

IKWEZI

£1

A JOURNAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN AND SOUTHERN
AFRICAN POLITICAL ANALYSIS

JUNE 1978

NUMBER 9



IN THIS ISSUE: ON THE PAN—AFRICAN-
IST CONGRESS OF AZANIA; THE MARX-
IST—LENINIST OPPOSITION IN THE REVI-
SIONIST SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST
PARTY; AZANIAN CLASS STRUGGLE AND
SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIALISM; IMPE-
RIALISM AND MINERAL RESOURCES IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA; THE ROT IN THE ANC
OF SOUTH AFRICA; REVISIONISM AND
THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION; EXCERPTS
FROM A HISTORY OF SWAZILAND; STEVE
BIKO ON SOCIAL—IMPERIALISM; ON THE
THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS; INTER-
VIEW WITH UNITA COMMANDER; AND
MORE

CONTENTS

On The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania	p. 1
The Bankrupt, Corrupt, Degenerate Leadership of the ANC (of S.A.)	p. 3
The ANC-CP and the Politics of Fraud and Sterility	p. 7
Azanian Class Struggle and South African Colonialism	p. 14
Sobukwe's Thinking and Practice was in Line with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought	p. 26
Capital Investments in Southern Africa	p. 28
On the Call to «Return to the Classics» and African Revolutionary Intellectuals	p. 39
Steve Biko on Social Imperialism	p. 54
The Marxist-Leninist Opposition in the Revisionist South African Communist Party	p. 55
The Origins and Rise of the Swazi People	p. 67
The Theory of the Three World is Correct	p. 75
Albanians Expel Africans who Defend Mao Tsetung	p. 78
Interview with UNITA Commander	p. 80

CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IN AFRICA

Support from all quarters grow tremendously including African governments. We have now set up an Ad Hoc organising committee comprising of representatives from various African countries. The First Preparatory Conference to structure the Conference is being organised. Read all about this in our next Conference Bulletin.

SUBSCRIPTION:

Yearly Subscription: £4 annually.

Airmail £1 plus. Otherwise all overseas suscriptions are sent surface mail. If remitting in foreign currency please add equivalent of 50p to cover bank charges.

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

ON THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

**BUILD THE PAC INTO A MASS ORGANISATION OF THE
AZANIAN PEOPLE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE
COUNTRY!**

As the situation in Azania develops to the favour of the forces of the people's revolution a situation which the two imperialist superpowers -especially Russian social-imperialism -wish to exploit to their advantage it is imperative that we build and develop the PAC into a mass revolutionary organisation -both inside and outside the country. Only in this way can we offset the grave and dangerous challenge that the ANC-CP of South Africa poses to our struggle as an agent of social-imperialism threatening to deliver our country to a new form of social-fascist opp-

ression. The ANC-CP through its revisionist supporters all over the world is trying desperately to promote itself as the only legitimate liberation movement inside the country. (We learn reliably that Neto of Angola attempted to get the PAC de-recognised at the OAU!) It is only when we truly build the PAC into a mass revolutionary organisation with a clear political programme will we be able to seriously win over disgruntled rank and file members of the ANC-CP a political task which should be an important part of our strategy.

UPHOLD THE UNITY OF THE PAC

The PAC is a national movement with a minimum national democratic programme uniting the various elements. By its very nature it cannot be based on a disciplining and unifying ideology like Marxism-Leninism. It comprises of people from all strata and all classes dedicated to the national revolution. It is thus a mass organisation in which petit bourgeois elements because of their more advantageous position in society play the leading role. Therefore petit bourgeois careerism often expresses itself in the PAC especially amongst the leadership.

But given the concrete conditions of our struggle -and the fact that the ANC-CP is quite prepared to deliver us to another form of enslavement -it is imperative we uphold the nationalistic instincts of the PAC in order to safeguard the struggle for

national independence. Any split in the PAC will play into the hands of the two superpowers who wish to bring our liberation movements under their control. Every member of the PAC must uphold the unity of the PAC and dedicate himself to this task.

Contentious issues must be democratically discussed amongst the PAC members and on the basis of the PAC's policy of democratic centralism they must be upheld. This style of work prevents the formation of factions and the fragmentation of the organisation.

UPHOLD THE MASS LINE

From its inception the PAC has been an organisation of the Azanian masses. The Azanian masses desire only one thing -their liberation from fascist-colonial oppression. If the PAC leadership decided

PAC policy on the basis of discussion and debate among the PAC members keeps constant touch with the masses then the PAC will always move forward.

ESTABLISH PROPER RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PAC LEADERSHIP AND THE RANK AND FILE

As a mass organisation the PAC must always practice correct relationships between the PAC and the masses. Those in the leadership of the PAC must comprise of the most dedicated the most experienced and those who have won the confidence of the masses. They must not live lives of petit bourgeois privilege. They must respect the masses, and wholehearted-*touch with the masses and wholeheartedly* serve their interests. Bureaucratic attitudes, commandism, paternalism must be abandoned. In their relationship with the masses they must practise criticism and self-criticism.

GRASP THE TWO LINE STRUGGLE

As in the past so in the future there will always be a struggle in the PAC as to how we should move forward. This is THE TWO LINE struggle between the old and the new. We must be able to understand the nature and essence of the two line struggle and not be sidetracked by rumours etc.

DEEPEN THE CONTENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Even though the PAC is a national movement and not a disciplined Marxist-Leninist party it must however address itself to the national question. It was indeed on the approach to the national question that the PAC differed with the ANC and broke away from it taking a more correct

revolutionary position -that Azania was an African country and that one of the major tasks of the national democratic revolution was to return the country and the land to the African people.

We must deepen the content of the national democratic revolution so that all the members are ideologically united on this important question. In particular all members of the PAC must understand why in the era of capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism only the social revolution can fulfill the goals and aims of the national struggle for democratic rights. Through mass discussions and debates inside the PAC clarity and unity on this question can be achieved. The PAC leadership has gone some way in achieving clarity on this question but there is a need to constantly deepen this understanding especially among the rank and file members. Such an understanding will also go to consolidate the unity of the PAC.

TAKE THE MAIN CONTRA- DICTION AS THAT BETWEEN THE AZANIAN MASSES AND WHITE SETTLER COLONIALISM AND THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

The current epoch is dominated by the hegemonic designs of the two superpowers. This is a change from the post-World War II situation when the US was the main enemy of the peoples of the world. We must firmly grasp this new situation in international politics and clear our thinking of the baggage of the past.

Our struggle for national independence and liberation begins with the main internal contradiction against white settler colonialism. But this is only an aspect of the anti-imperialist struggle. This struggle against settler colonialism cannot but lead to the struggle against imperialism especially the two superpowers who pursue their designs in different ways. In the actual conditions of Azania US imperialism

together with British imperialism is the main immediate imperialist enemy but social-imperialism is striving to supplant them in the name of liberation. We need to do more propaganda work about social-imperialism is striving to supplant understood in the PAC and among the Azanian masses.

PROSECUTE THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Our main political task is to initiate the armed struggle and to prevent the situation where over 1500 of our people were helplessly slaughtered by the fascist murderers as happened during the Soweto events. Our ideological clarity is to enable us to undertake this task more thoroughly. It is a difficult task for which none of us have immediate answers and for which blame should not be apportioned to anybody for not having achieved it thus far. It is something that we will realise through trial and error -which does not mean that we must engage in adventurist gimmicks that cost unnecessary lives. We must at least start from the well established principles of people's war that have come out

of the great experiences of the Chinese Vietnamese and other IndoChinese revolutions -which the PAC has to some extent imbibed in its documents.

How to establish revolutionary bases is the first question that must be answered. All PAC members must study matters relating to revolutionary war so that morale on the question of the armed struggle is also raised.

In this situation the enthusiasm of the youth must be combined with the experience of the older cadres. Neither must be discarded. In this way too we can forge an effective and meaningful unity.

KEEP IN MIND SOBUKWE'S LEGACY

As founder and leader of the PAC Robert Managiso Sobukwe left us a rich heritage which is embodied in his writings. This must become an integral part of our revolutionary arsenal even as we move onto higher forms of revolutionary thought. Any future Marxist-Leninist party in Azania must begin from his writings which were in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

THE BANKRUPT, CORRUPT DEGENERATE LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC OF SOUTH AFRICA

RANK AND FILE MEMBERS OF THE ANC-CP WRITE ABOUT THE ROT IN THE ORGANISATION.

The A.N.C. in Exile is in a deep crisis as a result of which a rot has set in. From informal discussions with the revolutionary members of M.K. we have inferred that they have lost all

confidence in the A.N.C. Leadership abroad. This they say openly and in fact show it. Such a situation is very serious and in fact a revolutionary movement has to sit down and analyse such a prevailing state of affairs.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that accredited members of the Organisation are no longer consulted or no longer parti-

participate in policy making decisions of the Organisation — there have been two or three conferences when the leaders met and did not consult or inform the membership of the resolutions. The inference is that we are no longer considered members of the A.N.C. As the leading revolutionary core of the Organisation it is imperative for members of M.K. to participate in all matters affecting the revolutionary struggle in South Africa.

We raise above points so as to arrest the present trend.

We, as genuine revolutionaries, are moved by the frightening depths reached by the rot in the A.N.C. and the disintegration of M.K. accompanying this rot and manifesting itself in the following way:

REMOVED FROM REALITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. The A.N.C. Leadership in Exile has created a machinery which has become an end unto itself. It is completely divorced from the situation in South Africa. It is not in a position to give an account of the functioning branches inside the country. There has never been an attempt to send the Leadership inside the country since the Rivonia Arrests. There has been an over concentration of people in offices — this has become a fully fledged activity in itself, for e.g., you get a Director of Youth who maintains no liaison with the home front. There are other departments, such as the Treasury Department which is to all intents and purposes catering for activities outside, and whose functioning is only limited and known only to a few individuals; the Department of the Secretary-General which has not furnished any reports on political activities in the various regions of the country; the Department of Publicity which is giving out propaganda geared only to external consumption. The quality of information is not revolutionary and is out of step with the existing political situation inside the country. Its material hardly gives a deep analysis of the prevalent situation inside. We strongly feel time has come that the department should make every effort to reach the masses of our peo-

ple by seeing to it that more and more of its revolutionary propaganda is written in the languages of our people.

2. We are perturbed by the careerism of the A.N.C. Leadership Abroad who have, in every sense, become professional politicians rather than professional revolutionaries. We have been forced to draw the conclusion that the payment of salaries to people working in offices is very detrimental to the revolutionary outlook of those who receive such monies. It is without doubt that such payments corrupt cadres at any level and have the effect of making people perform their duties or fill offices because of money inducement rather than dedication to the cause — they become in effect merely salaried employees of the movement. It is high time that all members and cadres of the A.N.C., be they in M.K. or not, should receive equal treatment and be judged only on the basis of their dedication and sacrifice to the cause we serve. The principle of thorough selection of cadres should be on the basis of merit and such selection should never be delegated to an individual — this will prevent individuals owing allegiance to those who appoint them rather than to the Revolution.

MYSTERIOUS BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

3. The Leadership of the A.N.C. abroad must be committed to a resolution and programme of going home to lead the struggle there, which resolution and programme must be seen to be implemented. Presently there is a Leadership vacuum at home as all the leaders are either locked up in Vorster's prisons or are in exile. This has deprived the S.A. masses of leadership which is so vital at this crucial moment of our Revolution. A situation where our people, because of this vacuum will be deceived by opportunists of all shades is strongly developing. We feel that the number of leaders attending international conferences and other globetrotting activities should be cut down to a reasonable few and the remainder should work around the clock working on the home front.

4. There are certain symptoms which are very disturbing and dispiriting to genuine revolu-

tionaries. These comprise the opening of mysterious business enterprises which to our knowledge have never been discussed by the membership of the Organisation. For instance, in Lusaka a furniture industry is being run by the A.N.C. In Livingstone a bone factory whose original purpose was to provide cover for underground work in Botswana is now being used as a purely commercial undertaking. As a result of these enterprises more and more M.K. men are being diverted to them. And some of the people in charge of these enterprises are dubious characters with shady political backgrounds. We are therefore compelled to conclude that there is no serious drive to return home and carry on the struggle. This is disturbing because the very comrade, Thabo More, who is supposed to be planning, directing and leading the struggle in South Africa is fully involved in these enterprises. Now he has assumed complete responsibility for the running of these enterprises in collaboration with others and it is extremely doubtful that with his attention so divided he can do justice to the armed struggle in South Africa which should be his primary and absolute concern. The Leadership of the A.N.C. can't but be blamed for this state of affairs.

5. An equally disturbing situation is that M.K. is being run independently of the Political Organisation. The Political Leadership abroad is not aware of the activities and the plans for M.K. We therefore infer that M.K. is separate from the A.N.C.; that there is conflict between the A.N.C. and M.K.; that the A.N.C. has lost control over M.K.; that there is no co-ordination between the A.N.C. and the M.K. All this has brought about a situation where M.K. is run single-handed by the Commander-in-Chief who appoints and dismisses arbitrarily — as a result there is a tendency among members of the Headquarters to owe allegiance to the individual who appoints and dismisses them and it takes a genuine revolutionary to challenge him. We are compelled to blame the National Executive for this anomalous situation.

6. The Security Department is internally directed. It is doing nothing against the enemy.

It has achieved nothing of military importance. The failure of this so-called Security Department has been shown by its inability to furnish the Organisation with the fate of our most dedicated comrades in Zimbabwe. Or how is it possible that so many comrades have been able to desert so successfully? In the prosecution of its internally directed activities the Security Department has become notorious. Those who serve in it have the central task of suppressing and persecuting genuinely dedicated cadres of M.K. who have nothing to lose by participating in the struggle except their chains!

There is no Security in our Organisation. For instance the arrest of Msomi and Matthews was inevitable as the fact of their presence in South Africa was common knowledge; as well as of comrades bound for home. This situation is tantamount to betrayal of comrades.

FLIRTATION WITH PEACE CORPS AND ISRAEL

In Morogoro Joseph Cotton, Shadrack Tladi and Boy Otto are openly flirting with the Peace Corps an international known C.I.A. Front, a counter-revolutionary and espionage organisation. The first two handle vital information as they are connected with the Radio transmission service relaying Organisational material. Boy Otto is moving between Zambia and Tanzania transporting M.K. personnel and war material. Most disturbing is that a comrade raised this matter with the Secretary-General and Chief of Security of the A.N.C., Duma Nokwo, who agreed that the matter of the above comrades flirting with the Peace Corps was true and that it should be furnished in writing, but no action was taken. This is very disturbing and discouraging to serious revolutionaries who know fully well that these three comrades are close to the leading figures of the A.N.C. and M.K. For instance, Joseph Cotton is the son of Moses Kotane the Treasurer-General of the A.N.C. and General Secretary of the S.A.C.P. Shadrack Tladi is relative of Thabo More who is the C-in-C of M.K. and member of the National Executive of the A.N.C. Abro-

ad. This has made us and many other comrades conclude that there is nepotism in the A.N.C.

An equally perturbing fact is that Mrs. V. Nokwe, the wife of the Secretary-General and Chief of Security of the A.N.C., Comrade D. Nokwo is presently working for Amiran Israel, an internationally known Israeli Intelligence Organisation operating under the cover of an Import-Export firm. This Amiran Israel is a coordinating centre for Israeli Intelligence Services (Shinbet) in Southern Africa, Central Africa including Congo Brazzaville and Congo Kinshasa. Israel is a nest of imperialism, which is actively sabotaging the National Liberation. Presently it has colonised parts of Arab territories and is maintaining close links with the most reactionary and fascist governments, such as South Africa and the revanchist Federal Republic of Germany. We demand that she should cut links with this counter-revolutionary organisation forthwith and should there be any other links with the Israel, the A.N.C. should cover them in the interests of our Revolution.

7. The tragedy of the Zimbabwe campaigns is the fact that we have been unable to analyse our operations so as to be able to assess and draw lessons that would make it possible for us to formulate a correct strategy and tactics vis-a-vis the enemy.

8. It is a cause for serious concern that comrades who have come back from the battle front have not been accorded a comradely reception and the fact that there has been no reappraisal of their combat experience.

NEGLECT OF CADRES

We are shocked by the criminal neglect of our most dedicated comrades who have either fallen in battle, sentenced to death or serving long term imprisonment in Zimbabwe. These men are heroes who have performed their revolutionary tasks gallantly without flinching. How can we possibly keep quiet about these valorous sons of South Africa? Is this not an indication of callousness and irresponsibility on the part of the leadership? The behaviour of the Secretary-General and Chief of Security of

the A.N.C. D. Nokwe and his attitude towards Comrade J. Mlenze, when we petitioned for a meeting, disturbed us greatly. For him to have said he did not know, did not recognise Mlenze is a height of indifference and cynicism and we are really very worried about it. Here is a comrade from the battle front, a Commander of a unit, and a Security Chief of a vital region, namely Transkei accorded this type of snub.

9. We are perturbed by the fact that certain members of M.K. are receiving payments from the External Mission, e.g. the C-inc and the C.P.O. who as a matter of fact are getting allowances and the fact the C-in-C has a posh and militarily irrelevant car at his disposal. The fact that these soldiers are paid has a very demoralising effect on the other revolutionaries.

10. Individual leaders keep cars and run them and this coupled with the fact that they receive salaries alias allowances is in every way building them up as a middle class in our revolutionary organisation and in M.K.

11. A strange and alarming trend is developing whereby secret trials and secret executions have been carried out. We are not against the execution and liquidation of traitors but we are against this veil of secrecy. We are having in mind the trials of Zola Zembe, Wellington Mbata, Phalanyane and Bopela.

REACTIONARY BRUTAL METHODS OF PUNISHMENT

It is a shame that we should have been witnesses to the emergence of extremely reactionary methods of punishment in M.K. There have been instances when offenders in M.K. have been dumped in dugouts filled with several drums of water without blankets or any other protective material for periods or up to about 22 days. The cases in point are those of Daphne Zwano, Tallman Ndlovu, Bob Zulu, Erends and Joseph Ndlovu. This type of punishment, among others, is, from any angle, criminal and inhuman, and must have been designed to break the physical and moral integrity of victims.

12. The A.N.C. is the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa and it is strange that its leaders have not been obliged

(continued on page 73)

ANC-SACP AND THE POLITICS OF FRAUD AND STERILITY

BY HENRY ISAACS

Henry Isaacs is a former President of SASO and currently PAC representative in New Zealand.

It is hoped that in the aftermath of Soweto and the banning of the mass movements, those genuinely committed to the Azanian revolution will reflect on the events of the past 18 months, critically assess the situation in our Motherland, and plan for the difficult task that lies ahead. Without a diagnosis there can be no prognosis. One of the first questions to which we can address ourselves is: What was the role of the ANC—SACP during the recent national uprisings? We can restrict our examination to this symbiotic alliance at this stage because it is the self-claimed «authentic» representative of the oppressed people of Azania.

To assist us in answering this question we refer to two items of their propaganda:

(1) An interview with Acting President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, in **Sechaba**, Vol 11, Fourth Quarter 1977.

(2) The report adopted by the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the SACP, April 1977, «The way forward from Soweto», **The African Communist**, No. 70 Third quarter 1977.

Both reveal not only the intellectual dishonesty and bankruptcy which characterise the ANC—SACP clique, but also expose their complete lack of understanding of or contact with the mainstream of Black political development in Azania.

Tambo in his interview (*Sechaba* p. 11) equates Black Consciousness with the formation of the ANC and later adds that «it grows into the mainstream which has been set by the ANC». Besides being a shallow comparison, an historical analysis will also show its inaccuracy. At its inception in 1912 the ANC was essentially an elitist-led, reformist organisation

which sought to improve the social, political and economic position of the **African** majority within the **existing** system. Its leadership consisted largely of professionals, mostly lawyers, overseas — trained and who upon their return found themselves subjected to the same discrimination and humiliation as the ordinary man in the street. The membership of the ANC at this stage was limited. In fact it went into decline and was only revived by the **ANC YOUTH LEAGUE** “which was committed to a more nationalistic, activist programme” (Gibson, **African Liberation Movements**, p. 38). The YOUTH LEAGUE succeeded in transforming the ANC into a mass movement. In fact “... One might say that the real history of the contemporary liberation movement begins with the formation of the Youth League ...”

One of the major reasons for the decision by some of the founders of the Youth League to break away from the ANC (eventually forming the PAC on April 6, 1959) was the deviation of the leadership

from the programme of action drawn up in 1949.

The Black Consciousness Movement on the other hand emerged in the post Rivonia period, after the abortive attempts at revolutionary violence and the crushing of the remaining pockets of Black resistance. The political role of the Black Consciousness Movement was thus two-fold: (1) reconstruction and (2) preparation for the confrontation between oppressed and oppressors.

Although initially the Black Consciousness Movement was elitist-led in the sense that it was led by university students who formed the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), the leaders from the outset stressed that they were firstly **BLACK** (meaning that they were products of and owed primary allegiance to the oppressed community) and then students (meaning a relatively privileged strata within the community). The leaders immediately began working to form mass movements, to politicise at grassroots level so as to maximise Black participation in the struggle. The success of this strategy was evidenced by the fact that whereas in 1969 at its formation SASO had 14 individual members, on October 19, 1977 when the Pretoria regime struck it banned 18 Organisations (one of them a multiracial religious organisation), 17 of which subscribed to the philosophy of black consciousness. The number of organisations is not as important as the fact that they reflect the active involvement of all classes and all strata within the black community. They involved Black workers, students, youth, women, clergy in both the rural and urban areas. The Black Consciousness Movement succeeded in organising effective involvement at **grassroots** level of all sections of the Black Community (i.e. so-called Africans Coloureds, and Asians). A social base for the unity in active struggle demonstrated during the uprisings and afterwards had been established since the beginning.

NO COMPARISON WITH CONGRESS ALLIANCE

Oliver Tambo (p. 12) compares the various

organisations embracing the philosophy of black consciousness with the so-called Congress Alliance, which is wrong both in fact and history. SASO, BPC, BAWU, etc. did not consist of different organisations for the different racial groups but membership was open to all **BLACKS** (i.e. Africans, Asians and so-called Coloureds). In contrast, as Ben Turok points out in his critical analysis: "... the ANC remained an exclusively African organisation and co-operation with Coloureds, Indians and Whites was carried out as between their **respective organisations**. By the midfifties five organisations, representing the national groups and trade unions working together in the Congress Alliance led by the ANC". (**Strategic Problems in S. A.'s Liberation Struggle**, p. 30)

Tambo claims that SASO "... came closer to the ANC" (p. 12) after the arrests and persecutions of its members. This is a variation of the theme that SASO in particular and the Black Consciousness Movement in general are the progeny of the ANC. What is ignored is the fact that the Black Consciousness Movement rejected the politics of multi-racialism (so dearly loved by the ANCC) right from the outset. Realising from the very beginning that «For the Black proletariat there can be no thought of liberation without an alliance of Black people of the major strata" (to borrow a phrase from Turok), the Black Consciousness Movement strove to achieve Black solidarity. Which is not to say that they saw the struggle as being a racial struggle; as the President of SASO said during his address to the 8th General Students' Council:

"The call today from liberal and 'verligte' quarters to the Nationalist Government is that Blacks should be given (greater) opportunity to participate in the so-called 'free enterprise' system so that they should identify with it to defend it against 'advancing communist aggression that is now at the doorstep of South Africa'. The aspiring Black middle class is at the top of the Bantustan programmes with its appendages, the Black Bank, Bantu Investment Corporation, Xhosa Development Corporation, National African Federal Chamber

Of Commerce, and others ... Furthermore, this Black middle class (serves the interests of) imperialism, the highest form of capitalism, for they have to make trips to Europe and America to seek foreign investment. ... **The need is therefore to look at our struggle not only in terms of colour interests but also in terms of class interest, skin colour in fact has become a class criterion in South Africa.**

"If Black Consciousness must survive as a viable philosophy and continue to articulate the aspirations of the masses of the people, it must start interpreting our situation from an economic class point of view. The Matanzima's and the Mangope's should be seen in the light of bourgeois counter-revolutionaries along side the Maponyas. When we talk of the "system" we should understand not only the upholders of racial discrimination and apartheid but also the exploitative machinery of capitalism that in this country is run along the basis of a man's colour where black is the passport to naked economic exploitation and political deprivation. This will lead us to the point where we ask ourselves the question whether our struggle is an isolated struggle or part of a bigger struggle of the Third World that wants to shake the yoke of imperialism and replace it with socialistic governments in which the power is wielded not by a few wealthy families but by the people."

The attitude of the ANC—SACP to the Black Consciousness Movement has been ambivalent — on the one hand they have accused the Black Consciousness Movement of being racist (because of the decision to exclude whites); on the other hand they have not hesitated to claim credit for the work done by the Black Consciousness Movement. Thus the student strikes, the workers strikes and more recently the national uprisings have been claimed as the work of the ANC underground. In the same issue of **Sechaba** Alfred Nzo cites interviews given by

3 students as evidence of ANC involvement in the recent uprisings, as well as distribution of ANC pamphlets ... More of this later.

THE ANC—CP DID NOT ORGANISE SOWETO

By whom were the Soweto uprisings organised? The initial demonstrations/protests against the forced teaching of the Afrikaans language were organised by the students themselves, many of whom belonged to the South African Students' Movement (the junior counterpart of SASO) — of whom Tsietsi Mashinini was chairman. However there was **no formally structured leadership then.**

After the June 16 massacre Stanley Uys, writing in **The Observer** (July 11, 1976) stated:

"Young militants are taking over from older, more moderate Black leaders in South Africa's African townships ... The young Blacks reject 'amelioration' of the conditions under which 18 million Africans live in South Africa. They want radical change.

"They reject help from white liberals, too. **Some even criticise Mrs. Winnie Mandela, the much-banned wife of the imprisoned Black leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, for asking for a non-racial society ...**"

He adds that: "Most of them are supporters of the Black Consciousness Movements, such as the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and BPC (Black Peoples' Convention), but the new leadership is not yet formally structured."

After the students had taken the initiative on 16 June 1976 they were supported by SASO, BPC, Black and Allied Workers' Union (BAWU), Black parents, teachers. In fact the Black Community responded generally without regard to party political affiliations, and condemned the police massacre of unarmed black schoolchildren. The Black Parents' Association (BPA) which was formed after the massacre with the specific aim of assisting the victims of the police violence, was drawn from various organizations.

Student leadership was formally structured on 2 August 1976 when the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) was established, consisting of two representatives from each school in Soweto. Announcement of its formation was made by Tsietsi Mashinini the previous day at a meeting called by the BPA at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto. Thereafter the SSRC became the vehicle for black political activity although it can be assumed that they received advice and moral support from other individual activists, past and present, as well as other organizations. Initially there was tremendous resistance from certain sections of the Black Community to what was seen as the arrogance of the youth who were concerned about their own interests, viz. the campaign against Bantu Education. But when the campaign was linked to the broad struggle for liberation the Community supported the students. (This early Stage was characterised by frequent references by bourgeois commentators to a "generation gap" in the Black Community.)

It was the SSRC, **NOT THE ANC—SACP** which organised the first successful general strike in Soweto on August 4, 1976. Students toured bus stops and railway stations informing workers of the strike.

It was also the SSRC which organised the general strike on August 23 and 24, 1976 which resulted in the so-called Zulu backlash when police manipulated migrant workers from the Mzimhlope hostel to attack students and residents of Soweto.

It was also the students in both the Cape and Reef who organised the general strikes in September, described as the biggest in the history of Azania.

THE ANC—CP's USUAL GIMMICKS

The ANC External Mission for its part began to engage in its usual gimmickery — speaking tours by various individuals, press interviews, claiming credit for the uprisings, with no regard for the security of people still active inside Azania. In an interview with the Paris journal **Afro-Asian** Oliver Tambo said that whatever happened "in South Africa, did not happen by

chance." The ANC, he said, was distributing secret pamphlets and publications. He was quoted as saying that the ANC had not yet started armed action but would do so "in the near future" (**Guardian**, U.K. July 31, 1976). Commenting on this interview, Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger said that the ANC was "busy with agitation". **Through their gimmicks the ANC gave credence to the Pretoria regime's claims that the uprisings were really caused by a few "agitators" manipulated from outside, rather than by widespread black discontent. The security police then launched their reign of terror and brutal torture of detainees. I interviewed many patriots in Botswana and Tanzania who had participated in the heroic struggles: they stressed that the extravagant claims made by the ANC abroad gave the police a tailor-made excuse to beat and torture them in detention, to extract information of ANC involvement. They had no information because there was no ANC-involvement.**

The people inside the country were aware of the fraudulent claims of the ANC and distributed pamphlets criticising the ANC exiles for claiming credit for the uprisings (**Star**, October 26, 1976). When twelve ANC-members appeared in the Supreme Court on charges under the so-called Terrorism Act, pamphlets were distributed again criticising the ANC. There is no reason to believe that the authors of the pamphlets were the struggling masses themselves. But perhaps the most eloquent rejection of the ANC's attempts to take control of the Peoples' struggle was demonstrated when they ignored the ANC's call for a general strike from November 1—5, 1976. (Characteristically the call for a general strike was announced at a press conference in Zurich, Switzerland, to coincide with Vorster's meeting with Kissinger. At the same press conference, in full glare of western television cameras the ANC spokesman also announced that the people were going to occupy the premises of all foreign-owned firms).

LACK OF SECURITY

ANC pamphlets were distributed at various

times during 1976 including during the uprisings. Three whites, David Rabkin, Jeremy Cronin and Antony Holiday were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment for having published and distributed ANC/SACP pamphlets. Numerous patriots were savagely tortured and subsequently imprisoned for allegedly furthering the aims and activities of the ANC/SACP, including recruitment for military training. During 1976 and 1977 the security police regularly announced the arrests of ANC/SACP and the discovery of quantities of arms and ammunitions. The ANC/SACP have used these arrests and trials in turn as evidence of their underground organisation. But this raises very serious questions about the operation of this underground organisation if it exists at all. Firstly there are serious questions about **security** and security consciousness: why do the security police have such a high success rate against the ANC/SACP? **From the trials it is evident that the security police have infiltrated the ANC/SACP from top to bottom, internally and externally.** State witnesses have included black security policemen who had undergone military training under the auspices of ANC/SACP in various countries.

If the security police have so successfully infiltrated the ANC/SACP, what chance is there of the latter leading a successful liberation struggle if all their cadres are simply going to walk into the waiting arms of the enemy?

On the other hand is it not possible that the ANC/SACP are sacrificing patriots for the propaganda value of show political trials? This may smack of cynicism but it is a serious question. **When we consider that the ANC/SACP have converted our liberation struggle into a finance industry, then it is necessary for them to perpetuate the lie that all political activity in Azania is the work of the ANC/SACP underground.**

Vorster for his part is quite prepared to assist the ANC/SACP in their propaganda effort. He knows that the ANC/SACP pose little if any threat to his regime; but he knows too that if he constantly credits ANC/SACP with all the organised Black resistance in Azania, then the ANC/SACP

will continue to receive the support of bourgeois and revisionist groups. As long as the support goes to ANC/SACP, Vorster et. al. can sleep in peace.

The SACP admits that Black Consciousness "acted as a 'conscientizing' agent and contributed to the revitalized surge of national feeling, especially among the youth" (**African Communist**, p. 36). But they criticise it for what they term its "vagueness, organisationally and ideologically". **The white-dominated SACP has never been entirely happy with Black Consciousness because of the latter's rejection of white tutelage.** What has loosely been termed the Black Consciousness Movement consists of a number of organisations, all of which subscribe to the philosophy of Black consciousness — a philosophy of national pride and assertiveness contributing to the psychological liberation of the oppressed masses. Black consciousness is not an ideology (nor have adherents of Black Consciousness claimed it to be one) — it is only a part of national consciousness, an awareness of the power potential of the oppressed. The corollary of this awareness is Black solidarity.

One of the most positive developments in Black politics in recent years has been the awareness by Blacks that liberation has to be achieved through their own efforts. This idea of self-reliance has been reinforced by the Black Consciousness Movement through its various community development programmes, literacy training, etc., all of which have gone a long way to destroying both the inferiority and dependency complexes which have been the result of white domination. Similarly Black Consciousness contributed in no small measure to the eradication of the fear which had immobilised the Black community after the brutal repression of Sharpeville and the subsequent period. Bannings of the leadership of the various organisations failed to crush them: instead there were always new layers of leadership ready and prepared to take over.

It is ludicrous to speak of Black Consciousness being "organisationally vague". There were numerous organisational structures, all of which were concerned with the mobilisation of

the people: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be wages only by mobilising the masses and relying on them." (Mao Tse Tung, Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 147). Thus SASO succeeded in mobilising the students; it set up a Black Workers' Project to organise workers; BPC was launched to provide a political home for all those Blacks opposed to apartheid-created institutions. Various youth organisations and cultural organisations mushroomed all over the country. Black women organised themselves into the Black Women's Federation, journalists into the Union of Black Journalists.

SACP's COWARDICE AND SMEAR CAMPAIGNS

All the organisations stressed that for there to be real change in Azania there would have to be an equitable redistribution of wealth and power which could only be achieved through Socialism. An examination of BPC's 30-point programme for example reveals an awareness of the need to replace the capitalist mode of production and the present social institutions in Azania. Bearing in mind that any advocacy of the need for social, political and economic change is an offence under the so-called Terrorism Act (as the conviction and imprisonment of the 9 SASO/BPC members in December 1976 showed), it is not surprising that the programmes are couched in vague terms, e.g. "Black communalism". One can hardly expect any organisation functioning openly in Azania to announce publicly that it embraces Marxism-Leninism and is committed to establishing a Socialist Azania. **Such expectation sounds hollow indeed when it comes from a Communist Party which before the Suppression of Communism Act became law in 1950 voluntarily voted to dissolve itself! The SACP neither adopted a challenging posture, nor waited for the regime to outlaw it, nor did it go underground. IT VOTED ITSELF INTO DISSOLUTION AND WAS NOT HEARD OF FOR 10 YEARS! SOME COMMUNIST PARTY INDEED!** Contrast that

with the leaders of the BPC who from the Modder B Prison where they have been in indefinite detention released the following statement in December 1977 (after the banning of the Organisation):

"We thank all those that have supported us. We are not and shall not be bothered by the bannings. The struggle goes on.

"The Black Peoples Convention expresses power and solidarity with the ANC and PAC in the present detentions, trials and convictions of the ANC and PAC sons and daughters."

The SACP is critical of Tsietsi Mashinini for having dissuaded young Azanian patriots from joining ANC or its armed wing Umkhonto We Sizwe (p. 39). Who can blame him after his experiences with the ANC? After Tsietsi Mashinini, Barney Makhathle and Selby Semela refused to propagate the lie that the ANC had organised the uprisings (in return for ANC's help when threatened with deportation from Britain), they were evicted by the ANC from the house in Hampstead, where they were accommodated. The position in which Tsietsi Mashinini, Barney Makhathle and Selby Semela found themselves, on speaking tours organised by various Trotskyite groups was a direct result of the ANC's actions. **They attempted to gain political mileage out of the plight of the young patriots, and when the young men refused to co-operate a smear campaign was conducted against them by the ANC.** The treatment of Tsietsi Mashinini and his two colleagues by the ANC, must cast serious doubts on the statements of the three students who testified that the uprisings were inspired by the ANC.

BIKO REFUSES INVITATION FROM U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT

Even if Tsietsi Mashinini and Drake Koka have welcomed the idea of Azanians studying in the U.S. their personal views (of the three students) are in no way representative either of the Soweto Students or the Black Consciousness Movement. To suggest otherwise is a deliberate smear. It will be recalled that during Kissinger's visit to Azania, students organised

demonstrations, for which some were killed, others wounded by police. During the visit of Andrew Young in 1977 the SSRC refused to meet him and after he lied that he had met them the SSRC issued a strongly worded statement criticising him. The BPC similarly refused to meet Andrew Young on the ground that he should meet the leaders of the people who are on Robben Island and under restriction. The late Steve Biko refused an invitation to visit the U.S. as a guest of the State Department because the policies of the U.S. are inimical to the Azanian struggle. In his statement to the Afro-American Institute Conference he clearly spelt out the opposition of the Black Consciousness Movement to U.S. policy on Southern Africa.

The SACP smears the BCM further when it says that the BCM was represented at a meeting in October 1976 where Gatsha Buthelezi's so-called Black Unity Front was launched. The rejection of Bantustans and other apartheid-created institutions is a cornerstone of Black Consciousness policy. Both the SSRC and BPC strongly condemned the formation of the Black Unity Front. The **Sunday Times**, U. K., December 5, 1976, reported that the SSRC denounced the front as "ridiculous" and said that until men like Buthelezi "show their credentials by getting out of the oppressive Bantustan scheme, we will have nothing to do with them". The BPC condemned the creation of the front and termed its authors "a bunch of political clowns and opportunists".

Smears and claiming credit for the work of others are however tools of trade of the ANC/SACP clique. After refusing to cooperate with the PAC in the Positive Action Campaign in 1960, they were quick to claim credit for the anti-pass campaign which resulted in the Sharpeville massacre. ANC/SACP apologists continue to omit the PAC in their recording of the history of the 60's. One has merely to read their diatribes against the ANC (African Nationalists) to see that they have not changed: judging by the twop items of propaganda to which we have referred they are unlikely to change either.

It is not sufficient merely to expose the ANC/SACP. Azanian patriots dedicated to the liberation of the motherland must ORGANISE. During the uprisings hundreds of alleged PAC patriots in Azania were detained. At present dozens of them are facing charges under the so-called Terrorism Act for allegedly furthering the aims of the PAC inter alia by recruiting members. Among these patriots are veteran fighters like Zeph Mothupeng and his wife and seventeen others in Bethal; Moffat Zungu and Mike Mzileni renowned Black journalists with **The World** and **Drum** respectively; Mngomezulu is being framed with six murder charges because he comes from the area where an alleged PAC base was/is situated. **The PAC has never engaged in gimmickery for the international gallery hence while calling for support for these patriots, has not exploited their plight for its own ends.** Similarly while the PAC supported the heroic struggles of the people during the uprisings and afterwards assisted the patriots who fled the police reign of terror, in whatever way possible, PAC did not claim credit for the uprisings. This is because PAC regards the struggle as a matter of life and death for all genuinely committed, not a capital-intensive industry. The PAC has never claimed to be the sole or «authentic» representative of the oppressed masses of Azania — nor has it been opposed to unity. In fact the PAC has presented its principles for a united front. It is possible for such a United Front to include PAC, ANC (African Nationalists), Unity Movement and the Black Consciousness Movement. Chairman Mao has taught us that:

"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninsim, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy."

AZANIAN CLASS STRUGGLE AND SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIALISM

In a struggle which is national in character the class struggle takes the form of national struggle, which demonstrates the identity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt co-operation; on the other hand, the demands of the national struggle should be the point of departure for all class struggle. Thus there is identity in the united front between unity and independence and between the national struggle and the class struggle. (Mao Tsetung)¹

Now it is our contention that true democracy can be established in South Africa and our continent as a whole, only when white supremacy has been destroyed. And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key and centre and content of any struggle for true democracy in South Africa. And the Afrikan people can only be organised under the banner of African nationalism in an All-African Organisation where they will by themselves formulate policies and programmes and decide on the methods of struggle without interference from either so-called left-wing or right-wing groups of the minorities who arrogantly appropriate to themselves the right to plan and think for the Africans. (Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe). 2)

The struggle of the African people of Azania³ to liberate themselves from the fascistic colonialism of the South African *apartheid*

regime has already substantially contributed to the revolutionary struggles of the world's peoples. A whole generation of revolutionaries, particularly African revolutionaries, have been inspired by the heroic blows struck by the forces of Pan-Africanism against imperialism and South African colonial reaction. In 1960, the massive wave of resistance, led by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) culminated in the massacres of Sharpeville and Langa and succeeded in arousing widespread support amongst the peoples of Africa and the world for the Azanian cause. In 1976, the uprisings of the Black Azanian masses, led by the Black People's Convention and the South African Students' Organisation (BPS/SASO) and ignited by the massacres in Soweto, once again produced the extensive outpouring of solidarity of the peoples. The mass liberation struggle of the Azanian people has clearly demonstrated the principal contradiction between the oppressed Black African population and the dominant European settler colonialists. Even so, an array of misconceived analyses about Azania have gained currency on the left. To avoid errors in analyzing the Azanian revolution, the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national-colonial question cannot be underestimated. Combined with a correct and intensive interpretation of the history of the Azanian struggle, the convergence between the national liberation struggle and the class struggle can be clearly and scientifically defined and the leading role of the Black African working masses can be understood.

THE COLONIAL NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The point of departure in examining the Aza-

nian liberation struggle is that the «Republic of South Africa» remains colonial in character.⁴ South African state and society have been designed to systematically deprive the African people of Azania of every right; except the right to labour in the service of European settler colonialism and the predominant forces of imperialism. The maintenance of effective power in the hands of white Europeans and of an immense pool of cheap African labour has not been challenged by the reformists nor by any section of imperialism in South Africa. **As in Rhodesia and other settler colonies, the white European settler community in South Africa exercises state power and a degree of economic power, yet remains ultimately dependent upon the largesse of imperialism for its existence.**

In one way or another, all sections of the white European settler colonial community and the repressive apparatus of the colonial state have been dedicated to maintaining the dominance of white supremacy over the Black Azanian masses. The white European bourgeoisie may differ as to the extent to which the Africans may participate in the economy, but there is no dispute over the maintenance of white supremacy and colonialism. **In a similar vein, contradictions exist between the settler colonial bourgeoisie and the white European workers, but they are subordinate to the long-standing demands of the white workers to widen the enormous gap that separates their relative affluence and privilege from the starvation wages and slave labour of the Azanian working masses.** In fact, the most vigorous actions of the settler colonial workers have been intended to preserve the «colour bar» and the differentiation between the colonizing and colonized worker. **Once an understanding of the vast separation of white European and Black African is attained, the inherent unreliability of most every white European sympathiser — whether liberal or socialist — with the plight of the Black African masses can also be comprehended.** Revolutionary Azanians, therefore, stress the need of basing the national liberation movement firmly in the

ranks of the Black African masses. Over an agonizing history of struggle, the Azanian people have come to realize that only they can lead the revolutionary people's war to finally and completely de-colonize Azania, thus ridding Africa of the last outpost of white supremacy and colonialism on the continent. At this stage of the Azanian peoples' struggle, the revolutionary Pan Africanists are mobilizing the Black African masses to overthrow the white European settler colonialism and to establish the People's Republic of Azania — based upon the democratic dictatorship of the Black African workers and peasants.

ABANDONMENT OF NON-VIOLENCE

The convergence of the national and class struggles in the Azanian revolution has progressively revolutionized the political content of the national liberation struggle. An understanding of the importance of leadership and impetus in the struggle stemming from the Azanian working masses has been gained by Azanian revolutionaries. Accordingly, the vanguard of the Black African working class and peasantry has replaced feudal elements and the petty bourgeoisie at the forefront of the Azanian liberation struggle. The means adopted by the Azanian liberation movement have become increasingly revolutionary. Non-violent protests gave way to campaigns of resistance and massive civil disobedience, which have been succeeded by people's war. Additionally, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought has gained widespread acceptance among Azanian revolutionaries as part of the ideological advancement of the national liberation movement.⁵ Azanian revolutionaries have demonstrated admirable discretion in maintaining the general ideological level of the Pan Africanist vanguard in touch with the advancement of Azanian political consciousness and with the current stage of the struggle. The reformist South African Communist Party (SACP) has put forward socialist rhetoric for many years, deceiving many Azanian leaders into thinking that there is an alternative to the Black African liberation struggle⁶. Over the ye-

ars, revolutionary Pan Africanists have advanced from denouncing the anti-African nature of the socialism propounded by the SACP towards a Marxist-Leninist critique of the harm that such organisations and their ideologies pose to the uninterrupted Azanian revolution.

The correct leadership of the Azanian revolution has come to define the stages through which the struggle must pass. The advance towards socialism has been recognised as possible only through the struggle for a national democratic revolution. Of course, preparations have been made and will continue to be made during the national liberation struggle. Despite severe difficulties, the ideological level of the masses is being raised. Through constant struggle, the organisational effectiveness of the national liberation movement has progressed dialectically.

Marxist-Leninist theory on the national-colonial question, particularly as developed by Lenin and Stalin, provides the essential for a correct analysis of the Azanian Revolution. In a segment of his theoretical writings of the national-colonial question, J.V. Stalin asserts the following theses:

- (a) the world is divided into camps: the camp of a handful of civilised nations, which possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe: and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, which constitute the majority;
- (b) the colonies and the dependent countries, oppressed and exploited by finance capital, constitute a vast reserve and a very important source of strength for imperialism;
- (c) the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people in the dependent and colonial countries against imperialism is the only road that leads to their emancipation from oppression and exploitation;
- (d) the most important colonial and dependent countries have already taken the path of the national liberation move-

ment cannot but lead to the crisis of world capitalism.⁷

THE COMINTERN BLACK REPUBLIC THESIS

In analyzing the situation in the colonial and dependent countries, Lenin and Stalin defined the necessity of broad-based national liberation movements to struggle against imperialism and its agents. In the national liberation movements, the peasantry was assigned a major role through the agrarian revolution. Once liberation was achieved by the oppressed peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, Lenin and Stalin envisaged communists carrying through the national democratic revolution to the socialist stage.⁹

The correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the national and colonial question in Azania was first contained in the Comintern's 1928 Black Republic Thesis. Though a few minor errors were committed in the Comintern's analysis, the slogan for an «independent native South African republic as a stage towards a workers and peasants' republic» was essentially correct. The Comintern recognised that «South Africa is a black country» and that «the black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class.»⁹ The white-dominated South African Communist Party persistently attempted to lay the Comintern's thesis to rest. Unfortunately, no Black African Marxist-Leninist organisation arose to uphold the banner of the Comintern to struggle for the inclusion of Azania in a «Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Africa». It remained for the revolutionary Pan Africanists who came to the forefront of the national liberation struggle to perpetuate the Comintern thesis in their fight for a Black African republic within a united Africa. Ironically, it was these same Pan Africanists who were denounced by white Communists as «reactionaries» and «anti-communists».

In the face of the correct analysis presented by the Comintern and by revolutionary Pan

Africanists, an array of misconceived formulas have enjoyed varying degrees of popularity. As usual, behind these ideas lie opportunists who would like to have a stake in post-apartheid South Africa. The bogus concept of «internal colonialism» or «colonialism of a special type» is perhaps the most widely-propagated. The white-dominated South African Communist Party has peddled such an idea in order to justify a perpetual role for itself in affairs that should remain solely the concern of Black Azanians and their liberation movement. «Internal colonialism» or «colonialism of a special type» posits that a white «racial group» is oppressing other «racial groups» and that the end of the «fascist apartheid regime» will mean the establishment of a «multi-racial» democracy. The white-dominated SACP believes that the privileged white working class can eventually take a leading role in the «socialist revolution». Such a conceptual construction disregards the fact that colonialism is the root of racial discrimination and that imperialism has maintained foreign settler colonialism in Azania, a colonialism which is totally in contradiction with the Black masses of the African continent.

NONSENCICAL THEORY OF RACIAL CAPITALISM

Another false concept propagated by «leftists» about Azania, is «racial capitalism».¹¹ In an extremely simplistic fashion, the proponents of «racial capitalism» perceive a struggle between capitalists and workers in South Africa. This misconception arises from the completely mistaken idea that the penetration of capitalism in South Africa during the twentieth century actually created racialism. According to this argument, only a socialist revolution can smash the racial divisions between white and Black workers. The logic behind such a contention is obviously flawed; white settler colonialism, reinforced by imperialism, created racial discrimination in order to preserve white supremacy. All sections of the European settler community, whether capitalists or workers, have favoured the maintenance of the colour bar and other forms of racial discrimina-

tion as an integral part of white settler colonialism. The propagators of «racial capitalism» have not made a positive contribution to the theory of the Azanian revolution. To the contrary, they have merely endeavoured to undermine the revolutionary national liberation struggle of the Black African masses.

A brief analysis of Azanian history substantiates the Pan Africanist theory of the Azanian revolution. The African people of Azania had to defend their homeland against successive waves of Dutch and British settlers. Having failed to exterminate the Azanian masses, the European settlers sought to subjugate the African peasantry to the requirements of a colonial society. An overwhelming proportion of Azanian soil was stolen by the white European settlers, and the African peasantry was driven onto reserves. Africans were forced to labour as virtual slaves on European settler farms or in the mining industry. The brutal colonization of Azania was constantly resisted by the Black African masses, but the armed might of European settler colonialism and British imperialism proved to be overwhelming.¹²

The rapid development of the mining industry in the 1880's was accompanied by the intensified penetration of British imperialism. The subjugation of the Black African masses and the victory over Dutch settler colonialism in 1902 presented British imperialism the opportunity to reconstruct European settler colonialism in South Africa.³⁰ The savage agrarian colonialism — practised primarily by Dutch settlers — of the nineteenth century was replaced by a more efficient, yet intensified form of colonialist exploitation: namely, segregation. The penetration of monopoly capitalism was bound to create an increasingly proletarianized South Africa. A more sophisticated and pervasive form of colonial control was required to maintain the superexploitation of African labour. A wave of discriminatory segregation laws were imposed to increase the solidarity of classes within the European settler community and to prevent the increasingly urbanized African masses from participating in significant political and economic life.

The Act of Union of 1910 effectively depri-

ved the Azanian people of any practical role in the politics and society of colonial South Africa. The European colonial state proceeded to augment the repressive measures imposed by British imperialism against the Black African masses. The Native Land Act of 1913 was especially pernicious limiting the African peasantry to seven per cent of what was once totally Azanian land. In effect, white European settler colonialism and British imperialism had reduced the African people of Azania to the level of disenfranchised proletarians and poor peasants.¹³

RISE OF THE ICU

The South African Native National Congress (renamed the African National Congress — ANC — in 1925) was founded in 1912 by a group of feudal chiefs and educated middle-class Africans as a nation-wide assertion of Azanian grievances against South African settler colonialism. The ANC was initially popular and effective through its protests against the repressive measures taken by the recently-created European settler colonial state — the Union of South Africa. The failure of the ANC to broaden membership and to intensify resistance against the South African colonial regime doomed the organisation to impotence until the 1940's.¹⁴

The rising consciousness of the Black African proletariat during the first twenty years of this century gave rise to the most effective organisation of the Azanian people before 1945. The Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) was founded in 1919 by a Malawian, Clements Kadalie. The ICU succeeded in arousing the Black African proletariat throughout Azania to wage effective class struggles in the 1920's. The economic superexploitation of the Azanian working class was alleviated somewhat, and white European settler privilege — privilege of capitalist and worker alike — was assailed. The ICU was attacked by some Marxist-Leninist as a «reformist» or «economistic» organisation, but the work of the union in increasing the solidarity of the Azanian proletariat was undoubtedly revolutionary in character.

Eventually, by 1930, the ICU fell apart under the weight of colonial repression, splitting activities of both «rightists» and «leftists», and organisational weakness. Though no organisation equivalent to the ICU has arisen, the Black African working masses have been inspired to carry on the struggle initiated by the ICU.¹⁵

THE MILITANT ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

In 1943 the Youth League of the ANC was founded. The militancy of the Youth League reflected the growing revolutionary consciousness of the Azanian masses. The Youth League contained many brilliant Azanian leaders, including Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania — PAC) and Nelson Mandela (now President of ANC). The rising tide of Pan Africanism on the African continent was affecting the people of Azania and pushing the Youth League towards dominance over the ANC and its decrepit leadership. The Youth League, under the leadership of Anton M. Lembede, put forward an «Africanist» programme for national liberation that attracted widespread support from militant Azanians.¹⁶ By 1949, the Youth League had grown sufficiently in stature — through its leadership of various struggles — to win control of the ANC. Immediately, the ANC became more militant and assertive than at any time in its history. With the wave of new repressive measures being imposed by the Dutch settler *apartheid* regime, the bankruptcy of reformism became even more apparent. The «Africanist» leadership of the rejuvenated ANC promoted large demonstrations and campaigns of civil disobedience against the *apartheid* regime, as well as a position of non-association with white European settler colonialism. However, a considerable section of elements, associated with the ANC and opposed to *apartheid* and racial discrimination, differed with the «Africanist» revolutionary strategy and tactics. As the ANC reached the height of its effectiveness, with the Defiance Campaign of 1952, a strong grouping of reformists acted to halt the struggle for national liberation. A number of Youth League members were sufficiently apprehensive abo-

uth the direction that revolutionary Pan Africanism was taking the ANC to join forces with the reformists. With the adoption of the multi-racial «Freedom Charter» and the formation of the multi-racial Congress Alliance, the ANC diluted the national liberation struggle and took a retrogressive step from which it has hardly recovered.¹⁷

The revolutionary Pan Africanist vanguard waged a persistent struggle against the multi-racialists and reformists within the ANC. The Pan Africanists continued to defend the aspirations of the Black African masses for total liberation and complete power. Outside interference in the African national liberation movement brought the denunciations of the Pan Africanist group. The Pan Africanists pointed out the way in which many progressive Africans had been deceived by the socialist rhetoric propagated by the reformist membership of the self-disbanded Communist Party of South Africa.¹⁸ Despite the efforts of the Pan Africanists, the ANC continued to drift away from the revolutionary aspirations of the Black African masses. Finally, the principled struggle of the Pan Africanists proved to be futile, and, in November 1958, most Azanian revolutionaries left the ANC to form an unadulterated national liberation movement. On April 6, 1959, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) was constituted, with Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe as president.

RISE OF AFRICANIST TRADITION

The foundation of the PAC marked the development of African nationalism into a truly revolutionary mass movement of the Azanian people. The «Africanist» tradition of the ANC Youth League was brought forward by the PAC in struggling for the revolutionary overthrow of the *apartheid* colonial regime and white supremacy. The PAC linked itself firmly with the Pan Africanist struggle for continental liberation and unity throughout Africa.¹⁹ The broad masses of the Azanian people comprised the basis for the leadership, the movement, and the ideology of the PAC. In the year that followed the formation of the PAC, the Black

African masses were mobilized through PAC branches in numbers that had not previously been experienced. The organizational campaign of the PAC was particularly effective where the oppressive presence of the white supremacist regime was greatest — in the southern Transvaal, in the Western Cape, and in the Johannesburg townships. The Azanian people were attracted to the step-by-step approach of the PAC towards the achievement of national liberation by the earliest possible date.

The first step in the national liberation struggle was a massive demonstration of civil disobedience against the pass laws that severely restricted the freedom of movement of the Azanian masses. The demonstration was planned by the PAC, both as a means of mass mobilization and as an exhibition of the futility of non-violent opposition. On March 21, 1960, mass protests occurred at central police stations throughout the country, led by Sobukwe himself. At Sharpeville and Langa, the police opened fire, killing 83 and wounding 365. The Sharpeville and Langa massacres opened a period of concerted, murderous violence, waged by the South African colonial state, that has culminated in the brutal suppression of the recent uprisings in Soweto and throughout Azania.

The PAC continued the campaign of mass resistance, despite the savagery of the police force. White European settler colonialism and imperialism were thrown onto the defensive; the government was in a state of confusion, and the economy was crumbling towards chaos, as foreign capital fled in panic.²⁰ Despite signs of conciliation from the stunned *apartheid* regime and though the ranks of the Azanian liberation movement continued to swell, the PAC was under no illusions that a life-and-death struggle was being waged against white European settler colonialism. In preparation for the inevitable, widespread repression by the South African colonial state, the PAC sent a large number of militants underground to prepare for armed resistance in every corner of the country.

The ANC and the PAC were banned on April 8, 1960. The severity and thoroughness of the

repression that followed surprised both organisations. Thousands were arrested under the banning orders. Both the PAC and the ANC chose to go underground and begin the armed struggle, as no alternative form of opposition remained possible. The ANC founded *Umkonto we sizwe* as its armed wing. *Umkonto we sizwe* concentrated on violent attacks against non-human targets of strategic or economic importance, as a means of pressurizing the *apartheid* regime to give way to a multi-racial, democratic government.²¹ The PAC led the Black African masses in establishing the underground organisations which became known as *Poqo*.²² All forms of resistance against white European settler colonialism were undertaken by *Poqo* cells, including the killing of policemen, white European settlers, and African informers. The PAC expected *Poqo* actions to reach a crescendo which would ignite the Black African masses to rise and overthrow the South African colonial state.

POQO

Poqo actions began in 1962 and reached their height in early 1963. The South African colonial establishment correctly equated *Poqo* with the «Mau Mau» or the Land and Freedom Army in the extent of its actions which occurred in almost every part of Azania.²³ The white European settler community became sufficiently threatened to demand the strongest possible repression of the *apartheid* state and imperialism. On April 3, 1963, British and South African police raided central PAC headquarters in Basutoland (now Lesotho) in an attempt to smash PAC co-ordination of *Poqo* actions.²⁴ Immediately afterwards, the fascist *apartheid* regime surpassed all expectations by using a new set of draconian laws to arrest approximately ten thousand *Poqo* suspects.²⁵ The enormous number of political prisoners were subjected to the various sadistic measures that have become a trademark of the Dutch settler fascists: hangings, and murder in police detention, and long prison sentences. On May 3, 1963, a special law sent Mangaliso Subukwe back into permanent detention, this time joi-

ning hundreds of his PAC comrades on wind-swept Robben Island.²⁶ The quantum leap in the repression meted out by the South African state and backed by imperialism dealt a heavy blow to the PAC and to the liberation struggle. Yet, police activity continued throughout the country; an indication that *Poqo* has persisted in the struggle. With the historic developments of 1976 and with the release of many PAC militants from detention, there has been a resurgence in acts of resistance in the country as well as in the townships.²⁷

Umkonto we sizwe contributed to the onslaught that struck terror in the hearts of the white European settler community. A number of bombings gained publicity for the ANC, though the amount of damage was insubstantial. The nature of the *Umkonto we sizwe* campaign contained flaws that have continued to plague the ANC. Emphasis has been placed on spectacular individual actions which are not closely linked to the Black African masses.²⁸ Additionally, participation in *Umkonto we sizwe* by white European leaders and members of the SACP has often meant that campaigns have been marred by a lack of conspiratorial security and by a susceptibility to successful prosecution by the South African courts. Precisely these flaws led to the life imprisonment of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki on Robben Island, as a result of evidence brought against them at the Rivonia Trial in 1964.²⁹ Despite this and other setbacks, *Umkonto we sizwe* has continued its activities, with some improvements in methods.

RISE OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT

With most Azanian leaders imprisoned, exiled, or underground, the leadership of the aroused Black African masses fell to a new generation. In 1969, the formation of the Black South African Students Organisation (SASO) gave rise to a new wave of revolutionary Pan Africanism — known as the Black Consciousness Movement (BMC). The Black People's Convention (BPC) and the Black Allied Wor-

kers Union (BAWU) soon joined SASO in the BCM.³⁰ The building of Black African identity, along the lines of the African-American nationalist movement, became a primary goal of the BCM. The Azanian masses were mobilized to campaign for «Black Power» and against the white European colonial regime. Co-operation with any section of the white European settler regime or community or with «African collaborators» (such as Paramount Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and other Bantustan leaders) was disavowed. The unadulterated Africanism of the BCM has invited comparisons with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.³¹ Indeed, the Black African masses have clearly demonstrated that Africanism is the basis for the Azanian liberation struggle.

The strategy of the BCM consisted of a step-by-step struggle towards liberation, with militant youth playing the igniting role. A series of student strikes against the inferior colonial educational system were organised from 1972 onwards to build the strength of the BCM. In 1974, a campaign in favour of FRELIMO engendered mass enthusiasm and government banning orders against Steve Biko and other BCM leaders. State repression only added to the momentum that the BCM was gathering. Parallel to the growth of SASO and the youth movement, the Azanian working class was growing in militancy. From January to March 1973 Black workers went on strike against one hundred and fifty firms in Natal. Despite the fact that Azanian workers had been deprived of unions and the strike weapon, successful actions were carried out against colonialist and imperialist capital. Strikes and other mass actions have continued, through a period of wage increases and the period of the present crisis. The Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) has succeeded in filling the organisational void that was retarding the struggle of the Azanian working class.³²

When the fascist South African police fired on a student demonstration in the massive Soweto township on June 16, 1976, the Azanian people had been prepared by the BCM to resist. Taking *Poqo* a step further, the BCM strategy was to seize control of large African

townships and Bantustans, from where a generalized assault on South African colonialism would be launched. Throughout the summer of 1976, valiant Azanian youth fought to drive the *apartheid* forces and their puppets out of Soweto and other townships. By September 1976, the struggle had reached the stage where the BCM could extend the resistance throughout the country. Massive actions were carried out, particularly in the centre of Cape Town. Classes were boycotted and schools closed throughout the country. Actions were carried out in the Bantustans and other rural areas, with a spectacular attack against the puppet Chief Mangope's Bophutswana Bantustan. Most important in the uprisings were the two three-day general strikes throughout Azania. At the cost of more than a thousand Azanian martyrs, South African settler colonialism and its imperialist supporters have been shaken to their foundations. The Black African masses have entered the final stages of the Azanian revolution.³³

IDENTITY BETWEEN BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT AND PAC

The Black Consciousness Movement has diminished the level of mass resistance, but continues to lead actions in the uprising against South African colonialism. On October 19, 1977, the BCM and other anti-*apartheid* organisations were banned by a desperate colonial regime. Now that the BCM has completely gone underground, the question of the alignment of liberation organisations in the Azanian people's war becomes more pertinent. The ANC has claimed that SASO is part of its student-youth movement. The BCM has stated that it will remain autonomous. If the emphasis of the BCM and the PAC on organisation among the Black African masses is any indication, a united front between the two Azanian organisations is probable. Whatever occurs, the stage has been set for people's war in Azania.³⁴

The development of intense class struggles in Azania has clearly taken the form of a three hundred year national liberation struggle by the Black African masses against white Euro-

pean settler colonialism. The struggle has progressed through various stages to the point where the Azanian people are prepared to wage revolutionary people's war to win their liberation. The final stage in the liberation struggle will involve the mounting and successful execution of a protracted war. During such an extended period of armed struggle, the Azanian situation will experience many twists and turns. The disposition of the liberation organisations is one of the many determining factors for the direction which the liberation struggle will take. Presently, the liberation movements have mobilized large sections of the Azanian masses, but their leadership and organisation remains fragmented. The ANC has been seriously divided over a number of factors, especially over the displacement of Africanist ideology and leadership in the organisation. Externally, the ANC (African Nationalists) has broken away from the Oliver Tambo-led ANC over the Africanist issue. The ANC (African Nationalists) has argued that the white European-dominated SACP and Russian-dominated revisionist countries are exercising a preponderant influence over the ANC. Meanwhile, inside Azania, the ANC appears to have maintained traditional support, while drawing closer to the Africanism of the BCM and of the PAC.³⁵

The PAC has suffered from the tenuous chain of command that runs from Tanzania to the cells in Azania. The PAC has also experienced disruption as a result of the process of combining Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought with the established Pan-Africanist ideology. Marxism-Leninism has certainly aided the PAC in preparing for revolutionary people's war and in acquiring a longer-term view of Azanian class struggles. However, the PAC has lost conservative African nationalists in the process of ideological and organisational growth. On the other hand, acting President Potlako K. Leballo and the PAC leadership have had to contend with an ultra-left current which wants to immediately convert the PAC into a Marxist-Leninist Party, and which rejects the class alliances in the Azanian national liberation struggle. Yet, the PAC realizes that an

Azanian Marxist-Leninist Party must eventually be formed.³⁶

REAR AREAS FOR PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

The Azanian people's war will require secure and reliable rear areas to supplement the mobilization of the Black African masses. Currently, all of the states which border Azania are too dependent upon South Africa to permit the training, arming and transshipment of freedom fighters. The speed with which the situation will change depends upon the national democratic revolution in Zimbabwe. The sooner the national democratic revolution in Zimbabwe is won and Namibia achieves independence, the sooner African states will be able to concentrate upon assisting the Azanian Revolution. As ZANU — the Zimbabwe African National Union — appears to be leading Zimbabwe towards genuine revolution, the prospects are favourable for a highly effective rear area being established. A ZANU-led Zimbabwe will be unsusceptible to pressure from the Russian superpower, thereby permitting the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) to operate from Zimbabwe soil. A revolutionary Zimbabwe will provide the political and economic power to lessen the dependence of Botswana and Mozambique upon South Africa and to widen the rear area. The strategic power of the South African colonial armed forces will not affect the Azanian People's Liberation Army as much as it will deter African border states from establishing bases. The step forward to confront South African colonialism is indeed a large one.

Besides the white European settlers, the imperialist powers will do all they can to prevent a genuine revolution by the Azanian people. Having effectively financed and armed South African colonialism, the Western imperialist powers are busily building-up neo-colonial puppets, such as Chief Buthelezi, who might be employed to lessen the contradiction caused by Dutch settler fascists.

Every maneuver will be employed to prevent strategically crucial South Africa from being

«lost» to Western imperialism by the Azanian revolution. Also concerned with preventing revolution in Azania is the Russian superpower. The activities of the Russian superpower in Africa indicate that it will both collude and compete in order to ultimately seize control of Azania. Such a coup will most likely involve Russian backing for another fraudulent socialist regime of revisionists, bureaucrats and militarists.³⁸ Even if one or another imperialist power are temporarily successful in impeding the Azanian revolution, the Black African masses will ultimately prevail.

Azanian revolutionaries often refer to the arduous and protracted liberation struggle of the Black African masses in comparison with the heroic struggles of the Indochinese peoples. Although the task that confronts the Azanian people is admittedly difficult, the national liberation movement recognises that, through struggle, the Black African masses will be further revolutionized. In the course of the national liberation struggle, Azanian revolutionaries and the broad masses have come to understand the necessity of people's war, of combatting imperialism, and of the leading role of the Black proletariat. Clearly, the revolutionizing process will continue to propel the Azanian people towards the eventual socialist revolution. Though, at this stage, the struggle remains national — i.e., Pan Africanist — in character, the level of the class struggle waged by the Azanian people will certainly continue to rise, and lead eventually to the establishment of the People's Republic of Azania.

Footnotes:

1) Mao Tse Tung, **Selected Works**, Vol. II, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1974, p. 215.

2) Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, late President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, «The Opening Address delivered at the Inaugural Convention, 4. April 1959, contained in **The Basic Documents of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania**, p. 16.

3) Azania is the African Nationalist name for South Africa, in the same way that Zimbabwe is the African Nationalist name for Rhodesia, and Ngwane is the African Nationalist name for Swaziland. Azania was first adopted as the name for South Africa by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Azania has also gained widespread acceptance among the Black

Consciousness Movement. The only African Nationalist movement that does not use Azania is the ANC of South Africa. Azania is derived from an Arabic term, meaning «Black Man's Country». Azania is therefore a fitting African Nationalist name, even though the term — like the name Ghana — has little geographical relevance.

4) Potlako K. Leballo, Acting President and National Secretary, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, **The Status of the Bogus Republic of South Africa**, a Statement of the PAC of Azania, adopted as an official document of the Organization of African Unity by the 25th Session of the Council of Ministers, Kampala, Uganda, July 1975. The PAC document contains the analysis of the recognized liberation movement. The analysis commences by demonstrating that the 1910 Act of Union was a unilateral granting of dominion status to a white foreign minority by British colonialism. Following the arguments that led to the international sanctions against the UDI regime in Rhodesia, the PAC contends that the Republic of South Africa has illegal status in international law. The analysis proceeds to illustrate the continuing ties between imperialism and white European settler colonialism in South Africa. The Lusaka Manifesto of 1969, signed and agreed to by East, Central and Southern African countries and by «moderates» in the other liberation movements — is denounced in the document for recognizing the «independence» of South Africa, and for emphasizing negotiations with white supremacist regimes. The PAC statement, instead, upholds the statement made by a similar group of states two years later in Mogadishu: «There is no way left to the liberation of Southern Africa except armed struggle to which we already give and will continue to give our fullest support ...»

5) The acceptance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought by Azanian revolutionaries can be noted in the writings and practice of the national liberation movement. **Azania News** and **Azania Combat**, organs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, have noticeably progressed in their treatment of theoretical matters. **The African Nationalists**, the organ of the African National Congress of South Africa (African Nationalist), has rejected the domination of the reformist South African Communist Party and has accepted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought as a guide to action and theory. **IKWEZI**, a journal of Southern African political analysis, has reflected the growing use of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought in analyzing the revolutionary struggles in Southern Africa. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought has not gained currency solely because of the close association of China and other socialist countries with the Azanian liberation movement. The increasing leadership and participation of Azanian workers and peasants in the liberation struggle, as was evidenced especially in 1960 and 1976, and the need for an ideology of people's war turned the liberation movement towards the most revolutionary theory available. Thus, a movement based on Pan Africanism and mass democracy has developed an acceptance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought through the requirements of practice. A similar process has advanced further in Mozambique and especially in Zimbabwe. See, **Zimbabwe News**, organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union and component of the Patriotic Front, vol. 9, no's 5 and 6, July — December 1977, for convincing evidence of the acceptance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought by Zimbabwean revolutionaries.

6) Criticism of the reformism and the white European domination of the South African Communist Party (SACP) has al-

ways persisted and is currently increasing. Edward Roux, **Time Longer Than Rope**, Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1975, was one of the first critiques of the inability of the SACP to play a vanguard role in the Azanian revolution. **Ikwezi** has contained numerous critiques of the SACP, from the 1920's to the present-day. Ethel Khopung, **Apartheid — the Story of a Dispossessed people**, Dar es Salaam, Sharpeville Day Mbi-zana, 1972, delivers the most devastating blows against the dubious activities of the SACP. Richard Gibson, **Africanist Liberation Movements**, London, Oxford University Press, 1972, presents a criticism of the SACP in the light of the Chinese Communist struggle against modern revisionism, emanating from Russia.

7) J.V.E. EUARFISNE E THE National-Colonial Question, San Fransisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p. 288.

8) Under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, the Comintern formulated revolutionary theory for the colonial and dependent countries. The domination of imperialism, the predominantly poor peasant population, and the persistence of pre-capitalist modes of production in these countries necessitated national democratic and agrarian revolutions as the first stage in the advance towards socialism. The Comintern's theory was put into practice primarily in the Chinese Revolution. Though mistakes were initially made, the Chinese Communist Party, led by Chairman Mao Tse Tung, applied the Comintern formula on the road to victory in 1949. See, J.V. Stalin, «About China», *op. cit.*, pp. 340—369. See also, John Weeks and Elizabeth Dore, «Class Alliances and Class Struggle in Peru», **Latin American Perspectives**, Vol. IV., no. 3 (Summer 1977), pp. 9—13.

9) The South African Question — The Black Republic Thesis», **Ikwezi**, no. 4, December 1976, pp. 15—20.

10) The hypocrisy of the South African Communist Party (SACP), evidenced by its rejection of the revolutionary Black Republic Thesis whilst it denounces the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as «anti-communist» and «reactionary», is effectively criticised in «Joe Slovo — Theoretician or Anti-China Hack», **Ikwezi**, no. 6, August 1977, pp. 40—43.

Apologists for the multi-racialism and for the reformist line of the SACP have attempted to deride the Black Republic Thesis as impractical or ultra-leftist. Even George Padmore, a strong critic of the SACP and upholder of Pan Africanism, attacked the Comintern for an alleged lack of realism. Yet, the PAC of Azania has taken the essence of the Black Republic Thesis as the heart of its revolutionary program. When the PAC attacked communism, they were referring to their experience with the interference of the counter-revolutionary SACP. Since 1959, the PAC and other revolutionary groups have attempted to adapt Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to Azanian conditions.

11) The concept of «racial capitalism» has been put forward by leftists who have endeavoured to supplant the SACP idea of «internal colonialism» with a more radical-sounding formula. See, Martin Legassick and David Hemson, **Foreign Investment and the Reproduction of Racial Capitalism in South Africa**, London, Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1976, and the **Review of African Political Economy (RAPE)**, no. 7, September—December 1976 for expositions of the line of «racial capitalism». «Neo-Marxism and the Bogus Theory of Racial Capitalism», **Ikwezi**, (forthcoming) contains a detailed critique.

12) For accounts of African resistance and subjugation to the forces of imperialism and colonialism, see Roux, *op. cit.*,

Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 27—33, Khopung, *op. cit.*, pp. 25—57.

13) See Peter Walshe, **The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa**, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971, pp. 30—61.

14) *Ibid.*, pp. 244—249, and Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 39—42.

15) Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—39.

16) Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 332—339 and Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44—48. «Africanism» was expressed as an ideology in the ANC Youth League manifesto of March 1944. The African was to determine his future by his own efforts. Pan African unity was to be achieved, freeing Africa from foreign domination. The 1949 Program of Action, adopted by the ANC, epitomizes the «Africanism» of the Youth League.

17) For accounts of the capture of the ANC by reformists and the adoption of the «Freedom Charter», see Khopung, *op. cit.*, pp. 60—62, Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50—55, and Jordan K. Ngubane, **An African Explains Apartheid**, London, Methuen, 1965, pp. 100—101, 164—165. A concerted campaign by multiracialists and reformists, led by SACP members, resulted in the cementing of an alliance with the adoption of the Freedom Charter. The guarantees for special rights for «minority groups» which the dubious «Congress of the People» railroaded through were protested against, even by ANC reformists. The «Congress Alliance», which grew out of the Freedom Charter, negated African control over the ANC which increasingly became dominated by the SACP. The disintegration of the ANC has largely resulted from African despair at non-African prominence in the organization and its auxiliaries.

18) Khopung, *op. cit.*, pp. 85—97, contains an excellent denunciation of the sabotaging role of the SACP. At one point, Khopung asserts, «Another strange thing about the white communists of South Africa was that in 1950, when the racist minority government threatened to ban their party, they dissolved the party even before they were legally banned. Rather unusual and curious for people claiming to be Marxist-Leninists.» (p. 93)

19) Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, *op. cit.*, pp. 10—13. From Sobukwe's 2nd opening address onward, the PAC supported the Pan Africanist ideal of a progressive, anti-imperialist United States of Africa. The PAC is a motive force for unity and progress within the OAU, at a time when African countries, from every part of the political spectrum, are so divided amongst themselves.

20) The events surrounding the Sharpeville and Langa massacres are dealt with by Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—91, and by Khopung, *op. cit.*, pp. 67—73. Khopung states that for the first quarter of 1960 the capitalization value of shares on the Johannesburg stock exchange dropped by \$1.8 billion and that on March 30, 1960, the total market capitalization value fell by \$210 million. The South African Bank Reserves sank to such a low level that American imperialism had to pump in \$300 million in financial assistance. Another indication of the panic of 1960 was that the number of people leaving South Africa exceeded the number of people entering for the only year except 1977. With the assassination attempt on the **apartheid** Prime Minister Verwoerd, the government fell into further confusion. Having suspended the pass laws, the government began to talk about the need for reform. Only with the return of Verwoerd was the **apartheid** regime put back into its colonial fascist position without reformist mystification.

21) For a description of the limited aims of **Umkonto we sizwe** («Spear of the Nation», see Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 58—63, and Joe Matthews, «Armed Struggle in South Africa»,

Marxism Today, September 1969. Joe Matthews was one of the more militant members of the SACP Central Committee. Today Matthews is the Attorney-General of the Transkei Bantustan.

22) Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 93, asserts the **Pogo** was part of a PAC slogan — **Um Africa Pogo** — which means «unadulterated African Nationalist». Khopung, *op. cit.*, p. 73, claims that the name **Pogo** was popular because it meant «genuine or pure African patriot». The name **Pogo** is analogous to the Irish **Sinn Fein** which means «Ourselves Alone». Both **Pogo** and **Sinn Fein** were established as self-reliant liberation organizations, composed solely of revolutionary nationalists.

23) Khopung, *op. cit.*, p. 74 notes the comparisons that were drawn between Kenya's Land and Freedom army and **Pogo**. However, the repressive abilities of the South African colonial state have demonstrated the need for a more tightly controlled and co-ordinated people's war in Azania.

24) Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95. The concurrence of Chief Lebua Jonathan and his Basutoland National Party (BNP) in the March 1963 raid against the PAC can be understood in the light of the January 1970 coup against the majority Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and the PAC. Chief Lebua Jonathan is one of many Africans who depend on South African colonialism and imperialist powers and who sabotage the Pan Africanist cause.

25) Albie Sachs, **Justice in South Africa**, London, Heinemann, 1973, and Khopung, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–78. The introduction of the 90 and 180 days detention without trial opened the door for intensified massive police brutality against Azanian patriots.

26) Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–78. The introduction of the 90 and 180 days detention without trial opened the door for intensified massive police brutality against Azanian patriots.

26) Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Sobukwe was prevented from being released by a special law, permitting indefinite detention of political prisoners. Since the law was passed immediately before Sobukwe's scheduled release, the measure has become known as the "Sobukwe clause". Sobukwe's seven subsequent years on Robben Island ruined his health, and, when he was placed under house arrest in Kimberley, the authorities tried their best to prevent Sobukwe from receiving the necessary medical treatment.

27) The recent trials of PAC militants throughout the country indicate the extent of the organization's activities in Azania. Several indicted Azanians have been accused of carrying out peasant uprisings over the past three years, while others are accused of organizing in co-operation with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The most widely-publicized trial was against the PAC leader, Zeph Mothupeng, and seventeen other militants in Bethel, Orange Free State Province. The accused are charged with furthering the aims of the PAC over a fifteen year period.

28) Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61. The emphasis of **Umkonto we sizwe** on sabotage meant that targets were generally beyond the movement capability of the Black African masses.

29) Khopung, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–89. The relative freedoms enjoyed by white Europeans led to a laxness in their activities, even by the supposedly-conspiratorial SACP. The stupidity of

white SACP members in the events that led up to the Rovonia trial suggests serious flaws in their organization and operations and an inability to adjust to greater militancy by their "black comrades".

30) Henry Isaacs, Former President of the South African Students' Organization, "The Emergence and Impact of the Black Consciousness Movement", **Ikwezi**, no. 4, December 1976, pp. 7–14. Isaacs deals effectively with the events leading up to the formation of the Black Consciousness Movement and with the constitution of its program.

31) Gwendolen M. Carter and Patrick O'Meara (eds.), **Southern Africa in Crisis**, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1977, p. 126. Carter asserts that, "In some ways they (the BCM) were echoing the Africanism of the Pan Africanist Congress, but with the larger aim of uniting blacks as a whole, all of whom shared a common experience of discrimination". See also, Alex Callinicos and John Rogers, **Southern Africa after Soweto**, London, Pluto Press, 1977, p. 162.

33) For accounts and analyses of the 1976 uprisings, see Callinicos and Rogers, *op. cit.* pp. 162–173; **Ikwezi**, no. 8 (March 1978); and **Azania Combat**, August–September 1976 and October–November 1976.

34) **Ikwezi**, no. 8 (March 1978) presents a well-constructed conjecture as to the future of the BCM. The persistence of the BCM as an autonomous movement depends upon its internal effectiveness. The difficulty of seeking recognition outside of the PAC and the ANC will eventually mean alliance or absorption.

35) **The African Nationalist**, organ of the ANC (African Nationalist) contains arguments of militants opposed to the dominance of the SACP over the ANC. The ANC (African Nationalist) identifies with the ANC inside Azania which has attempted to adhere to the current liberation struggle of the Black African masses. The future of the ANC, ANC (African Nationalist), and the PAC is dealt with in terms of the historical trends of the national liberation movement by Richard Gibson, "Les mouvements de la libération en Afrique du Sud", **L'Actuel** (Brussel), vol. II, no. 3, 1977, pp. 5–14.

36) Several observers have recounted the organizational struggles of the PAC. Fortunately, contradictions have been resolved at PAC congresses in such a way that the organization has advanced politically. With the death of the venerated Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, Azanian revolutionaries will look to President Potlako K. Leballo to provide even stronger leadership in the PAC in its various struggles.

37) See **Zimbabwe News**, organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union, vol. 9, nos. 5–6, July–December 1977, for a convincing record of the revolutionary progress of ZANU. The commitment of ZANU to the Azanian Revolution has grown stronger, particularly with the party's close association with the PAC of Azania.

38) For the activities of the Russian superpower in Africa and fraudulent socialist regimes, see R.G. Wagner (ed.), **Supermacht Sowjetunion**, Berlin, Oberbaum, 1977, and Michael Wilson, «Marxist-Leninist Critiques of Social-Fascism and Militarism in the Third World: the case of Angola», an unpublished paper presented at the International Peace Research Conference, Mexico City, December 1977.

Sobukwe's Thinking and Practice was in Line with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought

SPEECH BY MFANASEKAYS GOBOSE, MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF ROBERT SOBUKWE, THE GREAT AZANIAN REVOLUTIONARY LEADER. GOBOSE DESCRIBES HOW THE IDEALS AND ASPIRATIONS THAT SOBUKWE STOOD FOR IN THE INTERESTS OF THE LIBERATION OF THE AFRICAN MASSES HAS LED TO "THE ACCEPTANCE AND STUDY OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND METHODS ALONG THE LINES OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND MAO-TSE-TUNG THOUGHT".

Today in the countryside town of Graaf-Reinet in Azania the people are paying their last respects to Mangaliso Sobukwe, the beloved President of the Pan-Africanist Congress, whose untimely death occurred on the 27th February 1978, at the age of 54.

All the members of the P.A.C. wherever they are and all the masses of our people at home at this hour share with the Sobukwe family the grief at the great loss of one of their outstanding sons.

Sobukwe's life has been described and discussed in many ways and from many angles - politically, religiously, intellectually, and as an ordinary human being, simple but dynamic, and so on. It is therefore not necessary to go over all these aspects of his life this afternoon.

It is the measure of Sobukwe's greatness, like all great men in history, that his life and ideas should be household topics inside his own country and beyond. Indeed lives and ideas of great men without exception have been household topics and even controversial. Sobukwe is no exception. For that very fact alone his life has been outstandingly brilliant.

It is necessary, however, comrades and friends, this afternoon to say something briefly about what his political philosophy was. To us, members of the Pan-Africanist Congress who naturally have been much closer to him, listening in speech and watching him in practice during some of the most testing but finest periods of his political life, Sobukwe's political philosophy was based on, and directed at, the service of the masses of the people. He was the man of the masses.

Of course, as a patriot he had a burning love for his motherland. A burning love for his nation but nothing would surpass his overwhelming love and service for the ordinary people - "the downtrodden masses" as he usually said.

To him simplicity, politeness and easy approachability were qualities used in order to be with the masses of the people and to discuss politics with them at the grass-roots level.

And indeed he served, suffered and sacrificed for them. He was an embodiment of their interests, hopes and aspirations as he would say - "there is nothing I seek for myself personally I am merely the spokesman of the interests and aspirations of the masses of our people."

Sobukwe's thoughts, political direction and leadership: these are contained in the founding documents of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

In 1959 at the formation of the P.A.C. in his inaugural address he said: "We reject the economic exploitation of the many for the benefit of the few. We accept as policy the equitable distribution of wealth aiming, as far as I am concerned, at equality of income which is the only basis on which the slogan of "equal opportunities" can be founded, and he went on - "we are not blind to the fact that the countries which pursue a policy of planned state economy have outstripped, in industrial development, those that follow the

path of private enterprise. Today, for example, China is industrially far ahead of India.”

To sum up, he said, economically we stand committed to a policy guaranteeing the most equitable distribution of wealth. We stand for an Africanist Socialist Democracy.”

Elsewhere in some of his speeches he said : “It is our contention that true democracy can be established in South Africa and on the continent as a whole, only when white supremacy has been destroyed. And the illiterate and semi-literate African masses constitute the key, centre and content of any struggle for true democracy on South Africa.....We are a mass organisation and we think that every African should be involved in the struggle for national liberation”.

Sobukwe was never given to exhibitionism. He was never an agent-provocateur, nor a liar. He was never an adventurer.

He was humble and simple as a lamb to all reasonable people, including his own enemies, but was brave as a lion with indomitable courage and was remarkably consistent on matters of principle and of service to the ordinary masses of the people sharing their burdens with them at grass-root level regardless of consequences to himself physically and mentally.

I remember a simple but very significant lesson he taught me at Port Elizabeth in February 1960 as Chairman of the Eastern Cape region of the P.A.C. We were facing some organisational difficulties at the time. He said: “Mfo! Go to the people. You will find them in the streets of New Brighton at night. They are the youth playing dice and robbing people. Give them a purpose in life through political education and tell them in no uncertain terms to struggle and die for the liberation of their people. Go to the adults at “stockfells” on Sundays and be part of them and talk politics of liberation to them with conviction and commitment.”

I am certain, he added, that in a short space of time the people will not only respond to your leadership but will actually outpace you on their march in the struggle for freedom. He said the masses of the people are found everywhere. They are in the Churches for example. Go to the Churches but do not antagonise the priests and the Church stewards. Be polite to them. But in them preach the gospel of politics to the people. Politeness and simplicity to Sobukwe were organising tools. Following strictly the advice given whereas, the membership of the P.A.C. by 1959 and early 1960 was only about 30, by March 1963, under conditions of banning, there were no less than over 3,000 P.A.C. members including the POQO Task Force in Port Elizabeth only, let alone places like Uitenhage, Grahamstown, Peddie, Alicedale, Fort Beaufort and so on.

Comrades and friends, this does not only show Sobukwe’s organisational ability but more importantly the significant role he attached to the masses in the liberation struggle.

The important landmarks of the P.A.C. since it was formed 19 years ago are:

The Status Campaign of 1959 which is the forerunner of the present Black Consciousness Movement.

The Positive Action Campaign of 1960 and the massacre of Sharpeville, under Sobukwe’s leadership in that campaign changed the course of history.

The banning of the P.A.C. and its going underground.

The adoption of armed struggle as a method to overthrow racist domination in Azania.

The training of cadres abroad in the best way of conducting armed struggle.

THE ACCEPTANCE AND STUDY OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND METHODS ALONG THE LINES OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND MAO-TSE-TUNG THOUGHT.

All these developments and qualitative changes within the P.A.C. are as a result of what Sobukwe called the Unfolding Programme of the P.A.C. Although he, himself, was not able to participate personally in the later aspects of this unfolding programme, his teachings and personal example during the years upto Sharpeville in 1960 have been extremely important in sustaining and shaping the present programme of the P.A.C. as a national liberation movement.

Sobukwe taught us that everybody who owes his only loyalty to Azania shall be regarded as an African.

That mankind has only one race - the human race.

That we must struggle for the overthrow of racist domination,

That we must struggle for the establishment of an Africanist Socialist Democratic Order in a non-racial society.

As a great man of principle the quality which the whole world, including his enemies, have acknowledged of him, we of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania have a right to assert that Sobukwe's political philosophy which has been transformed into the policies and programmes of his organisation is a socialist philosophy clearly designed to serve the "down-trodden masses."

Sobukwe was a great African Freedom Fighter. A great socialist. But above all a revolutionary. It is clear from his whole political life that in the new Azania which would emerge after racism has been crushed in our country, as it will surely be crushed, for him there could only arise a socialist Azania in which the system of exploitation of man by man would have been abolished. **THERE WOULD BE NO ROOM FOR A BUORGEOIS SOCIETY IN SOBUKWE'S AZANIA.**

As a national hero during the life and death struggle now ranging between fascism, imperialism and racism on the one hand and national liberation and social justice on the other, it is fitting that he should have followed in the footsteps of earlier African heroes like Makana, Maqoma and Cetwayo who because of devoted duty to their people and the national cause had to be incarcerated on Robben Island before they died.

Comrades and Friends, this is a sombre and solemn day throughout the land of Azania. But also a day of great confidence in the certainty that victory in the end is ours in the land of our birth. Because great men like Sobukwe have shown clearly how that victory can be attained.

**LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!!!**

**LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS AND PRACTICE OF MANGALISO SOBUKWE!!!
VICTORY TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA AND AZANIA!!!**

CAPITAL INVESTMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(A Case Study on South Africa, Namibia and
Rhodesia)

by
Wachapfidza Chikuhwa

A recent British study by the Conservative Party showed that if the Soviet Union gained control of the Southern African countries it could cut off the Western economies from the mineral resources upon which it is so dependent. This study reveals precisely what that means, and accounts for the present day Superpower contention in the region. As far as Southern African revolutionaries are concerned our rich mineral resources and wealth must be controlled by neither of the Superpowers or lesser imperialist countries. We must not only throw out

the Western imperialist countries who have been lodged in our countries for centuries, we must equally guard against the predations of the new and rising imperialist power, Soviet social-imperialism, whose strategy in controlling our wealth is to place into government their puppets who are completely dependent upon it for its existence, and whom it also knows how to hook into a position of dependency.

HISTORICAL experience shows that the plundering of other countries is easier to imp-

lement if an imperialist power turns them into its own colonies. One of the distinguishing features of colonial domination happens to be, in all circumstances, devoted to the concentration of foreign capital in the economies of the colonies.

Attached to the political and economic backing of a colonial administration, foreign monopolies seized the key branches of the economy and secured exclusively favourable terms for their enterprises. V.I.Lenin noted that « *the most favourable conditions and benefits, leading to such subordination as is connected with the loss of political independence by the subdued countries and peoples, are given to financial capital. . . . As long as capitalism remains in existence, surpluses from capital investments are used not for the improvement of the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would have meant a reduction in capitalist profits, but for the raising of profits through the export of capital abroad, to the underdeveloped countries. In these underdeveloped countries, profits are usually high, since the required capital is not much, the price of land is comparatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap* »

With the disintegration of the colonial system and the subsequent gaining of political independence by many tens of colonial and dependent countries, the position has radically changed. The only methods in the sphere of influence have practically remained as the economic penetration into foreign national spheres. The main weapon to this effect stands out to be the export of capital. This very capital creates an economic basis for financial exploitation of underdeveloped countries by the monopolies, fundamental for the development of the economies of the industrially developed capitalist power.

Therefore, the origin and existence of the Southern African bloc of racists and colonialists, the basis of which is formed by the monopolist capital of local as well as international significance, bring together reactionary forces and counteract the national liberation movements. The investment and strengthening of monopolist capital in Southern Africa is a phenomenon which is not entirely incidental, since this region attracted the attention of monopolists by its mineral wealth, cheap labour and very favourable European climatic conditions. These are the three factors influencing the growth of foreign investments in Southern Africa. Of these, probably mineral resources may be listed as the apex of the economic triangle, with cheap labour forming its base.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the role of foreign investments in the economies of racist regimes in Southern Africa. We will make an

attempt to reveal capitalist countries involved in the exploitation of mineral and human resources. An attempt will be made to show the interlacement of capitalist companies and their oligarchic position in the economic development of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Last but not least, we will analyse the mining industry and reveal the labour policy in Southern Africa.

THE CAPITALIST MONOPOLY

HUNDREDS of companies are directly involved in the search and processing of mineral deposit in Southern Africa. Thus, only a few of these companies can be listed as independent, to which, as a rule, apply very small firms playing a very inconsiderable role in the sum total volume of the mining industry. The overwhelming majority of the active companies are members of system of various financial and mining monopolies enclosing a set of their interests in such countries like Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho, Rhodesia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zaire and Zambia. The headquarters of these monopolist concerns are situated in South Africa, and the biggest shareholders turn out to be representatives of financial and industrial circles of South Africa and certain countries of the West, in the first place Britain, the USA, West Germany, France, Belgium and Holland.

The settler bourgeoisie, despite the fact that up to date they continue to have close financial and other political and economic relationships with the capitalist countries, more and more acquire and independent significance and play a prominent role in the activities of the monopolist concerns and groups, holding, in their hands, control over the mining of mineral resources and certain other sectors of the economy of South Africa and the other neighbouring countries. A relatively high standard in the growth of production in South Africa and partly in Rhodesia is, in the first place, explained by the fact that with the growth of the settler bourgeoisie, year after year, the increasing share of profits they get is not exported overseas, but is re-invested in the economies of the mentioned countries. Owing to this, South Africa and Rhodesia have more and better developed economies than some countries in East and Central Africa. The main reason for such a situation is that the peoples of European origin in these countries have, at all costs, decided to make the countries in question a permanent home.

tions, has caused a lot of resentment in Africa. Moreover, in absolute figures, West Germany comes next after the USA and France as development aid giver. In the 1974-75 financial year, West Germany aid amounted to almost 540m. pounds sterling as opposed to about 121m. pounds to Black Africa. According to West Germany sources, around 400 companies have established themselves in South Africa. These include such companies like Volkswagen, AEG Telefunken, Lufthansa, BMW, Henkel etc.

Even Scandinavian countries like Sweden (wellknown for their humanitarian aid to liberation movements) have thrown in their weight to, we dare say, boost fascism in Southern Africa. Information about Swedish companies with lucrative dealings with South Africa is considered confidential by the Swedish State Bank and the Association of Exporters. However, among other companies, the following are known to be involved in the exploitation of the people of Southern Africa: Alvenius Industries Africa Ltd., ASEA Electric South Africa Ltd., Avesta S.A.Ltd., Ekman & Co. S.A.Ltd., Electrolux Ltd., Fagersta Steels Ltd., Saab-Scania, Volvo etc.

What then explains all this increasing flow of monopolist capital to this region of Africa? Why is it that the western monopolies often refuse to invest their capital in the other parts of the African continent basing their argument on an «unstable investment climate» and yet Southern Africa remains in a privileged position in this relationship?

The system of apartheid and colonial slavery in Southern Africa turns out to be the source from which the international monopolies get big profits (27% and above). But it should be stressed that the system of *labour recruitment* by South Africa and Rhodesia, helped by commercial agents like the gigantic Wenela and Mutandizi (directed by the American multimillionaire, Charles Engelhard sometimes known as «King of Platinum») is the chief reason for the rush for markets in Southern Africa. This recruitment of African labour conceals a system of forced labour. The element of force becomes apparent when one examines the method of recruitment, the terms on which the workers have been engaged and the control which the racists exercise over the African workers during the period of their contract. The most primitive form of this recruitment of labour has involved the kidnapping of Africans to work in the settler and monopolist enterprises.

May be the attitude of the capitalist monopoly in Southern Africa can best be summed up by the words of the executive vice president of

the US Industrial Council, Anthony Harrigan:
«The United States has a vital stake in maintaining access to the vast mineral wealth of Southern Africa.... What is most important is that the United States employ its influence to sustain responsible, orderly governments and to oppose the expansion of revolutionary regimes... it is very much in the national interest of the United States to maintain access to the gold, uranium, coal, chrome, copper, platinum and other strategic materials in the sub-continent. Access will be denied if Marxist regimes extend their sway » (The Star Johannesburg, International Airmail Weekly, 16th August, 1975, p.6.) This explains why the Americans and their western allies are determined to enslave Africans for a long time to come. The question here is not Marxism, but to deprive and African the right to use the riches in his/her country for raising the standard of living. Marxism is just used as a camouflage.

FINANCIAL OLIGARCHY

In many circumstances the interests of firms controlling the mining of mineral resources and penetrating into other spheres of the economy closely interlace. Therefore, as a rule, it cannot be possible, precisely, to limit the capital of those or other companies by their importance or national origin. A characteristic phenomenon for the whole organised structure of the monopolist groups existing in Southern Africa is reflected by a system of reciprocal control of shares, which is reinforced by a personal concern expressed in a close interlacement of directors of companies.

Such circumstances lead us to talk about the existence of a single financial oligarchy (connected by common interests) which has economic control over a wide territory stretching from the Cape to Shaba (formerly Katanga) and in actual fact determines the policy of the local governments and colonial powers.

Every group ensures control over all the members of the companies which fall under it, mainly by having big packets of shares. However, in financing a newly organised enterprise, its shares are usually purchased not only by the controlling concern, but also by other mining-financial concerns. Besides that, a big part of the shares is realised in stock exchanges overseas, mainly in London.

In view of such a dispersion of shares, the controlling packet, by certain estimates, does not usually exceed 10 – 30% of the whole joint-stock capital. For example, Selection Trust Ltd. (a British company) has a 14 – 25% shareholding (570,000 shares) in Tsumeb Corpo-

Taking into consideration that the process of the formation of private ownership in Southern Africa has attained a very high level, one cannot miss the fact that the settler bourgeoisie, having «rights» and their own private capitalist and imperialist interests, function in close collaboration with monopolist circles of the western countries, financial help and technological support on which they continue to be greatly dependent.

The leading imperialist powers invested (and of course continue to invest) huge sums of money in the economies of the countries of Southern Africa and from year to year the volume of their investments continues to grow despite African protests in the United Nations. It is to be noted that Japan has of late taken a leading interest in Southern Africa, thus competing for the lion's share of the big profits involved in this risky political game. By 1980 Japan may overtake the USA as the leading trade partner with Pretoria, after Britain.

The South African economy is sustained by foreign investment, of which Britain occupies the first place. She provides over 60% of all foreign investments in South Africa, with the USA in second place with 20%. Of a total of 1,599 million Rands of private portfolio investments, Continental Europe supplies almost half (R769 million).

Taking other economic factors into consideration, the main factor influencing the deficits recorded in 1966 and 1972 was armed struggle against the illegal regime of Ian Smith. Without underrating the effect of UN sanctions imposed in early 1966, the Second Chimurenga (War of Liberation) launched in April 1966 frightened overseas investors and, likewise, the opening of the North-east operational zones in 1972 also had the same effect on capital transactions. However, taking 1965 (the year of UDI) as a base, there was an average increase of capital transactions of 0.15%. The 1973 inflow on the capital account was over ten times more than in 1965 and was the largest such inflow since UDI. According to an economic survey, the major part of this inflow was attributable to corporate bodies.

South Africa is a striking example of how capital investments have virtually enslaved the majority African population in Southern Africa. Since the turn of the century, the inflow of foreign capital has been rising steadily with only a temporary lull following the Sharpeville massacre. By the end of 1969, private long-term investments were reported to total 2,700 million Rands, Britain contributing 1,800 million Rands approximately and the USA 500 mil-

lion Rands. Comparison with 1960 is most striking. Since that year, Britain has substantially increased its investments in South Africa in the course of the last decade, notwithstanding its own economic difficulties and the fact that South Africa has forfeited its membership to the British Commonwealth.

More than 50% of the shares of monopolist groups exercising control over the economies of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia is in the hands of foreign monopolies. The settler bourgeoisie, to a large extent, just stands as agents and accomplices of the western monopolist capital in the exploitation of human and natural resources. This, in particular, is correct in relation to settler shareholders of monopolist mining enterprises, which, in an overwhelming majority, are represented by persons of British origin. Up to date, all of them still have very close financial connections with London and some mining-financial houses and businesses are registered in Britain. A big part of the capital in the gold mining industry, which also is invested in the economies of South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, belongs to persons of British origin.

The annual rate of return on US capital invested in South Africa between 1960 and 1970 was 18.6% compared with an average for total US overseas direct investments of 11%. Britain is by far the largest single investor in South Africa: 58% of the total foreign investments in the country. Investments from West Europe constituted 24% and from the USA - 15%. Although American investments are smaller in volume, they have shown a rapid growth in strategic sectors like the motor car industry and oil prospecting. Figures for 1974 show US direct corporate investment in South Africa at \$1.45 billion.

By 1971 there were 512 British companies and over 300 American corporations which had subsidiary or associate companies in South Africa. They include most of the best known names of British and American industry: British South Africa, Rio Tinto, Stewart and Lloyds, Charter Consolidated Ltd., Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd., British Petroleum Ltd., Unilever etc; American: American Metal Climax Inc. (AMAX), Newmont Mining Corporation Ltd., Tsumeb Corporation Ltd., Texaco Oil Company etc.

West Germany's investment in the multi-million pound project to produce a nuclear weapon capability which is going to turn South Africa into an impregnable white bastion in Africa, manufacturing her own missiles and nuclear devices and prepared to turn them against peace-loving independent African na-

ration Ltd. while American Metal Climax (AMAX) has a 29.18% shareholding in the same corporation. But it is interesting to note that while both these companies have a shareholding in Tsumeb Corporation Ltd., they may also have shareholdings in each other, like Selection Trust has an 11.8% shareholding interest in AMAX and an indirect interest in the 29.18% holding of AMAX in the Tsumeb Corporation.

With the purpose of setting more durable control, mining-financial concerns use the method of personal concern, consisting in this that members of management of the basic company are also in the board of directors of all the controlling companies.

It is to be noted that a concern also carries out technical surveillance over the enterprises, which are members of a group, through specially created staff of engineering technicians who can give consultation on any of the arising complications. At the same time, this personnel controls the whole production network of the enterprise and gives general instructions on the organisation of technological processes.

Personal concern, technical surveillance and the «system of shares», in a multiple subordination, help the main company, using relatively small capital, to control a large number of other firms and to create, in this way, entire financial empires.

A striking example of the use, by capitalist monopolies, of a complex of branches of sister companies, can best serve as the activities of the biggest of all the active mining-financial concerns in Southern Africa at present – the Anglo-American Corporation Ltd., a huge mining, industrial and financial empire which was founded in 1917 and is in the hands of the Oppenheims. American capital played a very active part in the creation of the Anglo-American.

At the time of its establishment by Ernest Oppenheimer, with the consultation of Guver (at that time a mining engineer) and the President of the USA, a loan of about one million dollars was received from the Morgan Guarantee Trust Company, which, up to now, owns a certain part of the shares of Anglo-American having been purchased by option. True, during the following years Oppenheimer, in many instances, applied to London for financial help; and therefore the share of British capital invested in Anglo-American is by far more than that of the USA. Besides, Anglo-American has very close financial connections with London's banking house – Rothschild – in the result of which the whole system of companies, amalgamated to its administration and manage-

ment, is usually called the group of Rothschild-Oppenheimer.

The scale of activities of this group can be judged on the basis of the following data. To its share fall more than a quarter of the gold-mining interests in the capitalist world, one fifth of the diamond interests, 10% of copper mining, more than half of the uranium produced in South Africa and about one third of coal mined in Southern Africa. It also occupies almost a monopolist position of diamond mining in the world market, having a possibility to control about 80% of the realized products of that type of precious stones in the capitalist world.

The interests of Anglo-American are spread far out of South Africa's boundaries. As far back as the end of the 1920s, it started to penetrate into the mining industry of the then Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). It is in this country, within the companies surveying and mining in the well-known Copper Belt (Which lies on both sides of the boundary between Zambia and Zaire) that capital investments of Anglo-American are specially closely connected with the capital investments of the Rothschild group.

Operating in this region, the sister company of Rothschild – Rio Tinto-Zinc (RTZ) – has, almost for the hundred years of its existence, turned from a modest enterprise into a gigantic company, which is one of the main firms through which the capital of this banking house (Rothschild) spreads into countries of Southern Africa. RTZ, having huge shares in the gold-mining industries of Canada and Australia, can be termed 'a very significant link', with the help of which the interests of Rothschild in southern Africa are integrated with the interests of the Oppenheims. In an effort to expand its area of capital investments, RTZ has recently invested approximately 150 million pounds sterling at a uranium mine at Roessing in Namibia.

Using a well intertwined system of sister companies, Anglo-American has substantial capital investments in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Through its sister company – Wankie Colliery - Anglo-American controls one of the richest coal fields in the world at Wankie. The importance of this coal mine is determined by the fact that it is an exclusive source for mineral fuel for neighbouring Zambia. Because this colliery is situated in Rhodesia, it gave allowance to the racists and Anglo-American to exert pressure on this young independent African state, since cutting off deliveries of coal put Zambia right in the face of considerable economic difficulties. When, at the end of January 1973, the racists wanted to put pressure

on Zambia to stop «harbouring» freedom fighters, they closed the border, thus cutting off coal deliveries to the mining industry on which Zambia sorely depends for its economic survival.

The London and Rhodesia Land and Mining Company, known in short as Lonrho and itself an Anglo-American sister company, has a substantial stake in the Rhodesian economy. If before, Lonrho had its investments concentrated in the gold-mining industry, during the last decade the characteristic of its activities has considerably changed. It has large capital investments in the sugar and tobacco plantations, animal husbandry, beer breweries, hotels, factories producing nails and artificial ice, the oil pipeline from Beira to the Feruka Oil refinery in Umtali, textiles and cloth (through David Whitehead Sons (Rhod.) Ltd.), motor and mining trade (through Lonrho Investment Company) etc.

In 1970 a share leader was established – Coronation Syndicate (Corsynd) – with Tweefontein United Collieries riding on its back. In the background of both is Lonrho, which also has a controlling interest in both companies. The reason for Corsynd's popularity is because it made a major copper discovery in Rhodesia. Some future estimates of future profits from this new Inyati copper mine near Headlands have been made, with a net level of one million pounds sterling a year. South African Mangane, a subsidiary of Anglo-American, is prospecting near to Corsynd's Inyati mine. In addition, Corsynd operates four gold properties in Rhodesia – the Arcturus, the Muriel, the Mazoe Gold Mines and the recently bought Tatcoll Mining Co. Ltd. which holds an option over a dormant gold mine – the Ayrshire – north-east of Salisbury. Besides, half of the interests of the Nyaschere Copper (Private) are owned by Lonrho. It is also the owner of the Rhodesian Wattle Company with stretches of wattle tree forests in the Eastern Highlands on the border with the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Together with quite a good number of other companies, some of which include such well-known companies like the British South Africa Company and Tanganyika Concerns, Anglo-American founded (in 1957) the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company (Risco) which purchased from the government of Southern Rhodesia the active accounts of the iron and steel industry operating factories and works in the production of cast iron and steel in Bulawayo and Que Que. Earlier in 1951 Anglo-American took part in the construction of a factory which produces carbon alloy from chrome ore which is a very important raw material from which to

get specially treated grades of steel. Thus, the whole steel industry in Zimbabwe falls under the immediate control of Anglo-American.

For the stretch of the whole period of existence of Anglo-American, its interests were closely interlaced with the interests of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) which was founded by Cecil John Rhodes in 1889 and which played a major role in the seizure, by the British imperialists, of the territories of Zambia and Zimbabwe. The BSAC, which, up to 1923, was the administrative government of Southern Rhodesia, broadly invested its capital in such fields as forestry, citrus plantations, factories manufacturing citrus juice, flour and bread and metallurgical factories. It is also a source of credit for the small-scale enterprises.

Moreover, up to 1933 the BSAC profited, by the monopolist rights, on the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Zimbabwe and in Zambia it made use of corresponding rights up to the time Zambia gained independence. The BSAC is also the owner of huge areas of land in Malawi and Botswana.

In 1937 the BSAC exchanged a substantial packet of its shares for the shares of Anglo-American and up to date both groups have all their activities in close collaboration, of which especially characteristic was a reciprocal undertaking in the creation of new companies and the financing of those or other projects. As a result the BSAC became a co-proprietor of many companies falling under the complex of Anglo-American.

The close collaboration between Anglo-American and the BSAC ultimately led to the amalgamation of interests and to a full merger of the latter into the Oppenheimers. This was achieved by the creation, in March 1965, of a new huge investment undertaking – the Charter Consolidated – which came into being as a result of the amalgamation of the BSAC with the Central Mining and Investment Corporation and the Consolidated Mines Selection. The last of the mentioned companies is an old sister company of the Anglo-American group and since Anglo-American invested a substantial amount of shares (more than every one of the other two participants of the new undertaking), it became the owner of the controlling packet of the newly established firm (holding about 30% of the shares). Embracing the Charter Consolidated into its group, the Anglo-American considerably expanded the sphere of its activities.

These active accounts exceed 80 million pounds sterling and Charter Consolidated's investments in Southern Africa exceed those in-

vested in the rest of Africa by about three times and by over six times in the rest of the world excluding the UK and North America.

Besides being a sister company of the Anglo-American, where it has 10% reciprocal shareholding, Charter Consolidated acts as London agents. It has a 30% shareholding interest in the South West Africa Company Ltd. (SWACO) and a 32.8% shareholding in Selection Trust Ltd.

It must be admitted that the list of Anglo-American sister companies and its reciprocal shareholding interests are inexhaustible. And yet our analysis would not be quite complete if we do not mention the De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd.

In all the stages of its existence, the Anglo-American Corporation has been connected to the diamond-mining companies, of which De Beers is a sort of «a second twig» of the gigantic financial empire of the Oppenheimers. De Beers is a member of a world complex of diamond monopoly. Both De Beers and Anglo-American are closely connected to one another as important shareholders and as an interlacement of their interests in many various spheres.

In 1975 De Beers had a net consolidated profit of R221 million, showing an increase of R19 million or 9% over 1974. Some 25% of De Beers group profit is normally derived from mining operations in Namibia. The group's exploitation of the Namibian diamond resources is realised through The Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa.

Without going into detail on the Anglo-American activities in Namibia, it is common sense to know that since Namibia is a «colony» of South Africa its economic activities are geared to satisfy South African economic needs. Anglo-American has, thus, a complete control of the mining activities in Namibia. Where Japanese, West German companies have recently moved in Anglo-American has the controlling shareholding facilities.

The controversial Cabora Basa in Mozambique was built with an overwhelming Anglo-American capital investment. Anglo-American had a majority shareholding in the Zamco Consortium which built the Cabora Basa.

The Anglo-American Corporation Ltd. is the centrifugal economic giant in Southern Africa. It is an economic octopus spreading its fangs into all the neighbouring African states. Anglo-American has systematically absorbed absolutely all companies in Southern Africa into its sphere of economic activities. Its influence is felt even in matters of political decisions. In

fact it is the «invisible government» of the whole Southern Africa.

MINERAL WEALTH AND CHEAP LABOUR

THE MINING INDUSTRY

THE countries of Southern Africa are rich in raw material resources and not very many regions of the world can match, in size and variety of mineral wealth, with this, indeed, natural larder of minerals. In this region, there are the richest reserves of rare minerals and radioactive elements, big reserves of coal, diamonds – precious and industrial, asbestos, chrome, copper, iron, zinc, gold and other different precious minerals like emeralds, of which in volume of output, the countries of Southern Africa occupy a leading place in the world.

An exceptional role played by this region is in the supply of gold, diamonds, uranium, manganese, chrome, antimony etc. Among the countries of Southern Africa, South Africa plays a very important role, by size and total volume, in the mining industry in which she produces more than 40% of the total value of mineral raw materials of the whole of the continent of Africa put together.

The following figures for the South African production and export of minerals may help to substantiate this. (see next page)

As in South Africa, gold occupies a prominent place in the Rhodesian economy. Of the five major minerals listed in table 3, gold comes first in foreign currency earning. Strategic minerals like asbestos and chrome have shown a remarkable increase in production despite UN sanctions. The bulk of the chrome ore is exported to the USA which has been openly violating economic sanctions imposed on the illegal racist regime in Salisbury.

The value of mineral output for 1973 was R\$135.9 million, an increase in value of 26.5% over the previous year and 109.1% over 1965. Since UDI in 1965, the value of mineral production has increased at an average rate of 9.7%. Output continued to grow during 1974. The value of output for January to April was R\$55.8 million, a 46% increase compared with the first four months of 1973.

In recent months there has been an upsurge of mining activities in the three European ruled countries of Southern Africa. After the victory of the people of Angola over South African invasion forces, international mining companies seem to have decided to exploit as much mineral resources as possible while the going is still good. The significant increase of the number

AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA) IS AN AFRICAN COUNTRY

Production and export of minerals in South Africa

Type of Mineral	Production (metric tons)		Exports (R'000)	
	1972	1973	1972	1973
Antimony	24,109	25,870	11,062	12,446
Asbestos	320,628	333,954	35,153	44,614
Chrome	1,483,159	1,649,630	10,552	13,711
Coal	58,440,417	62,353,457	8,020	11,996
Copper	161,927	176,536	81,833	107,363
Iron Ore	11,223,455	10,955,336	16,238	21,099
Limestone & Lime	15,615,157	17,834,752	485	574
Manganese	3,373,155	4,242,157	30,626	44,410
Phosphates	1,965,998	2,062,804	36	38
Diamond ('000 carats)	7,395,000	6,928,100	n.a.	n.a.
Vermiculite	147,903	156,461	2,614	3,423
Gold	909,600	855,600	1,159,900	1,787,000

With a total value of R1,787 million in 1973, gold plays a leading part in South Africa's export earnings. It is to be noted that the oil crisis had an adverse effect on the total mineral production, especially of iron ore, diamonds and gold.

The high price of gold continued, despite a fall in production, to contribute to increases in South African export earnings and to the profits of the gold companies. It also prompted further investments – in March, 1974 the Anglo-American and Gold Fields of South Africa both announced plans to invest R100m. each in opening new mines. It should be noted that of a total of 410 thousand people working in the gold mines, 370 thousand are Africans and about two million people in south Africa and nearby countries are dependent on income from the gold mines. (Mining Survey, April 1974).

The devaluation of the rand early this year (1976) had an impact on mineral production in South Africa. It has meant a cut down on the introduction of new mining techniques which had been meant to supplement for the shortage of cheap labour caused by the stoppage of labour recruitment by the Malawi and Lesotho governments.

Mineral production in Namibia

	1969	1970	1971	1972
Copper Ore, '000 metric tons	25,5	22,8	25,9	21,5
Lead Concentrates, '000 metric tons	75,7	70,5	73,2	59,0
Zinc Concentrates, '000 metric tons	38,2	46,1	48,9	46,3
Manganese Ore, '000 metric tons	7,6	6,0	n.a.	n.a.
Salt, '000 metric tons	1,024	1,044	965	910
Silver, metric tons	39,6	38	44	35
Vanadium, metric tons	450	600	660	545
Diamonds, '000 carats	2,024	1,865	1,648	1,596

Although the South African Department of Foreign Affairs has imposed an embargo on the release of figures concerning the mining industry in Namibia, there were a number of indications that both output and sales were expanding. These included:

1) sales of base minerals during 1973 showed an increase of 54% compared with the previous year; (Windhoek Advertiser – 10.4.74)

2) diamond sales in 1973 were R147 million – a 66% increase compared with 1972; (Sunday Times, Johannesburg – 14.4.74)

3) expenditure by mining companies in 1973 was R27 million; (Sunday Times, S.A.).

4) during 1973 eighteen foreign companies were prospecting in Namibia. (Windhoek Advertiser, 21.5.74).

AZANIA (SOUTH AFRICA) IS AN AFRICAN COUNTRY

Level of mining operations in Rhodesia (1963 – 65)

	Production (tons)			Value R\$'000		
	1963	1964	1965	1963	1964	1965
Gold ('000 fine oz.)	566	574	550	14,202	14,456	13,790
Asbestos	142,255	153,451	176,151	11,994	13,696	17,050
Chrome Ore	412,394	493,371	645,500	3,790	4,438	5,248
Coal	3,020,889	3,351,000	3,868,385	6,156	6,864	7,744
Copper	18,488	18,341	19,819	6,468	8,312	12,566

Total value of mineral production in Rhodesia (1965 = 1973)

Year	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Value (R\$'000)	64.0	65.2	66.7	67.3	87.7	98.7	101.2	107.4	135.9

of exclusive prospecting orders shows that mineral deposits in Southern Africa do not respect the change in political climate.

LABOUR POLICY

THE unfortunate part with all these economic activities is that they are almost exclusively for the benefit of only those peoples of European origin. Although the Africans play a very major role in the mining and processing of mineral resources, their share of the high profits is very minimal, if not void. The attempt to maintain racial segregation in the employment of African and Coloured workers in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia attracted worldwide attention. The racial system which the European settlers, more especially the Boers, are attempting to maintain in those countries has its roots in religious as well as racial attitudes which developed on the frontier during the eighteenth century.

Although during an earlier period racial distinctions existed, the drawing of a rigid line between Christian and Heathen, which came to mean European and African, grew out of the determination on the part of the Boer frontiersman to dominate other men as well as his environment. When later the conflict developed between the Boer and the Bantu, these attitudes had become crystallized and latent.

The attempt to maintain a racial system in the occupational structure has resulted from the industrialisation and the increase of foreign capital in Southern Africa. The movement of the Boers from the farms to the cities threw them into competition with Africans and Coloureds who had constituted the majority of unskilled labour.

The idea that skin-colour and not skill sho-

uld be the determining factor in the economic hierarchy and wage levels was developed quite naturally and ignorantly by the former pastoralists as a defense against the levelling tendencies of industrialisation. When it became apparent, however, that not all poor Europeans were mindful of the superiority of their pigmentation, and that some, as the result of proximity and a «low» standard of living, were even «going Kaffir», the settler authorities found it necessary to take administrative action on their behalf. The action which was taken was directed mainly against the Africans, although the Coloureds were affected too in the areas where they performed most of the unskilled work.

The result of this premediated action is that the African has no control over the wealth in his own country. To drive the point home, the European settler decided to create Bantustans (South Africa and Namibia) and Tribal Trust Land – TTL (Rhodesia), where land is barren and unproductive. Sometimes Africans are dumped in forests where they have to start from scratch: hew down big trees to clear ground for new houses and fields. And as soon as they just start to settle down, they are again moved away from the land they would have tilled and cultivated. In other words, African land should never be productive; once it is discovered to be productive – by way of being fertile or the presence of minerals – then it ceases to be African.

All this leads us to conclude that an African can only be used as an implement for the betterment of European life in Southern Africa as well as in those capitalist countries which invest big sums of money in these countries. The only role an African can play in the economy is that of a source of cheap labour. in «Wage la-

bour and Capital» Marx puts the picture in Southern Africa very smartly: «...labour is the worker's own life-activity, the manifestation of his own life. And this life-activity he sells to another person in order to secure the necessary means of subsistence. Thus his life-activity is for him only a means to enable him to exist » (K. Marx, Wage labour and Capital, Moscow, 1974, p.20.)

The African is forced to sell his «life-activity» to the European settlers and other industrialists from Europe. The compulsion to sell one's life-activity is revealed in the imposition of a tax (chibaro) on African males who do not work, on cattle and dogs. If a man does not pay these taxes, he is liable to imprisonment or he is sent to a forced labour camp (mutandizi). The most important single factor responsible for the entrance of the African into European employment has been the lack of land on which he could provide food for himself and his family and to pay the taxes. Therefore, these taxes are the only possible method of compelling the African to leave his TTL for the purpose of seeking work.

As a result of this existing system of discrimination in Southern Africa, the African worker gets wages ranging from about four to twenty times less than a worker of European origin. Besides, the average life expectancy of an African in Southern Africa remains between 37 and 40 years, when at the same time that of a European settler is by 30 years more. Moreover, from every five African families in Southern Africa, four suffer from hunger and malnutrition.

Whatever procedure is followed, African workers are left completely at the mercy of European employers and European settlers. They cannot bargain, negotiate or back their fair demands by withdrawing their labour. In this defenceless position, they are callously exploited.

The traditional policy of paying Africans lower wages than European workers, to the point of gross discrimination, is clearly expressed in the following tables of comparative earnings.

Average annual wages in South Africa (Rands) – 1973

Industry	African	European
1. Agricultural (1972).....	44.06	1,262.38
2. Mining and Quarrying	354.79	5,670.74
3. manufacturing (1972).....	725.09	4,289.21
4. Construction	854.58	4,926.36
5. electricity & Sanitary Services	961.08	5,141.18
6. Wholesale & Retail Trade.....	717.27	2,974.25
7. State Employment	1,033.69	4,201.20
8. Transport (Railways & Harbours)	859.97	4,593.37

The gap between African and European wages is so wide that it will take years of intensive negotiations and lobbying to narrow it. If the ratio is 1:6 in the manufacturing industry, it is 1:16 in the mining and quarrying and 1:29 in the agricultural industry. This big wage gap is coupled with the «law» that an African cannot negotiate for a rise in his wages.

In Rhodesia, the ratios vary from 1:8 in the manufacturing industry to 1:14 in the mining and quarrying and 1:22 in the agricultural industry. The intensity of exploitation of African by European is less in Rhodesia than in South Africa if we take into consideration the fact that the average wages of the African in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) is compared to that of a non-African, in which category fall Europeans, Coloureds and Asians.

It is difficult to give a more general comparison of African and European wages in Namibia because employers are reticent about provi-

ding the information. A sample survey in January 1973 showed that Africans are very underpaid. The starting salary for European settlers in the Tsumeb mines is over R8,400 annually as compared to 211.20 – 235.20 rands. A European municipality electrician at Omaruru earns R3.768 – 4.380 annually while an African earns about 105.50 – 117.50.

The heartless exploitation of African workers in Southern Africa does not benefit only European settlers. Foreign investors are also profiting from the countries' cheap African labour policies. British, American, German and other West European manufacturers who have establishments in Southern Africa are swelling their profits because they are allowed and even encouraged to pay their African employees as little as one-fifth the rates payable for similar work in their own countries.

The profits earned by foreign firms in southern Africa are a measure of their share in

apartheid and racism. There is little evidence to show that they are making any real effort to improve the lot of Southern Africa's African workers. A few may be trying to apply a fair-wage policy, but in the main most are quite happy to extract every last cent of profit from their investment in apartheid South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia, regardless of the poverty and suffering of their African employees.

CONCLUSION

This study has revealed, beyond any considerable doubt, that South Africa (which can no longer be classified under the so-called «Third World Bloc») is now the «big power» of Southern Africa. Thus, all the other countries, still underdeveloped, are wholly dependent on South Africa.

As the above analysis has shown, South Africa on her own would not have developed such an aggressive economy. Even up to now most of her economic achievement is due to the technological and financial help she gets from her «kith and kin» - this imperialist powers. more than 80% of South Africa's industrial production - apart from State Corporations - is controlled directly or indirectly by foreign companies. Direct foreign investment has increased since 1963 from R1,970m. to R4.525m. up to 1971 (The Johannesburg Star, 24.2.73.). As has been shown, the imperialist powers are attracted by the vast mineral wealth and cheap labour in Southern Africa.

The implications of the recent mineral finds in Southern Africa must be construed as encouraging for western capital. Perhaps no geologist would be prepared to support the theory of an almost endless and inexhaustible series of major mineral finds throughout the middle of Africa right up into Zaire. But it is beginning to look more and more as though the Zambian and Zairian copperbelts are only part of an immense mineral structure starting at Prieska in the northern Cape Province of South Africa, running over into Namibia and up through Botswana and Zimbabwe, through Zambia, Angola and into Zaire.

The activities of British, West German, French, US and now joined by Japanese capital in Southern Africa are a testimony of the huge economic profits involved. All this points to the fact that Southern Africa has become a «hereditary» of international capitalist and financial monopolies, in which the racists do not represent themselves as independent governments, in the full sense of the word, but are, in actual fact, young partners of those capitalist monopolies, executing their will.

It is clear that in the hands of the USA and her allies, first and foremost Britain, stand the commanding means of influence because the whole economy of South Africa depends mainly on the economic and trade relationships and the influx of capital from the western countries.

Facts indicate that the imperialists do not even think about economic or diplomatic sanctions against the administrators of racism; about joint action to boycott goods from South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia as announced by the African governments in the United Nations. Moreover, the relationships, in economic as well as political fields, between the USA, Britain, West Germany, France, Japan on one hand and Southern Africa on the other, promote the strengthening of the reactionary character of the governments of the nationalist Party in South Africa and the Rhodesian Front in Rhodesia.

The initiative lies squarely in the hands of the African majority who provide the much needed cheap labour in those countries. The wave of labour unrest in Namibia in 1971-72 and in South Africa in 1973 demonstrated that the African population holds a very vital position in the economies of the racist regimes in Southern Africa. One other outcome of those protests was demonstration of armed blackmail against unarmed African workers. It was demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt that an African has no right to complain about bad working and living conditions or to withdraw his labour force. If he does, then the racist settlers are prepared to use guns to force him back to work.

It is to be noted that these firearms are provided by the imperialist countries with the excuse that they are «fighting against communism». The African has long disputed this theory. The naked fact is that US, British, French and West German arms are put into the hands of racists to repress African aspirations and to promote capitalist exploitation in Southern Africa. Today South Africa is openly attached to the military-colonial bloc of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

If an African in Southern Africa is not allowed to share the wealth in his own land, if he is not allowed to form trade unions and to strike, then the question of running his own affairs, i.e. of governing is a mere dream. The European settlers are very determined to use force to suppress any such feeling connected with self-rule or independence. If an African has been shot at in a peaceful demonstration of economic reforms, the question of majority

rule has only to be solved in an armed confrontation.

The analysis of the major aspects of western capital investments has been considered in relationship to the economic and political organisation of the modern world. This involves a treatment of the economic, political and racial aspects of the problem of liberation which corresponds roughly to the imperialist power system in the whole world. These imperialist power systems have come into existence largely as the result of the change in the relationships between the developed and the underdeveloped peoples – a fact which is made clear in the controversies and debates in the United Nations and its sub-organisations like the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The racial conflicts which have developed in Southern Africa represent an aspect of how capital investments are directly a stumbling-block to the struggle for national independence and ecological organisa-

tion of race relations on a world-wide scale.

Using South Africa, the Western capitalist powers (especially the USA) had extended their hand of oppression into Angola. The number of European citizens (mercenaries) allowed and still being allowed by European governments to go and massacre the people of Angola and Zimbabwe, respectively, is a demonstration of the determination of the Western power to keep the people of Africa under perpetual economic and political slavery.

In the face of this unconcerned and intransigent attitude of the capitalist powers, it is up to the Africans in Southern Africa to explore new channels and search for new methods of liberating themselves from the yoke of imperialism. Since the Western power are prepared to back South Africa in her military and political aggression, there is no reason why Africans should fold their arms and wait for miracles. «We are our own liberators»!

On the Call to «Return to the Classics» and African Revolutionary Intellectuals

By Wamba-dia-Wamba

Kazu Wamba-Dia-Wamba reflects on some of the weaknesses of the modern Marxist-Leninist movements especially in the West and offers some interesting thoughts on Mao Tsetung as the foremost Marxist theoretician and

«Return to the classics» is once again being heard as the general call of the day, especially in the «communist» movement of the West. With it the number of discussion circles, study groups and the «how to read ...» documents has risen rapidly. Many documents of the proletarian movement once out of circulation, are now being more and more re-edited. But, most often, this call is not combined with a particular and specific guidance on how to conduct this «return to the classics» concretely. No

practitioner of our age together with other interesting insights into the nature of revisionism and the universal significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. exit

correct leadership is provided in this very important matter: people are left unclear about which materials are «the classics», why those materials and not others, and why it is necessary today to «return to the classics». With African 'intellectuals' usually not rooted in the African masses of people, the situation is particularly serious since the call to «return to the classics» is haunted by a «search for African classics to return to».

In any case, some «revolutionaries» have in-

terpreted the call to mean «the necessity of memorizing the materials of some revolutionary heroes; the more of which one reads and remembers, the better». No attempt is made at dealing with the fundamental principle of revolutionary theory, **the unity (inseparability) of theory and practice under the usual dominance of practice**. Of course, the «bookish revolutionaries» have found a way of passing around the primacy of practice by autonomizing what they call «theoretical practice», often reduced to the analysis of texts. Even when we are in the period in which the 'creation of theory and advocacy of theory are primary', this does not mean that practice may be bypassed. It means that in the contradiction theory/practice, which is the essence of the process of knowledge, theory is the principal aspect of the contradiction; that the systematization of practical revolutionary experiences is *what permits the movement to advance; that it is of no real value to keep accumulating quantitatively similar experiences, to repeat them; for what is needed is a qualitative leap, a rational synthesis immediately followed by its application, which is its verification*. The formation of small 'pre-party' groups can go on indefinitely, the mere increase of number, for example, won't bring us a «party of the new type».

In brief, what does «returning to the classics» mean in general and for Africa in particular? In this essay, I will propose at least one meaning and its practice.

The world communist movement has been undergoing a number of internal crises, — during this period of capitalist/imperialist crisis requiring a very strong working class revolutionary movement —, crises which often trigger the call to «return to the classics».¹ Since the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) in February 1956, with its officialization of the process of 'de-Stalinization' the movement has been in a deep crisis; non-antagonistic contradictions within the communist movement have tended to become antagonistic. As we know, Khrushchev's 'bourgeois' coup d'état, ideologically ju-

stified by «de-Stalinization» and 'the radical change of world conditions', led ultimately to the Sino-Soviet conflict, culminating into a split into two camps of the international communist/socialist movement. The development of this conflict, especially after the Soviet «invasion» of Czechoslovakia, took many dramatic forms up to military engagement at the Sino-Soviet frontiers. Communist movements in each social formation were forced — most of the time solicited by both sides — to take a stand. For those countries in an intensive ideological, political and armed struggle against imperialism and its local allies, the split in the world communist movement was very painfully felt and hard to deal with. Still, being involved in a practical revolutionary experience, they were in a better position to see the validity or invalidity of the various conflicting positions.

MAO-TSE-TUNG THOUGHT AND MODERN REVISIONISM

In its ideological struggle aspect, the conflict took the form of struggle between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and Modern Revisionism; which side was dominant in a particular local movement depended on the country and the historical formation of its communist movement. In Western countries, for example, revisionism has tended to be dominant in their communist movements. It is true, however, that after the Communist Party of China has successfully and continuously exposed the revisionist stands of the C.P.S.U., internal struggles in many Western countries' communist parties led to various forms of scission from the parties and creation of self-styled 'anti-revisionist party' groups. On the ideological basis a subtle distinction emerged between Marxism, Marxism-Leninism and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Revisionism² is a form of accommodation to the ruling class. It is a form of ideological alignment to the stand of the ruling class as a result of an 'ideological deficiency' allowing the penetration of the dominant ideology in the ranks of the communist movement. It implies giving

up the proletarian struggle for the seizure of state power and the consequent exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat and concentrating on a struggle for gradual improvement of the economic conditions of the proletariat. Its «hope» is that these improvements will lead to a «peaceful» transition to socialism. In other words, revisionism is faking the stand of the bourgeoisie, i.e., acting politically, ideologically and organizationally as if the antagonistic contradiction bourgeoisie/proletariat has become, is in a process of becoming or could become a non-antagonistic one with the 'development of the productive forces' under the bourgeois rule. While revisionism has always haunted the communist movement from its very beginning — and major theoretical/ideological interventions by the great proletarian leaders have been stands against various forms of revisionism in the communist movement — modern revisionism could be traced to the conditions of class struggle in the Soviet Union under Stalin which led, with Khrushchev's 'bourgeois' coup d'état, to the victory of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union if not just in the international communist movement. Fundamentally, modern revisionism means a failure to exercise correctly proletarian class dictatorship after the proletariat has successfully seized state power and thus allowing under different forms the restoration of the bourgeois rule. A number of interesting studies on this question have been done or are under way.³ I can only refer the reader to them to substantiate the very brief remarks which follow.

The crucial conjuncture of intensive class struggles concentrating on the struggle between capitalism and infant socialism, i.e., on the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led by Stalin as the focal point, made the beginning of the exercise of the proletarian dictatorship extremely difficult and hence tendencies towards deviationist errors becoming also more and more difficult to avoid. The exercise of the proletarian dictatorship became more and more centralist and less and less democratic. All contradictions among the people tended to be

handled as if they were all antagonistic, i.e. contradictions between the people and the enemy, principally the proletarian class enemy, the bourgeoisie. The conjuncture called for firmness, determination and patience on the part of the leadership which often gave priority, if not exclusivity, to the first two. This explains why the political line represented by Stalin in the C.P.S.U. became dominant and Stalin the leading force. It is important to study Stalinism (the practice and theoretical systematization as expressions of Stalin's leadership), i.e. to practice historical materialism in relation to the form and content of Marxism-Leninism under Stalin. To practice historical materialism in relation to Marxism is to identify and analyze in depth the current most advanced experience of the proletarian victorious mastery of the contradiction bourgeoisie/proletariat. Which aspects of Stalinism helped advance such a mastery and which ones tended to retard it? **Under the leadership of Khrushchev the C.P.S.U.'s analysis of Stalinism is a failure to practice historical materialism. It fails to distinguish Stalin's correct practices from his deviationist errors.**

STALIN'S EMPHASIS ON HEAVY INDUSTRY

Stalin⁴ was the leader of the first state of the proletarian dictatorship. His conception of the *real movement* of such a state is largely based on the requirement of a concentrated and accelerated development of productive forces with heavy industry as a core. To actualize such a development, all obstacles had to be broken, if need be, and more and more so in practice, by terror. It was necessary to conduct a voluntaristic, state and violent class struggle. Stalin justified the emphasis on centralism with the wrong and deviationist doctrine of the «end of the class struggle in the SOviet Union» and the emphasis on the primacy of the «development» of productive forces, opening the door to economism. After all, as the development of productive forces is in line with capitalist accumulation as well, the

bourgeoisie stands for it as a material basis for the realization of profit. The real basis of antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is centered around the capitalist mode of appropriation of surplus labour and surplus product. The proletarian seizure of state power, though opening the real process towards the socialist transformation of such a mode of appropriation, does not automatically lead to the complete defeat of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a communist mode of appropriation. Stalin's principal intervention on the question of dialectics⁵ shows clearly his deviationist tendency as expression of choices of the line, circumstances and what he conceived as the main adversary. The importance attached to industrial accumulation forces him to favor the quantitative aspect as a promise of the qualitative leap; the imperialist encirclement, the obsession with the foreign subversion find themselves reflected in his law of the general **interdependence** of all phenomena. The gigantic **hope** colored by a «violent voluntarism», which characterizes Stalin, is seen in the conviction that **what develops necessarily will win**.

All those aspects color his theory of contradictions with a certain firm rigidity giving preference to a latent **evolutive materialism** over a **dynamic materialism**, i.e. over a theory of the internal scission and development by conflicting sequences. His four principles of Marxist dialectical method, while being a qualitative improvement over those of Engels, fail to formulate rigorously the primacy of contradiction over identity which is the kernel of materialist dialectics. It is not very clear how the four principles relate to one another; : the question of the structure (combination of terms of a process) seems to be separated from that of the **tendency** (the determinant action of the principal term of contradiction). This is a reflection of the fact that the communist **future** is not clearly conceived of from the inside of the contradictory **movement itself which determines the proletarian and dictatorial present. Communism seems to be conceived of as being guaranteed by the gradual**

and accelerated development of productive forces. The fundamental contradiction tended to be conceived of as that between the socialist Soviet Union and the capitalist/imperialist world rather than the struggle between two lines or roads, the capitalist road and the socialist road within the Soviet Union as well as within the whole world. Socialism is the transitional period which struggles against and defeats the capitalist road and lays the foundation for communism.

RISE OF REVISIONISM

As is normally the case in the history of class struggles, Stalinism gave rise to all kinds of revisionism: empiricism, humanism and dogmatism. Those who lost their optimism about «socialism», especially those who were not directly involved in the practice of leading the exercise of proletarian dictatorship against the always imminent possibility of bourgeois restoration, fell back into the bourgeois cult of humanism based on the abstract 'human nature' — as opposed to the historical materialist concept of man as a set of concrete social relationships. The emphasis on centralism intensified the division in the communist movement itself, some taking the side of the emphasis on «democratic», etc. One always divides into two. In brief, utopian socialism, idealism and mechanistic materialism, first dealt with by Marx and Engels, then by Lenin, were gradually restored in the movement struggling against Stalinism; and due to the deviationist errors (due to Stalin's incorrect handling of contradictions among the people) of Stalin those factions became more and more reinforced. This explains the mental acceptance in the movement of Khrushchev's program of «de-Stalinization». His program emphasising «pacific coexistence» sounded like a real shift of the position of the fundamental contradiction in the sense outlined above. Only those countries (China and Albania principally) which practically felt the consequences of the true nature of the shift were clear from the start of the real character of the C.P.S.U.'s political line under the

leadership of Khrushchev. The proletarian counter attack culminating in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution came principally from there.

Very soon the contradictions between comradesly parties, the C.P.S.U. on one hand and the C.P.C. (the Communist Party of China) and the Labor Party of Albania on the other hand, became antagonistic. Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha representing their respective parties found it essential to publicly denounce the real nature of the 'Soviet renegade clique' and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. rather than, under the pretext of non-interference, practice 'blind followism'. Dogmatists of today fail to see that this was the greatest interference in the Communist movement which came at the right time and gave correct orientation to the world proletarian movement. This is a very brief outline of how the split in the communist movement came about. Due to the un-Marxist tendency in the communist movement of considering a communist party ('big brother party') as the point of reference of correctness rather than assessing each situation on the basis of historical materialist principles, the split has led to a generalized crisis in the whole movement. The search for a 'new big brother party' may not resolve this crisis.

Since then, Marxist-Leninist and leftist groups have been emerging like mushrooms, each pretending to be right and accusing the others of being wrong. The number of the so-called pre-party formations (meaning: pre-contrarevisionist party or pre-new type party formations) has increased rapidly. At the same time the pro-C.P.S.U. communist parties have tended to become more and more revisionist.⁶ The French Communist Party, for example, has recently rejected the basic Marxist-Leninist concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat aligning itself with Khrushchev's notion of the «state of the whole people». This notion is in contradiction with the Marxist conception of the State as a material condensation of class conflict or realization of a particular class dicta-

torship. Trends leading towards communism have been in real jeopardy, indeed.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (G.P.C.R.) has been an important revolutionary movement trying to reverse the capitalist restoration trend. Mao Tse-tung wrote:

«Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist...Leninist line. The present great proletarian cultural revolution is only the first of its kind. In the future such revolutions must take place ... All Party members and the population at large must guard against believing ... that everything will be fine after one, two, three or four cultural revolutions. We must pay close attention and we must not relax our vigilance.⁷

NATURE AND MEANING OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In the period in which revisionism is the rising trend in the revolutionary movement, cultural revolution is the form the proletarian revolutionary struggle takes to deal with revisionism and correctly exercise proletarian dictatorship. The G.P.C.R. developed a mass criticism of revisionism, a fron-

tal attack against the new bourgeoisie — inside the Communist Movement — historically contemporary with imperialism and proletarian revolution.⁸ It is a revolution, not just a vast mass movement, a big revolt or an intensive episode of class struggle. It is a global movement: it confronted power and the state to dislocate from there the bourgeoisie through a relationship of radical antagonism, it generated new forms of power and an extended program on the basis of the targets of class struggles and of the revolutionary directives; it made a qualitative progress in the working class and people's hold on the affairs of the state; it clarified and reduced the objective foundations of the state and Bourgeois Law. It is a proletarian revolution; dictatorship of the proletariat or dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, continuation of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat or capitalist restoration: those are the alternatives for all classes and strata of people, workers, peasants, students, etc. The working class is itself profoundly divided by the political struggle; from its internal political scission and its revolutionary resolution emerge new organs of power: revolutionary committees of triple alliance. Workers' detachments lead in universities and schools, the installment of the new policy, etc. The G.P.C.R. is a struggle for the materialization of the proletarian class hegemony.

It is a proletarian revolution of our time; it is the historical response to capitalist restoration in the USSR, the revisionist degeneration of a big fraction of the old international communist movement. The G.P.C.R. unmasks the presence of the bourgeoisie in the party, in the state, and permits to synthesize the nature of the new bureaucratic state bourgeoisie, the support of social-fascism or bureaucratic dictatorship as a form of power and of modern revisionism as a pseudo-Marxist ideology. The working class emerges from it as a leading class on the condition that it constitutes itself into a political class; it formulates and practices its proper policy, ideology and theory. The working class as a leading class is, through its general headquarters (the party), the leading

core of the whole people. The general headquarters must therefore be capable of supporting the revolutionary road in the class struggles in the countryside, in those in education, art, culture, etc. ... the party line and Marxism-Leninism guide the whole people.

The G.P.C.R. teaches us that only great mass movements can assail the revisionist bourgeoisie because they generate revolutionary policy and program. There is no anti-revisionism except incarnated by revolutionary movement and revolutionary policy. The task of communists, of their organization, is to act in such a way as to make the proletarian revolutionary class viewpoint dominant inside the mass movement i.e., to reinforce the leading aspect of the class hegemony.

MAOISM IS MARXISM OF OUR TIME

The Cultural Revolution is the historical basis of Maoism, the Marxism of our time. Maoism is a stand on the recent characteristics of the revolution, a stand in relation to important questions of policy, theory and ideology. Maoism is the current relationship of mass movements to politics, to class struggles. Maoism defines or redefines, in the concrete conditions of our time, the space of politics. That space is not reducible to its ideological formulation, Mao Tse-tung thought; its axis is the **struggle of classes in the reality of today**. Maoism is the practice and reality of that theory. In relation to the basic concepts of materialist dialectics, Maoism makes, learning from the school of history and class struggles a reformulation of the great concepts such as:

— **class**: Which kind of bourgeoisie is the bourgeoisie inside the CPC of which Mao speaks? It is certainly not defined as owner of the means of production. Similarly, should the working class under socialism be defined in terms of the relations of production, in political terms? The new bureaucratic state bourgeoisie, the social basis of modern revisionism, is a new bourgeoisie different (but in addition to) the

competitive, monopoly, compradore, etc. ... bourgeoisie. Maoism affirms that to analyze relations of production of our time the starting point is politics. We must study the social basis of political classes.

— **class/mass/state:** Mass revolt and class struggle must fuse in the revolutionary program. The revolutionary program formulates the targets of the working class and popular antagonism against the bourgeois state. The task of the party is to be the proletarian general headquarters of the mass movement and the whole people.

— **class struggle and proletarian dictatorship:** «The dictatorship of the proletariat is the continuation of class struggle under other forms.» (Lenin) To extend the recognition of class struggle to that of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not to abandon class struggle in favor of the state and the party, it is, on the contrary, to conceive of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of power which is itself under the law of class struggle. The important concept today is not the dictatorship of the proletariat but the articulation between class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. In this point of view, to remove the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat from its economic and state connotation, we must extend the recognition of class struggle up to that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also extend the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat up to that of the class struggle.

Those are, in schematic form, the basic teachings of the G.P.C.R. which, due to uneven development and modern revisionism in the communist movement, have been understood differently. While some take the G.P.C.R. as the most advanced proletarian revolution of our time, others still think of it as an episode in the history of class struggles. **In the West, at least, eurocentrism and white chauvinism**

have been among other things the ideological support which makes modern revisionism refuse to accept the mass criticism of it coming from the G.P.C.R. In Africa, Western ideological domination, the low level of productive forces generally have made it very difficult to practice self-reliance in theoretical understanding, elaboration and application. Mass criticism of the class which has brought colonial restoration after independence in African countries, has been made; its systematization introduced by A. Cabral needs to be developed. What is the nature of this class of 'Black White' or 'Black colonialists'? Can it be defined in terms of its relationship to the basic means of production? It is neither a compradore bourgeoisie, nor a national bourgeoisie. We will examine this in the second part of this paper.

WHAT IS REVISIONISM

Revisionism really means that the bourgeois line (in culture, in economics, in politics, in ideology) is restored inside the working class movement and the two line struggle is carried out more and more against the working class line. The working class through the incorrect leadership of its party and trade-unions, is still accepting the bourgeois leading aspect of class hegemony instead of destroying it and developing its own leading aspect of proletarian hegemony. With the new developments of the current proletarian mastery of the contradiction bourgeoisie/proletariat, the two line struggle in the movement has heated up and all kinds of factionalism, sectarianism, opportunism and 'small groupism' have been emerging making it very difficult to read and grasp correctly Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, let alone practice it. Such sectarian groups (breaking from the now revisionist party or within it) pretend to possess and practice the «genuine revolutionary theory» while denouncing other sectarian groups as revisionists, dogmatists and opportunists. What is new, what is old, what is correct, what is deviationist, etc. has become difficult to assess correctly. It has become difficult to practice historical materialism

in relation to revolutionary theory. Hence, the emergence of the so-called «independent Marxist-Leninists» often reinforcing anarchism rather than strengthening the practice of Mao's directive, «dare to think, dare to count on your own forces in dialectical materialist knowledge». Instead of striving at uniting the working class, «sectarian two line struggles» have tended to confuse it and divide it further, thereby reinforcing the imperialist bourgeoisie. Even in matters of revolutionary strategy, certain sectarian groups have found themselves defending with the imperialist bourgeoisie the same line. We saw this around the struggles in Africa, the area vis-a-vis which the West, especially, has not yet relaxed its eurocentrism and white chauvinism.* We live this experience every day where the sectarian «parties» proclaim themselves to be «the Party». Purges are followed by counter-purges. Class struggle has tended to be reduced to ideological struggle: the validity of a political line was sought not from the practice it guides, but through a «victory» in theoretical debates supported by quotations — often out of context — from the «classics». Ideological «shows» are organized to evaluate the correctness of a political line.

MARXIST-LENINIST WHO ARE REVISIONISTS

The calls to unity (e.g. «unity of Marxist-Leninists») are constantly issued; but, «unity can only be principled unity» and it is precisely about Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung thought principles that many so-called «revolutionaries» are no longer clear. And without such a clarity how can one criticize and help correct others in a principled manner? «Unity, criticism, self-criticism, unity again» methods have become rituals; criticism and self-criticism have become closing prayers at the end of mee-

tings with no real life in them. Rather than material conditions determining people's consciousness, their consciousness has become what the people themselves say. Criticism and self-criticism have become bureaucratic principles of sectarian groups. There is no way of differentiating their use of those principles and the use made of them by revisionists. Through such ideological entertainment, genuine revolutionaries have been driven off the correct revolutionary road. Some groups call the bureaucratic activities inside these sectarian groups «revolutionary activities»; they believe that revolution is a by-product of a party. They fail to see that the party itself is an outcome of the development of the revolutionary movement. They forget that the party must at all times «struggle» with itself and relate itself to the masses. Once it becomes an elite, it betrays the revolution.⁸ The party's job is not to do things for the people, but to teach the people to become the decision-makers, master policies and carry them out themselves. «It is to the advantage of tyrants», wrote Mao, «that the people remain stupid; it is to our advantage that they be intelligent».⁹ Depending on how the party acts on itself and on the social class relations, the revolution will be well served or not. Whose headquarters are those sectarian parties? How are they going to dislocate the new bourgeoisie and its form of power from the ranks of the working class if they remain organizationally, ideologically and politically outside of it? What does it mean to confront antagonistically the revisionist form of power? Is it simply to issue slogans, directives and orders from a «sectarian corner»?

The struggle waged by the working people of the Third World,, the current zones of tempests, have been getting contradictory and scattered support from the «advanced» capitalist countries' working class movements. While they have helped lay bare the true nature of those movements, the struggles have not necessarily led to a unifying tendency of all those sectarian «revolutionary» formations which keep growing like mushrooms. The problem is with the leadership of the movement itself.

* From this point of view, Black Africans cannot be themselves. They are appendages of either the U.S.S.R., Cuba, China, the Arabs, or the West.

Under these circumstances, fundamental questions about Marxist theory and revolutionary science have come to the fore. What are today the correct Marxist theory and politics? The internal crisis in the movement has also produced what we may call «theoretical underdevelopment», often facilitating the restoration in the movement of bourgeois ideas (expression of the level of development of capitalist productive forces). The bourgeois class hegemony is still active in the working class movement and its vanguard which still adopts the bourgeois directives even in relation to theory and science generally. This is by no means new: after the defeat of the Russian proletariat of 1905, Bogdanov and his dogmatist comrades, due to their dogmatism and thus incorrect understanding of materialist dialectics, fell under the influence of idealist ideas of Ernest Mach. They believed Mach's ideas to be the most advanced. We have today our Jacques Monod, Gaston Bachelard, Michel Foucault, Thomas Khun, Noam Chomsky, Jacques Lacan, etc. whose epistemological idealism influences revolutionary «cadres» today. Repeating phrases, slogans and sayings of revolutionary heroes outside context won't help us grasp the new conjuncture we live in. The conjuncture clearly requires of revolutionaries the necessary articulation and elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory. In each new conjuncture, its complex dialectics has to be worked out anew. Otherwise even once historically correct theoretical formulations will prove useless to grasp the current situation: analogical thinking is not identical with concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Unless we tie theory and practice together we are parroting.

PRACTICE AND ORGANISATION

«Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement,» (Lenin)¹⁰ A rational synthesis of the various scattered revolutionary experiences is called for. Repeating ad infinitum the same experiences won't develop the movement. Those experiences are needed. For without them, **without an organized practice (only organization allows the**

centralization of experiences), there is no systematization or knowledge. Without an organized application there is no plan for testing theory, no verification and no truth. Theory can but generate idealist absurdities. Practice is internal (inside) the rational movement of truth. In its opposition to theory, practice is an integral part of knowledge. It is not any kind of practice which is the anchorage of revolutionary theory, it is the revolt against reactionaries.¹¹ Without a revolutionary movement there are no revolutionaries either, although there may be organic intellectuals of the exploited classes trying to deal with the daily ideological requirements of the mass resistance movement. We cannot just be practical otherwise we realize certain theories or lines **routinely**. We cannot just be theoretical, otherwise what we conceive of will be often unrealizable.¹² For revolutionaries to have a worst picture of the reality of the development of the contradiction bourgeoisie/proletariat than that of the bourgeoisie reflects an appalling form of 'ideological deficiency'. After all, it is the masses who make history including that of knowledge. If 'revolutionaries', who keep repeating 'revolutionary phrases', cannot grasp scattered ideas of mass resistance against which bourgeois ideological intervention is geared, how can they systematize them and thus provide ideological leadership to the mass movement?

How is it that «revolutionaries» fail to grasp the concrete forms of such mass initiative? «Learning» revolutionary theory (i.e., established revolutionary positions in the concrete revolutionary experiences of the working class movement) requires from the very start the unity (inseparability) of theory and practice under the usual domination of practice. It is precisely the practice (with all the limitations which it may lay bare) which orientates the form of the theoretical work. Practice determines which theoretical issues are **now** pertinent and which materials to draw inspiration from. It has become essential to elaborate and articulate or reformulate and advocate revolutionary theory to combat all the deviationist tendencies arising in the practice of the movement on the

basis of «save the patient by curing the disease». Purging the mistaken person does not necessarily correct the mistake from the movement. Unprincipled handling of deviationist errors often generates worst deviationist tendencies. If purging mistaken people does not prevent the same mistakes from occurring again, and again something must be incorrect with the way the two line struggle is conducted. The elaboration and advocacy of theory has to be made on the basis of various accumulated revolutionary practices of the working class *movement under the domination of the current most advanced experience*. But always, dare to think, dare to go against the current, against «blind followism». Dare with your proper forces to respond squarely to the current ideological/theoretical requirements of the current mass struggles where correct ideas and pertinent issues emerge. This is one reason why it is a form of Western arrogance for 'American revolutionaries' to issue from America 'correct ideological directives' to Angolan revolutionary forces struggling against a triple front (South African invasion, Zairean invasion and internal, externally backed or not, reactionary forces).

It is in that context that the «call to return to the classics», to «read correctly the classics of the working class movement» has come out of the ideological struggle emerging in the conjuncture of crisis inside the movement and the crisis of imperialism itself. It is not a dialectical materialist position to believe that revisionism could have been just introduced from the outside and change the party. Each process, thing, phenomenon is inherently contradictory and develops contradictorily: one divides into two. Why should human formations (individuals) not be contradictory in their very development? In the history of the communist movement all revolutionaries have made mistakes and deviationist errors. The important thing is that people learn increasingly to correct and rectify those errors and become better and better revolutionaries. **It is only through involvement in the revolutionary struggles and the practice of identifying vigilantly and**

readily rectifying errors that outstanding leaders emerge.

SECTARIANISM

How should we understand this important call and practice it correctly? Especially when we know that even «sectarians» do read the «classics». Some even have memorized the «basics» and they pretend to derive their «sectarianism» from the «classics». When they open their mouths, it is the «sacred scriptures» one hears coming out.

«Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action,» Mao Tse-tung used to repeat — after Marx, Engels and Lenin; but «sectarians» think to understand him by just repeating the «saying» instead of applying it. During lectures and forums — occasions for the dogmatists to exhibit their «knowledge of the scriptures» — one cannot but be moved by listening to petty-bourgeois intellectuals quoting long passages from the «classics» to make a point. Even when a short report on a concrete practice of struggle would clarify much better the issue in question. To study the classics has become, for them, to memorize 'sacred texts' and 'be ready to recite them'. The validity of the texts is no longer judged by the success of the practice they guided, but by their readiness to be applied analogically, a posteriori and everywhere. Yes, we must study, in their historical context, the «classical texts»; we must study how the great proletarian leaders have responded to, and intervened practically and theoretically in relation to, the requirements of the proletarian class struggles they led. Inspired by such a study, we will take a correct stand, correct viewpoint and use a correct method to respond to the requirements of our current proletarian struggles in which we are involved and where we are forced to take a correct stand. Whioe this 'sectarian' intellectual gymnastics, if well conducted, may not be too bad altogether, one is confronted by the sad fact that the same people quoting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, **when it comes to other forms of revolutionary practice of the**

struggle waged by the working class, are completely at a loss in concrete situations. Every revolutionary experience which does not fit into some «sayings» is denounced and dismissed as 'reactionary'. Concentrating all their vigilant efforts against the rampant empiricism — especially in the Anglo-Saxon world — dogmatists fall prey to epistemological idealism.* Incapable or unwilling, due to their 'real' class stand, to do anything, they raise to the level of fundamental principle, the principle of 'non-interference'. This important principle loses its contextual meaning to become a petty-bourgeois vacillating 'take no clear stand!' To refuse to take a stand, is unfortunately a form of stand, a tacit alignment with the strongest side. The slogans, the revolutionary rhetoric and the quotations the 'sectarians' raise like a flag gloss over the concrete reality without being capable of grasping it. They, instead, disorient the people: their idealist stupidity is identical to, if not worse than, the empiricist stupidity of the putschists and economists. The mass movement is not being led correctly in the struggle for the transformation of the existing class relations and the establishment of the mass based class rule of the proletarian dictatorship which has to conduct the necessary socialist transformation until all exploitation of man by man is completely eradicated. One does not become a «revolutionary» simply by having memorized «revolutionary texts». **Truth originates from the real struggle against false ideas and not from a memorization of ideas outside of the context against which they emerge and are valid. With our involvement in the revolutionary practice, certain ideas will be necessarily and easily remembered. Each concrete revolution is a test of validation of the theoretical positions previously established in the history of the communist movement, it confirms them, enriches them, rejects or relativizes them.** Reciting them does not establish their validity: it is in the hands of the masses in the movement of mass resistance that ideas become real material forces. «From matter to the spirit, from the spirit back to the matter,» as Mao Tse-Tung says it.

What is the difference between these Marxist-Leninist «sectarian verbalists» and the capitalists who use 'revolutionary slogans' in the publicity to sell 'revolutionary books' as profitable commodities? When knowledge becomes a commodity, its use-value is subordinated by its exchange value and not the other way around. Memorizing the 'revolutionary texts' may just be a form of capitalist consumption which reproduces the capitalist production relations rather than guiding the transformation of them. **Knowledge is power only when organized. The material base of a revolutionary consciousness is political organizing rooted in the mass resistance movement.** Many people just enjoy reading and discussing «revolutionary theory» in the same way that one would enjoy playing chess or discussing baseball without being necessarily a baseball player. He may recite the laws of baseball playing, but if compelled to demonstrate them in practice, he may be at a loss. **To the extent that Marxist theory is principally a (proletarian) theory of *organization*,¹³ a revolutionary is necessarily a «professional revolutionary» i.e., he is necessarily involved in revolutionary organizing. Otherwise, one is an intellectual in the bourgeois sense — a materialization of the separation of theory from practice: a constant violation of the principle of the unity (inseparability) i.e., unity/struggle of opposites under the domination of the struggle aspect, of theory and practice. As such, an intellectual, especially one who is not *red*, under socialism or in the mass revolutionary movement, is a social basis of revisionism.**

ACADEMIC MARXISM

A book, to the extent that it is an integral part of the social reality, is a dialectical entity: it is a material condensation of two opposite stands struggling with one dominating. Mistakes, errors or deviations may also be effects of a capitulation to the line being struggled against. Whatever is affirmed in the book is affirmed against whatever it denies. Why is Marx

so meticulously accurate in **Capital**? Chauvinists and idealists¹⁴ reduce that question into psychologism or biologism. It is, however, because the real process of proletarian struggle, to be victorious, calls for a correct theory **serv**ing the proletariat and decimating the bourgeois ideologies of capitulation infiltrating and emerging in the ranks of the proletariat. At the very moment that the proletariat is pushed around and solicited to accept its dominated and exploited position, Marx, in accord with, and reinforcing their position, proletarian persistent militants, proves that 'the proletariat is right to overthrow violently the bourgeoisie.' Outside of the involvement in the real process of proletarian struggles, it is impossible to understand **Marx's Capital**. This is what all the 'academic reading' of **Capital**, in their very mystifications, demonstrate. It is not a question of a lack of 'intelligence' on the part of the academics, nor is it one of the lack of 'good will': the correct viewpoint and stand which underline Marx's method of investigation and presentation are missing in the academics' outlook. One gets this viewpoint not from epistemological quibblings alone which it helps settle, but from a real involvement in the proletarian struggle against capitalist production relations and for socialism. Creative mentation^é is not simply an outcome of contemplative meditation on the epistemological history, but it is encouraged by real cognitive demands or ideological and theoretical requirements of specific struggles. Specific necessity is the mother of inventions. The historical confrontation between idealism and materialism is not a question of mental posture per se, but an outcome of various shifts in class relations.

The tendency of separating theory from practice has led, in the West, to the paradoxical situation in which the communist movement has become concentrated around the petty-bourgeoisie, the incarnation of the separation of mental labor from manual labor manifesting itself as the separation, theory/practice. Students are found to be members of the central committees of the so-called «proletarian parties» in which the

proletarians are marginal. The petty-bourgeoisie intellectuals, in this case, are not organic intellectuals of the working class, instead, they want to make the working class be their 'organic follower'. They therefore, function as a real social basis of revisionism. In these circumstances, the call to 'return to the classics' takes the form of a call to students spending almost all their time reading bourgeois theories to start reading Marxist books. A small merchant sector of pamphlet producing and selling has been growing serving the petty-bourgeoisie. Without correct viewpoint and stand, the students memorize whatever they read without understanding it, from the point of view of the working class. Without any real political organizing practice, they memorize what are guidelines to real actions of political organizing and revolutionary struggles. How can they grasp them, let alone know which ones are appropriate and in which concrete conditions? **Instead of analyzing concrete situations, they jump from one analogy to another. Once they hear about some revolutionary activities — especially in the 'Third World' — they are ready to provide guidelines to those struggles!**

PETIT BUORGEOIS REVOLUTIONARIES

The concentration on the petty-bourgeoisie has linked the «call to return to the classics» to the «call to go to the production point,» the equivalent of the call «to return to the source» addressed to neo-colonial/colonized assimilated petty-bourgeoisie. The emphasis on the struggles at the factory front, the great school of proletarian ideology, is in communist movement correctly justified as a way of dealing with the uneven development between the youth front and the factory front. Correctly done, *such emphasis advances the process of unification leading to party building or strengthening.* With no real proletarian party around ca-

* I am here attacking Lyn Marcus' **Dialectical Economics**, D.C. Heath and Co. Lexington, Mass., 1975 esp. pp. 77 — 79.

pable of formulating and helping carry out a revolutionary program of work/study for the students, the blind, once more, struggle among themselves. It is not the fact of 'struggling among themselves' which is a problem, it is the fact that they struggle incorrectly, i.e., practically outside the mass movement, while they believe to be themselves the movement, they struggle marginal to the core of the social practice where correct ideas come from. They fail to see that the real **root** of their ideological conflicts lie elsewhere than in their ranks. **Correct ideas come from the mass movement through social practice and not from a wrong viewpoint reading books, no matter which kind of books. Even reading books is a political question.** Under the call 'to go to the countryside', by contrast, the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao, has formulated a concrete program for «young people with education», a program based on the unity (inseparability) of theory and practice. Going to the countryside does not mean that these students become peasants, but in their prolonged, militant and effective contact with the masses in the countryside, both groups develop a higher political consciousness. Since it is the people who make history even that of knowledge, it is they too who create the new in the struggle as well as in the organization, and outside of their concrete movement one can know nothing. With dominant 'communist' parties being revisionist, the dissenting often dogmatist Marxist-Leninist groups incapable of organizing politically, ideologically and organizationally the «call to return to the classics» count only on the ideological and voluntarist determinations of their members. Directives are reduced to ideological directives: ideological purity determines everything including the distinction between friends and enemies. And how to advance even on that level since qualitative development in this area on that level since qualitative development in this area is not an outcome of the accumulation of the same? And since the «classical texts» in their historical emergence are not smoothly identical to themselves from Marx-Engels to Mao, but are not in their very deve-

lopment — as responses to specific historical requirements of the proletarian struggles — internally coherent (in the Hegelian sense), the study has been heavily oriented towards discovering from within, rather than in correlation to the practice they guided, the key to the reading of the «classical texts». The intervention of practice, as the crucial point of anchorage of theory, inside the process of knowledge itself has tended to be replaced by the emphasis on epistemology or gnoseology. «To make knowledge definitively turn away from reality, present-day agnostics have little by little restricted philosophy to gnoseology, gnoseology to logic, logic to grammar.»¹⁵ The call to 'return to the classics' is also intended to struggle against these agnostics and their influence; but, if the practice of that call follows the viewpoint of the agnostics, it simply intensifies the deviation. Reducing the «classics» to a 'grammar of revolution' has been the petty-bourgeois way of studying the «classics».

PRACTICE IS MAIN DETERMINANT IN READING MARXIST CLASSICS

The study which is not conceived from the perspective of the working class (of the unity/struggle of theory and practice), but instead is conceived from the viewpoint of, and oriented to, the petty-bourgeoisie, takes the form of a bourgeois study: a study group in which theory is «studied» for the sake of theory, often identified as (universal?) «skills». Marxist theory, in agreement with or seen through the paradigm of bourgeois social engineering, is reduced to another model of recipe to deal with social problems. And is considered 'advanced cadre' he who has read most of the materials of the «classics». «Return to the classics» becomes 'get some familiarity à la bourgeoisie' of the written materials of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Revolutionary 'skills' cannot be acquired just by reading the texts of the classics. Practice has always been led to a new and original reading of the 'classics'. Intensively involved in the revolutionary movement of Russia and Europe generally, Lenin rereads, through a reading of Marx imposed by the current

struggles, Hegel. Similarly, Mao corrects Stalin through a reading — imposed by current struggles in the Chinese revolution and the world communist movement generally — of Lenin, Marx and Engels, etc. **The process of acquiring the so-called 'revolutionary skills' necessarily involves practice as the focal process and the anchorage of correct ideas.** What is a guide to action cannot be reduced completely to a set of axiomatic principles to be memorized. Why has, from Marx-Engels to Mao Tse-tung to Althusser, *the systematization of the laws of materialist dialectics*, given us in each case different formulations and has been a progressive deepening movement from a less developed to a very developed conception of one, some or all basic laws of the dialectics? This development, to be sure, has not been historically unilinear (e.g., in relation to Lenin's, Stalin's conception is one step backward) but rather spiral. Precisely because, each great proletarian leader has intervened in a different concrete conjuncture with the most advanced theoretical positions established in the communist movement serving as supporting theoretical conditions and mass resistance struggles as starting base. The old has always been re-systematized from the perspective of the new which comes from the mass resistance movement. Dialectical materialism is not a set of algebraic formulas to be memorized, parroted and passed around as such — as is often done. Each proletarian revolution (victorious or not) has given us a new and enriched texture, a new and enriched reading of dialectics, a new and enriched distribution of emphasis on its major principles and their articulation. **It is in this sense that Lenin attaches a privileged role to errors in the process of rectification of knowledge to a point where he gives them a heuristic primacy over «truth».** It is worse, he said, to be blind and silent vis-à-vis an error than to make it.*

* See L. Althusser's preface in D. Lecourt's **Lyssenko: Histoire réelle d'une «science prolétarienne»**, Paris, F. Maspero, 1976. pp. 9—19.

WORKERS CONSCIOUSNESS MUST BE RAISED NOT DIRECTED

«Cadres» formed by memorizing and parroting a set of axiomatic principles tend to interpret the call «to go to the production point» not to go there and be «re-educated by the brutalized proletariat before educating the proletariat» but to go there and give orders to the workers; not as a re-validation of the thesis of the primacy of practice — in this case: proletarian mass resistance — as criteria of theory itself but as 'theoretical generation' of practice. Of course, the proletariat, under constant imposition of bourgeois standards and directives, will think that it is once again being given orders/standards by some «theoretical managers/supervisors» who call themselves 'revolutionaries'. **Instead of developing the workers' revolutionary class consciousness, on the basis of the mass based directives guiding their mass resistance movement, these «managers of theory» undermine it.**

The crisis in the working class movement has therefore also led to the problem of reading the «classical texts»: reading has ceased to be taken for granted. It does not just what you read, how you read but also how and why do you come to read what you read. Louis Althusser, shaped by and shaping non-victorious French proletarian revolution which ended with the downfall of De Gaulle, has made a great contribution on this question in his head-on attack on both empiricism ('facts contain their own knowledge') and idealism ('ideas contain their own facts').¹⁶ His theoretical work is a special form of cultural revolution whose real impact is still developing. Its being suppressed, or transformed for its safe co-optation, by the revisionist French Communist Party (FCP) and ruling bourgeois organic intellectuals **but also its refusal to link and root itself on the teachings of the great proletarian cultural revolution have sealed its limitations.** In some aspects — e.g. theory of ideology — this powerful thought is a criticism of modern revisionism from within. While it deals squarely with some of the important questi-

ons of theory and ideology in the communist movement, it fails to draw the most important conclusion: the necessity of building a party of the new type. Can modern revisionism be kicked out from the FCP from within? Althusser is clear that a new formulation of dialectics is required by the current conjuncture. While correctly starting from the French current conjuncture of class struggles, he fails to root himself on the most advanced formulation in the world communist movement, that of the GPCR, as the supporting condition of his theoretical work.

Althusser¹⁷ shows clearly that reading is not an innocent affair. In its double meaning (as reading of the current conjuncture and as reading of the thought-mirroring that conjuncture) reading is practicing a problematic or a paradigm, it is making a text function, it is decoding, deciphering and re-reading the text from its deciphering; it is re-creating it. Reading is an operation: it is reconstructing the text from the theoretical/ideological preoccupations of the current situation which, in fact, directs the distribution of emphasis on what has to be underlined and what has to be left into silence. This is practicing historical materialism in relation to the «classical texts». The text is not a neutral and innocent medium for carrying a neutral «message or information». The events, i.e. the current conjuncture calls for a reformation of proletarian politics which requires further elaboration of historical and dialectical materialism and hence a new reading of Marxism-Leninism. Even reading is an integral part of the theoretical struggle or class struggle carried out in/with theories and concepts. In the West, although incomplete, Louis Althusser and 'althusserians' have given us the key to practice historical materialism in relation to Marxism-Leninism and above all in relation to Stalinism and its aftermaths. The «Marxist-Leninists», who have been incapable of dominating the current theoretical conjuncture, have been only parroting the old formulations which can no longer serve as key to the reading of the current conjuncture. While the practical outcomes of althusserism may be very li-

imited, the questions it raised have opened the possibility for a creative elaboration of Marxist theory.

It is not enough to «know» the texts by heart to become a serious **revolutionary cadre**. The texts need to be re-created and elaborated in the light of the ideological/theoretical requirements of the revolutionary politics under the current conjuncture. It is not enough to have read all Marxist-Leninist works to carry out a correct class politics. **Don't bourgeois scholars also know by heart Marx's works — among others? The organic intellectuals of the bourgeoisie, specializing in refuting, mystifying Marxist theory and defending bourgeois ideologies for perpetuating the bourgeois system of exploitation, have to know in and out all the «classics» of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.** To disorient the mass of people, i.e., to break mass ideological resistance, even Church intellectuals (from the Pope to the Jesuits) have been using some of Marx's formulations. Even if we could identify these «classics», knowing only what they said or wrote is a **bourgeois/petty-bourgeois** way of «studying» the «classics».

As Africans, how should we understand this call 'to return to the classics'? This call, as we saw above, is arising in the communist movement as part of the ideological/theoretical requirements of the struggles waged by the revolutionary working classes of the world. Which concrete forms does it take in Africa? How should African revolutionary intellectuals respond to and practice it? This is treated in our second part of this essay.

NOTES

1. A number of studies have been made on the crisis of the communist movement in its various phases and aspects. Examples: Louis Althusser, *For Marx* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), and *Essays in Self-Criticism* (London: NLR Books, 1976); Alain Badiou,

- Théorie de la contradiction* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1975), and Francois Balmès, *De l'édéologie* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1976); Etienne Balibar, *Sur la Dictature du Proletariat* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1976); Ian H. Birchall, *Workers Against the Monolith* (London: Pluto Press, 1974); Fernando Claudin, *The Communist Movement*, I, II (New York: Modern Reader, 1977); Dominique Deanti, *L'Internationale Communiste* (Paris: Payot, 1970); Saül Karsz, *Théorie et Politique: Louis Althusser* (Paris: Foyard, 1974); Catherine Quiminal, *La Politique extérieure de la Chine* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1975); *Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution's documents*.
2. Lenin and Mao Tse-tung are probably the greatest proletarian theoreticians of anti-revisionism. In this period of the rising modern revisionism, the theoretical conjuncture is centerees around Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought. A special mention has to be made for the contribution of the Party of Labor of Albania's anti-revisionism. Many pamphlets have been written. Example: Michael A. Miller, *Against Revisionism* (San Francisco: Red Star Publications, 1974).
 3. Charles Bettelheim, *Class Struggles in the USSR 1917—1923* (New York: Modern Reader, 1976). This is the first of a work of three volumes. Also Grahame Lock, «Introduction» in L. Althusser's *Essays in Self-Criticism*, op.cit.; UCFML's various pamphlet and various articles in UCFML's journal, *Le Marxisme-Léninisme*; Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst, *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).
 4. The discussion on this issue is heavily dependent on Alain Badiou's *Théorie de la Contradiction*, op.cit., pp. 36—39. Grahame Lock's and Etienne Balibar's, in the works mentioned above, discussion of the question agree in the main with my views.
 5. See Stalin's *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1975). The wrong thesis of the development of the productive forces as the motive force of history dominates the whole essay. Class struggles are seen as manifestations of such a development. Such a conception led to a wrong theory of socialism defined as a transition to a classless society, which is realized not through class struggle itself, but through the impact of another necessity, a techno-economic necessity taken up by the State. Unfortunately, this book is among the most known, memorized works in the communist movement.
 6. See Ian H. Birchall, op.cit.
 7. Quoted by Issa G. Shivji: in *Class Struggle in Tanzania* (Dar-es-Salaam): Tanzania Publishing House, 1975), p. 10. Mao Tse-tung has been the greatest critic of Stalin.
 8. Most of the discussion on the place of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the International Communist Movement is taken from UCFML, *Sur le Maoïsme et la situation en Chine après la mort de Mao Tse-tung* (Paris: Editions Paternkine, 1976).
 9. This is Mao's position according to Han Suyin Wind in *the Tower* (Boston: Little-Brown & Co., 1976), p. 23.
 10. Georges Politzer, *Elementary Principles of Philosophy* (New York: International Publishers, 1976), pp. 3—4.
 11. Alain Badiou, *Théorie de la Contradiction*, op.cit., pp. 15—26.
 12. Georges Politzer, idem.
 13. A. Bidiou and F. Balmès, *De l'Idéologie*, op.cit., p. 18. «Dialectical materialism is not, in history, the first philosophy of class, nor is it the first philosophy to 'come from practice'; it is the first organized philosophy, the first philosophy of organization.»
 14. All those theoreticians who make of the instinct as the foundation of theoretical work. See, for example, Serge Latouche, *Epistémologie et Economie* (Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1974). Also see *Cahiers Yenan*, no. 1, *Marxisme-Léninisme et Psychoanalyse* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1975).
 15. Henri Wald, *Introduction to Dialectical Logic* (Amsterdam: B. R. Gründer B. V., 1975).
 16. Besides the books already mentioned, Althusser's works include: with Etienne Balibar, *Lire le Capital I, II* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1968); *Positions* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1976); *Philosophie et Philosophie spontanée des savants* (Paris: Collection «Théorie», Maspero, 1973); *Lenine et la philosophie*, (Paris: Collection «Théorie», Maspero, 1968); *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).
 17. See especially, Saül Karsz, op.cit., Chapter 1.

STEVE BIKO ON SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

«While critical of the economic selfinterest of American capitalism I have no illusions about the Sovjet Union. It is as imperialistic as America. This is evident in its internal history as well as in the role it plays in countries like Angola. But the Russians have a less dirty name: In the eyes of the third world they have a clean slate. Because of this they have better start in the power game. Their politics seems to be acceptable to revolutionary groups. They

are not «taboo». Here we are probably faced with the greatest problem in the third world today. We are divided because some of us think that Soviet imperialism can be accepted as purely an interim phase while others — like myself — doubt whether the Soviet Union is really interested in the liberation of the black peoples.» (Christian Science Monitor -Nov. 21-1977)

THE MARXIST-LENINIST OPPOSITION IN THE REVISIONIST SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In the last issue of IKWEZI we promised an article on the internal Marxist-Leninist opposition to the revisionist line of the SACP that was developing in the country simultaneously with the Sino-Soviet dispute of the 60s. For reasons of security we have held back the article but bring to our readers a document of the M-L opposition throwing light on the nature of the debate inside the South African Communist Party (SACP) and involving the politics of the Congress Movement.

In its rationale for the launching of the «armed struggle» the ANC-CP argued that a revolutionary situation existed in the country, «that revolution was imminent», and that mass work was no longer necessary as it had already served its purpose. The Marxist-Leninists in the SACP opposed this notion and asserted that far from mass work having served its purpose it had never really been tackled in a realistic way, and that no thoroughgoing analysis had ever been made. They asserted further that Umkonto was nothing more than an ultimate absurdity in a series of political cavalcades and was a manifestation of the political bankruptcy and frustration of the so-called leaders.

It was under these circumstances that the M-L opposition felt that it had to make a clean break and consequently attacked the adventurism and gimmicks so typical of the ANC-CP (the substitution of gestures for substantial action based on a solid analysis). The document aptly called «Cause for Alarm» gave rise to a tremendous controversy inside the Congress Movement since it called into question many of the «new» theories that were now being put forward in this hour of crisis for the oppressed Black masses.

And as was so typical of the ANC-CP there was no reply to the document. There was the standard response: abuse and slander. But as subsequent events proved - and in a short while - the warnings given in the document turned out to be true. The blowing of pylons, etc. were pathetic gestures in the face of the armed might of the bourgeois state. While naive and romantic-minded young people were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment the leaders of the SACP (middle class and white) fled exchanging the comfort of Cape Town and Johannesburg suburban villas for that of London.

As far as the ANC-CP is concerned the contents and warnings in the «Cause for Alarm» are relevant today as the case of Breyten Breytenbach, the murder of James Nduli reveal that the ANC-CP is set on a similar course of adventurism and gimmicks, sacrificing and exploiting young activists - this time in more direct service of their masters, the social imperialists. Again as in the past they wish to show the world that they are in the forefront of the struggle.

The real reasons for the SACP's gimmicks (for they really controlled Umkonto) was that the PAC which symbolised the militancy of the African masses had begun to engage in revolutionary violence, even though on the primitive level of terrorism. In an effort not to lose its credibility the CP suddenly switched tactics, and where it had said previously that changes could be brought about peacefully it now began to say that violence was necessary.

A great deal has changed in the Azanian situation since the document was published, not only in respect of the outlook of many of us but also in the world situation. But certainly for its time it showed a better grasp of the situation than the so-called leaders of the SACP had the courage to muster.

In the next issue of IKWEZI we will give a fuller account of the politics of the Marxist-Leninist opposition in those early days of the Sino-Soviet dispute when Azanian revolutionaries were cut off from access to information.

The Immediate Tasks of the National Liberation Movement

CAUSE FOR ALARM

1. No one can be satisfied with the state of the National Liberation Movement at present. It has

been a cardinal principle with us that the masses decide history. Since 1958 we in Natal have tried to work in such a way as to draw the masses into the struggle. Certain important results were achieved especially in 1959 and 1960. Since May 1961 there has been a definite deterioration in mass work but even so last year the Liberation

Movement did play an active role in opposing the Sabotage Act. However, this year the Liberation Movement organised practically no mass protests against the Bantu Bill. When passes were introduced for African women this year the attempt to stage protests was pathetic.

2. A call was made for a boycott of the beer halls. It was a dismal failure. Yet compare the call for a similar boycott made in 1959. Then it was so successful that the Director of Bantu Administration in Durban had to go practically on his hands and knees and beg Moses Mabida to call off the boycott.

What is the reason for the present inactivity? Is it because the masses have become less militant or is it because of mistakes made by the leadership of the Liberation Movement?

CAPITULATIONISM AND ADVENTURISM

When reaction grows as a result of the peoples' struggles, it often happens that certain leaders lose their grip of the situation, are confused by certain reverses, overlook the basic causes, objective and subjective, lose faith in the masses, and try to substitute «heroic struggles of individuals, for the mass struggles.» These mistakes are well known in the history of peoples' struggles throughout the world and are known as capitulationism and adventurism. Capitulationism means capitulating to the ruling classes' blows which are aimed at the destruction of the mass struggles and at the separation of the people's leaders from the masses. Adventurism excludes the masses from the struggle, and attempts to transfer the struggle to a small conspiratorial band who by their heroism «are supposed to frighten the ruling classes into submission and inspire the masses into action. Adventurism usually results in the leaders becoming so involved in their individualistic conspiratorial plots that they have no time for mass work and thus play into the hands of the ruling classes whose endeavours have been to separate the masses from their leaders.

There is no doubt that since 1961 the National Liberation Movement has suffered from the disease of lack of faith in the masses and the resultant mistakes of both capitulationism and adventurism. In fact the protagonists of adventurism justify their actions by arguing that little or no mass legal work is possible at this juncture.

It is the purpose of this article to examine these propositions and to attempt to show how incorrect these arguments are and to try to induce the Liberation Movement to oppose both capitulationism and adventurism.

The ruling classes rule in a double manner by violence and by fear on the one hand (police,

army, prisons and gaols) and by «pessimism» on the other hand – by ideology (through culture, religion, radio, books etc). They concentrate on playing on prejudices and fears and try to cause the maximum divisions and inactivity in the ranks of the enemies of the ruling class – through the principle of divide and rule.

It must be the aim of the liberation Movement to counteract the plans of the ruling classes. The ruling classes must be fought on all fronts.

The ruling classes have much in their favour – organisation (the whole of the state's machinery) – the army (both the permanent force and the ACF), the police and the police reserves, the whole of the civil service, wealth etc). It is impossible for a few conspiratorial individualistic groups to fight the ruling classes.

But despite the strength of the ruling classes they lack the most important and essential thing – the interests of the masses.

Thus the Liberation Movement which has at heart the interests of the masses can defeat the ruling classes, provided the masses rally behind the Liberation Movement and despite the apparent strength of the ruling classes.

THE MASSES LEARN FROM THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE

A common mistake is to confuse the consciousness and discipline of the leadership of the Liberation Movement plus the best representatives of the masses with the consciousness of the masses themselves. This results in the mistaken *theory of spontaneity* – that merely because the Liberation Movement has the interests of the masses at heart the masses will spontaneously realise this fact and spontaneously follow the leaders of the Liberation Movement. Experience in S.A. has time and again refuted the theory of spontaneity but it is still being propounded in diverse ways by some persons. A few examples are sufficient to prove our point here – the failure of the people to respond to the call for the boycott of beer halls on the issue of passes to women; the fact that most organised Indian workers in Natal are under reformist leadership that refuse to join S.A.C.T.U. The fact that so few African workers have joined Trade Unions. Experience has proved time and again that the masses do not learn only from propaganda and example but learn from their own experience. This is a basic law of all revolutionary struggles and all leaders who ignore this principle do so at the peril of the Liberation Movement. It is failure to realize the significance of this principle that is causing so much confusion, defeatism and mistakes in the Liberation Movement at present. It is failure to understand the basic rules of revolutionary

struggle that is causing some leaders to clutch at the straw of «terrorism».

A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION CANNOT BE CREATED

We must remember a few basic rules and aims:

1. Our aim is the Freedom Charter.
2. To achieve the Freedom Charter a revolutionary situation must develop.
3. A revolutionary situation cannot be created - but it can arise at any time due to a whole combination of objective and subjective circumstances both international and national.
4. When a revolutionary situation arises the masses need not necessarily triumph. This will depend on their organised strength; political understanding and ideological training.
5. A revolutionary situation lasts for a short while and if the masses are not properly prepared in the struggle the ruling class by using force and cunning and different methods re-establishes its control. Two recent examples are the *Congo and Iraq*.
6. *In the comparative peaceful periods it is the duty of the leaders of the Liberation Movement to devise tactical plans that teach the masses the struggle on three fronts - economic, political and ideological.*
7. *Failure to take the necessary steps to rally and organise the masses now must lead to disaster in the coming revolutionary situation*

But some persons argue that the situation has radically changed since 1960 and that due to bans, terrorism etc. it is impossible to organise the masses. This is untrue. By combining the principles of illegal work with the principles of maximum legal work, why cannot we carry out immediately the following steps to rally the masses into direct struggle.

ORGANISING THE MASS STRUGGLES

Organisation of African Trade Unions:- THIS WORK IS THE KEY TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR STRUGGLE.

In 1959 as a result of definite steps taken by the liberation Movement SACTU had its greatest influx of African workers. But unfortunately (due to wrong thinking) since 1960 SACTU's trade union strength has declined alarmingly.

On the other hand the Imperialist and their satellites have become interested in the organising of African workers under reformist leadership and thus they hope to succeed with the African workers in the same way as they have so far succeeded with the majority of organised Indian and Coloured workers who are led by reformists.

The Liberation movement would be stupid to ignore the lessons of the Indian and Coloured workers and the plans of the Imperialists. The ICFTU (the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which has close affiliations with the American Intelligence Agency) a couple of years ago persuaded the Trade Union Congress of S.A. to change its attitude to African Trade Unions and to allow African Trade Unions to affiliate to the Trade Union Congress.

The ICFTU is also assisting FOFATUSA which in turn is working together with the Trade Union Congress; the obvious aim being to prevent SACTU from organising the African workers.

Unless the National Liberation Movement, as a whole, is alerted to this danger and puts its united strength against the plans of the Imperialist the African workers will be organised and led by reformists. Militant Indian Trade Unionists will testify as to how difficult it is to dislodge reformist leaders once they are in power.

If the reformists can plan to organise African workers, why cannot we do the same? If certain leaders are banned others must be trained to step into the breach - after all, in the whole of South Africa there are not more than 150 banned persons at the moment. But, in any case, what sort of argument is it that merely because persons might be banned we must capitulate and give up mass work.

THE KEY TO THE STRUGGLE NOW - AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM!

But apart from the necessity of defeating the reformists, the organising of the African workers is the key to the struggle in S.A. for the following reasons:-

1. It will strengthen the working classes of all communities and will lay the basis for working class unity. A powerful organised African Trade Union Movement will result in white workers respecting the African workers for obvious reasons and encourage them to co-operate with African workers even in the beginning in limited forms. A powerful African Trade Union Movement will strengthen the Indian and Coloured working classes and must lead to great co-operation between them and the Indian and Coloured workers. On the other hand, the African working class can only grow in strength with the co-operation of the Indian and Coloured workers; and, to a certain extent, with the aid of the white workers (and that the white workers will give certain limited assistance is proved by the present attitude of the TUSCA).
2. In the struggle for African Trade Unionism

through their own experiences the workers of all four communities can learn the vital lessons of unity and the necessity of combatting chauvinism.

3. Strong African Trade Unions will assist materially in the building of residents associations because the greatest majority of the Africans in locations and townships are workers and on the other hand the residents associations will be able to help in convincing workers to join Trade Unions because in effect the struggle of the residents' associations will be to improve the conditions of the workers and to lower their cost of living (fight for lower rents, lower transport costs, etc.)
4. Strong African Trade Unions will be able to assist the peasants in the peasant struggles particularly owing to the close relationship in S.A. between the workers and peasants and vice versa. The growth of peasant organisations can lead to the strengthening of the Trade Union Movement.

The political understanding of the African workers will grow in leaps and bounds, because to establish their trade unions they will be involved in political fights with the state on the question of recognition of their Trade Unions in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

5. The African Trade Union movement will be able to assist the African urban middle classes in their struggles for survival which are being threatened by the Bantu Bill and vice versa. The urban middle classes will be able to assist and the trade unions with financial and moral aid.
6. The growth of African Trade Unionism will immensely strengthen the national liberation movement as was proved in Natal in the 1940's when the organisation of Indian workers resulted in the growth of a strong militant N.I.C. (Vice Versa, the failure of the N.I.C. leaders to continue their great trade union work of the 1940's has resulted in the great weakening of the N.I.C. For example, in the 1940's the Indian workers attended all political meetings in their thousands. Today they do not even attend in tens.

Also the support of the African masses and other Non-European masses will be vital in the building of the African Trade Union Movement because the masses can use their purchasing powers «to persuade» recalcitrant employers to recognise African Trade Unions (e.g. Transport Worker's Union in Port Elizabeth a couple of years ago the boycott of buses by the residents of the particular location forced the employers to change their mind.)

In view of the new laws and in view of the laws

against striking by African workers can African workers still be organised en masse. The answer is obviously yes. The authorities have always found it difficult to deal with mass strikes because of the harm that can be caused to employers, if workers are jailed en masse and especially when the masses give full support to the workers. This was proved in P.E. as stated above and was also proved in Natal when a successful strike was staged by African workers on the South Coast just after the «Sabotage Act» was passed. In this strike not one worker was ever charged. Here it must be remembered that the Afrikaans bourgeoisie do not own more than 6% of Industry in S.A. The Imperialists control the industries and they know they have to make concessions when faced with the militant organised strength of the African working class. The 1959 women's demonstrations and resultant trade union activity among African workers in 1959 led to immediate improvements in wages and conditions that year.

Furthermore, pressure can be brought on firms with International connections e.g. Dunlops, Lever Bros. etc by appealing to the World Trade Union Federations and to the African Trade Union Movement, to the Afro-Asian states to put pressure on the international firms to recognise the African Trade Unions in their industries in S.A. as African Trade Unions are not illegal in S.A.

It is clear from the pronouncements of representatives of the employers that they recognise

- a. The need for some form of consultation between African workers and themselves and
- b. that there has to be an improvement of wages and conditions of African workers. Slight steps have been taken by the employers along this direction but it is obvious that only a determined struggle by the African workers themselves can result in improvements in wages and conditions.

The government itself has had to recognise that something has to be done about recognising African Trade Unions and about improving the wages and conditions of African workers. Of course the Govt. will try to get a kind of company unionism established and thus here again only a determined onslaught by African workers on this type of trade unionism will succeed in defeating the Govt. plans.

All in all the objective conditions are ripe (if not overripe) for the development of African Trade Unionism. What is lacking is the REALISATION OF THIS STEP AS BEING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WHOLE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT and not only of the trade union movement.

What must be understood is that the best way to strike immediately at the nationalists and the ruling class is through the organised strength of

the African Trade Union movement and that here is the weakest link of the Nationalist structure. Nothing will «terrorize» the nationalists and the Imperialists more than the organisation of militant African Trade Unions and as the workers will probably have to engage sooner or later in stoppages to prove this point of view more economic damage will be done to the employers in losses due to strikes in one week than the efforts of the «economic terrorists» in 2 years.

However, it is not enough merely to agree to the development of African Trade Unionism in principle. It is necessary to work out a methodical and practical plan to be put into operation immediately.

Small beginnings properly tackled will result in big developments. In Natal in 1937 the success of the Falkirk strike caused a huge swing to Trade Unionism among Indian workers. The Falkirk strike which was fought bitterly over a number of weeks had the full backing of the Indian community as a whole and that was a major reason for its success and the resultant successes of the Indian working class movement in the 1940's. Similarly the call by Chief Luthuli in 1959 had a great effect on the building of SACTU in 1959 and the beginning of 1960.

One or two industries should be selected and full concentration should take place in these industries.

In the beginning small industries should be avoided and large industries tackled.

In this campaign it must be proved that the most important way to defeat malnutrition, kwashiorkor etc. is by the workers being paid living wages.

BUILD MASS RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATIONS.

Residents Associations: Side by side with the growth of Trade unions must go the building of *MASS* residents associations. Residents associations are the running supplements to Trade Union activity. The workers always struggle for higher wages and lower costs of living. The struggle for lower costs of living must be waged in the townships and locations.

Here again we find a peculiar subjectivist thinking. It is obvious that the «M» plan* can be put into operation around the residents associations. The residents associations, however, can (just as it is the case with trade unions) *not* take the place of political organisations. It has (like the trade union movement) limited objectives – lower rents; lower transport costs; improvement in living conditions of the residents and the ending of abuses in the locations such as midnight raids by the black jacks; arrests for non-payment of rents; lock outs for the non-payment of rents. But just as the Trade Unions are useless in factories if

they are not organised on a mass scale so are residents associations if they are limited to a small number of people. The residents' associations to be effective must be mass organisations and must be organised on proper bases with cards and with dues. They must aim to employ full-time functionaries and must be run on professional lines. It is wrong thinking that has so far led to the Resident Associations being *actually prevented* from growing into mass organisations. Silly (and sometimes dishonest) arguments have been used; such as the Resident Associations are planned to replace the political organisations; and that mass organisation of the residents' associations may lead to the getting into wrong hands. On the contrary they will become a source of strength to the political movements. On the other hand failure to build the residents' associations will sooner or later result in the reformists carrying out this task and then the residents' Association may well fall into the wrong hands. In the same way as FOFATUSA is trying to capture the African Trade Union movement reformists will try to take over the Residents' Associations. The Liberation movement must not think it will always have a monopoly on this type of organisation.

*The M-Plan was the Mandela plan of 1942 (put forward by Nelson Mandela) to set up secret cells in the country. It was opposed by the South African Communist Party.

Here again methodical steps must be taken. One or two areas must be selected and an immediate start made in these areas. The Trade Unions and Residents' Associations must assist each other by encouraging their members to join both organisations.

THE WHOLE LIBERATION MOVEMENT MUST THROW ITS WEIGHT INTO THE BUILDING OF THE RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATIONS:

The spearhead of attack will be against the local City Councils and the Liberation Movement must work to persuade the City Councils to recognise the Residents' Associations and to concede to their just demands. Support can be given by the different communities e.g. White combining to bring pressure on their City Councils and City Councillors (Coloureds doing the same in the Cape) and Indians as ratepayers demanding that the City Councils pay the necessary heed to the Residents' Associations. As the main City Councils of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Durban are controlled by United Party supporters much can be done to assist in the growth of residents' associations.

Here again successes will be achieved only by mass struggles. Women, Students and the youth can play a significant role in this struggle; and at the same time strengthen their own organisations.

AFRICAN MIDDLE CLASSES:

Owing to the attempts of the Government to expel African Traders from urban areas a great opportunity lies ahead for the National Liberation Movement to build organisations of African middlemen. An immediate start can be made on the basis of a struggle against the Bantu Bill.

THE PEASANT STRUGGLE AND THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

African Peasantry: Despite the defeatism of many leaders African peasants are now organising militant struggles for their rights. The trouble here is that the peasants are not receiving enough support from the National Liberation Movement and from the masses as a whole. In each struggle the local peasants are left to their own devices most of the time to fend for themselves as best as they can. What is needed is full support (financially, morally, and organisationally) for every peasant struggle by the National Liberation Movement as a whole.

Here the Residents' Associations and the Trade Unions can play a vital role by organising local urban committees of African workers for the different rural areas. Thus strengthening the organisations. But apart from these methods 2 great opportunities of organising the peasants politically have been opened to the National Liberation Movement by the Government plans for the Transkei and Zululand.

SUPPORT THE DEMAND OF THE ZULU CHIEFS

In Zululand the stand taken by the recent Zulu Chiefs has obviously got the support of the Zulu people. The Chiefs proposed that the whole of the Zulu people be consulted on the Government proposals for a Zulu Bantustan. The Government has no intention of carrying out the resolution of the Zulu chiefs and so it is necessary to start a campaign by the Zulu people in favour of the resolution taken by the Chiefs. The Zulu people will obviously not only demand the right to be heard on this issue in accordance with the Zulu tribal laws and customs but they will clearly reject the government proposals. The National Liberation Movement should throw their weight behind the Zulu people on this issue.

NO BOYCOTT OF TRANSKEI ELECTIONS

In the Transkei we face an accomplished fact. The so-called Transkeian Constitution is now law and elections will take place during the year. The national Liberation Movement has quite correctly so far called for a rejection of the Government bluff in the Transkei, but it would be wrong to call

for a boycott of the elections. The arguments against taking part in the elections may be summed up as follows:

a. The people are against the new so called Transkeian parliament. (b). The people will regard as traitors anyone who stands for elections. (c). The whole scheme is a fraud. (d) The so called «parliament» is a reactionary institution with no real powers. (e). By participating in the elections we will be giving an air of respectability to the government schemes. (f). The government aims to divide S.A. into white and non-white areas and we are against the division of S.A.

The persons who argue for a boycott seem to assume that the people of the Transkei are well organised. This is only partially true. A tremendous amount has still to be done to organise the Transkeian people. Owing to the emergency in the Transkei it is very difficult to do any organisational work there at present. Calling for a boycott will not assist in mass work. It is true that the people are against the scheme but only because it does not give full independence. **BUT IT IS CLEAR THEY WILL NOT BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS.** To succeed in achieving a successful boycott in the best of times is a most arduous task requiring not only a tremendous machinery but also the correct objective conditions. Otherwise boycott calls in the past have proved dismal failures e.g. in 1947 the NIC called for a boycott of the Royal visit to S.A. This call failed. The sports boycott at the moment is a failure. The recent call for a boycott of Bantu schools in 1954 failed. Some other boycotts, however, have been successful. Thus the N.L.M. has never treated the question of boycott as a principle. Whether or not to call a boycott must depend on circumstances.

If we regard our main task as to rally the masses to organise them to develop them politically and ideologically we must seek the best methods that offer themselves to us. In these circumstances we will find that by participating in the elections we will be able to achieve our objectives a 100 times more effectively than in boycotting the elections. But in participating in the elections we must make our programme clear. Our programme must be to fight the Transkeian constitution to expose it to the world as a fraud. The demands must be for full independence for the Transkei, for the end of the emergency, and the release of all political prisoners, and for the full right of self-determination for the people of the Transkei. Some persons will argue that demanding full independence for the Transkei will weaken the national Liberation struggle and will play into the hands of the Nationalists as the Transkei is an integral part of S.A. The Transkei (like Basutoland) is an integral part of S.A. and when S.A.

becomes a democratic state there is no doubt that Basutoland will be invited to join the democratic S.A. state. But it would be wrong to call now for the integration of Basutoland into the S.A. state. Basutoland has proved of immense value in the struggle for National Liberation. An independent Transkei, if it could be achieved, would also prove of immense value in the struggle for the independence of the rest of S.A. But at present it is not likely, though not impossible, to achieve Transkeian independence. However, the demand for independence, real independence, can effectively expose the Nationalist fraud by showing the great difference between real independence and the Nationalist version of independence. This demand can also at all times greatly embarrass the nationalists because their avowed purpose is to give full independence to the Transkei. Finally it can become the rallying cry among Transkeians and will effectively separate in the minds of the people the real fighters for freedom from the quislings who wish the people to accept the Nationalist plans.

In fighting the elections on a militant programme great organisational work can be done. An election machinery will have to be set up, money collected for the elections, candidates chosen. The candidates will have to work out such a programme that they canvass every elector in their constituencies and if candidates are put up in every constituency it means canvassing practically every elector.

The Transkeian electors are not only in the Transkei they are all over S.A. In Cape Town, Durban (also in the Sugar Industry up and down the North and South Coast) in Johannesburg (also in the gold mines) – and in Port Elizabeth. Here is a chance for the National Liberation Movement to prove to the world that the Transkeians are behind them. This could be effectively proved if for example the candidates of the National Liberation Movement were to win all or nearly all of the elected 45 seats.

When the «parliament» meets the representatives of the people will have a platform (of worldwide significance) in which to expose the conditions of S.A. and the Nationalist fraud. This platform can be used to rally the Transkeian and other peoples of S.A. One of the great difficulties of our struggle now is the difficulty of establishing platforms. Here one will have a most effective platform. In this so-called parliament the chiefs will have the majority but there is no assurance that the chiefs will stand together. A number of chiefs will come over to the people's representatives if the people's organisations are strong and win the confidence of the people. If say 12 chiefs transfer their allegiance and the people's representatives sweep the elections,

the nationalists will be placed in the most embarrassing situation since 1948. Their puppet regime will have been changed into a militant regime demanding full independence. This regime will also be in charge of departments that can be used to fight the Nationalists instead of departments carrying out Nationalist policy. But even if the people's representatives are not strong enough to achieve a majority the people's representatives can use their positions to continue organising the people, as they will have to set up adequate machinery in all their constituencies to keep in effective touch with their constituents so as all time to be able to receive instructions from the constituents on all issues that arise in the so called «parliament». To be effective the people's representatives will have to combine «parliamentary» struggle with the maximum of extra parliamentary struggle. They will have to fight for the demands of their electors inside and outside parliament. There are at present a number of burning issues in the Transkei. The Transkeians need urgent assistance on such issues as betterment schemes, inoculation of cattle, arbitrary arrests and detentions etc. By making these issues election issues heavy blows against the Government policy can be delivered. It is not wrong to take part in the most reactionary of parliaments – it is not only correct, *it is obligatory* unless there is a revolutionary situation and there is no such situation at present.

In participating in the elections a great alliance between the Transkeian workers, peasants and middle classes can be built up. Failure to take part in the elections will be a crime against the Transkeian people. They are the biggest single group in S.A. According to the 1960 census population of about 16,000,000 the Xhosas consist of over 3,100,000. There are more Xhosas than whites in S.A. The African can participate in the elections and form an election machinery of such nature to canvass the whole of the Transkeian people and to prove to the world and to S.A. who in fact the Transkeians support.

THE INDIAN PEOPLE

The National Liberation Movement cannot be satisfied with the mass inactivity of the Indian people at this stage of the struggle. Again it is a question of rallying the Indian people around their issues which are plentiful enough. In the first place it is necessary to win the Indian workers over to full support of the South African Indian Congress which is still a legal body. This can only be done if the Indian leaders take up the local issues of the Indian workers and combine them with the political demands. A start can well be made in the Textile, Municipal and Sugar indu-

stries. And this work extended later to other industries. That the Indian workers can be out into the struggle has been proved in a number of instances in the last few years e.g. the strikes of the Indian workers in the Leather and Textile industries. Given a lead the Indian people will rally against the Group areas act. In the Indian areas the Indian people will be prepared to fight for improvements in conditions in those areas. The Unemployed are prepared to struggle if they are properly organised and led. In the factories the Indian workers will only be too pleased to assist the African workers in their trade unions provided that sufficient work is done among the Indian workers by their leaders. However, in the last 10 years insufficient work has been done among the Indian people and the logical result has been the slow disappearance of the Indian people from the political struggles. It is urgent that the Indian people are brought back into the struggle as soon as possible and that the necessary organisational steps are taken as soon as possible. The National Liberation Movement will be tremendously strengthened by the militant struggles of the Indian peoples. This applies officially in the Trade Union field. Indian trade unions which are recognised can assist the African trade unions when it comes to bargaining for better conditions and wages. The Indian workers have a long history of such assistance.

It is true that there are also objective conditions for the Indian people participating so poorly in political struggles in the last years

THE COLOURED PEOPLE.

We do not wish to say much in this article on the Coloured people as we do not know enough about their particular struggles. But we are sure that in the Cape leaders will be able to work out the necessary methods to bring the Coloured people into the mass struggles.

THE WHITE POPULATION.

In certain circles there is a feeling that the whites can be written off in the struggle. It is true, of course, that the whites have a vested interest in the colour bar, and that for a long time to come the whites as a whole will resist the abolition of the colour bar. Nevertheless there is a growing minority of whites who realise that the colour bar is wrong and are prepared to fight it and there is even a smaller minority that realises that in the

best interests of S.Africa the National Liberation Movement must be supported to the hilt. This small minority of whites can be organised to give effective assistance to the struggle of the National Liberation Movement. If they are neglected or spurned the National Liberation Movement will be weakened but if they form part and parcel of the National Liberation Movement the movement can be strengthened considerably. It must be our endeavour to win over as many whites as possible to full support of the Freedom Charter even though we know that the numbers can only be counted in hundreds and not in thousands; but it would be wrong to write off the balance of whites as a reactionary mass. This will mean completely misunderstanding the developments in South Africa. This country is controlled economically by the Imperialists (mainly the British Imperialists) who rule indirectly by means of neo-colonialist methods. Their political representatives in this country are the United Party, the Progressive Party, and the Liberal Party. The Nationalist Party represents the Afrikaans capitalist and landowning classes. Compared to the Imperialists they are economically very weak and have to depend on the Imperialists for their own economic growth. However, they use their political strength to win small concessions from the Imperialists but their political strength rests on a small majority in the white electorate. Should they lose this slender majority they lose at the same time the main base of their political strength. Accordingly they oppose all attempts at concessions to the Non-whites which will result in Non-Whites being represented in Parliament. The Imperialists who have been forced by the strength of the Afro-Asian revolutions to concede political independence to all Asia and most of Africa realise that it is only a matter of time before they have to make the same concessions in South Africa. They particularly fear the mass struggles of the people of South Africa and feel that if the concessions are not made timeously the people may try to establish a Cuban type of government in S.A.

Accordingly the Imperialists have been pressing for concessions, but their trouble has been the traditional attitude of the whites to the colour bar which the Imperialists were responsible for in the first place. The Imperialists are now trying to change the whites from their traditional attitude but owing to the strong opposition of the Nationalists have to work in their usual devious methods to prevent the whites swinging over to full support of the Nationalists. The aim of the Imperialists is not to concede to the just aims of the National Liberation Movement. On the contrary their objectives are to sabotage the National Liberation movement and to preserve their vested interests in South Africa by having a government

in S.A. (even a black government) that is willing to preserve their economic interests. To prevent trouble they are trying to win over the whites to making concessions. The United Party has come forward with very small concessions, so as to preserve its voting strength among the whites. Their concessions are to put the coloureds back on the common role, and to give the Africans about 6 representatives in Parliament, and to revoke a number of the apartheid laws of the Nationalists. They also say they will work out some concessions for the Indian community.

The Progressive Party has become their vanguard in the breaking down of white opposition to the colour bar. As far as the whites are concerned the Progressive Party has put forward fairly far reaching concessions – they wish to end the formal colour bar and replace it with the indirect colour bar of privilege. The vote is to be given to the privileged section irrespective of colour. Their attempt is to divide the privileged Non-Whites from the masses and to drive a wedge in the National Liberation Movement. The Liberals have the task of winning over Non-European opinion to pro-western outlook. The Liberals therefore have now come forward with the demand for one man one vote and for support of the extra-parliamentary struggle. While we must understand the reactionary role of the Imperialists in South Africa, we must not ignore the advantages of a split in tactics between the Nationalists and the Imperialists. Because the Imperialists as a result of the pressure of the peoples of South Africa and the world have had to advocate concessions on the colour question favourable objective conditions are developing among the whites for concessions to Non-Whites. These concessions are important in the fight to build the mass movements of the peoples because it is around the day to day issues that the peoples organisations are built. Much work can therefore be done among the whites.

As the mass campaigns of the Non-European peoples grow the militant whites (those who support the Freedom Charter) must immediately campaign in their communities for assistance for the campaigns. They must work among students, workers (trade unions) professional people etc. They must approach their local M.P.'s, M.P.C.s and City Councillors. They must make representations to the City Councils and Parliament. In the day to day campaigns they must persuade the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party to support the local issues of the people. They must come out in open support of the people's struggles and prove to the Non-European people that the struggle for freedom knows no colour bar. Their work is dependent on the main struggles of the National Liberation Movement. And their

strength will grow in relationship to the mass struggles of the Non-European peoples. Because of the split in tactics between the Imperialists and the Nationalists great gains can be won in mass struggles.

UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN THE STRUGGLES.

Each community has its own tasks and no other community can interfere in another community. However, there are also common tasks facing all the people of South Africa. In these common tasks there must be the maximum unity between all the different sections and communities. In the united front the principle of equality and no interference must be accepted. Each community must render the other community as much assistance as possible. In this way the struggle will develop from strength to strength. But it would be fatal for one community to attempt «to go it» alone and expect the other communities merely to follow the one community. Such an attitude can only cause suspicion and disunity, and weaken the struggle.

For the mass campaigns to be a success the National Liberation Movement must work out the necessary machinery to achieve as much unity as possible in the common struggles while preserving the right of each community to work out the best methods of struggle of its own community.

OPPOSE ADVENTURISM!

From the foregoing we can see that mass work on a large scale can still be achieved despite the Sabotage Act and the «No Trial» Act. There will be plenty of difficulties, but a movement grows strong not in running away from difficulties but in learning how to overcome difficulties. If we admit then that mass work is still paramount in S.A. today what attitude can be adopted to terrorism. There are two main terroristic organisations: Poqo and Umkonto. Poqo stands for individual terrorism and Umkonto stands for economic terrorism. They operate on the same principles but disagree on details. While Umkonto is opposed to killing and regards killing as being harmful to the struggle Poqo have similar arguments against economic terrorism. The principles both terrorist groups work on are as follows: (a) The attempt to terrorise the ruling groups into submission – Poqo by killing and Umkonto by economic sabotage. (b) The attempt to inspire the masses by their heroic activities. (c) They regard (or Umkonto does) their activities as being supplementary to the mass struggles. Umkonto also tries to relate its activities to guerilla warfare.

The contentions of both groups are incorrect

and lead to adventurism and harm to the National Liberation Movement. Their activities cause *little sabotage to the ruling classes but much sabotage to the mass struggles.*

Let us take the arguments of Umkonto. Have they terrorised the ruling groups into submission? They used to argue that their activities would frighten off foreign investors. Has this been the case? In the first place what actual damage was done by Umkonto in its 18 months of activity. According to figures supplied it has caused damage in the extent of 45,000 rand, about the cost of a new residence for a cabinet minister or an ambassador from the Rep. of S.A. to one of the Bantustans. In 1962 the gold mining industry alone increased its contribution to the S.A. Govt. (in taxes, leases etc) by the sum of R24,700,000 rand to R114,000,000. From these figures alone it can be seen that economic loss due to sabotage was merely a flea bite to the S.A. Govt.

Did it frighten off investors? A leading article in the «Sunday Times» of June the 2nd, 1963, stated: – «Our economy, at first severely jolted by a series of disasters, has recovered and blossomed prodigiously. The national coffers are overflowing; with easier credit, trade and industry are steadily expanding; investors at home and from abroad are pouring vast sums into new capital enterprises such as those recently announced by the Schlesinger interests and the Western biscuit making firm.» Thus despite 18 months of sabotage activity plus Poqo activity investors abroad are still pouring vast sums into S.S. Foreign investors have not been frightened away nor has the economy been in any way really sabotaged.

Has Umkonto in any way succeeded in terrorising the Govt? On the contrary the Govt. used the excuse of fighting terrorism to strengthen the armed forces; and to introduce legislation to weaken the mass movements. At the same time the Govt. has succeeded in jailing a large no. of trained freedom fighters for long terms of imprisonment. The «No Trial» bill now gives them the opportunity of jailing suspected persons for 90 days at a stretch without having to prove them guilty. Should sabotage continue great harm will be done to the mass struggles, as leaders of the mass struggles will be put away for 90 days at a time and thus the mass *struggles of the people will be disrupted*

Are the masses inspired by their activities? Certain of the masses may applaud certain of their activities but they are certainly not inspired by such activities. If they had been inspired by the activities of Umkonto and if Umkonto's activities had been supplementary to the mass activity we would have expected the mass acti-

vity to grow. The opposite has happened.

Had the people been inspired by Umkonto activity they would have responded to the call for a boycott of the beerhalls in Feb. of this year. They did not do so. At best terrorist activity has caused a misconception in the minds of the people that nothing need be done by them as the terrorists are doing the work for them.

Terrorist activity as long as it is individual and based on small conspiratorial groups has no future. The groups can expand, in the nature of things, very slowly. Each blow by the authorities against the groups cannot be rapidly repaired. Divorced as they are from the masses they can expect little help from the masses and thus this activity is bound to lose its momentum and eventually disappear leaving only harmful effects to the mass movements. Good people who should have been at the service of the mass movements waste their precious time on individualistic activities and cut themselves and other leaders off from the masses.

This activity cannot «excite» the masses into action. The masses move into action on their own issues and it is these issues that excite the masses into activity – not «heroic» deeds of individuals. But terrorism actually harms the mass struggles. e.g. if a trade union is being built up and someone lets loose a bomb the authorities move naturally against the trade union and its leaders. Recently at MCCord Zulu hospital a favourable opportunity arose for the building of the trade union but because a bomb was released there the police were able to hamper the work of the trade union and to charge two of the workers with sabotage. Although in the end the case against the two workers was dropped they were kept for a long period in jail; and at the same time the workers of McCords were terrorised.

Some persons try to pass off economic terrorism as a preliminary to guerilla warfare; or as a training for guerilla warfare. Training for guerilla warfare has so little relationship to sabotage in the towns that the argument is ridiculous. Guerilla warfare to be a success must be based on *mass* activity that is on the open support of the peasantry in the guerilla areas. In these areas the guerillas win over the support of the peasantry by expelling the oppressors of the peasants and by giving the peasants their rights in the guerilla areas. As a result from their own experience the peasants support the guerillas and become their eyes and ears and protectors. But what happens in the urban areas? The saboteurs are not known to their own people – they do not drive out the

oppressors (superintendents, black jacks, police etc.) from the locations and townships. They do nothing to improve the conditions of the people. Thus from their own experience the people do not learn anything from the activities of the saboteurs, cannot be inspired by them and cannot help them.

As a result of the activities of Umkonto hundreds of activists who were taking part previously in the mass struggles, have seen the decline of the mass movements and have been relegated into doing nothing. Whereas before, these activists felt pride in their contribution to the struggle for liberation they now feel bitter at being excluded from the struggle for liberation.

These who oppose adventurism do not do so from pacifist reasoning. They do so because economic and individual terrorism harm the mass struggles, are bound to fail and lead to capitulationism.

POLITICAL STRUGGLES

So far we have concentrated mainly on the economic struggles of the people because it is through the economic struggles of the people that organisation is developed. But the economic struggles must be linked with the political struggles. The two must go hand in hand. While the economic struggles are developing the people must participate in the main political struggles and the obvious links between the economic and political struggles must be shown. The fight for a national convention must be continued. The struggle against the pass laws must be continued and it must be shown how the pass laws inhibit the economic growth of the African people. Together with the development of the African trade unions must go the demand for recognition of African Trade Unions in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Together with the establishment of Residents' Associations the fight against the Bantu Bill must be developed because the Bantu Bill attempts to deprive the African people of their rights (limited as they are at present) in the urban areas; together with the development of peasant unions the fight against Bantu Authorities must be developed. The fight against passes for women must be part of the struggle for the organisation of African women. An end to group areas demand must accompany the organisation of the Indian people.

The aims of the Freedom Charter must be constantly brought to the notice of the people in all struggles.

Immediate political battles must be put on the agenda e.g. the fight against arrests in terms of the «No Trial» Act, the fight against house arrests

and bannings to remote areas, the fight against the whole system of bannings, the fight for full independence for the Transkei etc. For the political struggles to be successful the political leaders must have armies – in this case the armies are the organised detachments of the people – Trade Union, residents associations, peasant organisations, women, student and youth organisations, and political organisations.

Because of the weaknesses organisationally a number of huge political battles which should have been fought this year were entirely neglected e.g. the «No Trial Bill», the 90 day arrests, the regulations for African women to carry identity cards as from the 1st of Feb. 1963. It is for this reason that in this article we have laid such stress on organisation.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

Here again we find some wrong thinking on the part of certain persons. They will agree that the struggle against Imperialism is part of the political struggle in S.A. but they wish to postpone this struggle until the Nats are defeated and they feel that it is wrong to expose Imperialism at this stage.

This attitude is wrong and is opportunistic.

The F.C. (Freedom Charter) makes it quite clear that the aim of the N.L.M. is among other things to nationalise the mines, banks, monopoly industries, insurance companies etc. and to redistribute the land among the people who work on it. The Imperialists control practically all of the mines, banks, monopoly industries, and insurance companies. The local bourgeoisie (including the Afrikaans bourgeoisie) control only a small proportion of the main monopoly industries. The imperialists again have control of large areas of land which they hold in the main for exploitation purposes. Thus the implementation of the F.C. means not only a fight against the Nationalists but against the Imperialists as a whole.

If we are serious about the F.C. it is necessary for us to explain to the people the role of Imperialism, and how imperialism operates. It must be explained that Imperialism uses both direct colonial methods and indirect colonial methods (old colonialism and new colonialism). It must be explained that political independence is not enough; and that while Imperialism controls the wealth of a country that country cannot really be independent. That is why at all the conferences of the Afro-Asian countries the most important item on the agenda is still the struggle against old and new colonialism.

Both at the Moshi and Addis Ababa Conferences the resolutions passed called for a resolute

fight against colonialism in all its forms. Unless the role of Imperialism is fully explained to the people now at a crucial stage they may become bamboozled by the fine words of Imperialism and by the activities of the puppets of Imperialism. This is precisely what happened in the Congo and led to the death of the great African patriot Patrice Lumumba and the accession of American Imp. in the Congo in the guise of the United Nations.

American Imperialism, the greatest enemy of the liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America, now pretends to be the friend of the Africans (while negroes still have to fight for ordinary elementary rights in America). «Soapy» Williams demands «Africa for the Africans» S.A. is more important for Imperialism than the rest of Africa put together from the economic point of view. more capital is invested in S.A. than in the rest of Africa put together. S.A. produces more gold than the rest of the capitalist world put together. It is the most industrialised part of Africa. While the imperialists know that the colour bar has soon to go they are making careful plans to retain their strength in S.A.

Exactly how they work must be explained to the people of S.A.

Furthermore we must show to the people of S.A. that imperialism cannot be fought piecemeal. It controls the economy of the whole of the non-socialist world, and it operates on a world scale. The fight against Imperialism is thus a fight on a world scale. Every victory for the people of the world against Imp. is a victory for the people of S.A. and every defeat of the people by Imp. in any part of the world is a defeat for the people of S.A.

Thus the struggle of the Cuban people who smashed Imp. in the first Latin American Country was in effect a victory for us in S.A. because Cuba has weakened the Imperialist chain by snapping a vital link in the chain. The attempts by American Imp. to reconquer Cuba is of vital interest to the people of S.A. because should such a possibility occur it will be a defeat for the people of S.A.

We must therefore make it clear to the people

of S.A. that the distinction between the N.L.M. in S.A. and all other groups is that the N.L.M. in S.A. has at its basis a programme of action not only against the Nats but also against Imp. it is fighting not only for political independence but also for economic independence.

The N.L.M. must also teach the people to distinguish between the outright agent of Imp. the U.P., the Prog Party, the Lib. Party on the one hand and the misled groups on the other hand namely the PAC, FOFATUSA, the SAIO etc.

The PAC e.g. represents the interests of a portion of the African middle classes. It must be the aim of the N.L.M. to try and win over the African and Indian and Coloured middle classes in the struggle against Imp. The middle classes usually vacillate but if strong African working class movements are built up and these African working class movements lead the peasant movements, the middle classes can be won over into a common struggle against Imp. In the same way the Indian and coloured workers can win over their middle classes.

Later on it may be possible with the breaking down of the colour bar and the strengthening of the Non-European working classes to win over even the white working class.

The N.L.M. must thus fight for a strong united anti-imp. front. In fighting for this programme the N.L.M. must fight all forms of chauvinism, because chauvinism is the middle class ideology which is quickly supported by the imperialists for two reasons:

a) Chauvinism diverts the peoples from their struggles for economic control of the country and

b) It tends to divide the people and thus to give the imperialists the chance to rule.

To sum up we say that a powerful three pronged struggle must be launched among the people – economic, political and ideological. It is to the masses that we must turn and not to individuals. We must fight for mass action and not for individual action.

(Issued by the Workers' Educational Study Group.)

FORTHCOMING:

Henry Isaacs' pamphlet on the events in Soweto called «Soweto and After». It will first be published by IKWEZI. Henry Isaacs writes about his study: «What I have done is to examine the two approaches by Blacks to politics: The liberal approach of the ANC and Africanism. This is to show how Africanism as propounded by the

CYL foreshadowed SASO and the BCM. Then I have shown the growth and development from CYL to the PAC to the BCM ... I have made a detailed study of the BCM. Then I have examined Soweto in depth from 16 June 1976 to October 1977 to show progression in Black awareness. The conclusion deals with prospects for the future of the struggle.»

The Origins and Rise of the Swazi People, 1750-1868

(2nd part of Stephen Burgess Thesis for a M.A. at the Insitute of Social Studies, Netherlands, continuing his class approach to Swaziland's history.)

Any understanding of the contemporary development of political affairs in Swaziland must include a historical analysis of the dialectical process of nation, state, and class formation among the Swazi. This process of social formation began in earnest around 1750, as the Swazi or baka-Ngwane (as they are otherwise called) first differentiated themselves from the mainstreams of Nguni language-speakers.¹ Political development accelerated dramatically during the first half of the nineteenth century, both among the Swazi and throughout Southern Africa. This period was, of course, marked by the great upheavals or *mfecane*

that accompanied the rapid consolidation of the Zulu kingdom. As was the case with other societies in Southern Africa, the Swazis were compelled, by their rulers and by the threat of annihilation, to organize society to resist Zulu onslaught(s). The resulting process of social formation contributed to the emergence of a primitive state apparatus and a standing army, the absorption of disparate peoples to enlarge the kingdom, and the increase of class differences and class struggle. This period of marked change has greatly determined the present configuration of politics and of political development, of classes and of class struggle in the Kingdom of Swaziland. *The intervening period* of the late nineteenth century was characterized by the impact of external powers upon the Swazi, thus injecting the element of white settler colonialism that threatened, but did not replace the ruling order. What emerged, though, was a «schizophrenic», «multiracial» Swaziland that reflected historical development as it occurred throughout Southern Africa.

In examining the political development of Swaziland, it is far too constricting to merely analyse the emergence of political parties, the independence movement, and successive events.² The political character of Swaziland can and should be traced to the pre-colonial era. With the repeal of the Consitution in April 1973, the people of Swaziland were confronted by a similar form of government as they had experienced for over a century-and-a-half. At the time, the ruling order constantly referred to a «Swazi form of government» and «traditional» political practices that would be restored.* The authorities in Swaziland have scarcely concealed their intention to main-

tain the semi-feudal, semi-colonial structures that have long characterized the country. Certain observers have remarked at the longevity of the ruling order in Swaziland.³ However, most often the actual reasons for the stasis in the political development of Swaziland have remained obscured. The social consequences of maintaining political power in the control of the royal family and their vassals *also* have remained largely without consideration. Therein lies the rationale for a dialectical approach to the political development of Swaziland, grounded in historical materialism.

* J.S.M. Matsebula, *A History of Swaziland* Cape Town: Longman, 1972, p.4-5. Though short on details matsebula correctly outlines the emergence of the *baka Ngwane* from the Bembo-Ngwane group.

The Swazi or baka-Ngwane established themselves in the area of Swaziland around 1750. At that time, their society consisted of only a few clans who accepted the leadership of the Dlamini clan. As was the case with most Nguni language-speakers, the Swazi or baka-Ngwane had migrated down the Southeast coast of Africa. Their most valued forms of wealth were people and cattle. Uncommon to most societies, the Queen Mother played a significant role as regent: as in most Nguni societies of the time, age regiments or groups came to rival lineages as the most significant form of social organization.⁴ The qualities listed reflect a society that had acquired the potential to transform itself from an advanced state of «communalism» or «barbarism» to that in which class struggle posed the major contradiction in society.⁵

As conflict increased in Southeast Africa, the Swazi endeavoured to consolidate their emerging kingdom. Small surrounding communities of mainly Sotho-speakers were either absorbed or subjugated by the better organized Swazis. Administrative power increasingly flowed out of the hands of the chiefs, of the Queen Mother, and of *indvunas* or royal administrative officers into the grasp of the king.⁶

This process of state formation accelerated during the reign of King Sobuhza I (1815-1836) and King Mswati II (1840-1868) who proved themselves as probably the strongest and most capable of all Swazi monarchs. As neighbouring Nguni kingdoms came to adopt increasingly

complex division of labour to enhance state power, the Swazi also increasingly emphasised age regimentation and an increasingly centralised army.⁷

The reign of King Sobukza II featured a policy of consolidation and enlargement of Swaziland through the subjugation of weaker groups. This policy was limited by the necessity to remain on the periphery of the generalized revolution that was expanding from the South. This upheaval or *mfecane*

was, of course, generated by the Zulu people under Shaka. The revolution represented, in a broad sense, the overthrow of the old ascriptive order - based primarily upon lineage - by an emergent warrior class - based upon age regimentation and merit. Led by Shaka, this class seized control of the Zulu kingdom and proceeded to completely reorganize social relations. The power of local chiefs and hereditary officials was greatly diminished in favour of military *indvunas* who were directly aligned with Shaka.⁸ A formalized division of labour was introduced, based on age regimentation. Different regiments were assigned various tasks, the most important being service in the standing army.

The Zulu revolution did not gather great momentum until wars of conquest were fought against other peoples. The creation of a standing army and the adoption of superior military techniques enabled the Zulu to spread their revolution throughout Southern Africa. Other peoples were forced to revolutionize themselves or face destruction.⁹ The peoples who were conquered by the Zulu were absorbed into the revolutionary social order. This process of conquest and absorption has given rise to the issue of the possible introduction of a slave-based society among the Zulu.¹⁰ There is much evidence to support such an assertion. The major aim of conquest was to increase the power and the wealth of the ruling order. Besides defeating a potential threat to Zulu power, the warriors seized cattle and captives to compensate their efforts to increase the wealth of the King. The Zulu monarch assumed the responsibility for the disbursement of booty, as he did for most other forms of wealth (e.g. land).¹¹ It is not well-documented, but it appears that the captives were either enlisted into the army, employed as slave labour, or sacrificed.¹² The rise of handicrafts industries, as well as the conspicuous consumption of primary forms of wealth - i.e., people and cattle - among the Zulu are clear manifestations of the replacement of «communialism» or «barbarism» by slavery.¹³

King Sobukza I reacted to the threat posed by the Zulu by making the Swazi a tributary state to Shaka and by embarking on a process of reorganisation of the Swazi. However, after Shaka's as-

sassination in 1828, Dingane sent Zulu forces against the Swazi, forcing them to retreat into the hills. It was not until 1839, when the Zulu had been weakened by the Boers, that the Swazi were able to marshal their strength to defeat the invaders.¹⁴

The reign of Mswati II finally brought about the dramatic changes that had remained potent in Swazi society. The Zulu wars confirmed the need for a standing army that was subsequently created.¹⁵ As in Zulu society, the age regiment became a primary form of organisation, and the army was employed to increase the wealth and power of the king by seizing cattle and captives, as well as to expand the kingdom's territory.¹⁶ These conquests also enabled the Swazi monarch to disperse the royal princes to assume authority at a distance from the king.¹⁷ When not performing military duties, the army was compelled to provide labour for the ruling order.

However, the Swazi did not experience such a revolutionary upheaval in social relations, as was the case of the Zulu. While Mswati II certainly enacted changes that transformed Swazi society, the old order was not swept into the background by an emergent warrior class. Instead, a situation arose in which an equilibrium was reached between tradition and revolution. Mswati II certainly did not intend to completely upend a social order to which he, unlike Shaka, identified. Therefore, while introducing military, political, and social innovation that greatly enhanced the power of the king and his vassals, power still remained, to a large extent, in the hands of the Queen Mother, the chiefs, and the *indvunas*. As confirmed by J.D. Omer Cooper:

In spite of the development of the military system the Swazi state remained a 'constitutional monarchy' and even evolved away from the more authoritarian and oligarchic Nguni pattern towards the greater democracy of the Sotho tribes. Though the existence of a standing army strengthened the position of the king and the senior military officers, the territorial chiefs had not lost all their powers.¹⁸

Therefore, despite the expansion and strengthening of the Swazi kingdom from a small grouping of loosely-organized clans to a powerful «empire», the pre-colonial political development of Swaziland generally proceeded within «traditional» structures. In order to maintain his rule over an area twice the size of Swaziland today, Mswati II conserved the territorial chiefs of most every community, whether of Nguni or Sotho origin. In performing his tasks of local government, the territorial chief was entitled to at least one main *indvuna* to assist him and to other assorted aides.¹⁹ A local assembly or local *li-bandla* or *inkundla* was established to consider

issues of both local and greater significance.²⁰ This rudimentary form of democratic representation only was convened a few times a year, and rarely overruled the local chiefs and royal officials. However, as is the case of much of the archaic Swazi political structure, it still remains in use in the current, faster-paced political climate.

Another facet of Swazi political development during the period of expansion was the introduction of ties of vassalage or *kukhonta*.²¹ With the rapid expansion of the Swazi kingdom, these ties supplemented and often replaced ties of lineage as cohesive elements, especially among «alien» peoples. The bond of *kukhonta* was established between chiefs and the royal family and between peasants and chiefs. These ties of vassalage entailed the performance of some form of labour or military service on the part of the «vassal» in return for land, protection, and various significant services by the «lord». This form of class distinction, in addition to the widespread existence of «domestic slavery» and age regimentation, created the basis for a society that even today features pre-capitalist forms of class struggle.²²

The relationship between the local and the royal dimensions was further complicated by the contradictions inherent among the royalty and royal villages. Because Mswati II chose to maintain an equilibrium, dominated politically by the king and morally by the Queen Mother, both officials and peasants were attracted by two poles of authority. Therefore, the loyalty of many villages and officials was claimed by the Queen Mother, since her village represented – unlike that of any other Ngunu-speaking people – the Capital of the Kingdom of Swaziland.²³

However, the Swazi were ultimately controlled by Mswati II and his successors. The king disbursed wealth and land privileges, commanded the army, was the supreme arbiter of ritual and justice, and conducted foreign affairs. The royal princes performed administrative and ritual duties in royal villages and throughout the land. The princes served as «lords» over different areas of the kingdom, working in league with the territorial chiefs and *indvunas*. At the royal level, the princes served on the *Liqoqo* (the Inner Council) as advisers to the king. Though modified somewhat, the *Liqoqo* serves today as the principle form of government in Swaziland – the king-in-Council.²⁴ A wider assembly consisting of chiefs, *indvunas*, and even peasants, was introduced in the period of consolidation and expansion and is frequently used today. The major *libandla* or Swazi National Council was infrequently called to consider issues of major importance, about once a year.²⁵ Most of these seemingly-democratic institutions were weighted heavily in the favour of the ruling class in that they met infrequently and

usually required near unanimous decisions.²⁶ Therefore, the power of the king and his vassals have remained paramount for over a century in the political development of Swaziland.

In assessing the significance of the most important period of consolidation and expansion of the Swazi kingdom for the country's political development, it is evident that the process of nation, state, and class formation was most vigorous during this time. The defences of Swaziland against Zulu encroachment, the reorganisation of society, and the conquest of other peoples – prosecuted under the leadership of Sobukza I and Mswati II – laid the foundation for a Swazi nation.²⁷ However, though the Swazi people have acquired the attributes of a nation their persistent identification with the *Ngwenyama* and his royal cohorts instead of with the Swazi nation itself implies that full nationhood has yet to be reached; that will require a «national democratic revolution» to achieve.²⁸

The process of state formation developed greatly because of the consolidation and expansion of the Swazi Kingdom. The generalised revolution in social relations provided the impetus for the establishment of strong, pre-capitalist states throughout Southern Africa. The political structures established in the early nineteenth century created the form for «traditional» rule that would persist for a century. The Swazi Kingdom has been a prime example of this sub-continental trend. With the rapid formation of a society that transcended lineage ties to feature classes and disparate peoples, a strong state apparatus was created to hold the mass of peasants in check. This decaying apparatus remains in operation today, but soon to be brushed aside by the Swazi people.

The actual process of class formation may remain a matter of dispute. To conclude that a slave-based society arose among the Swazis and other peoples during the first half of the nineteenth century is not unchallengeable. There are those who would query the facts, as well as those who would question the theory. Among the latter are certain radical social scientists who have attempted to extend on the works of Marx and Engels concerning pre-capitalist societies of «modes of productions».²⁹ However, the impression of diversity among these societies that has been intended in their work remains rather dubious, reflecting many of the incorrect assumptions held by Marx and Engels in the nineteenth century.³⁰ All that can be posited here is that the process of social formation and the process of political development in Southern Africa and in Swaziland at the time resembles processes that have occurred elsewhere in the world during the course of history. These still-to-be-refined simi-

larities have provided a basis for the development of the much-maligned science of historical materialism...

The Challenge of White Settler Colonialism, 1868-1902.

By the time of Mswati II's death in 1868, the Kingdom of Swaziland had been established as a major power in Southern Africa. The dynamic process of political development that had been generated for over a half-a-century had endowed the Swazi with a vigorous Kingdom and a motivated populace. However, within the space of three decades, the achievements garnered under the leadership of Sobukza I and Mswati II would be dissipated. The decline of the Swazi Kingdom and of political development can be attributed to two basic elements. One was the failure of successors to Mswati II to maintain the dynamic process of political development through further expansion and consolidation. This failure was directly related to the penetration of white settler colonialism into Swaziland in the second half of the nineteenth century. The end of Swazi expansion was partly due to the application of the *status quo* by the British and Afrikaner colonialists in league with the various African powers involved. The reversal of the process of consolidation can be traced to a breakdown within the royal family and the foreign interference.

The significance of the interference of colonialism and imperialism in the process of African political development in the sub-continent was such that an altogether new direction has been assumed. Instead of the continuation of the dialectical process of consolidation and expansion, the African people experienced the impact of imperialism. Suddenly within the past century, the major contradiction in Southern Africa has become the struggle between white settler colonialism and its semi-feudal, semi-colonial collaborators against the broad masses of the African people.³¹ In this situation, the once- progressive rulers have become reactionary and have been superseded by the African working masses.

In Swaziland, white settler colonialism similarly affected the situation. However, the Swazi passively accepted the penetration, with the result that the anti-colonial struggle was greatly retarded. In fact, the Swazi rulers collaborated with the colonialists in subduing other African peoples and in permitting the establishment of a multiracial territory. The concessions of various Swazi rulers were made in exchange for recognition of limited sovereignty over the territory. However, the specific reasons for again lie in an examination of

concrete events linked to the process of nation, state, and class formation.

Prior to the death of Mswati II, the Swazi successfully dealt with white settlers through diplomacy. The rulers of Swaziland perceived «the futility of resistance», and Mswati II himself declared that «arms shall never be raised against the white man».³² The policy of appeasement and collaboration that followed can be attributed to «pragmatism» on the part of Swazi rulers, but also to the comparatively conservative ruling order that emerged from the period of consolidation and expansion. In contrast, though the Zulu and Sotho under Moshweshwe recognised the superior strength of the white invaders, they still possessed vigorous and progressive societies and rulers that would not succumb without a struggle. The Swazi leaders feared the perils of armed resistance, but were to accept the domination of imperialism and colonialism without striking a first blow in the national liberation struggle. Instead, the Swazi actually assisted the colonialists in suppressing African peoples.

With the death of Mswati II, no dynamic leader emerged to prepare Swaziland against the onslaught of white settler colonialism. Instead, the Swazi struggled for seven years (1868-1875) in order to choose a successor, and were to go for more than fifty years without strong leadership. The first dispute arose between Mswati II's eldest son, Mbilini, and the chosen heir, Ludvonga.³³ Mbilini began a series of campaigns, sanctioned by the Zulu King Cetshwayo, to take the Swazi throne. These campaigns intensified the penetration of authorities, representing Great Britain and the Transvaal Republic, into the area to protect expanding settler interests.

In 1872, Ludvonga died without issue; the regent, Mdwandwa having responsibility for his safety. With the subsequent practise of «killing off» of the regent and most of his people, the Swazi were confronted with their first major crisis of succession. Besides Mbilini, several other sons of Mswati II divided the Kingdom and army behind rival claimants.³⁴ Finally, after three years friction, the Royal Council met, and the Queen Mother chose a non-controversial candidate, Mbandezi.

Of course, the power that benefitted from the decline of the Swazi Kingdom was the white settler Republic of Transvaal. At Mbandezi's coronation appeared a Boer delegation of 400 armed men. On 1 July 1875, a reciprocal agreement was signed that confirmed Swaziland's independence in exchange for recognition of all concessions made by Mswati II.³⁵ Subsequently, the Boer Republic would claim to have solved the internal disputes of the Swazi, preventing their extermination.³⁶ As a result, the Transvaal Republic

asserted that the Swazi were obliged to render all possible assistance and permit further white settler penetration into Swaziland. Thus, with increasing imperialist contention in Africa, the Swazi came to realise, but not resist, the fact that all guarantees to the independence of their country were fallacious.

After the discovery of precious minerals in South Africa (prior to 1870), various imperialist powers sought to seize and demarcate as much territory as possible in the sub-continent, subjugating the peoples and kingdoms involved. While the Swazis were to quickly fall prey, they assisted the Transvaal Republic and the British imperialists in their conquests. From 1875 to 1881, Swazi *impis* first aided the Boers, then the British, against the Pedi. In return for Swazi gestures of treachery against their beleaguered fellow Africans, guarantees were made for the Kingdom's independence. In 1881 and 1884, the Pretoria and London Conventions were signed. These conventions were not so much a reward for Swazi collaboration as a reflection of the stalemate between Boer and British interests in the territory.³⁷

However, with the discovery of gold in the Eastern Transvaal, the additional influx of concessionaires threatened both Swazi independence and the tenuous balance of power. From the beginning of his reign onwards, Mbandezi signed away his Kingdom, its land, and minerals. Certainly, as his defence claim, Mbandezi did not comprehend the European law of contracts nor the extent of his concessions; however, he knew what had happened to the African and his territory throughout the sub-continent, but did not once call upon his people to resist. Instead, he was purported to have said: «I have the white man all around me. By force they have taken the countries of all my neighbours. If I do not give them rights here, they will take them. Therefore, I give when they pay. Why should we not eat before we die?»³⁸

Thus, as Mbandezi and the royal family continued to maintain their economic status, the people of Swaziland found themselves as tenants, as labourers, and as Boer subjects. Given the Boer settlement inside Swazi territory and Portuguese encroachment, by the time a boundary commission had completed its work in 1888, Swaziland had been reduced to half its size as under Mswati II.³⁹ Within what remained of Swaziland, the Dlamini clan was quickly losing control. The white settlers set up a committee, sanctioned by the Boer and the British, to sort out the concessions mess and to vocalise the increasing strength of colonist interests in Swaziland. In 1889, a joint commission established a provisio-

nal government to manage all but Swazi affairs. In 1890, a court was established to hear concessions claims. In 1890, the Swazi witnessed colonialist interference in the coronation of Bhunu as Ngwane V. Finally, as the British imperialists and their agents were unable to prevent persistent Boer penetration into Swaziland, the territory was signed over to the Transvaal Republic in the Second Swaziland Convention of 1893 and the Third of 1894.⁴⁰

Thus, in the space of a decade, Swaziland had lost its «guaranteed» independence. As a protectorate of the Transvaal Republic, Swaziland experienced a brutal period of hut taxes, forced labour, and land seizures. In 1898, the Swazi king was put on trial for the murder of an African councillor or *indvuna*. For the first time, the Swazi were prepared to fight white settler colonialism. However, the *liqoqo* and royal family intervened and invoked the warning of Mswati II «never to spill the white man's blood». Therefore, the Swazi ruling class displayed once again its reactionary character in preventing the commencement of the national liberation struggle against white settler colonialism. The collaboration of the Swazi ruling class with white settler colonialism that began in the nineteenth century has persisted, making Swaziland the quintessential neo-colonialist country.⁴¹

On May 31 1902, the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed, ending the Anglo-Boer War and an era of colonialist expansion and contention in Southern Africa. For Swaziland, it entailed the end of a second formative period that was significant a factor in the country's political development as was the period of expansion and consolidation. In the period of colonist penetration, Swaziland was transformed into a microcosm of white-settler-dominated Africa. However, the Swazi were not to resist subjugation, an act that was to prove vital in the creation of an African nationalist consciousness among the peoples of Southern Africa. Instead, guided by a ruling class that was determined to cling to its position, the Swazi people were forced off their lands and became subject to the double oppression of white settler colonialism and a feudal colonial royal family.

Footnotes

- 1 J.S.M. Matsebula, *A History of Swaziland*, Cape Town: Longman, 1972, p. 4-5. Though short on detailed information, Matsebula displays a correct knowledge of the emergence of the *baka-Ngwane* people from the *Bembo-Nguni* group of northern Natal.
- 2 While providing a well-detailed description of pre-independence political events in Swaziland, Christian P. Potholm, *Swaziland: The Dynamics of Political Development* Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1972, Richard P. Stevens, *Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland*, London: Pall Mall,

- 1967, and Jack Helpern, *South Africa's Hostages*. London: Penguin, 1965 all tend to neglect the foundations of Swazi political development. By merely describing the formative, pre-colonial period, the dialectical aspect of Swazi political development is distorted. Thus, such a political analysis does not conceive of the present ruling order as a phenomenon that was once progressive, but which now has become increasingly outmoded and repressive - despite perfunctory alterations. Hilda Kuper's *An African Aristocracy*. London: Oxford University Press, 1947 and Brian Marwick's *The Swazi*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1940, employs a developmental perspective, but falls short of analysing progressive African nationalist trends and of employing correct theory in their analyses.
3. C.P. Potholm in *Swaziland: Dynamics of Political Modernization*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. See especially p. 28. Potholm analyses the «traditional» political structure, but makes no mention of the retrogressive character of such ruling classes. Those areas in Africa that have disposed of such reactionary groups, such as the Swazi ruling class, have done so in the struggle for greater rights for the majority of the people. It appears rather odd that Potholm should remark at the longevity of the Dlamini royal family, when the reasons for its endurance are obvious. With the persistence of the white-controlled Republic of South Africa, it remains possible for semi-feudal, semi-colonial ruling classes, as those in Swaziland, Lesotho, the Transkei, etc., to maintain state power through coercion and the perpetuation of backwardness.
 4. Hilda Kuper, *An African Aristocracy*. London: Oxford University Press, p. 12. For a more intensive and extensive account of the structure of Nguni societies, yet lacking class analysis, see Monica Wilson, «The Structure of Nguni Society», Wilson, Monica and Leonard Thompson, (ed) *The Oxford History of South Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
 5. Although no Marxist class analysis of this crucial period of Southern African history has been published, it is certainly worth venturing the thesis that a revolution in social relations occurred during the early nineteenth century, as does J.D. Omer-Cooper... Evidence suggests that Nguni societies had developed to a high state of communalism, otherwise known as barbarism in the works of Morgan, followed by Marx and Engels, in the late nineteenth century. These relatively advanced patriarchal societies had developed a political economy based on cattle-raising and food crop production, with age-regimentation and the scattered use of captive labour as definite signs of progression towards a dramatic change in the mode of production. Whereas to the North, across the Drakensburg Mountains, Sotho and Tswana societies remained communally-organized at a subsistence level, the fertile coastal areas facilitated the continued development of hierarchical Nguni societies with an increasing division of labour.
 6. Matsebula, *op.cit.* pp. 6-7.
 7. J.D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*. London: Longmans, 1966, p. 50. See also, H. Beemer, «The Development of the Military Organisation in Swaziland», *Africa*, Vol. X, no. 1, 1937. This article by Hilda Beemer (Kuper) was derived from her «pioneering» study of Swazi society that was the foundation of her work, *An African Aristocracy*.
 8. *Ibid.* pp. 33-36. The class content of the movement led by Shaka was such that it virtually excluded consideration of hierarchy or royalty. In fact, Shaka was so apprehensive of the possibility of a «counter-revolution» led by his heir that he limited his liaisons with women to a minimum and had any son that he produced executed. Therein lies the foundation of legends concerning Shaka's penchant for young boys.
 9. Several writers have written of the intense struggle for survival that was initiated by the *mfecane* among the Nguni, Sotho and other peoples. Methods of organization were rapidly transmitted and adopted, during this period. See particularly G.M. Theal, *History of South Africa from 1795-1872*, 4th edn., London: Oxford University Press, 1919.
 10. As to the issue of the introduction of patriarchal slavery into Southern Africa through the Zulu revolution, several authors have discussed the matter but have reached no conclusions of any significance. Most of the indecision surrounding this issue arises from the failure to understand the dialectical stages theory of historical development and the general characteristics of the stage of patriarchal slavery. Therefore, most authors do not pinpoint the dialectical shift in the mode of production that was the result of the *mfecane*. Some, such as Hilda Kuper, hint that raiding for cattle and captives greatly intensified among the Nguni but have claimed that slavery and the slave trade did not exist. Of course, chattel slavery did not exist, because a commodity system of production did not yet exist. However, the forceful acquisition of captives to perform uncompensated compulsory labour (Marx's definition) did exist and greatly accelerated as a result of the *mfecane*. There are Marxist historians and anthropologists who have yet to consider this vital period. Of course, the trend towards diversity in Marxist studies of non-Western societies may influence writers to emulate Marx and conclude that the slave mode of production is not applicable to the Third World nor Southern Africa.
 11. Omer-Cooper, *op.cit.* pp. 33-36.
 12. *Ibid.* p. 35. Leonard Thompson, «the Difagane and its Aftermath, 1822-1836», Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, (ed) *The Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. I, London: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 395.
 13. Omer-Cooper, *op.cit.* p. 36; Thompson, «The Zulu Kingdom» *op.cit.* p. 343-346.
 14. Matsebula, *op.cit.* p. 15.
 15. Kuper, *op.cit.* p. 15; Omer-Cooper, *op.cit.* p. 51.
 16. Omer-Cooper, *op.cit.* p. 52; Matsebula, *op.cit.* p. 17.
 17. Kuper, *op.cit.* pp. 15-18 describes the methods employed by Mswati II to strengthen his personal power, that of the Swazi Kingdom and that of the Dlamini clan. One method was the dispatching of Princes of the Dlamini clan to various outposts of the kingdom.
 18. Omer-Cooper, *op.cit.* pp. 51-52.
 19. Kuper, *op.cit.* p. 61, p. 65.
 20. *Ibid.* p. 65.
 21. *Ibid.* p. 67. The ties of *kukhonta* have maintained their significance in rural Swaziland as a major element of the feudalist dictatorship. Besides confirming the power of the royal family, the local chiefs, and the *indvunas*, these ties of vassalage have been employed as a determining factor in the consideration of the eligibility of aliens to receive Swazi citizenship. Unless an outsider formally commits himself to the service of the feudal ruling class, he remains liable to expulsion under Swaziland's stringent citizenship laws and unable to achieve professional promotion.
 22. With the arrival of white settler colonialism, the Swazi were restricted in their expansionary raids for cattle and captives. Therefore, the Swazi ruling class was compelled to shift from a rising society that was based upon domestic slavery and vassalage to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal arrangement that can be described as parasitic. The once vigorous social institutions lapsed into a state of decay. Pre-capitalist forms of class struggle have intensified, forcing the feudal regime to resort to increasing terror and repression.
 23. Kuper, *op.cit.* p. 66. The actual alignment of political unity was re-arranged by Mswati II in such a way that the Queen Mother's village remained the titular Capital of the Swazi Kingdom. The king's village became the actual centre of administration and power, subordinate only to the ritual leadership of the Capital. In many ways, this arrangement was remarkably similar to that in Japan in the middle ages, where the *Shogun* remained a vassal to the titular Emperor while running the country's affairs. In comparison to the radically-altered superstructures among the Nguni and Sotho, the hierarchy of the Swazi Kingdom remained archaic, contributing to the backward character of political development in Swaziland.
 24. Potholm, *op.cit.* p. 22. The *Liqoqa* or Inner Council has consisted of twenty or so members of the royal family and other important personages, with some variance over time. This King-in-Council persisted after a new constitution had established a parliamentary system in 1967 and became the policy-making and governing body after the 1973 coup.
 25. Halpern, *op.cit.*, p. 336. The national Council or greater *Li-bandla* has remained the basic feudal political unit, delegating permanent authority to the *liqoqa* or King-in-Council, reflecting the persistent backwardness of

Swaziland, the Swazi Nationals Council still excluded women from its proceedings

26. *ibid* The feudal Swazi National Council still requires a consensus to reaffirm ruling class supremacy.
27. The foundations of the Swazi nation consisted of an aggregation of Nguni and Sotho-speaking clans that developed the si-Swati language and Swazi culture. However, the feudal ruling class, not the whole people remained the embodiment of the «nation».
28. The distinction between the process of nation formation and the actual establishment of a nation or nation-state was discussed in the Introductory Chapter. While the achievement of a higher form of unity than that based on lineage ties was expedited by one pre-capitalist class societies and their dynastic state apparatus, the nation or nation-state does not acquire pre-eminence until the execution of bourgeois or national democratic revolutions. In Swaziland, the introduction of imperialism - moribund capitalism - has preserved the semi-feudal, semi-colonial ruling order. Thus, reference to the «Swazi nation» still implies that the royal family, not the people as a whole, represent the primary form of unity. The foreseeable ascendancy of African nationalism in Swaziland still requires a national democratic revolution.
29. The three most prominent «marxist anthropologists» of the present day are possibly Emmanuel Terray (*Marxism and Primitive Societies*), New York Monthly Review Press, 1973), Claude Meillassoux (several articles), and Samir Amin (more of an economist) (Archie Mafaje could perhaps rival them). Whereas the practical empirical research of these social scientists is rather limited, their theoretical conclusions appear to be based on a reaction to the established marxist works, not on a perceptive theoretical re-formulation. By harkening back to the works of Marx, Engels, and Morgan, these radical social scientists have aspired to bring diversity back into the classification of the development of human societies. Unlike Marx and Engels, who wanted to denigrate the «barbarism» of non-Western societies, and the «Asiatic mode of production», this new trend appears obsessed with the liberalist conception of the validity of the «non-Western road to development». The most reasonable approach to this controversy would be to criticise the «stages theory of development» that was canonised under Stalin through applying theory to concrete examples. The Chinese have properly done so, and Chinese historical materialism has definitely maintained the stages theory of development. The Chinese have, after much debate, asserted that slavery was introduced by the Duke of Chou in the 14th century B.C.; feudalism by the Chin Dynasty in 221 B.C.; capitalism in 1911; and socialism in 1958. There is no mention in Chinese texts of the Asiatic Mode of Production. Theoretical obsessions with modes of production and social formations are just scholastic exercises which prove nothing without concrete evidence.
30. Working within the limited tradition of non-Western historical materialism and concentrating upon Capitalist societies, it is understandable that Marx and Engels made serious mistakes in their analyses of non-Western societies. Their confusion of the «slavery-barbarism-civilisation» of Morgan with the «communalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism» schema appears to have added to their mistaken conceptions about the development of non-Western societies. Their extension of Morgan's theory to include the Asiatic Mode of Production and their analysis of Indian village life as «transfixed barbarism» mysteriously overlooked the intense class struggle between oppression and

oppressed that occurred on a more decentralized level than in European societies. Theories that state power was used to maintain barbarism are not scientific, they do not take into account the concrete relations of production nor class struggle. Thus, in writing before the age of imperialism, Marx and Engels could prescribe a dose of Western Capitalism to India (perhaps rightly) as the best remedy for her backwardness. Of course what India has needed for so long is a sufficiently bloody national democratic revolution, not positivism nor the Asiatic mode of Production. For more, see L.H. Krader, *The Asiatic Mode of Production* Amsterdam Van Gorcum, 1976 and Dave Elliott, unpublished MSS Thesis on Thailand, written in The Hague at the Institute of Social Studies in 1975.

31. It is proper to term the «traditional» African ruling class under white settler colonialism in Southern Africa as «semi-feudal, semi-colonial», though not without reservations. The chiefs, indunas, and the like in general eventually established at least a tacit relationship with white settler colonialism by permitting a limited form of indirect rule among Africans and through the constricting of African territory, white settler colonialism engendered a form of feudalism among the African ruling class. Thus, the appellation semi-feudal semi-colonial can apply.
32. Matsebula, *op cit* p 81.
33. *ibid* p. 24.
34. Kuper, *op cit* p 26. There has been much dispute between chauvinistic Swazi chronicles, such as Matsebula, and Western historians over the struggle for succession and certain Afrikaaner observers. The seven-year period of uncertainty most probably created much tension, since only in 1875 was the traditional method of choosing an *ngwenyama* implemented. During the seven-year period, there appeared to be much maneuvering that betrayed many divisions within the Swazi hierarchy. Though Mbilini appeared to be the only one who definitely employed warfare, the dispute obviously caused much derision on which the Afrikaaners could not fail to capitalize.
35. Matsebula, *op cit* p 29.
36. Kuper, *op cit* p 20.
37. Ronald Hyam, *The Failure of South African Expansion, 1906-1948*, London MacMillan, 1972, pp 6-7. The fact that the Pretoria Conventions of 1881 and 1884 did not merely relate to Swaziland, but to Southern Africa in general, exhibits the unimportance of the Swazi collaborationist regime. For more than fifty years, British aims in Swaziland were directed more towards keeping the Boers and Portuguese out, not towards aligning with the Swazi. However, the Swazi were fairly successful in playing off Boer against Briton, until 1907, when the ruling class lost control of most of the land and mineral wealth, leaving the Diaminis with only people as leverage.
38. *ibid* p 6.
39. matsebula, *op cit* Ch 6, pp 47-65.
40. Kuper, *op cit* pp 27-28.
41. Even the British imperialists considered the Swazi ruling class as «worthless» (see Hyam). The bloody conflicts of the Swazi with the Zulu enabled the ruling class to rationalise their relationship with white settler colonialism. The process of nation, state, and class formation in Swaziland has been continuously retarded by the Swazi ruling class, even now. In the meantime, the Swazi regime has been able to maintain feudal control over the backward country through perpetrating ignorance, subservience, superstition, and terror among the rural masses. It has seen fit to concoct and preserve alliances with various sectors of white settler colonialism.

(continued from page 6)

to take the M.K. oath. We strongly feel that there is no difference between the leaders of the A.N.C. and men of M.K. who are obliged to take the oath, for such an oath might have dealt with J. Radebe's desertion and will defi-

nately deal with any other leader harbouring right wing designs of sabotaging our revolution.

13. The development of the Revolution has necessitated a renewal and rejuvenation of these who are leading it. We must guard

16. We call for a full definition of the A.N.C.—Z.A.P.U. alliance, its form and content.

We demand that a serious and genuine effort should be made towards the intensification of ways and means of going home. This

should be done actively involving the most dedicated members of M.K., and not just hand-picked individuals.

Signatories:

THEORY OF THE THREE WORLD IS CORRECT

Because of lack of space we have omitted our own view on the correctness of the Theory of the Three Worlds, one of the last legacies left by Mao-Tse-Tung from amongst a galaxy of legacies, to the exploited and oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle to destroy the class enemies of mankind. Suffice for us to say that it is a correct *class* analysis of the world situation today.

We bring instead the viewpoint of Zairean Marxist-Leninists supporting the theory of the Three Worlds, as an African contribution on this question.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

It is impossible to fully understand the present situation in Zaire without taking into account the evolution of the world situation characterised today by the division of the world into three major parts — into three worlds which are both inter-related and contradictory. Mao-Tse-Tung wrote that since this monster imperialism appeared all the events in the world are so clearly linked that it is impossible to isolate any one of them. It was Mao-Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, great teacher of the international proletariat and of the oppressed peoples and nations, who presented a scientific analysis of the world after the war. He defined the three worlds of our era.

THE FIRST WORLD.

The First World consists of the USA and the USSR, the two Superpowers, the greatest exploiters and oppressors of the peoples who are rivals for the domination of the whole world. Europe is the key point in their rivalry, because and as a result of the economic, technological human and military potential of Europe, whichever one of the two Superpowers holds Europe, considerably modifies the relationship of forces in its favour, thus permitting it to have world-wide hegemony. This rivalry sooner or later will end in a Third World War. It is important to pay particular attention to the characteristics peculiar to the two Superpowers to each stage in their evolution and never to consider them as absolutely identical.

Mao-Tse-Tung writes in «On Contradiction» «nothing in the world develops in an absolutely even way» and we need to combat the theory of equal development or the theory of equilibrium. The rivalry between the two Superpowers is composed in fact of the distinctive characteristics of each of the two Superpowers. As a result of the uneven development of the imperialist countries and thanks to the two world wars the U.S. has become a superpower. At the end of the second World War they revealed themselves as the principal enemy of the peoples of the world. It was with insolence that they repressed the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world. At the same time they accentuated the political, economic and military control which they wielded over all the other capitalist countries. But between the U.S. and the other capitalist countries there existed some irreconcilable contradictions. It was inevitable that sooner or later in their own self-interest these countries would rise up against the U.S. Stalin has said: «In appearance calmness reigns everywhere. The U.S. has reduced to an adequate lot Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries — Western Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, having fallen into the claws of the U.S. carry out docilely its commands. But you would be wrong to think this calmness can last forever, that these countries will bear endlessly the domination and the yoke of the U.S., that they will not try to tear off this American yoke in order to embark upon independence.»

against the fossilization of the leadership as this is likely to hinder the progressive development of our Revolution. There has been a tendency to appoint people to the National Executive outside. We would like to know what is the yardstick for these appointments. After proper consultation with all the members of the A.N.C. a method should be found of changing leadership and the fact that there have been no conferences involving all our members at home should not be used as an excuse for not renewing the leadership. We should not depend on mandates given at national conferences 10 or more years ago. We have been forced to conclude that a few individuals are monopolising posts in the Organisation. This has brought about a situation where members of the Planning Council are also members of the National Executive.

14. It is very alarming that double standards as regards to health of the members of the Organisation are maintained. Whenever leaders are sick arrangements are made for them to receive excellent medical attention without delay but this sort of concern is hardly shown to the rank and file of the movement. We maintain that all of us are important in so far as the Revolution is concerned and should thus be accorded the same treatment.

CHILDREN OF LEADERS BEING GROOMED FOR LEADERSHIP

15. We consider the youth in M.K. as the most revolutionary. We strongly feel that we should be consulted on matters affecting the youth. For instance we must be informed about the revolutionary International Youth gatherings and we should be given priority in the sending of delegates. The farce of the Bulgaria A.N.C. Youth delegation should never be repeated and those responsible should acknowledge the mistake they made. The Youth of South Africa is not located in London or in any European capital. We therefore take particular exception to the appointment of certain students as leaders of the A.N.C. Youth. Thabo Mbeki who went to London on a scholarship sponsored by NUSAS is a leader of A.N.C. bogus Youth Organisation.

We are convinced that the A.N.C. leadership in Exile is according better treatment and attention to the students. This attitude and practice has had a disastrous effect of diverting many would be revolutionaries into the academic field. We feel that it is high time that the M.K. personnel which is in fact the core of our Revolution should be given the best treatment by virtue of having volunteered with their lives to give supreme sacrifice for the Revolution.

Another disturbing symptom is the glaring practice of nepotism where the leadership uses its positions to promote their kith and kin and put them in positions where they will not be in any physical confrontation with the enemy. The sending of virtually all the sons of the leaders to universities in Europa is a sign that these people are being groomed for leadership positions *after the M.K. cadres have overthrown the fascists*. We have no doubt that these people will wait in Europe and will just come home when everything has been made secure and comfortable for them playing the typical role of the Bandas and others. As opposed to the treatment of the students, we find complete indifference and apathy to the heroes and martyrs of our Revolution who have fallen both in South Africa and Zimbabwe. We have in mind the gallant sons of our country, who without doubt lay their lives in the struggle against imperialism. These include among many Patrick Mosedi one time President of the A.N.C.Y.L. and former treason trialist, Benson Ntsele the tireless Commissar, the young cream of our contry Sparks Moloi, Chris Mampuru, James Masimini and Andries Motsepe. We have not forgotten those who have defiantly and stubbornly refused to be frightened by the hangman's noose in Rhodesia following the heroic example set by our murdered martyrs Vuyisile Mini, Zinakile Mkhamba, Diliza Khayingo, W. Bongco and others. These comrades are the dedicated Alfred Mninzi known to many of us as James Harmanus, Tamane known as Zami, the son of that great revolutionary and women's leader Dora Tamane, the young Rhodes Msuthu Ngamlana known to us as Charles Mhambi and Tula Bophela.

The U.S. as a result of the politics of aggression during the years following the second World War have received blows from peoples all over the world and are completely unmasked. The blows given by the peoples of the world especially China-Korea-Vietnam-Cambodia-Laos have precipitated the grave crisis of the U.S. Superpower. The U.S. has begun to decline and is on the defensive. This moreover does not exclude the sporadic jolts to which we must be especially attentive without at the same time losing sight of the general tendency.

The victory of the glorious October Revolution under the leadership of the great Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Lenin installed the dictatorship of the proletariat founding thus the first socialist state in the world. Lenin indicated that after the taking of power by the proletariat there still exists an acute and complex class struggle and that the danger of capitalist restoration remains. Consequently it is important to reinforce the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin wrote: «the transition from capitalism to communism covers a whole historical period. So long as it is not completed the exploiters retain ineluctably the hopes of restoration, a hope which is changed into attempts at restoration. He insists the suppression of classes is the result of a long and difficult stubborn class struggle which after the overthrow of capitalism, after the destruction of the bourgeois State, after the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives of the Old Socialism and Social-Democrats imagine, but merely changes in form in order to become more desperate in many respects.»

As a continuer of the work of Lenin, Stalin was a great M-L. He guided the Soviet Union in the acceleration of socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivisation. He struggled resolutely against the opposition and counter-revolutionaries of all types who had infiltrated into the Party and State, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Kamenev, Radek, etc. during the anti-fascist war the main conflict was between the USSR, the only socialist country at the time, and fascist Germany, the most powerful of imperialist countries at the time.

Stalin carrying high the banner of Marxism-Leninism led the Soviet people. He overcame innumerable difficulties in this way, and triumphed in the end over the monster created by Hitler which had grabbed many countries in Europe.

These magnificent exploits are indissolubly linked to the superiority of the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. After Stalin's death, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, those counter-revolutionaries who had infiltrated into the bosom of the Party, usurped the direction of the State, and the Party and the Soviet Union. They resto-

red capitalism «The property in a socialist society» is now a form of capitalist property. The principal base of the Soviet economy is now state monopolistic capitalism which integrates completely more economically with the appearance of a fascist state.

A bureaucratic and monopolistic oligarchy exercising dictatorship in the Hitler style. Mao-Tse-Tung has said: In the Soviet Union at the present time it is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type.» (Declaration of 11 May, 1964).

After a survey of experiences both positive and negative which occurred in China and in the world at large Mao-Tse-Tung applying the concept of the unity of opposites in the analysis of socialist society developed the thesis of Lenin allowing us better to understand the degeneration of the Soviet Union. Mao-Tse-Tung writes: Socialist society extends over a long period of time during which classes, class struggle and class contradictions continue to exist as well as struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path as well as the danger of the restoration of capitalism.»

The representatives of the bourgeoisie who have infiltrated the party, the Government, the Army and the different sectors in the cultural domain constitute a collection of counter-revolutionaries. If the occasion arose they would seize power and transform the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.»

Khrushchev and Brezhnev belong in fact to this clique, are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie, having infiltrated the Party. In the ranks of imperialism the Soviet Union is no longer behind the other imperialist countries but is a superpower having benefitted from the vast development of the productive forces during the socialist period. Since Russia has reached the ranks of world-wide imperialism it inevitably succumbs to the laws of imperialism. Lenin has noted that the very essence of imperialism is the rivalry of several great powers tending to hegemony.» Today it is the Soviet Union and the U.S., the two Superpowers, who are in rivalry for the domination of the world. They form the First World. «This rivalry is absolute and lasting of long duration, while the collusion is relative and temporary. They argue at the same time as they collude. And when they collude it is with a view to a still more desperate rivalry.» (Chou-en-Lai – 10th Party Congress).

In this rivalry for world-wide hegemony the USSR is on the offensive and the US is on the defensive. It is from the USSR that stems principally the danger of war, which the two superpowers will inevitably unleash. Here is a marked characteristic of the contemporary historical rea-

lity and of the characteristic peculiar to each of the 2 superpowers of the First World.

THE THIRD WORLD

Opposing the 2 superpowers rises the Third World. These countries have experienced or continue to experience oppression and the barbarous exploitation of imperialism especially of the 2 superpowers, therefore their desperate resistance. Through several decades of anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle a large number of these countries have gained their independence one after another. Nevertheless the overwhelming majority of them still undergo in different degree the control of imperialism especially the two superpowers. Today the Third World is the prime force in the struggle against imperialism, especially against the two superpowers. The revolutionary struggles which nowadays these countries make, shake the weight of imperialist oppression and domination and exercise a profound influence on the progress of history.

Certain people use the consequential character of the struggles led by the national bourgeoisie in most of these countries as a pretext to deny not only the importance of the struggles of the Third World but also the gains made by these struggles, and in the last analysis the struggles and the contradictions that gave rise to them.

It is in this way that the struggles and their gains are presented as the new method of imperialism. It is true that drawing lessons from its failure, especially the 2 superpowers, is forced to use new methods to perpetuate its domination. Imperialism is extremely cunning and can adapt its tactics to make new offensives. But it is important to know how to distinguish these new methods and the anti-imperialist struggles and its gains. Any confusion at this level leads to combatting the anti-imperialist struggle and their gains and consequently to placing oneself objectively on the side of imperialism, especially of the 2 superpowers. The inconsistent character of the anti-imperialist struggle undertaken by the national bourgeoisie is determined above all by the exploiting nature of the national bourgeoisie about which we cannot have any illusions. Nevertheless this aspect must not mask the other aspect that

between national capitalism and monopoly capitalism there exists a contradiction and consequently struggle. In order for the anti-imperialist struggle to take on a consistent character it is a matter not of excluding the national bourgeoisie from the united anti-imperialist front, but to ensure that the struggle is guided by the political organisation of the vanguard party, the M-L Party. The Trotskyist point of view, in one form or another is ultra-leftist, and isolates the proletariat and consequently prevents it from taking control of the struggle.

2ND WORLD.

It is important to distinguish that between the 2 Superpowers on the one hand and the Third World on the other there exists some intermediary countries called the second world. These are especially Western Europe, Canada and Japan. Australia and New Zealand also form part of the second world.

On the one hand with respect to the third World these countries have recourse to relations of oppression and exploitation. Certain of them like France and Britain still have colonies. On the other hand these countries undergo to different degrees the control, vexations, threats and pressures of the two superpowers, especially of Russian social-imperialism. Lenin said: «It is not only in the newly discovered countries but also in the old ones that imperialism leads to annexing, to the reinforcement of the national yoke, and also to indignation and resistance.»

This fact makes possible and necessary the unity of these countries. Unity reinforces their independence in relation to the 2 superpowers, whereas their disunity, their isolation, favours the take over by one or the other superpower. This same fact makes possible to a certain degree a rapprochement between the countries of the second world and the third world in opposition to the two superpowers.

We need to deepen our study of the world situation in the light of the Theory of the Three Worlds elaborated by Mao-Tse-Tung. It is a powerful weapon which allows us to understand better the nature of the events taking place in our own country.

ALBANIANS EXPEL AFRICANS WHO DEFEND MAO-TSE-TUNG

LETTER OF PROTEST BY THE FEDERATION OF AFRICAN STUDENTS IN ITALY TO THE PARTY OF
LABOUR OF ALBANIA ON THE EXPULSION OF THEIR DELEGATION FROM THE SEVENTH
CONGRESS IN TIRANA, ALBANIA.

Dear Comrades,

Our Federation, consisting of the National Union of Somali Students in Italy (U.N.S.S.I.) and the Organisation of Eritrean patriots in Italy (P.E.I.) energetically protests against the grave decision taken by the Central Committee of the Union of Young Workers of Albania (U.G.L.A.) of stopping our delegation from reading its own message at your Seventh Congress.

In addition we protest against the coercive measures taken against us and the expulsion of our delegation from Albania.

As you well know we sent our delegation to the Seventh Congress at the invitation of your Central Committee animated by the desire to strengthen militant links between our organisations and between the youth and the African people and the Albanian people, and by the desire to exchange experiences in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the hegemony of the two superpowers, USSR and USA.

Your Central Committee on the second day of the Congress after taking our message on the excuse that they needed it for «translation into Albanian» then took the grave decision of not allowing our organisation to speak and made the following absurd and contradictory justifications

«Your message is too long»

«Only the delegation that represents one organisation in one country can read their message but the F.S.A.I. represents students of a whole continent.»

«We don't know the F.S.A.I. well»

But let's analyse briefly the justification given by the responsible comrades of the U.G.L.A.

We wish to ask, is it conceivable to refuse a friendly organisation invited from a distant country to read its message because «its message is too long.»

The fact that other delegations from various foreign organisations read messages that were long demonstrates the absurdity of your argument.

We would like to ask the responsible comrades of U.G.L.A. why a delegation which represents a revolutionary organisation which united the students of various African countries is not

permitted to have a platform before the Congress of the U.G.L.A.

The adoption of such a position by those responsible in the U.G.L.A. is extremely grave for it appears to oppose the unity of the students and youth amongst the African people, and seeks their division.

The fact that FEANF, an organisation which pretends to represent African students in France read out its message and that the message sent by the so-called OSLAI group was transmitted by Radio Tirana clearly expresses your motivation.

Our Federation since 1970 has taken an official position of recognition and support for the revolutionary and internationalist role of the People's Republic of Albania and that of U.G.L.A.

Particularly during the last two years there has been an intense exchange of documents between our organisations; in addition F.S.A.I., U.N.N.S.I., and P.E.I. have had continuous contact and exchange of documents with the Embassy of Albania in Rome.

How then did the Central Committee of the U.G.L.A. consider us an unknown organisation? And if that was the case how was it possible to invite an unknown organisation.

Our organisation believes, as the facts show, that the arguments advanced by the Central committee of the U.G.L.A. to refuse our delegation a platform, unfounded; and we are convinced that the principal motive lay in our political divergencies.

The political divergences between us and UGLA concerns the tactical and strategical orientation of the youth movement on the question of the world revolution.

In fact as you are aware of the contents of our message to the Seventh Congress we maintain that «the great theory of the Three Worlds personally elaborated by President Mao-Tse-Tung is a correct tactical and strategical orientation which permits the peoples of the world and the international proletariat to isolate the two superpowers, to unite all the forces that can be united so that they can triumph in their struggle for national independence, socialism and peace. It helps us to distinguish the principal enemy from the secondary enemy.

We reaffirm as stated in our message that the two superpowers, USSR and USA «are the prin-

principal enemies of the peoples and countries of the world» and that «their rivalry cannot but be resolved through a war....and that the explosion of a Third World War incited by the two international gendarmes is real.»

We also recognise that in the actual relations between the two superpower US Imperialism is in decline and tries to defend its old conquests while Soviet social-imperialism is new and on the rise, and is more dangerous and aggressive.

In supporting our position in our message we listed a series of armed aggressions, plots and coup d'états organised by social-imperialism against the peoples and countries of the world, especially in Africa (Angola, Zaire, Sudan, Horn of Africa, etc.).

Our message made it clear the necessity of resolving the contradictions between the countries of the 2nd world and the 3rd world within the objectives of creating a solid and broad united front between them against the common enemy, the two superpowers. We underlined that the countries and peoples of the third world «constitute the principal force in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, particularly the two superpowers in the anti-hegemonic world united front.

In addition as you have read in our message to the Seventh Congress we maintain that the Peoples Republic of China is the bastion of the revolutionary movement and of the proletariat of the whole world.

President Mao-Tse-Tung has given an inestimable contribution for the tactical and strategic orientation to the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people and that of the people of the whole world, for the victory of national independence, and for the construction and defense of socialism.

The Chinese Communist Party led by President Hua Kuo Feng, worthy successor of President Mao-Tse-Tung, has guaranteed the continuation of the revolutionary line of Mao-Tse-Tung both in foreign policy and internally by defeating the counter-revolutionary gang of four.

Your political position, to the contrary, as shown in your documents, especially in the political report presented by Comrade Rexha Lumuri, Secretary General of the Union of Labor of Albania, at the Seventh Congress, is diametrically opposite and directly attacks the revolutionary orientation maintained by our organisation.

This political report violently attacks the just theory of the Three Worlds, «puts on the same level» the aggressiveness of the two superpowers, USA and USSR and considers the necessity to struggle against the two superpowers, the monopolistic bourgeoisie of Western Europe and the reactionary regimes of the Third World, on «the same level.»

In fact in the same political report you maintain that the two superpowers USA and USSR are the greatest enemies of the peoples of the world and are equally dangerous and aggressive.

In addition you say in the political report that those who defend the theory of the Three Worlds are «revisionist and opportunist who are supporting conciliation with imperialists, colonialists, neo-colonialists, with the bourgeoisie and other reactionaries who dominate the people, with the multi-nationals and with all the oppressors and exploiters. It is this which leads to the various theories about the division of the world into Three Worlds, non-aligned countries, etc.

As a result the political report of your 7th Congress does not give any hint for the necessity of an anti-hegemonic world united front against the two superpowers.

At your 7th Congress there was not even a little mention of either the memory of Mao-Tse-Tung or his teachings. On the contrary his teachings were attacked especially the Theory of the Three Worlds personally formulated by him.

Your position puts the aggressors and the aggressed in the same camp i.e. the two superpowers, the USA and USSR and the regimes of the 2nd World and the Third World because they are all «reactionaries.»

As we all know the majority of the countries of the second and third world are bourgeoisie and dependent to various degrees on the superpowers and at the same time in contradiction and in acute struggle against them. To devalue this fact we believe will be a grave error.

Your proposal in the face of the menace of a Third World War incited by the two superpowers, and in particular by social-imperialism is to declare war against all the imperialists and all the reactionaries without distinguishing the chief enemy from the secondary enemy, nor the aggressor from those aggressed.

Otherwise how could it be that the great revolutionary, Comrade Stalin, could have concluded treaties and alliances with reactionary and imperialist powers like the USA and Britain, etc. during the Second World War to defeat the fascist aggressors.

By attacking the theory of the Three Worlds and all the authentic revolutionary forces who support it you put in the same bag with imperialists and social-imperialists the reactionary and the revolutionary forces of the world.

You say that who does not accept your analysis is against you and attack him as «reactionary» and expel him from your Congress.

In doing this you will have the grave political responsibility of arbitrarily dividing the revolutionary youth movement of the world into blocs between

the «pure revolutionaries» and the «opportunists and revisionists.»

Who will gain from this division....but particularly the new czars of Kremlin.....

Executive Committee of the FSAI
Executive Committee of the UNSSI
Executive Committee of the PEI.

Interview with UNITA Commander

INTERVIEW WITH LIEUTENANT COLONEL ANTONIO VAKULAKUTA, MEMBER OF THE UNITA POLITICAL BUREAU AND MILITARY COMMANDER OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT. VAKULAKUTA DENIES CO-OPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS

CHAKA:

Paulo Jorge, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Angola, spoke at the United Nations in July, and accused UNITA of making raids into Angola from bases in South African occupied Namibia. Other Angolan government spokesmen have alleged that UNITA soldiers are being trained by the South African army at Grootfontein Military base in Namibia. What is the military situation along Angola's border with Namibia? Are there contacts between South Africa forces and UNITA?

VAKULUKUTA:

This Paulo Jorge needs the South Africans to explain why 20,000 Cuban mercenaries remain in Angola and kill patriots. UNITA does not need the Boers to train us. What do they know about guerilla warfare? We rely on our own commanders trained in People's China, in Zambia and Tanzania, by the Portuguese, and even by the Russian social imperialists themselves. UNITA has others who fought the guerilla war since 1966.

CHAKA:

Some months ago, the Western press reported a massive movement of refugees across the Angolan border into Namibia. What triggered this mass exodus?

VAKULUKUTA:

The peasants were running from Cubans, FAPLAS, and SWAPO, because they were being killed, the women raped, and cattle and other things stolen. UNITA guerillas are fish and the people water. The Russian lackeys tried to kill the fish by destroying the water and forced the people to seek refuge with relatives across the border in Namibia. This is not new. When the Portuguese made offensives in Angola and Mozambique, the people ran away to Zaire, Zambia and Tanzania. Today the Cubans, FAPLAS, and SWAPO are like the Portuguese colonialist, only more brutal and worse.

CHAKA:

The South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) was closely allied with Unita in the past. Why are external SWAPO spokesmen attacking UNITA with such vigor and venom? What has been the historical relationship between SWAPO and UNITA?

VAKULUKUTA:

The problem with SWAPO is stupidity and opportunism. They can't tell friends, like UNITA, from enemies, like the Social Imperialists. From 1967 to 1975, UNITA gave SWAPO bases in Angola, medicine, some weapons and training. We guided them to Namibia and the Angolan people gave them food. Now, they kill the same people and they will pay. We understand that they need MPLA support, but we will never accept them killing Angolans like savages and fighting UNITA, because we suffered for them. Now they fight us in Angola more than the Boers in Namibia.

CHAKA:

Are UNITA activists working in the towns and cities of the far South of Angola as well as in the countryside? What is the nature of this work?

VAKULUKUTA:

Clandestine work goes on in the towns. UNITA has eyes and ears there and political mobilization takes place right under the noses of the Russian puppets. Also, there are attacks on towns. In the South, we attacked and occupied for a time Cuangar, Colai, Dirico, and Caiundo. The MPLA officers ran to Namibia. In July, we shot down a plane with rocket launchers.

CHAKA:

In early 1976, Angolan government troops and Cuban officers met with South African officials at Oshikango on the Namibia-Angola border. What took place at this meeting? Have contacts between South African and Angolan government officials continued?

VAKULUKUTA:

The Oshikango talks between Boers, Cubans, and MPLA were criminal. It meant MPLA and the

Cubans accept the Boers as the government in Namibia. This talking continues. They talk about the Cunene Dam and Diamang diamond company that are owned by South African interest. They talk about their common border post. They can talk. They have a lot in common.

CHAKA:

What effect has the war had on the life e.g. agriculture, education, health, religion, etc. of the people in the South?

VAKULUKUTA:

UNITA has almost total support in the South and all UNITA supporters are in danger from the Russian lackeys of Neto, Castro and Nujoma. The MPLA offensives made people leave villages where they lived for very long. We have begun a new life in the bush, but there is always danger and schools, churches and families are disrupted by the war. But the people would rather be with UNITA in the bush and suffer than live under the Cubans and MPLA in villages and the towns.

CHAKA:

How many Cuban soldiers would you estimate are operating in the far South? What is the total number of government troops in the area and how are they equipped?

VAKULUKUTA:

There are 1,000 Cuban mercenaries in the far South and 2,000 FAPLAS. There is a difference between MPLA and the mercenaries. The Cubans have good uniforms, boots, houses and

food. The FAPLAS lack shoes, and sometimes uniforms. They sometime suffer hunger. This causes conflict between the two and some FAPLAS come over to Unita.

CHAKA:

How many troops are under your command? What is their level of training and equipment?

VAKULUKUTA:

We have 1,000 guerillas under our command. They are armed with the small arms that we received during the civil war and what we have captured since. Rocket launchers, small mortars, and mines are our best weapons. The level of training for guerilla warfare is high. Our troops are fighting for a sacred cause and are politically motivated. This and the masses support assures our victory.

CHAKA:

It appears as if SWAPO, which is presently opposed to UNITA, will come to power in Namibia in the not-so-distant future. What effect will this have on UNITA's ability to continue the war against the Luanda government?

VAKULUKUTA:

This will not effect our struggle. Namibia is Namibia and Angola is Angola. We only hope SWAPO will stop being Soviet puppets and not kill the Namibian people like they are killing Angolans for the Russian imperialists. If they do, the Namibian people will rebel.



PAC ARRESTS IN SWAZILAND

David Dube writes:

On April 7 this year the Swaziland government arrested members of the PAC. Some of them have lived in Swaziland for over 14 years without any criminal record. The Swaziland government says that these men and women have behaved in an irresponsible manner which was in conflict with their terms of political asylum. It is known that the PAC guerillas made revolutionary history in recent months. The South African government discovered last year that some PAC guerillas had entered South Africa

three years ago undetected lived with the people organised them and trained them in guerilla warfare. The military training was done inside Azania and not Swaziland. The irresponsible actions that the Swaziland government talks about is that the PAC refugees in Swaziland helped the guerillas as they passed on their way to Azania on their historic mission.

We appeal to the Swaziland government to reverse the harsh treatment that has been meted out to the PAC refugees and to immediately release those being charged.

SUPPORT IKWEZI

Ikwezi is a Marxist-Leninist journal devoted to the success of the proletarian revolutions in Southern Africa based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought the highest revolutionary ideology of our epoch. The Azanian revolution cries out for correct Marxist-Leninist leadership. If the liberation movements are in a state of chaos today it is because it lacks Marxist-Leninist leadership. The petit bourgeois careerists who dominate the leaderships of the liberation movements always compromise the struggle. In the new situation of Azania today where the people's forces are on the ascendancy the Marxist-Leninist forces must boldly assert their leadership. But our Marxism-Leninism must be applied to the concrete conditions of our country. It must be based on a thorough investigation and study of the nature of the class struggle and solidly rooted in the mass of the workers and peasants. More especially we must master the nature and content of the national democratic revolution and achieve hegemony in the leadership of this stage of the struggle. In building the Marxist-Leninist party we must guard against forms of opportunism and all sham Marxists.

The Marxist-Leninists must mobilise the Azanian masses on the basis of the main contradiction between them and the enemy - which is white settler colonialism and the two superpowers - for democratic rights and national liberation.

BUT IKWEZI NEEDS YOUR FINANCIAL HELP DESPERATELY - SO PLEASE SUBSCRIBE AND DONATE GENEROUSLY!

Address: IKWEZI 8-11 VICTORIA CENTRE NOTTINGHAM ENGLAND.