

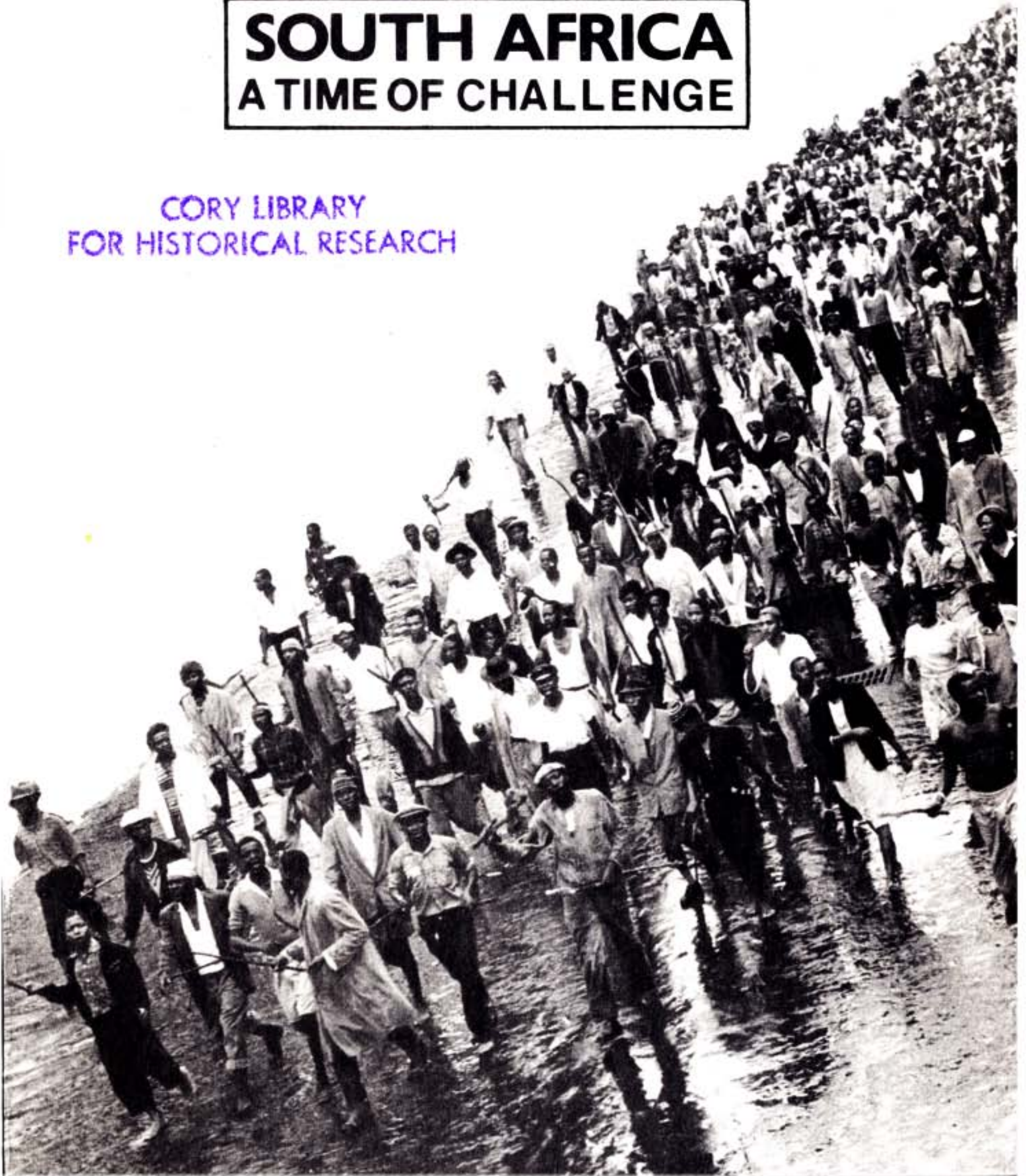
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SOUTH AFRICA
A TIME OF CHALLENGE

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ARMS, OIL, & THE SINAI WAR

At the time of writing the war in the Middle East has ground to an uneasy halt, and the action has shifted to the feverish arena of diplomatic manoeuvre and counter-manoeuve. On the ground of battle, the fronts between Israel and her neighbours are held precariously along lines which do not greatly alter the fundamental problems of people and their future in the area, however profoundly they might influence the calculations of military strategists. Israel has penetrated further into Syrian territory than before, and has established a military pocket on the Western bank of the Canal; Egypt has recovered a part of its Sinai province, and control of most of the East bank of the Canal.

It would be too glib to say — as the cynics are saying — that the area is back to the days of 'No peace; no war', which have existed since 1967. That would imply that nothing had changed during these bitter days of war; whereas in truth the changes have been many and far-

reaching. It is not our intention here to try to measure them all; the time for calculating the consequences of war is when the settlement of peace has been effected, and that time is not yet at hand in the Middle East. To speculate on what sort of an arrangement, what new boundaries, new political relationships or realignments might emerge seems of little value. But it is of value to note some substantial changes which have already occurred, whose continuing presence will be felt throughout the period of negotiation and settlement however long that proves to be.

NOT BY ARMS ALONE

The first change is that the Arab nations have proved themselves the equals of anybody in the arts of war. It should not be necessary to even state the fact; but for years persistent anti-Arab chauvinism of the Western world – and of Israel in particular – has feasted on the slogan that “One Israeli is as good as ten Arabs”. That racist myth, raised to its wildest heights by poor Arab military performances after the devastating Israeli assault of 1967, has now been shattered. The Egyptian and Syrian armies fought tenaciously and well. From their feats, the Arab peoples generally will take on a new confidence in themselves which will reflect itself in their continuing battles for their future. For Israel, the Arab feats of arms have shattered the rationale behind which they have sought to shelter themselves from the reality of their world – that little Israel, outnumbered by the Arab nations and surrounded by them, can maintain itself by military superiority alone – backed, need one say, by American technology and dollars.

Even while Golda Meir and others were still parroting the phrases of Israeli chauvinism, and telling the world that the Arabs – like licked curs – would only come to their senses when “. . . we have hit them harder”, the Arab military prowess was proclaiming to the world that dependence on Israeli armed superiority had outlived its time. Though Israeli racism doubtless dies hard, the war has helped to destroy its credibility. For the first time since its inception, the state of Israel is driven to face a future beyond total reliance on armed force. The policy of conquest, of territorial expansion and of ruthless disregard of the rights of the Palestinian people has been proved to pave the road to

disaster. There are now the first signs that a realisation of this, formerly uniquely the credo of the Communist Party of Israel, is beginning to change the outlook of many Israelis, and force reconsideration of their country's future policies. How far ideas have changed is hard to say. But the shift has begun. This must be reckoned as one of the great changes wrought by this war — perhaps a change that will prove more important in the long run than the changes in the lines of the military frontiers.

OIL AND POWER

The second important change, also more important in its longterm political significance than in its effect on the military struggle, was the united front achieved by the Arab states. Imperialism has always treated the middle east as its closed preserve, as a treasure-house to be looted for its oil, whose rulers can be suborned or militarily dragooned into puppet obedience, and whose people can be ignored except when it is necessary to drag them unceremoniously into struggles between rival imperialisms over oil or strategic strongholds. At one end of the imperialist process of domination in the middle east stand the oil-rich sheikdoms, maintained by imperialist armaments and patronage as a sort of local police-force with twin duties to keep the people submissive and the oil flowing west; at the other end Israel, maintained by a massive inflow of dollars, as the first gendarme of imperialism and an advanced base from which to suppress stirring Arab nationalism and ward off nationalist attempts to take back its own. Arab unity serves notice that that age is passing.

The Arab world is no longer imperialism's bondsman. New forces emerge, powerful forces of national liberation especially in the more populous countries of Egypt, Algeria and Syria; powerful struggles have begun to break out of the shackles of imperialism characterised, for example, by Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal, and by the creeping nationalisation or part nationalisation of foreign-owned oil-fields and refineries. Against these currents, imperialism — up to now — counted on the assistance of the most backward feudal states which survive by imperialist consent, still ruled by oil-rich sheiks whose mediaeval opulence contrasts so sharply with the condition of the illiterate and povertystricken population, and who rule under the protecting arm of

force supplied, trained and often officered by imperialism. The new-found Arab unity signals the passing of that era. It is the sign that even in the client states of former times imperialism no longer calls the tune completely, and that a new power-bloc – however shaky its foundations – is coming into existence, challenging imperialism by striking at its vulnerable oil heart.

That unity was achieved in the first place – not inappropriately – against Israel, which had made itself the main bastion and outpost of the main imperialist power, America. The strength of the new power-bloc is to be measured neither in numbers nor armaments, but in oil. The manpower and military contribution of the oil-rich states to the war was negligible; but their decision to reduce oil supplies to America and the west was substantial. It brought rapid American pressure to bear on Israel, and thus contributed to the most sudden cease-fire in all history. The parable is complete. Oil, which powered imperialist conquest of the world, fuelled its navies, tanks and planes, shaped its empires and triggered much of its technology, finally brings it to the brink of crisis. Already the oil cuts, small though they are, produce signs of crisis in the capitals of the West. Not without reason. The power and wealth of Western capitalism were built on private ownership production of our time. And its ownership cannot pass increasingly back into the hands of the Arab states without dramatically shifting the world balance of power against western imperialism. Such a shift, looked at historically, represents a substantial diminution of the power of imperialism to dominate the non-socialist world, and thus a real advance for the majority of mankind.

It does not, unfortunately, mean that the Arab states will necessarily use that new power always in the best interests of the peoples, or of the undeveloped nations, or even of their own masses. For within the Arab unity there is a vast diversity of influences and regimes – Hussein's, for example, which has created more havoc amongst the Palestinian resistance fighters than the Israeli's have done; or Iran's, where the persecution of the national liberation movement is totally unrestrained; there is a mixture of ideologies, from Syria's pro-Soviet orientation to Gadafi's anti-Communist obsessionism. Such mixed company will doubtless exercise its power in uncertain direction. But yet the shift in world power it represents is a real step in man's progress away from imperialism.

For that step forward, people everywhere are indebted to the fighting

forces of Egypt and Syria who have helped it along. And they will remain indebted also to the people of the USSR, whose contribution to the Arab war effort made at the expense of their own living standards, enabled the Arab armies to prove that the world no longer dances in response to the American tune.

POSTSCRIPT

No one following the middle East struggle can fail to be struck by the constant parallels between Israel and South Africa, the ruling minority, which believes that it can guarantee its position by reliance on overwhelming military force, demonstrated from time to time by acts of armed frightfulness like Sharpeville, Caryltonville, raids on Syria and Beirut.

The Arab-Israel war has shown once again that a minority cannot protect its privileges for ever by military and repressive means alone — and although it touched African soil only peripherally, it may yet have profound consequences at the other end of the continent.

THIS DARK AND BITTER MOMENT

The terror in Chile continues. At the time of writing the lives of Luis Corvallan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, and thousands of other patriots, are in grave peril. The regime of the traitor Generals is attempting to tighten its grip in the only way it knows — mass imprisonment, murder, torture, book-burning, on the spot executions and so on. Despite the overwhelming application of brute force by the army there is evidence that there have been heroic acts of resistance by groups of workers in many parts of the country.

Our first and urgent duty at this time is to join unreservedly in the demand for the release of all political prisoners and for an end to the terror. Freedom-loving people everywhere must act in support of the Chilean people's struggle to restore democracy and to put real power into the hands of the majority.

The Government of the People's Republic of China we believe, com-

mitted an outrage against the first principles of international workers solidarity in the indecent haste with which it recognised the junta (even before many bourgeois governments did), and withdrew the loyal Allende Ambassador's credentials. This act is reminiscent of their recognition of and congratulations sent to Nimeiry at the very time when leaders of the working people like Majoub and Garang were being mowed down by Nimeiry's bullets at the execution stakes in Khartoum.

The military in Chile – like their counterparts in Greece – have proclaimed to the Chilean people and to the world with the utmost clarity that bourgeois democracy is there to defend property and the liberty to exploit the working people. As soon as the working people use bourgeois democracy to attempt a radical transformation of society, they are met with the mailed fist.

The coup itself was merely the culminating act in the process which began as soon as the left-wing coalition won control of only one of the heights of state power – the Presidency. From that moment onwards reaction embarked upon one plot after another to reverse the situation. The infamous ITT and CIA conspiracies, the freezing of international loans, the sabotage of copper exports, trade embargoes; these were amongst the known external attempts to destroy the efforts at reconstruction by the Allende Government, which had inherited a bankrupt economy with a \$4,000 million debt in 1970. Internally, the owning classes used their economic power and their continued control of the judiciary, the bourgeois parliament and other state institutions to undermine every step in the direction of real democracy and socialism. The agrarian reform programme and other measures to redistribute wealth were sabotaged. The middle and upper classes were mobilised to create chaos in important service sectors.

FOR THE RECORD

Despite these efforts the achievements of the short-lived Popular Unity coalition were impressive. For the first time in Chilean history the mass of the workers were beginning to have enough to eat and the tyranny of the landlords was being broken. Neo-colonialism was suffering defeat after defeat with U.S. investments having been reduced from \$750 million in 1970 to less than \$70 million in 1972. And despite external

and internal conspiracies, support for Popular Unity made impressive strides as shown by the 10% leap in the space of only two years in the election support for the left coalition.

And so, all democratic pretences were dropped. Armed dictatorship which lurks ever ready beneath the cant of bourgeois 'democracy' came into the open and crushed all efforts to achieve democratic socialist advance through constitutional channels. There can be no doubt that the cause of progress has been given a wounding blow by Chile's counter-revolution, which is acting rapidly to wipe out the creditable social and economic achievements of Salvador Allende's coalition Government, to destroy physically all radical and progressive leaders, and to sponsor the return of U.S. investments.

ARMIES AND POWER

The events bring to the surface, more than ever before, some vexing questions which face communists especially in the Western industrial societies where there are political structures which make possible electoral victories of combined left forces. How, in such an eventuality, can the inherited bourgeois state apparatus be replaced and, in the meantime, how can it and the old economic forces be prevented from sabotaging the will of the electorate? How can a real people's armed force be created which will negate the role of the inherited army as an instrument of bourgeois rule?

There are those who point to the Chile coup as proof positive, firstly, that the bourgeoisie will never give up its position without a desperate fight; and secondly, that therefore, the peaceful road to socialism is in all cases a forlorn hope.

The first statement is correct but not new; but the second is an oversimplified generalisation. The temporary victory of reaction in Chile is after all not unique; peoples forces have been crushed in a number of Latin American countries in the last few decades, and mainly in situations in which they were attempting the path of revolutionary armed struggle

We can neither generalise mechanically about the failure of the armed way, nor about the failure, as in Chile, of the attempt to gain a foothold of power through existing constitutional mechanisms. In each case

the vanguard forces must map out their strategies in accordance with their own realities and possibilities, and not in terms of some universal clichés which have nothing in common with the method of Marxism. The working people of Chile and their vanguard organisation will no doubt draw their own conclusions from the lawless violence unleashed by external and internal reaction. They will, we are sure, learn the right lessons from this tragic experience, and from any mistakes that may have been made in the difficult few years after the Presidential victory gave them office but not real power.

The Communists of Chile did not believe in the myth of an institutional army which would, in all situations, stand above politics. At the same time this myth had historical roots which, against a background of the incomplete electoral victories, must have made especially the left forces, hesitate to risk a premature confrontation. Such a confrontation may have provided the excuse for the army to move against them, and from the posture of a 'wronged' body, at a time when the Chilean people as a whole still had illusions about its potential role as 'above politics'.

We hope in some future issue to reflect in greater detail on some of the lessons of the Chilean events.

In the end Allende died nobly, as a revolutionary, firing bullets and not words at the instruments of the owning classes. Before he shouldered his gun he made his last broadcast in which he told his people:

"They must realise this, they must listen well and let it sink into their heads: I will defend this Chilean revolution and I will defend the people's government, because it is the mandate that the people have given me. I have no other alternative. Only by pumping me with bullets will they be able to keep me from fulfilling the programme of the people.

"Workers of my homelands: I have faith in Chile and its people. Other men will overcome this dark and bitter moment when treason is trying to be uppermost. You must continue to know that, sooner rather than later, grand avenues will be opened where free men will go to build a better society. Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers!"

SALUTE TO THE PEOPLE OF FREE GUINEA-BISSAU

The first fruits of independence from the guerilla wars in Southern Africa have been won! Guinea-Bissau has reached the milestone of its independence, and recognition as a state free from Portuguese rule. We salute the people, whose years of gallant struggle have made the breakthrough possible; the vanguard African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), which organised the energies and courage of the nation; and that great revolutionary and patriot, Amilcar Cabral, whose inspired leadership of the struggle entitles him to be called the father of the new freedom, even though his death so recently in the struggle robbed him of participation in its triumph.

The Proclamation of Independence of September 24, 1973 made on, liberated territory by the first elected People's National Assembly, marks the culmination — if not the end — of seventeen years of political and military struggle. Only two thirds of the territory has been liberated from Portuguese rule, and the struggle for the freedom of the rest continues unabated. The first objective of the state, according to the Declaration of Independence, is . . . “the total liberation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde islands, and the construction of the union of both territories.” Thus the war of liberation continues. But the Declaration of Independence signals the fact that the sands of time are running out for Portuguese imperialism.

FREE AND RECONSTRUCT

PAIGC has never seen the tasks of liberating its people, and of reconstructing their social life as two separate actions, or distinct phases. Reorganisation of the life of the people has been a continuing task, entered into in every area immediately the Portuguese presence could be militarily erased. The declaration of statehood and independence, then, does not wait for the final military defeat of the enemy; but flows as a logical development from years of political reconstruction in the liberated areas. A national structure of democratically elected and representative public committees has grown up taking on ever increasing responsibility for administration and social and economic reconstruction on a local or village level.

Thus the independence of the country, made possible by the successes of the military struggle, have been prepared for and paralleled by the building up of an administrative apparatus which has dealt with the day to day problems of the people by a process of self help and self rule. The declaration of statehood represents the emergence of that administrative apparatus from the adolescent stage of local affairs, to the full adulthood of international status.

“The National People’s Assembly” says the independence proclamation “was formed on the basis of the principle that power comes from the people and must serve the people. It is formed by representatives elected by universal suffrage, direct and secret, and expresses the sovereign will of the people of Guinea-Bissau.” The PAIGC will remain the leading organisation of the society, “. . . defining and inspiring the state’s actions, while educating and organising the people.”

And what of the heritage of the past, the whole social, economic, legal and institutional left-overs of the years of Portuguese rule? The actions of the People’s National Assembly show a strong continuing revolutionary direction to end the last remnants of that heritage. In its first declaration, the authorities and institutions of the Portuguese colonial state are declared ‘illegal’, and all the actions of the Portuguese state annulled. The Assembly declares that it will immediately revise all treaties, pacts and agreements entered into in relation to Guinea-Bissau by the Portuguese; it will continue the struggle against Portuguese colonialism while seeking links of friendship and co-operation with the Portuguese people.

RECOGNITION – AND HOSTILITY

At the beginning of November, as part of this process of house-cleaning, the General Assembly of the United Nations was presented with a resolution welcoming “. . . the recent accession to independence” of the country, and condemning Portugal for “. . . perpetuating its illegal occupation of certain sectors of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and the repeated acts of aggression committed by its armed forces against the

people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.” The vote was adopted by 93 to 7, with 30 abstentions — a signal enough victory for the new state.

But just as independence is achieved while military struggle within the country continues, so the diplomatic achievement at the UN takes place in struggle against continuing imperialist opposition. The seven votes against the resolution represent the hard core of imperialist reaction in Southern Africa — Britain, USA, Portugal, South Africa, — and its arch-reactionary hangers on, Greece, Spain and Brazil. France and other imperialist states abstained. Though the independent state has already been recognised by more than seventy states, the imperialist alliance has not conceded defeat, nor given up the struggle to save the Portuguese. The significance of that vote will not be lost on the new Council of State in Guinea-Bissau, nor on those other freedom fighters still under arms against Portuguese imperialism in Mozambique and Angola.

For them, and for our own people in the South African struggle, it is a moment of triumph and achievement. Greetings to the new Republic! Greetings to the Council of State, and its chairman Luis Cabral! Greetings to the party militants of the PAIGC and their secretary Aristides Pereira! But while we hail the victories that have been won we learn vigilance from that UN vote. Let us keep our sights firmly on the fact that there are battles ahead which are still to be won, perhaps no less, no easier than those whose successful outcome we now salute!

A PAPER IS A WEAPON

In South Africa, the Vorster gang are forced to back-track further and further on the hollow boast that they had succeeded in “breaking the back” of underground resistance; they are displaying increasing signs of nervousness at the continued appearance of liberation propaganda inside South Africa.

According to a Johannesburg *Sunday Express* reporter, who maintains cozy links with the Special Branch of the police, the Communist Party and African National Congress “have started a new campaign to incite strikes and labour unrest” (September 2, 1973). *Inkululeko-Freedom*, regular journal of the Central Committee of the South

African Communist Party, “was widely distributed in Natal and other major centres just before the recent work stoppage of 500 workers at the Frame Wentex mill near Durban.”

We do not accept the theory that the appearance of our propaganda is the cause of ‘unrest’. But we take pride in the fact that our party’s message is successfully penetrating the Government’s screen of repression, and helping to organise the masses. “A paper is a weapon”, *Inkululeko* proclaimed when it was launched in July, 1971, and continued:

“In the new conditions which face us, organisation is everything. Without it all the undoubted anger of our people cannot be directed to deal effective blows to the enemy. The spreading of understanding is the very beginning of organisation. That is why a newspaper is an organiser.”

The South African racists have built up a massive apparatus of terror to counter the spread of Marxist-Leninist and liberationist ideas. The special branch murdered Ahmed Timol in October 1971, when they found copies of *Inkululeko* and other material in his possession. But nevertheless our cadres continue to produce and distribute the journal under the very noses of the police.

Inkululeko is not the only Party material reaching the people. In May 1973 the head of the Special Branch reported that communist literature, cleverly camouflaged between the covers of innocuous works approved by the South African censor, was being smuggled into the country. Pocket editions of the most popular works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, including *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, *What is to be done?*, *The State and Revolution*, and a Xhosa-language translation of Lenin’s biographical note on Marx and Marxism, were being circulated. The *Rand Daily Mail* (May 7, 1973) reported — presumably tongue in cheek — that a leading Cape Town publisher was considering suing the party — (address unknown) — “for fraud and libel, for using one of his company’s books in their propaganda campaign”.

NAMIBIA – THE REALITY OF BANTUSTANS

If ever anybody doubted that the Bantustan policy is a monstrously unjust, cruel and oppressive policy, those doubts must now be dispelled for ever by the news coming out of Namibia.

Public floggings have become the order of the day in Ovamboland. According to the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland (who personally intervened to prevent the flogging of a mission school teacher), more than a hundred – and possibly as many as three or four hundred – people have been subjected to this brutal and degrading punishment. Many of them are known or alleged members or supporters of SWAPO. Some are women, others students.

The offence of all these people has been to fight back against the headlong imposition upon them of the South African government's 'homelands' policy. This is why, although the barbarous 'punishments' were ordered and administered by black men, corrupt pawns of their white masters, the finger of accusation must point to the racist regime in Pretoria.

It is Pretoria which hatched the farcical multi-racial Advisory Council in March in a desperate attempt to bluff the UN and give some semblance of reality to the doomed Vorster-Escher agreement. That Council failed ignominiously to even appear to represent anything except the government itself, so unanimous and united was the rejection of it by all democratic forces in Namibia. Its only meeting so far was a near-fiasco, and it remains to be seen whether Vorster dares to repeat that sterile exercise. If Chief Kapuuo the Herero leader takes up the same position as SWAPO and the Organisation of African Unity and adds his voice to those demanding an end to the Vorster-Waldheim dialogue, then dialogue – already dead – will be finally buried, and the Advisory Council (essentially an outgrowth of dialogue) will be buried with it.

It was Pretoria too which in May rushed through the creation of the first South-West African Bantustan, 'Owambo', following the enactment of the necessary legislation in February (see *African Communist* No. 53 p.95). As a foretaste of what was to follow, three days after Pretoria had announced that elections for the new 'self-governing' territory would take place in August, the new Owambo Cabinet declared that political parties could not exist without its approval. This declara-

tion of war told the people what to expect: a fraudulent election.

The ensuing boycott was another massive rejection of Pretoria's apartheid designs. In the end, only 6 of the 21 seats were contested, and only 1,300 votes were cast out of a total potential electorate of 50,000. No propaganda or bluster from Pretoria could disguise this slap in the face.

The second election carried out in 1973, that in Kavango, secured a poll something in the order of 40% — a result which Pretoria claimed as proof that its policies were working and being accepted. In reality, the Kavango election — unlike the Ovamboland one — offered a few opportunities for democrats to stand on an anti-apartheid platform, and this was the main reason for the different response of the people to it.

Meanwhile, with the voice of SWAPO coming across the air-waves from Lusaka, with the armed struggle in Eastern Caprivi and other parts of Namibia continuing to eat up white South Africa's military manpower and money, and with an upsurge of open protest developing in the main centres, manifested by mass meetings and demonstrations, Pretoria was faced with the inevitable consequences of its own actions.

As always, the racists have resorted to their final solution — repression (the imprisonment of leading SWAPO activists) and brutality, of which the floggings are both a part and a symbol, standing for the ultimate barbarousness of racism and colonialism.

The struggle for freedom has come a long way in Namibia this year. The farce of the UN-Pretoria dialogue has done much to show the people that they must win freedom for themselves, however important may be the international dimension of their struggle. Unity of all the Namibian people has grown enormously. And SWAPO has continued to prosecute a multi-faceted struggle which calls for the skilful combination of armed struggle, open mass action, and semi-legal and legal tactics in elections for stooge bodies. In all this varied experience there is much for the oppressed in South Africa to learn from and develop.

SOUTH AFRICA- A TIME OF CHALLENGE

The South African Communist Party examines some of the crucial issues of today – the strike wave, Bantustans, ‘Black Consciousness’ movements and reformism – in a statement to be presented to a plenary session of the Party’s Central Committee by Chairman Dr. Y.M. Dadoo on behalf of the Secretariat. It analyses the significance of the growing contradictions and stresses of the racist regime and the inspiring initiatives of the African workers and oppressed people.

The statement, which is intended for discussion by the full Central Committee, is presented against a background of international developments. Though the powerful peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has changed the world balance of forces and compelled imperialism to retreat on several fronts, there are still

crucial struggles being fought everywhere against imperialism – in the Middle East where the Arab peoples fight to recover their stolen territories, in Chile where junta representatives of American monopoly capitalism are carrying through a counter-revolution by unrestrained murder, in Southern Africa's guerilla wars, and elsewhere. These problems of international scope are the subject of a separate report to the meeting which will be published in a forthcoming issue.

In addition the meeting will consider a report on the detailed practical steps to be taken to meet the challenge of the changing situation.

PEOPLE'S ACTION ON THE INCREASE

Events in the last 9 months have confirmed the broad lines of the report adopted by the last Plenary Session of our Central Committee.

In that report we noted that the special contradictions and stresses inherent in the white supremacy system were being aggravated. This was reflected not only by signs of conflict between various elements of the ruling classes over problems of how best to safe-guard the racialist-colonialist structure, but even more significantly by expressions of renewed militancy and upsurge amongst all sections of our oppressed and exploited people.

Even then there were a number of encouraging signs that the liberation movement was recovering from the set-backs which followed heightened repressive measures in the post-1960 period. This tendency has been strengthened, and shows itself in the spread of the strike movement, growing opposition to rural resettlement schemes, a marked spirit of resistance amongst the students and working youth, and the increasing search by militants for yet more effective measures and organisational forms to advance the liberation struggle.

The scale of recent industrial action by workers is even more impressive when we recall that in 1970, for example, the total number of Africans who went on strike in 17 stoppages was only 665. This was the pattern for ten years, up to 1973 when in the first four months alone scores of strikes involved over 100,000 Black workers.

The recent action by Black miners crushed in one case by batons and in another by the murder of 12 workers, is evidence of renewed

stirrings amongst this most exploited section of the working class.

Student militancy continued to grow despite arrests, jailings and unending harassment of the student leaders. This year's mass actions at the Coloured University of the Western Cape and at Fort Hare in which the student bodies refused to bow to authority, follows on earlier actions of Black students at most of the 'ethnic' universities.

There have been further examples of whole communities refusing to carry out removals and resettlement orders, some of which have had to be enforced by armed police contingents.

Amongst the Coloured and Indian people there have been more signs of growing identification with the African people. Solidarity with their African brothers by Indian workers during the recent strikes, and the rejection by Coloured political figures, especially in the Labour Party, of Government attempts to steer them away from co-operation with their fellow Blacks, are amongst the many indications which reflect a further growth of all-Black unity.

Externally, the Vorster regime's campaign for 'dialogue' and its attempts to overcome its isolation from Black Africa have been sharply rebuked, as witness the U.N. General Assembly demonstration in October when every African state (with the exception of Malawi) walked out on Muller's speech. Even the Leabua Jonathan government of Lesotho is impelled to take up a belated but welcome stand for independence from domination by Pretoria.

The action by SWAPO guerrillas and its impressive political activity inside Namibia has shaken the Government. Last year's successful industrial action by the Namibian working class, the impressive resistance to the implementation of the Bantustan programme and the growth of mass SWAPO organisation within the territory are amongst the signs of the continued development of a more favourable situation for the liberation forces. Although the white regime continues to exercise its open racial dictatorship in Namibia, it is from time to time forced to have regard to the territory's special international position.

In Zimbabwe the successful and sustained activity of the ZANU and ZAPU guerrillas is creating a new crisis for the Smith regime and its main prop – South Africa.

Above all, the impressive strides by the forces of FRELIMO in Mozambique, bringing the liberation force closer and closer to the white man's main fortress, create serious concern for the Vorster-Smith-



Caetano trinity of reaction.

In Guinea-Bissau the recent declaration of independence and the creation of a people's government which has already been recognised by scores of countries throughout the world, is a major blow against the white alliance.

Outside Africa too the world-wide solidarity movement is scoring advances in its efforts to mobilise world opinion and action against the racist regime. The regime has failed to make any significant breaches in the wall of isolation which surrounds it in the world of sport. Of special significance is the recent Geneva trade union conference representing 186 million workers. The decisions of this conference provide an impressive basis for world-wide workers' action against apartheid. It united for the first time in many years all the main detachments of the trade union movement, unanimously denounced apartheid and race discrimination as a crime against humanity and called for a whole series of practical measures to be taken by governments, trade unions and employers to boycott racist South Africa and render financial, moral and material support to the workers and people of South Africa "through their authentic trade unions and political organisations".

In general, there can be no doubt that the situation in our country contains within it the seeds of an even more fundamental sharpening of the confrontation between the people and white supremacy. The crisis of apartheid is growing and, more than at any time in the last decade, conditions are ripening which hold out possibilities of major advance. The fact that wider and wider sections of the people are now beginning to show a greater readiness to speak out and to act, is in part due to an absolute and relative deterioration in their living conditions, and the unbroken example of the activity of our liberation movement. But it is also significantly connected with a deepening of the conflicts and stresses in the socio-economic structure itself. This structure shares with world imperialism, of which it is an integral part, an inability to overcome the ever-recurring financial and economic crises inherent in the capitalist mode of production. At the same time it suffers from special contradictions which flow from its internal racist-colonialist character.

Although the basic framework of white rule in South Africa has, broadly-speaking, remained unaltered, it is the duty of our movement



to examine more closely the important developments that have taken place particularly in the last decade which have a significant bearing on the struggle for revolutionary change.

AFRICAN INTEGRATION

In the first place apartheid as understood by some of the post-1948 Nationalist ideologists has demonstrably broken down. If there ever existed a genuine intention to create a white South Africa which is geographically and economically independent of Black labour, the inexorable laws of economic development have destroyed the fantasies of the apartheid 'idealists'. The statistical picture tells a clear story.

The percentage of Black labour employed in secondary industry has increased steadily and spectacularly from 57.6% of the work force in 1936 to 66.5% in 1951 and 70.3% in 1967 (1972 Institute of Race Relations Annual Survey). The trend continues. Between 1971 and 1972 the rate of increase of Africans employed in manufacturing industry was twice that of the whites and in the railways five times as much. The same pattern shows itself in the mining industry and repeats itself in almost every sphere of urban and rural employment. On the white farms Africans constitute 82.7% of the labour force (most of the balance being Coloured and Indian) whereas between 1936 and 1967 the number of white farmers decreased from 132,000 to 90,000.

The planned reduction of Black presence in white areas was to be accompanied by the creation of job opportunities in and near the so-called Bantu homelands by a process of industrial decentralisation. The efforts in this direction have results which can only be described as farcical. In the 'border' regions a grand total of 78,451 jobs were created for Africans in the 11½ years from June 1960 to December 1972. Inside the homelands themselves the figures are even more pathetic. According to the Government-supporting Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (RDM 18.8.73) only 8,000 new jobs have been created in all the Bantustans in the last ten years. This led it to conclude (rather late in the day) "that this meant the Bantustans were not going to be able to siphon off enough Black people to make white South Africa meaningfully white in any political sense". The scale of the deception reaches monstrous proportions when we recall that the Government's

Tomlinson Commission recommended that even a minimal implementation of true apartheid would have required the creation of 500,000 new jobs during this period.

Even in the central public services Blacks now outnumber whites.

Government estimates show that during the period 1947 to 1967 there has been an increase of 156% in the number of Africans in white areas and the latest census shows that in a city like Johannesburg the African population has increased at more than twice the rate of the white population increase during the period 1960-1970.

The attempts to keep Africans out of skilled and semi-skilled jobs was continuously being undermined by the economic processes. It was universally recognised that the device of job reservation had substantially failed. The divisional Inspector of Labour for Johannesburg claimed earlier this year that "employers don't even apply for exemptions anymore. They employ non-whites regardless. As a labour department official of 40 years' standing, I say job reservation is a dead letter".

THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID AND THE RECENT 'REFORMS'

The traditional labour structure in South Africa was, in its earlier period, based almost completely on migratory labour, all of which has had direct or indirect links with the reserves. Such a shifting labour force was not only more easily dealt with but its connection with the reserves provided the excuse for below-minimum wage levels. The routine argument of every employers' organisation before Labour Commissions and Wage Boards was that the 'Native's' cash wage packet was not his sole source of income but was supplemented and subsidised by land-holding in the reserves.

Apartheid emerged as a special ideology in the late forties when the influx of Africans into the urban areas and its developing industries had received a new spurt in the post-war economic growth. This fact did not in itself create a new situation for a ruling class which has always flourished on the maximum exploitation of Black labour. But the increasing dependence of the system on a growing Black work force which is permanently urban-based and more and more cut off from the land posed new problems; and the ideology of apartheid was seen as the prime instrument for overcoming them.

Like any other ideology, apartheid is the expression of a class

political policy. It reflects the interests of capitalist rule, and we must be especially on our guard to separate the rhetoric from the substance. There were no doubt a few in the enemy camp who genuinely dreamt of achieving a 'white' economy in the 'white' state, eventually free of its dependence on Black labour. But the real driving force of apartheid is economic. The capitalist class is ever seeking to intensify exploitation and at the same time to keep the Black workers in check. As the character of the African working class has changed so new mechanisms had to be sought to maintain the cheap labour system. Apartheid in this sense was a continuation of, and a break with, the past. Its primary objective was to strengthen and perpetuate the policy of white domination over the whole of South Africa. It contained a special flavour because changes in the economic structure demanded new mechanisms to further this aim.

The permanent urbanisation of a Black proletariat no longer having economic links with the countryside called for fresh measures. This aspect was put very crisply by the Minister of Mines in 1948 when he told Parliament:

“there should be a migratory labour policy, not only as it is on the mines, but in the country generally. . . . This is exactly the policy which has been proposed by this side of the House in regard to Native labour required for secondary industries.”

In the first place new steps were needed to cope with the growing challenge and potential revolutionary capacity of an urban proletariat more and more cut off from the land. The answer which apartheid gave, was to go in for a more intensive and naked form of political repression against the Black political opposition. Events have further exposed the liberal illusion that economic growth would, by a slow evolutionary process force the white state to make meaningful political concessions. Indeed economic growth in the last 20 years has been accompanied by more naked repression and by a narrowing rather than a widening of political and social rights. Secondly, apartheid attempted to stop and reverse the process of permanent Black urbanisation and to create conditions in which the reserves could more effectively be used both as reserve pools of labour, and as a means of transforming the urban proletariat once again into a semi-migratory work force with direct or

indirect economic links in the reserves. The fiction that every Black urban worker had a 'citizenship' in a homeland, was designed to create acceptance that even those born in the urban areas (the vast majority) were there as 'foreigners' at the pleasure of the white man and could expect no political rights. The Government tried to reduce the number of Africans in the towns whilst keeping them integrated into the white economy by encouraging industrialists to move their factories to the borders of the homelands.

In fact, as shown above, there has been a growth rather than a decrease of the Black population in the towns and in all spheres of industry, and a pathetic level of economic development in and around the reserves. The crisis of apartheid is, in important respects, connected with the system's substantial failure to turn the clock back by the use of these new devices. It has not succeeded (despite a stepping up of political terror) in removing the growing political threat to its survival. In every sphere of life the white state has become more and not less dependent on a permanently urban-based Black proletariat which is once again beginning to show its teeth. The new efforts to give substance to the Bantustans and various so-called 'reforms' in the urban areas reflect the pressures on, and the weakness of, the regime. It tries to divert the growing pressures in the towns and to take more effective measures to obtain Black collaboration in holding on to the reins of power. It strives to handle the crisis which it has created in the reserves.

THE RESERVES

The population in the reserves has risen to 7 million with a population density of 46 per sq. km. compared to 13 per sq. km. for the rest of the country including cities and towns. The increase in population is partly the result of the implementation of resettlement policies, affecting people mainly from the 'white' farms and those in rural 'Black spots'. In the period 1960 to 1970 reliable estimates by the Institute of Race Relations show that 1.6 million Africans were dumped into the reserves of whom 1.2 million were squatters and labour tenants in rural areas or occupying so-called rural 'Black-spots'. It is significant that the rate of 'repatriation' from the urban areas has been comparatively smaller and has in fact slowed down. Of the 1.6 million sent to the 'homelands'

between 1960 and 1970, 400,000 were endorsed out of urban areas. In the shorter period, 1957 to 1963 the total was close to 500,000. The homelands 'consolidation' plan envisages the resettlement of a further 363,000 people from rural 'Black-spots' in Natal and the Transvaal. The homelands, observes a South African columnist, "are in fact degenerating into labour reservoirs for the systematic exploitation by white



industrialists or farmers". (RDM 18.8.73). There are now many areas with massive unemployment which are being reserved for particular types of employment recruitment. An example is one area in Bophuthatswana which is closed to labour officers from the white towns and has been reserved for farm labour recruiters only.

The reserves have for long been grossly overcrowded. In 1956 the Tomlinson Commission stated that they could at best support a maxi-

mum of 2.3 million people. It is an enormity to uproot about 13% of the African population from elsewhere and dump them there. The traditional subsistence economy into which these people are received is already unable to sustain life even at its lowest level. Studies in the Ciskei in the late 1960s show that one-third of families had no arable land at all. In the Transkei 95% of families have much less than the 4.3 ha. of land officials regard as the minimum necessary to make a living in the Umtata district. In all the homelands unemployment, land and cattle shortages, starvation, regular famines, horrific levels of infant mortality, etc. are creating conditions of crisis proportions. This discarded people will be on permanent standby to meet the labour need of white farms and industry. It is migrant labour of a new sort with the bulk of this reserve army of unemployed having no visible means of subsistence until they are conscripted by a recruiting officer. This is the reality for the overwhelming majority of people in the Bantustans.

Despite the apparent advantages which such conditions have for an economy based on the maximum exploitation of Black labour, there is a noticeable recognition that urgent measures are necessary to defuse the explosive potential which it contains. This explains the new energy which has been shown in the last three years in the direction of pushing ahead with the political aspects of the Bantustan programme. There is a growing recognition too that the trend in the towns towards Black permanence in industry and of a work force no longer having a real connection with the reserves, has proved to be irreversible. The recent spate of so-called 'reforms' and talk of 'reforms' are partly the response to growing pressure from the people, and partly an attempt to preserve the ruling class in its present position of dominance in the light of these realities. In a rare moment of candour the Minister of Bantu Administration warned recently that in regard to white-black relations "it is one minute to midnight".

'REFORMS' IN THE URBAN AREAS

Industrial action by the Black working class has resulted in nominal wage rises in industry and on the mines. In fact the workers have not even been compensated for the dramatic fall in their real income as a result of inflation rates which are amongst the worst in the world.

J.J. Cloete, senior economist for Barclays Bank, stated that "inflation has reached a breakneck 10-13% a year and . . . it may now be totally out of hand". (Weekly *Star* 21.7.73)

In the mines where the real income of the average Black miner was no higher in 1972 than in 1911, the average 22% rise in income still means that the Black miner earns less than R21 per month. The meanness of the increase is underlined by the fact that in 1972 the increase in mine profits alone was more than double the total Black wage bill. Natal Consolidated Industrial Investment, a major part of the infamous Frame group, recorded a 70% rise on profits in 1972 while at the same time, despite minor wage rises, it continues to pay its Black workers starvation wages.

The massive pay gap between white and black labour continues to widen. The white working class — one of the main supporters of white rule — uses its political influence and sectional trade union organisation to maintain and extend its share from the exploitation of Black workers. Shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour, which interfered with the expansion of the economy as a whole and threatened to create havoc in important sectors of industry, resulted in all-round pressure particularly by employers for the admission of Blacks into certain levels of skills previously monopolised by white workers. Steps are now being taken for the controlled influx of Africans into some areas of skilled and semi-skilled operations. The resistance of the white workers to this is being broken down not by working class solidarity but by open bribery, ranging from life-time guarantees of existing white jobs to hard cash on a scale which once again makes so-called African advancement pale into insignificance. On the mines, for example, the latest wage agreement with the 7,000 white artisans gives them an immediate rise of R100 per month in exchange for allowing Africans to do certain artisan tasks under their supervision. This rise alone is 5 times the average monthly earnings of the Black miner even after the recent increases.

The enormous potential of the industrial strength of the Black proletariat which showed itself in this year's industrial actions, is even more impressive when it is remembered that it was carried out at a time when formal trade union organisation is at an extremely low level because of Government repression of all trade union rights for Blacks. This lesson was not lost on South Africa's regime and some of the

'reforms' which have been introduced are clearly designed to pre-empt the natural growth of Black trade union organisation. There is an adjustment in the make-up of the existing Works Committees which will leave them as powerless and as vulnerable as they ever were to employer and official pressures. The legislation to 'legalise' African strikes has been described by a commentator as "a symbolic concession to the muscle-power of the awakening giant in our midst". (*Financial Mail* 25.5.73)

The pretence that the new labour laws represent a measure of 'liberalisation' is a gross deception. The absolute prohibition against strikes still applies to vast categories of workers including those employed by local authorities, in 'essential' services (light, power, water, sanitation, passenger transportation), farming, domestic service, Government and Provincial Administration, railways, and coal and gold mining. This total prohibition can be extended by the Minister at any time to all industries concerned with the supply, distribution and conveying of perishable food stuffs, or with the supply of petrol and other fuels to local authorities or 'others engaged in providing essential services'. For the rest, the conditions under which a strike becomes legal are so circuitous and complex that for all practical purposes the so-called 'right to strike' is utterly meaningless. There is a built-in device by which strikes are in any case prohibited if the Minister refers the dispute to the Wage Board for investigation which, in practice, could prevent a single legal strike in any dispute whatsoever. Unified strike action in more than one factory is made impossible by other provisions which involve a cooling off period after the dispute has not been resolved by a specific Works Committee. We do not doubt the Government's claim when introducing the legislation that it was designed to prevent even further the growth of African trade unions.

The white argument that Africans in the towns were 'sojourners' and 'superfluous appendages' was always a crude rationalisation for a policy which squeezed what it could from African labour but kept it completely rightless and voiceless politically and industrially and dumped it into the wasteland of the reserves when it became too old or sick to be profitable. The mechanisms for this policy are being centralised and strengthened in the shape of further 'reforms'.

Consolidated Bantu Administration areas have been created in various parts of the country within which labour mobility will be far easier. The effect will be that the size of the pass areas have been in-

creased and Africans residing in some towns will no longer need special permission to take jobs in a limited number of others which fall within the wider area. The usual tight control over the movement of labour will be slightly relaxed. Within each of these areas labour mobility will now be in the hands of centralised Government boards and no longer fall under the local authorities, some of whom the Government has been accusing of a lack of vigour in implementing the pass laws. Although presented as a 'reform' and as an easing of the pass laws, its true meaning can already be seen by a statement of the chairman of the East Rand Bantu Administration Board, Kalie van der Merwe, that one of the greatest aims of the Boards is that economically inactive Africans "will in time disappear from white South Africa". He mentioned the figure of 300,000 who will be affected within his Board's jurisdiction alone.

Against this background the increasing talk of removing some of the irritating effects of so-called 'petty apartheid' and the claim by Jansen, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, that he would try to make the lot of Black urban dwellers "as happy as possible" and that "we should get away from the idea of the homelands as dumping grounds for people we don't want in South Africa", is of minor importance. It does, however, highlight a recognition by some of the more astute observers in the enemy camp that urgent gestures are necessary to cover up the real processes at work, because more than ever before the previous rationalisations are wearing thin.

In some areas, like sport, the threat of international isolation led to minor concessions which leave the substance of colour domination unchanged.

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE 'REFORMS'

In general, we know that everything the white state gives with one hand it will try to take away with the other. At the same time, the fact that the regime is forced to make concessions, however minor, and to go in for complex deceptions which pretend to meet some of the basic demands, is evidence of a ferment within the system reflecting an intensification of its contradictions.

How then should our revolutionary movement approach the limited

'reforms' we have described and those which the regime may be forced to make in the future in an attempt to overcome these contradictions and to preserve itself? We have always been and will always be in the forefront of the struggle for better all-round conditions, because we believe that the struggle for these, properly directed and related to the long-term aims of power to the people, is an indispensable school for the creation of revolutionary consciousness. We therefore distinguish between reforms such as a rise in wages which are won by the struggle of the people, and manoeuvres like the new strike law which are aimed at entrenching class exploitation and race rule.

On the whole, the measures which have been taken recently reflect the responses of the ruling class in a situation in which it is trying to contain an awakening people and to find new ways of overcoming the insoluble contradictions and stresses of capitalist-race rule in South Africa and, more specifically, the failure of some of its recent policies.

From the point of view of the people, even the small successes such as the recent meagre wage rises create rising expectations and have given them new experience of the potential of united action on a much bigger scale. The forced retreat by the Government on the question of certain levels of skilled work for Blacks provides a spur for greater achievement in this field and highlights still further in the minds of the African workers the iniquitous wage gap between them and the whites who previously carried out the same work. The new deceptive Labour Bill places more firmly on the agenda the urgent need to struggle for real trade union rights and the right to strike. Although it was never the regime's intention, the speeding up of the Bantustan programme has put on the agenda as never before the whole question of real political power and national liberation.

It is in this sense that some of the reforms which have been won and other adjustments which are being made by the regime in an attempt to overcome the insoluble contradictions of apartheid, are opening up new possibilities of mass mobilisation. Whether these opportunities are used depends upon the leadership efforts of our whole movement. Spontaneity is not enough. History teaches that, left to themselves without advanced revolutionary leadership, the masses can more easily be deceived and led into the traps of reformism and unprincipled compromises. And in no field is the danger so great as in the area of the Bantustans.

It is in the area of the Bantustans that the regime has pushed ahead in the recent period with a renewed vigour. It has done so to meet the untenable position which has been created by the developments we have described both in the urban areas and in the reserves. Above all, it is anxious to create ethnic administrations in which so-called 'traditional' Black leaders will help it to institutionalise the breakup of nation-wide African consciousness, to consolidate the white man's claim over the greater and richest parts of South Africa, and to make easier the transformation of the reserves into more manageable sources of cheap migrant Black labour with the Black administrations acting as more effective middle men.

We have previously analysed some of the contradictions which have emerged in this Government attempt to gain Black collaboration for its new attempts to hide the real mechanisms of white rule. There have been, further-more, recent examples of verbal confrontations between some of the Bantustan chiefs and the Government on land questions, consolidation demands, demands for greater local powers and so on. Although embarrassed by some of these disputes, it is clear that to meet its internal needs and to show a better face to the outside world, the racist regime is prepared to take some calculated risks, because it considers that, on balance, the outcome will help rather than obstruct white domination.

Already evidence is accumulating which has dangerous implications for our whole liberation movement. Amongst those who are involved in the workings of the Bantustan system there are men of different calibre and commitment. Some are out and out collaborators of the 'Uncle Tom' variety. For others it means a better job and more possibilities of personal advancement. A few see their participation as giving them opportunities of squeezing a few concessions for their people within the limited Government framework. But, objectively speaking, what they share in common is that the logic of their position enables the Government to use them in order to further its more basic purposes. As we shall see later even some of the more militant sounding demands are rooted in the Bantustan framework and, therefore, in the long run reinforce it.

In this sense the motives of each individual Bantustan leader has

little relevance. However radical and sincere the Bantustan leaders might be, they are in fact (with whatever reservations) helping to work the system. At best their participation can only be justified if they make clear, by what they say and what they do, that their participation is designed to utterly destroy the Bantustans and to support the struggle for majority Black rule over the whole of our country.

It is true that some of them are forced from time to time to echo the basic aspirations of the people by paying tribute to the idea of a united South Africa on the basis of equality. Even Matanzima said recently that the only eventual answer is one man, one vote with representation for all races in a central parliament. But he saw the homelands as being “a meaningful share of political power” which must precede the larger aim. This is a dangerous illusion. The white regime with its 300 years’ experience of manipulating Black administrations will not so easily be outwitted in a Bantustan-type political game whose rules it controls. The package which it is offering is overwhelmingly to its advantage and the actual record of the Bantustan administrations shows this.

The Transkei Minister of Justice, George Matanzima, helps to spread the master-race ideological rubbish when he says: “I am a strong believer in racial purity” and promises to invoke the Immorality Act in the Transkei against Coloureds and whites (RDM 9.1.73). Kaizer Matanzima claims that “the separation of the races is here to stay” (RDM 14.4.73), and states that “the only way to racial harmony was through a policy of separation of the races on equal and parallel lines” (RDM 4.4.73) – once again parroting the apartheid ideologists.

In the election manifesto of his Ciskei National Independence Party, Lennox Sebe, the new Chief Minister of the Ciskei, proclaimed his support for the broad principles of separate development and chieftainship as the corner-stone of the homeland’s political system. He recently went on record as opposing the release of political prisoners and the return of political refugees who left the country because it “would only create a great deal of unrest”.

In the Transkei Legislative Assembly, Kaizer Matanzima introduced a motion of sympathy (which was carried unanimously) with the relatives of the four African policemen who died in a guerrilla ambush in the Caprivi Strip and stated that “the men who died in the Caprivi had died for the highest ideal – the defence of their country” (RDM 28.4.73).

An acceptance of the reality that the Bantustans will be little more than labour pools is made clear in the conditions set out by Lucas Mangope, the Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana for independence. These 'conditions' included a 'fixed' agreement on the sale of labour which he said would be his homeland's "main export for the foreseeable future" (RDM 1.8.73).

In the financial journals and in the City pages of newspapers a campaign has been launched in the name of all the Bantustan chiefs for private investment in the homelands. The campaign does not hide the fact that it advises profit-hungry investors to grab the opportunities of making super-profits from the "problem-free labour resources". South Africa's existing riches (all of which are outside the homelands) are capable of providing a decent life for everybody. But almost all the Bantustan administrations implicitly accept responsibility for those dumped in their areas. The minimal and distorted development in the reserves will no doubt give the Government further justification for their use as receiving depots for stand-by Black labour.

Relatively sharp confrontations have been publicised between the Bantustans and the Government on questions of boundaries and land-consolidation. The Transkei, for example, is laying a claim to a portion of Lesotho as well as a small number of areas and towns in 'white' South Africa. The Gazankulu claim includes portions of two other homelands, Venda and Lebowa. The Government has made clear that "there is no question of a division of land between white and Black in South Africa, not now and not in the future" (M.C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Administration, *Weekly Star* 19.5.73), and reiterated that no further land would be granted than had been agreed to by the 1936 legislation. At the same time, for land claims for Africans to be based on so-called 'natural boundaries' for the Xhosas and Zulus, etc. amounts to an acceptance of the white man's invention that the Xhosas and Zulus have 'natural areas' and have not the same rights to Johannesburg and Pretoria as they have to Richards Bay and Queenstown. Also, there can be nothing but pleasure in Vorster's ranks at the sight of the homelands already beginning to make claims on each other, and to argue about which ethnic group has a better claim to some of the crumbs.

Internationally the white state not only stoops to using some of the points of friction between it and the Bantustan leaders to lend

credibility to the Bantustans as 'independent' entities, but in addition it is strengthened substantially by the approach of many of the Bantustan administrations on questions such as foreign investment, both in the Bantustans and in the rest of South Africa. South Africa's Minister of Finance claimed in the House of Assembly (17.4.72) that not only does South Africa need foreign investments for quicker growth "but also because of the contacts which such investments bring to South Africa". The recent advertising campaign in which Bantustan chiefs, amongst others, lent themselves to appeals for investment in South Africa, is an integral part of a concerted effort by South Africa to undermine the growing world lobby for its isolation. The justification that "I am forced to do something immediately for my starving, unemployed people" has no substance if what is being done is to help in the long run to rescue and entrench a system which survives and grows on the misery of the Black people. Whether designed or not, the external activities of some of the more respected leaders have had this effect.

Earlier this year the Johannesburg *Star* (17.2.73) stated in connection with a visit by Chief Buthelezi to the U.S.:

"The official custodians of President Nixon's policies on South Africa at the State Department could ask for no more. Chief Buthelezi is the most effective weapon they have yet found against their critics on the Left who are trying to steer the U.S. in the wake of the U.N. on South African questions."

The U.S. Director of the South African Foundation, Mr. John Chettle, recently paid a visit to South Africa and stated:

"At no time since I have been in the U.S. has South Africa's position in this country been more powerful. There is no doubt that the Chief's (Buthelezi) articulate defence of peaceful change in South Africa has been most influential in sabotaging the efforts of extremist American anti-apartheid groups."

It is of some importance to reflect on Chief Buthelezi's role because of all the Bantustan leaders, he shows that opportunism, even if perhaps well-intentioned, plays into the hands of the enemy.

He has on more than one occasion condemned the basic policy of our liberation movement to prepare for armed struggle as an essential

part of an all-round challenge to the racist state. Recently he criticised the World Council of Churches' decision to give aid to the guerrilla movements in Africa because it "has made things very difficult for the Church in my country" and also because he found it difficult "to embrace the Old Testament Law of an eye for an eye and at the same time embrace the Christian teachings of love and forgiveness". He went on to say that apart from his Christian beliefs he could not "possibly support any line of action that can only result in my people being mowed down as cannon fodder".

A recent memorandum on the pass laws submitted by the KwaZulu leaders included the proposal for the setting up of an immigration department between KwaZulu and the rest of the country and a system of visitors' permits which would not give the holder the right to seek employment (*World* 6.8.73). Here too there is a concession to one of apartheid's most important platforms: that a Zulu's right to live and work outside KwaZulu is a privilege and not a right.

To deal with an outbreak of faction fighting in the Msinga area, KwaZulu asked for (and was enthusiastically granted) the extension of the notorious 90-day detention law to be applied to this area.

Addressing the last TUCSA Conference, Buthelezi stated that KwaZulu would "encourage the formation of Works Committees because trade union rights were not possible at present". (*Star* 18.8.73)

To Vorster's statement that the homelands would be able to get foreign aid "under proper conditions", Buthelezi said "it proves his bona fides — he is obviously genuine about wanting to see us get off the ground economically". (RDM 21.4.73)

There is little reason to doubt that in the case of Buthelezi (as distinct from a few others) such approaches do not emerge because of an acceptance of white supremacy or a belief in the separation of the African people. He has often enough repeated in militant and strong language a loathing for apartheid and support for a united South Africa which belongs to all its people. But in practice his approach to some very vital questions is connected with an inability to see beyond the present correlation of forces; he lacks faith in the power of the African people properly mobilised and led. He sees social change as being brought about slowly by the manoeuvrings of elite groups using only the weapons the enemy provides, and not by activity which includes mass mobilisation, legal and illegal forms of struggle combined with the

build-up of the armed potential of the people.

This is why KwaZulu makes proposals for the easing of pass laws incorporating acceptance "for the present" that a Zulu cannot seek employment in a 'white' area as of right. This is why, instead of calling on the working class to reject the Works Committees and to struggle for trade union rights (at a time, by the way, when in the wake of the mighty workers' actions, the enemy is in a state of confusion on this question and is being forced to make gestures). KwaZulu encourages the formation of the Government Works Committees "because trade union rights are not possible at present". And this is why imperialist investors and white capital are urged to flood into the country and the homelands, without properly considering their long-term effect of strengthening white rule and the economic relationships which are at its foundation. It is a philosophy of despair; and it could not have been more crisply put than by Buthelezi himself when he said, in connection with the Works Committees, that "we are powerless and feel we should use what is available at present".

We have devoted some space to Buthelezi not because we over-estimate the role of one individual, but because it helps to illustrate a number of fundamental points both for our movement as a whole and for the people.

Unity of the oppressed Black people is a fundamental pre-condition for liberation. There can be no compromise with a policy which serves to turn the clock back and divides the people once again along ethnic lines. Change in our country depends upon the mobilisation and action of our oppressed people with the Black working class as its most advanced instrument; it cannot be brought about by those who hold office at the pleasure of the white state. Their limited horizons lead them to confuse their own impotence with that of the people, and to spread despair, timidity and unprincipled compromise.

Our movement has never in principle refused to use "what is available at present" in order to fight for immediate improvements in the life of the people and as platforms to advance their long-term aims. But such activity must not be allowed to divert the people from the struggle for fundamental change. On the whole, especially in the context of the growing mood of militancy and resistance, the record of the Bantustans shows that to a greater or lesser degree each one of them is playing a harmful and diversionary role. They will continue to do so

unless the people led by their movements take a hand – as they did in Namibia, where the Ovambos almost unanimously and contemptuously rejected the Bantustan proposals in the recent elections when only 1.6% of the total electorate voted.

What then in practice, should our approach be to the Bantustans and to some of the other unrepresentative institutions?

1. We must reject totally the ideology which sees the Bantustans as enclaves of independence from which further advances can be made.

2. We must without fear or favour expose those actions of the Bantustan leaders which, wittingly or unwittingly, help the enemy, and we must stimulate mass opposition to such policies and to those who put them forward. At the same time we must remember that the main perpetrators of this latest version of oppression are the white regime and not the Bantustan Chiefs. The emphasis of our attack must, therefore, be against the regime.

3. The people must be mobilised to completely reject the Bantustan solution. There are those who say that in all cases the answer is a complete boycott of elections. Boycott and “absolute non-collaboration” obviously has its place in the case of unrepresentative institutions such as the Bantustans, and the Namibian events have shown a magnificent application of this tactic. Its successful implementation depends, however, on the level of understanding and organisation which exists at the particular time in the particular area, not just amongst the militants but, more importantly, amongst the people as a whole. The fight to destroy the Bantustans calls for the use of flexible tactics.

4. Where the specific situation requires the participation of militants in Bantustan elections, it must be on the basis of a complete rejection of the institution and, with the support of the people, to use the platform and office to destroy the Bantustans. The defeatist approach that “we are forced to bow to unilateral decrees” is a cry of despair of those who negate the role of the people.

5. We consider that it is necessary to undertake legal activity and, in appropriate conditions, to use every platform even those provided by the enemy if we can thereby advance the struggle. For obvious reasons it is not always wise for participants in legal activity to use their public voice to align themselves openly with the underground or its policy of preparing for physical resistance. Whilst, therefore, silence on these questions may be justified, open rejection and condemnation of the policy of the revolutionary movement is not.

6. The Bantustan leaders understandably lack a revolutionary ideology and at a certain level have become prisoners of the limited framework in which they exist. Many of them are, however, susceptible to their people's mood and pressures and could be influenced by them to resist Government attempts at complete manipulation. Already some of them are beginning to feel the almost complete impotence of their position and are sensing the hostility of their people. The Chief Executive of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntswansisi, recently declared "on the one hand we are not taken seriously by the Government, and so on the other we are rejected by our own people because we are ineffective". Militants must, therefore, make use of the limited confrontations between the Bantustan leaders and the Government to inject into the debate the real answers and to mobilise people's action in support of them.

7. The Coloured Persons' Representative Council and the South African Indian Council are instruments specifically created for the effective implementation of apartheid in the control and management of the affairs of the Coloured and Indian communities. These dummy institutions, not unlike the Bantustans, are designed to give the semblance of gradual devolvement of power into the hands of the people concerned, so that each community is given only the hope but not the substance of being directly involved in the direction of public affairs. The purpose of the Government in setting up these sham institutions is to ensure the co-operation of the Coloured and Indian members who serve on these bodies in the enforcement of the policy of separate development, and to put a stop to the growing unity of the Black people in their struggle against the apartheid system which deprives them of their dignity and rights as citizens.

It is the clear duty of the Coloured and Indian people to reject and destroy these fraudulent institutions. The Coloured Labour Party made correct use of the elections for the Coloured Persons' Representative Council by rallying the Coloured voters on the platform of total rejection of apartheid and for full and equal rights for all South Africans. It has recently called for the abolition of the CRC during the last session.

With regard to the Indian community the Government is wooing it to accept the S.A. Indian Council which at the moment consists of 25 members all appointed by the Government. There is now a move to enlarge it to 30 members, 15 of whom will be elected through a system of electoral colleges with a voters' list of 600 out of a total population

of 650,000. It is clear that this, the most unrepresentative of all the sham institutions, does not provide any opportunity for the people to use the elections to express their opposition to apartheid. The only way they can do this is by the outright rejection of the South African Indian Council by non-participation and non-collaboration. The recent declaration of the Natal Indian Congress that its members are free to join the S.A. Indian Council is in conflict with its avowed policy of total rejection of the Council, and can only help to nullify the purpose for which the Congress was revived as a fighting body in the struggle of the Black people against apartheid oppression and for freedom.

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

The main aim of the present stage of our struggle is the winning of majority rule over the whole of South Africa. This means nothing less than the total liberation of the African people and with them the other oppressed national groups.

Our Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party which upholds the principle of the unity of the working class throughout the world, without regard to race or colour. We reject the narrow ideology of bourgeois nationalism which divides the workers and can lead to harmful concepts of chauvinism and racialism.

There is no conflict between this, our outlook, and our unqualified support for the progressive elements present in the nationalism of an oppressed people struggling for its national freedom. We have consistently upheld the efforts of the A.N.C. to build up and assert the rights of the African nation in our country; we have worked hard and long to achieve the fighting unity of the African, Coloured and Indian people against white domination.

From this point of view we warmly welcome the assertion of national identity, pride and confidence implicit in the overall concept of 'Black Consciousness'. It is a fully justified and healthy response to the insulting arrogance of the white supremacists. The current spread of Black Consciousness is a contribution to the 'psychological liberation' of the African people. It is essentially a part of the prolonged struggle which was proclaimed by the African National Congress in 1912, and which has always received the fullest support of our Party.

To see the struggle in these terms is not to endorse the false formulation by Ranwedzi Nengwekulu, a student protagonist of Black Consciousness, that the struggle in South Africa is "not a political but a racial one".

It must be recognised that the term in itself does not express a coherent programme, still less an ideology. Within the ranks of those who express this slogan, in addition to determined and honest patriots there may be found those who would seek to achieve merely the advancement of privileged strata while leaving the masses where they were before; to displace the Black working class from the leading role which it has rightly assumed in generations of bitter struggle; or to submerge the emerging African nation with its own languages, culture and traditions, into an amorphous movement whose identity is based merely on skin colour.

We must especially be on our guard against those inside and outside our movement who jump on to the bandwagon of Black Consciousness for their own ulterior purposes, whether it be for their business advancement or as a cover for political careerism. We must reject the attempts by those who would use the emotional sounding content of Black Consciousness in order to isolate the different Black communities from one another and as a means of dividing the national liberation movement. And the ideology of Black Consciousness must not become the basis for the introduction of a crude form of anti-whiteism which diverts the attack from the main target — the white state — and concentrates its energies and passions against white groups like NUSAS, some of which can at the very least be neutralised in the struggle against extreme reaction.

The Black People's Convention, which claims its inspiration from the Black Consciousness ideology, no doubt has attracted some genuinely patriotic elements. But it also contains elements, particularly at top level, who for example, when they had the choice between organisations like the ANC and the white Liberal Party, chose the latter and were amongst the white Liberals' most committed supporters. Apart from its adherence to the vague formulations about Black Consciousness, the Black People's Convention has not yet made clear on what programme of action it hopes to gain the support of the people, nor how it sees its role in relation to the existing national liberation front.

The Black Workers' Alliance or the Black Allied Workers' Union, an

offshoot of the Black People's Convention, projects itself as a substitute for the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) which in the trade union field bore the brunt of the post-sixties repressions, and which has in the recent period made special efforts to regroup itself.

In its short history the Black Workers' Alliance has already shown two faces. On the one hand it emphasises the truism (which SACTU has always stood for) that Black trade union organisation must assert itself as an independent force in the context of a situation in which the official trade union movement is dominated and controlled by the white workers, who at the moment constitute one of the mainstays of reaction. On the other hand, unlike SACTU, its militant-sounding appeals to Black Consciousness are combined with a reformist approach to the role of Black trade unions. Soon after its formation it declared in a statement that it intends to win the respect of the employers and the Government by increasing Black workers' productivity; and it attempted to set at rest Government fears, by stating that it would not wish to "hold the economy of the country to ransom by organising illegal strikes, and making unreasonable demands for political reasons" (RDM 9.12.72). The same approach emerged from a recent appeal for financial help made by D. Koka, the leader of the Black Allied Workers' Union and previously associated with the white Liberal Party, to a West German organisation. In the appeal Koka stated that Ford Motor Company was already helping his organisation with donations of transport, and went on to repeat the claim that his organisation "is still quite healthy – even from the Government point of view" which tolerates the organisation because "we do our own thing – and do not confront the Government".

Every African trade union comes into conflict with the white state and its laws at every stage of its work. No true trade union movement amongst the oppressed can, therefore, isolate itself from the struggle for political rights without betraying the interests of its members.

Paying lip service to Black nationalism is not the same as advancing the true national cause and can, in some cases, become a camouflage for harmful approaches in the actual struggle. No doubt many who have stated their adherence to Black Consciousness, whether in the student movement or in these two new organisations, do so as a counter to the Government-inspired efforts to divide the Black people, as an honest reaction to the diluting influence of white Liberal 'do-gooders',

and also as part of a search for additional organisational forms to advance the cause of the oppressed people. Such elements can and must be won over to the common programme of the liberation alliance. But at the same time where these organisations act against the policies and programmes of our liberation alliance, or project themselves as alternatives to bodies like SACTU, they must be opposed and, if possible, diverted from such a path.

CONCLUSION

It is now ten years since Rivonia when the regime succeeded in inflicting heavy blows against our liberation front. The weakening of the people's organisations understandably resulted in a period during which the initiative appeared to be with the enemy.

The consistent political activity of our movement in the years since Rivonia, has played an important role in helping to create these more favourable conditions of struggle. Our refusal to lie down in the face of the post-60s repression has helped to inspire the spirit of growing resistance, which inevitably expresses itself in both spontaneous and planned acts of resistance and organisational initiatives, not all of which are linked directly with existing organisations. It was our national liberation front, headed by the ANC, which was the first to demonstrate its defiance of the enemy's repressive apparatus by engaging it in open battle, and by continuously spreading the message of resistance at a time when the mass resistance movement was at a low ebb.

The recent upsurge of mass activity and the initiatives which have been taken to re-establish organised platforms of opposition to white rule, open up new possibilities of raising the struggle to a higher level, at a time when the contradictions and stresses of the apartheid system are growing.

The struggle ahead will still be a protracted and a difficult one. Despite its growing difficulties the enemy is still very much in the saddle. To succeed in our task of dislodging it calls for the utmost effort and even more effective planning by the whole movement.

We remain more than ever convinced that the white minority will not surrender its control of the state without a violent struggle. In the forefront of our tasks, therefore, stands the urgent need to create condi-

tions in which organised physical resistance will begin to play a bigger and bigger part. But this task requires more than just exhortation and more than just technical preparation and the activities of professional armed cadres. It calls for the simultaneous intensification of mass struggles in the course of which the people will feel their strength and gain more and more confidence in their capacity to meet and challenge the enemy on his own ground. In a general way, it is correct to say that our people have never and will never resign themselves to the violent subjugation which has been their lot. They will unquestionably be prepared to accept the sacrifices involved in a strategy which includes a revolutionary armed struggle. But this mood will only take root on a mass scale when the people become convinced from their own experience, and from the organised activity of the armed wing of our movement, that it is not only necessary but *possible* to defeat the enemy by strategy which includes armed activity.

In this connection it is becoming more and more urgent for advanced cadres and groups to undertake organised actions which will demonstrate a capacity to answer the enemy in kind; actions which must be related to the issues most affecting the people, so that they increasingly experience the connection between their day to day mass struggles and the possibility of transforming it increasingly into mass resistance and ultimately into a nationwide armed challenge.

Developments during 1973 clothe with greater urgency the need to implement more fully the tasks which were set out by our Central Committee in the report adopted by its last Plenary Session. This report provided guidelines for action to the different strata of our people which still remain valid.

Now more than at any other time, it is ripe for the workers to press ahead with the creation of nation-wide trade unions free of white patronage, to reject the Government-created Works Committees, to create their own factory committees free of employer and Government domination, and to use their collective strength to gain full trade union rights and better conditions. Of prime importance is the struggle for the right to strike which the workers must act on in defiance of the strangulating 'no-strike' provisions of the new Labour Law. SACTU as the most progressive, experienced and genuinely working class trade union centre must be strengthened and must place itself at the head of the struggle in the factories for better conditions and trade union organisation. A

renewed organisational drive is needed to organise the millions of Black workers on the white farms.

SACTU has always upheld the unity of all workers irrespective of race or colour. Its aim is to have all workers in an industry in one union. However, as is well known, industrial legislation in South Africa prohibits integrated trade unions. The choice for the African worker is either independent trade unions or none at all. An attempt is being made by TUCSA to establish African unions under the tutelage of white unions. The workers must be put on their guard against these attempts to control and emasculate African trade unions. Already Black workers (mainly Indian and Coloured) make up 54% of TUCSA's membership but full control remains in the hands of the politically privileged white trade unionists. Theoretically the Coloured and Indian workers have had the same rights as whites under South Africa's Industrial legislation since 1924. But where their trade unions have been attached to white trade unions or co-ordinating bodies, they have always remained in a subordinate position. The campaign must be intensified to organise the masses of African workers into unions free of control by the Government, the employers or the white trade union establishment.

The successful workers' actions of the last year and the failure of some of the Government's previous labour policies have injected an element of confusion and division between the Government, certain sections of industry and the white working class. This division (although not fundamental), and even some of the limited concessions which the Government and the employers have been forced to make, provide a further basis for a breakthrough by the African workers on a broad front, relying on their own strength.

In the countryside, mass population shifting must be resisted and the enemy must be more and more prevented from implementing its resettlement and Bantustan policies. Majority rule over the whole of South Africa must be the uncompromising demand both in the towns and in the homelands.

The working and student youth must be further mobilised and organised in their restless urge for the complete liberation of the Black people; and the trend for closer collaboration between the youth and the workers and those on the land should be strengthened. The youth have a special role to play in helping to elaborate and to spread the policies and programme of the liberation front.

The key to the successful advance in the struggle, and to the exploitation of the more favourable conditions which are developing, is in the hands of the liberation alliance headed by the African National Congress. The strengthening of its underground machinery at leadership and other levels remains a priority, as does the establishment of the effective clandestine links between the underground and all organised centres of opposition in town and country. It is necessary for the underground to sharpen its propaganda weapons and to ensure that the message and guideline of the liberation alliance reaches all sections of our people with increasing frequency. People at all levels should be encouraged to take their own initiatives to create clandestine groups, under proper conspiratorial conditions which will ensure their survival.

We must rebuff tendencies towards anti-Communism which make their appearance from time to time. The whole experience of South Africa has shown the destructive effect of such ideas, sedulously spread by the oppressors, within the ranks of the workers' and the liberation movements. They wrecked the ICU in the twenties and gravely undermined the ANC in the early thirties.

Not only South African but also world history has shown that Marxism-Leninism is the only correct revolutionary theory for countries in all stages of historical development. Our Party as the party of the most advanced class, and the propagandist of Marxism, has proved its indispensable role, both as an independent organisation and as an integral part of the national liberation movement.

Our Party has done much under difficult conditions to defend its principles and maintain its organisation. Our considerable activities in the propaganda field includes the regular publication of our illegal journal *Inkululeko-Freedom* and the regular distribution of an illegal edition of the *African Communist*, as well as a variety of Marxist classics suitably prepared for underground conditions and in some instances translated into African languages. An illegal edition of the history of our Party *Fifty Fighting Years* has also reached people in every part of our country. We salute in particular our comrades operating in the underground in South Africa who are making an immeasurable contribution to the struggle.

During the period ahead we must redouble our efforts to strengthen our units, to extend our educational and propaganda work and to build the strength and influence of our South African Communist Party.

Together with the national liberation front as a whole let us move forward to intensified mass resistance and the stepping-up of preparation for armed struggle.

October, 1973.



Brother from the west—
(How can we explain that you are our brother?)
the world does not end at the threshold of your house
nor at the stream which marks the border of your country
nor in the sea
in whose vastness you sometimes think
that you have discovered the meaning of the infinite.
Beyond your threshold, beyond the sea
the great struggle continues.
Men with warm eyes and hands hard as the earth
at night embrace their children
and depart before the dawn.
Many will not return.
What does it matter?
We are men tired of shackles. For us
freedom is worth more than life.
From you, brother, we expect
and to you we offer
not the hand of charity
which misleads and humiliates
but the hand of comradeship
committed, conscious.
How can you refuse, brother from the west?

FRELIMO, 1973

ZIMBABWE: FREEDOM STRIDING FORWARD

by Bernard Mazoe

1973 has been the year of a great leap forward in the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from settler rule. The unity and momentum achieved in the early months of 1972 in the mass campaign to defeat the Smith-Home settlement proposals have been sustained in action. The armed struggle has for the first time won a secure base within the country, such that despite every effort of the racist troops, the guerillas have not yet been rooted out of the north-east. Not only has the armed struggle scored a significant territorial advance, but it has also engaged the active support of far more people than at any previous stage in the nine years since its commencement, and actions have occurred in several areas hitherto unreached by armed cadres. These are important and heroic achievements, won against an enemy whose growing desperation is expressed in more brutality and more repression.

In consequence of the unity and militance of the African opposition,

the illegal regime has signally failed to lure into acquiescence any significant section of black opinion. As a result the 'settlement' proposals remain a dead letter. At the same time, the regime has slipped into a chronic crisis in which its deteriorating grasp of the security situation is aggravated by the worsening stagnation of the economy, and an overall demoralisation of the small white community. Having dragged the country into isolation for the sake of 'independence' from Britain, Smith is constantly being forced by the consequences of his own policies into a deepening dependence on South Africa. The settlers have sown the wind; now they are beginning to reap the whirlwind.

THE GUERRILLAS ADVANCE

Beginning with some isolated incidents mostly in the north-west in August 1972, the armed struggle developed rapidly from December onwards. At the time of writing (30/10/73) it is evident that the guerrillas are still operating in most parts of the country lying to the north and east of Salisbury. In addition, they are active to the north-west of Salisbury, especially along the common border with Zambia, and at various times in the year they had engaged in actions at places as far apart as Karoi, Gwelo, Enkeldoorn (due south of Salisbury) and Wedza (south-east of Salisbury). Massive 'sweeps' by the security forces in the districts of Mount Darwin, Centenary, Sipolilo, and other parts of the north-east sector up to the Mozambique border utterly failed to diminish, still less stop, the armed cadres' activities.

In reality, the distinction between armed cadres and the ordinary people was rapidly disappearing, so ready were the people to flock to the support of the men bringing in arms and the knowledge of how to use them. Throughout the winter, trial after trial of militants by the Smith regime took place, in which those who had entered the country with arms stood charged side by side with those who had rallied to them in the reserves — young men who had volunteered — and faced their oppressors in court with the same bold contempt and courage as hardened veterans of earlier campaigns in 1967-69. The enemy was forced to admit that popular support for the armed struggle was such that it ruled out any hope of a quick and decisive military mop-up. In an attempt to deter the people from sheltering, feeding, guiding and

supporting the men with arms, the regime rushed through an amendment to the Law and Order Maintenance Act in May, increasing the maximum sentence from 5 years to 20 years, for aiding, failing to report etc. the so-called 'terrorists'. The amendment was retroactive to 16 February 1973 to enable the authorities to lock away for many years the patriots they had captured in the intervening months.

If they thought that by this cruel measure they would frighten people into withholding support from the freedom-fighters, they were utterly mistaken. Support for the armed struggle spread, and despite the difficulties of operating in the dry brown leafless veld during winter, the guerrillas kept up the pressure. Panic-stricken, in September the authorities amended the Law and Order Maintenance Act yet again, making death (or life imprisonment) the punishment for recruiting, helping or failing to report freedom-fighters, and giving the Minister the power to make any of the Act's provisions operate outside Rhodesia as well as inside. (This would enable the regime to lock up anybody who had advocated its overthrow overseas.) In addition, the new law raised from twenty years to death (or life imprisonment) the maximum penalty for attending a course "for the purpose of furthering a political object by the use of various unlawful means" — a definition of political opposition as vague and sinister as the notorious 'Sabotage Act' in South Africa. Finally, as though death or life imprisonment were not enough, the amendment introduced forfeiture of property as an additional penalty for 'law and order' offences.¹

GROWING UNITY

Behind this mighty upsurge of mass struggle, involving thousands of people in some of the more densely populated rural regions of Zimbabwe, lay key political developments which were the pre-condition of the new advances. First, there was the mobilisation of the people in open resistance to the 'settlement' which was effected so successfully during the Pearce Commission's visit. This gave a great new impetus to the movement, and its success inspired new efforts in other methods of struggle. Secondly, in the course of that same campaign early in 1972 the people found anew a unity of spirit and purpose such as they had not enjoyed since the days before the unhappy division of the national

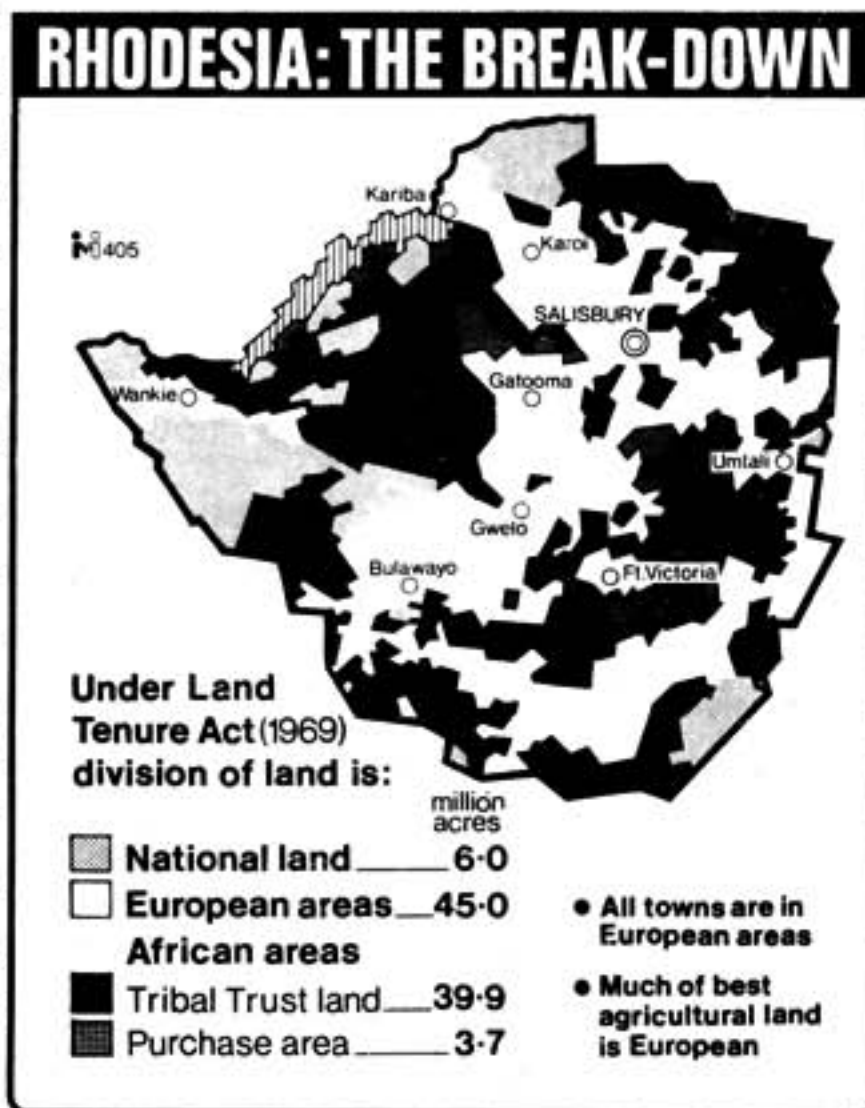
liberation movement into ZAPU and ZANU back in 1961/62. The militant unity of the people in Zimbabwe, together with external pressures from the OAU and other quarters, helped to bring ZAPU and ZANU together in March 1972 in the formation of a Joint Military Command (JMC), a first step towards the healing of a breach which has gravely weakened the liberation movement for far too long. A year later, the two organisations formed a Political Committee to strengthen the JMC. After all these years of bitter division, and subjected to influences of leftward and rightist trends in the politics of some independent African states, with backgrounds of tragically disruptive disunity in the world communist move stemming from Maoist opportunism, it is hardly surprising that the Joint Military Command has not attained the degree of unity hoped for by all Zimbabwean patriots. But it has survived for 18 months, and the evidence indicates that cadres of both organisations, as well as some from the now nearly defunct Frolizi, have been in action in the country.

The third pre-condition was the advance of FRELIMO forces in Tete province, Mozambique, and in particular, their success in mobilising the people south of the Zambesi river. Despite the frightful and now internationally notorious massacres committed by Rhodesian troops at Mucumbura and by Portuguese-led troops at Wiriamu and other villages in the same region, the people of the area – on both sides of the border – were completely won to the side of the liberation movement. The consequent ease of movement of FRELIMO cadres throughout the region opened up an avenue for Zimbabweans to penetrate the north-east. Objectively, this region promised quicker and more substantial advances than had ever been possible on the north-west, where the 400-mile border with Zambia, and especially the central part of it formed for about 200 miles by Lake Kariba, adjoins relatively low-lying, unhealthy and very thinly populated country. In the north-east, where the Shona *Chimurenga* (war of liberation) of 1896-97 was waged most resolutely, and which was the last area to be subdued, not only is the terrain more favourable, being higher (especially in the Mavuradonna mountains), wetter and cooler, but also it is far more densely populated by African peoples (notably the Nyungwe and Tavara tribes, both of whom live on either side of the border) than the north-west; and unlike the Kariba-Karri-Chirundu area there is virtually no European settlement. All these factors, historical, geographical and demographic, have

assisted the people to resist the onslaught of the racist soldiers and police throughout the past year, and still keep fighting back.

Above all, the determination of the people to see this fight through to the end, no matter how long or how tough the struggle, stems from their own experience, in particular the realisation that from the Smith regime they can expect nothing but repression and violence. Despite the steady pressure on him from the Conservative government in Britain, and probably similar encouragement from Vorster, to at least go through the motions of consultation with African opinion and to modify some of the more extreme and blatantly racist aspects of his policy, Smith has stubbornly refused to make even a gesture of flexibility. Instead of opening negotiations with the African National Council (ANC) – through, to be realistic, he would have to change radically for any *real* negotiations to take place – Smith has held only one token meeting with the ANC's president, Bishop Muzorewa, and instead thrown into detention at least 33, probably more, ANC officials and would have locked up others too (like Rev. Canaan Banana and Edson Sithole) had they not left the country.

The final attempt to patch up an Anglo-Rhodesian deal was made in July on the eve of the Commonwealth conference, and with the aim, on the British side, of warding off pressure from the African, Caribbean and some Asian members of the Commonwealth. The Heath government sent out a top civil servant, Smith saw Muzorewa briefly, and that



was as far as the window-dressing went. By September Smith was telling the annual conference of the Rhodesian Front that the 'settlement' was dead. He did not, of course, give due credit for its death to the ANC, which has consistently trod the difficult path of mobilising African opposition to the settlement, while pressing Smith to modify his policies and to open a dialogue with African opinion about the country's future. It has done this in a way which has complemented the life-and-death struggle being waged in the countryside, without promoting reformist illusions or hampering the armed struggle by insisting that "peaceful methods are the only methods". (The ANC has made this claim only for itself, not for the entire liberation movement.) Throughout, its meetings where they were not actually prohibited, have been harassed by police, its officials have been persecuted, and every obstacle has been placed in its path short of the outright banning of the entire organisation.

Faced by this unprecedented barrage of African opposition, white settlerdom responded in the only way it knows: terrorism. Mass arrests in the north-east began in December 1972, with hundreds of people being rounded up for interrogation. In January legislation empowering District Commissioners to impose collective fines on tribes or kraals was introduced, and by February it was being applied. Schools, shops, beer-halls and mills were closed for months at a time, and schools were used as mass interrogation and detention centres. Cattle were confiscated, African businesses closed down, villages burned. By May, this lawless violence was developed into policy, when regulations were adopted to enable the forcible removal of the entire civilian population from the border areas, with the aim (freely admitted by regime spokesmen) of creating a barren no-man's-land along the entire border with Mozambique. In June, a special allocation of R\$1 million was made to finance this vast undertaking, similar in essence to the policy adopted by the British in Malaya, the American imperialists in Vietnam, and the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique and Guine.

As early as April the ferocity of the security forces' onslaught was causing dismay and protest even among some moderate whites. Methodists, Roman Catholics and other churchmen expressed their concern publicly. But the regime pressed on. Lacking the resources to clear such a large area of all human life, the regime contented itself with creating temporary rural encampments into which African civilians were herded. Torture and brutality were the order of the day. And in July-August

savage bombing attacks and helicopter raids were made on villages on the Mozambique side of the border in a futile attempt to "break the supply lines" of the armed cadres operating further south. By October, at least six freedom fighters had been executed, and more were under sentence of death.

THE MANPOWER CRISIS

Neither the cruelty nor the ruthlessness of this display of fury, however, could conceal the fact that it stemmed from the ultimate moral and material weakness of the white minority. The ¼ million white community can sustain a standing army and air force of only five to six thousand men, and reserves of barely twice that number plus about 28,000 police reservists of whom 1/3rd can be called up at a time. In 1973 the reserves have been called into action more frequently and for longer periods than ever before. And each time, offices, shops, factories and farms have been slowed down or brought to a standstill by the loss of personnel. Army officers complain of lack of co-operation from business-men, and of potential reservists shirking their military duties. Businessmen in turn complain (though more cautiously) about the disruption caused by the unpredictable and increasingly lengthy army call-ups. As early as December 1972 medically unfit whites were being dragged into secretarial and medical jobs in the army reserves so that fit men could take the field. By August the over-forties were being pushed into uniform, training periods were being extended for all reservists, and both the G.O.C. the Army and the Commissioner of Police in their Annual Reports were complaining bitterly of the manpower shortage. Military officials tried to coax conscientious objectors (most of them members of the Jehovah's Witness sect) into working on farms in the north-east in lieu of service in uniform, but half of those to whom the offer was put refused on the grounds that it was too dangerous.²

The demoralisation of the white community is reflected in the fact that within the past year the number of young men refusing to do military service has risen four-fold — despite the fact that they are sent to prison if they sustain their refusal. In the police force there has been a spate of resignations of senior police officers, many of them with 15-20 years' service behind them. Resignations and retirements outstripped

recruitment in the year covered by the latest Report of the Commissioner of Police. Nor is it only in the armed forces that signs of the disintegration of the settler community can be seen. More whites are now leaving Rhodesia than coming in. Official figures for September, 1973 indicate that there were 100 more emigrants than immigrants. 670 people came into the country but 770 left. The August figure shows a net gain of only 60 people which was only 10 better than the July figure. So far this year Rhodesia has gained only 1,950 white immigrants, compared with 7,250 in the same period last year. This contrasts with an average monthly inflow of 1,100 white immigrants throughout 1972. In business circles the recent months have seen a remarkable spate of prosecutions of businessmen for currency swindles and illegal trade deals – all designed to either make a big killing out of the shadowy transactions which have characterised Rhodesia's external trade since UDI, or to get the operator's money out of the country into a more promising or at least more manipulable haven. In April, Reserve bank officials disclosed that they were investigating at least 40 individuals and transactions totalling R\$4 million.

ECONOMIC STAGNATION

In general the business community is deeply gloomy. For 18 months it did not know whether to expect a settlement – with all the trading advantages and easing of currency stringencies it would bring – or not. The economy has been winding down slowly, with little incentive or scope for new investment, except in the mining industry where South African capital dominates anyway. In 1972, 73 companies went into compulsory liquidation, as compared with 47 in 1971 and fewer than 40 in 1970. The regime, forced by the security crisis to increase both the police and the defence vote by 22%, and by an exceptional drought to put aside R\$20 million for drought relief, has not been able to pour into the road and rail network the capital badly needed for essential maintenance and development. So acute has the shortage of foreign currency become that in April the regime had to introduce special measures to stem the repatriation of dividends and other profits, and capital gains, to countries previously favoured by special arrangements, notably South Africa. Double taxation agreements with such countries

(the sanctions-busting ones) were also terminated.

This, in brief outline, is the situation which has turned Rhodesia into a client state of Vorster's apartheid Republic. When Smith closed the border with Zambia in January, precipitately and without consulting his Portuguese and South African allies, one of the two incidents which triggered off his decision was a landmine explosion somewhere near the Victoria Falls, which killed two South African policemen and injured two more. The regime panicked again, as it had in August 1967 at the start of the Wankie campaign. This time the panic was induced by the realisation that the guerilla challenge in the north-east was the biggest yet, and that it was accompanied by increased activity in the north-west right from the Victoria Falls up to Kariba and beyond. It is probable that Smith appealed for more help. Certainly President Kaunda charged a few weeks later at the UN that 4,000 more South African troops had entered Rhodesia. Border incidents and provocations ensued, causing the deaths of several Zambian civilians and injury to 14 others. Evidence came to light of South African officers bribing villagers near the Caprivi Strip to spy against Zambia and act as informers. When, in late January, a South African patrol boat on Lake Kariba was allegedly fired on from the Zambian side, it was the S.A. Minister of *Defence*, P.W. Botha, who called for calm, thus giving the lie to the thread-bare argument that the South African presence in Rhodesia is purely a police measure.

Early in the new parliamentary season, the South African Government pushed through an amendment to existing defence legislation enabling white recruits called-up for service to do their service outside the Republic's borders. While this would cover Angola, Namibia and Mozambique as well as Rhodesia, the timing and character of the measure pointed to the conclusion that it was intended to regularise the position of large numbers of trainees being sent into Rhodesia. The game was given away by the illegal regime's Commissioner for Police, Sydney Bristow, whose Annual Report, in addition to complaining about the manpower shortage, and confirming the presence of both ZANU and ZAPU activists, intimated that the northern border area was mainly patrolled by South African units.³ In July, not only did 6 South African Super-Frelon troop-carrier helicopters appear in Salisbury, but Vorster himself made a hush-hush visit to Rhodesia, visiting the Kariba area. Even more secret was the visit some time in July of the Minister of Police Muller⁴, which, like the visit about the same time of the Minister

of Tourism Horwood (who besides being the Nationalist Government's favourite 'English' reactionary, is also Ian Smith's brother-in-law) got hardly a mention in the press.

WHEN A NEIGHBOUR'S HOUSE IS BURNING . . .

By comparison, the visits of two South African Interior Ministers, (one incumbent and one ex-), took place in a blaze of publicity. In July, Theo Gerndener addressing a public meeting in Salisbury proclaimed:

"The Zambesi will from now on be and remain South Africa's northern border for the first time in its history, and all strategic plans will from now on be placed on this reality."⁵

He went on to suggest that Rhodesians and South Africans might have to consider seriously whether their destinies should not be determined by greater co-operation than existed. Gerndener's successor, Connie Mulder, being in office, had to express himself a little more judiciously when questioned at a press-conference in Salisbury after touring the embattled north-east zone in the course of a 6-day visit. Asked if South Africa would increase its commitment in Rhodesia he replied:

"I repeat what my Prime Minister has said, and that is we know what to do if our neighbour's house is on fire."

In a bit of real 'baasskap' advice to the Rhodesian racists he said that there was no political solution to the confrontation in Mozambique and Rhodesia between the 'terrorists' (i.e. freedom-fighters) and the security forces, adding:

"It is not to be solved politically unless you throw in the towel. These people are not trying for majority rule in Rhodesia. Their sole purpose is communist control throughout Africa."⁶

Subsequent casualties sustained by the security forces in the north-east have revealed that both white and black South African troops are being deployed in the area. For the first time the Rhodesian press is

talking openly about the strategic options South Africa has to choose between in Southern Africa, and the likelihood of South Africa moving in openly to prop up white supremacy in Rhodesia at a stage – but far distant – when FRELIMO controls most of Mozambique and the Rhodesian settlers have lost control of their situation. While that is speculation, certain it is that the rapid turn of events is daily making impossible any neo-colonial solution in Rhodesia such that Vorster could find, help to instal and then manipulate a tame black government in Rhodesia. The ‘normalisation’ of the international aspects of the Rhodesian crisis, and above all the abandonment of sanctions, which are still much sought after by ‘verligte’ politicians and financial and commercial interests respectively in the Republic, are being postponed by the intensification of the freedom struggle.

Zimbabwe is not yet free, nor will it be free tomorrow, but, after several lean years, the liberation movement has taken a giant stride forward. The people are learning their own power, and being tempered for the decisive showdown of the future by the fierce battles of the present. We salute them, not only because their sacrifices are laying the foundation for a better society in Zimbabwe, but because the liberation of Zimbabwe is a vital part of the wider process of the eradication of racism and colonialism in the whole of Southern Africa, and especially in its imperialist bulwark, South Africa.

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FOR INDEPENDENCE SOCIALISM & UNITY

“Without the October Revolution and without the immortal feat of the Soviet people who first withstood imperialist intervention and blockade the end of colonialism and the balance of power in the world that favoured the heroic struggle of so many people for their liberation wouldn't have been possible.”

Text of the speech delivered by Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba and first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, to the 4th Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, held in Algiers, September 7th, 1973.



CUBA IS FOR COMMUNISM

In expressing to you, Comrade Boumediene, to your compatriots and the distinguished representatives of the peoples meeting at this Conference the greetings of the Cuban delegation, we would like to emphasize the meaning we assign to the fact that this 4th Conference of Non-aligned Nations is taking place in Algeria, whose people, with their heroic and sustained struggle, awakened the admiration and served as encouragement for the countries that have fought for our national independence against the oppressors.

I want to remind you that Cuba is a socialist country, Marxist-Leninist, whose final objective is communism. We are proud of this! On the basis of that concept of human society, we determine our domestic and foreign policies. We are, above all, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and my words will be consistent with those ideas.

All revolutionaries are duty-bound to defend their views in valiant fashion, and that is what I propose to do here as briefly as possible, since I don't intend to speak for an hour and a half, in order to respect the rights of others to speak at the Conference, too.

There has been talk at this Conference of the different ways of dividing the world. To our way of thinking, the world is divided into capitalist and socialist countries, imperialist and neocolonialized countries, colonialist and colonized countries, reactionary and progressive countries – governments, in a word, that back imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, and governments that oppose imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism.

This seems to us to be basic in the issue of alignment and non-

alignment, because there is nothing exempting us in any way from our central obligation of steadfastly fighting the crimes committed against humanity.

The movement has grown without any question, and that is a source of satisfaction to us, as is the case of Latin America, when the presence here of three new states – Peru, Chile and Argentina – is due to progressive political changes in those countries. But the quality and not the number is what should take primacy for the purposes of this movement if we really mean to wield moral and political force before the peoples of the world. If this is not the case, we run the risk that the reactionary forces could succeed in penetrating its ranks to thwart its aims, and that the unity and prestige of the non-aligned countries could be irretrievably lost.

FOR SOCIALISM – WITH THE USSR

Although the economic issues connected with the interests of the countries we represent take on justified and necessary importance, the political criteria we uphold will continue to be a basic factor in our activity.

In this political terrain there has been an observable tendency during the months of preparation leading up to this Conference that unquestionably militates against our cause and serves only imperialist interests, to seek to pit the non-aligned countries against the socialist camp.

The theory of ‘two imperialisms,’ one headed by the United States and the other allegedly by the Soviet Union, encouraged by the theoreticians of capitalism, has been echoed at times deliberately and at others through ignorance of history and the realities of the present-day world, by leaders and spokesmen of non-aligned countries. This is fostered, of course, by those who regrettably betray the cause of internationalism from supposedly revolutionary positions.

In certain political and economic documents drafted for this Conference we’ve seen that currents come to the fore in one way or another, with different shadings. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba will always oppose that current in all circumstances. That is why we find ourselves obliged to deal with this delicate matter as an essential issue.

There are some who, with patent historic injustice and ingratitude, forgetting the real facts and disregarding the profound, unbridgeable abyss between the imperialist regime and socialism, try to ignore the glorious, heroic and extraordinary services rendered to the human race by the Soviet people, as if the collapse of the colossal system of colonial rule implanted in the world up to World War II and the conditions that made possible the liberation of scores of peoples heretofore under direct colonial subjugation, the disappearance of capitalism in large parts of the world and the holding at bay of the aggressiveness and insatiable voracity of imperialism – as if all that had nothing to do with the glorious October Revolution!

How can the Soviet Union be labelled imperialist? Where are its monopoly corporations? Where is its participation in the multinational companies? What factories, what mines, what oilfields does it own in the underdeveloped world? What worker is exploited in any country of Asia, Africa or Latin America by Soviet capital?

OUR DEBT TO SOCIALISM

The economic co-operation that the Soviet Union provides to Cuba and many other countries comes not from the sweat and the sacrifice of the exploited workers of other peoples, but from the sweat and efforts of the Soviet workers.

Others regret the fact that the first socialist state in history has become a military and economic power. We underdeveloped and plundered countries must not regret this. Cuba rejoices that this is so. Without the October Revolution and without the immortal feat of the Soviet people, who first withstood imperialist intervention and blockade and later defeated the fascist aggression at the cost of 20 million dead, who have developed their technology and economy at an unbelievable price in efforts and heroism without exploiting the labour of a single worker of any country on the face of the earth – without them, the end of colonialism and the balance of power in the world that favoured the heroic struggles of so many peoples for their liberation wouldn't have been possible.

Not for a moment can we forget that the guns with which Cuba crushed the Playa Giron mercenaries and defended itself from the United States; the arms in the hands of the Arab peoples, with which they withstand imperialist aggression; those used by the African patriots against Portuguese colonialism; and those taken up by the Vietnamese in their heroic, extraordinary and victorious struggle came from the socialist countries, especially from the Soviet Union.

The very resolutions of the nonaligned countries aid us in understanding where the dividing line in international politics comes today.

What state have those resolutions condemned from Belgrade to Lusaka for its aggression in Vietnam and all Indochina? The imperialist United States. Whom do we accuse of arming, supporting and continuing to maintain the Israeli aggressor state in its rapacious war against the Arab countries and in its cruel occupation of the territories where the Palestinians have the right to live? We accuse U.S. imperialism. Against whom did the nonaligned countries protest over the intervention in and blockade of Cuba and the intervention in the Dominican Republic and for maintaining bases at Guantanamo, in Panama and in Puerto Rico against the will of their peoples? Who was behind the murder of Lumumba? Who supports the killers of Amilcar Cabral? Who helps to maintain in Zimbabwe a white racist state and turn South Africa into a reserve of black men and women in conditions of semislavery? In all these cases, the culprit is the same: U.S. imperialism, which also backs Portuguese colonialism against the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique.

When our resolutions list the millions of dollars, pounds, francs or marks that leave the developing neocolonialized or colonized countries as a consequence of plundering investments and onerous loan, they condemn imperialism and not any other social system. It is not possible to change reality with equivocal expressions.

Any attempt to pit the nonaligned countries against the socialist camp is profoundly counterrevolutionary and benefits only imperialist interests. Inventing a false enemy can have only one aim, to evade the real enemy.

The success and the future of the nonaligned movement will depend on its refusal to allow itself to be penetrated, confused or deceived by imperialist ideology. Only the closest alliance among all the progressive

forces of the world will provide us with the strength needed to overcome the still-powerful forces of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism and to wage a successful fight for the aspirations to peace and justice of all the peoples of the world.

With the preoccupying, increasing needs for sources of energy and raw materials on the part of the developed capitalist countries in order to maintain the absurd consumer societies they have created, were it not for the extraordinary containing power of the socialist camp, imperialism would carve up the world all over again, new wars would plague the human race, and many of the independent countries that today belong to this movement would not even exist. Right now there are leading circles in the United States that are pushing for military intervention in the Middle East if fuel requirements warrant it.

Any estrangement from the socialist camp means weakening and exposing ourselves to the mercy of the still-powerful forces of imperialism. It would be a stupid strategy, a case of severe political shortsightedness.

IMPERIALISM – AND ITS TOOLS

Mr. Chairman, Latin America notes with concern the way that Brazil, under U.S. sponsorship, is building up a military might that goes way beyond the needs of its rulers to employ armed brutality, murder, torture and imprisonment against its people. Brazil is visibly growing into a military enclave in the heart of Latin America at the service of imperialism. The Government of Brazil – which, along with that of the United States, took part in the invasion of the Dominican Republic and then with the same partner worked to overthrow the progressive Government of Bolivia and recently helped to implant a reactionary dictatorship in Uruguay – is not only a tool of the United States but is gradually becoming an imperialist state. Today it has an observer status at this Conference, as has Bolivia. We hope that such governments, under which some peoples of our hemisphere still suffer, are never admitted to the nonaligned movement.

There has been considerable talk here of the situation prevailing in Southeast Asia and in the Near East; of the peoples oppressed and bled by Portuguese colonialism; of the brutal racist repression in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

U.S. imperialism continues to back the neocolonial regime in South Vietnam, which refuses to comply with the Paris Agreements, and the puppet government of Lon Nol in Cambodia; Israel mocks the United Nations resolutions and refuses to return the territories it occupied by force; Portugal, with the backing of the United States and NATO, scorns world opinion and the resolutions against it adopted by international bodies. The racist governments not only step up repression but threaten other African states.

These are bitter, outrageous truths that put the strength, unity and will to struggle of the nonaligned countries to the test. We who are meeting here are the leaders and representatives of more than 70 states. Let us enact concrete measures and agreements to isolate and defeat the aggressors.

Let us support in a determined, steadfast manner, the Arab peoples under attack and the heroic people of Palestine; the fighters for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique; the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia! Let us fight consistently against the imperialist countries that aid and abet these crimes! Let all of us nonaligned countries recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and let us give our full support to it in the struggle for compliance with the Paris Agreements! Let us back the patriots of Laos and Cambodia, and no force in the world will be able to prevent the solution of these problems that affect our peoples in the Near East, Africa and Southeast Asia!

The true strength and profundity of the movement of nonaligned nations will be measured by the firmness of our actions regarding these problems. Cuba will back with the greatest determination the agreements adopted to that effect, even if to do so calls for contribution of our blood.

We cannot ignore the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. That people, a thousand times heroic, has undergone the most devastating war of aggression. Millions of tons of bombs were dropped on their economic

facilities, cities, towns, schools and hospitals. Their self-sacrificing and victorious struggle against imperialist aggression has served the interests of the entire human race. We must not settle for expressions of sympathy. Right now, that admirable country is confronting the difficult work of reconstruction. We propose to the nonaligned countries that we take part in the rebuilding of North Vietnam, with each of us making a contribution to the extent of our possibilities. This would provide a new and revolutionary dimension to the nonaligned nations in the field of international solidarity.

The nonaligned countries must express their solidarity with Zambia and Tanzania against South African and Rhodesian aggression. We must also support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its efforts to attain the peaceful reunification of the Korean People. We must offer the Panamanian people full support in their just struggle for sovereignty in the Canal Zone. We must provide solidarity with the people of Chile in the face of imperialist plotting. We must join with Argentina in its just demand for the return of the usurped Malvina [Falkland] Islands. And we must defend the right of the people of Puerto Rico to their full sovereignty.

Our country must put up with the humiliating presence of a U.S. base on a part of our territory, maintained by force completely against the will of our people, who confront a rigorous and criminal economic blockade by the United States. Despite that, the Cuban people stand firm and are successfully building socialism right at the gateway to the United States. Our country has been able to resist because it has carried out a genuine revolution that radically wiped out all forms of exploitation of man by man, building upon that base a lofty fighting morale and a solid, indestructible unity.

FOR REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

When there is a real desire to free the country from imperialist exploitation, then the people must also be freed from the plunder of the fruits of their labour by the feudal lords, the landholders, the oligarchs and the social parasites of all kinds.

We also ask for your solidarity with the Cuban people.

If an understanding with the socialist countries is a vital factor for

our victory, unity among the nations fighting for independence and development is its indispensable condition. We support all pronouncements in favour of greater unity of the nonaligned in regard to the principal problems of international life that are included in the different motions presented to the Conference. But we are concerned – more than concerned, we become indignant – when we see that a leader of the stature of Sekou Toure must defend himself not only against the Portuguese colonialists but also against conspiracies promoted right inside his own underdeveloped Africa.

Our faith in certain unity declarations and postulates wanes when we see that the People's Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Somalia are not free from threats by other African forces and we note the difficulties of the Revolutionary Government of the Democratic and People's Republic of Yemen in overcoming hostilities that may well stem from Washington but which are carried out from other areas closer at hand.

All of this shows that our true unity depends not on circumstantial nonalignment but on a deeper, more lasting identity stemming from revolutionary principles, a common anti-imperialist programme and an aspiration to substantial, conclusive social transformations.

This is Cuba's position. The point of view that I have just outlined will surely not be shared by all the leaders meeting here, but I have complied with my duty to express them with respect and with loyalty toward all of you.

Thank you very much.

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ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN: 'Life through a crooked eye'

by Alex La Guma

For a long time now those in the West interested in literature, as well as those with an eye on Soviet affairs generally, have been assailed through the anti-Communist mass media with the virtues of writers and intellectuals who are defectors from and 'dissenters' within the Soviet Union, among them Alexander Solzhenitsyn. I am not sure whether any writers of the "Third World" have taken the time to take issue with this aspect of the anti-communist, anti-Soviet campaign – we have our hands full with the problem of literature in the struggle of our people for survival. But looking through a copy of "South African Outlook" (September 1972) we discover that Solzhenitsyn has actually passed the South African censors, and that his Nobel Prize Lecture is reprinted there.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn has the distinction then of being the only writer in the Soviet Union, as far as we can remember, to pass South Africa's racist and anti-communist censorship examination. While the works of progressive authors have been banned in our country, we are told by "South African Outlook" that "readers of this journal need no introduction to the author of *Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle*."

Apart from this, South African Outlook describes itself as a "journal dealing with ecumenical (and racial) affairs" and gives information "according to what it believes to be Christian standards". Well, Solzhenitsyn did convert to Christianity; and any non-Christian ideas about art, literature and "The Role of Writers in Society" – the title of his Nobel Prize lecture – might not then make much appeal to him or his protagonists. However, seeing that his work is allowed circulation in South Africa, we have some cause to enter the lists over these ideas.

For Solzhenitsyn art is something that is above, separate, from people. We hold "Art in our hands" (he gives it the capital letter) and ask ourselves: "As the savage, confronted with a strange object asks . . . did it fall from the sky?" "Art is not sullied by our efforts . . . and however applied it grants us a share of its own secret, inner light." He tells us that "in the pre-dawn twilight of mankind we received it from Hands we were unable to see". Therefore we must conclude that even if there was no humanity, no mankind, no people on earth, Art could still be there. "It is we who will die; art will remain." Art is some mystical phenomenon, "its dazzling convolutions, its unpredictable discoveries, its shattering influence on people, are too magical to be plumbed by the artist's philosophy or scheme, or by the labour of his unworthy fingers".

But Solzhenitsyn himself would never have been able to produce his works if he had not put his hand to a pen and the pen to paper. If he had not been born his friends would never have been able to say this is "the world-celebrated author whose works are banned in the Soviet Union" (*Times*, London, 29.8.73).

Primitive man might have sat in a cave after a good meal of roasted auroch and idly scratched with his toasting stick on the dirt floor, in reverie tracing the events of the hunt. He might have then discovered that he could reproduce a natural occurrence and later he transferred this reproduction to the wall of his cave.

Everything that we call works of art came and comes from human endeavour. One person may be able to represent life better through one or other medium than another. This we call talent. But if talent was not *exercised* we would not have art.

So we may say that art is a representation of life. As Maxim Gorky put it:

“What the imagination creates is prompted by the facts of real life, and it is governed not by baseless fantasy, divorced from life, but by very real causes . . .”

ART AND LIFE

But, further, art is a representation of life also modified by the personality of the artist; for the artist has a character, an outlook on life, the world around him. And through his art he hopes to modify the personality of others. Man's ideas all stem from the real world about him, and from his experience of that real world he has been able to form opinions, take up attitudes. Moreover man is a social being, and the society in which he lives helps to influence the artist's attitude to work and life as well as those of anyone else. In short, being determines consciousness.

While the idea that “social being determines consciousness” does not necessarily constitute a complete aesthetic, Plekhanov helps us by explaining that the mode of production in society — i.e. the material means of production, technique, and organisation — and the relations of production determines men's mode of life or their condition; their condition in turn determines their psychology — their forms of thought and their emotional make-up; and their psychology determines their works of art.

To quote Gorky again:

“It has turned out that people cannot be grasped apart from real life, which is steeped in politics through and through. It has turned out that man . . . still remains a social unit, and not a cosmic one like the planets.”

But Alexander Solzhenitsyn's 'Art' is above all this. For "Mankind as a whole is squeezed into a single lump, lack of mutual understanding threatens to bring a rapid and stormy end". Mankind is not divided into opposing political and economic forces. It is merely a "lack of mutual understanding" and if this goes on "we shall not survive on the Earth, just as a man with two hearts is not long for this world." But "who will create for mankind a single system of evaluation? Propaganda, compulsion and scientific proof are all powerless here. But fortunately the means to convey all this to us does exist in the world. It is art. It is literature."

Solzhenitsyn's 'art and literature' is a sort of djinn out of a bottle that appears to solve the problems of mankind; "Art can straighten the path of man's history." and he would "insistently remind you of this great and blessed property of Art."

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Solzhenitsyn's conception of the world is not one of contending classes, of working class against capitalist exploiter, or imperialism against anti-imperialism, man struggling to create a better life in which his 'Art' will have to take sides. No, for him social contradictions stem from the Freudian conception that living beings have an aggressive instinct whose manifestation is natural and inevitable.

"The old same primitive urges rend and sunder our world – greed, envy, licence, mutual malevolence, though they now adopt euphemistic pseudonyms as they go, such as 'class struggle', 'racial struggle', 'the struggle of the masses', 'the struggle of organised labour'."

Note that he does not include the exploitation of workers by the bourgeoisie or the national oppression of millions of non-white people among these "euphemistic pseudonyms". This puts Solzhenitsyn in solid with his friends in the West and with the South African censors. In any case, if all mankind is a victim of "the old same primitive urges" then the exploiter can't really be blamed for what he's up to. Solzhenitsyn goes even further, to insult the working-class directly:

“Whenever any group of workers sees a chance to grab something extra – never mind if they don’t deserve it, never mind if it’s more than they need – they up and grab it and ruin takes society.”

thus quoting the scurrilous remarks of all capitalist politicians word for word!

For Solzhenitsyn “this twentieth century of ours has proved crueller than the preceding ones the spirit of Munich is the dominant one in the twentieth century”. Not the spirit of the Socialist Revolution, not the spread of socialism over one third of the world, nor the emergence of independent peoples in Africa and Asia, nor the heroic struggles of oppressed peoples for liberation. No, Solzhenitsyn sees that “violence strides bold and victorious through the world”. But violence in his eyes is confined to hi-jackers, the youth and Chinese Red Guards; it never includes the imperialists who rain death and destruction on millions of innocents.

Nevertheless somewhere among a hodge-podge of platitudes and generalisations about the separation of art from the artist, and about “World literature as a single great heart,” Solzhenitsyn must concede that “Man is built in such a way that his experience of life, both as an individual and as a member of a group, determines his world outlook, his motivations and his scale of values, his actions and his attentions”. But he is not satisfied, and adds his personal formula.

“As the Russian saying goes: ‘Trust not your own brother; trust your own eye, even crooked.’ That is the soundest basis for understanding one’s environment and for determining one’s behaviour within that environment.”

Then Solzhenitsyn finds himself, in all modesty, specifying that “Russian literature has tended away from self-admiration and frivolity for decades now. Nor am I ashamed to continue in this tradition.”

What has Solzhenitsyn to say of Russian literature? “I have mounted this platform from which the Nobel lecture is delivered while others perhaps more gifted than I perished in the Gulag Archipelago.” It is explained that Gulag stands for State Prison Camp Administration. “A whole national literature has been left there! Buried without a coffin, without even any underclothes, naked, just a name-tag tied around one toe.”

One can hardly comment upon such a gross exaggeration. But

Alexander Solzhenitsyn is obsessed with prison camps. Any socially conscious writer is naturally concerned with the problems of his country, the society in which he lives. For us, social consciousness is the sum total of the political and legal theories, the moral, religious, philosophical views of a given society, and in addition includes the social sciences, art and social psychology (social attitudes, moods, customs etc.).

SOVIET LIFE

A writer might not be able to deal with all individual problems of his fellowmen, so he tries to learn from the average experience. Thus conscious writers in South Africa, for example are concerned with racism and Apartheid. But to give the impression that prison-camps form the general experience of the Soviet people is, to say the least, a gross distortion of the realities of Soviet life. No honest person who has visited the Soviet Union, can claim that he experienced the atmosphere of oppression, concentration camps and secret police present as Solzhenitsyn would have it. The common problems of the Soviet people today are those concerned with the transition from socialism to Communism, and that is what most writers in the USSR also are concerned with.

Literature and art not only reflect the life of the people, but they also help to mould the human mind. The idea of the indivisible link of literature and art with the interests and struggle of social classes and, in socialist society, with the life of the entire people, was theoretically substantiated by Lenin who propounded the principle of the partisanship of literature.

Bourgeois propagandists attack this principle, trying to prove that to serve the interests of a definite class is incompatible with artistic creation. But we need for example only point to the clutter of innocuous and trivial reading matter produced in the West which helps to divert the masses from more serious aspects of life, and ask whose interest the writers of such material serve. Artistic creation cannot remain outside the struggle of classes, outside politics; for each writer, whether he likes to or not, expresses in his work the interest of some one class.

“An artist can be really inspired only by what is capable of facilitating intercourse among men. The possible limits of such intercourse are not determined by the artist, but by the level of culture attained by the social entity to which he belongs. But in a society divided into classes, they are also determined by the mutual relations of these classes”

(Art and Social Life, G. Plekhanov)

Socialism is the first social system which freed culture from the influence of the money-bags. It affords the artist a chance to create not in order to pander to the tastes of a small coterie of ‘cultured’, but for the masses. Does this infringe the freedom of the artist?

Each real artist searches for the truth, seeks to depict the truth. But this is what socialist society is also interested in. The main demand of socialist realism is to portray life truthfully, in its progressive development.

Three novels and a play by Solzhenitsyn translated in the West are all concerned with prison-camps. His Nobel prize lecture is concerned with prison-camps. Admittedly he might well have had unpleasant experiences in the past, while a prisoner. But one cannot be expected to accept the after-effects of those experiences as examples of the author’s genius, or of the common experiences of all his people.

We have learned that Solzhenitsyn spent eight years at hard labour from 1945-53 and afterwards a period of exile. He was rehabilitated in 1956-7. Solzhenitsyn may have been innocent of the charges against him, as may have been others imprisoned. The Soviet Union openly admitted that mistakes were made during the period of Stalin’s leadership.

Alexei Surkov, once first secretary of the USSR Writers’ Union, said of Solzhenitsyn’s “First Circle”.

“There is no denying this novel contains much bitter truth – but it represents our society as a society of prisoners, and this is tendentious lying.”

(Financial Times, London, 7.4.1970)

Solzhenitsyn of course has the right to make his point about his experiences as a prisoner. He wrote *One Day In The Life of Ivan Denis-*

ovitch which was published in the magazine *Novi Mir* in 1962.

But from thereon he persisted with prison-camp books.

“The Soviet people are portrayed as a misled herd, which the war has proved it is not.” (*Ibid*)

Apart from this, many of his stories are concerned with death. For example of his *Stories and Prose Poems*, the reviewer Gabriel Pearson says:

“The dead are Solzhenitsyn’s theme and what drives him is the urgency of their cause as though they were in his keeping.”
(*Guardian, London, 10.6.73*)

From the standpoint of Western reviewers all this must have contributed to the “unprecedented consensus that Solzhenitsyn is a great writer in the grand Russian tradition of ethical urgency and openness of life”. (*Ibid*). But his Soviet colleagues did not think so. According to them in his work “life is reflected in a distorting mirror, and moreover with an obvious anti-Soviet slant” as Soviet writer Nikolai Gribachev put it. (*Soviet Weekly, 17.1.1970*).

The poet Sergei Mikhalov said “Anyone is free to choose his own way of life. But one cannot remain in the ranks of those who are heading in a different direction. We Soviet writers have no intention of going Solzhenitsyn’s way, and Solzhenitsyn is not heading our way. The best way out is to part”. (*Ibid*).

Even the anti-Soviet emigre paper *Russkaya Misl* said bluntly that the novel *First Circle* was fully and completely directed against Soviet reality.

Solzhenitsyn declined the offered assistance of his colleagues to make ideological corrections to his work, including *Cancer Ward, First Circle, The Banquet of Victors, Stories and Sketches and Sad Stories*. He preferred to have them published in the West, where as he later said in his Nobel prize lecture, they “rapidly acquired a responsible world readership, in spite of hasty and often defective translations.” These works were advertised as ones in which the author “boldly” and “in a talented way” came out against the ideas of socialism, against the Soviet system.

Such claims by Solzhenitsyn's backers are not baseless: that is exactly the outlook they show. The reason why these works are published in the West is clear. The aim is to further anti-Soviet sentiments.

As the late Ilya Ehrenburg said back in 1954 (2nd Congress of Soviet Writers) "A book is the heart of a writer and one cannot separate the author from his work".

Soviet publishers and his colleagues, as well as public opinion, all found that Solzhenitsyn and his work did not coincide with their requirements of conduct, social activities and creative work.

IS THIS SILENCE?

Solzhenitsyn's expulsion from the Writers' Union in 1969 was of course seen in the anti-Soviet West as an attempt to silence him.

He still lives near Moscow and still gives interviews to Western correspondents. He has not been deprived of pen and paper. (In South Africa authors are prohibited from writing even before they have thought of a publisher.) South Africa aside, whether in the bourgeois democratic West or in the Soviet Union, a writer may be able to write up as many reams of paper as he wishes. But when he takes his work to a publisher he discovers that the latter also has a say in the matter of what is produced. How many writers in the 'free' West have not had their works rejected because they do not conform to the standards of publishers? How many writers have not been asked to alter or modify their manuscripts to suit the publisher? If a Western publisher has this right, why not a socialist publisher?

How many unions in the West have not expelled members for contravening their programme, or the rules and duties imposed on members? Nikolai Gribachev quoted elsewhere here said also, "Besides, we are not just a writers' union, but a union of *Soviet* writers".

Solzhenitsyn's works show that he is far from concerned with the realities of Soviet life. "Trust not your brother; trust your own eye, even crooked." Seeing Soviet life through a crooked eye got him the Nobel prize for 1970. No one will deny that in the eyes of millions of people the Nobel prize is a halo. Its prestige is enhanced by the fact that associated with it are leading names in the field of science, such as Einstein, Joliot-Curie, Pavlov, as well as outstanding scientists of our day, including Soviet ones.

It is a different thing with fiction, about which every literate person can pass his judgement. While we might accept that scientists awarded the Nobel prize are authorities in their specific field, it does not follow that the prize awarded to somebody in any other field elevates him to an authority.

It is in the sphere of fiction that we are able to see the class and political sympathies and antipathies of the Nobel award committee.

The Nobel Committee traditionally has had its own specific view of *Russian literature and its representatives*. While in the West several periodicals describe Solzhenitsyn as a spiritual successor of Chekov and Tolstoy, (neither of whom ever won a Nobel prize!). Mazim Gorky and Vladimir Mayakovsky, without whom one cannot imagine the prose and poetry of our century, did not suit the tastes of the Nobel Committee. It took that committee several decades to name its first Russian author.

Its choice fell on Ivan Bunin. It 'discovered' Bunin not at the height of his talent, but only when he emigrated from his country and adopted an openly hostile attitude to the young Soviet state.

It was then that awarding a Nobel Prize began to be used as an act in the "cold war" leading to the award of a Nobel Prize to Boris Pasternak for his *Doctor Zhivago*. That talented poet and translator – who in fact in his time was awarded the USSR's highest prize for literature – drew the attention of the Nobel Committee only after he had published abroad this indifferent, but anti-socialist novel.

The award of the prize to Alexander Solzhenitsyn in 1970 came only as a logical conclusion of the Nobel Committee's policy not so much on the merits of the literature, as on its attitude to the Soviet Union, to the ideas of socialism.

It is true there was an occasion when it was thought that honesty and objectivity prevailed over political sympathies. The outstanding Soviet author, Mikhail Sholokov, was awarded the Nobel Prize some seven years ago. But now, examining the facts, one must perceive even in this a programmed calculation, an attempt to create an alibi for subsequent large-scale anti-Soviet assaults.

Many Western newspapers and periodicals have openly expressed the opinion that Solzhenitsyn deserves the prize if only because he "fights courageously" against the society in which he lives. Even the conservative press admits openly that the decision to award him the prize was

influenced not by his literary talents, but by his anti-Soviet rhetoric.

In the distorted mirror, through the crooked eye, an ordinary slanderer can be seen as a "champion of truth".

It is perhaps significant that not as much hullabaloo was raised in the West over *August 1914* as was over such openly anti-Soviet works as *One Day*, *The Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle*.

One need not accept that the 'experts' who praise Solzhenitsyn necessarily believe their own words. If Solzhenitsyn were not available they would find someone else.

Having accepted his award Alexander Solzhenitsyn has been seeking kudos for his friends of like persuasion. The Western praise-singers have become enthused over the new Nobel Prizewinner's attempts to rehabilitate a man Vlasov who fought against his country in the ranks of the Nazi army, and to suggest the Nobel Prize for Academician Andrei Sakharov. While the democratic and progressive world condemned the putch in Chile, the 'scientist' Sakharov called on the dictatorship to protect the poet Pablo Neruda in the name of the military junta's "epoch of renaissance and consolidation announced by your Government".

But we have not heard the last of the so modest Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The West is still to inherit a legacy of "the main part of my work" (*Times*, London, 29.8.73). This will come to us after his death. But a natural death is not good enough for Solzhenitsyn. It is after "I am killed or suddenly mysteriously dead", that these main works will be published.

Anti-Soviet Western publishers must therefore impatiently chew their fingernails while they wait for the day when his "literary last will and testament will irrevocably come into force". They might have consolation in the knowledge that when that day comes, they will be able to publish some more of Solzhenitsyn's obsessions and distortions, seen through his crooked eye.

PABLO NERUDA

How bitter it is to record the death of that great Chilean revolutionary poet, Pablo Neruda, at the very time when Chile needs his voice so deeply to rally her people in struggle against the fascist junta.

In tribute to his memory, we print below one of his poems which has much meaning for both Africa and Chile of today.

THE SHIP

*But we have already paid our fares in this world,
Why, then, don't you let us sit and eat?
We want to look at the clouds,
we want to bathe in the sun and smell the salt air;
honestly you can't say we are molesting others;
its very simple: we are passengers.
We are all travelling through and time goes with us;
the sea goes by, the rose says goodbye,
the earth passes under shadow and under light,
and you and we pass by too, passengers all.
What bothers you then?
Why are you all so angry?
Whom are you looking for with that revolver?
We didn't know
that everything is taken,*

*the cups, the seats,
the beds, the mirrors,
the sea, the wine, the sky.
Now we're told
that there's no table for us,
it cannot be, we think.
You cannot convince us.
It was dark when we arrived at this ship
we were naked.
We all came from the same place,
we all came from woman and man,
we all knew hunger and then grew teeth,
we grew hands to work with
and eyes to want what exists.
And you cannot tell us that we cannot,
that there's no room on board;
you don't want to say hello,
you don't want to play with us.
Why so many advantages for you?
Who gave you that spoon before you were born?
You are not happy here,
things cannot go well this way.
I don't like to travel like this,
to find sadness hidden in corners
and eyes without love or mouths that hunger.
There are no clothes for this gathering autumn,
and less, less, less for the next winter.
And without shoes how can we take a turn
around the world, with so many stones on the paths?
Without a table where are we going to eat,
where shall we sit if there are no chairs?
If it's an unfunny joke, decide gentlemen,
to end it quickly,
to talk seriously now.
Afterwards the sea is hard.
And it rains blood.*

The ideological work of African liberation movements

by Henri Onar

This article is the final part of a series by the author, whose first article appeared in our last issue, under the title: "African Culture and Ideology".

The article was written before the formation of an independent popular government in Guinea Bissau. It excludes all reference to the ideological work of South Africa's liberation movements which have been commented on frequently in this journal at other times.

The Portuguese colonialists left the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau no alternative but to fight their way to independence. This was the conclusion to which the leadership of the national liberation movement in these countries came, recognising at the same time

the need carefully to prepare the population beforehand from the ideological and political point of view.

“If you have a political programme,” said Dr. Mondlane, President of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), “and if you make it clear to the people that they must fight and destroy the enemy and that it is necessary to fight even at the price of one’s life, you can inspire and arouse the people.”¹

“The historical circumstances in which the national liberation movement is developing,” said the late Amilcar Cabral, Secretary General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), “bring to the fore the issue of the moral staunchness and loyalty to principle of every participant in the movement.”

With their sights raised to an armed rising, there began a vast agitation campaign in the Portuguese colonies to explain the reasons for armed struggle – the only road to independence – and the objectives and tasks of the fight begun by the patriotic organisations, the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique, and PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau. After deciding on armed struggle as far back as 1959, and though setting out to train propaganda cadres – (a political school for Party members was opened in the Guinean Democratic Republic in 1960 and PAIGC members were sent to various African countries to study) – and to carry on agitation among the population, the Political Bureau of the PAIGC did not however announce the changeover from political struggle to armed rising until 1963, when it considered that the people were prepared for armed struggle organisationally, ideologically and politically.

To achieve the best results from its agitation among the masses, the PAIGC leadership made a detailed analysis of the social and economic structure of society, which took into account the specifics of strata, ethnic factors, customs and traditions, beliefs and social thinking, as well as the peculiarities of Portugal’s colonial policy in Guinea-Bissau.

“Every people,” said Cabral, “requires a definite concept of mobilisation.”²

In the school mentioned above, propaganda talks to be given in *tabancas* (villages) were presented with due regard to the fact, for instance, that in Guinea the Portuguese had not seized any land for European settlers as they had in Angola, (there are no plantations in

Guinea) and that Guineans are not directly affected by colonial exploitation in this respect. This complicated the political task of PAIGC members active among the population. It compelled them to use distinctive methods of exposing colonial oppression, renounce general slogans such as "The land for those who till it" which mean nothing to peasants unaffected by land hunger, and resort to graphic methods. "We saw to it," Cabral noted, "that our people who were preparing for agitation work had a clear idea of what they should talk about in keeping with the reality of our people."³

Underestimation of these factors in the agitation campaign at the outset of the armed struggle greatly complicated the position of FRELIMO, as Dr. Mondlane, its first President, stressed in 1969; for the population often knew nothing of the Party's goals and tasks and failed therefore to join it. This posed the urgent problem of training political commissars in charge of the Party's organising and political education work among the population.³ The measures that were taken soon produced favourable results and FRELIMO's influence on the population, and hence its gains in the anti-colonial struggle, grew noticeably.

An intense process of national and political development involving the whole people is under way in the liberated areas of Angola (over one-third of the total population, or about one million), Mozambique (over one-fourth of the total population or about one million) and Guinea-Bissau (over two-thirds of the total area, with a population of one million, where the insurgents control the countryside except for some narrow strips around big cities). Mozambique's people today settle their affairs through district committees formed by the Party. The foundations of an Angolan state are being laid. People's government bodies "assume administrative functions and their supervision", Agostino Neto, MPLA President, told the 24th Congress of the CPSU.⁵

The patriots of Guinea-Bissau, whose people have ample experience of independent development under PAIGC leadership, have made great headway towards statehood.

Genuinely democratic government and judicial bodies, which speak for the masses and are backed by them, direct the social, economic, political and cultural development of the population in the newly constituted territorial administration units in conformity with their powers. The August-October 1972 election to the People's National Assembly

was a notable advance in building a new national state in Guinea-Bissau.

National reconstruction is under way in the liberated areas. Its aim is complete liquidation of the colonial political and economic system and a new way of life free of exploitation and coercion. The national-liberation revolution is accompanied by the radical socio-economic transformations envisaged in the party programmes. As in the armed struggle, these were preceded by energetic party work to raise the political consciousness of the masses and to explain the meaning of these transformations, their significance and aims. Neto has said: "First of all we must unfetter man's thinking, shaped in conditions of colonialism, and teach him to think freely and feel himself free, though the country has not yet been freed".

EDUCATING THE MASSES

Ideological work is considered a key component of national reconstruction, for the huge mass of peasants has to be convinced of the need and advisability of new social relations and production methods, which cannot be introduced without day-to-day participation of the working people. Hence, besides political training there is mass organisational work to raise the people's cultural and ideological level. This is done with the participation of political commissars, guerrilla fighters, school-teachers, doctors and nurses. Centres of Revolutionary Instruction and propaganda units are being organised.

Special attention is devoted to wiping out illiteracy and promoting education as objective prerequisites and essential conditions for the success of the national-liberation revolution. The higher the educational level, Neto has emphasised, the easier it is to implant revolutionary consciousness. This does not, of course, mean that illiterate people cannot be good fighters. Even in the initial period of the revolution the PAIGC started illegal schools in which theoretical studies were combined with efforts to raise national and revolutionary consciousness. Now these schools run classes for adults who often study together with the regular students. Much is being done to build more schools, including boarding schools, for the children of the guerrilla fighters. All this is being accomplished with the help of peasant Action Committees. In 1972 there were 250 schools in liberated Guinea-Bissau attended by more than 15,000 children, compared with the meagre 40 primary

schools built in 250 years of colonial rule.

In FRELIMO-held areas in Mozambique, where every child studies, there were 160 schools in 1971. The MPLA Educational and Cultural Department put out a primary school textbook in the four main local languages in 1969-70. There are also secondary schools; adult classes are being started for the illiterate, and political courses for unit commanders, the people's militia and officials of local government bodies. The educational system is being reorganised; local languages are being given alphabets; new curricula are being drawn up. The development of national culture and the arts, all cultural activities of MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO, are subordinated to the work of spiritual decolonisation and the cultivation of revolutionary consciousness.

Women have a conspicuous part in local government bodies, education, cultural and information agencies, and in all other spheres of social and political life in the liberated areas. Way back in 1966 the FRELIMO Central Committee started a campaign to bring women into the national-liberation struggle and give them political and military training. There is a special department headed by a commissar to supervise this work. The Organisation of Angolan Women (OMA) is doing much to mobilise the women for revolutionary work. Five OMA members who were killed in battle are commemorated every year on Angolan Women's Day, March 2. In liberated Guinea-Bissau, women usually hold 3 of the 5 seats in the rural committees.

NATIONALISM AND TRIBALISM

One of the main ideological tasks is to foster national consciousness. The Portuguese, like the English and French, deliberately conserved the old tribal socio-economic structure and the artificial tribal boundaries. For instance, nine Mozambique provinces were formed on the tribal principle, so that the coastal population was separated from the interior. Tribal discord was deliberately encouraged.

The result has been that a national consciousness is only now beginning to assert itself, helped by the spread of trade and migration. The national consolidation programme is implemented by various methods. In Guinea-Bissau, for instance, party and political functionaries are not, as a rule, drawn from the tribe they serve. The MPLA detachments are made up of men from many tribes: Umbundu, Kimbundu, Chokwe,

Luvale, Ovimbundu, but the policy is to unite all patriots regardless of ethnic origin and tribal affiliation in an anti-colonial front.

The difficulties encountered from objective socio-economic factors which are the legacy of colonial policy are compounded by the fact that the ideological organs are still in the formative stage and forced to deal with a number of other problems; their specific functions have not yet crystallised. On the other hand, the national-liberation struggle against the common foe of Portuguese colonialism is a weighty factor in bringing the tribes together. Every success in the anti-colonial struggle, FRELIMO President Samora Machel has declared, is largely determined by moderation of inter-tribal antagonisms.

Counter-propaganda is still another aspect of ideological work. It has acquired especial importance since 1971, when the Portuguese colonialists began to 'Africanise' the war, i.e., to recruit soldiers among the local population and form them into so-called 'special groups' to fight the guerrillas. The colonialists also built up a powerful propaganda apparatus — (even before that, the occupation army had a special propaganda unit) — and intensified the psychological campaign to depoliticise, mislead and morally disarm the people, ensnare them into a 'friendly' dialogue and instil the conviction that independence could be won without struggle, through the new, so-called 'autonomous status' for overseas territories. In this way they hoped to win over the people, and split the parties that lead the liberation struggle by exploiting tribal differences and encouraging local patriotism.

President Sekou Toure of Guinea drew attention to this at a special plenum of the Democratic Party of Guinea attended by PAIGC and FRELIMO leaders. He pointed to the need to intensify ideological and political work among the population of the liberated areas.

Counter-propaganda is conducted in both the liberated and occupied territories by radio; "Voice of Fighting Angola" — MPLA, and "Voice of Freedom" — PAIGC inform the population of all the Portuguese colonies about the course of the struggle and construction in the liberated areas; they call for boycotting the Portuguese authorities and urge the population not to pay taxes, etc. There are also specially trained personnel working underground. One of their important tasks is to prepare the population morally and politically for armed action against the colonial authorities and to recruit volunteers for partisan units. "Four provinces have already risen," said Samora Machel,

President of FRELIMO, "but it is still necessary for the remaining six provinces to declare war on the conquerors".

The external aspect of ideological work is becoming more complicated as the political ties of the leadership expand across the world and they are recognised under international law as legitimate representatives of their embattled peoples, and also as mutual military and political coordination of action increases. Ideological work is conducted by permanent bodies in various countries, missions of the movements which often include officers responsible for education, propaganda and information, or by special representatives. Their purpose is, as Machel pointed out, to achieve greater solidarity throughout the world with the embattled peoples, so that their just cause and the results of their revolutionary struggle should become known to everybody.

Ideological activity is a decisive factor in the effort to create national statehood where the liberation struggle is only starting to liberate the national territory, as is the case say of Zimbabwe and Namibia. "In the present stage, the main task of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)," the Secretary of the ZAPU Revolutionary Council, Dumizu Dabengwa, said, "is to impart to the popular masses of our country the ideology of liberation".⁶

The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia began the armed struggle in 1966, only after careful and long political work among the population. In 1965, one year before the armed rising started, mobile centres of political education were organised and ideological activity was stepped up. Since 1966, when the Party at its underground conference adopted a special resolution on combining political education with armed action, and a special programme for training political workers, mass agitation work among the population of Namibia has been pursued in accordance with a plan.

The difficulties of ideological work, stemming from the specific conditions of anti-colonial revolution, are aggravated by the fact that specialised organs of mass information and propaganda (like the entire state mechanism) are still at a stage of formation and development, and suffer from an acute shortage of politically trained cadres. The available personnel and media, too, require constant improvement of their ideological and theoretical standard. "Insufficient ideological training, if not its complete absence . . . is one of the main weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, and perhaps even *the* main weakness," Cabral said

in 1971. Frequently, this militates against a class analysis of the social structure and consequently against a correct appraisal of the public's attitude towards the general political programme of the movement. It can prevent a correct assessment of the attitude of various social strata and ethnic groups towards related concrete problems. This also affects the work of the specialised mass media, the work of non-professional ideological officers who explain the socio-economic and political programme of the movements to the population, and who are also expected to carry it forward by all possible means and the best available forms of persuasion. Another difficulty is that the main social stratum, the peasants, are at different and moreover largely pre-capitalistic levels of socio-economic development, and are divided by tribal traditions and customs. The peasants are the main source of recruits for the national-liberation army, but are not, as a whole, as Cabral noted, the basic revolutionary element.⁷ The urban petty-bourgeoisie and the proletariat are the basic revolutionary element. But the working class still has fairly deep roots in the traditional society, and its social psychology is in many ways shaped by tribal values.

All the same, the national and political consciousness of the population is growing all the time. This is borne out by the expansion of the liberation revolution which the Portuguese colonialists have been trying in vain to suppress.

"The population of the liberated areas," Machel pointed out, "has learned the big difference between the conditions in these areas now and under the colonialists. The people have acquired a new consciousness, which it is impossible to conquer".

Special importance is attached to ideological work in the army, the modernisation of which, requires, among other things, the continuous general cultural development of the soldiers. The soldiers for their part conduct extensive mass agitation among the people. Mondlane said: "The army pursues the political aim of winning as much of the population as possible to its side."⁸ The same was stressed by Samora Machel in 1972, who noted that the political education of army leaders and soldiers has paid off. The Guinea-Bissau armed forces have a dual leadership at all levels from the Military Council, consisting of members of the Politbureau of PAIGC, to the sectors. This dual leadership consists of the commander and the political commissar. The latter, who is deputy to the commander, is responsible for the ideological

education of the soldiers, for contacts with the population, and is the political representative of his unit. This does not mean, of course, that the unit commander does not conduct explanatory work among the masses. "There is no separate political and military hierarchy," Iko Karera, Member of the EC of MPLA stressed. "The man who heads the struggle may also preside at a political meeting."

The success of the national-liberation revolution in the Portuguese colonies may be traced to the increasing battle-worthiness of the people's army, the tireless improvement of the political art of rallying mass support for the revolution, and the ever growing moral and psychological support of the population.

The essence of the ideological work of the parties of the united national front in territories still under colonial oppression, is shaped by the class nature of the social strata in the front, or, more precisely, by the forces heading the parties. They consist of petty-bourgeois, workers, peasants and semi-proletarian elements. The forces heading these parties (chiefly people with a petty-bourgeois background or from social groups that have only recently settled in the town and have not yet acquired a clear class status) have come together on a broad political platform of a revolutionary-democratic complexion, which predetermines a by-and-large non-capitalist way of social development.

The content of their ideological work is based on a set of tasks that have to be performed in the course of the national-liberation revolution. These tasks may also be traced to the objective peculiarities of the emergence of national statehood in an anti-colonial battle.

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THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The responsibility for the new conflagration in the Middle East which has cost thousands of lives and menaces mankind with a great international war rests on the aggressive Zionist leaders of Israel and the U.S. imperialists who support and encourage them.

Since its inception in 1948 under the auspices of the United Nations the State of Israel has already, particularly since the 1967 war, seized by force of arms five times the area allocated to it by international agreement. These annexations have been arrogantly maintained in the face of a unanimous Security Council resolution (November 1967). The indigenous Arab population of the illegally annexed areas is oppressed, driven out and replaced by Israeli settlers. Extremist elements in Israel

openly proclaim their aim of a 'greater Israel' stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates.

In this dangerous situation the South African Communist Party declares its solidarity with the struggle of the Arab peoples to win back their occupied territories and to vindicate the rights of their Palestinian brothers who, like our own oppressed people, will never give up their struggle for liberation. It is no accident that our own racist regime approves and supports the policies of the Israeli ruling circles.

We express our admiration for the courageous internationalist stand of the Communist Party of Israel – the Party of the class-conscious Arab and Jewish working people of Israel led by Toubi and Vilner, in the teeth of rampant jingoism.

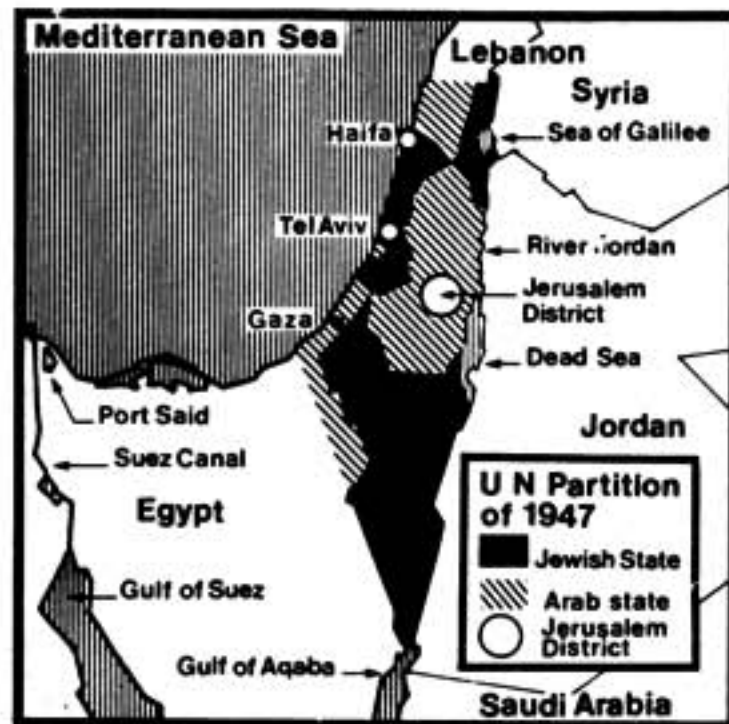
We welcome the principled support for the just cause of the Arabs by the government and Communist Party of the Soviet Union, together with other Socialist countries and the anti-imperialist forces of the world.

We appeal for international action to enforce peace in the Middle East, based on the withdrawal by Israel to its frontiers, and restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people in terms of the Security Council resolution and the demands of freedom loving people everywhere. We firmly believe that it is only on such a basis that the security of all boundaries and peoples of the Middle East will be assured and the implicit threat to world peace removed.

Mankind must ensure that the full implementation of the October 1973 resolution of the Security Council will, once and for all, lead to a situation in which the peace is kept and the just aspirations of all the Middle Eastern peoples are met.

October, 1973.

Drawing the map of Israel



100 mls

MAPS BY GEMINI



100 mls

HEROES OF THE WAR

We pay tribute to the heroism of the members of the Communist Party of Israel (Rakah) – both Jew and Arab, who stood against the tide of Israeli war-time chauvinism to proclaim once again that a just and stable peace can be won, but only by way of Israeli withdrawal from all conquered lands and restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

For their courage they have been vilified and persecuted inside their own country. Their members have been arrested illegally for pasting up posters, their propaganda material has been illegally seized by the police, and their M.P.'s have been physically assaulted inside the Knesset (parliament).

The statement below, written by Party M.P. Meir Vilner was issued by the Central Committee on the 15th October, while the war was still in progress.

WHAT ARE OUR BOYS DYING FOR?

Rivers of blood are flowing. The blood of Jewish and Arab youngsters is being shed like water. Widows, orphans, bereft parents are mourning the death of their dear ones. Again the lives of many people are cut off in the bloom of their youth. A great number will be invalids for ever. The nation has already been asked to pay the milliards of pounds lost through the expenditure stemming from the renewal of war.

The first question posed by many is: Was it possible to prevent the disaster of the renewal of war? To this we reply: Definitely yes!

The powerful propaganda apparatus and the mass media of communication of the government, indeed all government parties as well as the parties of the extreme right, are engaged day and night in brainwashing. They want the toilers, the youth and the whole public to forget the facts; they want them not to know the truth.

But the facts cannot be eradicated by the propaganda of the radio, the TV, the press and the government ministers. And the facts prove that it was possible to prevent the renewal of war, that it was possible long ago to put an end to the danger of an outbreak of battles and to establish a stable and just peace between Israel and the Arab states.

There have been numerous peace initiatives, but the Israel government frustrated all of them.

Egypt and other Arab states were prepared to turn a new page in their relations with Israel, to recognize the right to sovereign existence of the State of Israel, to arrive at a peace agreement with her on the basis of justice for all the peoples concerned, including the Palestine Arab people, and without territorial annexations.

The Golda Meir government rejected all these proposals, just as it rejected all peace initiatives of UNO and of other international factors.

The Israeli government did not only reject all peace initiatives, but has carried out frantic activities of colonialization in the occupied Arab territories.

The so-called "Galili Document" which was adopted by the ruling Alignment (bloc of Labour Party and Mapam – ed.) as its official platform, was defined by well-known functionaries of the Alignment as closing doors to peace.

In addition, the government has systematically carried out premeditated aggressive military operations against Syria and Lebanon (the

Israeli air force's raid on Syria, the hijacking of a Lebanese civilian air plane, the raids and assaults on Beirut), and did everything in order to intensify the tension and provocation.

Hence it is obvious that the Golda Meir government prevented any progress towards peace, in furtherance of its aspiration of annexation of the occupied Arab territories to the State of Israel.

THE USA SHARES THE BLAME

However one cannot understand the renewal of the war if one does not take into account the American imperialist factor. Without the arms, the money and political backing of Washington, the Israeli government would not have been able to prevent peace, would not have been able to provoke public opinion in the whole world, to treat with contempt the repeated resolutions of UNO, to be indifferent to the intensifying political isolation, as a growing number of states is severing diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.

American imperialism has not abandoned its fundamental objective in the Middle East and in the Arab world as a whole, for which it organized, together with the Israeli government, the June 1967 war. Its objective was and remains: To overthrow the anti-imperialist regimes in Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries.

On October 10th 1973, General (in reserve) Matityahu Peled published a venomous anti-Arab and anti-Soviet article in MA'ARIV under the heading: "The political objective". What is the political objective of the war, according to him?

"The military defeat (of Syria and Egypt – M.V.), even if not accompanied by any additional consequence, will lead to far-reaching changes in the structure of the regimes in Syria and Egypt, and to a different relationship between them and the whole world, as well as between themselves."

This is indeed the original objective of those who initiated the June 1967 war: to bring about a change in the foreign and internal policy of the anti-imperialist Arab states.

For these global objectives of the American milliardaires and for the sake of territorial expansion and the liquidation of the national rights of the Palestine Arab people, the Israeli youth has been called to sacrifice

their lives. This is not a war for the existence and security of Israel. All countries of the world, including the neighbouring Arab states, are not questioning the right of the State of Israel to sovereign existence.

Thus, the war is not being waged for defending the security or the existence of Israel, but only for the aims of territorial expansion, for Israel's domination over the Syrian Heights and the Egyptian Sinai peninsula, and for the global objectives of American imperialism.

AGGRESSION AND SECURITY

The government talks about aggression. Who is the aggressor in this war, which is the continuation of the June 1967 war?

The aggressor is the occupant of the lands of other states. A struggle against foreign occupation is no aggression. Defence of the occupation of territories of other states is not a war of national defence, but an anti-national aggressive war of occupation.

Let us, for the purpose of clarification of a principle, assume that the situation was inverted, namely that Syria and Egypt had occupied part of the sovereign territory of Israel, and the Israeli people would – justly – fight for the liberation of their territories! Would such a war be termed an aggressive war on the part of Israel against Syria and Egypt?

According to the distorted notions of the government's propagandists and their supporters of the extreme right "LIKUD", the struggles of the peoples of Asia and Africa against foreign colonialist rule should be defined as . . . aggressive war. This is absurd. It is an antiquated colonialist demagogy and not an original Israeli innovation.

The foreign minister Aba Eban in UNO and all the propaganda organs of the government attempt to draw annexationist conclusions from the renewal of the war. They say: Now it has been proved that Israel needs wide-flung security borders for her defence. But the logical conclusion from the development of the events is precisely the opposite. For it is Israel which now controls a gigantic territory of three Arab states from the Suez to the Jordan, and it has been proved now that these expanded lines do not provide security. The opposite is true: the renewal of the war occurred because the Israeli government is keeping the occupied Arab territories and prevents a just peace without annexations.

It is precisely the renewal of the war which proves that there is no security for Israel — and there can be none — as long as the occupation of the Arab territories is continued and as long as the rights of the Palestine Arab people are trampled underfoot. It has been clearly proved that only borders of peace can be secure borders, and not the occupation of territories, which must continuously generate new wars.

It has also been proved that the government's claim that the Arab peoples would eventually reconcile themselves to the occupation of their territories and the negation of the rights of the Palestine Arab people, is a dangerous reactionary delusion. We have repeatedly warned that a people under occupation will never be reconciled to foreign occupation, that only a just peace will be a stable peace and that only this would give security to Israel.

We have warned repeatedly that the continuation of occupation carries the seeds of the renewal of war.

WE CALL THE PEOPLE

Before the outbreak of the battles, the Central Committee of our Communist Party of Israel published the Party's platform to the elections of the Knesset. The platform opens with the following words: "The citizens of Israel go to the elections of the 8th Knesset in a situation of danger of a renewal of war . . ."

And further it is stated in the platform: "We accuse the parties of the government coalition (the Alignment, the National-Religious Party and the Independent Liberals) and Gahal and their partners, that their policy dooms Israel to the permanent danger of war and bloodshed . . ."

Indeed, what we feared, has come to pass. The Israeli government, being divorced from the true balance of forces in the Middle East, has continued to proceed with their adventurist, nationally irresponsible policy.

We Communists call upon all persons of political understanding and historical responsibility for the fate of the Israeli people to erect a wall against the militarist, annexationist ravings.

The government's policy is doomed eventually to suffer a crushing defeat. It can only bring disaster upon the Israeli people. It can only lead to unceasing wars and to the loss of the lives of young Jews and

Arabs every few years.

There is talk about madness. If there is any madness, it is the craze of those who speak of the conquest of Damascus and Cairo, of the annihilation of the military power of the Arab states "once and for all", and of dictating to them an Israeli occupation. In 1967 there was an Israeli military victory. Was it "once and for all?" Did it solve anything? Did it bring any security?

We, Israeli Communists, out of national responsibility and with sincere apprehension at the fate of the people and the homeland, with deep grief at every Jewish or Arab victim falling in this cruel slaughter, say to the people of Israel:

"There is still a way out. The bloodshed must be stopped. An end must be put to the occupation and the policy of annexation. A just and stable peace must be established.

"There still exists the possibility for peace, if a change will occur in the Israeli policy. There is only one solution and this is the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 and the other UNO resolutions that followed it, which demand the establishment of a just and stable peace on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967, the recognition of the right to sovereign existence of the State of Israel and the national rights of the Palestine Arab people.

"Every boy who falls is a grave and sad loss. LET US STOP THE BLOODSHED, LET US MAKE PEACE!"

Published ZO HADEREKH, 15.10.73..

AFRICA: Notes and Comments

by Phineas Malinga

ZAIRE

The Congolese Marxist Revolutionary Party, formed at the beginning of this year, has issued the first number of a monthly bulletin entitled *Le Libérateur*. The bulletin contains an interesting summary of the history of Zaire since it achieved independence in 1960. The civil war of 1964-69, when the progressive forces led by Pierre Mulele came close to winning power, is treated in detail. The lessons of that period are summarised as follows:

“The absence of a competent leadership in possession of a marxist-leninist revolutionary theory, the absence of an ideology at the service of the people’s war, the failure to form a true People’s Army,

the failure to mobilise the masses in a spirit of class struggle, the absence of a strategic and tactical line adequate for the needs of a people's war, and the absence of a true unity based on revolutionary principles, left all the trump cards in the hands of reaction and enabled it to prevent the victory which seemed to be on the horizon. In the light of this disaster, everyone has finally understood that the unity of revolutionary forces round a vanguard organisation of revolutionary proletarians offers the only road to victory."

This is an analysis which will appeal to many socialists. The programme of the Congolese Marxist Revolutionary Party (also given in the bulletin) contains many socialist objectives. But nowhere is any method of struggle other than guerilla warfare even mentioned. The very words "trade union" are conspicuous by their absence. The prospect held out to the people of Zaire is one of civil war continuing for "ten, twenty or thirty years" and it is made very clear that anyone who attempts to make peace, on any terms whatsoever, is to be branded as a class traitor.

It is, of course, true that Zaire is a country where much blood has been shed and that its present government is right-wing and deeply implicated in collaboration with imperialism. Yet can it be true that in Zaire, alone among the countries of independent Africa, the class struggle has reached such a pitch of intensity that for decades to come one can dismiss all possibility of trade union action, of legal or peaceful struggle for socialism, of the formation of broad programme fronts, of the establishment of an anti-imperialist government of national unity? All the experience of the African people in recent times suggests that the Congolese Marxist Revolutionary Party has arrived at an excessively rigid and ultra-left position.

The bulletin contains a statement of international affairs which leaves no room for doubt as to the origins of this false position. The statement heaps fulsome praise upon the Chinese leadership and has nothing to say about the Soviet Union except the infantile accusation that the Soviet Union "has indulged in hundreds of thousands of manoeuvres to extinguish the People's Republic of Albania".

Thus the rule is once again illustrated: to attempt to universalise the Chinese experience and turn it into the basis of a new brand of Marxism inevitably leads to positions from which there is no way forward.

CAMEROON

The Union of Peoples of Cameroon (U.P.C.) was originally the Cameroon section of the Reassemblement Democratique Africain, the left-wing party which contributed so much to the liberation struggle in all the French colonies in Africa. In recent years, the U.P.C. has undergone many hardships and setbacks. It has been the target of vicious repression at the hand of the French-dominated governments of Cameroon. Many of its leaders have been driven into exile. A period of disunity followed, in which it proved impossible to maintain adequate links between the internal and external organs of the U.P.C., and clashes between individuals dominated the affairs of the external organs. The Revolutionary Committee which headed the external organisation fell eventually into the hands of a small group, whose recent attacks upon the government of Guinea (always the most faithful ally of the progressive forces in Cameroon), have led to grave suspicion that they have surrendered to total opportunism.

In December 1972, a conference of U.P.C. militants was held to consider these problems. It elected a committee of eleven who issued a new programme and a moving appeal for the holding of a full-scale party conference to restore unity. The section of the programme on international solidarity declares:

“The struggle for liberation from the yolk of colonialism and neo-colonialism is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism, for the building of a democratic and prosperous society. The struggle of the people of Cameroon for independence is an integral part of the struggle of the peoples of the whole world against imperialism, for a society relieved of all forms of exploitation of man by manThe militants of the U.P.C. are aware of the solidarity which unites their national cause to that of other revolutionary forces throughout the world. These forces are the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America, the progressive regimes of Africa, Latin America and Asia, the working-class and progressive forces of the capitalist countries and all the progressive forces of the world. These forces are the necessary allies of the Cameroon people. The U.P.C. therefore rejects as counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist all actions and all ideas tending to isolate the Cameroon liberation movement from the rest of the progressive forces of the world . . .

“This is why the U.P.C. will abstain from any action capable of aggravating to even the slightest extent any divergences which may exist between one detachment and another in the world revolutionary movement . . .

“The U.P.C. renews its unbreakable support for the heroic struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Niger, Chad, Congo-Leopoldville, Eritrea and Jibouti, as well as for the valiant people of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Palestine . . .”

The work of preparing for the party conference has necessarily been prolonged, as it involves the creation of new lines of communication between U.P.C. supporters in exile and those in Cameroon. A “Liaison Bulletin” is being published at regular intervals to assist in this work. At the date of the latest news reaching us, this work was still in progress.

SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL

While one African state after another broke off relations with Israel in protest against continuing Israeli occupation of Arab lands, South Africa maintained a consistent pro-Israel bias. The fact cannot be explained only on the basis of the presence in South Africa of a large Jewish minority, whose sympathies are overwhelmingly Zionist. There are deep Israeli-white South African affinities of policy, ideology and relationships to American imperialism. These have produced a markedly pro-Israeli bias in the ranks of the South African government, even though its whole past, when it was the ‘opposition’ is heavily tainted with pro-Nazi activity, and with anti-semitism. Jews, for example, were specifically barred from membership of the Nationalist Party, until the provision was shamefacedly withdrawn at the time of their rise to power.

Perhaps another aspect of this situation is given in this report, reprinted in its entirety from the London Daily Telegraph of 31st, October. The Daily Telegraph is notably right wing, pro-Vorster and pro-Israel.

“A South African Air Force fighter is reliably reported to be the unidentified Mirage jet which the Egyptians claimed to have shot

down over the Suez Canal last week.

The presence of a Mirage puzzled observers because Israel's 35 French-built Mirage III fighters are among her older aircraft which have been superseded by American Phantom-4s and Skyhawks.

The report both underlines and is given credibility by the almost total break in diplomatic relations with Israel made by African states over the last few days.

It also helps explain President Sadat's recent statement that Egypt would only recognise as prisoners of war those captured who were Israeli citizens.

The South African Air Force is equipped with 32 Mirage III and Mirage IV aircraft and they are its most up to date fighters.

BATTLE EXPERIENCE

It is thought that the South African Government sent a number of volunteer pilots with their aircraft to Israel to gain the battle experience.

Additionally the Vorster regime may have felt that the war was uniting the Arab and African states as never before, and therefore that Israel was an ally.

The planes presumably flew up the West Coast of Africa, using Portuguese airfields in Angola and Guinea, then joined the stream of replacement American aircraft going East from the Azores."

SOCIALISM FOR AFRICA

by A. Lerumo

AFRICA AT THE CROSSROADS

It is only about ten years ago since most African countries regained their independence after many decades of foreign occupation and misrule. That terrible experience – which still continues in the case of white-dominated Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies – had and still has disastrous consequences for all countries and peoples of our continent. The capitalist states have done incalculable damage to Africa.

Even if all the well-advertised western 'aid' to our countries were genuine assistance (and not merely, as it usually is, a money-lender's gimmick to cover up continued exploitation and usury) it could never begin to compensate for the harm they have done.

This is not a question only of direct plunder. To be sure, fabulous treasures of gold, ivory, diamonds, oil were ripped from African soil

and shipped to western Europe and north America, without permission and with little or no payment. Nor even is it only the abduction of millions of Africans, the flower of their generation, captured by force and transported as slaves to the Americas, the West Indies and elsewhere — a grievous loss to Africa.

Even more ruinous and lasting in its effect was the dead hand which colonialist rule placed upon African progress. Imperialism, wherever it went, stunted and thwarted the normal development of the peoples — economic, political, cultural and social. It cut its millions of victims off from the mainstream of human progress.

The west European maritime powers first invaded Africa at a time when the old feudal principalities were crumbling and the capitalist system was entering upon its heyday.

We certainly have no desire to prettify capitalism, a brutal system founded on robbery and exploitation, greed and ruthlessness. As Karl Marx so truly observed, “Capitalism came into the world dripping with blood and dirt from every pore”.

Yet we should not forget that the advent of this system brought in its train a greater enlightenment and liberation than Europe had ever known, following the long dark night of feudalism with its grinding poverty, ignorance and superstition, its rigid castes which confined the great majority to serfdom and preordained every man to his status from the cradle to the grave. The stultifying and absolute power of the aristocracy and the Church were overthrown. The new masters — the wealthy middle classes of the towns, or *bourgeoisie* as Marxists called them — needed the support of the urban and rural poor; so they challenged the old powers with the intoxicating and exhilarating concept of democracy, and inscribed the noble words ‘Liberty: Equality: Fraternity’ on their banner.

A new class was born. Expelled from the land by the break-up of the estates, millions flocked to the towns to seek work in the burgeoning industries. In a world where if a man had nothing to sell he must starve, they had nothing to sell but their labour power. This was the origin of the modern working class, the proletariat, disciplined and organised by their very conditions of life and work, destined — armed with the liberating ideas of such men of genius as Marx, Engels and Lenin — to lead the overthrow of the capitalist system itself and inaugurate the new age of socialism.

Thus nineteenth-century Europe was engulfed in a deep-reaching process of revolutionary change. Machinery transformed the nature of industry and agriculture, multiplying their products. Democratic republics replaced hereditary monarchies. In hard struggles the common people won the franchise, the rights to universal education, to form trade unions and workers' political parties. The Age of Reason was proclaimed: all the best minds of the time challenged every sort of irrational privilege, or religious superstition and belief in the supernatural.

THE CALAMITY OF COLONIALISM

But at that very time of change in their own continent the leading powers of Europe joined forces, armed with all the terrible weapons provided by the industrial revolution, to halt the march of progress in Africa and other undeveloped parts of the world. Our countries were regarded as mere treasure houses for the looting; our people as objects of unrestrained exploitation, to perform the most arduous, back-breaking labour in conditions close to slavery, mainly for the purpose of extracting their own natural resources and carrying them to the nearest seaport for shipment abroad.

No more shameless lie was told by the imperialists than that of their alleged 'civilising mission' in Africa. They smashed the traditional social structures and natural economies beyond repair, and replaced them with colonial administrations which were a byword for incompetence, corruption and stagnation. If they built some roads, railways and harbours, it was for the purpose of facilitating the transportation of the natural wealth of Africa to Europe and America. If they abolished the traditional mythology and religions in many parts of Africa, it was to supplant them with another superstition which advanced minds in Europe were already rejecting, a version of Christianity whose chief merits to the colonialists and their missionaries were the inculcation among Africans of the proper attitudes of submissive resignation.

If they imparted the vestiges of literacy and education to a handful of Africans, it was predominantly for the purpose of training the cadres for the lower ranks of their administration, the better to tax, regiment and oppress their own people. What little they built of any real or lasting value was far outweighed by what they took away.

The emancipating ideas and movements which had been released in

Europe were rigorously censored and banned in Africa: democracy, nationalism and socialism were treasonous heresies to be suppressed by prison, the whip and the hangman's noose.

Above all the poisonous doctrine of white superiority was sedulously inculcated, and young Africa was taught the degrading outlook of contempt for its own past and its future aspirations.

Colonialism has been a horrible calamity, a disaster for Africa. When in the past few years the main imperialist powers were compelled, by our struggles and the victorious advance of socialism and national liberation on a world scale, to relinquish their formal political control over their African 'possessions' they left behind them a continent virtually in ruins — a continent with the lowest standards of living, of literacy, of health, of longevity, of social services and economic development.

In effect colonialism imprisoned Africa in the 'dark ages'. For more than a century — the very century in which, powered by machinery, the capitalist countries were making enormous advances in industry, agriculture, science, public health and education and living standards — our people were doomed to stagnation, ignorance and poverty.

Now that most of our countries have at last won independence (and we must never forget the hard fact that an important number of them have not) we are faced with a formidable and daunting task indeed. We have to overcome the handicap of that 'lost century' of colonialism and catch up with the more developed countries as soon as we possibly can. For as long as we remain behind we shall continue to be economic appendages of Europe and north America. Our independence will remain to that extent illusory. Our people will remain at a disadvantage among the nations of the world.

OUR TASK

Africa has two tremendous assets: her hard-working and capable people, and her valuable and abundant resources. The task, which allows of no delay, is to mobilise and train the people and to harness and develop the resources.

So far there could be no serious doubt among African patriots and thinkers about the validity and urgency of these objectives. But the great question which still remains open, and which faces every single

African country is this: Along which path shall we seek our development to attain our objectives at the earliest possible time and with the least sacrifice and disruption?

We cannot possibly return to the past ways of the Africa that existed before the arrival of the invaders. However much some of our poets and patriots might wish to idealise those days, they have gone forever; to recall them would mean in practice to return to colonisation and slavery.

It was inevitable that the nations of Europe had to pass through the stage of capitalist development. The founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, explained the fallacies of the 'utopian socialists' who preceded them, who believed that it was possible to construct an ideal society without regard to the laws of historical development. They showed that all societies evolved through class struggles based on changes in the modes of production and the relationship of the main classes of society to the prevailing means of production. Only capitalism could produce the material prerequisites for socialism, the most modern and advanced system, as well as the class which alone can lead the transformation to socialism: the working class.

However, as a result of the 'arrested development' imposed on this continent by colonialism, the capitalist system has not firmly established itself in most of our countries. Widespread areas, especially outside the towns, continue to live under natural, subsistence, feudal and other pre-capitalist forms of economy, often co-existing with capitalist forms within a single country. There are few large enterprises organised on capitalist lines, and these are mostly under the control and ownership of foreign firms based in the imperialist countries, or of immigrants who have not integrated themselves into African societies. In most African countries a substantial indigenous bourgeois class disposing of significant capital assets is entirely lacking.

Does this mean that African countries are fatally doomed to pass through all the phases of capitalist development, with all their destructive economic and social consequences, before they can aspire to advance to socialism?

History has shown that this is not so. The experience of Mongolia, of the Soviet Asian Republics, of Vietnam, Korea, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Cuba and of China, at least up till 1960, has shown that thanks to the successful building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the subsequent existence of a powerful socialist world system, it is possible for under-

developed countries to take a short cut. Provided they struggle resolutely against dependence on imperialism and build firm ties of solidarity and mutual assistance with the existing socialist countries, they can *by-pass* capitalism and lay the basis for rapid advance to socialism.

Hence, in this period of the mid-70's Africa stands at a great historical crossroads. Our people and our leaders are faced with a momentous choice, which will determine our future for generations to come.

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

There are only two possible paths of development, two modern social systems. The one is that followed by the countries of west Europe and north America: the capitalist road. The second is that pioneered by the Union of Soviet Republics since 1917, joined now by many countries of Europe and Asia and by Cuba: the road to socialism and communism.

In order to choose wisely, we must understand what are the features of each and weigh their advantages and disadvantages. The days have gone forever when a family, or group of families, on its own land could be self-sufficient; could produce all its own needs (food, clothing, shelter, etc.) without exchanging, buying or selling anything.

Nowadays nearly all goods (including more and more farm and food products) are produced by large enterprises using expensive machinery and employing hundreds or even thousands of workers.

This vast change, which has made possible great advances in the people's standards of life, is of course common to both capitalist and socialist economic systems.

The great *difference* between them is this:

Under *capitalism* these productive enterprises (which grow ever greater in size and fewer in number) are owned privately by individuals or groups (companies) of rich men. They pay out in wages and other costs only a part of what they get by selling the goods produced. The rest they keep — their profits. The purpose of production is not to provide goods for the public or jobs for their workers, but to make as much profit as they can.

Where does this profit come from? In his monumental book *Capital* Karl Marx proved conclusively that it is derived only from the exploita-

tion of labour-power. The wages paid by the employer bear no direct relationship to the value produced by the worker. Only a part, sometimes quite a small part of his shift or working hours is spent by the worker in producing the value of his wages. The rest of his time he is producing extra value — ‘surplus value’ Marx called it. This part of the time he is really giving free work to the boss, who sells all the products and puts the money in his pocket.

Under *socialism*, the productive enterprises are owned publicly. There are no capitalists and no exploitation. The purpose of production is to provide for the constantly rising material and cultural needs of the people.

Socialism comes into being through the conscious struggle of the working class. Under capitalism, as in every sort of class-divided society, there is a sharp conflict of interest and therefore a struggle constantly going on between the two main classes: the capitalist class and the working class. The workers want higher wages, shorter hours, less exploitation. The capitalists want the workers to work harder and longer and to produce more for less money. Strikes are continually taking place.

The capitalists use the state machine to suppress the workers. The state (government, police, army, civil service, and so on) is really an instrument for one class to dominate others.

In a capitalist state the dominant class is the bourgeoisie (the capitalists). As they occupy the most powerful economic position they have the final say in all important matters of policy. Even if a labour or social-democratic party wins a parliamentary election (as in West Germany, Scandinavia or the previous British administration) and forms a government, the state continues to operate in the interest of the bourgeoisie, particularly of the big finance-capitalist monopolies.

In a socialist society the capitalists are deprived of economic and hence of political power. The state passes into the hands of the working class, which unites with the peasantry and working intellectuals to suppress the capitalists and to govern in the interests of the whole people.

State ownership and control of all the important branches of the economy means that, for the first time overall production can be *planned*. Capitalist economy, depending on the ups and downs of the market (the ‘laws of supply and demand’) is essentially unplanned and chaotic. True, in recent years, and threatened by catastrophic crises, all

modern capitalist states have introduced a measure of state regulation of the economy. But these measures have proved unsuccessful, because private interest is supreme and profit is the only ultimate regulator.

SOCIALISM WORKS

A hundred and twenty-five years have passed since Karl Marx and Frederick Engels produced the first systematic programme of scientific socialism, the *Communist Manifesto**

In this short but brilliant work the founders of the modern working class movement launched a devastating criticism of the capitalist system. They did more than that. They specified and described the main features of a new society, a *socialist society*, which they predicted would supersede and replace capitalism.

At that time, of course, there was not any actual socialist society anywhere in the world. The picture of such a society could only be based on a prevision of the future. Certainly, this was no mere act of the imagination, such as those of the 'utopian socialist' predecessors of Marx and Engels. It was a foresight based on a deep and detailed knowledge of the structure of the existing economy and on a profound understanding of the underlying laws of development and change in history. It was a prevision of genius.

Today, socialism is not only a blueprint for the future requiring the genius of a Marx to predict. It is an actual living reality in more than a dozen countries of Europe, Asia and (with the victory of the Cuban revolution) America.

Until the great October revolution in Russia in 1917, socialists were often told by their opponents that it sounded all very well, but it couldn't possibly work.

The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries proves beyond doubt not only that socialism does work, but that it works far better than capitalism ever did. It is the society of the future, a truly just and humane way of life, offering mankind a far richer material and cultural life than ever before, a life of peace, freedom, stability and dignity.

**The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, first published (in German) in London in 1848.

Unfortunately, in Africa far too little is known about the life and achievements of the socialist countries. The means of information – press, radio, television, even schools and churches – are usually in the hands of rich or bigoted men who from self-interest or ignorance are bitterly opposed to socialism. For many years they have fed our people on outrageous lies and slanders about the socialist countries. And not many Africans have the opportunity to go there and see for themselves.

So the next article in this series will be devoted to a factual examination of life under socialism as it really exists. After that we shall discuss the situation in the capitalist world; the views of some false prophets; and how African countries can advance to socialism.

A. Lerumo

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE VISION OF HENRY WINSTON

Strategy for a Black Agenda by Henry Winston. New York, International Publishers. \$2.50 (paper) \$7.50 (cloth)

In this book, sub-titled "A Critique of New Theories of Liberation in the United States and Africa", Henry Winston has given us a major work of outstanding importance for all who fight for the liberation of the Black man from national oppression whether in the United States or our own continent.

There is no doubt where the author stands. National Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, Henry Winston has been in the forefront of working class and Afro-American struggles for more than forty years, from the Scottsboro trial campaign of the thirties to the victorious movement to free Angela Davis. Blinded, as a result of the deliberate neglect of his health by the prison authorities (he was one of the Communist leaders framed and jailed under the Smith Act) Winston said, "They robbed me of my sight, but not my vision". Of that proud statement this brilliant book affords ample evidence.

This work is launched into the mainstream of the turbulent discussion now proceeding in the United States on the future alignment and direction of the Black liberation movement. Since the assassination of the late, great Martin Luther King, who was moving strongly in the direction of broadening the civil rights movement into an alliance of working people, black and white, capable of challenging the monopolies and transforming America, a ferment of debate has arisen. Many new voices are being heard; among them many (whatever their motives) which serve only to confuse, disorient and mislead.

Henry Winston takes issue with these voices of confusion. In particular he examines the writings of the theorists of what he calls 'neo-Pan-Africanism' who foster an anti-Communist, 'black capitalism' 'Back to Africa' line, while claiming to be in line with the ideas of W.E.B. Du Bois. With great lucidity, calmness and thoroughness, he tears these claims to pieces.

"For Du Bois, Pan-Africanism was at all times an anti-racist, anti-imperialist concept. But the pan-Africanism of Innis, Baraka, Foreman, Boggs, Carmichael and others, while invoking the name of Du Bois, takes its inspiration from George Padmore, C.L.R. James and Marcus Garvey."

Way back in 1922, Marcus Garvey wrote that the Negroes should not "be out to fight" the Ku Klux Klan. The only way out was "for the Negro to create a government of his own in Africa". And in 1971, Stokely Carmichael echoes: "We're African people and Africa belongs to all African people."

Both these fantasies betray a sinister analogy with Padmore's later sympathy with political Zionism: a sympathy which Winston carefully documents. Recalling the present plight of the Arab people and even the dark-skinned Jews of Palestine, we can't help thinking of the threat posed to independent African countries, if with the backing of US imperialism an attempt should actually be made to implement such a plan. The history of Liberia might also be borne in mind. Africans should be grateful to Comrade Winston for this timely warning!

Although he pulverises the apostles of neo-Pan-Africanism with relentless logic, the author does so without bitterness or personal rancour. "I have challenged these talented but tragically mistaken pro-

ponents of self-defeating separatism in the hope that they will seriously reappraise their views.”

Tracing the sources of some of these wrong views, Winston deals in particular with the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet stance of George Padmore, and with the disruptive tactics and attitudes of Maoism.

Reading his revealing chapter on Padmore and his dangerous influence within Ghana during the Nkrumah period, it becomes easier for us to understand the subversive, splitting activities of the Accra “Bureau of African Affairs”, doubtless under Padmore (and hence pro-imperialist) guidance which deliberately encouraged and even formed right-wing breakaway groups in a number of African liberation movements. Among the victims of these despicable tactics was the African National Congress. It is well-known that among those who encouraged the splitters who set up the Pan-Africanist Congress was the United States Information Service inspired by the CIA. What may not be so well known is that from the start this group was encouraged and masterminded from Accra. Why on earth Kwame Nkrumah, whose own anti-imperialist credentials are unchallengeable, should have supported such unprincipled opportunists has long been something of a mystery. Winston provides future historians with a valuable clue to help unlock this riddle.

Another strange supporter of the PAC (whose role in South Africa is properly exposed and documented in a special chapter on the subject) as well as similar splinter groups in Southern Africa was the People’s Republic of China. Winston is not content to state this fact but launches into a bold discussion on the root-causes of this tragic phenomenon in five chapters of this work, which should be compulsory reading for all of us who are daily faced with the shrill ‘ultra-Left’ propagandists of Maoism.

While claiming to be the proponents and leaders of the oppressed and formerly colonised nations and peoples of the ‘Third World’, the Maoists have grossly violated and trampled upon the Leninist principles of the right to self-determination of the non-Han peoples in China – officially admitted to comprise at least 72 nationalities – over 35 million people. In contrast with the Leninist policy of national self-determination (expressed constitutionally by the establishment over a half-century ago of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and practically by the much *faster* rate of development in the Asian and other economically back-

ward republics, at the expense particularly of the Russian workers) the unitary Chinese People's Republic has followed a policy of favouring the dominant Han people, especially since the misnamed 'proletarian cultural revolution' — misnamed because it was anti-worker, anti-cultural and counter-revolutionary.

Henry Winston, who knows very well what he is talking about when it comes to racialism, writes:

In the US Black workers are shut out of construction and other industrial jobs. In China, Sinkiang workers are shut out of construction and other industrial jobs. And in Tanzania, Maoist 'aid' to that government bans Africans from jobs in construction, while thousands of Chinese are brought in to build a railroad.

This is a challenging approach, well substantiated with facts and figures, an armoury for those who tend ever (for lack of information) to be forced on the 'defensive' faced with Maoist fanatics.

This is a fighting book, written at white-heat, by someone who is by no means an academic onlooker but a front-line participant in a main battlefield against imperialism. In the course of his polemics the writer is always up-to-date and well-informed about his own country, the United States of America. Some of his comments on Africa are not so on the mark. In particular one cannot accept his apparent identification (p. 317) of the views of Leopold Senghor with those of that true African patriot Julius Nyerere. The American Baraka distorts completely the concept of *Ujamaa* when he presents it as an argument for African capitalism. A less 'cursory' examination of TANU policies, particularly a reading of the Arusha declaration, would I'm sure, convince the author that this is a distortion. One or two such minor slips apart, however, cannot detract from the fact that in this book, his first full-length volume, Henry Winston has produced a masterpiece, an indispensable weapon for every fighter for the liberation of Africa and her sons and daughters in the USA and elsewhere.

In his 'Acknowledgments' which preface this book the author pays tribute to the "great experience and knowledge of the African reality" which was shared with him "during many unforgettable hours" by the martyred Amilcar Cabral and by J.B. Marks the late Chairman of the

South African Communist Party. We may be proud that in this indirect way our thinking has helped to produce so notable a work.

TERENCE AFRICANUS

DOMESTIC CRISES AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

South Africa's Foreign Policy 1945-1970, by James Barber.
OUP 1973 £4.50.

A quarter of a century is a good period within which to view a country's foreign policy. It enables the writer to pick out what are the basic themes and what the strategic shifts and nuances. Thus the change from the United Party government under Smuts to the Nationalists originally under Malan and now under Vorster did not lead to any basic changes. Since South Africa's independence from Britain, its external policies have been determined by its internal ones.

Essentially it has long been a white-dominated racist state at the foot of Africa, closely linked through economic and political ties with the West. Smuts saw South Africa as a bastion of European influence in Africa, destined in alliance with Britain to dominate the continent. Neither he nor Malan envisaged the massive decolonisation which led to the legal independence of most of Africa.

During the many years that Eric Louw was Minister for External Affairs, South Africa's foreign policy was built on verbal aggressiveness towards black Africa coupled with relatively little actual contact or interference. Now, many blandishments are mixed in with the insults, but the actions have become more extensive and hostile. The objective remains the same – to strengthen white domination and expand the economy.

A consistent theme has been anti-Communism, a policy which has been used to maintain links with reaction throughout the world. If political relations are not as strong as they used to be with Britain, they are far stronger than before with countries such as the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan.

James Barber, in a well-documented and comprehensive study of official policy, pays considerable attention to the debate current

amongst liberal circles in the West as to whether South Africa should best be influenced by isolation or by investment. He points out that although politically South Africa has been isolated in many spheres, economically it has increased its external contacts. He concludes on this point that the evidence of the years between 1945 and 1970 indicates that the white government was able to use economic growth to reinforce its position both internally and externally. He also points out that in the decade after Sharpeville the white population of South Africa was increased more by immigration (180,000) than by births (145,000). Having made these points, however, he ducks the issue of the boycott, leaving the impression that the arguments over isolation or contact are evenly divided.

SELECTIVE APPROACH

The book is based largely on official statements issued by South African spokesmen from time to time, supplemented by some interesting statistical tables dealing with such matters as economic links. The reliance on official statements and the virtual exclusion of materials from what the author calls "non-white" sources, is justified by him on the grounds that by its very nature foreign policy is the product of those in power, and is in fact made by a relatively small group of specialists in that area.

This restricted approach, however, has led to at least two major deficiencies. In the first place, the African National Congress and its allies have had a major impact on foreign policy, through, for example, the call for an international boycott of South Africa and the beginning of guerilla struggle. Barber's slender materials on these points are derived almost exclusively from the work on liberation movements by Richard Gibson, which has been widely criticised for lies and lack of comprehension. The ANC's External Mission could easily have been contacted, and reliance on such an unreliable secondary source does little credit to the writer. Furthermore, the writer purports to give an airing to all significant opinions on the question, but despite the implicit tone of neutrality he adopts, he never once refers to *The African Communist* and all its many analyses of the subject. Thus no consideration is given at all to theories of imperialism, which help not only to record but to explain the complex relationship between South Africa

and the advanced capitalist countries.

The second major weakness is the acceptance by the writer that the official documents tell the full story from the official side. This has led him to underestimate the importance of South Africa's growing links with France, which not only provides South Africa with crucial armaments, but which also enables South Africa to use French neo-colonialism to penetrate black Africa. In order not to embarrass France, these developments have not been highlighted in foreign policy speeches. Nor, for obvious reasons, is mention made of collaboration between intelligence services, such an important if hidden area of foreign relationships. If South African spokesmen are coy on the subject, at least the author should have been aware that it was a topic of some significance.

This is a useful reference work for persons wishing to gain quick access to official policy statements issued from time to time. Readers of *The African Communist* will be annoyed by some of the comments, and irritated by the omissions. Also, the bloodless style used here as by so many academics, is profoundly disconcerting to persons who have engaged in the struggles, and the detachment affected results in a loss of the passion, pain, anger and pride of the persons being described. Nevertheless it is a handy source of reference containing interesting attempts to link internal and external developments.

The book ends with the year 1970 when the 'outward-looking' policy of dialogue appeared to some observers to be making progress. In the short time since then, however, this policy has been virtually shattered, African guerillas have had striking successes in many regions, and large-scale industrial strikes have had considerable impact both in Namibia and South Africa. These events provide a corrective to the rather fatalistic view adopted by the writer, and highlight the importance of keeping the activities of the liberation movement constantly in mind even when dealing with a question such as foreign policy.

A.S.

ZIMBABWE: FACT AND FICTION

Great Zimbabwe by Peter S. Clarke. Published by Thames and Hudson £4.75.

Great Zimbabwe, unquestionably the most impressive ancient building site whose remains survive anywhere in Southern Africa, has been the subject of more nonsensical, ill-informed and prejudiced comment than any historic ruin anywhere. The nonsense persists to this day. Great Zimbabwe was first made widely known to the peoples outside by treasure hunters and explorers of the 19th century – white treasure hunters, carrying with them all the racial myths and prejudices of their caste and age. Few of them made any serious attempt to investigate or understand Great Zimbabwe or its origins; singlemindedly and with total disregard to the historical evidence they might destroy, they pursued a search for valuable art objects, or – preferably – gold. In this they were mainly poorly rewarded. For Great Zimbabwe was not a treasure house, despite all the associations with the Queen of Sheba with which travellers tales invested it. The treasure hunters, without any evidence that will stand even cursory study, proclaimed the vast stone walls and conical towers to be the work of a legendary white race long since departed; popular mythology made these legendary men into ‘Phoenicians’.

Their basis was – often unwittingly – an inbuilt racist prejudice, which told them, regardless of evidence or local tribal tradition, that such edifices were patently beyond the capacity of African workmen; and society necessary to organise such major works beyond the social capacity of Africans.

The myth that Great Zimbabwe owed its origins to white Phoenicians served the cause of white domination from the time of Rhodes to the present time. For the alternative – that Zimbabwe marked the peak of achievement of an African tribal society, before its destruction perhaps through the influences of white penetration and the slave trade – undermines the mythology on which white supremacy in South Africa is founded and defended.

Archaeologists, working carefully in this century, notably Randall MacIver and later Gertrude Caton-Thompson, have long since produced the proof to lay the hoary Phoenician myth to sleep, and to establish

that Great Zimbabwe is, without doubt, an artefact of African craftsmanship and social organisation. The dangerous ground thus opened up has been firmly closed by successive white Rhodesian governments. Further archaeological exploration of Great Zimbabwe has been prevented; official propaganda has sedulously continued to spread the myth of the 'mystery' of Zimbabwe's builders.

Peter S. Garlake, now of the University of Ife, but formerly (1964-70) Inspector of Monuments in Rhodesia, has assembled the Zimbabwe story as it is revealed in the records of all the serious investigators. He tells the story clearly, even for those with only an intelligent layman's appreciation of archaeological techniques and terms, and illustrates every aspect of it with a fine selection of photographs and descriptive drawings.

But having told it all, he recognises that that record still only tells part of the story. Zimbabwe was inhabited until fairly recent times — perhaps until four or five hundred years ago. Archaeology presents the record of what that settlement left behind it, in the way of buildings, and pottery and sculpture. But to take the story further, to ascertain what sort of people its builders were, how they lived, what customs and traditions were theirs, it is necessary to get beyond digging in the sands of the past, and start exploring amongst their present-day descendants.

Clues to the remaining mysteries of the people of Great Zimbabwe are to be found in the tribal legends and traditions of their present-day descendants, in their folklore and history and culture. It is at this stage that the historian needs to take over from the archaeologist. But that exploration, as Garlake recognises, will need to be undertaken mainly by African historians, working from the inside of present-day Zimbabwe. And that task will never be even started until Zimbabwe is freed from its present regime of white minority domination, more interested in maintaining its power than in exploring historic truth.

T.

IN FEAR OF THE FUTURE

Na Die Geliefde Land by Karel Schoemann. Published by Human and Rousseau. Cape Town and Pretoria.

The Novel *Na Die Geliefde Land** by Karel Schoeman has received rave reviews in many sections of the South African press. Alan Paton has described it as "possibly a masterpiece". It has become the biggest talking point in literary circles since *Seven Days at the Silbersteins* by 'sestiger' Etienne le Roux.

The story of the book is a simple one. George, an Afrikaner, born and brought up on a platteland farm but removed with his family overseas while still young, returns from what he terms "exile" in Switzerland to revisit the haunts of his youth. He finds that during the period of his absence some sort of revolution has taken place in South Africa, and those who were once mighty have fallen to a lowly estate. The proud families who numbered Cabinet Ministers amongst their acquaintance now live, servantless, in a state of fear and uncertainty, though for some unexplained reason they have been able to retain their land and can still make a living by farming. Many farms, however, have been abandoned, and the house in which George grew up is now deserted and partly in ruins.

How the revolution came about is not described, nor are we told anything about those who now wield power, though in the nature of South African society we may infer that they must be Blacks. But this is not explicitly spelled out. What is clear, however, is that they rule by force and terror.

"Men disappear, men die, and you never hear anything about it," one farmer tells George. "A man's life is no longer of any importance. You get used to it and you learn not to ask any questions."

Another asks George: "Do you know how your grandparents ended their lives?" And tells him something he apparently never knew before: "They were driven away from their own farm like dogs to rot in an out-house in the town. And do you know what happened to your uncle, your mother's brother — did they tell you? The police interrogated him, for hours at a time, and hit him when he wouldn't answer. He fell on

*To the Beloved Country

the floor and could not stand up again, and a policeman kicked him until he was dead.”

The reader might think that if a revolution of this nature occurred in South Africa, the whole world would know about it, and even in the isolation of Switzerland George would learn of the fate of members of his family. However, all is new, strange and horrifying to him. A party is held in his honour attended by the whole community – but in the midst of the festivities the police burst in and with great brutality drag away three young bloods who had apparently been plotting a counter-revolution.

“But musn’t they be charged in court and given a chance to defend themselves?” asks George indignantly. The reply: They can detain us or let us go, they can kill us or let us live, they don’t have to answer to anybody.”

To members of the liberation movement, all this is familiar stuff. The names of Looksmart Solwandle, Imam Haron, James Lenkoe, Ahmed Timol and the other political detainees who have died under torture by the security police are known to all. We have friends and sometimes members of our families who have been snatched into dark prison cells without ever being brought to court, emerging (if they are lucky) months or years later broken in health and spirit. We have known the brave men and women who have decided to resist, and who have organized underground cells to fight for liberation.

But many of the White racists in South Africa (apart from those who actually authorise, organise and engage in the police terror by which the Nationalist Government maintains itself in power) do not know what happens in their own country, do not believe the reports of atrocities which appear from time to time in the press, or simply do not care. Perhaps Karel Schoeman thought it was time they knew and cared and wrote his book to ask the Afrikaner people whether they would like to receive the same treatment as is meted out to the characters in his story.

However, Schoeman has so limited the range of his book that the effect of his revelations may be the exact opposite of what he intended. Those who appear in the novel are only Afrikaners, forever living in the past when they were great in the land, thinking of the heroes who had created that greatness and whose memory is now dishonoured by the new rulers. Not a single Black, English or Jewish character appears on the scene. The problem of black-white relations is never mentioned. All

we are told is of the oppression of an Afrikaner platteland community, of Afrikaner despair, of the hopes, dreams and struggles of Afrikaners to rid themselves of the despotic yoke and regain their freedom.

An Afrikaner Nationalist might well look on this book as a sort of Afrikaans 1984. He would think back to the Great Trek, Slagters Nek, the Boer War. He would vow never to let all that happen again, and he would fight to preserve Afrikaner domination to the very end. Because he would never see himself in the skin of a Black man, he would not be persuaded by Schoeman that he was doing an injury to others. He would only be further convinced that there is no alternative to the present policies of the Nationalist Government if he wants to avoid being injured himself.

Only those Whites who can accept Blacks as equals will get Shoeman's message (if that is his message), and they are already converted. The White racist majority who regard Blacks as sub-human are probably immune, incapable of seeing the connection between the oppression of the Afrikaner which is depicted in the book and the oppression of the Blacks which surrounds them in real life.

P.M.

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