

WHEREVER DEATH MAY SURPRISE US,
LET IT BE WELCOME,
PROVIDED THAT
THIS OUR BATTLE CRY
MAY HAVE REACHED SOME RECEPTIVE EAR,
AND ANOTHER HAND
MAY BE EXTENDED
TO WIELD OUR WEAPONS,
AND OTHER MEN BE READY
TO INTONE THE FUNERAL DIRGE
WITH THE STACCATO SINGING
OF THE MACHINE GUNS,
AND NEW BATTLE CRIES OF WAR AND VICTORY.

Major Ernesto Che Guevara.

C H E C H E - T H E S P A R K

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C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Editorial	1.
Message from USARF & TYL Chairmen ...	3.
African Labour under Capitalism and Imperialism - W. Rodney	4.
On Non-violence	13.
The Educated Barbarians - I.G. Shivji	15.
Revolutionary Thought and Practice - K. Kilewela	27.
Why We Should Take Up Rifles - Y. Museveni	32.
Frantz Fanon on Tourism	37.
On Bourgeois Economics	38.

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OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE,
BUT YOUR CHAINS;
YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN.

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EDITORIAL

We live in the era of World Revolution.

A dispassionate survey of the global situation will reveal this to any receptive mind. The ubiquitous characteristic of this period is the tremendous upsurge of revolutionary peoples, accompanied by proliferating political awareness and zeal. The whole capitalist world is being shaken at its foundations; witness the instability of capitalist economies, the strikes, devaluations and revaluations, the growing unrest and moral degeneration of the peoples of these countries manifested conspicuously in students' revolts, police brutality, massive demonstrations, fantastic multiplying in the numbers of various types of psychosis and morbid crimes, the escapist tendencies of hippies and the commercialisation of all aspects of human activity; witness the increasing misery of the peoples of the so-called Third World - in reality the exploited nations of the imperialist-capitalist system, their subsequent insurrections against the oppressive system; witness the growing victories of revolutionary movements in the colonial and neo-colonial states and witness the viciousness of the defenders of the status quo, resembling a hyena on its death bed.

The historical truth of our time is that capitalism has not satisfied, and cannot satisfy the material and spiritual needs of humanity. Its inherent irrationality and immorality form its limitations. By the very objective laws of historical motion, capitalism is on the decline, and socialism is on the ascent.

We in Tanzania, and elsewhere, are part and parcel of this historical process, the small pieces of this gigantic machine. No individual is divorced from history, for no individual lives outside society. All our acts are historical acts, whatever the magnitude of their influence. Taken at random we may discern progressive acts or retrogressive acts. The cause of humanity demands the maximization of the proportion between the two in favour of revolutionary actions. And a major prerequisite is the existence of conscious men. For imperialism will be defeated, and socialism built and defended by politically conscious, committed, courageous, fighting men.

CHECHE realizes and takes up this historical challenge. In its own small way it hopes to contribute towards liberation of mankind. CHECHE will promote and propagate revolutionary consciousness, to kindle the spark of peoples' insurrections, to resolutely wage the struggle for socialism, to mercilessly eradicate obstacles to progress.

CHECHE is a theoretical organ of the workers and peasants, that huge oppressed section of humanity. In some misguided and obscurantist circles there is a tendency to undermine the importance of a revolutionary theory and to downgrade the need of a theoretical organ. One has only to look at the contribution of Lenin's "ISKRA" in preparing the people for the 1917 revolution. No revolution can succeed if not guided by the correct theory; it will end up in blunders, confusion, muddle and defeat. Theory emanates from social practice, historical knowledge and scientific analysis; it develops in the process of struggle and it consolidates the struggle.

That is what CHECHE uncompromisingly stands for.

SOCIALISM SHALL WIN:

The EDITORIAL BOARD expresses its sincere thanks to the contributors and all others who have made it possible for this issue to come out. Thanks are due to T.Y.L. Headquarters who provided most of the papers necessary.

Special thanks are due to comrades Hajivayanis and Meghji for help during the printing stages, and to comrade Margareth for typing part of the stencils. Comrade Kanywanyi deserves special mention for facilitating much of the work.

The magazine shall have achieved its purpose if it stimulates thought. Thus we invite articles, commentaries and criticism for the next issue, to be published sometime in March, 1970.

Message from the Chairmen of the Revolutionary
Front and T.Y.L., University College.

CHECHE, the Spark, has been launched primarily to let the Revolution SPEAK, fearlessly and perspicaciously. We realize that the greatest foe of the "Third World" and mankind today is Monopoly Finance and its transmission lines. The trend of sell-out events in Africa and the "Third World" demonstrates that there are people who have failed to identify the real enemy, and that, those who have, have failed to combat him successfully due to dearth of the right weapons. It is our acceptance of this challenge that CHECHE, that single spark that can start a prairie fire, has been launched.

Unlike most magazines, CHECHE is a non-profit seeking and an ideological venture. It aims to be one of those nuclei from which will radiate and emerge a scientific revolutionary ideology relevant to the concrete conditions of Africa, an ideology that will not only embody the general truths of international socialist thought but will also evolve and create its own concepts arising from the specific material conditions. Let no one misunderstand, lest they consider this to be an advocacy of the deceptive, superficial, idealist and historically retrogressive theories - the so-called "African Socialisms" that have sprouted up everywhere in Africa. No! Socialism is one; scientific and international.

CHECHE is a fighting paper. It will combat reactionary elements, influences, ideas till they are crushed in their totality. Its basic aim is further the cause of peoples' revolutions in Africa and the world through the spread of revolutionary consciousness. CHECHE is an uncompromising enemy of exploitation and oppression. It must contribute to production of revolutionaries, imbued with spirit of historical mission, and clear understanding of social process, and armed with rational ideology.

CHECHE hopes to stimulate, and be a medium for vigorous discussion, debate and articulation of progressive thought. Above all it will give food for thought to all who feel that there is a need in Africa and the World not for reform, but for fundamental structural transformations of the socio-economic base.

CHECHE shall educate. It must educate and mobilize, mobilize and educate that "in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun". In other words CHECHE must be able "to arouse people to fight for their own emancipation".

We say: CHECHE, BURN! SPEAK, AND FIGHT!

N. Kasihwaki
J. Kamala

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African Labour under Capitalism and Imperialism

by

Dr. W. Rodney

At the highest levels of bourgeois academics, it is still common to rationalize the notion that Africa is outside the capitalist system. Indeed, the tendency is gaining ground in a conscious reactionary attempt to forestall the development within Africa of revolutionary socialist theories which owe their origins to capitalism and which highlight the contradictions which are leading to the destruction of capitalism. The simple historical fact is that capitalism has extended its tentacles to Africa ever since the 15th century in the form of the trade in slaves, gold and other commodities. During the 19th century and in the present century, Western European and North American capital has brought the whole of Africa firmly within the web of capitalist relations, for that is what imperialism is all about.

Certain truths exist at the level of mere visual perception, One lives in Africa and one sees that the existing relations are capitalist. He who does not see is suffering from a historically and class-induced blindness which cannot be remedied by logic. As the saying goes, "there is a darkness beyond which no light can penetrate". Consequently, this discussion will assume the existence of capitalism and imperialism on the African scene, and will offer a brief illustration of the nature of labour relations in a colony or dependency within the capitalist/imperialist system, demonstrating at the same time that those relations can best be comprehended through the application of Marxist insights.

Nature is the ultimate source of all commodities and all value. Nature has been bountiful in Africa, with regard both to items of utility like cotton or iron ore, and those like gold and diamonds which have struck man's fancy. But of course it is man's labour which realizes and adds to the value of nature; and the great achievement of the European bourgeoisie is that they harnessed the labour of most of the world's inhabitants to create ~~xxxxxx~~ value and profit for capitalism. At one time, they harnessed us literally, and made us work as slaves outside of Africa.

Forced labour was introduced into Africa by all colonial powers at one time or another, and has operated longest and on the greatest scale in Southern Africa. Its resemblance to slavery is obvious at a glance. Take, e.g., the Mozambican who might be sent to work in South African mines, under an agreement by which his wages are paid to the Portuguese government. In effect that Mozambican works for low level subsistence, while creating a great deal of surplus value for South African capitalists and their Portuguese hangers-on.

One may feel that the African proletariat is at least given as distinct from slaves or Africans working under forced-labour conditions. But it is the low level of their wages and skills, and the length of their working hours which at once makes them comparable both to slaves and the industrial proletariat in early 19th century Europe. To keep Africans working at bare subsistence, the imperialists and their regional representatives in Africa made it a practice to allow Africans only the lowest paid jobs, and paid them less than whites for doing the same jobs. Here it needs to be stressed that what labour needs for 'subsistence' is defined by the dominant class in the society, and it is always considered that the African labourer needs far less than his European counterpart. This is best demonstrated in South Africa, which has the largest black proletariat on the continent. African labourers work deep underground under inhuman conditions which would not be supported by European workers, and consequently they recover gold from deposits which are elsewhere regarded as non-viable. For this they collect half a dollar per day.

The subsistence minimum for whites is 100 dollars per month, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~(xxxxxxx)~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ the highest wage given to an African 'boy' in the mine after years of work is 12 dollars per month. These wages allow Africans to subsist by living in veritable pig-sties and by eating slop.

Whether in town or country, the position of African is essentially the same. The agricultural estate growing sisal or rubber comes very close to being a primitive factory in the field; and no difficulty arises in appreciating that the Marxist notion of 'exploitation' is as applicable to such rural dwellers as to European workers. However, the existing literature on the phenomenon of the exploitation of labour confines itself largely to those who sell their labour directly to an employer,

and thus may seem to exclude the great body of African labour which (in so far as it is brought within the capitalist market) is peasant labour. Analytically, this is a hurdle of little consequence, for the price received by the peasant for his expenditure of labour power is contained in the price given him for his expenditure of labour power is contained in the price given him for his product - coffee, cocoa, groundnuts, cashew nuts, etc. Given the low prices of these primary products and the great amount of working hours involved in the production process, it follows that the labour power of the peasants is also being purchased very cheaply indeed, usually more so than urban labour or estate workers.

Cheap labour has the inherent drawback of being unskilled. Slave labour is again the extreme case, for it had to carry out the simplest of tasks with the crudest of tools. Slaves deliberately damaged tools and incapacitated draught animals; and sabotage could only be countered by extra supervision, (which was costly) and by making the tools and productive processes extremely elementary. E.g., the "nigger hoe" in the slave territories of the USA was made to minimize breakage and for this it had to sacrifice technical efficiency. Only very few Africans acquired skills while subjected to slavery, for in the long run this would have undermined the system by encouraging division of labour and other complexities which could not be maintained by sheer coercion. It is significant that slave labour has never proved equal to carrying out industrial activity on a large scale for any protracted period of time. Built-in contradictions ensured that slave labour remained backward, and the situation is analogous with regard to manual labour throughout Africa, especially during the imperialist epoch.

In the imperialist phase of capitalist expansion, African labour was required inside of Africa to produce raw materials for industry in Europe. The expansion of soap-making in Liverpool led to the exploitation of the palm-oil resources of West Africa, the interests of Cadbury in Birmingham accounted for the introduction and spread of cocoa cultivation, and the Lancashire cotton manufacturers were growing fast enough to consume raw material from Egypt and the Sudan, West Africa and East Africa. These three concrete examples are sufficiently illustrative of what ought to be a well-known situation.

Sometimes the crops were grown on a plantation basis, but more often than not Africans moved from their traditional economies to become peasants enmeshed in capitalist relations. African peasants became as much part of the capitalist structure as though they were transferred to Western Europe to grow their crops. It is surprising that such a superficial factor as the physical distance between Europe and Africa should obscure the reality of this integration into the capitalist system. Our role within the system was meant to be an unchanging one, namely, supplier of raw materials at the cheapest possible price, minimizing the investment of capital and maximizing the exploitation of muscle power. Consequently, African labour had to be kept at brute level, incapable of evolution.

While exposing the process by which labour is exploited and capital accumulated, Marx had recourse to the example of the cotton factory. Since cotton is so widely produced in Africa, the example is immediately apt.

"In determining the value of the yarn, or the labour time required for its production, all the special processes carried on at various times and in different places, which were necessary first to produce the cotton and the wasted portion of the spindle, and then with the cotton and spindle to spin the yarn, may be looked on as different and successive phases of one and the same process. Therefore the labour contained in the raw material and the instruments of labour can be treated just as if it were labour expended in an earlier stage of the spinning process."

The first observation is to re-iterate that the African peasant growing the cotton is at much part of the capitalist process of producing cotton goods as the European worker in the factory. The second point of interest is to determine how much African labour is contained in raw cotton, to use Marx's own terms.

To make the above calculation, one cannot simply say that African slave labour in Alabama worked 18 hours per day to produce cotton in the 19th century, or that Angolan workers for COTONANG are coerced into working from dusk to dawn, or that a Ugandan peasant spends all year to produce X pounds of cotton. The quantity of time and labour spent in producing any commodity has to be evaluated by introducing a qualitative dimension.

Skilled labour considerably lessens the time necessary to complete the job. Extra time spent through poor techniques is wasted time, which is un-remunerative. Marx constantly uses the phrase "socially necessary labour time" in assessing the contribution which a worker makes on a given work-day. The productiveness of that worker and of his branch of production depends (among other things) upon individual skill, the state of science, the degree of its practical application and the social organisation of production. All of these indices are very low in the sector of production which capitalism allocated to Africans. The cotton process, for example, is less developed in its agricultural stage than in its manufacturing stage, and it is least developed within agriculture carried out by Africans. When combine harvesters, tractors, chemical fertilizers and pesticides are available as the standard of scientific measurement, the African with his jembe is putting in long hours but pitifully little "socially necessary labour time", and his productivity is low. This sort of situation is generally taken as part of the order of things, and indeed the white racists gloat over the technological backwardness of Africans, ascribing it to racial inferiority. "Africans never invented wheel" is a favourite quotation of white supremacists - but then neither did Europeans! The technique spread to them from China and it is crucial to understand that imperialism set up certain barriers to the spread or transfer of techniques from the capitalist metropolises to the exploited sectors of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Throughout colonial policies there runs the assumption that colonies would not be allowed to develop industrially, and often this assumption was made explicit. Capitalism has always restricted the African worker to producing commodities where his labour adds relatively little value, but as soon as the raw material enters as a factor of production in Europe it opens up great possibilities. To pursue the example of cotton, let us note that raw cotton arrives cheaply, and by turning it into finished cotton goods, the European worker in a relatively short time adds considerable value to the cotton. Most of this ends up in the hands of the owner of the factory, although the worker himself benefits from the imperialist set-up. The skills of some workers ensured that they received a share of the wealth created, and the constantly expanding process of production raised their standard of living. This is essentially the mechanism which gave rise to the aristocracy of labour, whose bourgeoisified outlook and counter-revolutionary tendencies were commented upon by Lenin.

Increasing the skill of the labourer costs the capitalists money. It means educating the worker as well as improving the tools with which he operates. In Europe, the logic of the capitalist system forced the bourgeoisie constantly to renovate their means of production; and one can discern some slight signs of a comparable dynamic in South Africa. In recent times, it has been shown that sound economic reasons can be brought against Apartheid from a bourgeois viewpoint. The further expansion of South African industry is dependent upon giving more skills and opportunities to black workers. But this is hampered by white racism which acts as an irrational, constricting anti-economic force, although initially this aspect of white consciousness sprang from the material conditions of slavery and colonialism. In any event, South Africa (being industrialised) is atypical within the African context. Elsewhere, Europe willed that Africa should produce either metals or crops from the earth, excluding the possibility of granting skills or introducing the fruits of science and technology, which would add to the cost of labour and the cost of the raw material when it reached European industry.

To complete the analysis of why African labour gets so little returns for its lengthy contribution to capitalist commodity production, it would be necessary to take into account the exchange value and prices of all goods circulating within the several African economies; but for the present purposes those factors will not be included. It is enough to say that the pricing mechanisms of imperialism operate further to depress the condition of the African worker and peasant. Reference was made earlier to the 'subsistence' given to slaves, contract labourers and African worker/peasants in return for their labouring time. African workers under capitalism have modestly raised their conception of subsistence to include a paraffin lamp, a radio, a bicycle, a zinc roof, etc; but the actual earnings do not even take account of good health and survival, for malnutrition, starvation and chronic debilitating disease are the indices by which 'underdevelopment' is measured in Africa.

Many idle minds have occupied themselves rejecting Marx's so-called doctrine of increasing misery. Ha! ha! they say, the workers under capitalism have improved their lot. An eminent and by no means unenlightened bourgeois economist, Joan Robinson, claims that "misery is increasing certainly, but it is increasing outside the orbit of both socialism and capitalism." It is cultural

solipsism and ethnocentrism which makes Europeans feel that Africa, Latin America and most of Asia must always be described as 'outside' or at best 'peripheral'. Marx showed a pre-occupation with capitalism in Europe, but he was of course writing during the pre-imperialist epoch. Even so, his remarks were often extended to the world scene, and the following passage from Capital virtually fore-shadows Lenin on monopoly capital and imperialism.

"Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop on an ever extending scale the co-operative form of the labour-process, ... the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market and the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery oppression; slavery, degradation, exploitation" one could deny the relevance of this to Africa.

It is possible to justify the whole imperialist structure by taking impoverished unskilled African worker, the skilled European worker and the European owner of capital as 'givens'. It then becomes only 'natural' that skill and capital should get the greater benefits. This is the rationalizing function of bourgeois economic theories such as comparative cost advantage and the international division of labour. Marx had dismissed this rubbish a long time ago by pointing out that "nature does not produce on the one side owners of money or commodities, and on the other men possessing nothing but their labour power. This relation has no natural basis, ... it is clearly the result of past historical development"; and he also pointed out that the same criticism applied to the international commodity specialization, since it was not nature which decreed that West Indian soil should grow sugar cane. For Africa, the historical development of its relations with capitalism embraces both slavery and colonialism. Those relations have permitted Europe to develop capital and skills, while Africa suffered from arrest, distortion, exploitation and oppression.

Historical processes are never reversed, except in a very loose manner of speaking. They have to be transcended by the advance to a new stage.

Wherever and whenever worker/peasants achieve power, the problem becomes one of "the socialization of bourgeois knowledge", i.e., the transfer to the backward areas of the scientific knowledge which came into being during the capitalist epoch. In effect. That knowledge was the product of human development the world over but it was monopolized by the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America. Nevertheless, the problem which requires prior attention is that of seizing power from the imperialists and their local flunkies. Bourgeois philosophers can blow hot and cold, but they cannot escape the logic that the contradictions of capitalism are sharpest in the African, Asian and Latin American sectors of imperialism. Commenting on these regions, Sir W. Arthur Lewis (knighted by the Queen for his services to bourgeois economics) notes that "malnutrition and chronic debilitating disease are probably the main reason why the inhabitants are easily exhausted. And this creates a chain which is hard to break since malnutrition and disease cause low productivity, and low productivity in turn maintains conditions of malnutrition and disease" He does not seem to be aware that the capitalist/imperialist system with its so called international division of labour was responsible for maintaining the chain; and for him and his ilk "the chain is hard to break". Yet it is the very misery produced by imperialism which is responsible for the national and social wars of liberation in so many parts of the world, for the oppressed masses have made their decision on how to break the chain.

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THE NATURE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

.... America is today the leader of a world-wide anti-revolutionary movement in defence of vested interests. She now stands for what Rome stood for. Rome consistently supported the rich against the poor in all foreign communities that fell under her sway; and, since the poor, so far, have always and everywhere been far more numerous than the rich, Rome's policy made for inequality, for injustice, and for the least happiness of the greatest number. America's decision to adopt Rome's role has been deliberate.....

Arnold Toynbee

Dedicated to the Worshipers of Non-Violence

O Ye! The angelic idealist dwelling in the quagmire of
ignorance,

"Try to understand this at any rate: if violence began
this very evening and if exploitation and oppression had
never existed on the earth, perhaps the slogans of non-
violence might end the quarrel. But if the whole regime,
even your non-violent ideas, are conditioned by a thousand-
year-old oppression, your passivity serves only to place
you in the ranks of the oppressors" (J.P. Sartre).

Fling away the curtain of confusion that envelopes you and
grasp this elementary fact that capitalism "is not a thinking
machine or a body endowed with reasoning faculties. It is
violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when
confronted with greater violence". (F. Fanon)

Open your eyes. Come back from dreamland to reality!

For,

"If any human life has value and it is a crime to destroy,
then the world is vastly criminal than it was at any other
stage of history. There are millions more dying needlessly
now in 'peace' than ever died under the onslaught of the
Huns or in the trenches of Belgium and France". (Segal)

The gigantic military establishments and bases of imperialism
and its running dogs serve the purpose of massacre, genocide and
political subjugation in colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist
states, and to suppress peoples' revolutionary struggle, and to
perpetuate their exploitation. The social violence of imperialism
is conspicuously manifested in

"the poverty of the world's poor (which) is hunger,
malnourishment, illiteracy, needless disease and early
death. At least 500 million people go hungry every day of
their lives, at least 1,000 million are seriously under-
nourished, and the number increases every moment.....The
hunger of the poor is, however, only the most obvious
attribute of their poverty. They are weakened, when not
killed, by disease which more or better food, sanitation
and medical services would prevent or cure; they can
seldom read or write; those who escape the stagnation of
the countryside live in burgeoning city slums, sometimes

not even in shanties but on streets in the shelter of a wall; millions have no work at all....." (R. Segal).

This is the violence in the midst of which we live. Day in and day out, it is there. It is impossible to ignore it; it is criminal not to be moved by it and it is cowardice not to struggle to change it. Rational analysis discloses that the fundamental cause of all this is IMPERIALISM which breeds on violence. Man, cast off your fairy-like innocence and listen to the simple logic.

"Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power". (Mao)

The irresistible conclusion is, therefore, that

"Violence, and violence alone committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders makes it possible for the masses to understand social truths and gives the key to them. Without that struggle, without that knowledge of the practice of action there's nothing but a fancy dress parade and the blare of trumpets. There's nothing save a minimum of readaptation, a few reforms at the top, a flag waving: and down there at the bottom an undivided mass, still living in the Middle Ages, endlessly marking time". (Fanon).

So friend, throw away this pretencious attitude of 'Non-violence'. March forward with humanity, in the service of humanity. Heed this historical warning or be swept away by the tide of revolution. Because,

"Those who do not prepare for an armed uprising must be ruthlessly cast out of the ranks of the supporters of the revolution and sent back to the ranks of its enemies, traitors or cowards....." (Lenin)

REALIST SOCIALIST

MOTHER GUN

On head, yoke is heavy;
On hands, chains are hinderance;
Freedom, Equality, Fraternity are goals;
Mother Gun is indispensable.

By Hajivayanis, G. G.

THE EDUCATED BARBARIANS

by

Issa Shivji

Education, ancient or modern, has always been one of the means of transmitting skills and values of a given society. The skills so transmitted would depend on the stage of technological development of that society. There is nothing sacred about values, mores, habits or attitudes either. They, too, reflect the mode of production of that society. Education, as part of the superstructure, must conform to the given mode of production and help to consolidate the latter.

In a class society, it is the interests and outlook of the socioeconomically dominant class which determine the values of the society as a whole. Thus though the dominant class is numerically a minority, its values and outlook are propagated as, and become the values and outlook of the whole society for it is they who own the means of production and therefore various ways and means — both sociological and physical — of propagating values.

The bourgeois society provides an excellent example and verification of what has been mentioned above. The capitalist social order, compared to all other pre-capitalist social orders, has demonstrated a relatively much faster development over a relatively much shorter historical period. It is this which makes capitalism a suitable 'specimen' for the investigation of social laws. (It was therefore not an accident that this particular social order produced Marx. 'Historical accidents' of this type occur only in the minds of bankrupt bourgeois historians, not in reality)

Apart from the fact that capitalism provides a suitable 'specimen' for socio-historic investigation, capitalist social order, in its monopoly and imperialist stage, is still with us and affects us directly. Hence all the more reason to discuss the educational outlook of this particular social order. But before we do that, it may afford a useful background to mention briefly the main characteristics of the bourgeois world outlook.¹

1. Here I have dealt with this very briefly. For a fuller exposition see, Mao Tse-tung, On Contradiction, Selected Works, Vol. I.

The bourgeois world outlook is variously called metaphysical or idealist. It regards all things in the universe as given, eternal, one-sided and unchanging. It is said that the change that takes place at all is one of quantity — an increase or decrease in quantity — but not in quality. It looks at things and phenomena in their isolated and unconnected forms. While, by the force of sheer necessity, it has to apply scientific methods to natural, physical phenomena, it throws up its hands when it comes to society — for here everything is said to depend on immutable HUMAN NATURE. It excludes Man from Nature so far as the methodology of investigation is concerned — hence its reluctance to apply scientific methods to society as a whole. In the realm of society and social phenomena, it is spontaneity, whims, passions and myths which are said to rule Man. Since it is not admitted that societies change, and change qualitatively, no attempt is made to study it scientifically from historical perspective and find out its laws motion. Bourgeois ideology simply abounds in cliché's and half-truths about individual freedom and the myth of man's spiritualism yet the social being of that very man is reduced to animal instinctive existence for here chaos² and spontaneity are offered as explanations for change and movement. In the twentieth century scientific world, social phenomena and society are denied the benefit of scientific investigation. In absence of such investigation, it logically follows that bourgeois ideologues should resort to inventing external factors — which include myths and superstitions³ connected with the supernatural — as the motive forces of change and development. Their consins, the bourgeois scholars and "intellectuals", on the other hand, finding it difficult to swallow such myths, produce pseudo-scientific theories of psycho-analysis to account for social change — the central theme of most of which being sexual passion!⁴

2. "The law of bourgeois society is anarchy, the individualistic law of the jungle, i.e., that which assures the enslavement and the crushing of the dispossessed, for whom 'democratic' allusions are only a synonym for servitude in fact." R. Garaudy, Karl Marx, the evolution of his thought. p. 104.

3. These myths and superstitions are said to depend on faith and therefore should not be questioned!

4. Recently, for instance, an "intellectual" on the campus solemnly propounded a thesis that the problem of South Africa was nothing but sex. It would not be surprising if he equally solemnly received a Ph. D. for that! After all in United States to-day some universities award highest educational degrees for thesis on "Camping" and "Dish Washing"! [See Baran & Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, Chs. 10 & 11.]

The world outlook of materialist dialectics, on the other hand, holds that society is as much susceptible to scientific investigation as Nature. It was Marx who applied the dialectics to society and discovered its laws of motion, which have been amply verified in their fundamentals over the last hundred years.

The essential characteristic of the dialectical outlook is to view a thing or phenomena in its totality and in its relation to other things and phenomena. The cause and motive force of development of a thing lies internally — in the internal contradictoriness of the thing itself. It is the internal contradictions in the thing itself which are responsible for change and motion. The external factors only provide occasion, a condition for change but is not the cause of change. Secondly, the dialectical world outlook holds that things not only change in quantity but in quality as well. At a certain point the quantitative change itself becomes a qualitative change. This is true both of natural and social sciences. Thus, for example, oxygen (O_2) changes into ozone (O_3) — a compound qualitatively different from oxygen — by addition of more oxygen. This change in quantity itself brings about change in quality. In fact, this has been further borne out by nuclear science and the disintegration of atoms. For example, Uranium — 238 by a long process of atomic disintegration (radio-activity) finally reduces itself to lead — an element qualitatively different from uranium.⁵ The qualitative change from one quality — to another can be observed in society as well. Thus over the long period of mankind's development, five different social orders⁶ can be discerned — qualitatively different one from another, and changing one into another as a result of internal contradictions.

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5. A uranium atom consists of 92 protons while lead 82 protons. It is the number of protons, which distinguishes one element from another. In fact, the arrangement of elements in the periodic table, is according to the elements' atomic number — i.e. number of protons. This arrangement results in placing the elements in groups with similar qualities.
 6. These are primitive communalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism. They are distinguished by their modes of production, which have corresponding superstructures. For a simple treatment of this see, Oscar Lange, Political Economy, Vol.I; Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific.

The obvious conclusion that follows from the dialectical outlook is that if Man can discover the laws of motion of society and social development, he can use these laws to accelerate the development of the society in a particular direction. This does not mean that the laws once discovered stop functioning or that they can be fundamentally changed by men. What it means, however, is that men can definitely use these laws in a controlled manner to gain mastery over nature as well as to build a rational social order. To illustrate this with an example: Lightning is an electrical phenomena obeying the law of electricity that electric current flows from higher to lower potential. The same law is obeyed by a voltaic cell in a laboratory, — with a difference that here, Man, after discovering the law, is making use of it under controlled conditions for his own benefit. So is the case with the laws of motion of society. They have to be discovered and made use of to achieve higher and rational social order for the benefit of Mankind.

2.

The bourgeois world outlook underlies the compartmentalization of its formal education and academic disciplines. Professor De Castro expresses this brilliantly in his book, The Geography of Hunger:

. . . . [N]arrowness of outlook is characteristic of Western civilization. Since the middle of the nineteenth century a kind of university instruction has developed which is no longer interested in transmitting a unified image of the world, but rather in isolating, and mutilating, facets of reality, in the supposed interest of science. The tremendous impact of scientific progress produced a fragmentation of culture and pulverized it into little grains of learning. Each scientific specialist seized his granule and turned it over and over beneath the powerful lens of his microscope striving to penetrate its microcosm, with a marvellous indifference to and towering ignorance of everything around him. Recently in Europe and the United States an extreme development of this type of University education has created within the culture a sort of civilization sui generis — a specialists' civilization — directed by men whose scientific outlook is rigorous but who suffer from a deplorable cultural and political myopia. (p.20 - emphasis supplied).

In addition to the natural science being completely isolated from social science as altogether unrelated disciplines,⁷ the social science itself is mutilated into separate disciplines and specialties. Here, highly trained experts investigate into finer details of the parts of a whole while the interconnections of the parts and their relation to the whole is lost sight of. The ultimate result is that the conclusion about the whole is inevitably an aggregate sum of the parts. "But (then). . . . the whole is always more than the sum of parts, so the amassing of small truths about the various parts and aspects of society can never yield the big truths about the social order itself — how it got to be what it is, what it does to those who live under it, and the directions in which it is moving". An argument often heard on the campus illustrates this point vividly: It is said that an individual is a unit of society and therefore it is the whims, passions, likes and dislikes of an individual which determine society and social characteristics. [cf. the Robin crusoe of bourgeois economics']. Bred within such outlook, no wonder bourgeois students fail to appreciate the objective nature of the laws of social development and stick to human nature, spontaneity and subjectivism as the motive forces of history.

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7. No doubt, the bourgeois trained scientists are experts in their own narrow specialties — but these are unrelated to other disciplines and to society as a whole. Let me give a 'local' example to illustrate this point.

On the last Open Day, there was on display one of the laboratories, a certain mechanism which was made and put together originally by the students themselves — in fact the only item of its kind, so far as the originality of students goes. Technical details apart, it was some sort of a synchronization between clock-work and electric circuit so as to light up each in turn differently coloured bulbs at the beginning of the hour (i.e. when the teacher begins his lecture), when it is five minutes to the hour and when the hour is over, respectively. After having heard this brilliant explanation, I suggested to the student in charge, that it appeared to me that it would be much more convenient to use an ordinary wrist watch in the usual way and that this energy, thought and creativeness could have been used to produce something much more relevant to our society and circumstances. [Say, for instance, transforming a bicycle mechanism to draw water from a well]. Apparently, the latter part of the suggestion, flew over his head, for he laughed it off saying: "We know, you are a socialist!" And that was meant to be final and conclusive!

8. Baran & Sweery, op. cit. p.16.

The social and economic forces, which in reality decide and determine historical movement, are considered irrelevant⁹.

On the strictly academic plane, this outlook reflects itself in the rigid compartmentalization of social science into various disciplines like economics, political science, sociology, etc. To an economic undergraduate on the campus, for instance, the talk of neo-colonialism is anathema for "that is politics".⁹ Neither does a student of sociology appreciate or even countenance any such suggestion involving economic base or class structure etc for as a sociologist he is only concerned with "behavioural patterns", traditions of tribes, labour migration without going into its causes etc. And their 'learned' friend the law undergraduate is a complete sell-out! His world revolves around the fifteenth century law reports and what their feudal lordships said in such-and-such a case. Like a child imitating his elders with reverence, the 'learned' student of law mouths Latin phrases, asks you to meet him in his "chambers", awards himself (and seriously too!) the title of Lord (without land and without a seat in the House of Lords!), argues for hours on end whether the cases under consideration are distinguishable (ending up by giving differences rather than distinctions!) and vies with his fellow 'learned' friend over who can produce the oldest authority in support of his contention. His counterpart, the law lecturer, is, on the other hand, a little more sophisticated for he manages to produce voluminous articles on whether "minority rights" have been entrenched in the constitution, or whether the constitution

9. I am aware that attitudes, behaviour etc. of the so-called "intelligentsia" described in these pages are part and parcel of the socio-economic and cultural distortions inherited from the colonial era and perpetuated by the national bourgeoisie. However, the aim here has been simply to describe the effects rather than go into the analysis of causes.

Secondly, I may be charged with generalisations and exaggeration. I can do no better than borrow the words of Baran & Sweery: "It is a charge to which we readily plead guilty. In a very real sense the function of both science and art is to exaggerate, provided that what is exaggerated is truth and not falsehood". And I firmly believe that what has been said here is truth and not falsehood.

provides for the economic aspirations of the society¹⁰ — and the more internationalist among them make discoveries such as that "Britain is socialist"¹¹ and "U.S.A. is democratic!"¹²

Thus bourgeois lawyers and "intellectuals" are never done of repeating half-truths and cliché's — individual rights and freedoms, freedom of expression, freedom to dress and freedom to strip — the list of freedoms never ends, and that in a social order which is most oppressive and greatest killer of Humanity. So long as the talk of the so-called individual freedoms is

0. Of what importance is it whether aspirations or rights — any rights — have been entrenched in the constitution so long as the society is class-based and the ruling class thrives on the exploitation of the oppressed. As for example, the U.S. Law makes racial discrimination illegal but then "legal equality does not guarantee real equality: the right to patronize the best hotels and restaurants, for example, means little to the Negro masses". [Baran & Sweezy, op. cit. p.267].

"It was capitalism, with its enthronement of greed and privilege, which created the race problem and made of it the ugly thing it is to-day. It is the very same system which resists and thwarts every effort at a solution" [ibid. p.265]. Now are we to understand that legality and constitutionalism will solve this problem?

1. Here is Britain's socialism.

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONAL WEALTH IN THE U.K.

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION	PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL PERSONAL WEALTH			PERCENTAGES OF PERSONAL INCOME FROM PROPERTY BEFORE TAX
	1911-13	1936-8	1960	
1	69	56	42	60
5	87	79	75	92
10	92	88	83	99

SOURCE: MAURICE DOBB, "ARGUMENTS ON SOCIALISM", p.22.

2. "In the United States, as in all other capitalist countries, the propertyless masses have never been in a position to determine, the conditions of their lives or the policies of the nation's government." How can one talk about democracy "in a society in which a tiny oligarchy resting on vast economic power and full control of society's political and cultural apparatus makes all the important decisions?" [Baran & Sweezy op. cit. p.327).

scientifically ridiculous¹³ (even in bourgeois society it never corresponds with reality — it never can so long as the society is a class society), it is a lie meant for public relations rather than genuine concern for Humanity. And this is true of all bourgeois talk about "Human values" that is incessantly dished out for public consumption and faithfully echoed by the underdeveloped "intellectuals" of the underdeveloped world. Therefore voluminous writings on these aspects and discussions over them, without, going deep into the real forces that make and account for the whole social order, and insofar as such writings or discussions do not envisage a fundamental change of the existing social order as an ultimate aim, they are at best wasteful and at worst criminal for they cause confusion and consolidate the existing power structure.

But so much for bourgeois values, to come back to compartmentalization. One of the important effects of the unhollistic outlook (quite prominent on the campus) is intellectual

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13. Freedom can never exist apart from society.

"Marx, in The German Ideology, shows us that up to the present time individual freedom exists only for individuals belonging to the ruling class.

All conceptions of freedom reflect the class position of those who profess it; each ruling class interprets as freedom the continuance of its class privileges. 'A Yankee comes to England, where he is prevented by a Justice of the Peace from flogging his slave, and he exclaims indignantly: Do you call this a land of liberty, where a man cannot larrup his nigger?' [Marx].

For the bourgeoisie, freedom is the maintenance of 'free enterprise', for the proletariat, freedom is the elimination of this system. The ruling classes always call the abolition of their class privileges tyranny and the destruction of freedom" [Garaudy, op. cit. p. 103-4]

"Freedom, according to Marx, does not lie in individualism, denial, negation, precarious and always hazardous withdrawal. The individual man is free when all humanity lives in him, all the past which is his culture, all his present reality, which is universal cooperation.

Thus no man achieves freedom by himself. No man is free in an enslaved society". [ibid. p. 105-6].

stagnancy.¹⁴ It is not altogether an exception to hear a Ph.D. in mathematics talk like a child when it comes to the society around him. He is the product par excellence, of his bourgeois training. So is the case with the undergraduates on the Hill. The ignorance displayed by them about the social order is abysmal. They simply lack an intelligent and consistent world outlook based on some theoretical understanding — if they have a world outlook at all it is a collection of unconnected incidences and (in most cases) petty incidences at that. The talk abounds in trivia and centres around fag, films, fashion and females — it is more of a chattering than a conversation. "When people have nothing to say, 'small talk' becomes the order of the day".¹⁵ Any serious discussion requiring thought is dubbed as "ideological" or "talking shop".

Or take the reading habits. It is shocking that the reading of a large part of the under-graduates should be confined to academic subjects, that rarely a serious book is read with interest and for its own sake. And a certain section of the campus populace is far worse. There, the so-called leisure, relaxation, "jokes", parties and chatter are the order of the day. These are the people who shun knowledge. They hardly appear in public lectures (not even development studies lectures) — for all that is politics! — and yet the same people cheer, laugh and chatter viewing the politics of Red-Indian extermination by the Yankees on the celluloid.

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14. All great intellectuals in the history of Mankind were great social thinkers and committed social critics. Where education is compartmentalized and is devoid of socio-economic dimension, it is bound to produce intellectual stagnancy.

Cf. on the other hand, the vigorous debates and discussions among the Russian exiles before the 1917 Revolution and the marathon debates and discussions that followed the Revolution.

The only issues which attracted a few letters in the newspapers here from the undergraduates were "Mini-skirts" and "Marriage"! [To be fair, recently one or two students have written letters on 'Soul digging'!] The 'Karadha' issue — (i.e. when the National Bank of Commerce decided to give loans to Civil Servants to buy private cars) — on the other hand did not stimulate even a single letter from the undergraduates even when the T.Y.L. College Branch issued a statement protesting against the decision and a comrade wrote a thought-provoking article on it.

15. Baran & Sweezy, *op. cit.* p.335.

* 'Drum', 'Boom', and 'Film' have a sizeable market on the Campus!

The world of celluloid is their reality while social existence is politics, dogmatic and extremism. Apathy¹⁶ amounting to criminal indifference in all matters of public interest form the part and parcel of the life of these people. And the greater tragedy is that all this is looked upon by them as natural and normal; that presence at western thrillers in multitudes or a "fashion parade" on definite occasions is sophistication; advancement and modernisation. Woe unto the undergraduate (in a country where fellow countrymen suffer, toil and bleed to uplift themselves) who thinks he is sophisticated, advanced or modern because of his two-piece suit and a doll-like lady companion! [who is more of a "status-symbol" than a human partner].

3.

Another very important effect of the bourgeois conception of "intellectualism" is the apparent non-committal, of an intellectual. In fact, the intellectual stagnancy described above and the attitude of indifference and non committal are really two sides of the same coin. It is the greatest historical lie perpetrated by bourgeois ideology that intellectuals must be objective, impartial etc. The so-called objectivity and impartiality do not obtain even in bourgeois society itself. The truth is that the experts and the intelligentsia of the capitalist social order are part and parcel of that order and consciously or unconsciously serve and help to consolidate the interests of the dominant class. It can never be otherwise.

How can there be objectivity and impartiality vis-a-vis the suffering and misery of society. No doubt every enquiry into any social order must be scientific and rational but it must always be with a view to change it to a better human society.

16. That this apathy is not fortuitous but bound up with class interests is fully demonstrated by the fact that this same section of the college populace was first to appear on the rag day, shamelessly dressed to go on a begging spree!

["The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently. The point is to change it. — Marx]. For, to use Baran's words: "To contribute to the emergence of a society in which development will supplant stagnation, in which growth will take place of decay, and in which culture will put an end to barbarism is the noblest, and, indeed the only function of intellectual endeavour"¹⁷ (emphasis mine).

An intellectual who does not enquire into the big truths of the existent social order — "how it got to be what it is, what it does to those who live under it, and the directions in which it is moving" — by definition loses all claim to the title. And despite his voluminous writings is bound to be placed on the dunghill of history, for he has lost touch with society, with reality. (What else is more real than society?) To quote Baran again:

"The desire to tell the truth is . . . only condition for being an intellectual. The other is courage, readiness to carry on rational inquiry to whatever it may lead, to undertake ruthless criticism of everything that exists, ruthless in the sense that the criticism will not shrink either from its own conclusion or from conflict with the powers that be". (Marx). An intellectual is thus in essence a social critic, a person whose concern is to identify, to analyse, and in this way to help overcome the obstacles barring the way to the attainment of a better, more humane, and more rational order. As such he becomes the conscience of society and the spokesman of such progressive forces as it contains in any given period of history, and as such he is inevitably considered a "troublemaker" and a "nuisance" by the ruling class seeking to preserve the status quo, as well as by the intellectual workers in its service who accuse the intellectual of being utopian or metaphysical at best, subversive or seditious at worst.

As would be expected, the attitude of non-committment and indifference is prevalent on the campus as well. In any discussion as regards commitment, the time-worn defence is almost spontaneously put up — "We are servants-in-training". But that defence is never taken to its logical end and that is to ask, "Whose servants-in-training?" For, our attitudes, aspirations and outlook surely do not sum up to make us the servants-in-training of the oppressed class, the masses.

¹⁷. Paul Baran, The Political Economy of Growth, p.300.

Vis-a-vis them, we may more accurately call ourselves "SUCKERS-IN-TRAINING". We never think of them, never even dream of their conditions. Rather we are engaged in asking for two puddings, engaged in the so-called student 'politics' (which don't exist") and aspiring for "Karadha" loans, than preparing ourselves to serve the masses. Any one claiming to be a servant-in-training must certainly ask himself "serve whom?" and in answer to that — for it cannot otherwise be answered — he must equally certainly enquire scientifically into the existent social order, both national and international. If he has failed to do that he is either innocent, ignorant and naive (qualities which I would be reluctant to attribute to the College undergraduates) or else he fears that he may come up with unpalatable results. In both these cases the loses his claim to being a servant-in-training.

So comrades, let us not deceive ourselves. Intellectual stagnancy, ignorance, apathy and attitudes of non-committment and indifference are as great an enemy on the compus as are poverty, ignorance and disease in the country — for from both of these it is the imperialists and exploiters who benefit and the masses who suffer.

LET US NOT BE COMPLACENT. IF WE THINK WE ARE 'EDUCATED', WE HAD BETTER RE-EXAMINE THIS LABEL LEST HISTORY DUB US "THE EDUCATED BARBARIANS".

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r e v o l u t i o n a r y p r o s e

A G U E R R I L L A

F O R H U M A N I T Y

An enemy	Hills of fire rose in
a shot	battlefields,
a cry, then... silence	Made a thousand of us
He fired aimingly	betray,
He moved stealthily	A handful stood to
He slept sleeplessly	challenge,
He killed mercillessly	For the cause was for
He triumphed inevitably.	Humanity.

b y h a j i v a y a n i s, G. G.

REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

by

Kwanza Kilewela

Man is the essence of the totality of the world; all life revolves about him. From times immemorial, man has been incessant struggle to put nature and himself to better use, to realise his full humanity in the context of the reality in which he finds himself. Thus revolution, a permanent as-long-as-man-lives dialectical process that changes both the environment in which it takes place and within itself transforms its nature bringing to the fore newer and newer qualities, more sophisticated at every stage, has been the material force behind human development. Revolution, no more a wonder than the fact that the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, is the only tool in the hands of man for realising his authentic being; a being with a deep sense of belonging to society whose interests override those of the individual, whose all-round well-being is an end justifying restrictions by society on the individual's freedom to act as he pleases.

There have been, there are and there will be great revolutionaries, vanguards of positive for-the-masses-in-the-masses change in human society. As is well known, historically, the appearance of Marx on the stage in the nineteenth century marked a fundamental departure in the world revolutionary course. Since Marx, the founder of Marxism, departed to his flat in the sky, the growth of revolutionary thought, its refinement in theoretical scientific analysis, dissemination and application to concrete reality has made tremendous strides in all corners of the globe.

Following the victorious epoch-making 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution lead by the great V. I Lenin, humanity has progressively advanced, pace by pace, in its struggle to liberate itself from bondage. It is the unity, clarity, living force, wholeness and profundity in their thought - action contribution to the struggle for "a better destiny for the wretched of the earth" manifested in their for-all-humanity endeavours that places revolutionaries from various parts of the human family in the same retrospective-perspective. Man in man. For that is the basis and theme of revolution notwithstanding material advances

recorded by man. The arduous, historic, missionary task for revolutionaries, indeed all mankind, has been and remains the same. Via Socialism, to "abundance without egotism".

Let us hear, learn, grasp and apply theory and practice in the never-ending revolutionary process.

Philosophy and Class Struggle

"The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it"

"No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did was to prove:

- (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular, historical phases in the development of production;
- (2) that the class Struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat;
- (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society."

"Workers of all countries, unite".

Karl Marx

IN REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

"The revolution must sweep away everything that hinders the people's advancement, its moral, material and intellectual progress, everything that interferes with the fulfilment of its aspirations"

"It is vain to heap up a sum of theoretical knowledge, if we ignore the conditions of our own existence, and the reality in which we are living.

Sekou Toure

.....29.....

"The duty of every revolutionary is to make revolution"

Second Declaration of Havana.

"Our best text book in matters of revolution will be the revolutionary process itself".

Fidel Castro

Sincere self - criticism and frank criticism is the most effective weapon to overcome shortcomings and develop qualities. Therefore not only have we to develop criticism and self criticism in the Party, in the government organs, but also to welcome frank criticism from the people."

Ho Chi Minh

REVOLUTION AND VIOLENCE

"Revolutionaries love peace, but a creative peace that will permit all to enjoy life and construct a new society successfully. They do not wish war; they hate slaughter and cruelty, but they understand that a thousand times worse is the indefinite continuation of injustice, exploitation, hunger, poverty and corruption."

ALFREDO VERA

ANTI IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

"Neo-colonialism is a greater danger to independent countries than is colonialism. Colonialism is crude, essentially overt, and apt to be overcome by a purposeful concert of national effort. In neo-colonialism, however, the people are divided from their leaders and, instead of providing true leadership and guidance which is informed at every point by the

ideal of the general welfare, leaders come to neglect the very people who put them in power and incautiously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists",

Kwame Nkrumah

ON REVOLUTIONARY LOVE

"..... the true revolutionary is moved by strong feelings of love. It is impossible to conceive of an authentic revolutionary who lacks this quality. Here in lie what are perhaps the great dramatic challenges to a leader: he must combine an impassioned spirit with coolness of mind; and he must make painful decisions unfalteringly".

Che

"The basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words, is human equality.

"..... The justification of socialism is man, not the state, not the flag. Socialism is not for the benefit of black men, not brown men nor white men, nor yellow men. The purpose of socialism is the Service of man, regardless of colour, size, shape, skill, ability, or anything else."

Julius K. Nyerere

THE RURAL QUESTION

"It is our lofty and glorious duty to solve the rural question steadily and successfully.

"The struggle of the construction of a socialist countryside is a struggle for converting our countryside, which was backward and impoverished in the past, into a prosperous and cultured socialist countryside equipped with modern technology, a struggle

to consolidate our revolutionary base to impregnable strength;
to give more powerful encouragement and support to the peasants
and the rest of the people, a struggle to demonstrate the genuine
advantages of the socialist system of rural economy.

Kim IL Sung

CULTURE AND ART

"In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine."

MAOTSE-tung

Man in Man

"In fact, we often believe with criminal superficiality that to educate the masses politically to deliver a long political harangue from time to time. We think that it is enough that the leader or one of his lieutenants should speak in a pompous tone about the principle events of the day for them to have fulfilled this bounder duty to educate the masses politically. Now, political education means opening their minds, awakening them, and allowing the birth of their intelligence; as, Césaire said, it is to invent souls. To educate the masses politically does not mean, cannot mean making a political speech. What it means is to try, relentlessly and passionately, to teach the masses that everything depends on them; that if we stagnate it is their responsibility, and that if we go forward it is due to them too, that there is no such thing as a demiurge, that there is no famous man who will take the responsibility for everything, but that the demiurge is the people themselves and the magic hands are finally only the hands of the people".

Frantz Fanon

Brothers and sisters the bugle has sounded, called us to action. Let us, with resolve and courage, take our respective positions in the thickening struggle to reclaim our rightful place under the sun.

WHY WE SHOULD TAKE UP RIFLES - MUSEVENI

When I was in Korea, I once heard Korean children sing a song entitled: "Why we took up rifles". They then proceeded to show why they had taken up rifles. They depicted the suffering and humiliation of their people at the hands of the Japanese, and later on, the American gangsters. Then, finally, they portrayed the happiness that ensued in the Northern half of their country. A proud, prosperous people, purged of all de-humanization, had emerged and taken an honourable place on the world scene. They had achieved this through the use of the rifle.

Then I thought about our own situation in this part of Africa. I thought about, not only the past, but also the present suffering and humiliation of the African people all over the continent. And I saw the relevance of these children's theme. Not that this was the first time such a theme had occurred to me as being relevant; on the contrary I had always been advocating it. But it made a remarkable impression on me because I had seen with my own eyes, what a people could achieve through the Scientific application of a people's struggle in such a short time. It is the rapidity that was significant as far as I was concerned. The principle itself is not even debatable.

Why must we take up rifles? It is necessary, but at the same time a pity, to answer this question before anything else. It is a pity because at this stage of history our people should have grasped the necessity, in fact the inevitability, of armed struggle in order to extricate ourselves from our present quagmire. But since, generally speaking, the present rulers of Africa have failed to bring about this consciousness among the masses, it becomes necessary to have to explain. The present situation, at least its economic aspect, has been called a "vicious circle" where the cause is the result at the same time; illiteracy causes low productivity and low productivity causes still more illiteracy. Scarcity of capital results into low level of investments; low level of investments results into low level of employment and therefore low level of incomes; low level of incomes means low purchasing power and low purchasing power means low effective demand and therefore bleak prospects for increased production because of restricted market. The story goes on until we are back to where we started.

This situation is not an accident historically as the bourgeois economists, the monopoly capital apologetic mercenaries, would have us believe. It is a result of a historical process that can be explained. It is a result of Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, and even of the earlier stages of capitalism, like the stage of primitive capital accumulation. There is a dialectical relationship between the prosperity of Western Europe and North America, the nuclear rockets, the landings on the moon and so on, on the one hand, and the misery, poverty, and degradation of our people on the other. The so called "vicious circle" was caused, and is being perpetuated, by Western capitalism as I shall try to show presently.

Roughly speaking, Western capitalism embarked on the exploitation of Africa, in Modern times, during its stage of primitive capital accumulation. The most important phenomenon of this stage of capitalism, other things aside, was the phenomenon of slavery. I

regard the seizing of the African people and taking them to work for European capitalism's growth as the most important phenomenon of this era, principally because it is people that are the most important factor in making history. Marx points out that labour is the source of all value in production. Hence the importance of man. The interaction between man and nature is the primary stimulant in development. It is partly, man's conscious attempt to harness, to control and tame nature that makes him superior to all other living organisms which have got to adapt themselves to nature. Therefore social development, which is dependant on the development of Science, is caused by man. It is him that makes history. If, therefore, one tears a people away from their mother-land and takes them to work in another continent, he is not only transplanting the sources of value but also the makers of history as well. Therefore, when the European gangsters tore an estimated 150 million people from this continent, and took them into slavery, they at once took sources of value and makers of history. It should be remembered that these 150 million people, who were either torn from this continent or perished in slavery, were mainly the youth, young men and women, usually the strongest of the youth. We should also remember that it is the youth that are at once the most productive, innovating element of any Society and the most important element in ensuring the regeneration of a given people. Not only did the capitalist gangsters depopulate the continent, but the very capitalist mechanism, which later on reached the stage of imperialism, by its inner logic, could not allow those African people that survived the slave-trade to make any headway in the direction of social development; this was true then and subsequently.

As already alluded to, the de-population of the African continent simultaneously arrested social development in Africa itself but was instrumental in creating the necessary initial capital on which present day European - North American prosperity is based. Because of stealing our people, a lot of our genius and our inventiveness was also stolen. Although, of course, this is not to suggest that this genius or inventiveness was fully put at the disposal of the European exploiters. The slaves were usually sullen, unco-operative and would revolt at the slightest opportunity. Nevertheless, they were crudely used for the purpose of primitive capital accumulation. Subsequently, the process of more and more concentration of capital, which is characteristic of capitalism, culminated in the emergence of few monopolies found in few Capitalist States of Western Europe and North America. At this stage capitalism became imperialism in the modern sense with the export of capital as its prominent characteristic. This, of course, was accompanied with the division of the World on the basis of so-called "effective colonization". This meant that while previously the African people were being taken as slaves to America, the Caribbean etc. they would now be enslaved on their own continent through forced labour. The colonisation of Africa meant that the African masses would be used for the production of cheap raw materials and remunerations would be in the form of either subsistence wages in the most cynical sense, or, outright forced labour, like Kasanvu in Uganda.

The two phenomena, slavery and then colonisation after it, that have taken place on the African continent in the past 400 years are responsible for the present "Vicious Circle". These two phenomena arrested or disrupted the natural development of African Societies. And one of our unfortunate characteristics today, the low level of

productive forces, the low level of technology and Science, is a direct result of this. The development of Science and the productive forces is the basic stimulus in social development. Without the development of the productive forces, there can be no social development, there can be no development of the superstructure or production relations. Society almost comes to a stand still. And this is what has happened in Africa. There are societies which are living in the pre-feudalist era not mention the pre-capitalist primitive social formations.

An opportunity presented itself with the advent of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world after the Second World War, convulsion, resulting from the struggle between the imperialist powers for the re-division of the World, that shook imperialism to its foundations and aroused the consciousness of the oppressed people of the World. There was agitation on the African continent and the people were aroused. Then imperialism effected a master-plan. It acknowledged "the Wind of Change" granted paper "independence", at mid-nights, to the clerks whom imperialism itself had trained, thus fore-stalling the masters who were poised for seizure of real independence. The revolution, the cause for the emancipation of the colonised people, was beheaded. Neo-colonialism was proclaimed in areas of Africa where formal colonialism was deemed injudicious and fascism was installed in those areas of Africa where imperialism judged it feasible to maintain itself for some time, especially in Southern Africa. In the neo-colonial areas there was virtually no change except that the local reactionary forces were liberated - relatively liberated - so that Imperialism could use them as its local agents and watchmen to keep the masses under control, the age-old tactic of the relationship between uncle Sam and uncle Tom vis-a-vis the field "negroes". It is because we failed to grasp this historically proved truth, that no exploiter can willingly abdicate his position, that we are still in the already mentioned "vicious circle". This had to happen because we entrusted our fate to people who brought independence in brief cases and accepted it at mid-night.

We are, therefore, in our "vicious circle" whose character and mechanism is determined by the historical dialectical process we have seen as well as the contemporary character of that same process. Concretely, this "vicious circle" among other things, means that while our exploiters are going to the moon, manufacturing instruments of mass destruction which are intended for use against us and living in decadent affluence, our people do not have even the necessary supplies of the three basic necessities of decent living: shelter, clothing and food. The only thing our people have in abundance is air which our enemies are now polluting with fall-out from their weapons of mass destruction. This is why we must take up our rifle. There is no other way of breaking out of this situation. We know how countries like China, and Cuba have broken out of this situation while others like India, Bolivia etc. are still afflicted by the phenomenon of the "Vicious Circle". Meanwhile our wealth continues to flow towards Europe through the repatriation of profits on the foreign capitalist investments, interests on the loans they give to our national bourgeoisie, unequal exchange of commodities between us and the enemy as well as through the high import bill resulting from the expenditure of our national bourgeoisie on all sorts of luxury goods. In Southern Africa where fascism reigns, you get most miserable conditions for our people. They are not even recognised as human beings. Our people, especially in neo-colonial Africa, suffer from oppression at three levels: foreign,

local and natural. There is the foreign capitalist oppression where the value created by the labour of our people is expropriated through unequal exchange of commodities and more direct ways of exploitation. Then there is the exploitation of the imperialists' local agents, our national bourgeoisie. And then there is the natural oppression, through natural phenomena: disease, hunger, floods, drought etc. our people are entirely at the mercy of nature.

History is the dictionary of mankind. This is not in the bourgeois sense i.e. that history repeats itself. But in the sense that there are certain scientific laws that can guide one in planning one's course of action. One of them is that struggle, with armed struggle as its highest form, is the only way to end exploitation. A violent revolution was necessary in order to overthrow feudalism; violent revolutions have been necessary to overthrow colonialism in places like China and N. Korea; above all, a violent revolution was necessary to overthrow capitalism in Tsarist Russia. Africa cannot be an exception. The Singletons who come here to tell us that it is possible to get rid of exploitation by preaching, are only fulfilling their role as enemy agents - the role of confusing us. Therefore, to break out we need conscious, educated struggle, culminating in armed struggle. Most of black Africa's present leaders have failed to grasp this truth.

But what are our aims in this struggle? I can say without hesitation that we have three aims: liberation of those parts of Africa still under formal White rule, bringing about of a socialist revolution, in the present neo-colonial parts of Africa, resulting from a ruthless class struggle between the comprador capitalists on the one hand and the various strata of our oppressed masses on the other and finally, the unification of as much of Africa as is feasible. I must say that the present African leadership has failed in almost all the three aspects. We all know the problem in the liberation movement. The African governments are very lukewarm in their support for our oppressed brothers. The leaders of liberation movement themselves are mostly sell-outs-living in comfort in African capitals while the combatants go without food or clothing. There is not a single Ho Chi Minh among all the fighters. There appears to be no drive. What is happening in Frelimo currently is significant. Instead of shooting the enemy, these people are shooting each other, quarrelling among themselves over petty things, and divided by small things including women - white women. This is a tragedy - it is treason on the part of those involved. As for socialism, few people really understand what it is all about. Some people think that socialism means going back to primitive communalism; most African leaders are outright enemies of socialism. The great characteristic failure of the African leaders to do any good for their people is no less manifested in the question of African unification. Except for the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, all the talk about Pan-Africanism has remained empty rhetoric; it was hypocrisy to begin with. A most miserable example of this failure is the inability of the East African leaders to bring about an East African Union. Let us remember that year 1963 when our leaders solemnly declared to the World that they would federate before "1963 was out". Subsequently one of them said that they had been "fooling Britain" so that she gives independence to Kenya. I do not know who was fooling who, but the fact remains that they have failed; thus betraying the aspirations of our people to unite to become stronger. I am, however, sure that this unification will come about in changed circumstances. I am also absolutely

certain that the liberation struggle will intensify and that scientific socialism will emerge on the African continent as an irresistible force.

But we need a new man, a new approach and a new revolutionary theory to accomplish these tasks. This new man will have to come from the ranks of the youth. Hence the significance of youth revolutionary organisations like T.Y.L. and U.S.A.R.F. Such organisations must create this new African: full of initiative vision, courage, self-confidence and above all, armed with a scientific revolutionary theory. The exploitation we have been subjected to has created a certain type of Africa, the "native". This man, who is not even the pre-colonial African, essentially has no confidence in himself, he is easily bought, he is a flunkey, sometimes he borders on being a clown, in short he is an epitomisation of a comic-tragedy. This man must be killed and replaced by the new African. The weapon with which to kill this clown is mainly the weapon of ideology. Hence we must intensify ideological education. The "native" must be instilled with confidence and vision of a better life. He must be told where he came from, where he could go if he had the courage to, how other people have solved similar problems and how his present plight is not God-ordained. He must be taught to despise and reject his present condition as a "native", a "colonial" subject or "a neo-colonial" one and visualize himself as a man of honour in a future, strong, socialist Africa. He must be made to realise the great potentiality in him and the potential abundance of our land; he must be convinced of the latent happiness that Africa could bring to her people as well as the fact that the continuation of the present "vicious circle" is not inevitable. He must be encouraged to commit suicide as a "native" and resurrect as the new African. Only ideological education as well as revolutionary practice can do this. Once we indulge in action, along correct lines, we shall discover ourselves, our strength as well as the weakness of the enemy.

Before concluding, I wish to draw the attention of the comrades to a new danger with which I have personally come in contact: the danger of those few progressive Africans, "Marxists" etc., turning themselves into flunkies of other people who have accomplished their socialist revolutions - e.g. the Russians, the Chinese, Koreans etc. This danger is accentuated by the failure of proletarian internationalism and being replaced by national chauvinism on the part of many of the brotherly peoples that have accomplished their socialist revolutions. It is common to find many communist parties that are flunkies of one or the other of the existing communist states. Many of these parties are used as microphones or amplifiers by the big brothers. To give aid, some so-called socialist countries attach conditions designed to erode the independence of the recipient. This is a tragedy and it is harmful to the world socialist revolution. We must reject this categorically and thoroughly and we should send whoever tries to turn us into flunkies to hell. Our independence must be priceless. Our revolution must be made according to our local conditions and according to our analysis. This does not mean that we are chauvinists or racists. It in fact means that we understand the essence of Marxism: theory being determined by practice according to the concrete conditions.

Therefore, comrades, we must take up rifles to implement our ideals and emancipate our people so that they can also take an honourable place in the ranks of the free people of the World having overthrown age-old oppression and misery. This should not create the impression that there is a blue-print for the whole African Continent

to follow. One will find that in countries like Tanzania it might be possible to push from within because, at least, the Head of State is honest and willing to move provided he has got cadres. In other places where the leaders have clearly shown that they are incapable of understanding the nature of the problem, or are unwilling to tackle the problem, it is the right and duty of the revolutionary forces to order them out of the way.

Frantz Fanon on TOURISM

The national bourgeoisie will be greatly helped on its way towards decadence by the Western bourgeoisie, who come to it as tourists avid for the exotic, for big-game hunting and for casinos. The National bourgeoisie organizes centres of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie. Such activity is given the name of tourism, and for the occasion will be built up as a national industry. If proof is needed of the eventual transformation of certain elements of the ex-native bourgeoisie into the organizers of parties for their Western opposite numbers, it is worth while having a look at what has happened in Latin America. The casinos of Havana and of Mexico, the beaches of Rio, the little Brazilian and Mexican girls, the half-breed thirteen-year-olds, the ports of Acapulco and Copacabana - all these are the stigma of this depravation of the national middle class. Because it is bereft of ideas, because it lives to itself and cuts itself off from the people, undermined by its hereditary incapacity to think in terms of all the problems of the nation as seen from the point of view of the whole of that nation, the national middle class will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of manager for Western enterprise, and it will in practice set up its country as the brothel of Europe.

IRRATIONALITY AND MYOPIA
IN BOURGEOIS ECONOMIC THOUGHT.

An uninitiated patient usually tends to believe his own ideas dictated by his momentary pains or relief rather than the physician's diagnosis. His illusions, however, are soon dispelled when the hidden nature of his real illness comes to light. It may of course also happen that the physician himself fosters these illusions and, instead of treating the illness or even stating exactly its diagnosis, he merely prescribes some palliatives. The real value and "science" of such a physician is also soon disclosed. The duration of human illnesses and recoveries, as a matter of course, falls within the life of the patient and the physician too.

The duration of the diseases of the society and economy, and the time needed for the curing of such diseases, however, may spread over the life of a long series of subsequent human generations, that is over a whole historical period. Consequently, it may fall beyond the time horizon of the living generations (or part of them). The diagnosis and treatment itself can only be stated after the longrun tendencies have been revealed. Though the accumulated experience of human history and the scientific methods make it possible for everybody to get to know these tendencies, the length of the time horizon needed makes many people uninterested in such investigations. Though the sense of responsibility and care of parents for the fate of their children (and even grandchildren) are undoubted, this is not usually so for the fate of other people's children. In the case of the diseases of society one generation may suffer from the protraction or worsening of the disease. And since society is not a single homogeneous organism but consists of classes, and world society is made up even of nations and peoples, the disease may not affect equally the individual parts of this society, moreover, the very over-growth of one part may cause the atrophy of the other.

Thus it is no wonder that a specific type of the "physicians" of the sick society and economy has evolved which - even if he is not personally interested in the defence of the overgrown parts, acts as a proponent of symptomatic treatment, of palliatives, as an apostle of the "short run". We have witnessed the appearance of the "coffee" - theoreticians of underdevelopment, of the advocates of "mini-research" and "mini-programmes". For them the question of long-run dynamism, i.e. historical perspective and the whole socio-economic complex, i.e. the dialectic unity belong to the world of "political belief", "political religion" and not to the sphere of "exact" economics. It is obvious in this fashion that they will evaluate the rationally deduced conclusions too, merely because, instead of searching after new coffee markets and hunting for new creditors and donors, they emphasize the necessity of perspective and structural solutions and also comprise the socio-political aspects of further development.

Prof. T. Szentes.