 300 years of European presence in South Africa bears relevance to this section of the Africans and their part of the country and this section only. They were the abominated ancestors of the calumniated «Cape Coloureds».

The Boer (the so-called «Afrikaaner») who were the first of the European invaders, exercised considerable influence upon the Khoisans. They forced these to adopt the Dutch dialect called «Afrikaans» which came to be used in South Africa. The Khoisans and the slaves with which they came to be intermingled exerted some small counter-influences by way of introducing exotic words and changing some of the syntax. A similar relationship developed in other areas of culture. A tendency has in consequence developed for some to talk of a cultural connection between Cape Coloured and Boer, and some argue even for an ethnic connection. These connections are assumed to be proved and the proof of it is taken to reveal that the Boer is indigenous to South Africa. «Afrikaans» we are informed is a new language developed on South African soil, that is an indigenous language. The case is therefore beyond challenge. By association and intellectual hocuspocus, the whole white-settler population becomes «indigenous».

Naturally the foreign occupation and its material interests have been very well served by the mythology which has been built upon these tenuous premises. And much time, energy and money have been spent on fostering this mythology. The Boer, naturally, has a special interest in this but even socialists have been prominent in support of it in order to establish «pure» economic and class relations as the sole valid criteria of social differentiation in modern South African society. The object of the Boer is ostensibly nationalist; the object of the socialist is ostensibly internationalists. The same thing is used for diametrically opposed ends. The positive feature of the socialist view is the way it argues against racialism generally, while simultaneously presaging a future unfettered by nationalities problems and petty cultural squabbles. There is no mitigating feature in the Boer position which is based upon racial bigotry, the self-interest of a foreign conqueror

and to reaction against the flow of history. But the view that the Boer and his Dutch dialect are indigenous to South Africa is totally belied by physical, historical and social reality.

There is of course no such thing as a pure race. But the Cape Coloureds are a greater mixture than most. The fact of racial impurity is widely taken to reflect European and African miscegenation on a vast scale. This is in fact incorrect for a number of racial types have entered into their composition. The dominant element in their ancestry is Khoisan (for precisely which reason they are often addressed as «Hotnot» and «Boesman» by the Europeans), there being 40% to 50% such ancestry. This is followed by the racial types from which the slaves in the old Cape settlement were drawn. Roughly half the slaves derived from south-east Asia and the other half from east and west Africa. The European strain was introduced largely via the slaves although there was some co-habitation with the Khoisans and other Africans. Finally, of course, there has been introduced a goodly measure of «black African» strain directly through the Khoisans and into the already mixed Cape Coloureds.

It is of interest to note that the Khoisans were themselves quite light-skinned and «black Africans» of South Africa are amongst the most light-skinned of negroid peoples (partly, it is believed, by reason of long association with the Khoisans.) The light skins found amongst the Cape Coloureds are not necessarily proof therefore of considerable European ancestry. Moreover, the process of social climbing by which the most caucasoid have crossed the «colour line» to become «white», and «black Africans» cross the other «colour line» to become Cape Coloured, has ensured that the Cape Coloureds become more African (or remain what one writer called «the compulsory residue») while the African strain passed into the European settler community is diluted to insignificance through continuous infusions of new settlers. Cape Coloured and Boer are therefore racially distinct if the word race is used in the ordinary way - that is to say without implying «purity». Only this simple fact explains the reality of Boer racialism and the South African social order. The assumption of a close ethnic tie between Cape Coloured and Boer is therefore invalid.

The Boer has always been on the horns of a frightful dilemma. He asserts in his every action his attachment to Europe and his revulsion of things African, but he claims to be of the African soil; he abhors and fears the African amongst who he has settled, but he also hates his fellow-European who is English-speaking; he claims a civilizing mission but identifies with everything which is uncivilized, base and barbaric in Europe;

he praises the kitchen Dutch which he calls «Afrikaans» as a new and great creation but carefully nurtures the intimate connections it had with Holland. As with the oxen which he stole from the Khoisans, when he put a wagon behind it - so he called it a new and great creation; as with the open-air feasts enjoyed by the aborigines, when he adopted it and called it «braaivleis» (roast meat) - so he called it a new and great creation; as with the dried meat used by the Khoisans, when he gave it the name «biltong» - so he called it a new and great creation. Everything he does is a new and great creation! HE is a new and great creation - of Gods, no less! he brazenly proclaims!

The Dutch dialect which developed in South Africa was originally the medium used by the lower social orders, while the purer Nederlands remained the official, formal and superior language. The seizure of the Cape by the British in about 1800 introduced a new element for English became the elite language. Nederlands and its dialect then continued to subsist side by side for a century and more without special aid or support. But intense feeling developed around the dialect as a rallying point in opposition to the British and, at the same time, as an expression of independence from Dutch hegemony which could establish in the Boer mind a superior claim to the country. «Afrikaner Nationalism» was born and so-called «Afrikaans» could therefore be feverishly fostered and developed, much in the nature of a hot-house plant.

But witness: even in the so-called «Afrikaaner» Universities, «Afrikaans» is not studied and taught as a wholly independent language; most significantly it is studied and taught in conjunction with Dutch as «Nederlands and Afrikaans». Whether the dialect would have been accorded the importance it now has in the eyes of the Boer and would have been feverishly fostered if Britain had not severed the South African links with Holland, is doubtful.

The Khoisans were a peaceful, nomadic, hunting, semi-pastoral and non-competitive people who soaked up the pressures of the powerful nations with whom they came into contact. It is thus that they lost their own languages and imbibed Dutch. It was merely by a process of social osmosis that they produced counter-influences. This is how the Boer came to oxen, biltong and such. But through that section of the slave population which derived from south east Asia both the Khoisans and the Boers were introduced to Asiatic words and Portuguese terms which had become common in the Orient. These were small influences and the Dutch dialect was destined to remain a European language. Nonetheless there are those who for ideological purposes, directed

at estranging the Cape Coloureds from their African past and turning away their wrath from the Boer, assert that the Cape Coloureds created the dialect.

On the other hand the Boer derives, happily or unhappily, largely from those national groups of Europe which have distinguished themselves by their aggressiveness and their obstinacy. Their stubbornness lives on in the Boer and accounts both for his survival as a relatively distinct and alien community and for his racialism. This is precisely the relationship he has cultivated with the Cape Coloureds, in whom some measure of the non-aggressiveness of the Khoisans seems contrarily to survive. The language of the Boer has been required to serve the purpose of maintaining the distinctions and to oppress the aborigines. It is shot through with contempt and hatred for Africans and its literature is suffused with the basest racist sentiments. In sum Africans could not have created such a language and to charge the Khoisans or Cape Coloureds with having participated in the enterprise is a towering slander.

Bearing in mind that the great marxists referred explicitly to the «civilized world» (i.e. to Europe) when they used this maxim, it becomes a quite incredible error for socialists to argue that the Boer shares any element of common nationhood with any indigenous people of Africa. *The distinctions on lines of national origin, racial make-up and cultural affinities have in fact been reinforced by utterly antagonistic economic interests. If we consider that in the third world generally it has become the mission of the proletariat to rescue their countries from European imperialist control and depredation, the case of the pro-Boer school collapses entirely. The Boer has no national ties with any section of Africans. He cannot therefore have a valid claim to be indigenous*

DUTCH RACIALISM

The racial problems in South Africa are often considered a creation of specifically British Imperialism and the foremost economic institution, the Chamber of Mines. This has certainly been a view fostered by marxists and, for obvious reasons, rendered subliminal support by Boer intellectuals. But all South African ills do not derive from those two quarters. The history of the thing goes rather further back than even the establishment of the first Dutch settlement at the Cape. Nevertheless even while brazenly perpetrating his atrocities and displaying his bestiality, the Boer would skulk behind the English-speaker and the imperialists claiming to be only a little people deriving from little Holland and helpless relatively against the British might. He could there-

fore hint that everything was the fault of the British, anti-Englishness hiding behind a figleaf of anti-imperialism. He, the Boer, is therefore entitled to sympathy.

Persuasive perhaps when viewed in the light of the power Britain became and the economic weight of the English in South Africa. But that is not the full history of the thing. Two quotations from Karl Marx's «Capital» give a different picture of little Holland and so the sleepy little settlement it established in the Cape: «Holland which first fully developed the colonial system, in 1648 stood already at the acme of its commercial greatness. It was 'in exclusive possession of the East Indian trade and the commerce between the south-east and north-west of Europe. Its fisheries, marine manufactures surpassed those of any other country. The total capital of the republic was probably more important than that of all the rest of Europe put together'. Gulich forgets to add that by 1648, the people of Holland were more overworked, poorer and more brutally oppressed than those of all the rest of Europe put together» Further: «The history of the colonial administration of Holland - and Holland was the head capitalist nation of the 17th century - 'is one of the most extraordinary relations of treachery, bribery and massacre and meanness'. Nothing is more characteristic than their system of stealing men, to get slaves from Java. The men-stealers were trained for this purpose. The thief, the interpreter, and the seller were the chief agents in this trade, native princes the chief sellers. The young people stolen were thrown into the secret dungeons of Celebes, until they were ready for sending to the slave-ships. An official report says: 'This one town of Macassar, e.g. is full of secret prisons, one more horrible than the other, crammed with unfortunates, victims of greed and tyranny, fettered in chains, forcibly torn from their families'.... Wherever they set foot devastation and depopulation followed. Bunjuwagi, a province of Java, in 1750 numbered over 80,000 inhabitants, in 1811 only 18,000. Sweet commerce!»

According to the New Cambridge Modern History the instructions of the Dutch East India Company (which was granted all the power of a separate state by the Dutch government) to the Governor-General they appointed to supervise their affairs in the orient, were: «.... the commerce of the Moluccas, Amboina and Banda should belong to the Company, and that no other nation in the world should have the least part». This purpose was served with the most outrageous and bloodthirsty attacks upon both the natives and European rivals and the merchants of even other nations. Thus «The Dutch East India Company was a direct instrument of war, plundering the trade routes to bring a stream of Spanish and Portu-

ese prize cargoes to Holland, making landings and annexing territories in the West Indies and Brazil». The English tried to get a foothold in the east by making an agreement with the Dutch in order that by joint effort they might muscle into the business which the Portuguese and Spanish had monopolized for a century and as a protection against Dutch attacks. «In the far east the aggressive situation was such that a treaty of partnership was made in 1619 between the English and Dutch companies. This entente ended in the massacre of Amboyna (1623) when the Dutch violently asserted their ascendancy, beheaded the colony, and effectively cleared out the competition of their English rivals». In the massacre of Amboyna 10 Englishmen were amongst those beheaded in this treacherous overturn of agreements. This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that the Dutch republic had at its birth some little time before been saved from abortion by Spanish conquest by English assistance. The catalogue of Dutch crimes upon the native peoples is as endless as it is bloody. And they did not stop even from murdering and driving off the seas the merchants and traders from far away China. This general brutishness was the reason why they were refused permission to trade in the ports of China.

Thus we have these the first of the European invaders of South Africa. The worst scum from the worst gutters and sewers of all Europe under the leadership of the cruellest, most predatory and advanced capitalist regime of the time. Thus it is recorded that by 1790 «there were in the English West Indies 10 slaves for one free man, in the French 14 for one, in the Dutch 23 for one!» To the horror of the English settlers on the eastern seaboard of North America, the Dutch even tried to sell them captured Portuguese and Spanish as slaves even while they were still debating the validity of enslaving black people.

Such was «little» Holland and the «little» nation she spawned on South African soil.

This picture stands in sharp contrast to the Khoisans, upon whom these civilized butchers inflicted themselves. The Khoisans could be remarked upon by a traveller named Kolbe as follows, in 1715: «*In munificence and hospitality the Hottentots perhaps go beyond all other nations upon the Earth. They love and pleasure and relieve one another with a noble simplicity and a largeness of heart I have never met with among all the other people I have seen... And the hospitality they show to strangers of every nation, who behave inoffensively, does not, in the general, fall short of the surprising bounty and benevolence they show one another. The munificence of a Hottentot leaves him hardly anything for himself. Does he receive a present? If it be a regaling he bestows a part of it upon*

the first of his countrymen he meets; and continues to give to one and another till he has little or nothing of it for himself »

Despite the hatred and calumny heaped upon archaic peoples, the brilliant Thorstein Veblen («The theory of the leisure class») paints a different picture: «(Savage) culture differs from that of the barbarian in the absence of a leisure class and the absence, in great measure of the animus or spiritual attitude on which the institution of a leisure class rests.» «...The circumstances of life and the ends of efforts that prevailed before the advent of the barbarian culture, shaped human nature and fixed it as regards certain fundamental traits. . . . *The conditions under which man lived in the most primitive stages of associated life that can properly be called human, seem to have been of a peaceable kind; and the character the temperament and spiritual attitude - of men under these early conditions or environment and institutions, seems to have been of a peaceful and unaggressive, not to say an indolent cast . . . the dominant spiritual feature of this presumptive initial phase of culture seems to have been an unreflecting, unformulated sense of group solidarity, largely expressing itself in a complacent, but by no means strenuous, sympathy with all facility of human life, and an uneasy revulsion against apprehended intuition of futility of life.»*

Veblen goes on to show that the aggressive spiritual attitude first created in the barbaric phase, are entrenched in the civilized phase of human progress - to be later under the highest phase of human development replaced by the ancient attitudes.

WHY COLONIALISM

Obviously the Dutchmen, so well-drilled in the slimy mixture of capitalist calvinist inhumanity and racist-feudalist corruption could loathe nothing more than this great humanity and generosity and unacquisitiveness and improvidence of such a people as the Khoisans. Little wonder too, then, that the Khoisans gave them no welcome. It is well that Kolbe qualifies their hospitality to strangers with the statement that these should behave inoffensively. The great Portuguese genocidist, d'Almeida, called at the Cape on his triumphant return to his homeland from the Orient in 1515, but he and a number of his army had their careers of massacre and pillage ended right there by the Khoisans. The slaying of d'Almeida and his men probably gained for the Khoisans one-and-a-half centuries respite from Portuguese attentions and the chance to prepare for the

Dutch onslaught. But this they were unable to use to any effect, alas.

Such are the beginnings of the European conquest of South Africa and such the origins of the «small nation», the Boer. But was this Dutch-man simply a capitalist of mindboggling rapacity unmoved by any special racist spirit, a special view of himself and a special loathing for other nations and races such as we discern in modern South Africa?

Some of the thinkers of South African liberation have been so eager in pursuit of profundity that they certainly forget this. Their profundity leads them only to unearth more capitalist spirits the deeper they dig. And yet the question must be asked whether «the broad sweep» of South African history is that of Capitalist pillage or that of European expansion? Trade drew the European to Asia and soaring capitalist greed proceeded to conquer and colonize these areas.

The whole of Southern Africa was ignored by the mercantile capitalist of Europe simply because there were no developed civilizations with which profitable economic relations could be established. Mercantile capitalism is a very different system to modern industrial capitalism and imperialism because its interest is in exchange rather than in production. Therefore the conquest of South Africa was left to settlers and adventurers who desired the land of the Africans and their cattle wealth, as a means of sustenance in a system of independent production. This conquest proceeded as a slow movement from the joint which had been consolidated at the cape peninsula in 1652 and worked its way inland as successes were gained over the aboriginals. Capitalist interests were not involved and, on the contrary, the series of robberies engaged in involved no social or economic relations with the indigenous peoples. The people were not pursued as a source of labour, they appeared to have no resources worth exploiting and the opportunities for trade were petty. In those areas which were firmly consolidated, the conquerors could introduce foreign slaves to serve their daily needs and small business purposes. It was to be a long time before the native races - who showed a resolute determination to eschew slavery - were reduced to pauperdom by the theft of their land and cattle, and the destruction of the wild game; and the long time before the European developed the need - that a work-force first needing sustenance and shelter and later a cash income, was produced.

It is worth noting that mercantile capitalism as it

developed under the hegemony of the European feudal aristocracy and with the support of some groups of ubiquitous bankers and financiers («pure money capitalists») entered into a legacy of old commercial relations with India. An Indian historian Sibesh Bhattacharya, writes: «*India had had commercial relations with the west from time immemorial. Indian luxury goods were in such demand in Roman markets that Pliny charged India with denuding Rome of its gold. The predominance of Indian products in world markets continued until the middle of the eighteenth century Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, observed 'the commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and he who can exclusively control it is the dictator of Europe'. During the middle ages this trade was controlled mostly by the Arabian and Persian merchants acting as middlemen until the growth of the Ottoman Empire, intercepting the old channels of communication, disrupted this trade. Europe was then forced to look for new trade routes to India. The result was the most astonishing oceanic adventures in history.*»

The clear fact is that mercantile capitalism had no interest in either subsistence economies or in spreading civilization. Its all-too-clear interest in the altogether uncivilized practice of stealing slaves, on the other hand, received short shrift from the beautiful people of the Cape who like the other people of South Africa, regarded each other too highly to permit the selling or kidnapping of each other.

For centuries capitalist economic relations and the exploitation of the human and material resources of Southern Africa played no role in the expansion of the conquered territory. The expansion in fact occurred in the teeth of the opposition first of the Dutch East India Company and later of the British government. They experienced, that is to say, the difficulties Karl Marx mentions in connection with their settlers in «*virgin colonies*».

Even under a capitalist regimen many pre-capitalist social forms and notions continue to survive. In lengthy quotations from an English economist named Wakefield, Marx shows the special problems in the way of capital establishing itself, which are experienced in a «*virgin colony*»: «*We have seen that the expropriation of the mass of people from the soil forms the basis of the capitalist mode of production. The essence of a free colony, on the contrary, consists in this - that the bulk of the soil is public property and every settler on it can turn part of it into private property and individual means of production. This is the secret both of the prosperity of the colonies and of their inveterate vicious opposition to the es-*

tablishment of Capital.».

The fact that merchants often paid for the emigration of settlers to a «*virgin colony*» misleads some into the belief that their immediate and direct interests in the conquest was always served. In fact other interests intervene which conduced to render such highly speculative ventures conceivable. For example the huge unemployment and the religious conflicts in Europe were destabilizing factors producing social disorder and riot which could be defused by giving the sufferers a way out. Prosperous classes in Europe were required also to pay taxes to support the unemployed and the indigent.

Harsh early conditions were greatly improved over the years by law. Indeed without some inquiry into Elizabethan thinking on the subject, it will remain impossible to comprehend why Englishmen became servants in the plantations, and negroes slaves.

Herein lies one of the clues to the way capitalism spurred the growth of racialism. The white man *had* to acquire and eventually come to foster the traditions of freedom as he understood them; the black man became part of the white man's capital, boosted that capital, and had no share in the traditions which joined the white men in the community and could end up being protected *as capital* but brutalized in the most mind-boggling way when the other side of his being, his humanity, burst through the cocoon of his slavery. Slavery becomes thus the single most important fuel to feed the embers of inchoate and sub-conscious biases and notions of colour and cultural difference. A transmogrification takes place in the relationship between the one *grouping as the conqueror and the other as the conquered: the lives of the conquered as people possessed of property and resources desired by the conquering group, are worthless, but the lives of the conquered as slaves and therefore labour is the embodiment of a sum of capital, negotiable and therefore of value. to be preserved but also to be placed beyond the pale of civil society Racialism provides the rationale for this condition.*

This was the general condition of the Boer when he arrived on South African soil. His presence there derived from political objectives and the social problems of Europe rather than to conscious attempts to implant capitalism in the country. He came to view the Cape after a time as an area of settlement, conquered real estate, rather than as an area of capitalist exploitation. Lebensraum as distinct from capital accumulation was therefore the special interest of the European in

South Africa until the discovery of mineral wealth. Even after he had been there fifty years Katzen (Oxford Hist. of S.A.) is able to observe about his general position: «In the early 18th century private capital available for investment in foreign trade was lacking at the Cape But private export of Cape produce would have raised prices obtainable by farmers and made it difficult if not impossible, for the (Dutch East India Company) to buy provisions at low fixed prices, thus endangering the essential purpose of the station. The (D.E.I.C.) refused to abandon its monopoly of external trade, except for limited concessions in 1795 and 1792 which had no effect on Cape economic development.»

The «black Africans» were assaulted by the advancing European only *about 1 1/4 centuries after the Cape Peninsula was conquered*. And only about 140 years ago was the invasion taken across the Orange River. About 100 years ago the whole of South Africa was finally consolidated by various European groupings but even then Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana were not in fact conquered but accepted the hegemony and finally the open control of Britain. From the time of the seizure of the Cape by Britain in about 1800, this advanced capitalist state started to foster the institutions and ethos of a modern capitalist state. The tendency was then towards stressing economic relations rather than racial ones and presumably the great French revolutionary slogan «liberty, equality, fraternity» impinged not only upon the consciousness of the British ruling class (despite its intervention in the French revolution on the side of reaction) but also upon the minds of the population of the Cape colony. But in the colonial mind liberty, equality and fraternity were interpreted as a relationship to be created amongst Europeans and the republican idea became a handy peg upon which to hang all manner of anti-English and, as a corollary, anti-liberal feelings. Even the great black revolution led in Haiti by Toussaint d'Ouverture could not alter this rigid product of 150 years of anti-black passion.

Briefly then early Cape history is therefore not about the establishment of relations with the Africans but about the conquest of territory and the expulsion or massacre of the aboriginal people. Racism has been a tool of conquest throughout all history: its supports and rationalises the crime and the very act of conquest has reinforced the notions of superiority and rectitude with which the conqueror approaches the subject. Of course superiority on the battle-field has been supported by a record of very real and superior achievements in many directions. These very real achievements have sent echoing

and re-echoing across the deepest chambers of the European mind the pronouncements and «proofs» of his racial superiority. This has been so whether the social leadership has been capitalist or feudalist in nature and interest. So although there exists a driving force of conquest, plunder and material gain, the Boer was himself no capitalist. Politically he was a conqueror; economically speaking he was a feudalist; philosophically he was a Christian and a racist.

RACIALISM

There is a view subtly fostered by official South African history that because some marriages between Europeans and blacks occurred in the early days of the Cape settlement, racial relations were relaxed and free from the universal bigotry seen today. If nothing else this only shows how misinformed have been some black intellectuals who have actually become party to peddling this baloney. The claims to humanity and goodwill must be dismissed as of a piece with the fairy tales about kindly treatment of slaves. It is strange but also understandable that it is amongst the Cape Coloured intellectuals that this idea has gained greatest support. Strange because their's were the first people to suffer the invasion and conquest; strange because it was upon their ancestors that genocide was attempted and who were the first enslaved. But it is understandable too because they are themselves the living evidence of miscegenation. They sought perhaps to reconcile the huge and hostile racial forces which were synthesised in their very genes. But they were also by reason of longer association, the most acculturated of the Africans. moreover, they could possibly in the most primitive reaches of the human mind feel an overweening belief that in that racial conciliation, *their kind must at least prosper!*

Not only does the argument about Boer-black marriages ignore the fact that these were exceptional, crucially it confuses personal with social behaviour and disregards the whole position of women in the sixteenth and all centuries to the present day. (Only one European-Khoisan marriage occurred at the Cape in the sixteenth century). The distance European and Khoisan in political, cultural and racial matters remained too large for the white man to bridge.

On the other hand, how seriously public policy of permitting interracial marriages should be viewed is shown by the prohibition placed upon the colonial bringing to the metropolitan motherland his outlandish spouse. This prohibition was app-

lied by all early colonial powers. It was also applied by the ancient Greeks in the cities they established in ancient Egypt after their conquest, and by the Romans. C. Northcote Parkinson («East and West») points out in connection with the Greek conquests in Egypt: «In the cities there was something in the nature of a colour bar, as S. Davis has been able to prove - so far at least as Egypt is concerned, where the three Greek cities, Naucratis, Alexandria and Ptolemais, has a character of their own.

'Here a conservative policy was followed - the aim being to keep the source of Hellenism pure. The members of the citizen body were forbidden to contract marriages with the natives. Citizenship was not made easy for foreigners to acquire, although there were some cases of naturalization. The statutes of the cities placed obstacles in the way of mixed marriages and the charter of Naucratis refused to recognize marriages between citizen and native as lawful. Great importance was attached to purity of race, since the citizenship was refused to the illegitimate son of a citizen, and in the Roman period Alexandria definitely did not have *connubium* with the Egyptians'.

Parkinson continues further to address himself to the problem of the Roman conquerors: «To what extent did the Romans use a colour bar in self-defence? Was inter-marriage allowed as between Roman and Asian families? Apparently not. Gibbon tells us that the emperor Constantine specifically warned his son against any sort of mixed marriage.

'...A just regard to the purity of descent preserves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful source of disorder and discord. Such has ever been the opinion and practice of the sage Romans; their jurisprudence proscribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger; in the days of freedom and virtue a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king; the glory of Mark Anthony was sullied by an Egyptian wife, and the Emperor Titus was compelled, by popular censure, to dismiss with reluctance the reluctant Berenice.'

Cleopatra was actually a Greek, Berenice an elderly Jewess; mention of whom mark out the limits of Roman tolerance.»

The conclusion which is forced upon us in the face of every kind of aberration and all the apologies is that some kind of racialism - of an officially sanctioned kind or of merely a socially conditioned kind - is a necessary and inevitable concomitant of conquest. This racialism may of course

reveal itself simply as nationalism. Thus Boer claims to indigeneness in South Africa are calculated to disguise the real relationship -- that of conquest. *And the socialists who support their claims peddle a lie, even if with the best of intentions.*

The apologists of Boer racialism go on to argue that race prejudice did not run deep in the Cape Colony because European fathers often claimed their «mulatto» off-spring. But (horrifying thought) such children were often viewed simply as a source of labour. Witness Katzen (Oxford history of S.A.): «...the provision that Christian, Dutch-speaking slaves, the off-spring of Dutch fathers and slave mothers, could claim their freedom once they reached adulthood, brought it about that only those slave children whose fathers wished them to be free were baptized(!) Which is to say that if the child were light-skinned and the father felt that way inclined, he might «make the grade». We surmise that black-skinned children were hardly likely to stand a chance.

The seriousness with which he came to view his racial superiority and with which he indeed reinforced it, manifested itself in the very languages of the Europeans. Words and terms to describe the conquered peoples were specially created. Terms like *castizo*, *mestizo*, *mulatto*, *quadroon*, *octoroon*, *sambo* and *coon* have passed into common usage. These were created to distinguish between the European and non-European and various types and gradations of «mix-breeds» and «half-castes», for Europeaness or even an element of it was regarded as a most important property.

«Mulatto» is used to refer to any «half-caste», and is derived from the word «mule» which, as everyone knows, is a stubborn, dull animal of impure stock. «Mestizo» originally referred to specifically a mixed off-spring of Iberian and «American Indian» unions and is drawn from the name of a certain mix-breed sheep. The word «coon» is apparently derived from the name «raccoon», a grey-brown nocturnal creature of America, but it also describes «a hopeless case». «Half-caste» derives from the caste system of India as does «castizo». And «quadroon» and «octoroon» describe grades of Europeaness in a «mulatto».

The terms are consistently contemptuous of the subject described and reflect an obsession with the matter. Such was the ready-made linguistic arsenal created by the Iberians, with which the European arrived in South Africa. They did not all become commonly used in South Africa but there some new ones were created like

«hotnot», «Kaffir» and so on. The act of naming things is directed at classifying them whereas previously they were classless. What things are called then and where the line is drawn between one set of things and another depend on the interests which are to be served and the purposes of the classification. In conditions of conquest the interests and purposes of the racial classification are, of course, racist, justification of conquest, plunder and slaughter. The subject is reviled and - his inferiority established - his lands and his goods deserve to be expropriated. Being worthless except when of some pecuniary use, the subject may be used and abused as need or inclination suggest.

Much has been made by propagandist historians of the emphasis placed by the Christian European upon the heathen condition of the subject peoples and his willingness to accept into European hegemony and tutelage those who were converted to Christianity. It is often argued that this displays an absence of racialism and a concern rather for theology. *The inference is then that the crimes, atrocities and depredations are to be ascribed to an aberration arising from the «pure» economic forces of Capitalism which was then developing. We dismiss this as nonsense calculated to excuse the conduct of the agents of Capitalism and from a subjective tendency to make of a system and not men the whipping-boy of all the ills of the world.*

At a certain point in history the European began to carefully select his slaves by race. He chose black men. These slaves and other conquered peoples were forced into his Christian faith at the point of a gun. The function of the faith was here to render the subject tractable and exploitable, not to save that subject's soul: by destroying the native culture, the base upon which could rest a sense of identity and upon which resistance to subjugation could flower, was removed. Thus the heathen condition could be remedied but the condition of inferiority and slavery not only persisted but was rendered thereby more certain. The bloody extermination by the Iberian conquistadores of American aboriginals who refused conversion to Christianity, not only displayed an inhuman degree of bigotry but reveals the lengths to which the conqueror would go to break the resistance of the culturally independent peoples. «Religious teaching had insisted that all men were brethren. But it did not occur to it to point out that, as a result of the new economic imperialism which was beginning to develop in the 17th century, the brethren of the English merchants were the Africans whom he kidnaped for slavery in America, or the American Indian who he stripped of their lands, or the Indian

craftsmen from whom he bought muslins and silks at starvation prices». (R.H.Tawney - «Religion and the rise of Capitalism»)

Indeed, «...whereas once Christendom had meant all Christians everywhere, Christians were now essentially Europeans. 'Jesus Christ is their way, their truth, their life, who hath long since given a Bill of Divorce to ingratelful Asia where he was borne, and Africa the place of his flight - and is become wholly and onely European' as Samuel Purches puts it in 1625.» (J.P.Cooper - The New Cambridge Modern History).

Remarkably it was at about this point that the Portuguese State, after having raped the world for more than 100 years and spread the racist concern all about, decided that the convert enjoyed full citizenship «whatever social colour bars might operate». But this was hardly of value for Portugal was not only not a democracy but «...most regular orders, however zealous for Asian souls, recruited only Europeans (but) the Jesuits at least admitted both Japanese and Chinese and, late and reluctantly, Indians too». (New Cambridge Modern History). Negroid peoples as usual would be at the bottom of any list - if they appeared at all. In other words the Christian missionary was himself subject to the manners of his milieu, and we shall see below why he could force the Americans into his religion at the point of a gun. Meanwhile the dates above indicate where the Boer got his ideas because the Cape settlement was only established in 1652. We will also try to make clear the relationship between the Iberians and the Boer.

We must presume an inter-action and similarity in endeavours and means between the Portuguese and the Spanish who got their competitive problems for the division of the world between themselves settled by the Pope of Rome. Their economic and missionary efforts would be broadly similar. Their zealous propagation of their faith which served them so well in heaven and even better on Earth, would find them, however reluctantly, carrying the gospel to the new world and not only to light-skinned Japanese and Chinese. Here a remarkable circumstance operated to assuage his sensibilities: «... the inhabitants ... are of a reasonably fair complexion, and very little (if at all) inclining to blackness». (Jordan quoting Heylyn). Jordan continues: «... the aboriginals of America did not have the appearance of being radically distinct from Europeans except in religion and savage behaviour». This must have been an enormous relief to the poor sensitive souls of the Iberians, but as is well known it did not contribute one jot to the saving of one aboriginal life!

Coincidentally the Khoisans who the Boers first encountered were also a light-skinned people and this probably accounted for some peculiarities of the situation at the Cape - but as we have shown the Boers were not rushing off to marry Khoisans on that account.

Clearly the «fortunate» racial circumstances discovered by the Iberians in South America goes some way to explaining the apparent non-racialism and the miscegenation which arose when the sensitive Iberian souls established colonies of their own citizens in the Americas. But truth is stronger than fiction even if it sounds trite. Whether converts to Christianity became full citizens or not «whatever social colour bars might operate», the operation of colour bars was achieved and crucially determined what sort of citizen they became. «Although the Council of the Indies had not favoured the creation of a colonial nobility and sale of titles, the fact that the only pecheroes, those burdened with tributes and services, in Spanish America were Indians, Negroes and mulattoes, meant that all white colonists were noble according to the definition of nobility in Castile» (New Cambridge modern History). In short colour and national origins established the social status of all in the community as effectively as if it were laid down by law that this shall be so. Racialism was clear and effective.

MARX ON CHRISTIAN BARBARISM

Karl Marx had some devastating observations to make on the European conquests in «Capital». He quotes the English writer, W. Howlitt, on the behaviour of the Christians thus: «The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the Earth.» Nothing, absolutely nothing, can be clearer than that!

It would seem reasonable to suggest that the human mind could accept the obliteration of other humans on the scale involved only by convincing itself that human life was of a different, inferior order - less, that is, than human. It seems also that the theological argument would often be used ex post facto to establish some kind of moral sanction for the crimes. But there are of course more cases where no attempt is made to secure any kind of moral sanction. This was certainly so in the case of the Boer attempts to com-

mit genocide upon the Khoisans. The crucial element was the attitude of the European to people who were racially different from himself, and whose land he was interested in conquering. Consider the statement made «in the year of our Lord» 1977 by that magnificent example of civilization «National Geographic» (journal of the National Geographic Society of the United States) in an apology for South Africa: «The Dutch came to the Cape - empty then except for a scattering of Hottentots and Bushmen etc.» This means that the Cape was empty except for the indigenous flora and fauna. The «Hottentots» and «Bushmen» were not people!

In his History of the English-speaking Peoples, Winston Churchill mentions a group of English puritans who had fled to Holland from religious persecution in England. They were uncomfortable in Holland and were offered the opportunity to emigrate to the «new world». «Emigrating to the New World presented itself as an escape from a sinful generation. There they might gain a livelihood unhampered by Dutch guilds, and practice their creed unharrassed by English clerics. As one of their number records: 'The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation; being devoid of all civil inhabitants; where there were only savage and brutish men, which range up and down little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same'.» Such was the view of the most Christian of men to the «inferior» races - and these were among the most enlightened.

Ever the one for the most devastating of punch-lines, Karl Marx could observe: «Those sober virtuosi of Protestantism, the Puritans of New England, in 1703, by decree of their assembly set a premium of £40 on any Indian scalp and every captured red-skin; in 1720 a premium of £100 on every scalp; in 1744, after Massachusetts Bay had proclaimed a certain tribe as rebels, the following prices: for a male scalp 12 years and upwards £100 (new currency), for a male prisoner £105, for women and children prisoners £50, for the scalps of women and children £50.»

Upon their first entry into this new world these «sober virtuosi» had suffered religious scruples about slavery itself. A century of tuition under the guidance of their own cupidity, the Iberian genocidists and Dutch brutes, finds them putting out «contracts» for murder! But in the Cape such «contracts» were quite unnecessary. In fact «contracts» were put out for taking the Khoisans alive! Fifteen rixdollars for a male adult and ten rixdollars for a male child were the going rates in the seventeenthunds, which indicates that the

authorities were not all that keen to have such labourers anyway.

It was soon after the first settlements that slavery was introduced despite all their sober sensibilities by New England's sober virtuosi. «Only once before the eighteenth century was New England slavery challenged directly, and in that instance the tone was as much bafflement as indignation. This famous Rhode island protest perhaps derived from a diffuse Christian equalitarianism which operated to extend the English presumption of liberty to non-Englishmen. The Rhode Island law of 1652 actually forbade enslavement ... Perhaps it was Rhode island's tolerance of religious diversity and relatively high standards of justice for the Indians which led to this attempt to prevent Englishmen from taking advantage of a different people ... (But) The law remained a dead letter.» Self interest in accumulating wealth and in the benefits of conquest is an able teacher. Not only did all the mini-colonies which were eventually to form the Union of the United states, develop their policy of slavery and not only did they practice the grossest barbarities upon those slaves to enforce discipline, but already before they were putting out «contracts» for the murder of the aboriginals whose land they had stolen, they had at various times and in various ways been busy damning miscegenation as an abomination and prohibiting inter-racial sexual liaisons by law. Nothing which the South African Boer mind could think up in his racist schemes, had not already been thought up. The general racist scheme was universal, the differences residing only in the rigour with which they were applied.

We may say that the loathing felt for the inferior being could be mitigated by that being accepting enslavement and therefore becoming useful to the European; that being was otherwise undeserving of life itself. The customary racialism of the various sects of the Christian Church in South Africa even today shows both the philosophical contortions of which this institution is capable and the strength of this racial enmity. We can in passing note that a remarkable number of the clerics as well as the laity of the Protestant church in South Africa, have fallen foul of the immorality laws which prohibit carnal relations between white and black. *At no time have any argued that sleeping with a black women has made non-racialists of them nor have they argued that the women have in consequence of their «knowledge» of a white man, lost any of their racial inferiority This was precisely the relationship in bed and out of it in the early colonial days Here were involved not merely the social expression of economic relations, but*

the pervasive influences of ancient cultural and racial conditioning.

The Iberians and Roman Catholics have attempted particularly to cultivate a view of themselves as highly moral and non-racial. They have always been animated, they would have us know, by idealism, the finest Christian sentiments, by higher notions and not by greed lust, hatred and such base things. This despite the lie given to such propaganda by the record we have mentioned above. It seems that the later relationships established between Europeans and «Indians» in their South American colonies, which colonies seized their independence many generations ago, is used to support this lie. In fact the South American republics remain horribly violent and aboriginal tribes are still being exterminated. But right in Africa Portugals colonies have been completely racist with only half-hearted attempts being made to hide the appalling state of affairs. Eduardo Mondlane was able to write about the position in Mozambique: «The existence of a mulatto community was a feature of Portuguese territory from the early days of the settlement, when conditions were such that very few Portuguese women could be induced to accompany the adventurers, who filled this gap by taking African women as companions. At this time certainly the system did not involve much racial equality: the women were virtually never made legal wives and were, according to contemporary accounts, treated as servants and slaves.»

THE ROLE OF RELIGION

We have seen something of Portuguese and Spanish conduct and something of the conduct of Protestants. We can say that if the conduct of the Spanish and Portuguese, who happen to be noted for their Roman Catholicism, is accepted as the best in the racial field, this can only throw into relief the racialism of the other Europeans engaged on similar enterprises. In actual fact it is clear that the others were strongly influenced precisely by the Iberians who were first in the field and also dominant in the fifteenthunds. The role which was assigned to the church in the conquests and the outward expansion was that of destroying the tribal religions and cultural infra-structure of the subjugated races in order to break the national resistance of such people and to remove the native priest-classes who could be dangerous. The conqueror then imposes his religion in the interest of the conquest and not in the name of equality and brotherhood, and his own priests then become

the intellectual policemen of the conquered people
The concern with religion in the Christian era is not distinct from the concern with race; it, like racialism, is just another weapon in the war of conquest.

For the purpose of doing its work effectively the church had to be brought under the control of the State. About its general position witness Tawney: «As a result of the reformation the relations previously existing between church and State had been almost exactly reversed. In the Middle Ages the former had been, at least in theory, the ultimate authority on questions of private and public morality, while the latter was the policeman, which enforced the decrees. In the 16th century, the church became the ecclesiastical department of the state and religion was used to lend moral sanction to secular social policy.» In short, the Reformation was the process of the nationalisation by a secular authority of a formerly divine international institution. The church carried out the bidding of the new nation states.

It was just at the time of the final expulsion of the Arabs from Granada, their last stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula, that the Spanish and Portuguese embarked upon their «voyages of discovery». They had learnt much from the Arabs, which placed them in a position to surpass others in Europe but they had also, in order to effect the expulsion, welded themselves into nation-states. They had a head-start on the rest in this and their resources could be applied to national as distinct from local purposes. The enormous will and energy required to expel the Arabs had led to a growth of an extreme nationalism and chauvinism which in conditions where race was a factor became extreme racialism. Their Christianity became suffused with this racialism. The most thrustful element on the Iberian Peninsula were the Castillians of Spain and they more than any other saw themselves as a chosen race. They were the «fairest».

The Iberians were not very «fair» people because of their climate and also because of their long association with the moors. But the Castillians established themselves as a ruling class and developed many racist practices which became part of Iberian life. The differences with the Moors and Jews aided this process and in its early stage this racialism was directed specifically at the Moors and Jews. The rules of «limpeiza» which applied to Moors and Jews were something like the Apartheid of South Africa. «the popular demand to enforce rules of 'limpeiza' (the exclusion of those with Jewish and Moorish blood from honour and office) was both a perversion of Christianity and a variant of the universal

belief that noble blood was superior to that of commoners, but above all it shows a fierce sense of identity and exclusiveness. There was a popular saying 'let us acknowledge God's grace in making us men, not beasts, Christians not moors, Spaniards not men of another nation', and another among Castillian *hidalgos* (gentry) 'I swear to God I am as noble as the king and more so as he is half Flemish'.» (New Cambridge modern History). (Note well the reference to the Flemish to whom the Boers are related!)

In fact Jordan («White over Black») makes the singularly interesting observation: «...it can be said that slavery had persisted since ancient times in the Iberian Peninsula, that prior to the discoveries it was primarily a function of the religious wars against the moors, that Portuguese explorers pressing down the coast in the fifteenth century captured thousands of negroes whom they carried back to Portugal as slaves, and that after 1500 Portuguese ships began supplying the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in America with Negro slaves. By 1550 European enslavement of Negroes was more than a century old, and Negro slavery had become a fixture of the New World». The function of the Negroid people as slaves was introduced into the minds of the rest of Europe by precisely these sanctimonious Iberians, Jordan makes clear, which circumstance assisted and induced others to overcome their religious and other scruples. Black skins became linked to slavery which implies inferiority irrespective of religious considerations. And slavery is an outgrowth of conquest. So by the 1490's the Iberians were bound by strong chauvinistic traits on the one side, and in the other direction they had acquired set prejudices towards Moors, Jews and Negroid peoples. And their economic activity became entwined with these.

The last Jews were expelled from Spain at the same time as the Arabs because the Spanish viewed them as enemies in both national and religious senses. This general racial spirit became communicated to the Papacy via the Borgia Popes who were of Spanish origin. Spanish use of the Papacy enabled this racialism to be disseminated throughout Europe because of the enormous wealth, power and patronage it had at its disposal. Trevor-Roper finds it possible to say: «...all Italy... seemed little more than a single docile Spanish protectorate throughout the reign of Phillip II». Meanwhile, J.P. Cooper submits, «The influence of the Castillian language and culture was at its height not only in lands directly ruled by Madrid, but also in Bohemia, Austria and Germany. Direct influence of Spanish literature went

further still; over 20 Jacobean plays derive from Spanish sources, some by way of French translations, but many directly. Fletcher and Massinger both probably knew Spanish. Not only Cervantes' fiction, but many picaresque novels were translated into English, French, Italian and German».

An illustration of the type of view which flowed from Spain is given by Jordan. «About 1526 Leo Africanus (a Spanish Moroccan Moor converted to Christianity) supplied the most authoritative and influential description of the little-known lands of 'Barbary', 'Libya', 'Numedia', and 'Land of Negroes'; and Leo was as explicit as he was imaginative». The peoples are discussed in terms like the following: «...there is no nation under heaven more prone to venery»; «principally addicted unto Treason, Treachery, Murther, Theft and Robberie»; «brutish kind of life»; «destitute of 'any religion, any lawes, or any form of good living'.» etc. Jordan proceeds to show that despite their considerable resentment of the Spanish, the English could not but find themselves influenced by the views held by them.

Jordan's voluminous and excellent work is, of course, an investigation of *American* attitudes to Negroes. The English antecedents of the Americans therefore loom large in his researches. His book therefore becomes bound by a kind of tunnel vision proceeding from the point of creation and subsequent development of specifically English racial attitudes. The present writer believes that Iberian influences in fact, have been so crucial in Europe generally – which Jordan suggests at one point – that some investigation should have been made of the area. Certainly, the impact of Iberian attitudes upon the Dutch would have been at least as interesting and probably more profound than upon the English, by reason of the closer ties they shared. And the same applies to Germany which actually at times had the same kings as Spain, as parts of the Holy Roman Empire. The English would certainly have been surrounded by a reflected enlightenment, or rather benightment.

Although the Iberian masses were darker than the nordic Europeans, the aristocratic ruling class was closely related to the rulers further north. Bearing in mind the brutality and racialism of Dutch colonialism, it is as well in the context to recall that the Netherlands had a long association with the Iberians, half of it having actually been for a time a colony of Spain and the other one of the main outlets of Portuguese trade. It is from this region that the Boer drew his inspiration. Of the fact that many of the Jews who were expelled

from Spain made their way precisely to the Netherlands, perhaps least said the better; but Christians, clearly, were not the sole beneficiaries of the gruesome Dutch despoilation of the colonial regions.

STANDARDS OF WHITE BEAUTY

By the time of the Iberian efflorescence, there had already existed in Europe a colour consciousness of long standing. By an accident of history ruling classes of Germanic and Scandinavian origin (nordic) held quite wide sway. This aristocratic class which warred and whored amongst itself across the length and breadth of Europe, were what is known as «fair». (white-skinned, blond-haired, blue-eyed). The word «fair» in English originally meant beautiful and had special reference to women. But by adaptation the physical characteristics of the ruling class were imputed to be attributes of beauty and came to be called «fair». The word has also through a long history had its meaning elaborated to include «just», «equitable», «free from bias and fraud» (OED). And clearly the nordic appearance had conferred upon them moral quality as well as physical quality. As the nordic conquerors in whose lands they settled inflicted slavery upon these peoples, it seems that the difference in complexion would be emphasised by the differing life-styles and economic status. The feudal order which supplanted slavery could produce no countervailing trend because this social order also approved idleness in the ruling class and relegated work to the lower classes. The aristocratic rulers could confound their appearance with their substance as a means of entrenching their hold upon the minds of the people. Thus the pale, unweathered, delicate complexions and hands of the indolent was the ideal and the popular masses who were darker to begin with were placed at an even greater disadvantage because their daily toil conspired to render them even less beautiful by the imposed standards. The very widespread socio-economic order and class stratification of slavery in the early period and feudalism later, ensured that the ethos would be very widespread. The views it fostered that to be able to see the «blue blood» through the skin was a most wonderful thing, was to be found even among the Aryans of India. These are the views which gave to the British workers, for example, their contemptuous reference to «blue-eyed boys» (meaning persons who were being unfairly favoured by the authorities) and to German philosophers their «blond beast» or «superman».

The longevity of the nordic feudal standard of beauty is a source of wonder. Even today the French ruling class and technocracy are generally blue-eyed, for example, whereas the average Frenchman is «dark». In these days of widespread use of cosmetics, European women are more likely to dye their hair blond than any other colour. We hear much about «blond bombshells» and in the European world Scandinavian amazons tend to be regarded as some kind of goddess. The hair-konking and skin-bleeching engaged in by demoralized black women actually, in short, has its counterpart among the «whites»!

The horrifying racialism of the Iberians developed despite the fact that many noble families had acquired some Moorish and Jewish blood during the centuries that they lived cheek by jowl. In England before, during and following the Wars of the Roses and other fratricidal strife, the old nobility shattered itself. The «turnover» of nobles was so great that even before the fifteenth century most of the families which had originally held titles had disappeared, which gave opportunities to the «dark» men. As the feudal order decayed the system of colour prejudice was also tending to break down in order to be supplanted by the national consciousness required by a rising new class. Internal racialism could be suppressed to some extent or could tend to become irrelevant because of new concerns and new economic relations: the differences in complexion which «white» people could discern in each other paled in significance in the light of their common colour difference from negroid peoples who were then being encountered. On the one side there was the need for national unity and the development of a notion of «national interest» and on the other an extreme in complexion which coincided with a material interest in conquest and slavery, opportunities for which then revealed themselves. In Spain, «In 1624 the crown decreed restriction of proofs and above all disproofs of *limpieza* and ordered the destruction of all writings purporting to show impure descent in families (almost always important noble ones) ... By the 1650's it was said that the nobles of mixed blood felt safe enough to speak disdainfully of the Inquisition.» (J.P.Cooper) The Inquisition paid special attention to Moors, Jews, the impure and to Portuguese. This did not, of course, abolish race prejudice; it only reflected the widespread and pervasive racialism and served to protect the rich and powerful from charges of having inferior origins by allowing their origins to be lost in obscurity.

The «work ethic» of capitalism and feudalism's ethics of indolence could establish a compromise

made possible, in other words, by a new common interest: conquest and exploitation. The bourgeois could not therefore destroy the prevailing colour consciousness but found it useful in relations with other races. In any case the landed class tended to remain politically dominant – except in the Netherlands – and were ousted from power only about 1830. The ideas had to be found to rationalize colour consciousness in a new political economy which tended not to lend support to feudalist values. The liberal humanist of Holland, Hugo Grotius, could justify slavery on moral and natural grounds. The supremely materialist philosopher of England, Thomas Hobbes (intellectual heir to Francis Bacon, as it happens) justified slavery on grounds that it was the inevitable product of power relations (but being above all consistently and mechanically materialist, submitted that rebellion could therefore not be *legally* contested, was justified as itself an exercise in power). David Hume, product of virtuous and ambitious Scots Protestantism, simply assumed that Negroes were inferior to «whites». John Locke could in 1670 protest against slavery – but it transpires that he could argue in its support, which means that he believed Europeans should not enslave each other! «This is the perfect condition of slavery: which is nothing else but the state of war continued, between a lawful conqueror, and a captive.» Further: Slaves, «... being taken in a just war, are by Right of Nature subjected to the Absolute Dominion and Arbitrary Power of their Masters». (D.B.Davis – «The problem of Slavery in Western Culture»)

Protestantism was found useful in the new climate by reason of the way it called into question the old Christian and humanist precepts mentioned previously. (The quest for justification runs through all the arguments!) But other religious ideas also helped much in the way that little brooks feed fast streams which contribute to mighty rivers carrying the main currents.

When the Castilians captured the city of Toledo from the Moors in 1085 A.D., a great center of learning developed there through the translation of ancient works from Arabic and (some) Hebrew. This learning percolated in the course of generations to the rest of Europe. Part of this learning consisted of ancient and misanthropic Judaic ideas. A coincidence eventuates: both Spain and Holland were at crucial moments in close touch with the Jews and their misanthropic learning. Both were influenced. Certainly as the Castilians acquired a notion of themselves as a special people in the eyes of God, so did the Dutch and also various protestant sects. These claims we find repeated even in South Africa to-

day. In South Africa the ancient story of Ham is one most insistently related to the Khoisans and their heirs by the Dutch.

Jordan points out: «Talmudic and Midrashic sources contained such suggestions as the 'Ham was smitten in his skin', and that Noah told Ham 'your seed shall be ugly and dark-skinned', and that Ham was father 'of Canaan who brought curses into the world, of Canaan who was cursed, of Canaan who darkened the faces of mankind', of 'Canaan the notorious world-darkener'.» The curse upon Ham's posterity took on for Christian Englishmen a potential immediacy and relevance which it could never have had if Englishmen had not as a people been undergoing an experience which they half-sensed was in some measure analogous to that of the ancient special people of God's word.»

However, Iberians were in some ways protected from the Judaic nonsense by the universal catholicism of the Roman church and the average Englishman probably drew similar defence from their «High Church» traditions which retained much of the stuff of Roman Catholicism. The protestants abandoned these traditions and the worst elements of Calvinism, such as the Dutch took to their hearts constructed a new bigotry dividing the human race between «the elect» and the «damned». The Dutch were in this view the «Elect» and all others the «damned», although they were prepared to exhibit some tolerance to others with white skins. No traffic could occur between the two categories because they had been «pre-ordained», and even ordinary charity and philanthropy, which were pillars of the old church, were denounced as worthless from the point of view of storing up riches in heaven and calculated only to encourage indolence, beggary and improvidence. This was the perfect creed for the ugliest and most parasitic of capitalists: usurious bankers and profiteering merchants, who add not one jot to the sum-total of human riches but simply move about and sport with the products of others.

No further remarks are needed upon the moral judgements of the theologians. There was no dichotomy between religious teaching and material interest, because the former only served the latter. On the other hand the bourgeoisie inherited a racial consciousness of long standing and rather than have this interfere with its «naked self-interest and callous cash-payments», it betrayed its early high promise and adapted and developed the existing racialism to its own predatory ends. Although capitalism became thus suffused with a racist spirit, racialism was not itself dependant

upon the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. Rather is the existing racial consciousness stimulated by the political and material interests created by the relations involving white conqueror and black conquered. The Dutch and their son, the Boer, were consequently no mavericks intent upon ushering into South Africa a creed different to what they had imbibed at their mother's breast. In fact the social morality of their Calvinist creed conducted to the development of racialism in an especially grotesque form by reason of being supported by misanthropic Judaic learning of a particularly ugly sort.

COLONIALISM AND SUPERSTRUCTURE

The history of colour consciousness shows that the social order can acquire a super-structure of ideals and values which are quite unrelated to political economy but may flow from the accidents of a particular situation. These acquire importance when they can be exploited to reinforce and consolidate the dominance of the ruling class. The indolent life-style of slavers and feudalists coincided in the «Aryan» case with the facility to maintain white skins and so on. The idea acquires an independent existence and reaches its apotheosis when very dark-skinned people are encountered. The standards could not have come into being if the ruling class had been black; different ideals and values would have arisen. Conflict on the question occurred within European society when a new class with a different – working – lifestyle appeared but was deflected by the handy appearance on the scene of Negroid people. The «work-ethic» could in consequence be fostered without that conflict being taking to its logical conclusion involving the complete destruction of colour consciousness, because the ideals and values bearing comparison to the negroid people overshadowed the problem of «internal» colour consciousness which actually gave birth to them. *Meanwhile the demands and interests of conquest called into being a moral superstructure to justify genocide, plunder, rapine and despoliation which, taken together with the inherited ideals and values, produced a comprehensive and deep racist spirit.* Capitalism became racist «before it knew the petulance of youth» despite the revolt in its infancy. However, in modern technological society, we may note, the ever-growing leisure class has acquired a firmly established tendency to sport a glowing sun-tanned skin to mark its financial and social status. Colour consciousness and racialism are abating despite the efforts of the «die-hards».

Summing up, we may say that white racialism came to South Africa with the first European and had been carefully nurtured for a complexity of reasons. The foremost of these were common banditry which developed later into capitalist gangsterism. *Thus apartheid in its later developed form is more than an economic system; it is a complete social order required by a foreign occupying power to preserve itself and its gains. Apartheid consolidates the solidarity of the occupation force and simultaneously places the subjugated peoples beyond the pale and protection of the normal moral and ethical codes. The road is cleared for the most murderous exploitation of the masses while dividing them and undermining their resistance, but also securing a massive social base of Europeans who have a stake in the arrangements and are prepared to police it. This European mass-base becomes, briefly, an army of occupation.*

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The Boers have demonstrated that race is a powerful bond around which a national grouping may organise itself in the teeth of other groupings. Once more, as we have seen, it is insufficient on its own, but powerful for all that. Morally speaking it may be considered an undesirable one, but who are to be the judges? Why on earth it should be imagined that a common language may be considered a reasonable basis for a sense of nationhood to flower and racial antecedents and ethnic identity (which imply some measure of common history and social situation) an invalid or irrational basis, is difficult to understand or accept. If it is granted (and we concede that some will not) that nationhood is a desirable, acceptable or, simply, tolerable condition, it must be accepted that the complex of shared sympathies and antipathies, the socially created ways of seeing and perceiving things and situations, upon which the nation organises and perpetuates itself are hardly worth censuring. Raging against the Boer's independent identity is in this case as absurd as attempting to forcibly assimilate him into the African mass. It is in the relationship which such a national grouping establishes with others that the offence resides. By the same token the opposition to the national strivings of blacks as represented by «African Nationalism» or any other kind of nationalism, on the part of socialist must be seen as absurd. And this absurdity is compounded when they quite clearly address themselves to a territory which has been arbitrarily hacked out of the African soil by a foreign conqueror. In fact South African socialism has grievously erred on this question.

In the real world of today it is only the over-zealous representatives of multi-national capital and the lunatic fringe of quasi-Marxism who oppose the aspirations of people for independence, cultural identity and control of their own destinies.

Men and nations do not live in isolation from each other and the positions and attitudes they adopt are the reflection not only of their own social and physical surroundings but of the inter-action of their social groupings upon each other. But this inter-action is not the product only of economic relations nor does it operate only on the economic level. All social groupings possess their own peculiar historical, racial, cultural and political elements all knit into a complex socio-psychology now drawing together, now repelling the inter-acting groups. Ages of conditioning and «imprinting» which become part almost of innate characteristics do not suddenly vanish when differing groupings are flung together. And this is particularly so when powerful economic interests are represented in the national aspirations of the groupings. *In South Africa we find a ruling class which confronts the conquered race not only as a class within the nation, but rather a ruling class which confronts the people as a representative of another national grouping – a race of conquerors. But because the political economy is capitalist the tendency has grown amongst the most revolutionary elements to disregard these political relations and to address themselves only to the economic relationship. This is known as «Economic Determinism».*

The mistake is one which those who suffer under the iron heel of national oppression and under the whip of racialism are inclined to make unless they have lost touch with the reality of their own situation through careful tutelage – in which case they become incapable of revolutionary action and should be advised to hold their peace. But such estrangement is possible for individuals; a large social group, a people or nation or class, must be repeatedly brought back to reality, for oppression and exploitation are the most pressing realities of all.

DECEIT OF WHITE SOCIALISTS

To the oppressed African masses national groups were a fact of life in the same way as they were facts of life to the great Marxists. This was the form of the pressure they applied upon their leaders. But the leadership was also under a different pressure. European scholarship operated very powerfully upon their minds. And this scholarship had numbers of excellent representatives on South African soil. *The best of these*

were in fact revolutionary international socialists direct from Europe. Thus it came about that the finest ideas of Europe were used to oppose the nationalism and the cultural aspirations of the conquered people by European revolutionaries and the native pupils they produced. Clearly the European had to explain his presence on the other man's soil. The upshot was that they sublated their interest as a conqueror in a philosophy which disarmed the counter-interests of the subjugated race. His basic interest as a colonist (which was his objective role irrespective of his subjective view of himself) is to justify his presence and secure it. By arguing that they had the same class interests, were brothers, proletarians, the message could be quite clearly conveyed that all ills were the ills of capitalism, the proletariat having no ills, the fundamental interest of the subjugated people in expelling him could be argued away. All energies could be placed into working for things like working class unity, but the national struggle had to be neglected. The fact that capitalism's whole relationship with the native peoples must be completely transformed in the absence of such as he (that is, of white settlers) and that his presence is essential to capitalism's mode of domination, could not occur to him: his material interests intervened. This led to a strong strand of economist thought in South African revolutionary politics and as it served to blunt the cutting edge of the mass struggles obviously there would be a branch of ruling class propaganda directed at supporting it.

Engels dealt beautifully with the economist view when he stated: «What would be the use of fighting for the political dictatorship of the working class if political power were powerless in the economic sphere? Force (i.e. the power of the State) is also an economic factor.» Of course it is a bit of a rationalization because Engels was not yet ready to say that political power stood equal to and even above economic power where conditions permitted. But the main point is that economic development can be moulded by the exercise of political power. And this is precisely what the European has done in South Africa. They have created a developed, unified capitalist state on the backs of a conquered people while constituting themselves an identifiable and highly privileged oligarchy. This unified State and its capitalist economy necessarily requires that many elements of the culture of the oligarchy must be thrust upon the subjugated race; but it does not imply that measure of homogeneity and psychological affinity which is the pre-requisite for common nationhood.

On the contrary, the conquerors who dispose of a monopoly of power, specifically prevent the growth of a united nation and insist upon their racial-national exclusivity. This is the necessary concomitant of his place and station as a conqu-

er. This is what entrenches him as a conqueror despite claims he may make to be indigenous and so on. And it is precisely the wish to maintain the relationship in a possibly amended form which underlie the liberalisation programs which have been emerging from his ranks since 1974.

In the South African circumstances the disregard or merely the neglect of the national conflict which flowed from the economist view, was calculated to serve the conquest and leave a basic social problem unresolved. There could be no forward movement on this basis and the State has in consequence waxed powerful. Even the Communist manifesto does not suggest that it is possible to ignore nations in order to conduct the class struggle. «In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put and end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put and end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanished, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.» The abolition of class society is generally, that is to say, the condition for the abolition of nations; nations cannot be ignored within class society in order to overthrow class society.

Clearly therefore despite the obsolescent features of national groups produced by modern political economy and especially technology, it is certain that only the further development of human culture and particularly the transformation of the powerful States of Greater Europe, will destroy the relevance of such groups (But even then the human need for local autonomy – for things of a «human» scale – will remain). Moreover, the reciprocal action of the black masses to the action of an alien ruling class will continuously call forth a national response. It is this matrix of national responses and imperatives which economist thought has tended to resist and they have tended in consequence to be somewhat «non-national», perhaps unpatriotic and certainly cosmopolitan in outlook. They have therefore been unable to create an independent socialist party. Meanwhile, communists, although they have had their own party, have in fact been alien representatives in the liberatory camp – their basic aim, overshadowing even their duties to the Soviet Union, being the long-term defence of European interests.

Because of their lack of an independent party, socialists worked in various national/racial parties and in this way their special and vociferously argued view was diffused throughout the national movements. But they themselves became subject to the interests reflected by the various parties and were in the most important respect utterly unable to redirect them: every group formed its own national organisation and refused to shift

from this. The African National Congress was foremost in upholding this policy, being primarily concerned to unite the «black African» tribes. What was not generally appreciated was that the African National Congress in upholding this policy reflected a national/racial hostility towards the black minorities (Coloured and Indian) but felt impelled to treat with the white State in the wake of the military defeat of the African tribes by the conqueror. The general syncretical approach to the national question, with the emphasis laid by the advanced elements on the class solidarity of the oppressed prevented a policy on minority nationalities from emerging. And this was one of the few questions which could have served to restrain the bourgeoisie power ambitions of the A.N.C. But the economist viewpoint found support in the cultural front by reason of the need in the African view to suppress regional differences and establish the language and culture of the European as a common standard. This «westernisation» in fact found strong support among the minorities – they were in fact «westernized».

THE PETIT BOURGEOIS AND SOCIALISM

The inevitably petty bourgeoisie character of the national organisations, who determined the character of politics, ensured that a most important petty bourgeoisie prejudice would be strongly represented: the important task of workers – even starving workers – was to pursue their political interests even to the neglect of their vital economic interests. Trade union work was therefore seriously neglected. Although the «Non-European Unity Movement» when it was formed in 1943 ushered in a new period in the liberatory struggles, it suffered all the inherited contradictions and delayed the entire renovation of revolutionary theory. *No amount of clamour for «social revolution» could get anywhere when theory held that the resolution of the national question was not a major issue, and when the workers were not being organised to fight their own immediate material interests but were required to effect the ideological leap to socialist consciousness. The last bastion of the upholders of this confusion in South African liberatory politics is opposition to what they have named «the two-stage theory of revolution». It confirms that like Vorster they feel that the resolution of the national conflict is «too ghastly to contemplate».*

The liberalism of British imperialism conduced to the affirmation and elaboration on the ideological level of a view of imperialism as a disembodied power interested only in the labour power of

men in disregard of their skins and colour, which as we have seen was mistaken. The view has nonetheless been encouraged by the propagandists of both European capital and European labour. It disregarded the fact that capitalism at that time played no great role in South African affairs, the interests of Britain being political and military. (British interests were concentrated in India and the Cape was a rather unimportant outpost).

We see that capitalism was capable of adopting a non-racial policy and this does not contradict our previous analysis of racialism. But folklore or the inference from it that imperialism later created racialism, is utterly wrong: the racialism was there, stark and ugly and brutal. The inferences have been no service to the African masses because they have misdirected the struggle by failing to establish the origins and the interested parties to South African racialism.

The creation of the «colour bar» (the old form of apartheid) is dated at the establishment of the mining industry which heralded the invasion of big capital. (This is itself strange as it disregards race relations in the Boer republics). So it has been argued that Imperialism then created racialism in order to secure supplies of cheap labour for the mines; and it will as readily abolish racialism when the economic need is passed. Contradiction is heaped upon contradiction – which happens to serve the interests of only one interest group: the white settlers or colonists.

Meanwhile the ideologues and the cognoscenti could argue awesomely about the great fight waged against British Imperialism by the Boer in the struggle leading to and including the Anglo-Boer War. The Boer has had conferred upon him the titles of an anti-imperialist tradition his attachments to German imperialism somehow getting lost in this scholarly labyrinth. This view was actually supported by the liberals and revolutionaries of metropolitan Europe! Thus, some revolutionary socialists say, the Boer has simply been used by British Imperialism of late: he has become its «hang-man and gaoler»; but he is in fact equipped to take his place beside Africans in a united nation. Because he fought British imperialism his preposterous claims to ownership of the country could actually be supported. And if he also fought Africans? Well, Africans also fought each other, didn't they?

Constructed upon the whole schema has been the view that *race* is therefore some kind of myth, racialism being some kind of *Artificial* creation intervening in the rational, economic relations bet-

ween men, which could be called into being and abolished as economic interests dictate. The vaulting minds who so brilliantly re-wrote history and dodged reality sometimes called themselves socialists, and would at the drop of a shaft of light into this darkness, thrust aside this horrible intruder with ample texts from the holy writ itself much in the way that the holy cross may be thrust before the face of Count Dracula himself. *The interests of aliens, including socialist internationalists, have been crucial in fostering this mythology. South African socialism therefore placed energies into the creation of white-black working-class unity for the struggle against capital. Quite clearly the white worker would in time come to his economic senses and see the struggle against racialism was simply a struggle against capital and therefore in his interests.*

Moreover, capitalism would itself have to abandon apartheid as a policy at some point and then the «real» social relations would be revealed for all to see. At the same time such a working class struggle would, in passing as it were, solve the racial/national/tribal contradictions amongst Africans themselves. Indeed there is a point at which one may wonder why this viewpoint did not dismiss any struggle against racialism altogether and, in fact, constraints of this sort entered which prevented some racial issues from being fought. The view could not be entirely shared by the African petty bourgeoisie but nevertheless influenced their thinking. *The supreme African task of dealing with a foreign conqueror was conjured out of the debate.*

The common non-racial working-class struggle has not come to fruition. The European workers have been quite unimpressed by the view that their «real» nature is not racist and that they have only been given an artificial racial consciousness by capitalism. Nor while inundated with consumer durables and possessing enormous social and political privileges, have they been able to accept that apartheid is not in their interest. Nor has the Boer been able to see that in his early days at the Cape he was not a racist at all but a fine, upstanding representative of civilization who has only been ill-used lately by British imperialism. But then all these people have simply been «bought off», we are informed. Discussion of the dialectical relation between the quantity «bought off» and the quality of the product is naturally avoided.

FALSE COSMOPOLITANISM

The premise as well as the purpose behind the schema is that the European presence in South

Africa is taboo as a subject for review or debate. It is calculated rather to obfuscate than to clarify the problems of South African liberation for it seeks to remove from the acid test of argument the question of the national character of the European, on the one hand, and disembodies his political economy from both him and his culture, on the other hand. It cannot promote examination of the nationalities problems and deliberately glosses over the whole record of travail and torture produced by living men of flesh and blood, preferring to fulminate against the abstraction which stood behind them – capitalism. We have attempted, perhaps too painstakingly and – some may feel – too painfully, to destroy the whole mythology with which the colonists have surrounded themselves. The totems and the taboos, will we hope, come in for further crushing blows.

It is to be expected that the ideological traditions as discussed would have served to attenuate, and be required to so attenuate, the sense of identity, cohesion, purpose and resistance of the subjugated races. This was in fact achieved. And as the most acculturated section of Africans and the oldest of the South African proletariat, deriving from the most archaic of the aboriginals into whom were woven various other racial strains, the Cape Coloureds possessed less sense of national being than the other groups. Neither were they assisted towards acquiring this being or towards moving into the larger embrace of African Nationalism by the splitting of the APO and the subsequent policies of the ANC. Their very attributes thus placed them ideally in a position to deflect, disrupt and undermine the racial-national clash by sublating aims into the synthetic ideology of socialism and, later, a non-racial philosophy which sought to embrace the European. Their influence has at times been important.

Despite their ambivalence towards the Boer and their almost desperate raging against British imperialism and «English liberals», the Cape Coloureds produced the policy of «Non-Collaboration» (meaning non-collaboration with the machinery of the State and the institutions of apartheid etc.). They were the force behind the APO and became the force behind the «Non-European Unity Movement» through which black unity against the European was to be achieved. In contradistinction the African National Congress followed a consistent policy of support for the States policy of «divide and rule» and remained infamous collaborators. So there were tendencies in the camp of the Cape Coloureds which nurtured some kind of nationalist endeavour. But nothing favoured it. Consequently the dominant characteristic of the Cape Coloureds became some

kind of cosmopolitanism. This was crucial in creating support for the views of the economic determinists on the black side.

A further «non-national», cosmopolitan view on the black side was contributed by the Indians. As a minority of foreign origin, the Indians subconsciously took a line which would not bring into question their presence in the country of Africans. They fought valiantly enough against racialism and apartheid - this was certainly in their best interest - and were often very revolutionary on questions of class warfare, socialism and so forth. But they could not question the place of the European on African soil nor could they contribute to a development of African cultural activity. The way forward for them was to shed their «Indianness» and become westernized.

Once more «black Africans» could offer them no alternative but, on the contrary, reacted against their non-African characteristics in the same way that they reacted against the Cape Coloureds. But the «non-national», cosmopolitan ethos acted together with the economist strand of thought upon the ANC which had no defence mechanisms except for insisting upon the ethnic exclusivity which was for a long time its policy. The PAC broke new ground in relations with the minorities in 1966 but has been too weak to see the matter through. The «Black Consciousness» movement carried the development further.

The strand of cosmopolitanism undermined the national struggle in the cultural sphere. And it was only when the Pan-Africanist Congress was formed in 1959 that anything approaching the beginnings of a nationalist program were made. Unfortunately the PAC was unable to theorise upon various problems of the national struggle. Although it proclaimed its «African nationalism» from the roof-tops, it did not deal with the «non-nationalism» or cosmopolitanism with which it was opposed in anything but the most limited ways.

But to develop the national struggle contributions to the national culture are indispensable. A revolutionary movement prospers only to the extent that cultural growth occurs and the conditions are created for the participation of more and more strata of the people in all the matters affecting their daily lives. In the context the creation of a national-patriotic culture is vital and as this rules out the alien culture as a vehicle of revolutionary endeavour, the regional tendencies among the people have, in fact, to be accommodated. This has usually been opposed because of fears of fragmentation. In fact Antonio Gramsci in his «Prison Notebooks» argued the reverse. He submits that both Italy and Germany fell and remained in a state of disintegration, their «internal energies» impoverished, because of the

«international or cosmopolitan function» of their intellectuals. «... In a later period the Germans and the French brought to Russia the European experience and gave a consistent skeleton to the protoplasm of Russian history. National forces were inert, passive and receptive, but precisely for this reason they assimilated completely the foreign influences and the foreigners themselves, Russifying them. In the more recent historical period we find the opposite phenomenon. An elite consisting of some of the most active, energetic enterprising and disciplined members of the society emigrates abroad and assimilates the culture and historical experiences of the most advanced countries of the west, without however losing the most essential characteristics of its own nationality, that is to say without breaking its sentimental and historical links with its own people. Having thus performed its intellectual apprenticeship it returns to its own country and compels the people to an enforced awakening, skipping historical stages in the process. The difference between this elite and that imported from Germany (by Peter the Great, for example) lies in its essentially national-popular character. It could not be assimilated by the inert passivity of the Russian people, because it was itself an energetic reaction of Russia to her own historical inertia.»

NEED FOR NATIONALISTIC INTELLECTUALS

The argument by Gramsci in discussing the role of the intellectuals in various European countries with special reference to their function in developing the national culture, is highly complex. *But it does serve to make the point that where the intellectual leadership becomes cosmopolitan, that is «non-national», the cultural growth of the nation is stultified and mass struggles are ineffectual.*

The efflorescence and thrust for advancement depend, in other words, upon the «national-popular» character of the intellectuals and their ability to translate into the terms and the interests of their own people the most advanced ideas. It is of great interest to compare these views with the actual practice of Mao Tse Tung and also Ho Chi Minh. It might be worth bearing in mind by the same token that the Communist Manifesto was first written in German and first published in Germany although the writer lived in England. Likewise with *Das Kapital*.

History has moved forward and as it has moved so the science of South African liberation has developed. What could not be conceived yesterday, has become today's common-place. Heretofore the scientific community of revolutio-

nary practitioners of South African socialism has to one extent or another shared the paradigms of the alien ruling class. But around us, all over the world we see the European/capitalist paradigms being knocked over one after the other. Sometimes these have been the paradigms of European capital and sometimes those of European labour, these being connected. But the effect has been the same. Now, however minds are breaking free to explore new paths and leap to new answers. *The intellectual and cultural stranglehold of the European was able to lead African thought in the fields of history, politics, economics, language and so on in ways which did not permit soaring explorations in new ways of looking at and perceiving things. Indeed our thinkers often shared the view that the European was no invader at all and that the continuous floods of immigrants should not be resisted. The whole ideological climate revolved around the implicit view that in a new historical epoch the action taken throughout history by people to struggle to expel their conquerors could not be conceived. Even fine minds could slink about in shame at the military resistance put up against the European conquest by the African people. Nothing was more calculated to cause a Xhosa to blush with shame than the indictment that his ancestors had actually attempted to drive the white man into the sea. A Zulu could be reduced to transports of apology at the memory that under their great king, Dingane, they had completely annihilated the vile Boer, Piet Retief. As far as the Cape Coloureds were concerned, the less they heard about their Khoisan ancestors, the better.* Zenomania was the highest endeavour and the proof of foreign origins was itself a mark of repute.

The tenet of faith that socialist revolution as distinct from national revolution must be striven for was supported by the models of the French and Russian revolutions. This implies urban insurrection and accounts for way in which the idea of guerilla war in the countryside could not make headway. And this in turn contributed to the terrible defeats of the liberatory movement in 1960-64.

A great change has occurred since 1960-64. The national spirit or the zeitgeist which set off the social explosions in the period, has stirred the whole youth. Universally, the period of de-colonisation contributed enormously. It became possible for some to speak of the settlers or colonists as «imperialism's army of occupation». The youth began to think in terms of establishing independent ideas and independent solutions from the Europeans, irrespective of what the Europeans were themselves busy at. This situation gave birth in time to the «Black Consciousness»

movement. Concern with ideas and the higher concepts of freedom became joined to a concern with the well-being of the people in their daily lives.

An interesting development was what may be described as the «Africanisation» of the Cape Coloureds. Today they take pride in their «colouredness» – that is in their African past and connections. Today they read the history of their Khoisan ancestors as they have never done. One result has been the rejection of the European names «Hottentot» and «Bushman». And although for a long time the Xhosa name, «Batwa» was preferred for the San, there is now a positive insistence upon the names Khoikhoi and san (or Khoisan). In the ranks of the Europeans where the play-whites have customarily been amongst the most rabid detractors of their people, some strange behaviour has occurred. A change took place to playing both white and Coloured at the same time, and this gave way to vociferous defence of their people against calumny in those European circles. A very early example of this behaviour was one of the foremost young white members of parliament claiming to be of Cape Coloured origin. Renegades are being metamorphosed into a fifth column.

But this «Africanization» of the Cape Coloureds is of a kind peculiar to themselves. They are in fact creating a sense of national identity based upon African origins and claims which are independent of the ethnic ties, territory and culture of the Bantu-speaking «black Africans». To the extent that their liberation is bound up with the liberation of the whole oppressed, they will obviously (and all indications are that they do) identify with the liberatory movement. But in the measure that the new consciousness grows, a demand for secession will inevitably emerge. The liberatory movement will have to come to terms with this fact. The fact seems to fly in the face of the whole political tradition of the Cape Coloureds as revealed in their role in the APO, the ICU, the national Liberation League, the Unity movement, PAC and most recently in the «Black Consciousness» movement. But it seems in fact to be a product of this tradition which has emphasised the African connections rather than others. It reveals the extent to which African Nationalism and Economic Determinism have been unable to meet the aspirations of these people and is a result of the lack of a socialist program on the national question. Socialists expected national movements to become non-racial; in fact only a socialist party could have been, and as such produce a coherent policy for the national movements.

Now they call for the abolition of laws prohibiting miscegenation. The clowns of intellectual slop will see in it only the lechery of libidinous white men wanting penalty-free access to black women. In truth it is the manifestation of a conqueror's desire to secure the future of his children by establishing blood-ties with the aboriginal people. Now they see apparitions of that «coffee-coloured» nation it has been a central pillar of their philosophy heretofore to keep in barren suspension.

And they prepare their minds to welcome it, prepare to end their conquest – because the alternative is departure.

It need only be finally said that the Europeans in fact have a way out: if they cannot conceive of integrating with the «black African» people, they could of course withdraw to the Cape on the terms previously suggested. The alternative cannot be other than expulsion.



DOCUMENTS FROM THE SOWETO UPRISING.

WHO IS NEXT?

Who is next? Who is next? Who is next?

Tears roll down as every black man is asking:

Who is next to be detained?

Who is the next to be killed in detention?

Who is next to be shot in the street or at school?

If we are not going to start thinking of strategies to be used

Before we all are killed, future generations will hate to hear of us.

Are we to wait until you are dead?

Are we to wait for foreigners to help us?

Are we to wait for godly magic to liberate us?

Are we to wait for an unborn Moses?

NO:NO:NO:

Every nation liberated itself. Therefore we shall and must stand up to fight for our God given rights.

To win we must

Have courage and be brave

All be Faithful and dedicated to the struggle
Always be prepared to sacrifice our and ourselves

Have faith in all what we are doing

There is no nation which was oppressed until the end of life. Therefore we shall be free.

We do not care who says what.

We cry out and say

Azania shall be free.

Power is my soul

Power is my spirit

Power is my body

Power is my everything

I will always shout and say AMANDLA

Freedom is coming.

POWER

AMANDLA

POWER

AMANDLA

AMANDLA POWER

TO TOWN!!! TO ELOFF!!! TO THAT EXCLUSIVE WHITE PARADISE!!!

This will be the new step, the fourth in series, by the revolutionary people of South Africa. Countrymen, the liberatory struggle has brought a new base, namely: the shattering of the myth that the Coloureds are more white than black. The killing of many of them in Cape Town and their stand, together with their African brethren to rock the centre of the oldest city, that symbol of white occupation of our country – Cape Town – is the greatest victory and marks another step in the development of a people, namely, common oppression irrespective of degree of intensity has been at last recognised by the Black Man. Divide and Rule has been dealt its death blow.

Johannesburg or Soweto, the Capital and the supposed centre of this national drive, has already lagged behind the countryside. Where the heart of Cape Town – Adderley Street – was rocked by revolutionary demonstrators. Are we made of a different metal from them? Surely not, they are mortals like ourselves. But their discontent about the present oppressive structure has made them bold. They burnt buildings they took possession of what was forcefully raped from them a few centuries ago. They did not plead for work anymore. They brought so much panic to the already frightened whites, that all guns obtained in public market were sold out.

Police re-inforcements were called as far afield as Johannesburg. Therefore we are in the process of selling out the country-side, which we have stirred to revolt, only two months ago. For we fail to keep busy our local police and soldiers to such an extent that they are free to plunder elsewhere. Countrymen, this is not yet the time to retreat. Surely, not at a time when two universities have been reduced to ashes to support the cause. Surely, not at a time when almost everybody conscious has been arrested, surely, a retreat is impossible when our brothers studying in other parts of the country have raised their schools to the ground and brought educational

machinery to a halt. These people also value their education, but have abandoned it for a better cause, namely the elimination of oppression. We cannot retreat to classrooms unless we reverse the whole course of events this year. And reversing the tide is tantamount to treachery.

We cannot succumb to the threats of this wounded and vicious bull Vorster. Ours is to kill it before it creates more harm. Already his police thugs are demanding passes at gun-point, already rents have gone higher. Are these concessions? No, surely let us move forward, Vorster must not delude himself and think that we will stop anywhere short of freedom. Let us not betray the nation by pursuing selfish ends like writing exams. If we profess to be leaders the first and indispensable character is: **INDEPENDENT THOUGHT AND MORAL COURAGE**. If we are still looking for favours from M.C. Botha to recognise us as matriculating, it simply means that we are not independent but servants of the system like Gatsha Buthelezi who is paid by Vorster, do we also want Vorster's certificate? To hell with a paper! Certificate! The certificate we want now is our land, and for that we shall fight till the racists are defeated. Criminal Vorster keep your certificates and give us back our birth rights. We won't exchange them for a paper of enslavement-certificate. Education is in itself good but the first school for an oppressed people is a revolution.

TO TOWN! TO JOHANNESBURG! TO ELOFF! and surroundings, demonstrate violently your bitterness. Ignore the counter revolutionaries, traitors who will call you a Tsotsi Element. For you are the Revolutionary Element.

We did it early this year, they have done it in Cape Town!

What will stop us now? to town says the most deprived part of humanity! Use every available transport. The Battle Cry will be: **VORSTER YOU CAN'T STOP US!**

THE BLACK STUDENTS' MESSAGE TO THEIR BELOVED PARENTS

Dear Parents

The Black students throughout Azania have shown their extreme dissatisfaction with the edu-

cation that is handed out to them, an education which shackles the mind and which is only inten-

ded to create a mere efficient black labour force to be exploited by those in power, more than this, the Black students have demanded a radical change from the entire oppressive apartheid system which dehumanises and belittles one, a system that does not allow the full development of man, what we have seen in Soweto and in other areas throughout the country appears to be the first stirrings of a monster and we may be standing in the tip of a power keg which could shake the whole of South Africa. A growing white *mountain of repressive laws and suppressive measures* (pass laws police brutality detentions without trial etc.) has been met with a new and growing determination by the Black Students a determination to rid themselves of the oppressor and to build a free and undivided Azania.

Peaceful demonstrations by the students have been met with force by those in power a call on workers who are also our parents by students to join them in this protest marches has been met with an escalation of police brutality and an increase in the number of legalised murders.

The students believe that South Africa is what it is, and has been built by the blood, sweat and broken bodies of the oppressed and exploited Black workers, it is a wellknown fact that the Blacks carry the economy of this country on their shoulders. All the skyscrapers, super highways, etc, are built out of our undistributed wages.

It is because of these facts that the students rea-

lise that in any liberatory struggle, the power for change lies with the workers.

OUR PARENTS IN THE HOSTELS

We would now like to address ourselves to our parents in the hostels whom the enemies of Black unity want to set against us.

The students have nothing against people living in hostels, they are our parents they are victims of the notorious migrant labour system. They are forced to live hundreds of miles away from their families, their needs and grievances are ignored by the power that be. *We are aware that they are picked like sardines in small rooms with no privacy and living under appalling conditions.*

Yet when the students rise against these injustices and designers of our miserable lives, the powers that be suddenly remember that these are well meaning citizens.

The puppet UBC, acting on instructions from Pretoria deem it fit to arm our parents in the hostels against us. The students reject in toto, the entire oppressive system with its licky packet institutions like the UBC's and the Bantustans, these toy telephones are designed to divide the Black community.
UNITED WE STAND.

BRITISH TROTSKYISM IS WHITE CHAUVINISM

«The Chinese Revolution which finally achieved power in 1949, sweeping a barbaric nation of 600 million on to the world stage . . .»

(From «Militant» – British Trotskyite Journal.)

*ALEX CALLINICOS AND JOHN ROGERS,
SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER SOWETO, LONDON,
PLUTO PRESS, 1977. 229pp. (Paperback £2.00).*

*Southern africa in Crisis, London, Red Weekly
Pamphlet, 1977, 48 pp. (30 p)*

The Red Weekly pamphlet is the work of the British International Marxist Group (IMG), a section of Ernest Mandel's «Fourth International» with its headquarters in Brussels. The IMG is a small Trotskyite sect and its membership is largely composed of students and wealthy ultra-left in-

tellecuals. IMG-Trotskyites exercise considerable influence in *New Left Review* and the *Review of African Political Economy* (RAPE).

as its brand of psuedo-intellectual theoretical mystification appeals to ultra-left academics and students in Britain. Probably the best known IMG-Trotskyite supporter is the Pakistani-born Trotskyite, Tariq Ali. The IMG takes the orthodox Trotskyite perspective that the Soviet Union is a «degenerate workers' state», maintaining that despite serious defects present-day Russia is still a socialist country. The IMG-Trotskyites similarly maintain that the real socialist countries, such as China, Korea, Albania, etc., are also «degenerate» or «deformed». Such a perspective is based on Trostky's antagonism to self-reliant development, to J.V. Stalin's socialism in one country thesis. Instead, Trotskyites believe that their version of «socialism» can only be delivered by working-class revolutions in Western Europe and North America. IMG-Trotskyites uphold the old Trotskyite line on «permanent revolution», meaning that only the White workers of the advanced, industrialised capitalist countries can ensure socialism in other parts of the world. It is not surprising that the IMG-Trotskyites and the «Fourth International» Trotskyites find their sectarian supporters amongst the more chauvinistic strata of European and American students, or arrogant Western-brainwashed Third World psuedo-intellectuals who have settled in Euorope or the Americas. Yet the IMG-Trotskyties still try to interfere in the national liberation wars and socialist revolutions of Africa.

The Red Weekly pamphlet begins with South Africa. Like the SWP-Trotskyites of Pluto Press, the IMG-Trotskyites deny the African name for South Africa – AZANIA. The pamphlet does initially admit that South Africa was a creation of British imperialism and European settlers (pp. 3 – 4), but then proceeds to use the Trotskyite term «racist capitalism» (p. 4). What the authors should clearly establish is that AZANIA is a country pied by European colonialists, and that racialism goes hand-in-hand with colonialism. Capitalism in Azania has used this racist colonialism to super-exploit the Azanian masses. Indeed, Western imperialism, especially the United States of America and Britain, have greatly profited from the maintenance of the White settler colonial regime in Azania. Now that the racist settler regime is visibly tottering, the American superpower and its imperialist collaborators are desperately seeking ways to save the White colonialists from total defeat – and to save their capitalist exploitation of the human and natural resources of Azania. The Russian superpower and its imperialist collaborators are challenging Western imperialist domination. But the Russian superpower shares the

same fears of the American superpower. Both superpowers are mortally afraid of the flames of revolution of the African people. Both superpowers are struggling to dampen and deflect the Azanian people from the road of total national liberation and full socialist revolution. Both superpowers are terrified that the example of self-reliant socialism of People's China will be emulated by Azanian revolutionaries, and deny both America and Russia the opportunity to oppress and exploit the African peoples.

APARTHEID OR COLONIALISM

The Red Weekly pamphlet instead provides a standard Western liberal account of Apartheid. One positive feature of their account is mention of the oppression of women. «African women are oppressed as both women and blacks, and exploited as workers». (p. 16). True! And only the death of colonialism and establishment of the dictatorship of the Azanian proletariat will see African women firmly emancipated from their double oppression and capitalist exploitation. The pamphlet also has a short section on Zimbabwe. Here, the IMG-Trotskyites are prepared to use the African name, Zimbabwe, instead of the colonial name, Rhodesia. Once more, the account of Zimbabwe is standard Western liberalism. The IMG-Trotskyites then turn to the issue of imperialism: imperialist interests and imperialist strategy. For the IMG-Trotskyites, imperialism means only Western imperialism. They refuse to admit that present-day Russia is an imperialist superpower, despite their contorted beliefs in the «degeneration» of the Russian revolution of 1917. The pamphlet stresses the deep commitment of the Western imperialists to the White South African colonialists. The pamphlet also notes the role of French imperialism in supplying armaments to the White colonialists, as well as the increasing collaboration with the settler state, «Israel», in occupied Palestine.

The pamphlet continues with an account of African resistance to European colonialism. Here the IMG-Trotskyites could be expected to rely less on repetitions of Western liberal interpretations. Yet the section has little to offer that differs from the usual European writings on Africa's resistance. The authors open with the extraordinary remark: «The present liberation movements in South Africa stem from two political traditions: the development of nationalist movements from within the African people, and the white labour movement» (p. 31). It subsequently appears that the second «political tradition» of the white labour movement is a reference in particular to the evil influence of the White-dominated agency of Russian imperialism, the South African «Communist»

party. The IMG-Trotskyites correctly criticise the SA•C•P for its procolonialist practices. But (surprise!) the IMG-Trotskyites also approve of the 1928 Black Republic Thesis formulated by J.V. Stalin's Third International: «It was only with the intervention of the Comintern in 1929 that the South African CP was forced to break with its chauvinist and opportunist adaptation to the white labour movement, and adopt the slogan of the 'native republic' – in other words, for a South Africa ruled by its black majority. On this basis the Communist Party was able to take some important steps forward in organising black political resistance to the rising tide of nationalist oppression». (p. 34). «Nationalist oppression» is presumably a reference to the Dutch «Nationalist Party», one of the political parties upholding the European colonial oppression of the African masses. The pamphlet also mentions the foundation in 1943 of the Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA); a fact of Azanian history usually ignored by the social-fascist SA•C•P supporters. On the subsequent history of the SA•C•P, the pamphlet has this to say of the «Freedom Charter» of 1956: «It is noteworthy that the Freedom Charter refers throughout to 'all the people' – and never the 'majority'. This can have only one meaning: a desire to reassure the dominant white minority (sic!) that their interests and privileges will not be disregarded in a 'democratic' South Africa. Moreover, in the context of South Africa's racial domination, such emphasis on considering the 'rights' of the oppressors and the need for brotherhood with them can only have the effect of weakening efforts to ensure the broadest unity and self-organisation of the most oppressed layers of the masses, the Africans, without which no effective liberation struggle can take place.» (p. 36).

TROTS. DEFAME PAC

Amazing! A handful of Trotskites have managed to see clearly through the SA•C•P invented «Freedom Charter» of 1956. The pamphlet also correctly shows how the Congress Alliance stifled the African National Congress (ANC), and led to the formation of the revolutionary Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). On the PAC, the pamphlet notes. «The PAC correctly criticised the subordination of the African masses to reformist ideals and white liberal interests in the Congress Alliance, and had a much sounder emphasis on black self-reliance in the liberation struggle and the establishment of links with the developing anti-colonial struggle elsewhere on the African continent.» (p. 37). What excellent remarks! Only to be followed by some ultra-left Trotskyite lies: «But the PAC coupled this with vague and often

outright reactionary and anti-communist political ideas; as a result, they failed to develop a clear alternative political strategy to that of the Congress Alliance.» (p. 37). What nonsense! PAC of Azania is against the phoney White «communists» of the SA•C•P. PAC's political ideas are not reactionary. To the contrary to the lies of the IMG-Trotskyites, PAC has the most progressive political ideas of all the liberation movements. The pamphlet also briefly mentions the Black Consciousness movement of the 1970's. The authors add a curious comment: «But although the ANC/CP had little to do with the events in Soweto, it is wrong to write them off; they played a not inconsiderable role in the later events in Cape Town – a PAC stronghold – even less. A couple of pamphlet bombs placed by White sumpathisers with the SA•C•P do not make for a role in the Cape Town uprisings. The Red Weekly authors also give a short section on Zimbabwe, and suggest that for the nationalist leaders at least, «armed struggle is seen not as a serious mobilisation of the Zimbabwean people for their own liberation but simply as a means of applying pressure on imperialists and the racists to create favourable conditions for a negotiated settlement.» (p. 40) Certainly right in the case of Joshua Nkomo, but wrong in the case of Robert Mugabe and the ZANU militants, which upholds the Marxist-Leninist line on people's war. On Namibia, the pamphlet criticises SWAPO for illusions about the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity, and for its alleged failure to spell-out the socialist tasks for the Namibian revolution. These remarks need further elaboration, especially the contradictions within SWAPO about the national liberation struggle and the kind of socialist revolution desired. In addition, the other political parties and movements within Namibia deserve mention, e.g., the Namibia National Convention, SWANU, etc.

The IMG-Trotskyites conclude with their advice for «A Programme of Struggle». They begin with AZANIA. «The first thing to get clear here is the completely wrong notion of the CP and the ANC that apartheid is some kind of evil 'secondary growth' on the body of South African capitalism.» (p. 41). Apartheid is in fact yet another form of South African colonialism and the ending of South African colonialism will also mean the inevitable end of South African white capitalism. The IMG-Trotskyites believe that the socialist revolution is «on the order of the day in South Africa» (p. 41), though admitting that the «demands of the oppressed against racism and for democratic rights which will serve as the focus of the broadest mass mobilisation». (p. 41) But the IMG-Trotskyites cannot bring themselves to admit that there are two stages of the Azanian revolution:

first, the national liberation to kill South African colonialism – the national democratic revolution; and second, the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the Azanian proletariat. In the first stage, the protracted armed struggle is leading to greater unity amongst the Azanian people, despite the splittist role played by the social-fascists and ultra-leftists. In this national liberation war, Azanian Marxist-Leninists are emerging in greater number and clarifying the strategy and tactics of the uninterrupted Azanian revolution. And soon a genuine Azanian Marxist-Leninist communist Party will emerge to lead the Azanian workers and peasants to the second stage of the establishment of a Socialist People's Republic of Azania. The IMG-Trotskyites also ritually attack the Comintern (the Third International of J.V. Stalin) and the role of the peasantry in the revolution. (pp. 41 – 42). The Azanian working class has certainly grown since the 1930's, but the land question and the alliance with the Azanian peasants and rural workers remains an essential part of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution. Thus the IMG-Trotskyites state – «It is not the agrarian question which is at the heart of the South African revolution (although it may still play a significant role amongst sections of the Bantustan population), but the struggles of the proletariat, particularly the younger, permanently urbanised layer.» (p. 42). Yet it is the land question, the return of the land stolen by the White colonialists, which is at the heart of the Azanian national democratic revolution. The anti-colonial struggles involve not merely the Bantustan population, but also the Azanian people's demand for the return of the remaining 87% of Azania currently occupied by the White farmers. In the second stage, the transformation of the land gradually through co-operatives into people's communes is an essential element in the construction of socialism. Of course, the urban workers are crucial in the step-by-step transformation of industries and commerce into truly socialist ownership and control, and in the political leadership of the proletarian dictatorship. IMG-Trotskyites correctly note: «The fight for the unity of all Black workers – irrespective of 'tribal', 'national', or 'racial' origin – is of central importance. From this flows the importance and progressive character of the «Black Consciousness Movement», which affirms the common identity of all South Africans not of European origin.» (p. 42). What a welcome contrast to the usual slanders against the Black Consciousness Movement by the modern revisionists and other Trotskyites! But what a pity the IMG-Trotskyites cannot bring themselves to use the name of this Black nation, AZANIA. On Zimbabwe, the IMG-Trotskyites suggest that it will

not be possible to create socialism in Zimbabwe until Azania is socialist (p. 43), and urge a united front in action of all the liberation groups (as the disunity allegedly does not reflect clear political differences). Try telling that to the valiant ZANU freedom fighters! Finally, the IMG-Trotskyites urge Marxists in Africa to adhere to Ernest Mandel's «Fourth International» in Belgium. Imagine trying to sell the line that the centre of world revolution is in bourgeois Brussels! Should any African marxists ever be tempted by the ultra-left rhetoric of the IMG-Trotskyites, they should first carefully study and investigate the origins and theories and practices of Trotskyism. And they will soon discover that behind the anti-imperialist rhetoric lies a past of treachery and betrayal of socialism and liberation struggles. It is significant that in their concluding section on solidarity, the IMG-Trotskyites mention the solidarity movement with the Vietnamese liberation struggle. Yet it is precisely the ultra-left antics of the Trotskyites that split and sabotaged the mass-based British solidarity movement with the Vietnamese people. No wonder that Ho Chi Minh ensured that the tiny sect of Vietnamese Trotskyites were totally removed from the Vietnamese liberation movement. No wonder that British Marxist-Leninists and other real friends of the Vietnamese people came to clearly see the counter-revolutionary role of the Trotskyites in the solidarity movement. And so today with Trotskyite solidarity with the national liberation struggle of Southern Africa. The Azanian people do not need such phoney solidarity, with ultra-left advice against self-reliant struggle in favour of variant versions of Trotskyite «socialist revolution» – the ultimate success of which always depends on a crucial role being played by the workers of America and Europe (including of course the «degenerated» workers' state of Russia). In the final analysis, the Azanian and other African peoples will write their own History – a history of triumphant struggle against colonialism, imperialisms and capitalisms.

The Red Weekly pamphlet ends with a page of recommended reading. The first recommendation? The social-fascist Penguin paperback by Basil Davidson and his friends. With the exception of I.B. Tabata of UMSA and S. Mhlongo in *New Left Review*, all the authors are Europeans. Why no writings by leading African revolutionaries or publications by African liberation movements? Perhaps the IMG-Trotskyites fear that their readers may get different ideas after reading what Africans think about the African revolutions? The call of the Pan-Africanist movement resounds stronger than ever: **AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS! WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS!**

ANOTHER SET OF TROTSKYITE BULLSHITTERS

Unlike R. W. Johnson's *How Long will South Africa Survive?* (reviewed in the last issue), the Pluto Press book is openly Trotskyite. The authors clearly state in the Preface that the book is the result of discussions in the Socialist Worker Africa Group. Pluto Press and the Socialist Workers are part of the empire of the Socialist Workers Party in Britain. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formerly known as the international socialists (IS). One of the differences between this Trotskyite sect and the «Fourth International» of Ernest Mandel and other Trotskyites is the SWP belief that all socialist countries, including China and North Korea, are state capitalists countries. Thus, already in the Introduction to the book China is said to be in an «unholy alliance of two other Angolan nationalist groups, FNLA and UNITA, the US, Zambia, Zaire, South Africa and 'People's' China» (pp. 7 – 8). Furthermore, the Introduction, in yet another revision of the Trotskyite gospel, announces that «the resolution of the crisis of Southern Africa, a crisis that reaches as far as Lusaka and Kinshasa, lies in the hands the massive black working class concentrated in the townships and mine-compounds of South Africa» (p. 9). Note that there is no mention of White workers or White democrats, as one would find in the propaganda of the South African «Communist» party (SA-C-P) and its followers. But then there is also a refusal to recognise the colonial nature of the South African regime, and hence the correct African name for South Africa – AZANIA – is not mentioned.

The first chapter deals with Apartheid and Capitalism, setting forth the SWP-Trotskyite line on the dominance of capitalism and their critique of other analyses of Azania. Both the liberal capitalist's theory of how capitalism will gradually erode apartheid and the social-fascist concept of «colonialism of a special type» as upheld by the SA-C-P are rejected by the SWP-Trotskyites. Instead, South Africa is seen as a capitalist country with some specific features:

«First, the overwhelming majority of the working class is denied any political rights because it is black and is subjected to a series of controls aimed at preventing it from becoming a stable, settled urban class with the sort of trade-union and political organisations that workers in Western Europe and North America take for granted. Second, gold-mining plays a central role in the South African economy. Third, the state not only manages the economy, but also owns large sections of South African industry. Fourth, capitalist control of the state in South Africa is organised under the hegemony of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie

and this hegemony is exercised through the Nationalist Party, which has been in power since 1948» (pp. 12 – 13). A series of truisms about South African capitalism. But it ignores the fundamental factor in capitalist South Africa: that Azania is ruled by settler colonialists, who have robbed the African people of their land and birth-right. The chapter continues with a brief historical description of migrant labour and gold-mining, and the formation of an African working-class. The SWP authors see the crucial difference between the Azanian workers and those in the advanced capitalist countries as: «But the political freedoms that workers in Western Europe and North America had won were denied to them» (p. 26). Of course, to grant political freedom to the Azanian workers would mean the end of South African colonialism. The chapter concludes with a section on Afrikaner Nationalism, State Capitalism and the White Working Class, taking the reader through familiar historical territory. It is argued that the Afrikaner nationalists used the state (political power) to further their own bourgeois class interests: hence, the development of state capitalism. The authors conclude: «Not only is Afrikaner private capital now able to deal with English-speaking capital on equal terms so that increasingly the two groups collaborate; but thanks to its control of the state via the Nationalist Party and the complex of interests linking it to the parastatals and the government, the Afrikaner bourgeoisie has become the dominant section of South African capitalism». (p 40) What still needs to be spelt out is the role of foreign capital in South African capitalism, before one can consider whether the Afrikaner bourgeoisie is the «dominant section» and precisely what the phrase means. (This issue is taken up again in Chapter 3 of the book).

AFRICAN RESISTANCE

Chapter 2 is titled «Black Resistance and White Oppression», and appropriately begins: «Black resistance to white rule in South Africa is almost as old as the first colonial settlement in 1652» (p 41) In fact, it could be better phrased without the word «almost»! Indeed, the second sentence – «The Bantu peoples first fought a series of bitter and heroic wars against the white invaders» – may be taken to imply that the Nama and Khoi-khoi peoples did not fight heroically and bitterly against the White colonialists? The third sentence is also a possibly misleading interpretation of present struggles: «Then, after the Afrikaner and British colonial armies had succeeded in conquering the country, black resistance took the form of struggles against expropriation and

proletarianisation and against their exploitation as workers». Yes, but also against the racism of White colonial rule and for the return of their land. The Azanian workers are not only struggling against extreme capitalist exploitation, but also against occupation of their land by foreigners.

The authors begin their story of Black Resistance and White Oppression with the Bambata Rebellion of 1906, which they correctly see as a revolt not only as against white rule but also against the poll tax to force Africans into wage-slavery. More than 4,000 Azanians died; amongst the many thousands who have shed their blood in the fight for Africa's freedom. It is interestingly noted (page 41) that Gandhi supported the suppression of the African uprising, «even providing medical auxiliaries for the colonial troops»! So much for Gandhi as the great leader of the Indian people and as an example for African nationalists in their struggle for liberation. The evil effects of Gandhi's non-violent methods and populist mystification can clearly be seen in present-day India. His legacy in Azania has also been counter-revolutionary, inspiring the collaborationist lies of the Congress Alliance and the soothing talk of the necessity of peaceful decolonisation. Gandhi showed in 1906 where his true class interests lay: with the capitalist class and imperialism.

The foundation of the African Nationalist Congress (ANC) is described as the product of an alliance «between the African petty bourgeoisie – lawyers, professionals, traders, rich peasants, – and the chiefs, the traditional leaders of African society.» (p. 42) The authors clearly spell out the reformist nature of the ANC until the late 1940's. The foundation of the South African «Communist» Party is also clearly stated: set-up by Whites in 1921. The SA•C•P supported the White workers in the 1922 Rand Revolt and what it called the «anti-imperialist front» in the election of 1924 – the alliance of racist white labour and Afrikaner Nationalism that defeated Smuts (p. 43). By 1924, the SA•C•P decided to begin mass work amongst black workers. Then followed the familiar story of the efforts of the SA•C•P to take over the ICU of Kadalie, and the role of white liberals in stopping the «C•P. In 1928 the Sixth Congress of the Third International laid down the «Black Republic Thesis» for the SA•C•P. Typically, the SWP-Trotskyites consider this line of the Third International as «an abandonment of the Bolshevik perspective of international working-class revolution» (p. 44). But, the authors are forced to admit: «Initially, the 'native Republic' line served as a useful corrective to the CP's remaining illusions in white workers: it encouraged the party to embrace the struggles against all forms of oppression of the black population» (p. 44).

MORE DISTORTIONS

However, they see the so-called Third Period in 1930 as a disaster: a period of increased class struggle. It is true that mistakes were made in this period: a more detailed description may be found in Eddie Roux's *Time Longer Than Rope*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1972. Many Africans were alienated by the rapid change in policies, and the tendency to denounce African nationalist demands as «reformist». The authors rightly cite how «The low point was reached in 1934, when Lazar Bach anticipated separate development by calling for a 'voluntary association of national republics ... Sotho, Tswana, Swazi, Zulu, Xhosa.... in a federation of independent native republics». Lazar Bach was of course a White South African, anticipating the flirtation of present day SA•C•P members with the Bantustans. By 1935 the Popular Front against fascism and war began. Thus the SA•C•P accepted to work with the Native Representative Council set up by Hertzog in 1935, and against the All African Convention (AAC) decision to oppose it. The SA•C•P used the United Front period to sabotage the implementation of the «Black Republic Thesis» of 1928 and the militant struggles of the workers and peasants. The SA•C•P's misuse of the United Front against Fascism to promote reformism and collaboration left a gap for more militant organisations. One such organisation was founded by the Trotskyite, I.B. Tabata, in 1943: the Non-European Unity Movement, now known as the Unity Movement of South Africa (UMSA). (p. 49). Yet, while the UMSA wisely broke with European Trotskyism – both within South Africa and in Europe itself – , it has never been able to satisfactorily deal with the national question or obtain widespread mass support. It has remained confined to intellectual groups, with periods of its history in which localised mass support was obtained for particular issues. Yet the degree of success enjoyed by the Trotskyite UMSA is a reflection of the failings of Marxist-Leninists within the SA•C•P and of the reformism of the African National Congress.

The authors then turn their attention to apartheid and the Black resistance. They show the links between apartheid and earlier methods of maintaining White supremacy (pp. 50 – 54). In dealing with Black resistance, they mention how in 1943 the ANC Youth League was founded, under the inspiration of Anton Lembede. Amidst the betrayals of the SA•C•P and the confused ultra-leftism of the UMSA Trotskyites, the re-assertion of Africanism was a major step forward in the history of the Azanian peoples struggles. The Pluto Press book mentions the names of the leading members: «Apart from Lembede, Oliver

Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Robert Sobukwe and Walter Sisulu». (p. 55). Lembede unfortunately died prematurely: it was left to Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe to keep high the banner of Africanism and revolutionary struggle. Mandela and Sisulu paid the price of the SA-C-P's treachery and the ANC's reformism; yet they too are loyal to the African revolution. The authors continue the story of the ANC and the SA-C-P, and the Congress Alliance. The highpoint was the so-called Freedom Charter of 1955. The remarks of our authors are revealing: «The preamble to the Charter infuriated the Africanists like Robert Sobukwe: it stated 'that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white' (as distinct from 'Africa for the Africans'). The incipient anti-communism of the Africanists was fuelled by the activities of white Communists apparently intent on tying the Congress Alliance to Russian foreign policy. It was also fuelled by the infiltration tactics adopted by the Communist Party» (p. 57). No comment should be necessary, except to refer readers once again for a better interpretation to Ethel Khopung's excellent work on Apartheid. (Incidentally, not mentioned in the bibliography of the Pluto Press book; though it should be added that Ikwezi is!). The authors correctly note of the SA-C-P: «The party never recovered from the loss of African members during the third period (i.e. 1930) and remained a predominantly white organisation. It was so preoccupied with legality (its members sat in Parliament as white Native representatives) that when the Nationalists passed the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the party central Committee voted to dissolve with only two dissenting votes». Then we are presented with yet another version of the founding of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in 1959. «Pure and unadulterated African nationalism and anti-communism made up the Africanists' diet». To which is added the usual twist of white supporters of PAC, such as Patrick Duncan, as being somehow in contradiction with the alleged diet. No, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania cannot be dismissed in so cheap a fashion. But worse comes in the next sentence: «There was little to choose between the two Congresses. neither saw mass action as more than a means of putting pressure on the regime; neither saw that only armed insurrection could overthrow the regime». not true of the Pan Africanist Congress, which certainly envisaged both mass action as a means of preparing the ground for revolution, and armed struggle as the only ultimate means of overthrowing the colonial regime. It is easy to take certain public statements of PAC leaders in 1959 out of context to prove the opposite: it is another matter to seriously study and understand the origins and foundations of the Pan Africanist

Congress. Of course the PAC had and has White supporters, but never as the leadership of an African liberation movement! Of course, the PAC has had anti-communist members and still has non-communist members: the PAC is a broad front allying all possible African forces to undertake the first central task: the overthrow by armed struggle of the settler colonial regime in Azania! The Pan Africanist Congress is committed to a socialist Azania: a socialism which rejects the capitalism of the West and the phoney «socialism» of Russia and Eastern Europe. The PAC through their experience of struggle have come to see who the true friends of the African peoples are and who the true socialists and communists are: and these include the socialists in Tanzania and the communists of China and Albania. The PAC rightly condemned in 1959 the phoney White «communists» of the modern revisionist SA-C-P, and have correctly striven to develop an authentic application of true socialism to the particular needs of the Azanian people. And, the day is not far off when a genuine vanguard party of the Azanian workers and peasants will arise – a genuine Communist party, led by Africans and rooted in the African masses – and based firmly on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIALISM

The chapter on Black Resistance and White Oppression ends with the banning of the ANC and PAC, the crushing of their respective attempts at armed struggle, and the many peasant uprisings that have followed. Some comments are worth reproducing: «It was not until 1970 that the KwaZulu territorial authority was established under the leadership of Gatsha Buthelezi who has been remarkably successful in concealing from his white liberal admirers both at home and abroad the fact that his position depends on white terror in the African countryside» (p. 60). Or, on the Transkei, «even on the eve of Transkei independence in October 1976, the tribal quisling regime of Kaiser Mantazima was forced to goal most of the leading members of the opposition Democratic party» (p. 61). But amidst these clear statements, there is much confusion in the remaining pages. Suffice to say that PAC's armed wing, Poqo, is dismissed, whilst the ANC and MK are criticised, with the help of quotations from Ben Turok, a disillusioned White communist. But the last remarks contain some good points: «Exile reinforced the dependence of the ANC on the

white Communists who were the source for Russian material aid. The ANC's 1969 Conference at its Morogoro headquarters near Dar-es-Salaam revealed the CP's influence. A document (on strategy and tactics) that reproduced the SACP's 1962 programme was adopted. A revolutionary council was set up that included Joe Slovo, a white communist.» An excellent comment. Only to be followed by another dismissive remark about the PAC: «Meanwhile the PAC toyed with Maoism and squabbled with the Zambian government». (p. 64) Still, it is refreshing to discover the allegedly anticommunist PAC linked with Maoism; and in falling foul of the Zambian government, PAC is in the good company of the Zimbabwe African National Union and Robert Mugabe.

The third chapter is called «The Contradictions of South African Capitalism», and is couched in standard Trotskyite jargon, e.g. the subheading, «uneven and combined development». But the first point in the chapter is a good reminder: «the sheer scale of Western capital's involvement in the South African economy» (p. 64). The authors correctly stress the crucial role of Western capitalism in sustaining the capitalism of the South African colonial regime: a point which should be viewed in the light of their remarks in chapter 1 about the Afrikaner bourgeoisie being the dominant section of South African capitalism (p. 40). The authors stress that «South African capitalism is not an exact replica of Western capitalism. Its development has been uneven, a result of its position in the world economy and of the peculiar configuration of classes within South Africa itself.» (p. 69) Development in Azania is certainly uneven; the White colonialists have become parastically overdeveloped at the expense of the underdevelopment of the Azanian people. (See Malcolm Caldwell's *The Wealth of Some Nations*, London, Zed Press, 1977 for a global exposition of this process of national oppression and capitalist exploitation). The result of this continuing «underdeveloping» (seen in the Pluto Press book as a combination of low wages and low productivity), the Azanian people do not provide a greatly expanding market for the goods produced by South African manufacturing industries. So South African manufacturers seek markets abroad. This problem is not confined to South Africa. Other Third World countries, particularly in Latin America, face the same problems. Manufacturing industry, often on the basis of import substitution, is geared to the production of luxury consumer items for the rich, and not the basic necessities for the poor masses. The result in South Africa, Latin America, India, etc., is that there is too small a market amongst the few local rich. So the capitalist «solution» is to look abroad for markets. But then the problem is how to compete with the ad-

vanced capitalist countries? In the case of South Africa, gold and other mineral wealth – the birth-right of the Azanian people – has been and is exploited and sold at a great profit. But in 1975 the price of gold dropped, and has not again risen to pre-1975 levels. The South African economy is therefore in serious difficulties. It is only the exploitation of the vast mineral wealth, in collaboration with Western imperialism, which saves the South African colonial economy from a drastic recession. The authors note that «as a whole, South African industry is not in a position to grant large wage increases to the black working class» (p. 73). Further, they note the very high – and rapidly rising – rate of unemployment amongst Azanian workers. Hence, the imperialism of South African colonialism: the search for markets for capital and commodities outside South Africa (p. 75). And the basis of contemporary South African imperialist endeavours is the policy of détente inaugurated by the arch-fascist, Johannes Balthazar Vorster (p. 78).

THE BLACK WORKING CLASS

The next section is on «The Black Working Class»; an absolutely and relatively large proletariat in Africa. Yet very few Blacks are skilled workers. Skilled and privileged occupations are the preserve of the White workers. Here the SWP-Trotskyites are faced with the problem of how to explain the counter-revolutionary and reactionary behaviour of the average White worker. To quote the authors: «Thus there is an apparent paradox. White workers are workers in the sense that they do not control the means of production and continue to be exploited by the capitalists who employ them yet their wages are not simply skilled workers' wages. They are kept artificially high by job reservation, which excludes black workers from skilled jobs and creates a skilled labour shortage. Because of this privileged position enjoyed by white workers depends on settler control of the state, they can be expected to resist any concessions to black interests. The liberation of the black majority in South Africa will take place against the opposition of the mass of the white workers.» (p. 81). Precisely, it is settler control – colonialism – which makes the vast majority of the White workers side with the White capitalists and Western imperialism. Some individual White workers may yet come to realize the inevitability of decolonisation and throw in their lot with the Azanian people. After the national liberation of Azania, the White workers remaining will require much patient re-education before they can participate fully in the construction of a socialist Azania. Obviously most whites, whether workers, petty-bourgeoisie or cawith their ill-gotten gains to the surviving capitalist countries in the

Americas, Europe and Australasia. The example of Mozambique shows how few Whites are prepared to remain and identify fully with Africa. In the case of Angola, the horrors of the Superpower intervention and the South African invasion drove away even those who may have been capable in the future of a true commitment to Africa. The flight of the Angolan Whites is now given by the Luanda government as a rationalisation for the large numbers of new colonialists: the Cubans, the Russians, East Germans, Bulgarians, etc.

The Pluto press authors consider also the background to the waves of strikes in the 1970's. The strikes were sparked by the mounting desperation of the Azanian workers: poverty-level wages, combined with rampant inflation. The devaluation of the rand began in 1971 and has continued. The prices of basic foodstuffs and necessities has soared. Hence, the strikes in Durban in early 1973. Wages were slightly increased – only to be swallowed up very quickly by inflation. The authors also briefly describe the situation in the trade unions, but mention only the influence of the pro-capitalist TUCSA and the IFCTU as deflecting the Azanian workers from revolutionary struggles. We should not forget the attempts by the Russian-backed trade unions outside Azania to bill SACTU as the only legitimate representative of the Black workers in Azania. It is a pity that the Pluto press book can only make one small slighting reference to the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), implying that it was a creature of United States imperialism. BAWU has played a significant role in the struggles of the Azanian working class, and continues today to do so underground. It cannot be so easily dismissed. The last section of the chapter is on «The Crisis of Apartheid» (p. 88), and raises the question of the Bantustans. The authors assess the role of Bantustan leaders, e.g. Buthelezi, as strike-breakers and the efforts of the White colonialists to create a small black middle class. Their conclusions on the middle class and the trade union leadership are worth nothing: «Promoting the black middle class is unlikely to succeed. T.J. Makhaya, the chairman of the Soweto urban Bantu Council, and Richard Maponya, the Soweto millionaire, were forced into hiding and their homes placed under police guard to protect them from the anger of young black militants after the Soweto uprisings in June 1976. The embryonic black trade union leadership is also far too weak to act as a brake on the militancy of the black workers. There is very little to prevent the black workers' struggle against starvation wages and the denial of political and trade-union rights from developing into a struggle against capitalism itself». (p. 90).

Chapter 4 is concerned with Rhodesia: the Crisis of White power. The first few pages clearly establish that the regime is White settler colonialism, even if to save their Trotskyite line emphasis must be made on the development of capitalism. The section on Black Resistance is more interesting. The authors trace the development of ZAPU and ZANU. The comments on ZANU reveal their Trotskyite confusion. «ZANU certainly represented a more radical mood among the African masses. However, the mood was not translated into a strategy different from that of ZAPU and indeed was expressed in terms of the chimurenga – the great Shona uprising of 1896 – 7 – and the struggles of the present.» (p. 104). Here we see clearly revealed the SWP-Trotskyite inability to distinguish between ZAPU and ZANU's strategies, and their disdain for national liberation struggles. The authors also comment on the backers of ZAPU and ZANU: «ZAPU was supported by Moscow and lined up with the pro-Russian alliance of Southern African movements headed by ANC; ZANU was backed by China and imbibed large doses of Maoist politics along the way, as well as a genuine radicalisation among those of this members who left the country to undertake military training.» (p. 104). Note the typical Trotskyite contrast between «Maoist politics» and «genuine radicalisation». What a pity the authors do not stop to explain the difference! Certainly, Mao-Tse-Tung-Thought has much to offer the freedom fighters of Africa, and undoubtedly leads to genuine political radicalisation! Revolutionaries in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania and elsewhere should study carefully the works of the world's great revolutionaries: Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung. Indeed, Peking Foreign Languages press has produced a very cheap paperback edition of J.V. Stalin: *On the Opposition*, which convincingly exposes the counter-revolutionary character of Trotskyism. Mao Tse Tung himself on numerous occasions drew the attention of the Chinese people to the dangers of the ultra-left line of the Trotskyites and others, pointing out how such ultra-leftism was in fact rightist and counter-revolutionary.

A SET OF MISCONCEPTIONS

Chapter 5 is about Zambia, and is headed «Zambia: the Failure of State Capitalism». It appears that for the SWP-Trotskyites, not only is China, Korea, Cambodia, etc, state capitalist – but now even «Christian Humanist» Zambia! The chapter attempts to explain the vacillating poli-

cies of the Kaunda government, including the periods of support for detente. The authors show the failures in Kaunda's attempts to establish state control over the economy, and the ideological justification of this in terms of «Humanism». The authors conclude: «Kaunda's reforms were meant to provide the Zambian bourgeoisie with a secure economic base by introducing a measure of state capitalism into the economy. Too weak to accumulate capital in competition with the West as individuals, the Zambian ruling class would do so collectively through the medium of the state, a path followed by many semi-colonial countries, Egypt, Brazil and Argentina, among others. However, even collectively, the Zambian bourgeoisie was too weak to expropriate foreign capital. It would have involved them in mobilising the mass of Zambian workers and peasants against the copper companies, which would have threatened their own position. Moreover, Kaunda and his fellows could see no way of reducing Zambia's dependence on international capitalism, both as a market for copper and as the only source of technology and skilled labour-power the country lacked. The result was that the Zambian bourgeoisie entered into a partnership agreement with Western capital that left it still in a junior position, but with a larger share of the profits extracted from the Zambian working class» (p. 117). This citation is a fair summing-up of the realities of the Zambian ideology of «humanism» or «communocracy». To this must be added the comments of the Pluto Press authors on the failure of the Zambian economy. The drop in the price of copper in 1975 has had drastic consequences. The Zambian regime has squandered its earnings from the export of copper on luxury consumer goods for the new bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, neglecting the development of agriculture and the broad masses of the people. Thus the authors point out how «500 White farmers remained responsible for 80 per cent of Zambia's agricultural output» (p. 118). Truly a scandalous reflection on the pious hypocrisy of the Zambian government. The result is also massive imports of foodstuffs, particularly from South Africa. Furthermore, the authors add: «Tribal divisions which mask the grubbing after spoils by different sections of the Zambian bourgeoisie still threaten to tear Zambia apart. And there is the ever-lengthening shadow of an army that has come to exercise an increasing weight in Zambian politics, and that may follow the example of soldiers in many other African states by seizing power». (p. 112) And, finally, there is the threat to Kaunda's rule from the workers and peasants. But Zambia also lacks a revolutionary party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, to provide the leadership for a socialist revolution. Yet such an

African revolutionary party will surely emerge, and sweep away the present-day exploiters and betrayers of the African people.

Chapter 6 is titled: «Detente Phase One: the Vorster-Kaunda Alliance». The story is well-known. What the authors clearly bring out is Kaunda's efforts to smash ZANU, and the efforts to promote Joshua Nkomo as the future president of an independent Zimbabwe. Amidst the convoluted twists and turns of the Zimbabwean struggle, this remains Kaunda's policy to this very day. The authors also mention SWAPO and Namibia, but fail to mention the internal struggles within SWAPO and the role of the Zambian government (See the article on Namibia in the last issue of IKWEZI). Yet the Zambian interference in SWAPO on behalf of the interests of the two Superpowers bears much resemblance to their interference in ZANU.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT URBAN WORKERS

Chapter 7 deals with Angola. The authors treat the reader to yet another version of the Angolan civil war and the intervention by the two Superpowers. Some of the comments in the Pluto Press book need examination. The authors clearly bring out the influence of the revisionist Angolan «Communist» Party in the MPLA, and note Neto's role in serving their interests. The assertion (p. 142) that the MPLA had deep roots in the urban workers of Luanda is certainly questionable, though of course the idea appeals to the Trotskyite obsession with urban workers as the only revolutionary force. UNITA is slandered as the creation of the CIA (p. 144), immediately after it is stated that Savimbi left the FNLA because of CIA-influence! Their account of the Angolan civil war is a mixture of fact and fantasy. Yet the authors recognise in part that perhaps the Russian and Cuban intervention was not undertaken out of «pure altruism». (p. 152). For example, they state: «As for the Cubans, the American blockade had made the Castro regime heavily dependent on Russia, and led to Castro's emergence as one of the most loyal supporters of the Moscow foreign policy line in the Third World. He defended the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and backed the Chilean Communist Party in its search for an alliance with the Christian democratic party, one of the main instigators of the 1973 coup.» (p. 152). They also correctly recognise that another factor in the Russian intervention was rivalry with China. The authors cannot resist the opportunity to also

attack China as having a pro-Western policy in Angola. (p. 153). yet China condemned both Superpowers and the South African invasion. Of course, China denounces particularly the Soviet social-imperialists and their running dogs – for they are the colonialists today in occupation of Angola! Just as in the cases of Zimbabwe and Azania, China concentrates on attacking the illegal settler regimes.

Chapter 8: «Soweto: the Black Townships Explode». The authors spend several pages tracing the background to the Soweto uprisings. Referring to the development of SASO and the BPC, they correctly observe: «Only as a movement of blacks, led by blacks, could it succeed. Whites could only play a supernumerary role. Their approach cut across the SACP's strategy of an alliance between blacks and white 'democrats' and recalled the Africanism of the PAC. Indeed the PAC has, at the level of ideas at least, had an influence upon BPC and SASO, as have various Churches and other bodies upon the ANC itself.» (page 162). Indeed the PAC has given much inspiration to the new militant organisations of the Azanian youth. The book also quotes Tsietshi Mashini, exiled president of the Soweto Students Representative Council, to the effect that neither ANC or PAC had been at work in the Soweto uprisings. A largely correct statement, though certainly individual PAC members provided inspiration and assistance. But it is a timely reminder of the false claims of the ANC-«C»P to a leading role in the Soweto uprisings. The authors also underline the counter-revolutionary role of Buthelezi through the formation of Inkatha, a reactionary Zulu tribal organisation. (p. 165).

Chapter 9 is about Detente again: the Kissinger Deal. Kissinger has now fortunately past into history. But it should be emphasised that the Carter-Young circus of smiles is only a continuation of the dirty-dealing of Kissinger. There is no substantive difference between the Nixon-Kissinger deals and the Carter-Young proposals: the faces and the rhetoric have changed. The chapter brings out clearly the threat to the two Superpowers and other imperialisms of the rise of ZANU and the successes of the Zimbabwean armed struggle. The authors have this to say about ZIPA and ZANU: «The politics of ZIPA are those of ZANU – radical nationalism, sympathy with the Chinese bureaucracy, opposition to detente, stress on protracted armed struggle, as the road to majority rule.» (pp. 179 – 180). Note the typical Trotskyite reference to the Chinese! The authors stress how Nyerere and Machel are backing ZANU, and Kenneth Kaunda is backing Nkomo and ZAPU. This leads to the following remark: «Nonetheless the ZANU radicals who control ZIPA have to pay the price of their pact with

the devil. They are completely dependent on the Mozambique government. Should Frelimo decide to back the settlement – and it would be very difficult for it to stand out against the black states – ZIPA would be forced into line willy-nilly.» (p. 190). There is an element of truth in this statement. But is ZANU completely dependent on Mozambique? And will the Mozambique people and government who have sacrificed so much for the real liberation of Zimbabwe be prepared to quietly take part in a sell-out to Nkomo and the two Superpowers? The SWP-Trotskyites see the solution in a strategy based on the urban working class in Zimbabwe (pp. 190 – 2). But has ZANU neglected the urban working class? Certainly not. Nor is an urban-based strategy likely to succeed. We need to remember the lessons of history. It was Chairman Mao who successfully changed the strategy of the Chinese Communist Party from the urban areas to the rural areas, and showed how the peasantry in alliance with the working-class was a powerful revolutionary force. It was Trotsky and his followers who urged the disastrous policy of basing the revolution on the urban areas. (For comments on this issue, see Malcolm Caldwell's *The Wealth of Some Nations* Malcolm Caldwell has forthrightly defended the revolutionary potential of the peasantry against Western Trotskyite detractors.).

DISTORTING IKWEZI'S M—L LINE

The final chapter of the book is headed: «Results and Prospects». After the confused support offered in the earlier parts of the Pluto Press book for the black working class, the authors reveal fully their Trotskyite colours. Nothing expresses this more clearly than the second paragraph of the chapter: «The struggle for national liberation in Southern Africa requires the critical examination and, indeed, we would argue, the rejection of, the ideology that has given expression to that struggle – African nationalism.» (p. 193). African Marxist-Leninists (or as the Trotskyites call us, Maoists) would most firmly declare themselves for African Nationalism. The Trotskyite rejection of African Nationalism illustrates how, whilst pretending to support the struggles of the African people, they in fact by ultra-left criticism attempt to undermine the national liberation movements. The authors further reveal themselves in their choice of movements to give as examples: «.....ANC in South Africa, ZANU in Zimbabwe, MPLA, Frelimo and PAIGC.... which seek to link their struggles to the broader world-wide

struggle for socialism.» (p. 193). Simply on their choice of the ANC and not the PAC? the PAC is also a radical nationalist movement (to use the authors own terminology), and is more revolutionary than the ANC - «C»P both in theory and in practice. What is also significant is their rejection of the Trotskyite Unity Movement of South Africa, which one would have thought to be the most suitable ideologically to the SWP-Trotskyites? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the Unity Movement is an independent movement, and does not take the advice of their European Trotskyite «friends»? Indeed, if the choice were only the ANC or the UMSA it would be more logical to choose the UMSA. The authors then raise the standard Trotskyite objections to three issues: Populism (which they define as an all-class alliance against the enemy), the flight from the towns (instead of concentrating on the urban proletariat), and the drive for economic autarky (or, to express this in Marxist-Leninist language, the drive for national independence and self-reliance). (p. 194). The Trotskyites reject the stages of the revolution: that first a patriotic struggle must be waged against the colonial power for national independence. Here, the authors lump together in a most confused manner both the SA«C»P and Ikwezi! Yet Ikwezi and other African Nationalists have crucial differences with the SA«C»P, which hedges and sabotages the national question to suit the interests of its White South African leadership and the Russian superpower. The authors refer again to the 1928 statement of the Third International on the Black Republic Thesis, but conveniently forget how the SA«C»P has never implemented this directive and how the Soviet Union has long abandoned the Marxist-Leninist principles of that period of socialist leadership in the Soviet Union. In their enthusiasm for an urban-based revolution, the authors again attack Ikwezi on p. 202, this time linking Ikwezi with Martin Legassick, another ultra-left White South African critique of the SA«C»P. The Pluto Press book seeks to imply that Ikwezi sees revolution arising out of the Bantustans! But the Marxist-Leninist line of Ikwezi is clearly stated: revolution will be made by the Azanian workers and peasants, allied with patriotic intellectuals, middle classes and national bourgeoisie. Of course, the large numbers and political consciousness of the Azanian workers will mean that they will provide not only the leadership in the revolutionary party, but also the main base for the revolution in close co-operation with the peasantry. The system of migrant labour has meant that the Azanian workers and peasants already have long had close links, and there are many instances of common struggle. The authors attack on «the drive to economic autarky» is also typically Trot-

skyite. It goes back to the days when Trotsky attacked the Soviet Communist Party led by Stalin for believing in «socialism in one country». This slogan of «socialism in one country» is no different from the strategies of self-reliance and national independence being pursued today by People's China, the Democratic People's Republic of Albania. Naturally the possibilities for independent capitalist development in Third World countries are very limited. But under socialism, the people can unite to achieve rapid economic, social and political development. There is no need to wait – as the Trotskyites would argue – for the workers of Europe and North America to make the revolution! Socialist construction can take place in individual countries, large and small, in a capitalist world. The socialist revolution may be reversed: the negative example of the contemporary Soviet Union is there for all to see. But this does not mean that socialism no longer exists. Socialist construction is continuing apace in China, Kampuchea, Albania, Laos, Korea, etc. And socialist development can and will take place in a liberated Azania, without the necessity of a socialist revolution in Britain or the United States. For the SWP-Trotskyites, there are no socialist countries in the world, and Azania cannot become socialist until Britain and American workers overthrow capitalism. What rubbish!

TROTS PREFER TO TALK THAN FIGHT

The authors concluding comments on Angola betray not merely their theoretical confusion but also their factual confusion. For example, the following quotation: «Descredit fell on the revolutionary left as a whole from the activities of the Communist Organisation of Angola (OCA) which is linked to the CIA-backed MRPP (Movement for the Reconstruction of the Proletarian Party). The OCA described the MPLA as «populist-fascist» and followed the Chinese line of 'neutrality' during the war. Its existence provided the regime with an excuse to clamp down on the revolutionary left as a whole». (p. 208). The OCA has in fact fraternal relations with the PCP(R) and the UDP in Portugal, and to call the MRPP «CIA-backed» is simply silly. The last sentence is slanderous. Trotskyites are always afraid of genuine revolutionaries! Any genuine Marxist-Leninist organisation which wages a principled struggle is immediately labelled by the Trotskyites as the «excuse for a clamp-down»! presumably the Trotskyites prefer to talk rather than to struggle.

The authors urge that people should support the ANC, PAC and BPC «to the extent that nationalist organisations fight the apartheid system». (p. 210). And then add that «the task of smashing the apartheid system falls on the shoulders of the black working class.» (p. 210). What they fail to analyse is what support should be offered to the ANC, PAC and BPC (alas, the UMSA Trotskyites are again left out in the cold!), and what are the differences between these organisations. Instead, we are treated to yet another call for the workers of Britain and America to overthrow capitalism (p. 213). In general, one great defect of the book is the lack of attention to the Soviet Union and to Russian imperialism. Despite the fact that the SWP-Trotskyites believe that the Soviet Union is «state-capitalist», they have very little to say about the threat that Russian superpower imperialism poses to the peoples of Africa. This is another well-known feature of Trotskyism: despite ultra-left critiques of the Soviet Union, they are essentially tailist of Russian social-imperialism. The real sympathies of the Trotskyites are

with the furtherance of the aims of various imperialisms, especially the Russian superpower; by their attacks on African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism, and their slanders against genuine revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist parties! As a teacher by negative example, the Pluto Press book is of use. With careful analysis, the reader can see easily through the fake leftism of the authors and gain a better understanding of the revolutionary tasks of the Azanian and other Southern African peoples. One last point in favour of the Pluto Press book: it does make reference to IKWEZI. It can only be hoped that this will inspire some Trotskyite readers to look themselves at IKWEZI and other publications of the revolutionary Left in Azania! One such book is referred to in the Bibliography: Issa Shivji, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*,

Dar-es-Salaam and London, Heinemann, 1976, and despite some imperfections in the analysis of social-imperialism, this book takes a Marxist-Leninist approach.



ANC-CP PREFERS COLONIAL AND RACIST NAME TO AZANIA

By David Dube:

«Afrikaans is the language of the Boers.» «Away with Afrikaans.» «Away with Bantu Education.» «We want our land.» *Viva Azania!*

Over a thousand Black youths shouted in Soweto as the White police tore their bodies and as floods of blood gushed out of their dying bodies. That was on the 16th June, 1976.

But some black «intellectuals» and a group of mentally colonised «revolutionaries» are campaigning against the name AZANIA which means *Blackman's country*. They prefer the racist colonial name «South Africa» given by the White settlers colonialists when they consolidated their colonial power on the 31st of May 1910 – on the Blackman's land – Azania.

They ignore the Battles of Keiskama Hoek,

Isandlwana, Thababosiu, Sandile's Kop, Blood River and numerous other battlefields in which our forefathers fell before the bullets of the foreign white invaders resisting the establishment of South Africa through which the sons and daughters of Azania were nationally disposed.

The opposition to the name Azania was started by one Dublin Paul Makhaola Bolofu living in London. On the 21st of April six weeks before June 16, a letter was sent to him in London. He did not respond.

So, this year before the Soweto anniversary on 16th June, 1977, Bolofu handed his «research paper» to the white-bullied and oppressed South

African National Congress (SANC). As usual they *sank*

The Tambo faction of the ANC published Bolofo's dubious Persian «research» document with a map of Africa. In its publication *Sechaba* (third quarter, 1977) the Tambo faction of the ANC said that Azania was a myth that must be ended.

EGYPT IS SOUTH OF ETHIOPIA

The Tambo ANC mysterious «Persian» map show the Egypt as being south of Ethiopia! This ANC map does not show the ancient kingdoms of Africa such as *Kush, Meroe, Ghana, Mali, Benin, Songhai, Nubia, Monomotapa* etc. let alone historical African places like *Timbuctu* which was the ancient centre of great learning. The ANC map does not show *Carthage* which was over-run by the Romans in the heydays of Roman imperialism.

The Romans were stopped on the borders of ancient Ethiopia by a Queen of Ethiopia. The African Queen personally led the Black troops against the Roman invaders. She defeated the Roman intruders into Africa decisively and drove them back from where they had come. This Black Queen lost her eye in this war. How many leaders of the Tambo ANC faction have lost their eyes in battle against Vorster's soldiers?

The mysterious ANC-Sechaba «Persian» map shows Azania as being in Somalia. Yet it is elementary knowledge that today's Tanzania and Kenya shared in the glorious Azanian civilisation which stretched to Mozambique, Rhodesia and South Africa. In fact, in Tanzania there used to be a secondary school called Azania.

The ANC-Sechaba map does not indicate where *Memphis*, the capital of ancient Egypt stood in the days when Black people lived in it, such as the Kushites. Many of these Kushites are today in the southern tip of Africa - AZANIA. Did the friends of ANC and Sechaba, the «Persians» know only about an Azania located in Somalia, but not about the rest of Africa?

According to the Tambo ANC «Persian» map, almost the whole of Africa is empty land (Verwoerd, Louw and Vorster theory of «empty» Azania when the whites colonised Azania has gone deep into the heads of the leaders of the Tambo ANC).

IT IS TAMBOS ANC THAT IS THE «SLAVE», NOT AZANIA

Do you wonder why the ANC is fighting the name AZANIA and calling it a «slave name»? The Whites in the Tambo faction of the ANC reign supreme. They draw a programme for the ANC. They do propaganda work for the ANC. They

wrote the Kliptown «Freedom Charter» in 1955 for the ANC. These Whites are shareholders in the money markets where the ANC gets roubles, dollars, pounds and rupees to finance the Tambo faction of the ANC and the *Sechaba* publication to turn their guns against the heroic struggle of AZANIA. The white «liberal socialists» decide what must be done in the struggle of the Black man. They boast that they are the «brains» of the «South African Revolution». These White «socialists» rule the Tambo faction of the ANC.

If you want to get in from the horse's mouth, here is what the Makiwane faction of the ANC has said about the Tambo faction.

«The ANC of Tambo is now simply a front or cover organisation used as a tool to achieve the objectives of the South African Communist Party. These objectives of the S.A.C.P. reside in the domination of Blacks by whites.... The Party (SACP) not the ANC is in the vanguard role of directing the struggle for the national liberation of the African people.»

«This accounts for the arrogance of such whites as Slovo and Carneson in giving instructions to Africans on what Africans have to do to liberate themselves. They have reduced the Tambo group of the ANC to mere puppets dancing to the music of His Master's Voice.»

That's right. The cat is out of the bag! Just as the Whites will not allow the Tambo faction of the ANC to form a united front with liberation movements such as SASO, BPC and PAC, the Tambo faction of the ANC and its ideologically defleshed *Sechaba* publication will never accept the name AZANIA:

Only for one reason. The «music of His Master's Voice» that has reduced the Tambo ANC faction to mere puppets is not yet over! The whites who finance them have not given permission to the ANC to call their country AZANIA. The opposition to the name AZANIA must note that the name comes from the Black people themselves and is the creation of Black people inside Azania. This is of course, an insult to the white friends of the ANC Tambo faction. They have to give permission for the name. They are «brains of the South African Revolution.»

HISTORICAL FACTS ABOUT AZANIA

Anyway, let us handle these misled Black brothers with kidgloves even to a point where we pander to their intellectual arrogance and revolutionary imbecility.

Several historical records show that the Romans, the Greeks, the ancient Egyptians and others knew the Blackman's country as Zan, Zin and *Azania*. For instance Suleiman the trader who incidentally sailed from the Persian Gulf in the 9th

century said that «the land of Zanj (Azania - land of Black people) is vast.» This contradicts the ANC «Persian» map which puts our Azania in Somalia and Djibouti, a very small territory.

Another traveller to ancient Africa said the Azanians were evidently *a people of many tribes.*

Basil Davidson in his book *Africa Rediscovered* says that in some references they (these many Azanian tribes) appear to be «all the blacks» while in other records only «some of the blacks».

El Mas'udi a traveller in ancient Africa made no distinction between the Azania of what might be called «hamitic» type and the Azania (Zanj) of the negro type.

Another historian says, «Azanians were probably Bantu-speaking peoples as well;... The certainty is that Azanians were purely African people».

This same writer speaks of the Azanian civilisation as having been contemporary with the Zimbabwe civilisation. In fact, many archaeologists have shown that the Iron Age people of the Transvaal in South Africa were established in Palaborwa in the 9th century and at Mapungubwe the centre of the earlier civilisation very similar to the Zimbabwe civilisation.

And Leonard Thompson in his contribution in AFRICAN SOCIETIES in Southern Africa, says, «However we do know that in the Limpopo valley and the Soutpansberg there were, in the first half of the 2nd millennium, communities whose material culture was associated with that of the contemporaneous Rhodesian iron-working and food producing populations, about whom much more is known, at Bambadymnalo in about the 11th century, at Mapungubwe in about the 15th century and at Palabora from perhaps ninth century onwards.»

Archaeologists have proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the Black people lived in what is now called South Africa as long ago as 460 A.D.

Addressing a symposium on ancient mining in October 1973, Professor Revil Mason head of the archaeology department at the University of Witwatersrand, said the early iron age African entered the Transvaal area (a province of today's racist South Africa) between 1,500 and 2000 years ago.»

This of course, is not good for the Whites who bully Tambo's ANC faction and those who oppress the Black people, exploit them, and use them as a ladder for their own nefarious schemes – nothing to do with the liberation of the Black people. The Whites simply want the people of Azania (South Africa) to know that their *history begins in 1652* That is the year the White people came to South Africa to «civilise» the Blacks. Therefore to talk of Azania as the Blackman's country is to subvert the «brainy» white leaders-

hip that wants to mislead the ANC perpetually.

BLACK PEOPLE WILL WRITE THEIR OWN HISTORY

The Black people are tired of being defined by Whites. They are fed up with the distorted history of the Blacks written by Whites and the ANC mysterious «Persian» historians. Let the Persians write their history. The Black people of Azania who have been dispossessed and oppressed for nearly four hundred years now, will entrust the writing of their history to nobody! The Black people are capable of writing and interpreting their own history without reference to mysterious «Persian» maps.

As one Black speaker from Azania told a Pan African Conference in Addis Ababa in February, 1962:

«We are certain that one day we shall... try and recreate our lost and buried cities... And find pathways that will take us back into antiquity and throw light on the Azanian civilisation which flourished in the territories that are now Tanganyika and Kenya and whose traces extend as far south as Rhodesia, Mozambique and South Africa.

«We shall throw light on the golden treasures and the golden burials of Mapungubwe. We shall re-build the ancient Zimbabwe Ruins. AZANIA shall relive. We shall reclaim our lost heritage.»

SOUTH AFRICA THE DARLING OF ANC AND SECHABA

The name that is this South Africa which is so sweet to the Tambo faction of the ANC and Sechaba?

Lest we forget! The 1910 Union of South Africa and the 1961 Republic of South Africa are not a creation of the Black people. Racist South Africa was created by the Whites to destroy the Black people. In the so-called Union of South Africa, the whites united to ensure the perpetual domination and exploitation of the Black people of Azania.

Writing on the need for a common policy to deal with the Black people of Azania by the Whites, Fowler and Smith write, «Peace in South Africa depended to a large extent on a sound relationship between the colonies (Natal and Cape Colony) and the republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) on the one hand and the Native tribes adjoining their boundaries on the other.

The Transvaal was concerned with the Bapedi and the Swazi, Natal with the powerful Zulus, who were kept on good terms with the colony as a result of masterful control by Shepstone; and the Orange Free State with the Basuto. The Cape Colony was to deal with the warlike Xhosa tribes on its frontier.

It was common knowledge to the (four colonial) governments concerned that when one (African) tribe was involved in war (of resistance to national dispossession), *peace was also endangered in other parts of South Africa. Unified control of Native tribes in South Africa through some form of federation would minimize the danger of costly Native wars and maintain peaceful conditions.*»

Thus the main purpose of the establishment of racist South Africa in 1910, was and has always

been to deal with the task of perpetually dispossessing the Black people of their land and their divine right to exercise political sovereignty in their land. Blacks have no tears to shed over racist South Africa. Their national task is to set racist South Africa ablaze with an unquenchable revolutionary fire through the barrel of their guns.

Down with the racist and colonial name from which the Blackman has suffered so much. *VIVA AZANIA!*



SOCIAL-FASCISM IN ANGOLA IN THE NAME OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Marxist-Leninist Critiques of Social-Fascism and Militarism in the Third World : the case of Angola

It is IKWEZI's contention that fascism today is represented not so much by the Western imperialist system as by Soviet social-imperialism - more appropriately called social-fascism (socialism in words and fascism in deeds) In this article Michael Wilson of the Institute of Social Studies, Netherlands, indicates why.

Some analysts maintain that Militarism and Fascism of a distinctive type has arisen to threaten the peace and security of the world's peoples.¹⁾ But emphasis in the field of Peace Research, as well as the social sciences in general, has remained riveted to case studies of traditional militarist and fascist regimes that appear most obviously reactionary. Social scientists who attempt to maintain «progressive» images unfailingly study and criticize unsavoury regimes that receive support from the United States and other traditional imperialist powers. For many self-styled «progressive» social scientists, the involvement of Russia in supporting many reactionary regimes is best ignored. Even worse, suggestions and analyses that conclude that Russia itself is imperialist, fascist and militarist – a threat to the peace and security of the world's peoples and the citizens of Russia – attract the hostility of those who do not want to appear «unfashionable» or «unscientific». Any examinations of regimes that attempt to conceal fascism and militarism behind a progressive facade have usually encountered the hastily contrived skepticism of many social scientists.

The rapid rise of Russian military power since

the 1950's has been studied by observers with widely-varying frames of reference. Many analysts exaggerated and widely-broadcasted the advance of Russian weapons systems and militarism in order to benefit the cause of United States imperialism in the «Cold War». Independent research institutes, such as the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (IISS) and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), have commendably recorded the increases of Russian weapon stocks to the point where Russia can be said to have surpassed the United States as the world's best-armed power. However, few analysts of Russian military power have gone beyond counting weapons systems, aircraft, and making vague conclusions about Russian military expansionism. The detailed strategy of world-wide expansionism of the Russian superpower and its social basis remain to be studied thoroughly.²⁾ Regimes, particularly those situated in the Third World, that have been patterned after the Russian system and have become reliant on the Russian super-power have received even less attention. The «progressive» or «socialist» rhetoric of these regimes has deceived a considerable number of social scientists.³⁾

EXPERIENCES OF CHINA

Critiques of the Russian superpower and similar client states actually emerged from within the old «socialist camp» that started to disintegrate in the 1950's. The struggle of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania against what was seen to be the modern revisionism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union generated an analysis of the abandonment of socialism by the USSR and by other members of the socialist camp. As the aggressive character of the Russian superpower increasingly manifested itself, especially in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Marxist-Leninist movement, led by China and Albania, came to denounce Russia as a social-imperialist superpower, characterized by militarism and social fascism.⁴⁾ Analyses that revealed Russia as an imperialist country, where the working masses and minority nationalities were brutally suppressed and where the economy was geared to weapons production, rarely rose above the level of well-constructed polemics. However, a collation of the many specific critiques by the Chinese, Albanians and emergent Marxist-Leninist parties represents a trend of analysis that cannot be lightly dismissed. In addition, a number of intellectuals have either seriously considered or adopted the Marxist-Leninist perspective.⁵⁾ more detailed and coherent works examining Russia as a social-imperialist, social-fascist, and military country are to be expected.⁶⁾ Similarly, critiques of social-fascism and the new wave of militarism in various countries, especially the Third World, should be anticipated.⁷⁾

In general, the Marxist-Leninist movement has concentrated on attacking the modern revisionism, social-imperialism and social-fascism exhibited by the Russian ruling class. Critiques of social-fascism and militarism displayed by Third World regimes that claim to be «progressive» or socialist have been confined to Marxist-Leninist opposition to the regimes, and intellectuals studying the Third World. Analyses have appeared in recent years of self-styled «socialist» military dictatorships in Dahomey, Ethiopia, and Congo-Brazzaville, to name a few.⁸⁾

The adoption of the ideological and organisational trappings of socialism provide Russia with a «fraternal» recipient of assistance, the military with greater means of social domination, and the leadership with a facade to deceive the militant working masses. *The development of critiques of social-fascism and militarism in fidelista Cuba has proceeded beyond the polemical stage and empirical criticisms to represent a significant advance in Marxist-Leninist analysis. Since the Cuban revolution of 1959, a number of observers have noted the commandist, social-fascist style*

of domination exercised by the Cuban regime; the transformation of Cuba from a revolutionary state into an East European type dictatorship under Russian control; and the increase of exploitation of workers and peasants and the super-exploitation of Afro-Cubans.⁹⁾ These evaluations of the internal situation in Cuba have been joined with exposures of the blatant use of the Cuban armed forces well beyond their ways and means. By applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the case of Cuba, critiques of fidelista social-fascism and militarism have logically followed.

Closely linked to the Cuban case and Marxist-Leninist critiques of social-fascism and militarism is ANGOLA. Marxist-Leninist positions on Angola have been developed in a manner which represents the most distinctive and meticulous Marxist-Leninist analyses of the international situation. The Chinese, Albanian, and other Marxist-Leninist parties have strongly denounced «the blatant intervention of Soviet social-imperialism and their Cuban mercenary troops against the Angolan people». The «resistance of the Angola people against the Russian and Cuban occupiers» and «the severe political and economic situation faced by the present Angolan government» have been regularly mentioned.¹⁰⁾

MPLA SUPPRESSES ANGOLAN PEOPLE

Although the Marxist-Leninist movement in denouncing Cuba has broadened its criticism of the modern revisionist countries, only some Marxist-Leninists have examined the development of social-fascism and militarism within Angola; in specific, within the Movimento Popular de Libertação da Angola (MPLA). In general, these Marxist-Leninists have struggled within Angola in either the Organização Comunista da Angola (OCA), the União Nacional de Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), or within the MPLA-itself (e.g. Revolta Activa); also many Marxist-Leninists, associated with the struggle in Angola, have joined the struggle of Marxist-Leninists in Portugal.¹¹⁾

In outline, the Marxist-Leninist critique of social-fascism and militarism in Angola affirms that the Neto government and party is maintained in power by its own suppression of the Angolan people, by the Cuban army of occupation and by the will of Russian social-imperialism to continue supporting the neo-colonial venture. The Marxist-Leninists contend that fascistic and militaristic methods are employed, behind a facade of socialism and progress, to fulfill the imperialist designs of the Russian superpower. On this general point, the Marxist-Leninist critiques converge. On other points, – such as the interpretation of events that led to the current situation, the nature of the Neto regime and contradictions within Rus-

sian-backed neo-colonialism, and the manner in which social-fascism and militarism in Angola will be defeated – , there is divergence. Therefore, this report will focus on three principal points: (1) The differences between the Marxist-Leninist critiques; (2) The actual chain of events which has led the Neto party and regime to be characterized as social-fascist and militarist; (3) The definition of militarism and, more importantly, of social-fascism.

The concept of social-fascism emerged during the process of destruction of the social-democratic revolutionary movement, as a result of the support rendered by bourgeois leaders for the war effort of the imperialist powers commencing in 1914. Lenin and others, in founding the Communist movement, denounced the social democratic leaders as «social-chauvinists», «social-traitors», and «social-imperialists» by selling-out the working-class movement to imperialism. Additionally, the social-democratic leaders, particularly of Weimar Germany, were occasionally denounced as «social-fascists» for their violent suppression of the revolutionary proletariat. The concept of social-fascism was officially employed by the COMINTERN – the Third International – , with the commencement of the so-called «Third Period» in 1928, when the imminent crisis of capitalism, in the form of the Great Depression, necessitated revolutionary action by the Communist Movement. Once again, the concept of social-fascism was primarily applied in the analysis of the German Social-Democratic Party. During the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat, led by the German Communist Party (KPD), against the desperate German bourgeoisie and the rising Nazi movement the leadership of the German Social-Democratic party tended to acquiesce in the violent suppression of the working class and the upsurge of fascism. Therefore, the concept of social-fascism was first developed to mean a movement that suppressed the proletariat and co-operated with fascism, behind the facade of a socialist ideology. With the onset of the United Front against Fascism in the mid-1930's the concept of social-fascism lost currency.¹²⁾

Only with the struggle of the Chinese and Albanian parties against modern revisionism did social-fascism regain usage as a concept.¹³⁾ In denouncing «Khrushchev revisionism» and the concept of «the state of the whole people», the Chinese and the Albanian parties asserted that the modern revisionists had converted the repressive state apparatus – constructed under Stalin's leadership as a weapon of the proletariat – into an instrument of the emergent Russian state monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie to subjugate the proletariat of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.¹⁴⁾ The systematic elimination of revolution-

nary Marxist-Leninists and other opponents of the modern revisionists' rise to hegemony presented the Chinese and Albanian parties with the first substantive example of social-fascism as a characteristic of modern revisionism. However, only after the blatant repressive actions in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1970 did the Marxist-Leninist movement begin to widely equate modern revisionism with social-fascism.¹⁵⁾ From 1960 to 1970, the Chinese, Albanian and Marxist-Leninist parties perceived a concerted campaign in the revisionist countries to suppress the proletariat through the rationalization of production, the increase of managerial prerogative, the institution of repressive labour laws, and even the militarization of labour. Therefore, by the 1970's, the Marxist-Leninist movement referred to the revisionist countries and to practically every revisionist party as social-fascist.¹⁶⁾ The Chinese party has gone even further to brand the revisionist Russian regime as «fascism of the Hitler type».¹⁷⁾ Whereas the Marxist-Leninist movement has initially called for a revolutionary struggle against the revisionist parties and for a second socialist revolution in the revisionist countries, the Chinese party and others are now calling for a democratic struggle against social-fascism and for a national democratic revolution in countries where social-fascism holds sway.¹⁸⁾

One major experience of the Marxist-Leninist movement with social-fascism was after the Portuguese national democratic revolution of 25 April 1974. The maneuvers of the revisionist party of Alvaro Cunhal to seize state power aroused the Portuguese Marxist-Leninists to the dangers of social-fascism and set a precedent for the Angolan Marxist-Leninists. The strategy of Cunhal and his followers was to employ the highly-centralized political machine to seize control of the Portuguese Trade Union Congress (Intersyndical), to use the mobilized working class for narrow political ends, and to gain dominance in the Armed Forces movement (M.F.A.) In his maneuvers, Cunhal was supported heavily by Russian social-imperialism which was also seeking greater leverage in Angola.

PORTUGAL'S EXPERIENCE OF SOCIAL-FASCISM

One of the Marxist-Leninist parties has succinctly defined social-fascism as a result of its intense struggle against the revisionist party of Cunhal:

«These comrades (who have not yet understood the nature of the revisionist party of Cunhal) have not yet understood what social-fascism is. They have not yet understood that modern revisionism was born with the historic mission of

destroying *from the inside* the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and this is what determined its characteristics, so different from those of the fascist parties which have the task of destroying the revolution *from the outside*. In the epoch when imperialism can no longer succeed in containing the rising revolutionary movement by the classical methods (war, fascism, parliament), the bourgeoisie needs to create this new reactionary arm, modern revisionism, with the historical mission of being present within the revolutionary movement, if not losing contact with it, of marching by its side as far as necessary in order to be able to act as a brake on it, disorganise it, dissolve it. Obviously they cannot succeed in this by using fascist language. The 'progressiveness' of revisionism consists of the following: advance with the movement in order to betray it; and, after each betrayal, invent an excuse and retake its place beside the movement to betray it again and so on. Revisionism is not a timid revolutionary; it is a class traitor. That is why, when the revolution threatens to burst out, revisionism does not hesitate, despite all its previous betrayals, in handing over the problem to the armed repression of the bourgeoisie. It is socialism in appearance fascism in reality; it is social-fascism. In order to put a social-fascist line into practice, an appropriate organisation is necessary. The revisionists have such an organisation. They know how to construct and wield – using the apparatus of the Leninist party which they took over from the inside – a highly centralised efficient, and organised machine. This enables them to spread their demoralising influence among large sectors of the working class and the people, to infiltrate mass organisations, and to slander, spy on and repress the revolutionary vanguard wherever it might appear. All this has been done using the cover of 'communist' slogans. In this game of deception, the bourgeois parties were 'born yesterday' in comparison with the Cunhalists.¹⁹⁾

Consequently, from the experience of the Portuguese revolution, Marxist-Leninists of Portugal, Angola and elsewhere have been able to arrive at a more concrete definition of social-fascism. Accordingly, the modern revisionists, having seized power over the party of the proletariat, contain and repress the revolutionary potential of the movement of the working masses. As part of the revisionists' deal with the bourgeoisie and with imperialisms for an eventual share of power, social-fascist methods are employed to forestall and betray the working class at every juncture. The betrayal and repression of the working class is accomplished by the revisionists through a combination of deceptive rhetoric and the ruthless use of the centralized organisation that the

revisionists have stolen from the proletariat. In order to maintain the strength of social-fascism, the revisionists have found it increasingly imperative to repress the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat – the Marxist-Leninist parties. In essence, these points comprise the Marxist-Leninist definition of social-fascism.

From their experience, the Angolan Marxist-Leninists have adopted a definition of social-fascism that is similar to the Portuguese Marxist-Leninist. According to Angolan Marxist-Leninists, the Neto faction of the MPLA, as the purveyor of a brand of socialism in Angola, was basically a group of petit-bourgeois revisionists that wormed its way inside the working class movement and the patriotic forces in order to seize state power. While struggling for power, the Neto faction verbally supported the revolutionary movement of the working masses, but did all it could to suppress Marxist-Leninists, other revolutionaries and the proletariat and peasantry. Once in power, the Neto faction came to rely principally on the Russian superpower, Cuban mercenaries and coercive forces; the support of the revolutionary masses became less necessary. Therefore, a social-fascist dictatorship severely suppressed the proletariat and the peasantry, and liquidated the revolutionary vanguard and other opposition forces. With the assistance of the «Cunhalists» and other social-fascist elements, the Neto faction was able to transform the MPLA from a **broadly-based liberation movement into a centralized instrument of social-fascism**. During the rise to ascendancy of the Neto faction, the rhetoric employed to deceive the masses developed from «progressive» to «popular» to «socialist» and finally to «Marxist-Leninist».²¹⁾ Therefore, the characteristics of social-fascism, as defined by the Angolan Marxist-Leninists through practical experience do not dramatically differ from those that the Marxist-Leninist movement has recognized.

MILITARISM AND THE RUSSIAN SUPERPOWER

The concept of social-fascism has not yet been readily accepted by the fields of social sciences nor by the specific area of peace research. Even though social-fascism has been shown to be a danger to the peace and security of the world's peoples, the concept perhaps still gives the impression of being polemical or perjorative. Only with further study and dissemination will social-fascism enter the social scientists' vocabulary. However, the other concept that Marxist-Leninists have used in relation to Angola – militarism – the term provides a major underpinning for the area of pea-

ce research. The process of defining militarism can thus be brief, focussing upon the Marxist-Leninist perspective on the concept.

Rather simply, militarism can be defined as an ideology or movement that is based upon the use of armed forces as the dominant element in the domestic politics and external affairs of a country. Of course, the predominance of militarism means that the interests of armed forces leaders take precedence over those of other groups. While the aspirations of the working masses suffer violent repression, the forces of militarism can often reach a *modus vivendi* with the bourgeoisie; this alliance persists so long as the increase in wealth and power of the armed forces is not resisted by the bourgeoisie. Most frequently, the authoritarian characteristics of militarism have much in common with fascism or social-fascism. Rarely and with considerable limitations can militarism play a progressive role in a nation's affairs.²²⁾ If not constrained, militarism can pose a tangible threat to peace and security, both on the national and international levels.

For the emergent Marxist-Leninist movement, the most formidable source of militarism is the Russian superpower. On numerous occasions, the Chinese Communist Party has proclaimed that the Russian superpower is the «main danger for the world's people and the principal source of war.»²³⁾ This analysis has been derived from an ascertainment of the preponderant role of militarism in Russian imperialist expansion and in the hegemony of the Russian ruling class. Whereas the United States has become an imperialist superpower primarily through political and economic penetration, the economically-weaker Russian superpower undertakes imperialist expansion through political and military action. Besides championing itself as the naturally ally of progressive Third World countries,²⁴⁾ the Russian superpower exploits conflict situations by sending in armaments, advisors, and even troops – normally surrogates, not its own. In the Middle East, South Asia, Angola, and now the Horn of Africa, the aspect of militarism of Russian imperialism has been most pronounced.

The Marxist-Leninist movement has not disregarded the role of militarism in the Russian ruling order. In accounts of Khrushchev's rise to power, prominent military leaders, such as Marshal Zhukov, have been singled out for their participation in the revisionist coups from 1953 to 1957, and in the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Over the past twenty years, the leading

proponents of militarism have become a dominant force in the Russian ruling class. Consequently, expenditure and production for military purposes has become the top priority in the economic plans of Russian monopoly state capitalism. Additionally, militarism has become a companion to social-fascism in the relations of the Russian ruling class with the proletariat, peasantry, and national minorities. As for the Warsaw Pact, the militarists of the Russian superpower have converted this alliance for the defence of the socialist camp into an instrument of expansion throughout Europe and the principal force of repression against the East European peoples.

In recent Marxist-Leninist critiques of Cuba, the role of militarism, as well as revisionism and social-fascism, in the hegemony of the fidelist ruling class has been mentioned.²⁵⁾ The theory of the «guerilla focus» – developed by Castro and Guevara during the Cuban revolutionary struggle – has been criticised as a form of militarism that preopounds the primacy of an elitist guerilla force in the seizure of state power. Once in power, the guerillas demonstrated their detachment from the masses in such actions as the militarization of labour and the «ten million tons» sugar production campaign. The activities of the Cuban armed forces, at home and abroad, have to receive massive financial supplement in view of the size of the military budget. The principal reason why Russia keeps Cuba financially afloat is for the promotion of imperialist expansion. Using the more «progressive» image of Cuba, the Russian superpower has positioned Cuban advisers as its «gurkhas» or «Israelis» throughout the Third World.²⁶⁾

MODERN REVISIONISM AND «PROGRESSIVE» MILITARISM

In recent years the modern revisionists have formulated the concept of progressive militarism, in which certain armed forces can play a leading role in promoting revolution and social progress.²⁷⁾ This concept was exposed by the Portuguese Marxist-Leninists as part of the strategy of the Cunhalist revisionist party to use its allies in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) in order to seize state power. The Cunhalist strategy was extended to Angola, where the leading forces of progressive militarism were encouraged to favour the MPLA and «popular power».²⁸⁾ In addition, the Cuban expeditionary force was proclaimed to be «proletarian internationalist» – a manifestation of progressive militarism. Of course, the Marxist-Leninists view «progressive militarism» in Angola and in other instances as the «strong arm» of the Russian superpower. Certainly, the Ka-

tangese mercenaries of Colonel Nathaniel M'bumba fit this definition well.²⁹⁾ Having served Belgian and Portuguese colonialism, the mercenaries were coerced by Admiral Rosa Coutinho into becoming the mainstays of the MPLA. After performing their duties for the Russian superpower and the Neto faction of the MPLA, the Katangese mercenaries were transformed into a «liberation army» to perform Russian imperialism's bidding against Zaire.

A significant proportion of the Marxist-Leninist critique of militarism in Angola has been outlined. The Neto faction of the MPLA depended for its power on the Katangese mercenaries, the Cuban expeditionary force, and Russian arms; not upon people's war. The methods employed in crushing the Angolan movements and in violating negotiated agreements were clearly those of militarism. The importance of the Forças Armadas para Popular Libertacao da Angola (FAPLA's) in running the affairs of the Neto government, as well as the traditional importance of FAPLA leaders to the Russian superpower, are also indicative of militarism. Similarly, the militarisation of Luanda port workers. A final general point about militarism in Angola has been the acquisition of strategically offensive weapons by the Neto government.³⁰⁾ Obviously, the amounts of strategically offensive weapons acquired are related to the desire of the Russian superpower to dominate the sea lanes in the South Atlantic and other important parts of Africa.

The actual development of social-fascism and militarism in Angola, as analysed by the Marxist-Leninists, is intertwined with recent Angolan history and with the development of the MPLA in the liberation struggle and afterwards. The central points of the specific process of development of the MPLA are 1962, when Agostinho Neto and his faction established dominance within the movement, and the period between 25 April 1974 and early 1976, when the Neto faction was propelled into seizing state power by the forces of the Russian superpower. Within the latter period, July to October 1975 featured the ruthless suppression by the MPLA Neto faction of all opposition to its dominance.

The MPLA was founded in 1956 as an African nationalist movement. The Angolan Communist Party (PCA), founded in 1955, was the early dominant force within the MPLA.³¹⁾ Until 1962, the PCA and the MPLA were basically led by the Marxist-Leninist secretary-general, Viriato da Cruz, and by the reformist president, Mario de Andrade. From 1956 to 1962, the MPLA began to expand its base of support from the mestizo community of Luanda to the surrounding Mbundu tribesmen, and to undertake actions against the Portuguese. As the leadership was forced into

exile from 1957 onwards, the component parts of the MPLA began to fragment. By 1960, Mario de Andrade and his supporters were able to displace Viriato da Cruz, Gentil Viana, and other Marxist-Leninists from control of the PCA and from prominence in the MPLA. From 1959, Agostinho Neto began to form a power base as chairman of the steering committee of the MPLA inside Angola, until his arrest in 1960. Some elements of the Cunhalist PCP were involved in the affairs of the MPLA, but the party did not support the anti-colonial struggle, merely the struggle against fascism in Portugal and Angola. In 1961, Alvaro Cunhal and Mario Soares signed a resolution against «terrorism» in Angola.³²⁾

HOW NETO SEIZED POWER IN MPLA

After his release from prison in July, 1962, Neto commenced a campaign to seize control of the MPLA.³³⁾ Before the MPLA's First National Conference in Congo-Leopoldville in December, 1962, Neto worked and travelled in order to build his own faction – a faction of Cunhalists and revisionists. The PCA had been dissolved and de Andrade and da Cruz continued their fractious struggle, thereby presenting Neto with an excellent opportunity to exploit the situation. Neto formed his own executive committee of ten and was elected president of the MPLA in December 1962.³⁴⁾ Having circumvented de Andrade, and the majority of the fragmented MPLA cadres and militants, Neto immediately sought to remove the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Viriato da Cruz and his supporters from the MPLA. In May 1963, the MPLA Steering Committee removed da Cruz from the secretary-generalship and replaced him with a secretariat-ship of three Neto supporters.³⁵⁾ The revisionist-dominated Neto faction continued the ideological and personal vendetta against da Cruz and his supporters, employing various forms of suppression, even assassination.

The anti-democratic methods used against the da Cruz group of Marxist-Leninists were perpetrated by the Neto faction of the MPLA and became the basis for social-fascism within the organisation. The strategy of the Neto faction was to achieve the most advantageous position to capitalize upon the eventual collapse of Portuguese colonialism. While the struggle against Portuguese colonialism received attention, the conflict against Holden Roberto and the Governo Revolucionario de Angola no Exilio/Frente nacional de Libertacao de Angola (GRAE/FNLA) and, after 1966, Jonas Savimbi and the Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) became paramount. During the 1960's and 1970's, a virtual civil war was mounted by the MPLA aga-

inst the other movements, with brief periods of *rapprochement*. In this war, the MPLA treasured international support, particularly from the revisionist countries and the member states of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The Neto faction attempted to project an image of unity and militant struggle. On several occasions, the grossly exaggerated or fabricated claims of military successes by the Neto faction were exposed by Viriato da Cruz, other MPLA opponents of Neto, and independent observers.³⁶⁾ Opposition to the supremacy of the Neto faction was suppressed by various methods; it has often been asserted that those militants who thought that the Portuguese could be defeated through guerilla struggle and who opposed the inaction of the Neto faction were disposed of in the several adventurist campaigns inside Angola that gained publicity for the MPLA.³⁷⁾ While suppressing MPLA militants, the Neto faction sought to broaden its base by absorbing or allying with all receptive forces, even tribalists.

In 1963, the MPLA was expelled from Leopoldville to Brazzaville, and until 1966, the Neto faction was concentrating on consolidating its grip over the MPLA. However, during this period, two military campaigns commenced. The MPLA attempted to infiltrate militants and guerillas into Cabinda, with little success. Many of the local people supported the Front pour la Liberation de l'Enclave de Cabinda (FLEC), and the Portuguese greatly valued newly-discovered oil deposits in the enclave.

The grand military campaign was dedicated to opening a strategic military supply route to the Luanda region. The strategic route had to pass from Brazzaville through the hostile territory of Congo-leopoldville (Zaire), GRAE/FNLA-controlled areas, and areas heavily patrolled by Portuguese troops, to finally reach the destination. Obviously suicidal, the strategic route was designed for propaganda value by the Neto faction with the apparent intention of mobilizing the only area of MPLA support – the region of the Mbundu people – to seize Luanda and state power. In 1963, a group of *Kamin* squadrons left Brazzaville for the Luanda region. Of two hundred fighters who left, only ten survived.³⁸⁾ The leader of the *Kamin* squadrons, Deolinda Rodrigues, was captured and tortured to death by the FNLA. Of those handful who survived the ordeal, such as Valodia, joined the mounting opposition to the Neto faction. However, the Neto faction achieved publicity as well as recognition and half of the Angolan subsidy from the OAU African Liberation Committee (ALC).

NETO FORCED TO ADOPT PEOPLES WAR

Opponents of the adventurist military policy

and «puschist» strategy of the Neto faction built their strength from the Angolan masses and from militants, including Marxist-Leninists from Europe. In 1966, the opponents won a major debate over military policy in favour of people's war. President Neto decided to establish liberated areas near the Zambian border, but also proclaimed the opening of the «Agostinho Neto Strategic Route» from Zambia to the Luanda region. The Eastern Military Region was constructed with the assistance of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and the African National Congress (ANC) of Zambia. The best military leader of the MPLA, Daniel Chipenda, brought together veterans of the Cabinda campaign and advocates of people's war to initiate the struggle against the Portuguese. In the first two years of the campaign, Chipenda led the MPLA to considerable gains in the heavily-forested Eastern Region. By April 25, 1974, Neto had less than 3,000 loyal guerillas.³⁹⁾

By 1968, the progress achieved in the Eastern Military Region had slackened and began to be undermined. The guerillas alienated sections of the population by assassinating local leaders (*sabas*, etc.) and by imposing themselves on the population.⁴⁰⁾ The MPLA exhausted much of its energies in attacks upon UNITA and its areas of support.⁴¹⁾ Neto and his faction began to seriously suspect the eastern Military Region of being a base of opposition to their dominance. Commander Daniel Chipenda increasingly conflicted with the Armed Forces Chief of Staff, Iko Carreira, especially over the military question of whether to consolidate the Eastern Military Region or advance on Luanda. With the assistance of the Russian superpower, and its revisionist proteges becoming increasingly tied to the ideological and organisational allegiance of the MPLA, Neto decided to phase out the Eastern Military Region and establish new base areas.

In 1970, Neto recalled the more compliant leaders and fighters from the Eastern Military Region to Brazzaville, Neto promptly cut off all supplies – ammunitions, medicines, etc., – from the Eastern Region.⁴²⁾ Chipenda continued the armed struggle, receiving assistance from Zambia and Zaire. In 1972, when Neto and Roberto Holden attempted a *rapprochement*, shipments of Russian arms and ammunition began to reach Chipenda and his forces. In 1973, Chipenda formally broke with Neto and formed the Eastern Rebellion Group. However, until Neto regained undisputed control of MPLA in late 1974, Chipenda continued to receive Russian assistance, in the strategy of divide-and-rule employed by the superpower.⁴³⁾

In 1972, the Neto faction was compelled by another revolutionary MPLA readjustment movement to open another guerilla front in the North.

At this time, Neto was allied with Holden Roberto and the FNLA, and MPLA guerillas could operate from Zaire into Northern Angola. The new guerilla force was more politicized – some having been trained in China and some having adopted Marxism-Leninism – than previous contingents. The new force was led by such revolutionaries as Luis Carmelino, Amelia Mingas, and Manuel Videira.⁴⁴⁾ Although the new guerilla force met with success in the North, circumstances prevented it from expanding.

It is important to note that, although the Neto faction dominated the MPLA, the organisation continued to attract Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries to its ranks. The primary reason for the appeal of the MPLA was the revolutionary image – one of many images – that the Neto faction attempted to project. During the efforts of the MPLA to initiate armed struggle and mass mobilization, many desperate types became members of the organisation. Until 1975, it is difficult to describe the MPLA as a monolithic organisation with a uniform ideology. However, it can be readily asserted that the revisionist Neto faction employed every possible tactic to maintain control over the liberation movement. The rebellions and protests of many prominent MPLA leaders and militants against the authoritarianism of the Neto faction have provided evidence of the situation within the liberation movement.

THE ACTIVE REVOLT GROUP

One of the most significant MPLA groups that have opposed the Neto faction has been called «Revolta Activa» (Active Rebellion Group). Consisting of prominent MPLA members, Revolta Activa was actually a loose grouping of supporters of the «Appeal of Nineteen» which was issued in Brazzaville and Algiers. The Appeal of the Nineteen criticized Neto for authoritarianism, secretive presidentialism, and called for democracy to be instituted in the MPLA.⁴⁶⁾ The Appeal of the Nineteen also called on the MPLA to combat tribalism and regionalism, and to participate in the construction of a unified, non-racial Angola. Revolta Activa, led by Joachim Pinto de Andrade, and such Marxist-Leninists as Gentil Viana, soon developed into a powerful force for democracy within the MPLA.⁴⁷⁾ As such, Revolta Activa has been severely persecuted by the Neto faction.

The MPLA was in a deplorable position when the Portuguese revolution of 25 April occurred. Three principal groups contested with each other for power and recognition as the genuine leadership of the MPLA. The Chipenda-led Eastern Rebellion Group possessed the most effective guerilla force, a measure of support from the African masses, and an uneven

stream of Russian assistance. Revolta Activa claimed the support of the most advanced MPLA cadres and fighters, but little military backing and outside assistance. The Neto faction had tight control over the MPLA executive, received assistance from a network of revisionist organisations and countries – including intermittent Russian assistance – and several hundred guerillas in the Luanda region.

The struggle between the three groups intensified in the summer of 1974. Neto signed an agreement with Holden Roberto and the FNLA in which UNITA was slandered.⁴⁸⁾ Chipenda made overtures to FLEC, the FNLA, and Mobutu. Revolta Activa made appeals for Angolan unity. Finally, in August of 1974, the three groups met in Lusaka to seek reconciliation and unity. Representatives of the Neto faction, especially Nito Alves, refused to yield substantial control over the MPLA executive and attacked the other groups as «splittists» and «agents of imperialism». The Lusaka Conference dissolved, amidst much invective, without proceeding past the first point of the agenda. Nevertheless, the Neto faction submitted a proposed agreement for continued efforts at co-operation, which was finally signed by the three groups in Brazzaville on 3 September 1974. The Brazzaville Agreement merely served the Neto faction in its contention to be the leading force in the MPLA. The three groups continued their squabbles.

Meanwhile, the MPLA and the FNLA had only limited access to the unfolding struggle in Luanda and Angola. General Spínola by July 1974 reluctantly accepted the inevitability of Angolan independence, but continued to seek a neo-colonial solution. In talks with President Mobutu, Spínola agreed to recognise Chipenda as leader of the MPLA.

Inside Angola, the 400,000 strong settler community was in a state of revolt. Efforts were being made to establish an independent settler colony similar to colonial South Africa (Azania) or Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Savage attacks were carried out, as in the past, by the most brutally fascist sections of the population against the African people. In this perilous situation, the African masses rose to protect themselves and to deal a death blow to Portuguese colonialism. Taking advantage of an organisation completely contained within Angola, UNITA led the resistance in the South and in the Central Highlands.⁴⁹⁾ In urban areas, such as Luanda, Lobito and Benguela, Marxist-Leninists led in the establishment of Self-Defence Committees and Popular Committees which harnessed the outrage of the Angolan people.⁵⁰⁾ In the course of time, Workers' Committees (CT's) were founded as a leading force in the struggle for the national democratic revolution against imperialism and lo-

cal reaction. The Marxist-Leninist organisations behind the establishment of revolutionary mass organisations included the Amilcar Cabral Committees (CAC's) and the Hoti ia Henda Committees (CHH's).⁵¹⁾ The Marxist-Leninist Committees and the mass organisations remained autonomous, outside of the liberation movements. However, these Marxist-Leninists maintained the un-dialectical line that at some stage the MPLA could be taken over by the working masses and become the leading organisation in the Angolan revolution. This position was to produce disastrous consequences for the promising Marxist-Leninist movements in the crucial year of 1975.

REVISIONIST PCP's INTRIGUES IN ANGOLA

The overthrow of Spínola on 28 September 1974 brought about a qualitative change in the Angolan situation. With the revisionist party of Cunhal playing a substantial role in the Portuguese government, the door was open for the intrigues of revisionism and Russian social-imperialism in Angola. Officers, who had been loyal to Spínola and who were appointed during his presidency, shifted with the prevailing wind of politics. The military governor of Angola, Rosa Coutinho, suddenly became the «red admiral», and his subordinates, such as Pezarat Correia and Correio Jesuino, emulated their commanding officer in the political *volte-face*.

Another notorious spinolista who switched his allegiance to social-fascism was none other than Costa Martins.⁵²⁾

By October 1974, Governor Rosa Coutinho had thrown his support behind the Neto faction, labelling the other movements «reactionary» or «creatures of imperialism». Coutinho permitted an influx of cunhalists, who began to prepare the way for Russian social-imperialism in Angola. With rising protests of other movements at Coutinho's favouritism towards the Neto faction, Daniel Chipenda and his army decided to break with the MPLA completely. To fill the vacuum, the Russian superpower began to commit itself monetarily, then militarily, to the Neto faction. Rosa Coutinho contributed greatly to the cause of the Russian superpower by coercing the Katangese mercenaries to work on the payroll of the Portuguese for the Neto faction in November 1974.⁵⁴⁾ Previously, President Mobutu and his foreign minister, N'guza Karl-i-bond, offered a total amnesty to the gendarmes. However, Coutinho cajoled Nathaniel M'bumba with threats and with a financial offer to keep the Katangese in his service. Therefore, the same mercenaries who had murdered Lumumba and served Tshombe and reactionary Belgian colonialism, then served Portuguese colonialism against the Angolan libera-

tion movements, were handed over to the service of the new «Tshombe» – Agostinho Neto – and his imperialist backers – the Russian superpower. The Katangese mercenaries provided the Neto faction with its only experienced military force, until the arrival of the new mercenaries from Cuba. In early 1975, the gendarmes and the lumpen-proletariat were a savage force that prevented the collapse of the Neto faction.

Towards the end of 1974, the Neto faction became bolder and more decisive in its manoeuvres. At the same time that the Portuguese government was bringing together the liberation movements, Neto announced that «Angola would become the Cuba of Africa».⁵⁴⁾ With the rise of the Marxist-Leninist movement, and the power of the masses within Angola, the Neto faction dispatched several cadres with revolutionary tendencies to make contact and absorb the mass organisations into the MPLA. Among the cadres was Nito Alves who had considerable fighting experience in the Luanda region. With his fiery revolutionary rhetoric, Nito Alves soon became the symbolic leader of «Popular Power».⁵⁵⁾ Consciously or unconsciously, Nito Alves served as an *agent provocateur* in the mass movement, inciting Marxist-Leninist and the masses against Revolta Activa and the other liberation movements. To Alves, practically everyone was an «agent of imperialism».

At the end of 1974 and the beginning of 1975, the Marxist-Leninist movement – the Amilcar Cabral Committees and the Henda Committees and others – reached the height of their effectiveness. *Quimbo* (village) Popular Fronts had begun to be formed, expanding the influence of the Marxist-Leninists and the mass organisations beyond the urban areas. In December 1974, popular district committees (CPB's) were elected from the ranks of the mass organisations. With the Alvor agreement signed and due to come into effect on 31 January 1975, the Marxist-Leninists and the mass organisations prepared to resist a sell-out to «neo-colonialism» and «imperialism». The First Week of the Struggle for Popular Power was initiated and the First Great People's Assembly of Luanda was held with 40,000 people in attendance. The wave of strikes and protest actions that had begun in late 1974 continued against the Portuguese colonialists, and despite the disapproval of the three liberation movements. The Self-defence Committees were converted into people's militias for the conquest of further revolutionary victories.⁵⁶⁾

The Marxist-Leninists and the growing mass organisations were not prepared for the situation after 31 January 1975. The Transitional Government, including the MPLA, sought to bring the revolutionary upsurge under control, especially the

strike actions. Meanwhile, the majority of the Marxist-Leninists and mass organisations were deceived by the rhetorical demagoguery of Nito Alves and others and were incited against the other movements. Speeches about «Popular Power» and fighting the «creatures of imperialism» were part of the emergence of the Neto faction of the MPLA as social-fascists.⁵⁷⁾

FULL SCALE REPRESSION BEGINS

Already, with the Neto faction exercising state power, the authoritarian character of the faction was being extended to a full-scale suppression of the Angolan masses and all political opposition. Although the new High Commissioner, Silva Cardoso, attempted to control the situation, the Neto faction had already arranged methods of quickly augmenting its military power. In this process, the regime of Marien Ngouabi of Congo-Brazzaville (and the long-established contingent of Cuban military advisers there) proved quite helpful in training the FAPLA's and in expediting the heavy flow of Russian weapons to Angola.⁵⁸⁾ As the situation became completely unmanageable for the Portuguese, cunhalists in the armed forces and elsewhere assisted the Neto faction in bringing Cuban officers into the country, in accelerating the flow of Russian aid, and in actually fighting the rival movements. The same cunhalists assisted in the eventual suppression of the Marxist-Leninists and mass organisations.

Many observers assert that they know of the origins of the Angolan civil war, conjuring visions of hordes of South African troops.⁵⁹⁾ Actually the civil war began with a concerted campaign by the Neto faction to gain the upper hand in Luanda in order to seize state power. In February, 1975, the FAPLA's and sections of the Self-Defence Committees commenced attacks on the forces of Daniel Chipenda, driving them into permanent association with the FNLA.⁶⁰⁾ In the following months, full-scale war broke out between the MPLA and the FNLA in which more than 20,000 people died, mostly civilians. While the Portuguese army stood by, the MPLA encouraged the lumpen-proletariat to loot and kill to add to the crescendo of violence. Angolans began to flee to the countryside, and Portuguese towards the homeland. Despite the attempts of UNITA and of Revolta Activa to salvage the peace and Transitional Government, the social-fascist Neto faction and the arch-enemy, Holden Roberto and the FNLA, were locked in a struggle for power. In this struggle, the Angolan people became expendable. Neto went to Brazzaville in May 1975 to demand the weapons and the Cuban military personnel to win victory. At the same time, the Neto faction furthered tightened its control over the MPLA and associate groups.

In March 1975, the Neto faction invited the Marxist-Leninists to join the Central Committee of the MPLA. In exchange for the admission of two leaders of the Amilcar Cabral Committees (CAC's) and two from the Hoti la Henda Committees (CHH's) to two meetings of the MPLA Central Committee, the Neto faction gained access to Marxist-Leninist militants and the mass organisations. Within a matter of weeks, the Marxist-Leninists discovered that they had been cruelly deceived into believing that they had joined forces in the anti-imperialist revolution. The *Fourth of February*, organ of the CHH's, *Popular Power*, journal of the CAC's, and *Angola*, paper of the African National League – all were severely censored or banned by the Neto faction and were eventually taken over to serve the cause of social-fascism and social-imperialism in Angola.⁶¹⁾ As the civil war intensified, such former «comrades» as Nito Alves commenced slanderous attacks on the Marxist-Leninists in the same manner as Revolta Activa had been suppressed and harassed. The front that had tolerated different allegiances and ideologies had become a monolithic social-fascist organisation, with allegiance only to Moscow and modern revisionism.

After the brief respite that followed the Nakuru Agreement of June 1975, the Neto faction – weapons stocks replenished – resumed the battle of Luanda until victory in early July 1975. With the expulsion of the FNLA, then UNITA, from Luanda, the Neto faction began to fashion and operate the repressive state machinery for its struggle for complete power. In this process, the Neto faction was assisted by the Portuguese army – either by commission or omission – many of whom were cunhalists. Rosa Coutinho announced that he was in favour of turning the Portuguese army in Angola completely over to the service of the MPLA. In any event, the Portuguese armed forces assisted well-armed FAPLA's in several locations, as they seized twelve of sixteen provincial capitals. This further MPLA success occurred, not because of popular support, but because equal number of the three liberation movements forces has been stationed with Portuguese troops in each provincial capital under the terms of the Alvor Agreement.

CUBAN MERCENARIES

The MPLA coup d'etat was undermined by the entry of UNITA into the war and by the increasing military strength of the opponents of the MPLA. Despite the threat of repression, the Marxist-Leninists and the mass organisations demanded the organisation of people's war through four basic methods:⁶²⁾

(1) The creation of true popular militias and the

opening of a prolonged offensive against foreign aggression.

(2) The strengthening of popular and workers organisations, subject to recall and not proposed and controlled by the MPLA.

(3) The creation of superior forms of popular organisation with effective powers, such as: councils of popular and workers deputies, committees of workers, assemblies of popular regional commissions, etc.

(4) The satisfaction of the needs and problems of the people; the organisation of food supplies, the occupation of land by the peasants, etc.

The remaining faith of the Marxist-Leninists in the Neto faction was quickly shattered. The Neto faction had become concerned with maintaining and extending the privileges of state power. All autonomous popular militias were suppressed by the FAPLA's and were replaced by a body of eight hundred irregulars.⁶³⁾ Besides, the Neto faction had long decided to fight the civil war with a conventional army, built and armed around a core of Katangese mercenaries and Cuban troops (numbering between 2,000 and 3,000 by October 1975). Mass participation was substituted by the Neto faction with social-fascism, in the guise of DISA (Directorate of Internal Security of Angola) and subordinate committees of carefully-chosen «vigilantes». Neto Alves and several cunhalists were later joined by Cuban and East German experts in the formation of DISA.

The Neto faction ordered the arrest of members of *Revolta Activa* and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. The newspaper, *Popular Power*, reappeared for a time to rally the masses to the revolutionary cause, until Neto ordered the complete subordination of the mass organisations and journals to his command. In October 1975, with the MPLA confronting a debacle, the Marxist-Leninists united to form the Organisation of Communists of Angola (OCA) in order to lead the patriotic Angolan masses against foreign imperialist aggression, local reaction, and social-fascism.⁶⁴⁾

By October 1975, the civil war had stabilized. The Portuguese armed forces had virtually been withdrawn. Fighting a successful people's war, UNITA's FALA had maintained traditional areas of support against the Cubans and FAPLA's. The FAPLA's and the Cubans continued to fight it out with the FNLA's ENLA and its foreign military complement around fifty kilometres north of Luanda. Neither the FALA (UNITA) nor the FAPLA's (MPLA) were able to dislodge the South African military contingent, occupying the Calque hydroelectric project along the Cunene in the extreme South.⁶⁵⁾

However, Daniel Chipenda had successfully prepared a flying column – «Zulu» – over a period of three months in South West Africa

(Namibia). Composed of Chipenda supporters, foreign mercenaries, and some South African armoured corpsmen, the Zulu column first engaged the FAPLA's and Cuban troops on 23 October, then raced more than two thousand kilometers in the next two weeks to a point between Benguela and Luanda.⁶⁶⁾ The phenomenal success of the Zulu Column exposed the tenuous hold that the MPLA and the Cubans exercised in the provincial capitals and areas to the south and south-east of Luanda. Into the vacuum, left by the flight of the FAPLA's and the Cubans, stepped UNITA; its militants succeeded in extending political and military control throughout Southern and Central Angola.

With the formal independence of Angola on 11 November 1975, the last constraints were brushed aside, and foreign military intervention – promoted especially by the Russian superpower – accelerated further. Already on 5 November 1975, the Russians and the Cubans announced that a large expeditionary force would be dispatched to Angola. In preparation for the anticipated Cuban offensive, nearly two thousand South African colonial troops assumed defensive positions along a line four hundred kilometers to the south of Luanda. On 27 November 1975, the Cuban expeditionary force opened an offensive against the already-shattered ENLA (FNLA) in the North. Having dispensed with the FNLA in a period of two months, the bulk of the ten thousand-man army fought one pitched battle with the South African army around Cela. Immediately afterwards, the South African army retreated from eventual defeat and arrived back in the Cunene region in late January 1976. Chipenda's force resisted, then fled into South West Africa (Namibia) at the beginning of February 1976. UNITA fought defensively until March 1976, until most of the movement had been established underground, in the guerilla, from where it has fought with increasing success until the present day.⁶⁷⁾

NETO MAKES DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICANS

When the hostilities subsided, the Neto faction and its patron – the Russian superpower – were in substantial control of a divided and devastated country, with nearly half-a-million dead – mainly civilians – out of a total population of six million. The task of extending control throughout the country in the areas where this was possible was left to the Cuban expeditionary force, with some assistance from the FAPLA's. The Cuban troops soon became the scourge of the Central Highlands around Huambo and Bie and committed atrocities in other areas of Angola. DISA and the regular police force (CPA's) were built up under the auspices of its chief, Ferreira Neto,

and the Minister of the Interior, Nito Alves. At the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in February 1976, Nito Alves, at one point, called for the executions of «leftist Maoists and South Africans». Repression and brutality increased against political opposition, both against the masses and their leaders. Already oppressive labour laws had been passed on 15 December and were being enforced against the working class.⁶⁸⁾ The trade union organisation of the Neto faction – UNTA – attempted to extend its control over the Workers Committees (CT's) and to dampen the rising discontent of the Angolan proletariat. A Commission of Work was established by UNTA to screen «disloyal» elements out of the labour force.

In April 1976, the Ochikango Conference was held in Southern Angola between delegations of the Neto government and the South African government and business interests.⁶⁹⁾ So soon after the hysteria about a South African invasion, the Neto government concluded an agreement to permit South African economic activities to continue in Agnola, including the Caleque Hydroelectric Project. Agreements were reached with Gulf Oil and other imperialist concerns. Beneath the socialist and anti-imperialist rhetoric, the Neto faction was sinking to the depths to improve the economic and diplomatic position of its state. On July 1, 1976, Neto attempted to curb a wave of worker unrest by issuing a decree against economic sabotage. The Neto faction, to prevent further mass activities, announced the disbandment of the Popular District Committees (CPB's) on 5 May 1976.⁷⁰⁾ On 24 December 1976, the Neto faction declared the end of the Self-defence Committees and the People's Militia.⁷¹⁾ On 23 December 1976, Neto decreed the militarization of the port of Luanda and sent in the CPA's to brutalize the dock workers. The proletariat resisted in this openly social-fascist act, and work has yet to return to normal in the port of Luanda.⁷²⁾

In September 1976, Neto cemented his subordinate relationship to the Russian superpower by signing the Twenty Year Treaty of Friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union. Becoming an associate member of COMECON, the Neto faction regularized the dependence of Angola upon the Russian superpower. In October 1976, the Central Committee of the MPLA announced that a communist party would be founded, bringing Angola firmly into the revisionist camp. In December 1977, the MPLA held its first congress as a revisionist party. Upon Neto's return from Moscow in October 1976, talk temporarily ceased about the «independence» and «non-alignment» of the MPLA; instead the Neto faction stressed Angola's obligations to Russia and her «natural

allies», as well as the necessity for Angolans to respect foreign advisers and technicians. At this time, preparations for the invasion of the Katangese mercenaries into Shaba province of Zaire reached their final stage. Nathaniel M'bumba returned from Moscow in November 1976, and the invasion began in January 1977.

The attempted coup of Nito Alves, Zo van Dunem, and their supporters on 27 May 1977 presents yet another insight into the characteristics of the MPLA.⁷³⁾ Nito Alves had received the support of prominent cunhalists and other revisionist parties and countries in the building-up of his position as Minister of Interior, and his image as the most dynamic leader of the MPLA. Nito Alves became the most outspoken supporter of the Russian superpower and of social-fascist repression. He was also most outspoken in his promotion of the rights of black Angolans to play a greater role in Angolan affairs. Nito Alves began to develop his own faction, influencing sections of DISA, the FAPLA's, and the CPA's, as well as attempting to establish his own people's militia. Open clashes intensified in the Central Committee of the MPLA in January, 1977 when Nito Alves and Iko Carreira fought over control of the DISA. The power struggle ended in a bloody conflict that lasted for nearly a week. Top leaders of the Neto faction were killed and the radio station seized, until Cuban troops put down the rebellion. The Russian superpower and the cunhalists maintained an uneasy silence over their connection with Nito Alves and the coup. However, relations have been fully restored, with the coup of Nito Alves explained as a part of Operation Cobra.⁷⁴⁾ In any event, Neto and his MPLA acquired the image of detachment that has deceived many observers and dismayed *Afrique-Asie*.⁷⁵⁾

MARXIST-LENINIST CRITIQUES OF SOCIAL-FASCISM

The Marxist-Leninist perspective on recent Angolan history contains the basis for critiques of social-fascism and militarism, perpetrated by the Neto faction in Angola. This perspective foresees in social-fascist, militarist and social-imperialist oppression of the Angolan people, the roots of the destruction of the Neto government and the Russo-Cuban occupation. With the growing resistance of national liberation movements, especially UNITA and OCA, the day of national independence, democracy and peace in Angola is not far removed.

The different Marxist-Leninist critiques of social-fascism and militarism remain to be examined and demarcated. The Organisation of Communists of Angola (OCA) maintains that the MPLA was converted into a party characterized by social-fascism and militarism by the petit bourgeois

leadership that aspired to become a state monopoly bourgeoisie.⁷⁶⁾ Social-fascism was manifested in the use of UNTA against the working class, the closure of popular committees and journals, the establishment of a new PIDE (the DISA) and Vigilantes Committees, and the use of deceptive, populist demagoguery. The OCA perceives militarism in the MPLA's reliance on armed forces divorced from the masses. The OCA recognises that the Cuban army of occupation is a force of social-fascism and militarism, sent to oppress the Angolan masses beneath the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The OCA does not trace the origins of social-fascism and militarism in Angola from the early development of the MPLA, only from 25 April 1974.⁷⁷⁾ The OCA has analysed the «two-line struggle» between the popular, revolutionary forces and the aspiring petit-bourgeoisie in the MPLA. When faced with the tasks of mobilizing state power and fighting the enemy, the Neto faction did not trust the masses, according to the OCA. The Neto faction monopolized state power through the social-fascist suppression of the masses and fought the enemy in a militaristic fashion, with a well-trained and equipped, conventional force, led by Cuban mercenaries and Katingese gendarmes.

The OCA critique of the rise of social-fascism and militarism in the MPLA does not make the FNLA or UNITA appear as respectable movements. The OCA has modified its positions over the past two years, partly because of the successes of UNITA. But the political line remains that the only organisation that was once anti-imperialist and patriotic was the MPLA. The OCA calls for the struggle of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movements, led by the Marxist-Leninists, to carry through the national democratic revolution against foreign occupation and local reaction. Perhaps Revolta Activa remains the only acceptable political force that could openly participate in the OCA-led mass movement.

It is difficult to obtain the exact position of the Marxist-Leninists of Revolta Activa on the situation in Angola.⁷⁸⁾ Generally speaking, Revolta Activa asserts that the MPLA was characterized by undemocratic leadership and organisational style since the assumption of party leadership by the Neto faction in 1962. President Neto often placed the maintenance of power and position within the MPLA above discussion and democracy and above the vital considerations of the liberation war. Still, the MPLA as a whole could not be characterized as social-fascist or militarist until 1975. There were many patriots, democrats and Marxist-Leninist militants associated with the MPLA; it could not be characterized as monolit-

hic. Certainly, there were revisionist and social-fascist leaders and militants in the MPLA, especially in the Neto faction, but Revolta Activa contends that they did not characterize the MPLA. Only with the struggle for power, beginning in October 1974, did the MPLA, controlled by the Neto faction, become social-fascist and militarist. The manipulation of campaigns for «Popular Power» and «socialism» in early 1975 against all political opposition to the Neto faction has been recognised by Revolta Activa as the starting point for social-fascism and militarism in Angola. The onset of the Angolan civil war, encouraged by social-imperialism and imperialisms, presented the Neto faction with the opportunity to harass, ban and imprison its own militants, Marxist-Leninists and the Angolan masses. The Russian superpower ensured the preservation of the Neto faction by unleashing Cuban social-fascism and militarism upon the Angolan people.

Revolta Activa does not take as hard a line as the OCA on the resolution of the Angolan problem. All democratic and patriotic forces are encouraged to unite to bring real independence, peace and democracy to Angola. Revolta Activa does not rule out the participation of any patriotic political movement, including the FNLA and UNITA, although Revolta Activa maintains no contacts with these movements.

Another group of Marxist-Leninists in Angola and in Portugal contend that the MPLA became social-fascist in 1962 or thereabouts, after the Neto faction had seized power within the movement.⁷⁹⁾ The Neto faction is seen as being solidly social-fascist from its creation as a force closely allied with the cunhalists and with the Russian superpower. Although different trends emerged within the MPLA, the Neto faction never wavered in its determination to drag the MPLA into control of state power, regardless of the masses and democracy. These Marxist-Leninists point to the suppression of opposing currents, the sabotage of the liberation struggle, and the murder and brutalization of Angolans to support the contention that the MPLA has long been social-fascist. In 1974 and 1975 the MPLA attempted to create the impression that it was democratic and progressive in order to seize state power. These Marxist-Leninists would urge that all possible forces be united to defeat the Russian superpower, its Cuban mercenaries, and all local social-fascist agents. Whether such allies would even include the other imperialist superpower, the United States of America, is questionable. But assistance from the «Second World», especially Western Europe, in line with the Theory of the Three Worlds, would be welcomed.

SOME QUESTIONS RAISED BY SOCIAL-FASCISM

The views of Marxist-Leninists within UNITA are inseparable from the history of UNITA and the development of its strategy and tactics. From its foundation in March 1966, UNITA stressed the need for a «real united front of all Angolan nationalist forces without any discrimination whatsoever».⁸⁰⁾ Yet UNITA, by its adherence to self-reliant people's war and socialist transformation, has long publicly proclaimed its solidarity with China and Albania. The Second Congress of UNITA in August 1969 condemned the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, and aggression against China.⁸¹⁾ These two aspects of UNITA – the search for a united front against Portuguese colonialism, and Chinese-style peasant-based socialism – led to contradictions and fluctuations in the criticisms of the MPLA and the Neto faction. UNITA was always critical of the externally-based MPLA, and the reliance of the Neto faction on the revisionist countries. In contrast, UNITA urged the virtues of self-reliance. Yet the search for united front and later a Government of National Unity appears to have fostered views that peaceful co-operation with the MPLA and Neto was possible, provided there was no external interference. The events of the Angolan civil war had ended the illusions of Jonas Savimbi and UNITA about unity with the MPLA and the FNLA. UNITA, in allying with the FNLA and Daniel Chipenda, found themselves also an assortment of imperialist backers, including the South Africans, and justified this on the dubious political principle – «the enemy of my enemy is my friend». UNITA now rejects the possibility of a new alliance with the FNLA, and repudiates the South African connection – though rumours of collaboration with South Africa persist. UNITA is returning to its roots of self-reliance, peasant-based socialism, and protracted people's war. The struggle is seen as a Second Anti-Colonial war, and the Neto faction as «fascist» or «social-fascist».⁸³⁾ The continuation of people's war assist the development of political consciousness amongst UNITA's supporters, many of whom joined during the civil war. UNITA's stand against the Russians and the Cubans, and the contradictions within the MPLA, may help to overcome the antipathies of other Marxist-Leninists, including the OCA, towards UNITA.

Several issues for further research and discussion have been raised in this paper:

- (a) The relevance of the concept of «social-fascism» in analysing the Russian superpower and client regimes in the Third World.
- (b) Questions about the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the events which led to the continuing civil war

in Angola and about the nature of the MPLA government.

(c) Questions about the strategy and tactics of different Marxist-Leninist organisations in the face of the two superpowers, other imperialisms, and local revisionist or «social-fascist» organisations. The issue of the open polemic on the international situation between the Chinese and the Albanians needs further investigation, and its consequences for Marxist-Leninists in the Third World.

(d) Questions about the similarities between the Angolan situation, and the problems of national liberation struggles in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe.⁸⁴⁾

Footnotes

1. The perspectives of these analysts as presented in this paper do not necessarily reflect my own views, although I share many of their concerns.
2. A recent stimulating report on the Soviet Union has resulted from a Conference held in Berlin at Easter this year. Rudolf G. Wagner (ed.), *Supermacht Sowjetunion*. Berlin, Oberbaum, 1977. An introduction in English to the analysis of the contemporary Soviet Union has been made by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA: *How Capitalism was Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*. Chicago, RCP Publications, 1975. A critical review of Martin Nicolaus, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR*. Chicago, Liberator Press, 1975, is provided in the RCP's theoretical journal C.R., «Social-imperialism and Social-Democracy, Cover-up of Capitalism in the USSR», *The Communist* (Chicago), Vol I, no 1, (October 1976). Martin Nicolaus' work, originally published in the New York weekly *Guardian* has subsequently been repudiated by his publishers, Liberator Press. Nicolaus was associated with the October League, now the Communist Party (M-L) in the USA. Charles Bettelheim has published two volumes of his study of the Soviet Union: *Les Luttes de Classes en URSS*. Paris, Maspéro/Seuil, 1974 and 1977, covering the periods 1917 – 23 and 1923 – 30. The first volume is available in English translation from Monthly Review Press, New York, 1976.
3. An example of such self-deception is the article by Basil Davidson, «Somalia Towards Socialism», *Race and Class*. Vol XVIII, no 2 (Summer 1975), which paints a glowing picture of fraternal co-operation between the Soviet Union and Somalia's progressive military regime. A typical example of pro-Russian analysis of military regimes, albeit (fortunately) with characteristic British disregard for theoretical sophistication, is Jack Woddis, *Armies in Politics*. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1977.
4. Chinese statements on the Russian superpower are well-known. One of the recent definitive statements entitled, «Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds is a major contribution to Marxism-Leninism», is carried in *Peking Review* 45, (4 November 1977).

The Albanian stand concerning the Russian superpower and the Three Worlds Theory is summarized in the *Zeri i popullit* editorial, «The Theory and Practice of the Revolution», supplement to *New Albania* no 3, 1977. Like the Chinese, the Albanians have issued a long series of pamphlets and articles on the rise of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union. One Albanian publication is worth noting, Vol 19 of Enver Hoxha's works, which deals with the 1960 Moscow Conference. It has been published in English under the title: Enver Hoxha, *Albania Challenges Khrushchevite Revisionism*. New York, Gamma Publishing Company, 1977. An historical background sympathetic to the Albanian position is provided by William Ash, *Pickaxe and Rifle – the Story of the Albanian People*. London, Howard Baker, 1974. The official *History of the Party of Labor of Albania*. Tirana, The «Naim Frasheri» Publishing House, 1971, gives some insight into the development of the Albanian analysis of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

5. Amongst those intellectuals whose work is familiar in Western academic circles, there are names such as: Samir Amin, Charles Bettelheim, Malcolm Caldwell, Bernard Chavance, Richard Hensman, Kostas Mavrikis, Martin Nicolaus, Hari Sharma.
 6. Of particular interest will be the sequels to Charles Bettelheim's first two volumes on the Soviet Union.
 7. The rapid expansion of Russian militarist intervention in Africa is bound to lead to more exposures and critical analyses, as events in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia, are now demonstrating. Similar comment could be made about Russian manoeuvres in Latin America, e.g. Argentina, and Asia, e.g. India and Indonesia, where as yet much research needs to be undertaken. A well-written introduction to contemporary India, and the links between the Gandhi regime and the Soviet Union, is given in David Selbourne, *An Eye to India*. London, Penguin, 1977. On Indonesia, Malcolm Caldwell and Ernest Utrecht, *A History of Indonesia*. London, Zed Press, 1977, analyse the underdevelopment of Indonesia and the present military regime.
 8. For Dahomey (Benin), see 'La Flamme', organ of the Union of Communists of Dahomey (UCD). For Ethiopia, the publications of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and the Meison (Pan-Ethiopian Socialist Movement). For Congo-Brazzaville, the article 'The Masses and Revolution in the People's Republic of the Congo', *IKWEZI*, no 5, April 1977. Samuel Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1976, gives a non-Marxist analysis of the military regimes in several countries, including Dahomey (Benin) and Congo-Brazzaville.
 9. A Marxist-Leninist perspective is provided by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA pamphlet, *Cuba: the Evaporation of a Myth*, Chicago, RCP Publications, 1976.
- Amongst the many critical analyses of Cuba, three deserve mention. Dumont, Rene, *is Cuba Socialist?* London Andre Deutsch, 1974. Karol, K.S., *Guerillas in Power*. London, Jonathan Cape, 1971. Mesa-lago, Carmelo, *Cuba in the Seventies*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1974.
10. A representative example of Chinese commentary is an article by Fei Chou, 'Angola after Two Years', *Peking Review* 48, 25 November 1977, pp. 25 - 6. 'Twenty thousand foreign troops occupy Angola's capital Luanda and other cities and slaughter people at will. Foreign 'advisers' control Angola's domestic and foreign affairs including its political, economic and military departments. Angola is divided, national solidarity and unification of the country are just empty words. The economic situation is deteriorating ...' (p. 25). 'The Angolan people's struggle against the Soviet neo-colonialism and mercenaries has been continually developing. Demonstrations against foreign occupation broke out repeatedly in Luanda and other cities. The participants shouted, 'Oppose Soviet Rule!' 'Angola belongs to the Angolan people!' Guerrilla activities against foreign occupation have spread over extensive areas of the country. These guerillas have destroyed railways and taken control over the highways, cutting off almost all the main communication lines. Cities like Luanda, encircled by the guerillas, are virtually isolated islands and communications between Luanda and other places have to be maintained by air. The guerillas deal heavy blows at the Soviet mercenaries, who can do nothing but hole up in the strongholds and cities. Supplies are meagre, morale is low and many of them have deserted. At present, the Angolan people's angry flames are rising continuously. Angola has turned into a noose around the neck of Soviet social-imperialism.' (p. 26).
 11. There are three main Marxist-Leninist parties in Portugal: the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed), PCPR, with which is associated the Popular Democratic Union (UDP) - a mass organisation. They support the Albanian position on the international situation: the Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the PCP(M-L), which upholds the Chinese line on the Theory of the Three Worlds; the Workers' Communist Party of Portugal, PCTP, which was formed out of the Movement for the Reorganisation of the Proletarian Party, MRPP. They do not support the Theory of the Three Worlds, and appear to be seeking links with the North Koreans! The different strategy and tactics of these parties in the face of the two Superpowers and other imperialisms, fascism and social-fascism, would require another paper - and will only be briefly touched on where the issues relate to Angola.
 12. This is the standard Marxist-Leninist interpretation, which is obviously open to question. For background material, see, E.H. Carr, *The Foundations of a Planned Economy*. Vol III, part 2, London, MacMillan, 1977.
 13. I have been unable to trace any authoritative reference for this statement, and it may well be incorrect. The term 'social-fascist' does not appear to have been used during the 1940's and 1950's of the Titoite revisionists, but again I can find no clear references.
 14. A succinct summary of the Albanian analysis is the pamphlet by Hysni Kapo, *The Ideas of the October Revolution are Defended and Carried Forward in Struggle against Modern Revisionism*. Tirana, The '8 Nentori' Publishing House, 1977.
 15. The Chinese and Albanian parties strongly condemned the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, whilst also disagreeing with Dubcek revisionism. In the case of Poland, they support the underground Communist Party of Poland, which is said to have played a role in workers' uprisings and unrest. The Albanians maintain links with the communist Party of Germany (Marxist-Leninist), the KPD(M-L), which has an illegal section in East Germany.
 16. See, Fiqret Shehu, 'The Revisionist Parties - Typically Bourgeois, Counter-revolutionary Parties', *Albania Today*, no 5 (36), 1977.
 17. A favourite phrase of Mao Tse Tung describing the Russian ruling class. An attempt to justify the description is made in Martin Nicolaus, *The Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR*, Chicago, Liberator Press, 1977.
 18. Such an interpretation can be drawn from the article in *Peking Review* 45, (4 November 1977), pp. 32 - 3.
 19. Uniao Democratica Popular, 'On Revisionism', in, *notes from the Portuguese Revolution*, Salford, England, Friends of the Portuguese Revolution, 1976. The UDP is associated with the PCPR - see footnote 11.
 20. The cunhalist PCP has strongly attacked the Marxist-Leninist parties in Portugal, and spread the usual slanders, including the old chestnut, 'CIA-backed'.
 21. The use of the term 'Marxist-Leninist' (M-L) by the MPLA in recent months has added to terminological confusion, and is seen as a deliberate mystification by the M-L critics of the MPLA. In this paper, Marxist-Leninist, unless otherwise indicated, refers to those parties and groups which have fraternal relations with the Chinese or Albanian parties, and which maintain that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries.
 22. One of the rare examples may be the Ethiopian military's ending of the Emperor's rule. But the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party would claim that the Ethiopian military have already shown that they are incapable of carrying out the national democratic revolution, let alone the socialist revolution.
 23. See, for example, *Peking Review* 45 (4 November 1977), pp. 22 - 3.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 23. 'It must be admitted that this duplicity peculiar to the Soviet Union increases the special danger it poses as an imperialist superpower.'
 25. See the reference to the RCP Pamphlet in footnote 9.
 26. This paragraph is an attempt to summarize M-L critiques of Cuba, which have become widespread since 1968 - the year of Fidel Castro's support for the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.
 27. See the reference to Jack Woddis (1977) in footnote 3.
 28. This cunhalist strategy is described in more detail in the main body of the paper.
 29. An expose of the Katangese gendarmes is presented in a brief article, 'Who are the Katangese gendarmes?', *IKWEZI*, no 6 (August 1977), pp. 61 - 63. In the same issue, pp. 58 - 60, is reproduced a statement of various African student organisations in Europe concerning the invasion of Zaire, which includes this comment on Mbumba: '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-social-imperialist journal, 'Afrique-Asie', (No. 132, 4 - 7 April, 1977) keeps quiet about this period. It is by no means

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- accidental that this journal only starts his biography after 1967 • (p. 60).
30. These points are also raised in the article by Ch. Kayser and P. Meyns, «Die Sowjetunion und Kuba in Angola – die Entwicklung einer neuen Abhängigkeit», in Rudolf G. Wagner (ed.), *Supermacht Sowjetunion*. Berlin, Oberbaus, 1977, pp. 184 – 199.
 31. A well-documented description of the early history of the Angolan liberation movements is John A. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 1969. A more contemporary analysis is provided by Richard Gibson, *African Liberation Movements*. London, Oxford University Press, 1972, and his work is the best English-language publication available. A second edition is in preparation, and should be published by mid-1978. In French, two historical books should be noted: Valentim, Jorge Alicerces, *Qui libre L'Angola*. Bruxelles, Michele Coppens, 1969.
 - de Andrade, Mario and Marc Olliver, *La Guerre en Angola*. Paris, Maspero, 1971.
- Basil Davidson's writings on Angola, including his books in the Penguin series, are essentially propaganda for the Neto faction of the MPLA, and his journalistic meanderings are of little service to serious students of the Angolan situation. His work is reviewed in a two-part article, «Basil Davidson and Revisionism in Southern Africa», *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977) and no 6 (August 1977).
32. These points were contended by Portuguese M-L's during interviews in October this year. Such actions are certainly not implausible. One need only think of the stand of the Communist Party of France (PCF) during the Algerian national liberation struggle.
 33. Neto himself claims that he escaped from prison.
 34. Richard Gibson (1972), p. 219.
 35. John A. Marcum (1969), p. 220.
 36. Richard Gibson (1972), p. 220.
 37. Several former MPLA militants interviewed upheld this view. Interviews were held in Portugal in October this year with various Marxist-Leninists, and present and former members of the three liberation movements. For obvious political reasons, informants cannot be identified.
 38. Interviews.
 39. Richard Gibson (1972), pp. 222 – 3.
 40. Neto is reported as saying: «We are trying to free and modernise our people by a dual revolution: against their traditional structures which can no longer serve them, and against colonial rule». The extract is from Basil Davidson et al., *Southern Africa the New Politics of Revolution*. London, Penguin, 1976, p. 117, and is illustrative of Neto's modernising elitism, or, at least, of Basil Davidson's.
 41. Richard Gibson (1972), p. 224.
 42. Interviews. It was rumoured that Neto sent assassination squads to liquidate leaders of the Eastern region.
 43. Daniel Chipenda, as an Ovimbundu, was able to use his tribal connections to gain support within the MPLA.
 44. Interviews.
 45. Several reasons can be advanced as to why some M-L revolutionaries continued to work within the MPLA: (1) The Neto faction did not have full and undisputed control; (2) The MPLA was based in Congo-Brazzaville, which was conducive to some M-L currents; (3) Many M-L's joined in the hopes of changing the MPLA from within; (4) There was no organised M-L party, and only UNITA had proclaimed its allegiance to the general principles of M-L'ism; (5) Each of the three main liberation movements, FNLA, MPLA and UNITA, had limited appeal to different sections of the population; (6) Some MPLA militants came to embrace M-L'ism during the course of protracted struggle. However, UNITA's strategy of people's war based within Angola attracted many M-L patriots. In addition, both the FNLA and FLEC succeeded in attracting genuine revolutionaries.
 46. See, John A. Marcum, «Southern Africa After the Collapse of Portuguese Rule», in Helen Kitchen (ed.), *Africa From Mystery to Maze*. Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, 1976, p. 96.
 47. Interviews.
 48. UNITA was accused of collaboration with the Portuguese at the time of the Bakuvu Agreement between the MPLA and the FNLA on 27 August 1974. R.W. Johnson, *How Long will South Africa Survive?*, London, MacMillan, 1977, repeats allegations of UNITA collaboration with the Portuguese, whilst also noting the increase in vicious Portuguese attacks on UNITA during the same period – a strange contradiction in his book between p. 135 and 138. UNITA has denied the allegations, and denounced letters to the Portuguese authorities purportedly from Savimbi as forgeries.
 49. See, for example, the following UNITA statements: *UNITA's Official Position on the Current War in Angola*. London, Unita Information Office, 1975, Mimeo. *UNITA the People's Struggle Until Victory*. Toronto, Norman Bethune Institute, 1976. *Support the Second Anti-Colonial Struggle of the Angolan People*. Toronto, Norman Bethune Institute, 1976. Copies of these and other statements of UNITA have been reproduced and publicised by the Communist Party of Canada (M-L), and related parties and organisations – the Communist Party of Ireland (M-L), the Communist Party of England (M-L), and the Central Organisation of United States Marxist Leninists (COUSML). Similarly, the Belgian M-L organisation, *Alle Macht aan de Arbeiders (AMADA)* – «All Power to the Workers» – has translated and distributed UNITA statements. Information about UNITA documents is also available from a support committee, «Free Angola», 72 Compton Street, London, EC1.
 50. See, the article «Angolan Marxist-leninists on the MPLA», *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977), pp. 55 – 70. It contains translations of the organisation of Communists of Angola (OCA) documents into English. The OCA journal, *Vanguardia operaria*, is still being published illegally in Luanda.
 51. Interviews.
 52. It has been alleged by Portuguese Marxist-Leninists that Costa Martins, while Minister of Labour, appropriated 81 million escudos from unemployment funds for Cunhal's PCP, who promptly donated 12 million escudos «to the nation». Costa Martins has been implicated in the 27 May 1977 attempted coup of Nito Alves and Zo van Dunme. Dr Neto has accused Costa Martins of being an «agent of French imperialism». An odd comment, considering Costa Martins close ties with the cunhalist party and his praise of the Russians. See, also, footnote 21 on p. 194 of Ch. Kayser and P. Meyns (1977), and, *Bandeira Vermelha*, organ of the PCP(R), 12 October 1977.
 53. *IKWEZI*, no 6 (August 1977), pp. 61 – 63.
 54. A statement first made in November 1974, and given wide currency.
 55. Based on interviews with militants associated with «Popular Power».
 56. *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977), p. 56.
 57. Interviews.
 58. On the military regime in Congo-Brazzaville, see, Samuel Decalo (1976) and his extensive bibliography. The best account of the Angolan Civil War is Colin Legum and Tony Hodges, *After Agnola The War over Southern Africa*. London, Rex Collings, 1976. In addition, Colin Legum's annual *Africa Contemporary Record*. London, Rex Collings, always presents a wealth of factual material. R.W. Johnson, *How Long Will South Africa Survive?*, London MacMillan, 1977, gives a personal interpretation of events on the basis of Colin Legum and Tony Hodges (1976); Gabriel Garcia-marquez's articles in *Proceso* (Mexico) in January, 1977; And Robert Moss in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 January – 20 February 1977. Garcia Marquez clearly supports the Russian/Cuban version of events, whilst Moss amusingly attempts to justify the South African invasion. Neither is in the least part reliable. Garcia-Marquez's account is in an English translation in *New Left Review*, 102 (1977).
 59. Both Garcia-Marquez (1977) and Moss (1977), for seemingly different reasons, exaggerate the role of South African colonial troops. Basil Davidson (1976) offers similar stories to Garcia-Marquez, whilst Alex Callincos and John Rogers, *Southern Africa after Soweto*. London, Pluto Press, 1977, provide the Trotskyite perspective of the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) of Britain. As may be expected, Trotskyite groups and parties have produced a vast collection of ephemera, reflecting a wide range of conflicting analyses and statements. Angolan Trotskyites presumably exist, and are no doubt subject to persecution by the MPLA government. As in the case of the differences amongst the Portuguese Marxist-Leninists, the subject of Trotskyite analyses offers research opportunities for students of the more exotic and esoteric reaches of the Left. See a brief M-L reference to Trotskyites and Angola, in, «Angola: dois anos de agressao social-imperialista»,

- Seara Vermelha* (Lisbon), V, no 7 (January 1977), pp. 22 - 23. The journal is associated with the PCP(M-L).
60. The account of the Civil War which follows has been checked with Colin Legum and Tony Hodges (1976), and in most details corresponds with their record.
 61. Interviews. See, also, *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977), p. 57.
 62. *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977), p. 57.
 63. In August 1975, the Defence Minister, Iko Carreira, had been in Moscow, where he was assured of a steady supply of Cuban military personnel.
 64. *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977), p. 58.
 65. For details of South African involvement, see Colin Legum and Tony Hodges (1976), and R.W. Johnson (1977). The South African colonial army also carried out raids against base camps occupied by SWAPO and UNITA. The two liberation movements had a long history of mutual co-operation. By August 1976, Sam Nujomo was able to suppress opposition in SWAPO and consolidate his own power and the alliance with the MPLA.
 66. Robert Moss in the *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 January 6 20 February, 1977, gives a romanticised version of these events. yet Moss' account does raise questions about MPLA support in Southern Angola, and the commitment of Cuban troops to the defence of the MPLA.
 67. On UNITA's continuing guerilla war, two recent journalistic reports are of note: Esther Dialla, «Les demons d'une jeune republicque», *Jeune Afrique*, no 881, 25 november 1977.
- Leon Dash's series on UNITA, *Washington Post* 7 - 13 August 1977. Leon Dash is an Afro-American, and spent seven months in UNITA-controlled areas of Angola. His series of reports are essential reading for any study of UNITA. Dash had also travelled with UNITA guerillas during the liberation war against the Portuguese.
68. See, *IKWEZI* no 6 (August 1977), pp. 65 - 7, which provides an English translation of the new Labour Laws.
 69. UNITA, *The River Cuanza Manifesto* 10 May 1976, translated by «Free Angola», London, January, 1977, mimeo. «The African apologists of the Neto clique continue to try to demonstrate that Nato's MPLA only appealed to the Cuban troops after South African troops invaded Angola, siding with UNITA. This is the grossest of lies, comparable to so many others fabricated by the same false African revolutionaries. Are these the same unashamed charlatans that stole 93 tonnes of weapons consigned to UNITA by the generous People's Republic of China in 1975 able to explain why the MPLA (Neto) and their Cuban masterminds had to negotiate with South Africa in OCHIKANGO (on the Namibian border) in April 1976? It was of course to guarantee all South African economic investments in Angola. Only idiots like those apologists of the Neto regime will ignore that the economic interests of South Africa in Angola remain in the South and it was to defend them that they entered Angola. It was not necessary to go there and call them in or to go to the negotiation table with them as Neto went to OCHIKANGO. Could these gentlemen that stole UNITA's arms state how many combats have been fought by Cubans against South Africans in Angola (as would fit those who have come to expel South Africans from our country?). Not ONE, because the Cubans are afraid of fighting South Africa, and their only mission was to kill black Angolans. As for the South Africans, they have already withdrawn from Angola of their own free will, after the Neto-Cuban-South African banquet, could these gentlemen tell us why Cubans are still in Angola?» (p.3).
 70. Ch. Kayser and P. Meyns (1977), p. 191.
 71. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
 72. *Vanguardia Operaria* (Luanda), no. 8, March 1977, pp. 7 - 8.
 73. A full account of the attempted coup of Nito Alves appears in *Vanguardia Operaria*, no 9, June 1977. The report deals particularly with the roles of Cita Vales (former head of cunhalist students), Rui Coelho, Virgilio Frutoso, Vidigal Nuno Simoes, Ademar Vales, Costa Martins, Emilio Qunital, Zecca Bastita, And Pinto, and other cunhalists.
 74. After the dismal failure of the Katangese mercenaries attempt invasion of Shaba province, the Neto regime announced a new imperialist plot, Operation Cobra. This plot was alleged to involve a wide-range of forces, and starred French imperialists, South African colonialists, morrocans, FNLA, UNITA, etc. A particularly imaginative journalistic portrayal of Operation Cobra appeared in *The Sunday Times* (London), 19 June 1977.
 75. See, *Afrique-Asie*, no 140, 25 July 1977.
 76. See, *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977), p. 62, and *Vanguardia Operaria*, 8 March 1977.
 77. *IKWEZI*, no 5 (April 1977), pp. 56 - 7.
 78. This exposition of the views of Revolta Activa is based on interviews. Writings reflecting their views were unobtainable at the time of preparing this paper.
 79. See, Mario Picarro, «Angola: dois anos de aggressao social-imperialista», *Seara Vermelha*, no 7, January 1977, pp. 20 - 23. This journal reflects the views of Marxist-leninists in the PCP(M-L).
 80. Cited in Richard Gibson (1972), p. 238.
 81. Richard Gibson (1972), p. 241.
 82. See, Leon Dash (1977) for the resolutions of the Fourth Congress of UNITA held in March 1977.
 83. This is illustrated by the following extract from a speech made by J.K. Chitunda, UNITA observer to the United Nations, made on 29 May, 1976. «But all oppressed peoples of the world can readily grasp the simple but profound scientific teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought can rapidly become popular amongst the oppressed. And like the Emperor Constantine who artfully adopted the Cross as his symbol in order to enable himself to manage the wide-spread Christian masses, so it has become fashionable nowadays to hear so many bourgeois and fascist politicians quoting profusely Marx and Lenin to confuse, mislead, and subdue the struggling masses, or to win support from progressive countries. However, once in power, these bourgeois elites, disguised as Marxists, can certainly retain or restore their class privileges in detriment to the peasants and workers. This has been Angola's experience with the MPLA.»
- Reported in, *The Workers' Advocate* (Chicago), Vol 6, no 5, 24 June, 1976, at p. 24.
84. In Azania, the African National Congress of South Africa is allied with the pro-Russian South African Communist Party, and receives aid from the Soviet Union and East European countries. The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania receives no aid from the revisionist countries, but is backed by China and Albania. Both movements are recognised by the organisation of African Unity and the United Nations as liberation movements of the Azanian people. In Namibia, SWAPO is the only organisation recognised by the OAU and the UN, but has also been subject to the strains of the Sino-Soviet conflict. In Zimbabwe, the Patriotic Front is divided between Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwean African People's Union (Russian and revisionist-backed) and Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwean African National Union (Chinese and Albanian-backed).



THE SOVIET THREAT AND ADVENTURE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

by KONRAD MELCHERS

Over 100,000 people demonstrated in Mogadishu on the 14th November, and angry but jubilant cries rang out like «Down with the Russians!» «Down with the social imperialists!» «Cuba out of Africa!» President Siad Barre proclaimed to the crowds, «We are no political prostitutes, and we are against polygamy as well! So we can't be married to the Soviet Union!» (Le Monde, 16.11.77.) The day before, the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Somalia (SRPS) had abrogated the Soviet-Somali «friendship treaty» from the 11.7.74 and had decided to close the Soviet military bases in Berbera, Ras Kiambon, Cisimayo, Mogadishu and Hargeisa. Further they decided to kick out the over 6,000 Soviet and Cuban advisors and to break off diplomatic relationships with Cuba.

This long awaited step is a courageous challenge to the Soviet super power. At the end of October the Soviet ambassador had given Siad Barre a bossy note, practically an ultimatum, which stated that «the refusal of the Somali government to end its intervention in Ethiopia would have serious consequences, not only for the relationships between Ethiopia and Somalia, but also for those between Somalia and the Soviet Union (Afrique-Asie, Nr.149, p.31). On the 15.11.77 Tass published a threat from the Kremlin that the Somali government would carry «the responsibility (for this step) fully and completely» (Die Wahrheit-revisionist paper in West Berlin – 16.11.77)

The Soviet Union was not surprised by the events, nor was it unprepared for its departure. Some of its activities had already been lessened, and it managed to completely withdraw thousands of advisors within the time limit of one week given it. Perhaps more important than that, they also carried off or destroyed the rockets, submarine dry-docks, and the installations from the communications centre in Berbera. the evacuation plan to the Eritrean port of Assab had to be altered in favour of Aden, because an attack on Assab by the Eritrean liberation forces was feared. (Le Monde, 22.11.)

Looking over the events of the last 11 months there is a whole chain of facts and indications all pointing to an almost unparalleled game of intrigue, strong-arm diplomacy and blackmail which

the Soviet union played in order to gain complete control over the Horn of Africa. For the time being they have only succeeded in suffering a severe blow, but the treatment they have received from Somalia will only make them more tireless in their efforts. They have committed thousands of millions of Roubles to the military escalation of the border conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia, and they cannot cease their attempts to gather in the tributes. They have pumped at least £250 million into the Somali army without counting the unknown cost of the military bases there.

In Dec. 1976 the Soviet Union signed the first treaty with the Ethiopian military junta for the delivery of arms. After Mengistu had shot his way to the top of the military junta on the 3.2.77 the USSR could change up into second gear. In March they concluded a 2nd treaty involving 385 million dollars (among other things 48 MIG's, 200 tanks, SAM Ground-air missiles, 60,000 Kalashnikov machine guns...Le Monde, 24.11.77) Mengistu thanked the Soviet Union and threw the US military advisors out of the country at the end of April. In November it became known that the Soviet Union had made another arms delivery, at least twice as large as the other one. (Le Monde 23.11.77)

On a secret trip to Cuba, the GDR and the USSR at the end of October, Mengistu negotiated over more comprehensive military support (Le Monde, 24.11.77). There may well be about 1,000 of the Soviet Union's Cuban mercenaries in Ethiopia (according to Castro 'diplomats' and 'doctors') instructing the Ethiopian military forces (cf. Le Monde, 16.11, and 23.11.)

THE SOVIET UNION'S DIVERSION STRATEGY – IT TRIES TO MAKE BOGEY-MEN OUT OF THE ARAB STATES

In order to distract from their intervention, and to cast a smoke screen in front of their real aims the Soviet Union has various diversion manoeuvres. The more the influence of the USA declined in Ethiopia the louder became the cries from Moscow, «The US-imperialists are going to cut revolutionary Ethiopia into pieces and let it bleed to death, while at the same time getting Somalia to slow down its progressive development and if

possible slowing it down themselves...» (TASS, 1.8.77)

They undergo great efforts to make bogey-men out of the Arab states, to which Somalia now also belongs. «The fact of the matter is that some Arab states (above all Saudi Arabia) are trying to get a huge area under their unilateral control, through which runs the traditional 'Crude Oil Route' and the important transport routes from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean,» writes W. Larin in the «New Times, nr 19, 1977 (P. 10). The Soviet ambassador in Ethiopia, Anatoli Ratanov even went as far as to attempt to call the Soviet aggression on the Horn «resistance». At a press conference on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution in Addis Ababa he declared, «the Soviet Union would offer resistance to the monopolisation of this waterway by any country or group of countries.» (Monitor Dients, 24.10) (Monitor Service of the German Broadcasting/Deutsche Welle.)

Siad Barre only needs to turn to Khartoum to see what invective the Soviet Union is going to pour over him. In order to stir up emotions at the last Summit Conference of the OAU the USSR even cooked up the 'argument' that Numeiri was weakening the liberation struggle in southern Africa. Tsaplin writes, «(Numeiri) is playing into the imperialists hands. He is helping to put up new barriers to hinder the progress of the liberation movements in southern Africa, by starting a war in the North to distract people's attention.» (New Times, nr.25/77,p.12.Cf. also Isvestia, quoted in Le Monde, 23.8.77)

One only needs to take them by their own words in order to see what's behind all this. In 1974 for example, a time when the Soviet Union still put all its hopes in the present Arab regimes, the already quoted revisionist daily, the Truth, (Die Wahrheit), wrote: «In October 1965 a corrupt, pro-Western and neo-colonial regime was driven to hell. Since that time a fundamental change has taken place on the Eastern horn of the continent, a change not to be seen before in the several millenial years of this people..... The Democratic Republic of Somalia, which is the official name of the country, is at the beginning of the non-capitalist road of development with a socialist orientation..... *most recent expression of this progressive development was the decision of the government in the middle of February to become the 20th member of the Arab league* This was a definite and doubtless gesture of solidarity towards the just Arab cause.» (Die Wahrheit, 2/3.3.74.)

The self-contradictory Soviet phraseology becomes even more apparent in the cases of Syria and Iraq. Both countries have friendship treaties or similar arrangements with the Soviet Union and are eulogised by the Soviets as «socialist orien-

ted». But at the same time they have been the strongest supporters of the Eritrean liberation struggle from the beginning up till now and today, strongly back the Somali government.

Even the Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) – which after supporting the Eritrean liberation struggle for years – now has turned to support the Mengistu regime (but at the same time has sent an official delegation to the 1st Congress of the EPLF held in January 1977 in Eritrea) took part in the Taz summit conference in March, 1977. This conference between Sudan, Somalia, North and South Yemen was an answer to the social-imperialist plan – a few days earlier put across by Fidel Castro and Podgorny – to piece together an «Alliance of progress» on the Red Sea, consisting of Ethiopia, Somalia and South Yemen under the Soviet umbrella. The conference declared «that the region of the Red Sea should become forever a region of peace and harmony» and that «all foreign navies should be kept away from the Red Sea» (cf. Hsinhua 16.8.77). The social-imperialists have become furious about the growing unity of the Red Sea border states. In June 1977 they wrote in «New Times»: «The plan of knocking together a reactionary pro-imperialist bloc is now being served up...as a plan for establishing a zone of peace and security» and developing regional cooperation purportedly for the joint initially profitable use of the natural resources in the Red Sea area....The reactionary essence of the plans to convene the conference of Red Sea countries is evident if only from the fact that its sponsors have no intention of inviting Ethiopia's progressive government to it.» (New Times, No. 25/1977 p 12).

In Spring 1975, Moscow's mouthpiece, «African Communist» was still making propaganda for the just struggle of the Eritrean people, only to accuse the Eritrean liberation movements that their struggle would «benefit only the most reactionary circles,» two issue later. In 1974 the ELF and the EPLF still took part in the 11th session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, held in Bagdad. The Conference sent the following cable to the African Liberation Committee of the OAU: The 11th session of AAPSO wishes to inform the African Liberation Committee of its solidarity with the aspirations of the Eritrean people to be granted their right to self-determination and draws attention to the tragic situation exists in Eritrea as a result of Ethiopia's annulment of the U.N.Resolution (No. 390), and calls upon the Liberation Committee to study and look into the current situation in Eritrea in the light of the present events and with accordance with the principles of the right of self-determination so as to avoid shedding more blood and in order to ar-

rive at a just and peaceful settlement.» (cf. the Eritrean Review, EPLF, No. 12 may 1974).

But only a year later the Soviet Union used the same organisation, AAPSO, as a spearhead to organise Afro-Asian support for the Ethiopian junta. It organised a AAPSO-Solidarity Conference with the ANC-SACP (African National Congress of South Africa – South African Communist Party) in Addis Ababa and took the opportunity to let the Conference woo the junta.

By building up the bogeyman of Arab reaction the USSR is trying to add appeal to its own schemes for winning control over the traditional Crude Oil Route and the important transport routes between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Further Podgorny openly declared in Zanzibar in March 1977 the natural right of the Soviet Union on the «connecting routes between the European part of the Soviet Union and the Soviet East.» (Tass, 24.3.77.). It is this strategic importance of the Horn of Africa that makes the Soviet Union to

intervene so ruthlessly in the area. It is to serve its purpose of world supremacy.

THE SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS IN ERITREA

Another example of self-exposure by the Soviets is Eritrea.

Dr Habte Tesfamariam, member of the Revolutionary Council of the ELF gave a Moroccan newspaper «L'Opinion» a revealing interview in which he said, «As far as the USSR is concerned we must recognise that it is a double-edged sword. (It) maintained good relations with Addis Abeba, even during Haile Selassie's reign. At the same time they kept up normal relations with the ELF. But when the DERG came to power and removed the American bases from Ethiopia, Moscow clearly sided with the new government without offering us any sort of explanation.» (Monitor Dienst, 5.10.77).

(continued on page 74)



SOME BACKGROUND TO CONGO-ZAIRE

By
WAMBA-dia-WAMBA

This is a part of an article commenting on the recent events in Zaire, by WAMBA-DIA-WAMBA. The author traces the background to what he terms a popular uprising. While we have no doubts about popular feeling against the Mobutu regime and the corruption and ineptitude of his neo-colonial regime hitched to U.S. Imperialism, our considered view is that the «uprising» was stage managed by the social-imperialists from their base in Angola, and that the Katange mercenaries led by Mbumba was no army of liberation. On the contrary it represented the interests of Soviet neo-colonialism guising itself as

an anti-imperialist liberation struggle. It is for this reason we categorically state that the liberation movements in Africa must now be directed not only against U.S. Imperialism but equally against social-imperialism if one is not to fall into the trap of the latter's «anti-imperialist» manoeuvres.

But despite our strong disagreements with the author's interpretation of the Shaba events we have nevertheless decided to use the first part of his article as it gives an excellent background to the Zairean struggle and an excellent politico-economic analysis of the situation

The fourth period of the modern history of the Congo, the period of «zairianization and authenticity,» is about to end, and a new period is about

to begin. The basic features which presided over the end of each of the preceding three periods also characterize the coming end of the fourth

period. From the so-called Congo Free State (1885-1908) of the «rapacious humanitarian» King Leopold II, through the Belgian Congo (1908-1960) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (1960-1965) to the Republic of Zaire (1965-1977), the same dominant problem governs the motion of this social formation: the persistence of mass impoverishment. The Congo too has been a material proof of the basic theorem of political economy: no social economy can be organized outside of and against the interests of the masses of people without suffering major economic and political crises in the long run.

The rigorously inhuman treatment of human forces led to the economic and financial crisis of the Congo Free State and forced the ideologically isolated King to give up his «personal property» to the Belgian Kingdom. Under King Leopold II's extremely repressive rule of the Congo Free State, its population, estimated at about 20 million, was reduced in 23 years to 8 million. No productive or even profitable process of social production could have been sustained under these conditions. It is the people who make history and they alone who produce economic surplus. The following statement by the King himself summarizes his way of conceiving and realizing the process of primitive accumulation in Central Africa. «To say that what the white man produces in Africa must be spent in Africa for the benefit of the Negroes only is simply a heresy, and injustice, and a mistake.» How could the King have gone very far?

Under the Belgian colonial government, the colonized masses were used only as an unlimited supply of cheap labor for international capital. With its basic cultural directive, «no elites, no trouble,» the colonial state did very little to develop the colonized human forces. Its main functions were: to provide intensely exploitative conditions of production, concentrated in the very rich mining sector and the transportation infrastructure; to provide the necessary cheap labor force; to deal with money management for the necessary monetarization of the colonial economy; and to guarantee «stability» through repression and ideological organization, mainly through church evangelical structures and missionary schools, of the colonized people's consensus. This was a state of occupation and the defeated colonized people were practically treated as collective slaves. The famous «paternalism» of Belgian colonial rule is similar to the «paternalism» of slave masters' rule of pre-capitalist slave systems. Neglecting all economic activities of vital importance to the colonized people (e.g. subsistence agriculture), the colonial state, through a close social partnership between the colonial government and foreign international cartels, organized the Cong-

olese social formation around the export oriented industrial sector of mining, dominated by copper. All the other sectors were subordinated to the export industrial sector, which since 1921 has increasingly tended to become capital intensive. The state power was the main device used to create the necessary labor market and an unlimited supply of labor at declining or constant wage levels. It was also used through all schemes of forced crops, to siphon out of the rural sector a growing agricultural surplus for export and for the local market. Through the development of the exportation sector with big companies emerged the process of formation and development of a wage labor force and the proletarianization and/or impoverishment without proletarianization of the rural populations. The nature of this process, dominated by merchant capital, characterizes the present distortions and geographical location of the congolese proletariat. The neglect of the subsistence agriculture was a way of keeping labor reserve.

Especially with the heavy demands of the depression years and world wars, the colonial policies and their repressive reinforcement led to serious problems, leading in return to social tensions and numerous mass revolts. Political-religious movements of mass resistance emerged, such as Kimbanguism and Kitawalaism, the political awareness of the war veterans especially was developing, and a number of uprisings--including in the Force Publique, the colonial army--were recorded. The required conditions for the long-term stable growth of the colonial system were to be re-organized and reformed, taking into account the new realities. The policy of a new generation of civil servants was developed as a new mechanism of organizing the consensus of the colonized and increasingly revolted masses. Without reducing the repressive measures (as witnessed by the deportation of Kimbanguists), a social policy was developed, leading to an extension of the state budget.

CREATION OF NEO-COLONIAL ELITE

«It is necessary,» wrote a colonial representative, to create a class of indigeneous 'évolués' who will agree with the ideals and principles of Western civilization and, thanks to an equal standing, will be equal to us in rights and duties; (being) less numerous than the indigeneous masses but powerful and influential, they will be the indispensable allies we badly need within the indigeneous communities. These middle classes will constitute the black bourgeoisie which is being developed everywhere in the Congo and that we must help to become rich and to organize itself, and which, like all

bourgeoisies of the world, will be opposed to any internal uprising.

In other words, against the mass unrest of impoverished colonized masses, the colonial state extended its repressive and ideological state apparatuses by developing «ideological allies» or a «political force» which would represent the colonial bourgeoisie more favorably in the ranks of the colonized population. This was similar to the Nixon doctrine of creating «Black Capitalism» in the U.S.A. as a solution to Black masses' poverty and unrest. While organizing the unity of the class and the disunity of the dominated classes and groups, a dominant class or group must recognize, in developing the state machinery necessary for the exercise of its class dictatorship, the real relationship between the dominant and the dominated classes and groups. The resulting state must thus be a genuine reflection of the concrete relationships of power in society. Those évolués, although successful in pacifying the masses, did not improve the material conditions of persistent poverty. They were mostly used as colonial obstacles to the development of the mass resistance movement, which ultimately radicalized some of the évolués and forced them to become a major factor in the struggle for the control over the colonial state. Meanwhile, they constituted just one case of the colonial attempts at softening the antagonistic contradictions of the colonial system without resolving them. The contradictions continued to develop; the mass resistance movement would later transform itself into the first independence movement which culminated in the proclamation of the «flag independence» on June 10, 1960 as an attempt at resolving these contradictions peacefully. We know that there is no such thing as a «peaceful resolution of antagonistic contradictions.

By the end of colonial rule, the basic organization of the economy was essentially directed against the vital interests of the masses of people and for their continuous impoverishment. The economic power and income were excessively concentrated in the hands of the minority. The colonial bourgeoisie (about 1% of the population) controlled 95% of the capital assets, 70% of the marketed production, 50% of the monetary national income. The European salary earners (about 2% of wage earners) received 45% of the total wage incomes and the African peasantry (about 95% of the labor force) controlled only 2% of the total capital stock and contributed only 11% of the total value of marketed production. The economic surplus continued to be produced through a highly extraverted structure leading to sharp distortions which disadvantaged the mass based subsistence agricultural sector. The increased use of capital intensive techniques and

the technological dependence upon imported equipment goods and foreign «specialists» restricted the growth of the productive industrial employment and reinforced the prevailing rigid pattern of income distribution. The large share of non-wage income (profits, dividend, salaries of expatriated cadres, taxes, etc.) constantly transferred to Europe did not lead the colony to rapid capital accumulation. The only way to enlarge the internal market would have been to increase, through the development of the «black agriculture,» the incomes of the large masses of the rural workers and producers. However, there was a fierce resistance to any such an increase from the foreign settlers and traders, upon whom the rural masses were dependent in one way or another. Because of its class and social nature, the colonial state was unable or unwilling to undertake any radical structural change which would favor the material interests of the colonial masses. The neglect of those interests intensified the economic crisis manifesting itself through the budget deficit and increasing foreign debt. Mass unrest intensified, leading to the great Léopoldville mass uprising of January 4, 1959. With the continuous rise of the nationalist forces led by the National Congolese Movement of Patrice Lumumba (MNC-L), the transfer of capital to Europe increased dramatically. The «independent» state started off with heavy pressure from this grave disinvestment trend. The Economic Round Table Conference, dominated by pro-western Congolese representatives, failed even to raise the issue. The nationalist parties (MNC-L and PSA) which had a mass interest oriented economic strategy--however elementary--sent minor or opportunist cadres only.

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In the Belgian Congo we did not have one agriculture. There existed a black agriculture and a white agriculture, a poor agriculture and a rich one.

WHAT TAKES THE PLACE OF THE COLONIAL STATE

Under those objective conditions of crisis, the process of mass mobilization for anti-colonial struggles through political parties rapidly developed the mass resistance movement into a radical liberation movement; unfortunately it was very quickly controlled and dominated by the assimilated (évolués). The world conditions of revolution or the «wind of change» constituted an important catalyst for the liberation movement. The early opposition of the colonial state to the movement had to accommodate itself to the historical trend. It became clear to the colonial ideologues that continuous opposition to the movement would

have radicalized it further and that the colonialists would thus have lost everything. The colonial state had to follow the colonized people's historical initiative--and world historical trend--and contain it only by re-orienting it through the «leadership» created by the colonial state for the colonized masses: the évolués. Even the foreign settlers had to put in the forefront of their political parties native masks such as Tshombe.

The question before the Independence movement was: which social forces are going to seize the colonial state power? Will it be those which would undertake the necessary structural change through the destruction of the colonial state apparatus and the creation of a state machinery favorable to the impoverished masses' interests? or will it be those who, keeping the colonial state apparatus intact, are opposed to the structural change? In other words, the question was «What is the social basis of independence?» Needless to say, such a question was never raised explicitly, due to the nature of the leadership of the Independence movement and the sly co-optation of the movement by the colonial state. Some évolués who were opposed to independence found themselves running the «independent» state! It took about three years (1960-1963) for the people to realize the pertinence of raising and dealing correctly with such a question. During the whole period of anticolonial struggles, the ideological struggle was, instead, centered around two different issues: not the social nature of independence but for or against «immediate independence» on the one hand, and the structure of the country after independence (i.e. unitarism, separatism and federalism alternatives) on the other. For most politicians the «national integrity» of the Congo was seen as identical with keeping the colonial state machinery intact. It is interesting to note that the opposition to the central and unitarist new state often took the form of some separatist/federalist attempts. Up until the great Léopoldville mass uprising of Jan. 4, 1959, the majority of the évolués' and settlers' political parties were against «immediate independence» and favored various reforms. The idea prevailed that colonialism could also be a peaceful transition to independence. On this question, the leadership exercised by ABAKO (Alliance des Bakongo) to agitate for «immediate independence» was decisive.

To understand how the évolués very quickly dominated the mass resistance movement, we must examine briefly the forms of political organizing of the movement. The colonial state was organized on the basis of class rule dependent on a privilege system, racial chauvinism, and ethnic or tribal separation and opposition. To fight against such a rule would have required that the

mass Independence movement be organized on the basis of a consistent democracy, and political parties should have had a multi-national, multi-ethnic or multi-'tribal' character. Urban-rural separation and opposition also had to be dealt with. Colonial politics and institutions were couched in language and symbols fundamentally foreign to the masses who needed the évolués for translation. As could be expected, colonial structures most open to the formation of a national consciousness, such as the colonial army, the working class and some school structures, were hardly organized and politicized as such by the évolués' political parties. The political conscientization of the members of those structures was based primarily on ethnic affiliations. The parties were organized along tribal lines, and the privilege system which favored the évolués who could be said to be above «tribes» knew close to nothing about the language, cultures and resistance traditions of the asses of people. Those who knew them and were rooted in the mass movement were familiar only with their own ethnic group history.

THE EVOLUES CONTEMPT FOR THE MASSES

The évolués dominated the decision making process of the parties exclusively. The organizing activities went from the urban centers to the rural areas with directives and slogans flowing from the top down. While the nationalist forces ultimately led and championed by Patrice Lumumba, true to their unitarist character, succeeded in organizing on a multi-tribal basis, they still failed to deal effectively with the privilege system question, giving clear preference to urban centers and évolué social strata. Organizationally, even inside the MNC (Mouvement National Congolais), the tendencies of tribal chauvinism were quite apparent. While they talked a lot «in the name of the people,» their political line did not in fact express a mass line either politically, ideologically or organizationally; at best, it was a «radical petty-bourgeois» line. Such a line often is characterized by technocratism, elitism and centralism. The évolué attitude towards the masses, above all rural masses, was one of contempt and similar to that of the colonizers. The évolués knew everything and the masses knew nothing: the latter had only to receive orders from the former. This, more than anything else, explains why nationalist forces could not win the control and the exercise of class dictatorship in the struggle which followed independence. The struggle, which took the form of a confrontation between nationalist forces on the one hand and colonial, neo-colonial and international cartels' forces on the other, was won by the neo-colonial forces and their allies. While the colonial and neo-colonial forces had firm support of the international

cartels and/or their respective western states, the nationalist forces had no solid support; the socialist camp, under Kruschevist influence, for example, was very slow to intervene on their side.

It appeared that the only way that the nationalist forces could have offset the support received by neo-colonial forces would have been to rely vigorously on the masses of people and to put the mass line in command when organizing the masses of people in the anti-colonial struggles politically, ideologically and organizationally. Instead of clinging to governmental posts, priority should have been given to the development of political parties on the basis of the mass line, and this is where the best cadres should have been directed. In their structures, political parties tended not to be anti-colonial but pro-colonial, or at least neo-colonial. By June 1960, it became clear that political parties were only *using*

the masses for putting some évolués in the posts of state apparatuses. Forces still favoring the interests of the masses became increasingly isolated, disorganized, and weakened by their failure to rely on the masses. Lumumba himself became increasingly surrounded by anti-mass interests forces. No matter how «nationalist» one may be, inside a colonial state machinery one cannot exercise a mass-based class dictatorship. The colonial state machinery, local expression of the *dominant social relations of production of the world capitalist system*, soon destroyed the nationalist Lumumba. The colonial army mutiny, which should have been a good occasion to destroy the colonial army and replace it with a peoples' army, was instead seized by pro-west opportunists to reinforce the colonial army.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE NATIONALISTS

The ideological underdevelopment of nationalist forces made them blind to discover on time the various opportunists infiltrating and dominating the MNC-L. This split of the MNC--MNC-Lumumba and MNC-Kalondji-- was not correctly understood as an outcome of a struggle between two antagonistic political lines represented respectively by Lumumba and Kalondji, but it was interpreted as a result of 'personality conflict.' The ideological directives given through Lumumba's speeches, for example, with incorrect political and organizational leadership were incapable of mobilizing the masses to exercise some control over the «new» state. The «new» state, dominated by anti-mass forces, became more and more organized against the masses of people. The leadership of the anti-mass elements precipitated colonial restoration. The struggle over the control and maintenance of the state power bet-

ween the resulting power blocs (Pro-Western/neo-colonial forces led by the CIA-sponsored Binza group, the pro-big mining companies and settlers led by Tshombe and Kalondji, and the nationalist forces led by Lumumba/Gizenga) after Mobutu's first coup d'état of September 1960 was definitely won by the anti-mass forces. The internal struggle within the ruling-class-to-be subsequently took the form of a geopolitical separation and opposition of zones of influences: Stanleyville (now Kisangani) for the nationalist forces, Léopoldville for the neo-colonial forces, and Elisabethville/Bakwanga for the pro-settlers' forces. Foreign-induced secessions, the Belgian July invasion after the army mutiny and the arrival of UN forces, ultimately favored and reinforced the neo-colonial forces. The secessions forced the nationalist government to reverse the order of its priorities and to actually reinforce the colonial state machinery which it had to destroy. The weakening of the Congolese State, on the other hand, became the surest way of strengthening international capital's hold on the country and thus also the basis of the ultimate victory of the neo-colonial forces. The murder of Lumumba (January 17, 1961) sealed the first major defeat of the nationalist forces.

Although the nationalist forces under the leadership of Gizenga kept struggling, the pro-Western faction of the petty-bourgeoisie became increasingly reinforced and the oppression and exploitation of the masses of people increasingly organized. Through the *College des Commissaires*, the West became the real administrator of the newly independent state in the name of the «ruling petty-bourgeoisie.» The former colonial officers consciously or unconsciously opposed to independence, came back as technical adviser of the «new» state. These colonialist «specialists» were being asked to build a genuine independent state! The colonial state power--once threatened by the rise of the mass resistance poorly organized by the nationalist forces--soon returned, safe in the hands of the pro-Western forces which became the leading faction of the new ruling class. Instead of destroying the colonial state apparatuses, they reinforced and enlarged them.

What was essential for the restructuring of the economy in favor of the interests of the masses of people became impossible to actualize. The labor income of peasants and workers was not increased but reduced; the transfer of economic surplus to Europe was not limited; to the share of luxury consumption of the small foreign minority was added that of the new ruling class. No new methods were found for cooperation with foreign capital in terms of investing in the infrastructure, agriculture, and capital goods industry. Subordi-

nation to foreign capital was intensified, and it was not possible to establish an appropriate foreign policy to ease the required effort of public spending (viz. strict non-alignment). Through the «National Bank» run by European capitalist organic intellectuals, capitalist relations of underdevelopment were reinforced. No genuine planning process of the social economy could have been generated. The consequences were catastrophic for the masses of Congolese people. The metropolitan interests were firmly entrenched, and the relative autonomy and importance of foreign capital increased. In brief, the social inequalities increased. The Congolese society was moving towards a new social division: ruling Black whites, the new colonialists vs. ruled Black masses of workers and poor peasants.

The state became an efficient device for the bureaucratic petty-bourgeoisie to shape a new distribution of a declining GNP in favor of itself and of the commercial petty-bourgeoisie. Through the use of an appropriate price and wage policy, the control of the monetary stock and of foreign exchange, the bureaucratic petty-bourgeoisie was able to impose the burden of the economic regression on the weakest social groups, the disorganized laboring masses. The question, «whose state is it or whose independence is it?» came to the fore in the ranks of the people. The «fragile and ambiguous class alliance» between the évolués and the rural/urban masses was broken.

NEW REVOLTS BREAK OUT

Intensive activities of mass resistance were resumed: revolts, uprisings, strikes, etc. Through the Union Générale des Etudiants Congolais (UGEC, founded in 1961), the students agitated against the state policies, dominating the ideological struggle up to the banishment of the UGEC (1968). With the growing trade-unionist activities, the workers started voicing their demands and staging strikes. The remaining nationalist parties regrouped into a united front to pursue the struggle through parliamentary proceedings. By 1963, with the creation of the Conseil National de Liberation (National Liberation Council--CNL) by the nationalist front led by Gbenye and Bocheley, the second Independence Movement received revolutionary momentum. An intensive repression conducted by the vicious Victor Nendaka was organized against the nationalist movement. Many nationalist and trade-union leaders were arrested, thus forcing the CNL into exile in Brazzaville (Congo) where the Congolese masses had just succeeded in overthrowing F. Youlou's pro-Western regime. About the same time, Pierre Mulele (formerly Lumumba's minister of education and one of the most militant nationalist leaders), had

opened in his region of origin, Kwilu, an important maquis organized along Maoist lines and based on the peasants. This revolutionary movement was the first in the Congo to put the mass line in command. His murder in 1968, under circumstances still requiring clarification, marked the end of the first phase of the second Independence Movement. Mulele's health condition at his arrival in Brazzaville for medical treatment and the role of N'gouabi's government in his military extradition to Kinshasa need to be correctly assessed before accusing him of «treason».*

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This accusation has been made by the Marxist Revolutionary Party's *Liberator* no. 1, 1973

The most militant section of the CNL, encouraged by Mulelist successes and the growing repression of the neo-colonial state, decided to engage in armed struggle. In 1964 (April-May) the Eastern front (Kivu and Oriental provinces) was opened by G. Soumialot and Olenga. The neo-colonial army was collapsing and was incapable of containing the movement. By September, 1964, when the People's Republic of the Congo based at Stanelyville was proclaimed, the nationalist forces controlled 2/3 of the country. The leadership of the CNL, often suffering from ethnic chauvinism, was essentially radical petty-bourgeois and was using the masses rather than serving them. The social nature of the CNL leadership made it impossible to link more seriously with the mass-based Kwilu experience. Some cadres favoring such a line were liquidated. The political, ideological and military training of the CNL partisans was very rudimentary. CNL armed struggle, based on war of position, was essentially a military operation. Simbas' military victories could only be explained in terms of the accumulated disintegration of the neo-colonial army. The CNL leadership, in a hurry to seize the national state power, paid very little attention to the problems of training cadres for ideological, political and organizational leadership. Unlike the Mulele experience, basic revolutionary pamphlets, very schematic to start with, were not even translated into the popular languages. To «motivate» the Simbas (young soldiers) to fight, magical practices were introduced--under the witchcraft leadership of Mama Onema.

Under the leadership of P. Mulele, the Kwilu armed struggle was based on a mass line and a rigorous practice of self-reliance. **The revolutionary program generated through mass resistance against the neo-colonial state was made to be an integral part of the life of resistance of the poor and oppressed rural peasants. The**

basic directives, slogans, and principles were mass based and generated through local popular languages. But with no revolutionary party serving as the revolutionary leading core of the whole resisting people, leadership came to be identified with the most advanced cadre, namely P. Mulele. Thus, Mulele removed, the Kwilu armed struggle was dealt a heavy blow. A revolutionary party is necessary to sustain armed struggle.

The Léopoldville based neo-colonial state was becoming very shaky and contested. Its disorganized army was crumbling, running away in front of the nationalist armed forces and leaving its military equipment behind. Mercenaries were recruited to serve as the backbone of the army. Tshiombe, who was, in exile, entertaining a large army of mercenaries and Katangese Gendarmes threatening to pursue the struggle for national state power, was called back to the Congo. He was in Léopoldville by June 1964, followed by the other secessionist leader, A. Kalondji.

When it became clear that the nationalist forces were about to win, the allies of the falling neo-colonial state decided to rescue it, under the pretext of «humanitarian mission.» The major American-Belgian invasion of the People's Republic of the Congo on November 24, 1964 led to the massacre of 20,000 Congolese people. The vicious genocidal mercenary elements supported by the «national army» continued the massacre. Once again Western forces put an end to the young and still shaky People's Republic of the Congo and thus inflicted another major defeat to the nationalist forces and masses of the Congolese people.

VICTORY OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Although the external forces were very decisive in defeating the nationalist forces, we must insist on the primacy of the internal factors as being determinant. The political line, not based on the masses, practiced by the CNI in organizing and leading the revolted masses and the ideological deficiency of the leadership--due to its social nature--could not have permitted the masses to confront squarely the invading forces and defeat them. After the invasion, the fragile unity within the leadership itself and between the leadership and the masses was practically broken: few militants remained firm to continue the struggle and most of them responded to Mobutu's opportunist call of national general amnesty. Today, Gbenye, Soumialot, Mandungu, Olenga, etc., some of the major leaders of the eastern front, are in Kinshasa collaborating with Mobutu's regime. The most militant remaining elements formed what has become well known (especially after the seizure of the American students as hostages) as the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP)

based at Uvira and led by Laurent Kabila. Benefiting from an analysis of the CNL failures and mistakes and the experiences of Mulelism, the PRP has been practicing a mass-based political line. The neo-colonial state has not been able to liquidate it in its controlled zone, Uvira and Kalemie regions.

With the nationalist movement temporarily defeated, the alliance of convenience between the two other pro-Western power blocs, which brought Tshiombe to the Premiership of the country's government, started cracking. It had become clear that the Tshiombe pro-mining companies bloc wanted to assume leadership of the exercise of the class dictatorship. Although Tshiombe's mercenaries and «katangese gendarmes» were effectively used to deal with the nationalist forces, General Mobutu's army did not absorb them in its ranks. Fearing the consequences of the possible shift of power due to such an integration, Mobutu decided after his coup d'état to liquidate the Katangese gendarmes led by Leonard Monga and Nawesi Dameze. The Katangese gendarmes' and mercenary's mutiny were seized by Mobutu as occasions to destroy the military base inside the neo-colonial army of Tshiombe's power bloc. Since Mobutu's first coup d'état, the dominant aspect of class hegemony has been tied to the control of the colonial army; the leading aspect of class hegemony has been tied to the use of European technical advisers. The military shift caused by the existence of Tshiombe's mercenary army and the disintegration of the neo-colonial army under the blows of nationalist forces on the one hand and the shift in the ruling class's western allies after Kennedy's death on the other, brought Tshiombe to the Premiership. If Tshiombe had been able to destroy the military base of Mobutu's power bloc, he probably would have become president. Only those gendarmes who managed to escape to Angola, Zambia, etc. or who never came back home after the defeat of the Katangese secession (1963) survived. Some of them are now taking part in the Shaba fighting. What was seen as a vacillating tendency of President Kasa-Vubu by the Mobutu-led Binza group in dealing with both the nationalist forces and the pro-mining companies group precipitated Mobutu's second coup d'état (November 23-24, 1965). This decisive victory of the power bloc, represented by Mobutu, also entailed the relative victory of U.S. influence over that of other Western countries. That is briefly how the worst period of the Congolese history after independence began.

The main tasks facing the repressive petty-bourgeois neo-colonial state was to reconstruct and reinforce the state power. This was a necessary step in the re-establishment --on a new

basis--of the social partnership between the state and international capital: a partnership which was capable of resuming the effective functioning of the social economy in the mutual favor of the foreign capitalists and the neo-colonial ruling class. The coup d'état was the materialization of the shift between various power blocs of the ruling class and their respective allies on the other. The masses in revolt were organized on a non-mass line basis by UGEC, trade unions, remaining nationalist forces, politico-military organizations and new «syncretic» politico-religious organizations. The resistance pressures exerted on the ruling classes generated an intensive intra-class struggle which threatened ruling class unity. The difficult conditions of the unity of the ruling class and disunity of the dominated classes required a period of classical military dictatorship (1965-1968). The reliance on repressive state apparatuses to exercise class hegemony became almost exclusive. During this period, all the major dissenting forces were repressed--jails were filled, four major politicians were hanged, kidnappings were organized, Katangese gendarmes were murdered, the UGEC was banished and part of its leadership jailed, trade unions were reorganized and silenced, and all political parties were banished. This particular exercise of the class dictatorship required the formation and reinforcement of a real dominant class. A different state structure was to emerge out of a split in the ruling petty-bourgeoisie. One half emerged as a bureaucratic bourgeoisie centered around the presidency. The consequence was an increased centralization of political power, a reinforcement of economic power and concentration of income in the hands of a limited class of people who belonged to the privileged circles of power. The other half was relegated to a second level only very slightly above the exploited laboring masses. Tribal chauvinism and the privilege system became increasingly intensified. The often publicized monetary reform of June 1967 sealed the new social stratification through its elitist economic policies. The consequences catastrophic for the laboring masses of the Congo. Under the pretext of «maintaining stability» every form of mass resistance was broken and the material conditions of the masses often worsened. The victory of this repressive tightening of the state was completed with the ultimate proclamation of Mobutism as state ideology on July 15, 1974. Since then, the Zairean state became identified with Mobutu.

CONDITIONS UNDER NEO-COLONIALISM

Without going into too much detail, the economic structural distortions have intensified: the de-

pendency on the industrial mining sector increased and the state budget has become even more dependent on the international fluctuations of copper prices. The bulk of investment took place in: a) urban areas; b) activities directed to urban needs and creating urban employment; c) regions of Kinshasa-Bas-Zaïre and Shaba, where incomes are higher and growing faster than elsewhere in the country and where 90% of Zairean employment is concentrated. Despite all the rhetoric, agricultural programs and policies of the proclaimed «Salongo» «years of agriculture» etc., the decline of the agricultural production was not reversed. Many of the 18 million Zairers people living in the rural areas are slowly starving. «About one-third of the rural population suffer from deficiencies in caloric intake; and more seriously, a grave shortage of protein is characteristic of most of the population in the country.» Governmental agricultural policies have only intensified the crisis. The government price levels for farmers' products don't encourage farmers to produce more. Once self-sufficient in food crops, Zaire must now import increasing quantities of foods such as wheat, rice and maize. Members of the ruling class now do their food shopping in Brussels regularly. The importation of food from South Africa--even with all the rhetoric of supposed economic boycott--has increased. From 1965 to 1976, the portion of the government capital budget expenditure going to subsistence agriculture has not gone beyond 5%.

More generally, although the national output has increased, its growth has not reduced the country's dependence on mineral exports (of copper above all) for securing its financial resources. New manufacturing industries, producing essentially luxury goods, have been mainly substituting imports of consumer goods. As they generated new demand for imported materials, the import dependence of the economy remained unchanged or increased. Mineral exports accounted for about 85%, copper and cobalt exports alone for 70% of total exports in 1968-1973. By the end of 1976 they have been estimated at about 85-90%. That is why Zaire seems to be a gift of Kolwezi, the copper/cobalt mining center, and whoever controls Kolwezi controls Zaire. And that is why imperialists, who have invested heavily in the mining sector, were so anxious to protect Kolwezi.

Today, Zaire, potentially one of the richest countries in Africa, if not the world, has become one of the poorest. It is financially insolvent, and economically sold to the Western predators of high finance and multinational corporations. Those who have benefited from this state of affairs are the members of the ruling class whose interests are linked with those of international capital. The

old physical, institutional, human and financial constraints to economic development in Zaire have in fact been aggravated, especially after the Zairean participation on the side of South Africa in the war in Angola. The inadequacy of the transport infrastructure has not been ameliorated, but instead has intensified. Most of the roads, built under the colonial rule and badly deteriorated since, have not been repaired. The villagers building their own roads receive no significant encouragement. Zaire has had more financial «aid» from western financial institutions than the majority of Black African states, but as is generally the case, such aid has not been used for the interests of the masses, but for the development of the instruments of repression and for ceremonial and grandiose projects. With the massive external borrowing rapidly rising from 1970-1972 on, and the inefficient use of financial resources, the financial constraints have become compounded. The long-term debt was recently evaluated at 3 billion dollars. The nouveaux riches who constitute the Zairean interior ruling class--including President Mobutu, who is said to be among the richest people in the world--have been transferring their financial resources abroad, investing them in capital outlets not directly related to the Zairean national production process. In relation to the Zairean economy, such transfers are a form of hoarding; through them, the disinvestment process is aggravated.

Under the pressures of regional and tribal chauvinism, institutions of higher education, like the National University of Zaire (UNAZA), have deteriorated dramatically. The American ideological re-orientation, financial backing, and administrative assistance have not completely reversed the trend. The quota system, while it may help to determine the order of priorities in allocating new educational investments, does not correctly resolve the problems of uneven educational development by simply reducing the quality of education to the level of the lagging sector. The whole issue should not simply be reduced to the number of academic degrees in a given region. As it turned out, the quota system has merely favored the unqualified of some regions and relatives of the rich. More generally, the increased public investments have tended to be concentrated in unproductive prestige projects (the OAU City, the Party City, the 20th of May Stadium, Ali-Foreman fight, monuments, fairs, etc.).

MOBUTU'S RULE

The new state bourgeoisie, essentially a political group, has been exercising an overall control over the economic resources of the country on the basis of its class alliance with the Western ruling bourgeoisie. It has completely controlled

the capital accumulation process in Zaire, subordinating it--through the Investment Code--to the dominant world capitalist system. It has been exclusively responsible for the relations with the international capitalist system. The exercise of class dictatorship, through an appropriate one-party system and strong presidential state machinery based on increased centralization, has allowed individual members of the emerging class to join the structures of capital ownership. These new members not only become administrators of state and «mixed» economy or 'joint-venture' enterprises, but also accumulate savings on high salaries, various earnings, sideline incomes (or embezzled funds) channelled by the exercise of authority. The use of the state power to provide a solid economic basis for this emerging bourgeoisie has been one of the clearest goals of Mobutu's regime since 1966. The takeover policy of foreign trade and service enterprises, the enlargement of the state sector, and the partnership with international capital on a new basis have been systematic steps in enlarging the field of action of the «new class.» The exercise of class dictatorship, under Mobutu, has not changed the colonial character of uneven development of the Zairean social economy, but instead has intensified it. The peasants (18 million) have become even more impoverished. The massive unemployment leading to a lower average real wage and unlimited labor supply have created favorable conditions for recruitment of members to the single political party, the mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (MPR) and its youth wing, the Jeunesse du Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (JMPR) which provide them with the state cover for access to economic surplus. The party, entrenched in the lumpenproletariat, has been the spearhead of the repressive organization of public consensus regarding the «new regime».

We don't have enough space to analyze in detail the social nature of the state under Mobutu's regime in all its three functions: the repressive, the integrative and the socio-economic ones. The repressive function has increasingly subordinated all the others as can be seen through the rapid growth of military, para-military, correctional and national security structures as well as in the high rate of governmental reshuffles. An analysis of the various forms of state intervention in the economy would indicate how the state organizes mass impoverishment and makes the national economy subordinate to the world capitalist system. Through the state, the ruling class opens the national economy to intense international capitalist plundering and thereby strengthens its own economic position. The fiscal crisis of the state can be shown to depend on the rapacious

misuse of national funds by the ruling class as a way of strengthening the class, its outward-directed economic decisions and the requirements of containing mass resistance. The integrative function centered around the cult of «the chief,» «the father of the nation» or «le guide éclairé» and the ideology of «authenticity» designed to mask the deceptive practices of the ruling class have not succeeded in organizing a stable public consensus. The lack of unity between the dominant aspect and the leading aspect of the class hegemony has caused the state repressive apparatuses to become overdeterminant. In Zaire it is forbidden to think thoughts which go against Mobutism. Fortunately for the Zairean people, the deterioration of the road network also means that the state has its firmest control in urban areas. Thus the strategy of encircling cities from the rural areas may still be an important revolutionary weapon in Zaire. With cultural imperialism, encouraged by the ruling class itself, and with revolutionary ideas spreading rapidly among the masses of workers and poor peasants, the ruling class is incapable of providing leadership on the ideological front. Indeed its repressive attack on revolutionary ideas only succeeds in spreading them further. The recourse to anachronistic ideas imposed by violence, threat of violence, or subtle forms of psychocological manipulation has not been very effective. **The popularity of «Negritude» in the ranks of the petty-bourgeois, while responding favorably to authenticity, will be short lived.**

THE SITUATION TODAY

The general situation prevailing in Zaire could be schematically characterized in the following manner:

1) The pattern of income distribution remains biased against the masses; mass poverty has become permanent and famine crises are likely in the near future. «by mid 1973 the 211,000 go-

vernment salaries looked like this: 51% earned \$600 dollars or less, another 25% earned \$600-\$840, another 10% earned \$840 to \$1,080, and the rest made more...

whether many of the 2,350 Zaireans (less than 1% of the population) who together average more than \$10,000 a year can identify with or act upon the needs of the majority of their countrymen who subsist on \$25-\$50 a year is a problem not unique to Zaire.»

2) the conception and realization of the dependent capital-intensive industrialization process are pursued against the interests of the masses of people;

3) The public investment policy is oriented against the sectors which favor the interests of the masses (i.e.; no structural change favoring the subsistence agriculture and mass consumer goods sectors has been undertaken);

4) The state structures (army, party, intelligence services, etc.) have been functioning fundamentally as repressive fascist structures against the masses of people;

5) Monetary and fiscal policies were directed against the interests of the masses, e.g. the recent devaluation of the zaire at 42% or so, like the 1967 monetary reform, has hit the masses the hardest.

6) Outside of the one repressive party, no political or ideological structures of mass mobilization have been openly allowed.

Even the «syncretic» religious organizations were banned. The youth wing of the party (JMPR), the MPR itself and even the single trade-union UNTZ have been used effectively to contain the student movement, the mass resistance movement and the working class movement. The functions of the state ideological apparatuses of hegemony have been reduced to «social animation» and the cult of the guide. Mass resistance has taken new forms of expression: silent strikes, rampant corruption, etc.



(continued from page 65)

THE SOVIET UNION - PROTECTOR OF THE OAU CHARTER?

In order to prop up its position among the African states the Soviet union keeps making loud references to the OAU charter, saying that all the member states have committed themselves to upholding the existing borders in Africa. But, first-

tly, the charter obliges all member states to solve border problems with colonial and historical origins using peaceful means, which includes alteration of the borders. Thus, the question arises where is the passage in the OAU charter which says that it is the task of the Soviet Union to ensure that the charter is implemented by intervening militarily? It is precisely the Soviet Union

which is trying to meddle in the Somali-Ethiopian border conflict for its own advantage in its intense struggle with the USA. This was the sole reason why it signed the first military treaty with the «corrupt, pro-west, neo-colonial» former president of Somalia, Shermarke, during the latter's visit to Moscow in 1963. The Soviet Union assisted the expansion of the Somali army to one of the strongest in Africa, and especially supported the developments since the military putsch of 21st October 1969, led by Sid Barre for the same purpose. In Article 10 of the 'friendship treaty' which has now been abrogated, it says that «neither of the two sides will participate in military alliances of states, neither will they conduct actions directed against the other partner to the treaty.» For USSR this clearly meant no military engagement in Ethiopia.

When the USSR saw a good chance of replacing the USA in Ethiopia they developed the idea of the abovementioned «alliance for progress» involving Somalia, Ethiopia and South Yemen.

The main reason why the Somali government rejected this plan was that it had already felt the first blows from the large-scale Soviet intrigue. Just about the same time as the Soviet Union signed the first military treaty with Ethiopia in December 1976 it withdrew the commander of the 6,000 military advisors in Somalia, Anatoli Ratanow, from his post in Somalia in order to install him as ambassador in Ethiopia just a few weeks later. More and more Soviet advisors were transferred directly from Somalia to Ethiopia, (Neue Zueriche Zeitung, 21.9.77, and Le Monde, 28.9.-77). The Soviet Union was able to give its new partner detailed inside information about the Somali army. This double blow to the Somali fighting capability led to a big row in the Somali leadership. On the 28.2.77 the strong man and Moscow supporter Ali Samaytar, then still First Vice-President, Defence Minister, Chief of Staff and head of the secret service, was deposed. He was left merely with the post of Defence Minister (Cf Guardian, 10.7.77).

A little later it was discovered by chance that the last Soviet military advisors to Sudan had used their positions in the Sudanese air control system to let the Soviet military air cargo flights from Libya to Ethiopia and Uganda secretly pass over Sudan. This led to the expulsion of the last Soviet advisors to Sudan in May 1977. (neue Zuericher Zeitung, 21.9.77.). From Somalia came a report: «The Russians even went as far as to give us wrong instructions on how to handle their tanks. They really wanted to make idiots out of us.» (NZZ, 21.9.77.). The Soviet Union obviously had a decisive monopoly of spare parts, servicing facilities, and technology for a long time. The fact that Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, and incidentally

Iran (Cf, the military treaty between Iran and the Soviet Union, October 1976, in Africa Confidential 18.11.77, p.8) were also armed with Russian weapons came in handy for Somalia. However, the extent to which the 'invisible hands of the Soviet Union' have affected the armed forces in Somalia can be judged by the fact that the Somali Air Force has up-to-date, achieved practically nothing at all. In contrast the Ethiopians have shot down numerous Migs, they bombed the Somali air-base at Hargeisa – the Ethiopian junta even repeatedly pointed out that not the Ethiopian Air Force but the Somali Air Force itself were mistaken to bomb its own installations. And they have total air-control, all this despite the fact that one of the two biggest Ethiopian air-bases in the Ogaden, Gode, was overrun by Somali forces on the 23.7.77, during the first days of the fighting and the telecommunication network of the Ethiopians is destroyed. The control of the skies is the reason why the Ethiopians have been able to keep control over the two towns still in their power, Harrar and Dire Dawa.

THE SU HAS PROVOKED THE PRESENT WAR BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA

The control of military technology and supplies were not the only means of the SU to maintain its position in Somalia, while at the same time building up its position in Ethiopia. There are a number of indications, all showing that the Soviet Union has cleverly provoked the present armed border conflict. On the 6.7.77 TASS published the following declaration: «TASS has been authorised to establish that the Soviet Union condemns most sharply the actions of certain circles, who are in the process of undertaking acts of aggression against Ethiopia, as well as those who are encouraging this dangerous development.» They meant the approaching military aggression of the Sudan, encouraged by the USA. Tsaplin wrote at the same time in the «New Times», «The latest development is an intensification of the situation on the border between Sudan and Ethiopia. the imperialists almost openly urge the Sudanese authorities on to an armed conflict with the progressive regime in neighbouring Ethiopia.» (NZZ, 25/77, p. 12). At the same time the USSR must have been assured by Mengistu that there was no acute danger from the side of Somalia, since the Ethiopian military leaders transferred a large and the best equipped part of the Third-Division from the Ogaden Province to the Condar Province on the Sudanese border, due to the «severe threat from Sudan». But there they met only a few units of the old feudalists, who were quickly scattered without much effort. (Le Mo-

nde, 6/7.11.77). The bases they left in the Ogaden were temporarily taken over by the «Peasant militia», re-christened the «Red Army». An idea of the nature of this force can be gained from a report in «Der Spiegel». (German weekly). The reporter writes that militia-man captured by the Somalis told him that he had been recruited under the pretext of enrolling in an agricultural course, and that until he had been captured he had had no idea where he was, (Spiegel, Nr.36/77). the EPLF also reported that the «Red Army Men» had brand new Kalaschnikovs and bazookas, but that they had no idea how to look after them. They were usually shot in a fight before they had time to reload. (Le Monde, 16.11.77)

When the WSLF launched its surprise attack (surprising for the Ethiopians but not for the USSR), with massive support from the Somali army, they clearly had an easy game of it. Except for the 3 towns Jijiga, Harrar, and Dire Dawa they conquered in one week the 10 or so large military bases and more small ones in an area about the size of Great Britain. In order to win the 3 remaining towns in the same operation the Somali forces launched a pincers movement aimed at destroying the air base at Dire Dawa, which would have broken the Ethiopian air supremacy. The Ethiopian army managed to repel the attack, though not without considerable difficulty. Despite continual bomb attacks on the Somali tanks and artillery Jijiga fell on the 14th Sept. Mengistu, who had said that the city had to be saved at all costs, led the last stages of the defence himself, but wasn't able to prevent the Ethiopians running in panic in the face of the main Somali attack. The strategically important Marda Pass, a few kilometres past Jijiga, on which the Israelis had built a large radar station, was also left to the Somalis without a struggle.

NEW POLARISATION IN THE DERG

The defeat of the Ethiopian forces in the Ogaden, in the large resort provoked by the Soviet Union, and the worsening situation for the Ethiopian forces in Eritrea had their effects on the situation in Ethiopia. The power struggle in the junta sharpened once again. Open conflicts broke out in the armed forces. The USA also showed that they hadn't been sitting round doing nothing all the time. Around the 20.9. numerous units of the Third Division (in Harrar) and the 2nd Division (in Eritrea) mutinied. The information about the mutiny so far is that the old parts of the army were not only indignant about the trap that the USSR had led them into, but that they also complained that the «Red Army» was armed with modern Soviet weapons and lead by Cuban

'Doctors and Diplomats' while they were stuck with the old American weapons for which spare parts and ammunition were running out. This quickly led to a polarisation in the DERG. Mengistu's main remaining rival, Atafnu Abate, Vice-Chairman of DERG, opposed the growing dependence on the USSR more and more clearly. This is not in contradiction to the fact that Atafnu was in charge of the 'Red Army' and was sent to East Europe on occasions to get weapons. Atafnu had been given this post in order to isolate him from the leadership of the old army, their real centre of power in Ethiopia. Mengistu, however seems to have gone into a rage against the Soviet Union himself for some time. At the beginning of August he allowed a report to be spread about the very cordial talks which he had had with the American Chargé d'Affaires in Addis Ababa, and he appointed the then Defence Minister, General Ayelew Mandefro to fill the diplomatic post in Washington once more (Jeune Afrique, 7.10.77) On the 18.9, just after the fall of Jijiga, Foreign Minister Feleke Wolde Georgis declared at a press conference that Ethiopia would like to buy American arms once again (ibid). Mengistu has not attacked the USA in a speech on the radio or before large crowds since the beginning of August.

It is quite evident that the Soviet Union had overcalculated the effects of the defeat of the Ethiopian junta. When the defeat was clear the Soviet Union immediately started new initiatives to push its «peace plan.» The Ogaden should have a special status. Under pressure from the Soviet Union there were fruitless talks between the member of the DERG foreign policy chieftain, Berhane, and a Somali representative, in Moscow in August. (Le Monde, 3.9.77). At the same time there were reports about the Soviet plan to hold an Eritrean peace conference in East Europe. – and the Soviet Union now propagated a «Marxist, autonomous Eritrea.» It also failed. (Le Monde, Monitor Dienst, 30.8.).

USA ON THE PROWL

The US imperialists were clearly neither unprepared for the developments nor uninvolved. On coming to office Carter had set up a special study group on the situation in the Horn of Africa. In the middle of July 1977 the White House sent Siad Barre's former personal doctor, Dr. Kevin Cahill, to give Siad Barre a check-up, and not only a medical one. (Jeune Afrique, 7.10.77). At that point indeed the USA showed willingness to deliver Somalia large quantities of arms. In the meantime however they have retreated from this position in order not to foul up their chances in

Ethiopia. They have also begun to 'refer' to the OAU-charter now.

Obviously the aerial espionage and other sources had picked up the troop movements in the Ogaden in time, and the intrigues of the Soviet Union were correctly interpreted. Mid-September a high-ranking Ethiopian delegation under Berhane Bayeh and Michael Imru (before the DERG took over Prime Minister for some time, then the DERG's foreign policy advisor) visited Washington to negotiate a delivery of weapons and spare parts worth 40 million dollars. (Africa Confidential, Nr.18/77 and Jeune Afrique, 7.10.-77). In the same month Paul Henze and Richard Post, high officials from the US national Security Council met leading members of DERG in Addis Ababa.

On the other side Siad Barre also noted the developments and flew to Moscow at the end of August in the hope of winning over Moscow. Brezhnev didn't even see him. Concessions to Somalia would have had dire effects on the despairing Ethiopian military.

THE SU PUTS ON MENGISTU - MENGISTU INTENSIFIES TERROR

Therefore the Soviet Union decided to put everything on one card, Mengistu. The last Soviet arms delivery to Somalia was unloaded in Mogadishu at the beginning of August, and in September the arms deliveries to Ethiopia were again drastically increased. (Africa, Nr.77, p.34). The Soviet Union, however, had one precondition, namely that so-called revolutionary measures (which in Mengistu's speech is a synonym for murder) be adopted against Atafnu his followers and all other «cowards», and that the fascist terror in general be increased. Mengistu called out a general mobilisation on the 24.8.77, and repeated it again on the 20.9, after the fall of Jijiga. His speeches became more and more blunt. In commenting on the loss of South Ogaden to a press-ganged crowd of 500,000 in Addis Ababa said, «There is no reason why the same race of Ethiopians doesn't still exist (as in the 2nd World War against the Italians) who climb on tanks and chop our enemies heads off» (Le Monde 27.8.77) Mengistu proceeded with «revolutionary» measures against the cowards. He quickly dealt with the mutiny in Harrar by flying there and personally shooting down the leaders. (Africa nr.75, p.33). He cooled his temper down after the loss of Jijiga by summoning the commander of the 10th armoured brigade of the 3rd division (which had been stationed in Jijiga) Captain Haile Asfu, to the old imperial palace, where he shot him in cold blood in his own office. (Le Monde, 6/7.11.-77) Leading naval officers, opposed to the

DERG's policy in Eritrea were invited to discussion, only to be shot. (Eritrean Newsletter of the ELF Nr.16, 1977). In September/October renewed searches were undertaken for oppositional forces under the motto, «If the oppositional forces aren't wiped out immediately it is hard to go to bed in peace...». (Sud-Deutsche Zeitung 15.-11.77). Hundreds were killed, above all EPRP supporters. In November it was decided to issue all Ethiopians with new passports, with the aid of the KGB, in order to clamp down on underground resistance.

On 27.8. Mengistu attempted to resolve the contradictions within the DERG and between the various parts of the armed forces by introducing a new supreme military council, the national revolutionary operations council. This was also an important step in taking away Atafnu's power.

MEISONE LEAVES THE BOAT

In addition there was at this time a split between Mengistu and a group around a former leader of the Ethiopian Students Union in Eritrea (ESUE), Heile Fida, the «All Ethiopian Socialist Movement» (Meisone). This organisation which pretends to follow a Marxist-Leninist line had become the most important political supporter of the DERG. The reasons which Meisone gives for the split are hazy. On all important questions there are next to no differences between Mengistu and Meisone. Thus, for example, Negede Gobezie, a Meisone leader who fled, said in an interview with «Le Monde» «People say that Meisone opposes the intervention of the Soviet Union and its allies, who are on the side of the Ethiopian revolution. That is wrong. We accept and welcome all help which advances our revolution». (Le Monde, 17.9.77). The difference between the Meisone and the DERG in the oppression of Somali resistance in the Ogaden was merely that the DERG sent in the «Volksturm» units from the Tigre and Amhara provinces and armed the so-called «Neftagnas», the Amhara dealers, settlers and landowners in Ogaden, while the tactic of the Fida followers was to arm the Oromos living in Ogaden against the Somalis. There were no serious differences over the Eritrea question either, Negede declared in the mentioned interviews, «our programme recognises the right of self-determination for the nationalities of Europe, including the right of secession but under the present situation our organisation is against the secession of Eritrea.» (Le Monde, 17.9.77). Mistrust on the side of Mengistu developed around the point that the Meisone (and incidentally the DERG itself) worked half legally. Mengistu who apparently was kept out of this began to build up his

own party, the SEDEDE (Revolutionary Blaze) again with the help of intellectual Meisone affiliates. (Le Monde, 3.9.77.) The decisive reason, however, was that there was a growing cooperation between Atafnu and Meisone, i.e. Mengistu faced the threat of Meisone expanding its position in the «Red Army», where in the beginning they had only been used as political instructors. The fact that there were contradictory positions in the organisation with regard to the Soviet Union also made it rather suspect in the eyes of the Soviet Union.

Soon after the break between Meisone and Mengistu, an important friend of Atafnu, Chief of Staff, General Gizaw was removed from office, accused of making pro-American putsch plans (le Monde, 12.9.). Further Atafnu supporters in the DERG were murdered under peculiar circumstances at the end of October. It was not the EPRP which was behind this, but Mengistu.

In view of the increasingly tense internal situation Mengistu started out on the secret trip to Cuba, the GDR and the USSR already mentioned. Under a pile of new weapons Atafnu's fate was sealed. On returning to Addis Ababa Mengistu called the DERG together for a «third plenary meeting» where the removal of Atafnu was decided. (Le Monde, 15.11.77.)

Although the power struggle between Atafnu and Mengistu was thus decided in favour of the Soviet Union, it is by no means a reason for the USA to give up hope. There are already lists of further «pro-American forces» in the DERG in circulation (Cf. Eritrea News Letter of ELF, Nr. 17,77).

As the probability of a final defeat in Ogaden becomes greater and greater and as the time for the declaration of an independent Eritrea nears, the situation becomes more and more critical for Mengistu. The retreat of the Ethiopian troops from Jijiga and the mutinies in Harrar and Eritrea show that the morale of the Ethiopian troops has hit rock bottom. General Anjou, the Cuban who pulls the strings in the Ethiopian military headquarters, and important Soviet generals who visited Harrar were enraged at the low morale of the Ethiopian Army and the extent to which it was divided. (Spiegel, 48.1977). The manner in which the Soviet Union is pumping arms into Ethiopia resembles someone trying to fill a leaky bucket. Lately in the Ogaden and in Eritrea huge quantities of Ethiopian weaponry have been captured by the Somali and Ethiopian liberation movements, most of them new and unused. This will certainly lead to more direct military engagements by Cuban and Soviet troops similar to that in Angola. Already Soviet and Cuban generals have taken over the majority of posts in the «national revolutionary operations council», the supreme deci-

sion body of the armed forces.

THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE SOMALIS

It is clear that the Tigre and other peasants see no reason why they should sacrifice their skins for the Ogaden. It was reported that at the end of November in the last fighting in Harrar, there were intense street fights. This indicates that the Harrar town-dwellers (a nationality in its own rights) joined up with the Somali resistance. Also the renowned Oromo-leader, Wako Goto, who lead the armed resistance against the Haile Selassie regime in the Bale Province in the 1960s is said to have joined up with the Somalis (Spiegel 48, 1977).

The struggle of the Somalis in Ethiopia for national self-determination is a just fight. The chain of crimes which the Ethiopian occupiers have committed is unending. The presence of the central Ethiopian government remained restricted in most of the region to the military bases and a few tax-collectors and agents. The Somalis were hardly integrated in the Ethiopitan society, neither economically nor socially. Their trade is still over the traditional routes to Somalia. The few Somalis who went to school have had to seek work in Somalia. These are conditions which are rare to this extent in post-colonial Africa. The struggle for national self-determination cannot be rejected because it provokes intervention by the imperialists, either. On the contrary, it is necessary because the imperialists are basically responsible for the fact that this right is denied the nationalities in Ethiopia and the Eritrean people. The superpowers armed Mengistu and Barre and set them onto each other, as has been shown by the developments of the last months. In the struggle against the two superpowers on the Horn the just aspect of the Somali-Ethiopian border conflict will become more developed. For example it is to be welcomed that the WSLF immediately and heartily greeted the ejection of USSR from Somalia by Siad Barre (Monitor Dienst, 16.11.77).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES – THE ERITREAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TAKE THE LEAD.

As during the time of Haile Selassie the Eritrean liberation struggle led by the ELF and the EPLF is the most advanced anti-imperialist front in the Horn of Africa. After the two fronts had successfully repelled the first «red march» of thousands of militias in 1976 they went on to liberate all the major towns except for Asmara. Asmara is now completely encircled and can only

be supplied by air. Since the social-imperialists not only called the Eritrean liberation movements «gangsters» but have also militarily interfered in Ethiopia. (The social-imperialist press changed its attitude right from the declaration of the 10 points Ethiopian-Tikdem Programme on Dec 24 1974). The struggle led by the Eritrean liberation fronts is more and more openly directed against the Soviet Union. For instance, the vice-secretary general of the EPLF, Tisayas Afeworki, declared in interviews with Saudi and Kuwait newspapers in August 1977: «It has been decisively proven to us that the Soviet Union is participating with the Ethiopian rulers in the genocidal attempts taking place in Eritrea. The Popular Front has seized thousands of pieces of Soviet made military equipment during the battles of the Front against Ethiopian soldiers. I believe there is no other material evidence clearer than this equipment, of the Soviet involvement in a dishonourable battle directed against a people which want to gain its independence. I condemn this Soviet attitude and we reject it. The Soviet equipment recently received by Ethiopia exceeds that given to Ethiopia by the West over the last forty years:» And with regard to Cuba, he stated: «The Cubans are actually present in Ethiopia to train the enemy's forces. Their presence is not limited to the capital Addis Ababa, but they are also present in Asmara where they are supervising the training of the Ethiopian forces. They amount to 800 in Asmara alone.» (Eritrean Revolution, ELF, Vol.2, No. 2 1977 p 11).

The ELF leadership presently follows the line not to attack the Soviet Union openly, hoping by this they could get the Soviet Union to refrain from a still larger interference or even keep them out altogether. The Italian Euro-revisionist Party, the CPI, has become the main mediator in this affair. But there is fast growing criticism from ELF and its affiliates of the policy of the SU (Soviet Union) in the Horn. In an interview with the monthly journal of the Youth Organisations of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) «Kommunistische Jugend (Vol. 6, No. 2 Dec. 1977, p.15) two representatives of the EDYU stated: «Since 1961 we have received through our Arab friends Soviet weapons. So the peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia could smash the Haile Selassie regime. But today we are against the superpowers, the USA and USSR. Because we follow our own legitimate interests to establish a democratic and independent Eritrea. But the SU pursues its own interests. Behind the talks about «proletarian internationalism» and «international solidarity» the tactics it conceived to use the fall of Haile Selassie in order to establish a so-called socialist regime...the truth is: there is no «socialism» in Ethiopia, but the SU has built up a

regime which under the cover of «socialism» and «Marxism-Leninism» is interfering in our internal affairs. The new dictator went to Moscow and declared: Ethiopia wants to establish on the basis of Marxism-Leninism a revolutionary confederation with Eritrea. But in Eritrea the struggle for democracy and independence continues, in this revolution, Marxist-Leninist, nationalist and democratic forces participate jointly. Mengistu's statement is a pretext to use the struggle and to split the liberation movements. For this there is already an example. Angola, where the liberation fighters have killed each other with highly sophisticated Soviet arms. One part was supposed to be «reactionary» while the other was «progressive». In Moscow Mengistu stated similarly: in Eritrea there was the reactionary ELF, because it received support from conservative Arab countries, and would not follow Marxism-Leninism. The other fronts were progressive. In this way the liberation movements would be split and the ELF finally extinguished. But the experiences of the Angolan example and our own 17 years of struggle will prevent this: the two liberation movements, ELF and EPLF are correctly uniting in a national Democratic Front under one leadership. And there will be only one Eritrea. We also believe that Eritrea one day will be a socialist society. But we will reach this only on the basis of independence, on the basis of the political and ideological education, which we realise in the struggle for independence....If you ask people in Ethiopia «what means socialism?» they can only answer: «this is a gun, made in Russia in order to kill people in Eritrea.»

The main prerequisite to declare Eritrea a free and independent state and to form its own government has now become the question of unity of the Eritrean liberation movements. The historic Khartoum agreement of the 20.10.77 between the ELF and the EPLF and the subsequent meetings held in November-December in the liberated areas seems to have been great steps forward in this unity. Independence for Eritrea is not far off.

THE OPPOSITION IN ETHIOPIA.

Inside Ethiopia the resistance against the brutal terror of the junta and social-imperialist interference is also growing. At the moment there seems to be a growing tendency of struggles and building up of anti-fascist organisations along the lines of contradictions amongst the nationalities, e.g. Oromo, Tigre and Afar. This of course is no reason that support should be given to the old chauvinist line to maintain the Ethiopian Empire.

The EPRP is the main revolutionary force of resistance against the junta. Mengistu saw himself even prepared to declare the EPRP as enemy No. 1 in September 1976. The EPRP has become more and more aware of the great danger stemming from the Soviet Union. In the monthly organ, *Abyot*, Vol 2 No. 4, May-June 1977 the EPRP states: «Mengistu's coup inaugurated the full collusion of the Soviet revisionist and the fascists in Ethiopia. Delegation after delegation flocked into Addis Ababa and gave support to the junta. They called the fascist regime, progressive, revolutionary and socialist. There is an Amhara saying that says: «call the vulture a turkey if you want to eat it...» But for what purpose are the Soviet arms used? Whom are the Cubans and Russians training? To march on whom? In the past, both under Haile Selassie's regime and the DERG Ethiopian workers, peasants, struggling youth and students, and oppressed nationalities had been brutally killed with American weapons. Today, it is the same with Soviet weapons. What has been changed has been the master that supplies the gun to support the revolution...The Soviet government together with its scout-dog, the Cubans, is directly involved in the massacre and killing of Ethiopian revolutionary forces on the side of fascism. It has raised its hands against the Ethiopian revolution. Just like what U.S. Imperialism did to the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos the Soviet government is doing exactly the same thing in our country by openly collaborating with and trying to keep in power a fascist government that will crumble any minute. Be that as it may, we are however, absolutely certain of one thing that has been confirmed by the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, i.e. no matter how many thousands of Kalashinkovs Mengistu had swallowed and how mighty is the world power that stood beside him, the broad masses of Ethiopia who are waging a determined armed struggle will be victorious.»

UNITY OF THE RED SEA COUNTRIES.

Another factor which has evolved into an important force against the hegemonist efforts of the two superpowers in the Red Sea area is the growing co-operation and unity among Afro-Arab states, particularly the Red Sea bordering countries. It has already been mentioned that Somalia may have been in the position to receive spare parts, arms and technical expertise from other Third World countries. Then the Tazé Conference has been followed by further meetings to prepare a summit Red Sea conference of all the Red Sea countries such as of North and South Yemen on Aug. 24, 1977 the meeting which resulted in the declaration of intent «to invite and to realise a serious coordination among the Red Sea bordering states in the interest of the Arab cause against imperialists and joint intruders in this region.» The new President of the Independent republic of Djibouti, Hassan, also stated on several occasions to support this unity. On September 6 the Foreign Ministers of Sudan, North and South Yemen and Somalia presented the General Secretary of the Arab League a common document about the security in the region and requested a summit meeting of all the Red Sea states.

This shows that the efforts of the imperialists to keep the world in two camps, the one belonging to or being controlled by the Soviet Union, and the other by the U.S.A., cannot exist anymore. Somalia and Sudan did not need the USA to kick out the Soviet Union, nor do they need the Soviet Union to deal with the USA. Despite all differences and conflicts within the Third World such as the war between Somalia and Ethiopia the superpowers necessitate the unification of the Third World. The unity of the Red Sea countries is a revolutionary force against superpower hegemonism and it is growing in strength.



CUBAN MERCENARIES IN GUINEA

CUBAN MERCENARIES IN GUINEA – A REPRESSIVE MACHINE IN THE HANDS OF SEKOU TOURE – FROM «LE COMBAT» – JOURNAL OF THE UNIFIED ORGANISATION FOR THE LIBERATION OF GUINEA. (THERE ARE 3500 CUBAN MERCENARIES IN GUINEA, ACCORDING TO THIS REPORT.)

The presence of Cuban mercenaries in Guinea constitute a permanent threat to the safety of the Guinean people, and impedes the national liberation struggle undertaken in various forms by the people, in close liason with the United organisation for the Liberation of Guinea.

The events taking place in Guinea at present prove that without the intervention of Castro's merchants of death on the side of the unpopular Sekou Toure the people would long ago have freed themselves from the depersonalising and humiliating regime under whose yoke they have suffered for 19 years, and would have created a regime in accordance with their ideals of progress, freedom, justice and humanity.

In fact Sekou Toure has not only totally lost the confidence of the people of Guinea but also that of his army, apart from the faction made up of members of his own clique.

So it is only the army of occupation, made up of the Cuban mercenaries and the drugged militia placed under the direct command, who form a barrier between the isolated dictator and the people.

THEIR BASES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Scattered throughout the country, sometimes as soldiers, sometimes in the guise of engineers or as advisors without any explanation for their exact function, they form the main cutting edge of the repressive regime in the hands of the despot Sekou Toure, who is constantly under the influence of drugs.

Their main base is in the high command of the militia, in the old Ministry of Youth (opposite the Donka Hospital). This base provides most of the personal bodyguard of the supreme boss of fascism. *252 Cubans* out of a personnel of 1207.

At the 30 km camp, on the outskirts of Conakry, formerly known as the Kwame Nkrumah camp, *517 Cubans* are in charge of the military training of young people. Two years ago they numbered 142.

At the former PAIGC camp, where they keep their munitions a large force of highly qualified Cuban military cadres are ready at any moment to fly to the aid of the exterminator of the people.

Around 250 officers, NCOs and troops are based at the Tokounou, 70 kms from Kissindougou and 120 kms. from Kankan, 25 kms. From Tonkounou, in the village where the late singer Camara Aboubaccar Demba was born, there is another Cuban base with a force of 250 men.

At Moribaya, 96 kms. from Kankan, 156 «barbados» are camping quite openly.

At Kankan there are 57 Cuban officers operating under the cover of Public Transport engineers; there are 16 Cuban women and girls living with them.

According to reliable sources, there are present around *3500 Cuban* mercenaries occupying Guinea. And their numbers continue growing the more the people move away from the murderer Sekou Toure. The bases named only concern the Conakry region and part of Upper Guinea.

CHINESE AMBASSADOR ON COLONIAL NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICA

At the recent World conference on Apartheid held in Lagos, Nigeria, the Chinese Ambassador to Nigeria, Feng Yu-Chiu, while warning the people of southern Africa to beware of the hegemonism of the two superpowers while struggling against racialism, also condemned the colonial nature of apartheid.

«The system of apartheid and racial discrimination existing in southern Africa has been established gradually after the invasion of that region by the white colonialists. In order to oppress and exploit the African people and to extort the maximum super-profits, the white colonialists have concocted the racist theory

of the «supremacy» of the white and the «lowliness» of the coloured people, and on the basis of this theory established a whole system of racial discrimination and apartheid in the political, economic, cultural and other aspects of social life.»

«The facts clearly show that the evil system of racial discrimination and apartheid is rooted in colonialism, and is in itself an expression of colonialism. Therefore, to uproot racial discrimination and apartheid, it is imperative to overthrow the colonial system and racist domination. As pointed out by the broad masses of the Azanian people in their struggle against violent repression since the Soweto carnage last year, the fundamental question lies in the system.»

SUPPORT IKWEZI

IKWEZI is a Marxist-Leninist Journal devoted to the success of the proletarian revolutions in Southern Africa based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought, the highest revolutionary ideology in our epoch. IKWEZI believes that the peoples struggles in Southern Africa against imperialism (headed by the United States) and social-imperialism (headed by the Soviet Union) and against revisionism and against all other forms of opportunism will only be realised under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party. The current heroic struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa need the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties that are based in the workers and peasants. The national democratic revolutions which is the current phase of the struggles in Southern Africa will only be led to its successful conclusion under Marxist-Leninist leadership. We make a distinction between petit bourgeois radicalism — progressive as this is in the context of the struggle for national independence — and the national revolution against colonialism, imperialism and racialism led by a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party based in the workers and peasants and mobilising all the other peoples forces under its leadership. But these Marxist-Leninist Parties must not be narrow sectarian and dogmatic sects pontificating about the socialist revolution — as so many self styled «Marxists» in Azania do — but it must come out of the peoples struggles themselves. It must be linked to the mass struggles on all fronts and be able to give it leadership and lead it to overthrow the white bourgeois colonial-fascist state by means of a Peoples War and to set up a peoples democratic dictatorship led by the worker-peasant alliance. The overthrow of the white bourgeois fascist-colonial state supported by Imperialism is the starting point of the socialist revolution and the transition to communism under the peoples democratic dictatorship which is the form that the dictatorship of the proletariat takes in the conditions of our country.

IKWEZI lays great emphasis on social-imperialism and revisionism headed by the Soviet Union. Soviet social-imperialism is equally a danger to the liberation of our peoples as U.S. Imperialism and the lesser Western European imperialisms like British Imperialism. Our guns must be fired against both the imperialist superpowers and especially Soviet social-imperialism which is the more aggressive of the two superpowers in Africa today.

But IKWEZI needs your financial support — so please help to get us subscribers and donors. Even though IKWEZI obtains widespread support we need more financial support.

AN APPEAL TO BULK PURCHASERS

IKWEZI's financial position will be considerably eased if we were paid a month after receipt of each issue. If you do not wish to pay us please do not order IKWEZI.