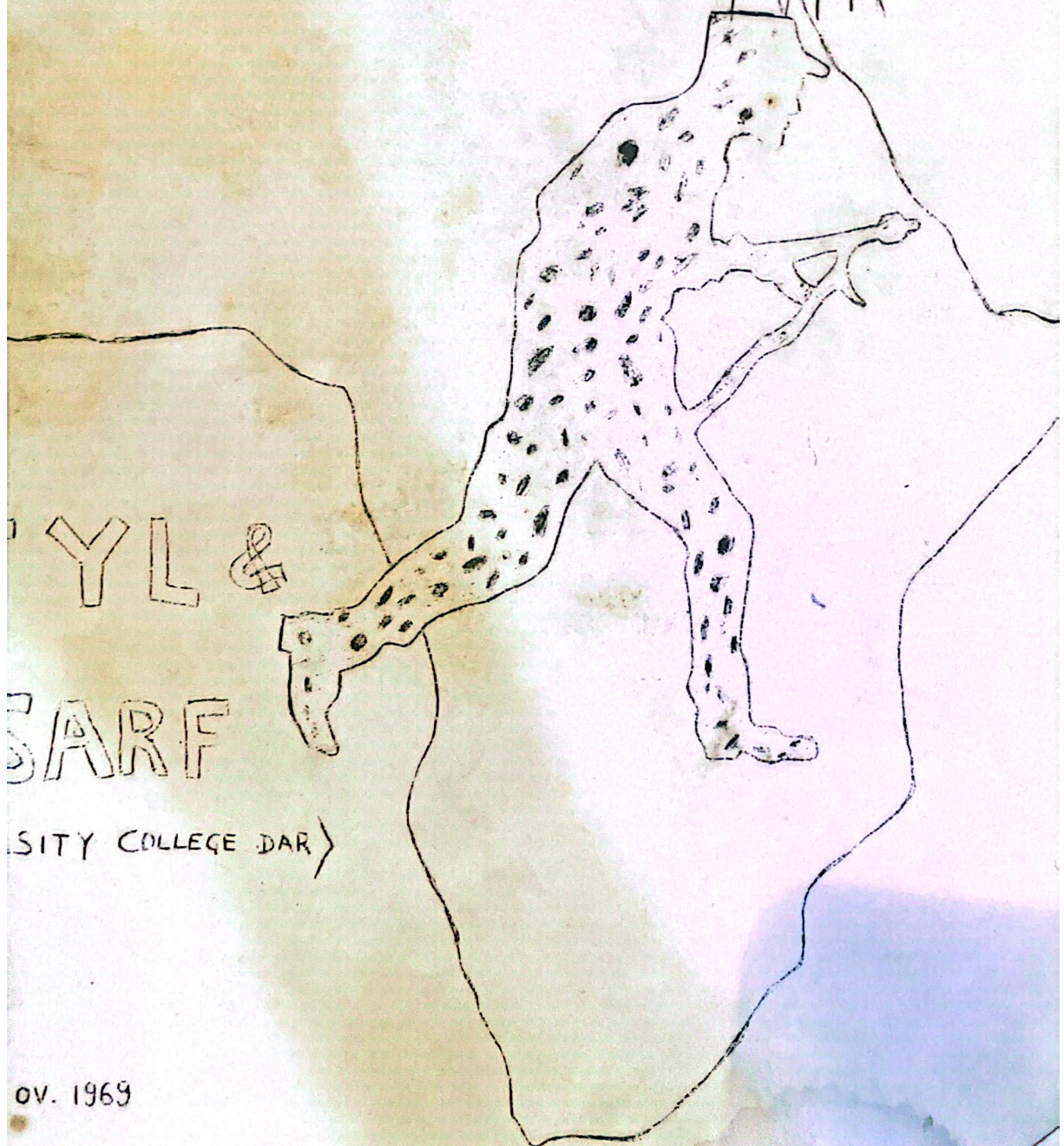


KARIM HIRJI
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IN A GIVEN HISTORIC SITUATION
THERE MAY BE A THOUSAND
WAYS TO SPEAK OF
THE REVOLUTION,
BUT THERE MUST BE
ONE NECESSARY CONCORDANCE
AMONG ALL THOSE
WHO HAVE RESOLVED TO MAKE IT.

*
* Regis Debray. *
*

C H E C H E

(The Spark)

July 1970

Issue No. 2.

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T A N Z A N I A

Editorial Board:

Karin Hirji
Henry Mapolu
Zakia Hamdani (Miss)

Cover and cartoons by R.N. Meghji.

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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

The seventies are here. And, not surprisingly, the dignified aura enveloping the word "independence" is less opaque and more hollow. The masses of Africa are rubbing their eyes, as if re-awakening from a drugged sleep. The heaven they were induced to believe in has not materialized. Instead neo-colonialism has cunningly crept in - in the form of military dictatorships or assorted varieties of "socialisms": African, Arab, Pragmatic, etc.

In this era of indecisiveness, when social antagonisms have not reached a level of explosive acuteness, at least as far as the awareness of the oppressed classes is concerned (and which appears to be at its nadir), and when clear views of the contemporary situation have not yet crystallized, it is most imperative for the politically conscious elements to tackle the most pertinent question: "Whither Africa?"

The current scene needs to be analysed, the nature of class struggle and imperialist domination be exposed. The reality has to be properly weighed and evaluated, and a clear theoretical understanding be obtained.

And this is not just for the sake of an academic exercise. A realistic and clear theory is an indispensable guide to successful action. The correct ideology has to spread in society in order to raise the general level of consciousness. For it is man who makes history. Though most of the time he is motivated and driven by sub-conscious socio-economic forces. But in times of radical change, the level of consciousness is exceptionally high.

Thus we contend that the centre of gravity of struggle for liberation to-day rests on the ideological front. It is on the level of ideas that the insurrection for emancipation begins. Revolutions in history have never been a spontaneous phenomenon. They begin as sparks and cumulatively culminate into a flame. And it is precisely the enlightened elements who kindle the sparks and constitute the vanguard of revolution.

It is a historical fact that generally the intellectuals in any society blew the trumpets of the ruling classes from whom they obtained their means of living. But it is also a historical fact that there have always been the "rebels" who have refused to be enslaved by the status quo and who have championed the cause of the oppressed. And in the exploited nations of the world to-day the general economic and cultural underdevelopment contribute negatively to any proliferation of intellectuals as such. Hence the struggle is a long and an arduous one.

The battle on the ideological front will be in two stages, though these are not distinctly separable. In the first one, the intellectual will struggle to rid himself of inherited ideas and struggle through a mist of confusion. He will be up against the defenders of the status quo and will have to consequently brave social ostracism, discrimination, etc. In the second stage, he begins disseminating revolutionary influence among the masses. And from here on the real

struggle can be said to have begun. Once the ball starts rolling, it will gather its own momentum and even outpace its initiators.

It is in anticipation of the future that we issue the clarion call to all progressives and others to revitalise themselves ideologically. The paucity of committed intellectuals in Africa is alarming. And by "intellectuals" we do not imply simply those with higher education only. Of course advanced knowledge is a necessity, for the complexities of nature and society are beyond the simple intuition of the layman. But intellectual is something more than just "intellect worker".

For it is precisely the ability of the intellectual to transcend the narrow fields of specialization and perceive the interrelationships between them in a holistic manner that marks him off from the intellect worker. Reason is the god of the intellectual. He judges everything around him by the standard of rationality. Thus we can say that the intellectual possesses a scientific attitude of doubt and investigation followed by theorization towards the world and life in general.

However, eagerness for the truth is only one of the qualities of an intellectual. The others are commitment and courage. He must have a social conscience, and be dedicated to a cause in the interest of humanity. Man is a social animal and the talk of an intellectual being "objective" and "impartial" is a myth. History disproves it.

In conclusion, though we do not advocate anarchy, it is submitted that the motto "Doubt Everything" is logical for a start. For it is only when one doubts and scrutinizes the current ideas and theories that a forward step can be made.

"Think, Read, Learn and Serve the Masses!"

SOCIALISM SHALL WIN!

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The Editorial Board expresses thanks
to T.Y.L. Headquarters for material
assistance rendered, and to all
comrades who have made the publication
of this issue possible by their untiring
efforts.

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THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

by D. Wadada Nabudere

What is the "African Revolution"? Many African politicians have spoken a lot about this concept, but it is submitted that the concept is and was understood in different ways by different people in different places. To some it meant freedom from colonialism in order to "fight poverty, ignorance and disease". To others it meant a mere milestone on "our march to progress" and yet to others it was seen as a prerequisite to the total liberation of a United Africa. Some of the more articulate African leaders have come to grips with the problem of the African revolution. Others have got confused by imperialist manoeuvres.

For our part the African Revolution was against a system: a system which had its roots in the past. On the face of it, it was a struggle against colonialism. But before colonialism the African people had been subjected to an even worse exploitation. We refer to the slave trade. Both these, things must be viewed together in order to understand the concept "African Revolution". In order that we may be able to understand this situation it is better to have a look at the African past.

The African Past

When the colonialists first set foot on the African continent they were puzzled by the people, the land, and all that went to make Africa what it was. To some Africa was a barbaric place, with the most primitive people then encountered by Western "civilisation". Yet to others Africa was a place where men lived in peace and was peopled by men of good heart.

To the colonialist who wanted a theoretical basis for the exploitation and enslavement of the people of Africa the first view was the better. R. Coupland who wrote standard history at the time on East Africa was just one who belonged to this school of thought. Writing around 1928, Coupland had this to say about Africa:

"A new Chapter of Africa began with David Livingstone. So far, it might be said, Africa proper had had no history ...The main body of Africans...had stayed for untold centuries, sunk in barbarism. Such, it might almost seem, had been Nature's decree. So they remained stagnant, neither going forward nor going back. The heart of Africa was scarcely beating".¹

This view expressed by Coupland was necessary for the Colonial enslaver, whose aim was to give a picture of the African in those colours they desired. The white colonialist then came in as liberator of the African giant which had been "asleep" for centuries. It was necessary as an ideology for enslavement.

1. R. Coupland: Quoted by Basil Davidson in "Black Mother" (Gollancz, 1961) page 176.

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AN OPEN APPEAL

Nabudere is a committed socialist now detained by Obote's government which claims to be moving to the left. If leftward movement is not only a traffic problem, one would expect leftists like Nabudere to be given the opportunity to play their role in building socialism in Uganda, let President Obote prove his genuineness by freeing these comrades.

While it was true that in terms of modern development Africa was no where to be compared to Europe, yet it was intellectual criminality to depict Africa as "stagnant neither moving forward nor backward". Any historian with a fair knowledge of the history of man through the ages, would easily see this "theory" of African history as contradictory in terms and against the law of motion of societies.

It is quite clear from more balanced and scientific material on this matter that the people of Africa had gone through the same phases or stages of evolution as any other part of the human race. Even much recent archaeological research by Leakey shows that man originated in East Africa. Yet hundreds of years before Coupland lay down on paper his "history" many travellers had seen Africa in a different light.

One of these travellers, who recorded his impressions, was an Arab by the name Ibu Batuta, who travelled widely in West Africa, India and China. Writing about the empire of Mali in West Africa, which he visited in 1532, he noted good organisation of the people, justice and security in this African Kingdom:

"There is complete security in the country. Neither traveller or inhabitant in it has anything to fear from robbers or men of violence. They do not confiscate the property of any white man who dies in their country even if it be uncounted wealth. On the contrary they give it into charge of some trustworthy person among the whites, until the rightful heirs take possession of it. They are careful to observe the hours of prayer and assiduous in attending them in congregations, and in bringing up their children to them".²

Slave Trade

Elsewhere in the African continent the people were organised in units of high social cohesion, either in Kingdoms or Empires. In terms of resources the colonialist found in Africa the strong muscled Negro and abundant minerals, ivory, etc. It was not the wealth in minerals which interested the colonialists at this time however. It was the slave they were interested in. All in all the slave traders of Europe and America carried between 50 and 60 million blacks to till their fields of cotton and sugar in the "New World" and the West Indies.

². Ibu Batuta: Quoted by Vernon McVay in "African in World Politics", (Harper & Row), page 3.

This aspect of African history — the slave trade — is important in understanding the forces that were later unleashed to make it possible for colonialism to be established. The slave trade, according to Karl Marx, set "the chief momenta of primitive accumulation" (of capital) which enabled the industrialisation of England in particular. He explained:

"Without slavery, you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their values, it is the colonies which create world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry."³

The position is put squarely. Without the African slave, there could have been no Industrial Revolution which has given rise to Western civilisation. Put the other way, it is Africa that liberated Europe and America from poverty.

But slavery was the forerunner of colonialism. Many colonialist theories would make us believe that slavery was "abolished" by the crusade of William Wilberforce and that an Act of Parliament was passed through British Parliament with the help of William Pitt to abolish slavery and the slave trade. At this is to try to turn the evil-doer into a do-gooder. It is quite clear from historical evidence that the slave trade was abandoned because it was becoming less paying while ivory was becoming more remunerative. As Du Bois has observed:

"The rising demand in England and America for the suppression of the slave trade in East Africa was not pure philanthropy. It was that 'philanthropy and 5 per cent' which was the transition from the century of capital from sugar plantations to colonial imperialism in Africa and Asia. The main end of both enterprises was the profit to the owner and exploiter, mainly at the expense of poverty, ignorance and pain for the slave and native subject".⁴

"and because of increased demand for it increased demand European and American traders set up establishments for buying ivory in Zanzibar..."⁵ Du Bois also observes that this was the beginning of colonialism:

"Curiously enough it was the ivory trade that stimulated and guided travel and discovery in Central Africa. Explorers followed the ivory traders, who were the true discoverers. Burton, Speke, Livingstone, Stanley and Comeron started from the Arab capital of Zanzibar. They followed the lines of traffic set up by the Arab ivory traders..."⁶

3. Karl Marx: "The Poverty of Philosophy" (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow), page 107.

4. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois: "The World and Africa" (International Publishers, New York, 1965), page 70.

5. Du Bois: Ibid, page 71.

6. Du Bois: Ibid, page 71.

Replaced Slavery

The establishment of colonies and the preceding scramble for Africa was carried out either by these "discoverers" or it followed immediately in their footsteps.

This then was the colonialism that came in to replace the slave trade. As pointed out, the colonialist found that instead of transporting the slave to the "New World" and to the West Indies it was better to utilise the African slave, first to carry his ivory to the coast, and then later to till cotton, coffee, tea, etc. on the African soil itself.

But the system which gave rise to this was CAPITALISM which had grown and reached the stage of IMPERIALISM. As Lenin observed, the old capitalism of "free competition" had given way to a new Capitalism of monopolies in which emphasis had turned away from export of goods to export of capital. This, he said, was due to "gigantic accumulation" of capital, creating an enormous "surplus capital", which as explained already, was itself created by the slave trade. He continued:

"As long as Capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, raw materials are cheap. The export of capital is made possible by a number of backward countries having already been drawn into world capitalist intercourse..."⁷

Exported Capitalism

From the above we conclude that colonialism was exported capitalism at its then highest stage of development which Lenin called Imperialism. The human horrors and exploitation that colonialism perpetrated on the African people were the doings of capitalism (imperialism). The stories of these horrors, atrocities and exploitative degradations have been very well documented.

One such description of the situation of colonial Africa was by Edmund D. Morel in his book "The Blackman's Burden":

"What the partial occupation of his soil by the white man has failed to do; what the mapping out of European political 'spheres of influence' has failed to do; what the maxim and the rifle, the slave gang, labour in the bowels of the earth and the lash, have failed to do; what imported measles, smallpox and syphilis have failed to do; whatever the overseas slave trade

7. Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. 22 (Progress Publishers, 1964), page 241.

failed to do, the power of modern capitalistic exploitation, assisted by modern engines of destruction, may yet succeed in accomplishing".⁸

Another was Ludwig Bauer, the biographer of King Leopold II the King of Belgium, who derived a vast fortune from the rubber of the Congo. Bauer reported one of the eye-witnesses who was agent of King Leopold II in the Congo as saying:

"Commandant Verstraetern visited my station and congratulated me warmly. He said his report would depend upon the quantity of rubber which I was able to provide. The quantity increased from 360 kilogrammes in September to 1,500 in October, and from January onwards it will amount to 4,000 per month, which will bring me in a monthly premium of 500 francs. Am I not a lucky fellow? If I go on like this, within two years I shall have earned premiums of 12,000 francs".

He continues: "S.S. Van Kerkhoven is coming down the Nile and will demand 1,500 porters. Unlucky niggers! I can hardly bear to think of them. I am asking myself how on earth I shall be able to hunt up so large a number". Then: "Marshes, hunger, exhaustion: How much blood will be shed because of this transport? Three times, already, I have had to make war upon the chiefs who would not help me to get the men I needed. The fellows would rather die in their own forests than as members of a transport train. If a chief refuses, that means war, with modern firearms on one side against spears and javelins on the other!"⁹

In East Africa where the "civilised" British were "claiming" territory, they did all in their power at whatever expense to the lives of the natives to establish their authority. The missionaries had already arrived in Uganda trying to clear the way for the British Colonial Government but they were meeting resistance from Muwanga of Buganda and Kabakega of Bunyoro. To quell this situation they hired Lugard, a well-known hunter and mercenary, take charge, and subdued the moslems in defence of christian missions. Although he was an agent of the British East Africa Company, he was the one who was responsible for annexing Uganda to Britain.

Capitalism in Europe

Capitalism at home in England and Europe had changed the situation so that the masses of the people of England had been forced off the land to become "free" sellers of labour instead of being villeins and serfs on the land. The enclosure system had already begun and this mass moved to the urban areas. So that on the home front capitalism had created a serious social situation.

In this context colonialism was seen by the colonialist expansionists as helping to solve this social problem at home: for colonialism would help to feed a few mouths of the landless proletariat. Colonialism, according to Cecil Rhodes, who was on the rampage in Central Africa (Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe) was a bread and butter question. He said:

8. Edmund D. Morel: "Black Man's Burden" reproduced by Louis L. Snyder in "The Imperialism Reader" (Van Nostrand, New York, 1962), page 164.

9. Ibid, page 213/4.

"I was in the East End of London" (working class quarter) "yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches which were just a cry for bread! bread! and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism ... My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e. in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists".¹⁰

This was the situation and the reasons behind colonialism are well stated by Cecil Rhodes. Capitalism had been ushered in by the "primitive accumulation" (of capital) of the slave trade. When capitalism reached a sufficiently expanded stage, colonialism followed, and so what we had in the colonies was capitalism exported from the "mother" country.

The political administration which was set up in the colonies was only necessary to enable the capitalist exploitation of the African continent in men, land, minerals and other natural resources. Whatever roads, hospitals, schools, towns were built, they were built to serve this capitalist exploitation; for they could not move the commodities without roads, without clerks, without fairly "healthy" labourers.

The Real Struggle

We have now come to a stage where we can see the system against which the African people fought when the struggle for independence was waged. From the preceding analysis we come to the conclusion that the struggle against colonialism was a struggle against capitalism exported to Africa, for it was capitalism which created the exploitation of the African people and continues to do so.

When the struggle for independence was about to bear fruit, the imperialists, saw that independence would ruin all their efforts to continue the exploitation of the African people. They therefore devised means of making sure that colonialism continues in new form under NEO-COLONIALISM. This they were able to do because they managed to confuse the African leaders and detached them from the masses who were demanding true UHURU. Instead of true UHURU the African masses only saw the "independence" of flags and "national" anthems.

In reality, therefore, what changed after the struggle for independence was a change in the faces of the people who ruled but behind these new faces the old order continued, as Nkrumah had occasion to ponder:

10. Quoted by Lenin in "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism" as reported by the journalist Stead.

Most Dangerous

"The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage... Old-fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished. It still constitutes an African problem, but it is everywhere on the retreat. Once a territory has become nominally independent it is no longer possible, as it was in the last century, to reverse the process. Existing colonies may linger on, but no new colonies will be created. In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism.

"The assence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.

"Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practise it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress".¹¹

This new phenomenon - NEO-COLONIALISM - then becomes a danger to the peoples of Africa. It adds to a long line of exploitation under different phases: SLAVERY - COLONIALISM - NEO-COLONIALISM. We see that although the exploitation appears under different phases and slogans, it is one and the same enemy perpetrating the exploitation. This common enemy is today the MONOPOLY CAPITALISM of Western Europe and America.

The African Revolution can be said to be and is indeed a struggle against the monopoly capitalism of Western Europe and America, which holds sway over the African people and resources under the new empire of neo-colonialism. It is a revolution against the whole system of neo-colonialism and all that it stands for. Our present-day revolution is clearly not one against "poverty, ignorance and disease" as many African leaders would say today, but it is a revolution against imperialism which is one and the same as fighting against monopoly capitalism.

While it is true that "poverty, ignorance and disease" are the scourges of Africa (but also of other countries) these scourges are not caused by themselves. We hold that poverty, ignorance and disease are the result of neo-colonialism and not vice-versa. To say therefore that our struggle today is against "poverty, ignorance and disease" is to put the horse before the cart, for it is precisely because of neo-colonialism that the people are poor, sick and uneducated. Any African leader therefore who puts these three scourges as the priority of the African Revolution can be said to be putting the priority consciously or unconsciously, upside down. Such a leader must be condemned as giving a welcome hand to the enemy for it is the imperialist who would like us to wage such "a struggle".

11. Kwame Nkrumah: "Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism" (Nelson, London, 1967), page XI.

Since the achievement of "independence" many a leader has recognised the fact that "the gap between the rich countries (i.e. the imperialist countries) and the poor countries of the world (i.e. the neo-colonies) is growing wider and wider each passing day". Surely then if "independence has not helped to close this "gap", then there must be something wrong with that "independence."

The tragedy of the situation however, is that very few African leaders agree that there is anything wrong with African "independence". Those who have feathered their nests and "fallen into things" at such a fantastic rate regard and correctly regard African "independence" as INDEPENDENCE. The masses of the people who have never had their nests feathered nor anything to "fall into" regard African "independence" as KIBARAKA (or false).

Contradiction

This contradiction therefore becomes apparent. On the one hand are some of the African leaders who have fallen under the strong influence of imperialism (neo-colonialism) and joined the monopoly capitalists to "hijack the African Revolution". On the other hand are the African masses who toil on their own land as the new slaves, but this time as peasants and the true proletariat of extended monopoly capitalism. This contradiction forms the centre of today's POLITICS of the AFRICAN REVOLUTION, a contradiction which has got to be resolved before Africa can regain its freedom

Having said all this, what then is the role of the youth in this revolution? Youth in life is a positive attribute in the world today. As Mao Tsetung has said:

"The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed in you",¹²

The youth everywhere in the world are waking up to take up positions as shock-troops of the exploited masses in order to change society from the old relations of slave and master, colonised and colonialist, proletariat and capitalist and today of the exploited people of the world and the modern monopoly capitalists. In America, Japan, France, Italy, etc. the youth have come up in a mighty force and are shaking the foundations of the society of those countries. As President Nixon of the United States has recently complained, the student revolt in his country might destroy the "American way of life".

Challenge

In Africa today the youth must also respond to this challenge of the African Revolution. This challenge is much more serious and the youth should be under no illusions. The forces of oppression are strong. The foreign exploiter has joined forces with a local clique to resist any change in the present day relations of the monopoly capitalist and the exploited African masses.

¹² 2. Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, First Edition (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966) page 288.

It is a revolution which will shake Africa to its foundation and create a new political situation in which the African masses will take an upper hand in the control of the politics of our countries. Today the masses of Africa are far removed from the politics of their countries. This is because the exploiter is still very much at home in Africa.

The new, second stage, African Revolution must therefore involve the African masses on a wider scale. As we have said already, when the imperialists at the time of independence realised the African masses might play a predominant role in the struggle for independence and wrestle away power from them they decided to convince a small clique to go over to London to "agree" on the constitution. The revolution was hi-jacked and the masses never knew what was brought back in the briefcases carrying the "constitutional instruments".

In the new African Revolution the masses must be mobilised again to smash this "briefcase revolution". The Youth must go back to the masses and educate them as to the new stage of our struggle, as to the enemy against whom they must organise. In doing so the Youth must educate themselves first in the ideology of the African Revolution. This ideology must be based on the ideas of Marx and Lenin and the new experience gained in the countries of China, Cuba, Korea and Vietnam.

Many African reactionary leaders are attacking Marxism — Leninism as "a foreign ideology", but this must not fool the Youth. They themselves have already embraced capitalism which is a foreign ideology. Socialism based on the ideas of Marx and Lenin is not foreign. The idea of working together and of regarding the African property as "ours" is clearly African. Foreign monopoly capital does not regard African property as "ours" but as theirs. Therefore socialism is as much African as it is say English or Chinese for the capitalist exploiting class is a recent phenomenon in the long history of human existence.

Today they regard themselves as "natural rulers" just as a few years ago the Kings everywhere in Europe, Africa, Asia and America regarded themselves as "natural rulers". But this lie has been exposed and the masses in many countries are beginning to see through this lie.

To accomplish the African Revolution, the Youth must be truly revolutionary and ready to join up with the masses in the struggle to rid Africa of exploitation. To quote Mao Tse-tung again:

"How should we judge whether a Youth is revolutionary? How can we tell? There can be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary..."¹³

Thus with the integration of the Youth with the exploited masses of Africa and with the grasping of the new ideology of the revolution the African Revolution will truly triumph and the Youth will have found their true role in the AFRICAN REVOLUTION.

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION!
DOWN WITH UHURU YA KIBARAKA!

13. Ibid, page. 291.

MY THREE YEARS IN TANZANIA

[Glimpses of the struggle between Revolution and Reaction]

by

Y. MUSEVENI

Having spent three years in Tanzania, one of the few African countries that are struggling against imperialism, it is probably necessary to lay down a resume of the activities we have been engaged in throughout the period. I will most of the time talk about my personal experiences and use them to illuminate the general struggle in which we, at the College, were engaged in.

Let me start by saying that before I came to Tanzania, I expected a lot, probably too much, of the Tanzanian Revolution. At a distance, one gets an exaggerated image of Tanzania's anti-imperialist stance. You get the image of clearheadedness regarding socialism, anti-imperialism, Pan-Africanism etc. You get the impression that most of the government leaders, ministers, top Civil Servants etc., are devoted cadres with a high level of political consciousness. You get the impression that this and that situation would never arise in Tanzania where so much is supposed to be happening. All such impressions, I have since discovered, are exaggerated. But how does one get them in the first instance? Tanzania's foreign policy is what creates these impressions. The violent reaction towards German arrogance, the breaking of diplomatic relations with Britain, the resolute support that Tanzania accords the Liberation movements in the South are all sources of pride and inspiration to African nationalists in other parts of Africa. Remember this African nationalist is starved of any dignity; he is a heir of oppressed, degraded, dehumanized ancestors. He is a relative of slaves both on the continent and abroad. Hence any act of defiance by an African state vis-a-vis the century old enemies of our people has got high marginal utility - sometimes it is exaggerated. It is against such background that we must understand the impressions of non-Tanzanian African nationalists who almost invariably over-evaluate Tanzania's militant anti-imperialist stand. This is, however, a dangerous attitude on our part because it can lead to disillusionment.

It was mainly because of this over-evaluation of Tanzania's achievements that while away home in Uganda, I was determined to come to Tanzania at any cost. I was so determined that I put University College, Dar es Salaam almost as my only choice on the University entrance forms. In fact, if, for any reason, I had failed to gain admission to University College, Dar es Salaam, I would not have gone to University at all. This is because I was not so much interested in going to a College as in coming to Dar es Salaam - to Tanzania. It is Dar es Salaam's atmosphere of freedom fighters, socialists, nationalisations, anti-imperialism that attracted me rather than the so called "academicians" of the University College, Dar es Salaam. I considered my stay at the College as a means of staying in Dar es Salaam.

While in Uganda, I had looked at Tanzania and President Nyerere's leadership as sources of inspiration to all the struggling people of Africa. Tanzania's militant anti-colonialist policy and President Nyerere's commitment to the formation of an East African federation made his leadership exemplary. I looked on Tanzania as Africa's Prussia and President Nyerere as our Bismarck. This was

in the days when my political views had not coagulated into an ideological outlook. I did not know, at the time, that unity by itself could not mean much; and that what mattered was whether the purpose of any political unit was to serve the people or imperialism.

Thus, expecting all this from Tanzania, I arrived at the College in July 1967. I was, almost immediately, disappointed on arrival at the College. I found that the students were lacking in militancy and were even hostile, not only to socialism, but even, at least some of them, to the whole question of African Liberation. At any rate there was no clear, militant commitment on the part of the broad sections of the student body. Instead, most of our extra-curricular time was taken up by frivolous activities: drinking, dancing and watching decadent Western films. I remember one occasion when I was really most unhappy. This was the time when Chief Albert Luthuli died. A service in his honour was organised at the Armatoglou Hall. Transport was provided to all students who wished to go and attend the service. Alas!! only a handful of us turned up - the majority being students from Southern Africa. Apathy towards, and ignorance of, many vital questions regarding the interests of the African people were the rules of the day. Teachers - sorry! - Lecturers and Professors - were particularly hopeless in as far as the interests of our people went. I remember one eminent American "scholar" - whose mannerisms were particularly obnoxious - once declared that "the Arusha Declaration" was "against national integration". To my surprise I saw some of the students taking down notes!

Against such a background, a group of us decided to form a revolutionary students' organisation. We first formed the Socialist Club. But this tended to be just a study group rather than being an action front as well. Tanu Youth League was at the time most ineffective and was very unpopular among students. Of course unpopularity, by itself, does not mean much; in fact it could be commendable if the unpopularity is due to a correct revolutionary stance taken by any concerned organisation to the detriment of reactionary forces. But, in this instance, TYL's unpopularity was due, most likely, to the lack of commitment on the part of, especially, the leaders. Many students felt, I do not know with how much justification, that TYL was a vehicle of opportunism. Around November 1967 we formed the University Students' African Revolutionary Front (USARF). Our aim was to encourage revolutionary activities in the college, and to transform the college from being a centre of reaction - where Mazrui's "two concepts of nationalisation" could be hailed as mark of great scholarship - to being a hot bed of revolutionary cadres. Cadres that would dedicate themselves, unto death, to the cause of the African Revolution. After we had just formed USARF, Stoke Carmichael paid a visit to Tanzania. He made a great impression on the students, having spoken several times under our auspices. We organised teach-ins, film shows and demonstrations in connection with the international anti-imperialist struggle. People like Rodney, Williams, Jagan, Mondlane spoke to the students on our platform and they made quite an impression on a number of students so much that we started posing a problem to the reactionary authorities in the College. I remember once when the authorities tried to prevent us from showing films on the struggle of the Korean people. But we resolutely frustrated their intentions and before long not only the Koreans, but the Cubans, Vietnamese, and Chinese comrades found their way to our forums. We waged a resolute struggle against the interests of imperialism to the extent that the reactionaries thought we were mad. The

imperialists were exasperated by our tenacity in frustrating their designs on the College. For instance, on one occasion we foiled the plan of the American imperialists whereby they had planned to bring to the College the arch-uncle Tom, Edward Brooke, whose intention was to dull our vigilance.

The formation of USARF was an important landmark in the anti-imperialist struggle on the campus, in Tanzania and indeed in the whole of East Africa. The campuses of East Africa had hitherto, been strongholds of reaction. With USARF, the strongholds of reaction were infected with the germs of revolutionary thought. And it is for this reason that the reactionaries on the campus, especially the authorities, were particularly hostile. Sister Revolutionary fronts were formed in Nairobi and Makerere. In Dar es Salaam we decided to wage a resolute struggle. One of the examples was our struggle against Rag Day when our militants engaged in a physical confrontation with the reactionary students who supported the Rag Day. We won victory after police intervention. Rag Day was cancelled and it has never been revived. This victory and the visit of our militants to the liberated areas of Mozambique raised our morale and dampened the morale of the reactionaries. We were generally on the offensive while the reactionaries were on the defensive as was, again, shown by our victory in the Law Faculty.

It was because of this in the latter part of 1969 and early '70, that the reactionaries conceived of a master-plan. I am one of those who believe in President Nyerere's wise leadership. It had always been our view that the President could be got to go further than the Arusha Declaration if he felt popular pressure demanded it. Indeed, he has, on many occasions, said that "the youth should always be on his left" — i.e. the youth, the army etc should drag him on to action rather than himself dragging the country. With the birth and flourishing of youth groups, like USARF, the possibility of further radicalization of the youth, and hence the satisfaction of the President's wish, existed to the irritation of the reactionaries. The reactionaries felt comfortable with the 1966 situation where most of the undergraduates appeared hostile to progressive measures. A situation where the youth, at least a group of them, were urging the President to move further to the left, to turn Tanu into a vanguard party, to arm the peasants etc was not to the taste of the imperialists and their local allies. The fears of the reactionaries were further heightened when, we started holding ideological classes every Sunday, publishing a paper and generally solidifying our revolutionary theory. To the reactionaries this was fraught with danger. Hence they conceived of a master plan: to create confusion between us and the President and portray us as a danger to the present Tanzanian government. The rumour of communists who wanted to form a communist party to oppose Tanu started spreading in town with snowballing effect leading to further distortions and amplifications. All sorts of slander was aimed at us. And then came the President's visit to the college. The ground had been prepared. The questions from among us were arranged in such a way, that the President had no alternative but to regard us as spoilt children who did not understand elementary facts about life. The President supported the Karadha scheme which we had opposed; the reactionaries were elated — we had been, according to them, crushed. But only one thing saved us — the President had not specifically denounced us which was the only thing the reactionaries wanted. During the second visit, they further pressed for this but to their bitter disappointment, the President began to realize that he was being used by the enemies of socialism to denounce his supporters.

And towards the end of my stay, USARF and TYL were as determined as ever before to continue to play their part in the struggle for the materialization of socialism that the Tanzanians are waging, — which I think is the only hope for the world's oppressed masses.

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

American sense of Justice

News-item: Daily Nation 30/5/70.

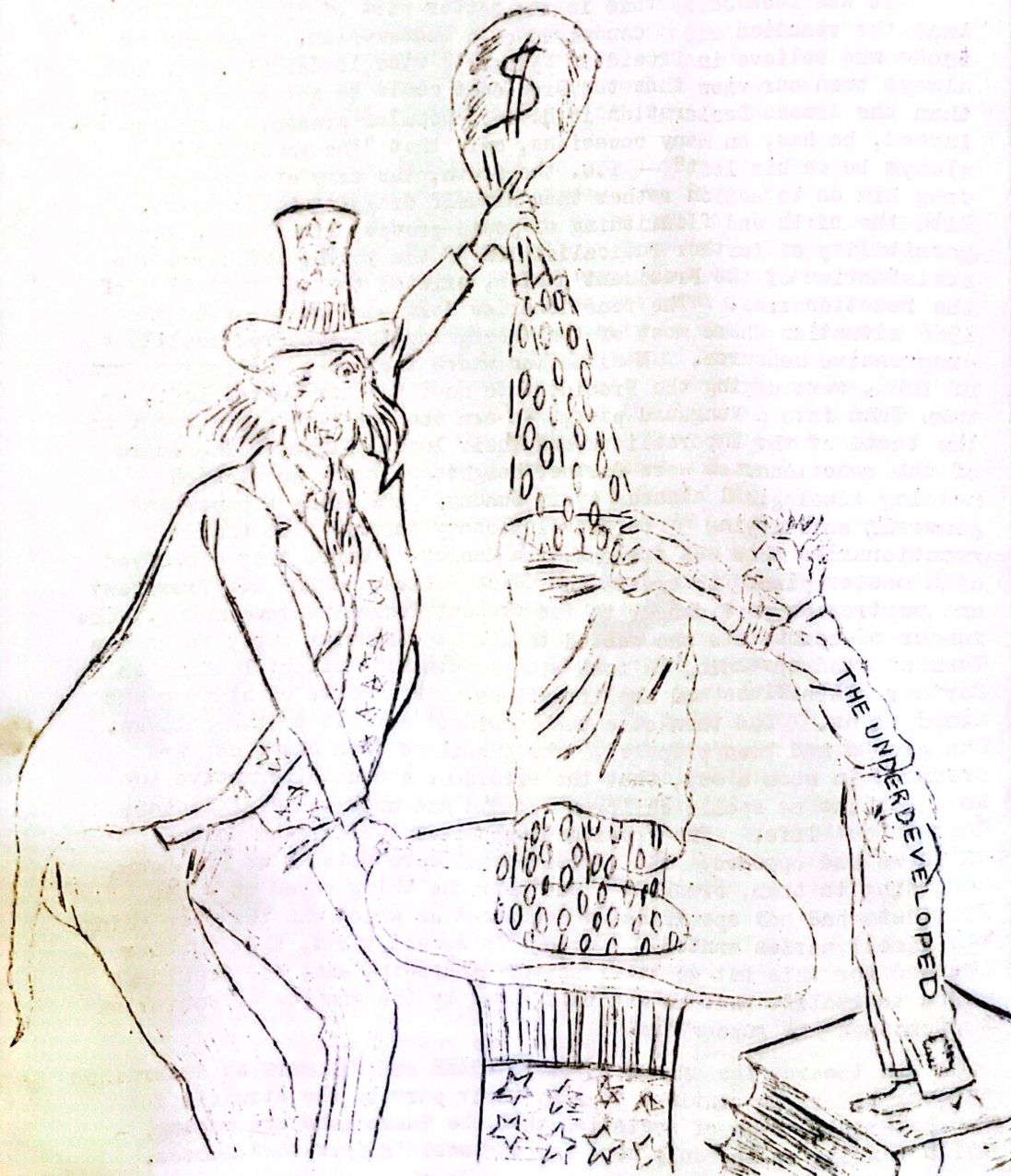
BIRMINGHAM (Alabama): An all-white jury has decreed the death penalty for a Negro convicted of robbing a White girl of 30 dollars and a wrist watch.

News-item: The Standard 22/6/70.

Da Nang: A young American marine was sentenced to life imprisonment (by an V.S. military court) for the murder of 12 Vietnamese women and children.

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U.S. "aid" <BY AZIZ - PAKISTAN>



HOW SOCIALIST IS SWEDEN?

By Dick Urban Vestbro and Gunnar Persson

Sweden is frequently referred to as a Socialist country or a country with a "mixed economy". People all over the world often look at the Swedish brand of political development as a "third way", avoiding the evils of both Capitalism and Communism. The Scandinavian countries are often labeled "welfare states", thus distinguishing them from other Western countries where unemployment, poverty and insecurity are supposed to be more frequent. What, then are the facts behind the concept of Swedish Socialism?

The Social-Democratic Party

To understand the development of the present political system in Sweden one has to analyse the role of the Social-Democratic Worker's Party (SAP), which has been in government almost continuously since 1932.

The SAP emerged as a result of the industrialization during the last two decades of the 19th century. Its program and organisational structure developed in revisionist direction along the same lines as the German SPD. Nevertheless, the SAP soon became a mass party, its field of action being confined to certain political aims of bourgeois nature (universal suffrage etc), while the labour union movement confined itself to pure economic struggles with a strict character of so called trade unionism.

Already during the first world war the SAP joined the Conservative government, which supported the "whites" against the "reds" in the Finnish civil war. The revolutionary minority which left the party after the first world war, never got any significant political influence on the SAP policy. The SAP did not become a revolutionary force because it never questioned the basic principles of capitalism. The party adopted the policy of peaceful transformation to socialism, accepting the bourgeois parliamentary system and the capitalist legal principles. By confining itself to rhetoric in the subordinate institution of the parliament and working entirely in accordance with the bourgeois laws, the SAP never challenged capitalism.

In Support of Monopoly Capital

When the SAP became the ruling party in 1932 it definitely ceased to be the instrument for revolutionary transformation in service of the working class. The reason why it managed to keep in power during a period when Sweden developed into what might be the most advanced capitalist country in the world, can be found in the "deal" with what was to become monopoly capital. A mutual confidence was built up between the SAP and the most sophisticated part of the bourgeoisie. The SAP has been allowed to exploit the reform potential existing in any expanding capitalist society. By accepting this, however, it has become a hostage of capitalism and a guarantor of its continued existence. The kind of reformism practised by the SAP requires a highly effective and productive economy.

One condition for high production, in its turn, is peaceful co-existence, which is said to characterize Swedish labour relations. This peaceful co-existence, which is the SAP

contribution to the joint venture with big business, is enabled only through a far-reaching centralization of the labour unions, in which internal democracy is almost completely eradicated. Today, the workers are confined to only three unions: LO for manual workers, TCO for white collar workers and SACO for professionals with academic degrees.

The above mentioned productive economy was provided by the big industrialists, whose expansion exceeded that of the petty traders. Following the trend in the whole capitalist world the Swedish economy is being transformed from competing capitalism to monopoly capitalism. In this capitalist transformation the SAP of Sweden has sided, not with the majority of the wage earners or the petty traders and peasants, but entirely and wholeheartedly with monopoly capital. It is doubtful whether there is any other government in the world, which has so successfully been assisting big business as the so called Socialist government of Sweden.

Fifteen Families Own Sweden

No doubt, capitalism in Sweden has produced wealth. Private Swedish capital accumulation has been tremendously high during the last few decades, mainly because of increased productivity, i.e. more baiting of the worker. It is well known that the living conditions of the Swedish working class have been improving constantly over the last 50 years. What is not so well known is that it has not been able to raise its portion of production. As the Swedish workers have been forced by big business and its "Socialist state to increase productivity, they have received an equal or less a portion of their work in salary. Under the pressure of the workers growing dissatisfaction with the Swedish government policy, the SAP some years ago appointed an "expert committee" to investigate the concentration of economic power in Sweden. This committee found that

One hundred of the largest private enterprises account for nearly half of the Swedish industrial manufacturing value and 20 of the largest industrial concerns have as great a proportion of the Swedish production as 100 of the largest West German concerns in its home market. Thus the relative concentration of the industry is considerably larger in Sweden than in the most important industrial nation of EEC. (From the official report).

These gigantic concerns are also being controlled by a smaller number of private persons. The report shows that most of these 100 companies are in the hands of 15 families. Through a series of legal and semi-legal manipulations these private families have managed to reach key positions in the Swedish economy. The most important instrument for this control are the Commercial Banks in their double capacity of distributors of credit and owners of the important sectors of the private commercial and industrial life. The 84 banks existing in Sweden 50 years ago, today have been reduced to 16, and 5 of these account for 84% of the annual turnover of all banks. The government owns only one commercial bank accounting for less than 12% of the total.

Chicken pastry

The concept of the "mixed economy" is a confusing one. State enterprise in Sweden constitutes only 5% of the total, i.e. less than any other European capitalist country. Thus the mixture is

like the famous chicken pastry: one chicken to one horse. It is important, however, to look into the nature of the state companies. The government owned companies are those that are not profitable for private ownership but still necessary for the Swedish economy. They comprise of electricity, post, telephone, public works and other forms of infra-structure necessary to the capitalist system.

Besides these, only a few big companies in the north of Sweden (mining, wood, iron works) have been nationalized, but not necessarily contrary to the wishes of the capitalists. The taking over of the iron mines in Kiruna and Gällivare (LKAB) made it possible, for example, for the private mining company Grangesberg to engage itself in a much more profitable joint American-Swedish venture in Liberia (the Lamco project). The meaning of state capitalism has been fully realized at LKAB, which is run according to such bureaucratic and authoritarian principles that it is even more exploitative than private companies. Therefore it is not astonishing to find that, in the wave of so called "wildcat" strikes, which swept Sweden at the end of 1969 and beginning of 1970 the mine workers at the government owned LKAB turned out to be the most militant in their strike actions.

The Janitor State

It is true, however, that the Swedish state is swelling. Big business needs a strong apparatus to carry out the process of transformation smoothly and without conflicts that might threaten the profit-making. Except for infrastructure, it is necessary to build up a tax system in favour of monopoly capital and a well organised trade union apparatus obedient to the capitalist demands. It is also in the interests of the capitalists to have a fine-meshed net of security for all those workers who suffer from the dictatorial behavior of big business.

Modern industry needs a healthy and skilled labour force, for what reason education, health services, social insurance, municipal housing etc are needed for the capitalists. The SAP claim that the reforms in these fields are carried out in contradiction to capitalist demands is ridiculed when comparing Sweden to other industrialized countries where exactly the same reforms have been carried out regardless of the kind of party in power. Very much of Swedish social legislation originates in the Bismarck philosophy rather than in any socialist principles.

We are forced to conclude that a big state machinery does not mean Socialism. The point is whom the state is serving. In the case of Sweden we can see that the state is nothing but a capitalist state. This does not mean that the SAP is full of sly agents of big business. It simply means that whatever good intentions and idealistic minds the party members have, the result of their efforts will be contrary to their wishes as long as they do not challenge the basic structure of capitalism.

Increased Exploitation

Whereas it is true that the workers benefit marginally from the capitalist development, it is true that many are suffering under the present system. One result, for example, is that large portions of the labour force are dismissed or forced to leave their homes and move to the centres of concentration: Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö-Lund. The whole north of Sweden, with its vast natural resources, is continuously being depopulated, neglected and exploited. In fact, the north can be regarded as internal

colony of Sweden. It is in the north that the iron ore and timber is being exploited. It is here where we find the lowest wages, the highest rate of unemployment and the lowest degree of service facilities. This development is profitable for a few capitalists but certainly not economical for the society as a whole.

An important criteria of socialism is an equal income distribution. When the SAP came into power, there were great hopes not only for socialization of the means of production, but also for an evening out of class differences. The introduction of progressive income taxes were good promises in that direction. Therefore the disillusion was striking when some observers found out that since 1950 the income differences have increased or been kept constant. In the last decade the government has not hesitated to introduce sales tax on almost all kinds of consumer goods. These taxes are regressive taxes as they strike hardest at the poorest strata of the population.

Bourgeois Democracy

But in the SAP as well as in the Conservative press the above facts are being concealed or distorted. In fact, almost all mass media are in the hands of big business or controlled by the new bureaucratic elite co-operating with the capitalists. This new strata of trade union bureaucrats has been formed to serve the collaborationist interest of the top officials in state and party. The so called workers' representatives are well paid white collar workers who socialize more with the directors of the big companies than with the workers who are said to elect them. The leader of the largest trade union, Arne Geijer, spends most of his time with private company directors and government officials. His salary is 4 or 5 times as high as that of an average worker. Thus the labour unions are no longer adequate instruments for channelling dissatisfaction.

The SAP has actually been in the vanguard of eradicating class-consciousness among the Swedish workers. Through a series of repressive laws for the labour market the Swedish government in co-operation with big business has eliminated almost any possibility of protesting against inhuman working conditions. Strikes are forbidden without the consent of the trade union leaders. Negotiations about new wage agreements are carried out by bureaucratic officials without consulting the workers. And this oppression is not made in the interest of the society as a whole but in the interest of capitalism. The SAP has built up an enormous election machinery which is efficiently controlling all the trade unions and most of the large interest organisations. Trade union members are, for example, automatical members of SAP. This situation and the fact that a revolutionary party does not exist in Sweden might explain why the SAP enjoys support of the workers at election time.

Swedish Imperialism

As a consequence of the tremendous capital accumulation, big business has to expand beyond its borders. In the period 1960-65 Swedish private investment abroad amounted to about \$400 million of which 30% went to so called developing countries. During the same period \$500 million went back to Sweden in the form of interests, dividends, provisions, licence fees, royalties, patent etc. One of the most favoured countries for Swedish investment is South Africa, where, for example, Avesta Iron Works co-operativ

with Anglo-American Corporation, and ASEA company co-operates with De Beers Consolidated Mines, thus strengthening the apartheid regime. Another very favoured country is Portugal, where Sweden accounted for almost 10% of all foreign investment in 1965.

These investments are made with the consent of the Swedish government. In 1967 a new bill was passed in the parliament providing for so called investment guarantees for private companies abroad. In simple terms this means that if a private company in an underdeveloped country makes exorbitant profits it is to be congratulated, but if the same exploiting firm is being nationalised by a revolutionary or a progressive government the Swedish taxpayers are going to provide the profits for the capitalists. Swedish capitalism has reached its imperialist stage and the Social-Democrats go all the way with it.

Foreign Aid in Favour of Capitalism

Besides private capital, state capital has started to flow out of Sweden. This is in the form of "foreign aid", channelled through the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA). The idealistic Swedish youth promoted this development sincerely believing in its genuine character. But there were other interests behind foreign aid too. This was big business, which came into the picture at an early stage in order to see to it that foreign aid would be profitable to them.

Already at the beginning of the 1950's a Swedish government representative, Sixten Heppling, explained to the industrialists that foreign aid to so called developing countries was necessary for opening up new markets for Swedish private companies. In 1953 he said: "It is clear to more and more people that foreign aid to the underdeveloped countries at the same time as it is an essential precondition for the survival of all of us, it also implies direct economic advantages for the giving part as it offers new possibilities of contacts with new markets." Mr Heppling also said: "In the old times trade was said to accompany the flag. Today we can say with considerable justification that trade follows the expert and the scholarship student." It was exactly this Social-Democrat who got the government commission to build up Swedish foreign aid policy.

It is said that Swedish aid is without strings. Even if no formal strings are attached to the SIDA projects, however, most of them still increase profits for private Swedish capitalists. The present director of SIDA, Ernst Michnek, has officially stated that "it is no exaggeration to say that about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Swedish bilateral assistance in fact results in the use of Swedish services or in the supply of Swedish goods." - "Also multilateral assistance leads to the purpose of services and goods in Sweden, especially concerning the activity of the World Bank Group. Until now, assistance through this group has resulted in orders of more than 600 million Swedish kronor (\$ 120 million), in other words, orders amounting to more than our total assistance to the World Bank Group."

Birth Control for the Coloured Peoples

The most popular form of Swedish aid is for so called family planning. Second to USA, Sweden has the highest number of family planning projects in the world. And the Liberals and Social-

Democrats are pushing for more. The motive behind this policy is the phsterical fixation at the so called population explosion in Africa, Asia and Latin America, presumably threatening the security of the wealthy part of the world. Many "experts" of Swedish foreign aid give birth control priority over any other kind of assistance, often pursuing their arguments with racist overtones. One of the most revealing statements was made in 1965 by Marianne Hook in "Aftonbladet", the big Labour Union evening paper:

The limitation of children in the underdeveloped countries must follow quite other principles than the conventional ones. Research is showing us new ways: General sterility which can only be stopped by fertility pills. Vaccination with long term effect. Medicine via the drinking water. Radiation. Spraying from the air. The individual, voluntary way, the method of persuading in the mud hut is no longer possible. We are cheating ourselves.

The previous Minister in charge of foreign aid, Ulla Lindstrom, was not ashamed to publicize the following statement:

I think we dare say that it would be pleasant if this country with its well balanced population also in the future will be inhabited by our descendants without a too violent mixture of foreign human elements....

Revolutionary Youth

But the Capitalist-Imperialist system of Sweden also produces the base for its own destruction. In the very centre of the system large groups of youth, students and workers have found that the story about Swedish Socialism is a big myth. Interestingly enough the insight about the nature of Swedish capitalism has come via South Africa and Viet Nam.

At the beginning of the 1960's about 95% of the organised Swedish youth (more than 2 million people) waged a consumers' boycott against South African goods sold in Sweden. This campaign was waged in opposition to the government, which refused to stop importing South African goods or take any effective measures against the racist regime. After about two years the campaign had succeeded in bringing down the consumption of South African fruit, jam, wine, tobacco and other items to about half of the previous value. This was considered as a success by the Swedish youth organisations. During the same time, however, Swedish private investment in South Africa exceeded by far the reduced import from South Africa so as to invalidate the achievements of the radical youth. This event turned a large portion of the students and youth of Sweden into militant anti-imperialists.

Even more instrumental in this process of demystification has been the war in Vietnam and the Swedish government's relation to U.S. imperialism. The Swedish movement in support of the NLF of Vietnam has caused the government more trouble than any other movement, because it has completely revealed the Swedish government as a puppet of U.S. imperialism. In 1966, when the U.S. launched one of its famous escalations of the bombings of North Vietnam, the Swedish Prime Minister, Tage Erlander, said: "We regret that U.S.A. feels it necessary to take such drastic actions." He did not condemn the bombings, he did not protest, he only regretted. When, however, a young revolutionary in support of the Vietnamese

in anger cracked some window panes of the American Embassy in Stockholm, the Prime Minister felt obliged to state: "We are ashamed, the whole nation is ashamed of this criminal deed against the American Embassy and we convey our apology." He did not regret that the young man had to take such drastic actions, he was ashamed. Not until the Swedish NLF groups had grown into a militant national movement threatening the unity of the Social-Democratic Party, and not until all bureaucratic and propagandistic means had failed to curb the genuine support of the Vietnamese struggle, did the Swedish government feel obliged to protest against the bombings of North Vietnam and recognise the government in Hanoi.

Pressured by the radical opinion, the Swedish government in 1969 also felt obliged to offer foreign aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The negative reaction in the U.S. following this decision immediately made the Swedish government send the Prime Minister-to-be Olof Palme and the Labour Union leader Arne Geijer to U.S.A. on a good-will mission in order to "explain" the government's position on Vietnam. The government also tried to change the decision so that North Vietnam would not get the money until after the war was finished.

Class Struggle in Sweden Intensifies

All these events treacherous to the oppressed peoples of the world revealed to the students and youth the imperialist and capitalist nature of Swedish society. For this reason the interest of the students turned more and more to the class struggle of the Swedish workers. In an attempt to avoid the inevitable the bourgeois mass media tried to prevent the contacts between radical students and the workers, but recent events in the labour market has shown that the radical ideas have reached also the places of work and housing areas.

The two-months-strike of 4,200 mine workers of LKAB totally liquidated the image of peaceful co-existence between capital and labour, which so long has nourished reformist minds. In these conflicts the Swedish class structure appeared in all its nakedness. The employers Association (SAF) was supported in all essential issues by the government, the Labour Union officials and the Social-Democratic press: all hunting the striking workers, who stood perfectly united behind their demands for human working conditions and a decent payment.

For the first time for several decades the reformist line in Swedish political development has been seriously challenged. Simultaneously the lack of a genuine revolutionary party has been felt harder than before. Only if the left in Sweden can unite in a revolutionary party of both workers and students there can be hope for a socialist transformation of the Swedish society.

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ON THE OCCASION OF LENIN'S CENTENARY

..... Ah, Lenin,

Life and that more abundantly, thou Fire of Freedom! Firelike in your purity and heaven-seeking vehemence; Yet the adjective must not suggest merely meteoric, Spectacular - not the flying sparks, but the intense Glowing core of your character, your large and splendid stability, Made you the man you were - the live heart of all humanity! Spirit of Lenin, light on this city now! Light up this city now!

H. McDiarmid.

MATHEMATICS AND IDEOLOGY

by Shiraz Ramji

It is almost platitudinal to assert that the natural sciences in general and mathematics in particular are not "contaminated" by ideologies of any sort. Of course, the social sciences are dominated by ideological issues and assumptions. But, from my personal experience during teaching-practice, I came to the conclusion that even the apparently "neutral" subject as mathematics is susceptible to the influences of prevailing social ideologies of the time. Judge for yourself from the illustrations that are submitted below.

A. Neo-colonial Maths.

1. A money-lender charges £3 for lending £36 for 8 months; what will he charge for lending £40 for 9 months?
2. A man buys a house for £1650 and receives £132 rent a year for it. Find the ratio of the annual rent to the purchase price.
3. Find the ratio of the distances from London of Portsmouth (70 miles) and of Leicester (98 miles).

These examples are from General Arithmetic for Schools by Durell which continues to be taught in our schools! Aren't they permeated by capitalist values and "mother-country" type orientation?

B. Socialist Maths

1. For the year 1970, the government is to spend 783,750 Shs. for the education of 570 pupils at Pugu Secondary school. How much money (collected through taxation from peasants and workers) does the government spend on the education of one pupil? If 24 pupils fail the annual examinations how much money is mis-spent?
2. In 1969, there were 40,000 industrial workers in Tanzania. According to second FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN, the number of industrial workers will increase to 60,000 in 1974. What is the rate increase of industrial workers in Tanzania per year?
3. An Ujamaa Village has the area of $818\frac{1}{2} \times 93\frac{1}{4}$ square meters. One square meter of land produces $\frac{1}{4}$ kgm. of rice. Find the total amount of rice produced by the village.
4. A length of road from Pugu Sec. School to Minaki Sec. School can be constructed in 45 days through SELF HELP by 280 youths. How many youths would be needed to complete the work in 36 days?

These examples were devised by myself, having obtained the figures from various sources. The examples are realistic, nationalistic in content and socialistic in outlook. They tended to evoke more positive response from the pupils, so much so that some even argued about the validity of the figures supplied, and made their own estimates.

Fellow teachers, isn't it time that we discarded the old habits and methods to embark upon the new.....

REVOLUTION IN GUINEA BISSAU =====

In Africa, the fight against colonialism still goes on. Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Guinea Bissau are scenes of armed guerrilla war which intensifies day by day. In this issue, we focus on, and highlight the situation in the last mentioned country.

Guinea Bissau is comparatively small in size with a population of about one million. Its contact with Western capitalism ranges back to the days of the barbarous slave trade, though it is 1886 that it was formally proclaimed as a Portuguese colony. The Portuguese rule has never been a stable one, being continuously marked by revolts of the indigenous people.

"Economically, the colony was run as an appendage of Portugal - or rather of the monopolist trading company, the Uniao Fabril - which supplied Portugal with cheap colonial imports in return for Portuguese exports, the terms of trade fixed in order to turn the balance of payments as favourably to Portugal as was possible.

This structure could obviously allow only the most minimal 'development' in the way that Africans lived, and there was never any question of lowering the profits of the colonial enterprise in order to raise the standards of African life. Worse still, a considerable segment of the rural population - again as in Mozambique and Angola - was forced to cultivate cash crops for export at fixed prices: in the years before the war began here, perhaps as many as 50,000 African families in Guinea were producing groundnuts under these conditions. As elsewhere in Africa, this cultivation of cash crops for export cut severely into the domestic food supply, and deepened the poverty and malnutrition of the peasants." (The Liberation of Guinea, by Basil Davidson, p. 26-27).

Against this background the P.A.I.G.C. (African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) was formed in 1956, with Amilcar Cabral being one of the founder members. After receiving a deaf ear at all attempts to get a hearing from the Portuguese, they passed on to armed struggle in 1963. Prior to this, dock-workers in Bissau had staged a strike in 1959 for better living conditions. They were brutally forced back to work with about fifty of them losing their lives.

P.A.I.G.C. encountered difficulties in getting established in the countryside; and was subject to suspicion. However, intensive work by political cadres in spreading revolutionary ideas among the peasantry and explaining the need for an armed struggle led to its consolidation. By 1966 it was resting firmly on peasant support. In the meantime, the size of the Portuguese garrison had increased considerably: from 1,000 in 1961 to 30,000 in 1967.

Utilising material support from friendly African countries and socialist nations, but mainly relying on its own resources, PAIGC had by January 1969 liberated nearly two-thirds of the country, with other areas still being contested. Only in towns and fortified camps was Portuguese rule still dominant.

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THE WEAPON OF THEORY

By AMILCAR CABRAL

Address delivered to the first Tricontinental Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana in January 1966.

If any of us came to Cuba with doubts in our mind about the solidity, strength, maturity and vitality of the Cuban Revolution, these doubts have been removed by what we have been able to see. Our hearts are now warmed by an unshakable certainty which gives us courage in the difficult but glorious struggle against the common enemy: no power in the world will be able to destroy this Cuban Revolution, which is creating in the countryside and in the towns not only a new life but also — and even more important — a New Man, fully conscious of his national, continental and international rights and duties. In every field of activity the Cuban people have made major progress during the last seven years, particularly in 1965, Year of Agriculture.

We believe that this constitutes a particular lesson for the national liberation movements, especially for those who want their national revolution to be a true revolution. Some people have not failed to note that a certain number of Cubans, albeit an insignificant minority, have not shared the joys and hopes of the celebrations for the seventh anniversary because they are against the Revolution. It is possible that others will not be present at the celebrations of the eighth anniversary but we would like to state that we consider the 'open door' policy for enemies of the Revolution to be a lesson in courage, determination, humanity and confidence in the people, another political and moral victory over the enemy; and to those who are worried, in a spirit of friendship, about the dangers which may be involved in this exodus, we guarantee that we, the peoples of the countries of Africa, still completely dominated by Portuguese colonialism, are prepared to send to Cuba as many men and women as may be needed to compensate for the departure of those who for reasons of class or of inability to adapt have interests or attitudes which are incompatible with the interests of the Cuban people. Taking once again the formerly hard and tragic path of our ancestors (mainly from Guinea and Angola) who were taken to Cuba as slaves, we would come now as free men, as willing workers and Cuban patriots, to fulfil a productive function in this new, just and multi-racial society, and to help and defend with our own lives the victories of the Cuban people. Thus we would strengthen both all the bonds of history, blood and culture which unite our peoples with the Cuban people, and the spontaneous giving of oneself, the deep joy and infectious rhythm which make the construction of socialism in Cuba a new phenomenon for the world, a unique and, for many unaccustomed event.

We are not going to use this platform to rail against imperialism. An African saying very common in our country says: "When your house is burning, it's no use beating the tom-toms." On a Tricontinental level, this means that we are not going to eliminate imperialism by shouting insults against it. For us, the best or worst shout against imperialism whatever its form, is to take up arms and fight. This is what

we are doing, and this is what we will go on doing until all foreign domination of our African homelands has been totally eliminated.

Our agenda includes subjects whose meaning and importance are beyond question and which show a fundamental preoccupation with struggle. We note, however, that one form of struggle which we consider to be fundamental has not been explicitly mentioned in this programme, although we are certain that it was present in the minds of those who drew up the programme. We refer here to the struggle against our own weaknesses. Obviously, other cases differ from that of Guinea; but our experience has shown us that in the general framework of daily struggle this battle against ourselves — no matter what difficulties the enemy may create — is the most difficult of all, whether for the present or the future of our peoples. This battle is the expression of the internal contradictions in the economic, social, cultural (and therefore historical) reality of each of our countries. We are convinced that any national or social revolution which is not based on knowledge of this fundamental reality runs grave risk of being condemned to failure.

When the African peoples say in their simple language that "no matter how hot the water from your well, it will not cook your rice", they express with singular simplicity a fundamental principle, not only of physics, but also of political science. We know that the development of a phenomenon in movement, whatever its external appearance, depends mainly on its internal characteristics. We also know that on the political level our own reality — however fine and attractive the reality of others may be — can only be transformed by detailed knowledge of it, by our own efforts, by our own sacrifices. It is useful to recall in this Tricontinental gathering, so rich in experience and example, that however great the similarity between our various cases and however identical our enemies, national liberation and social revolution are not exportable commodities; they are, and increasingly so every day, the outcome of local and national elaboration, more or less influenced by external factors (be they favourable or unfavourable) but essentially determined and formed by the historical reality of each people, and carried to success by the overcoming or correct solution of the internal contradictions between the various categories characterising this reality. The success of the Cuban revolution, taking place only 90 miles from the greatest imperialist and anti-socialist power of all time, seems to us, in its content and its way of evolution, to be a practical and conclusive illustration of the validity of this principle.

However we must recognise that we ourselves and the other liberation movements in general (referring hereabove all to the African experience) have not managed to pay sufficient attention to this important problem of our common struggle.

The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements — which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform — constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest.

weakness of all. We believe, however, that a sufficient number of different experiences has already been accumulated to enable us to define a general line of thought and action with the aim of eliminating this deficiency. A full discussion of this subject could be useful, and would enable this conference to make a valuable contribution towards strengthening the present and future actions of the national liberation movements. This would be a concrete way of helping these movements, and in our opinion no less important than political support or financial assistance for arms and suchlike.

It is with the intention of making a contribution, however modest, to this debate that we present here our opinion of the foundations and objectives of national liberation in relation to the social structure. This opinion is the result of our own experiences of the struggle and of a critical appreciation of the experiences of others. To those who see in it a theoretical character, we would recall that every practice produces a theory, and that if it is true that a revolution can fail even though it be based on perfectly conceived theories, nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory.

Those who affirm — in our case correctly — that the motive force of history is the class struggle would certainly agree to a revision of this affirmation to make it more precise and give it an even wider field of application if they had a better knowledge of the essential characteristics of certain colonised peoples, that is to say peoples dominated by imperialism. In fact in the general evolution of humanity and of each of the peoples of which it is composed, classes appear neither as a generalised and simultaneous phenomenon throughout the totality of these groups, nor as a finished, perfect, uniform and spontaneous whole. The definition of classes within one or several human groups is a fundamental consequence of the progressive development of the productive forces and of the characteristics of the distribution of the wealth produced by the group or usurped from others. That is to say that the socio-economic phenomenon 'class' is created and develops as a function of at least two essential and interdependent variables — the level of productive forces and the pattern of ownership of the means of production. This development takes place slowly gradually and unevenly, by quantitative and generally imperceptible variations in the fundamental components; once a certain degree of accumulation is reached, this process then leads to a qualitative jump, characterised by the appearance of classes and of conflict between them.

Factors external to the socio-economic whole can influence, more or less significantly, the process of development of classes accelerating it, slowing it down and even causing regressions. When, for whatever reason, the influence of these factors ceases, the process reassumes its independence and its rhythm is then determined not only by the specific internal characteristics of the whole, but also by the resultant of the effect produced in it by the temporary action of the external factors. On a strictly internal level the rhythm of the process may vary, but it remains continuous and progressive. Sudden progress is only possible as a function of violent alterations — mutations — in the level of productive forces or in the pattern of ownership. These violent transformations carried out within the process of

development of classes, as a result of mutations in the level of productive forces or in the pattern of ownership, are generally called, in economic and political language, revolutions.

Clearly, however, the possibilities of this process are noticeably influenced by external factors, and particularly by the interaction of human groups. This interaction is considerably increased by the development of means of transport and communication which has created the modern world, eliminating the isolation of human groups within one area, of areas within one continent, and between continents. This development, characteristic of a long historical period which began with the invention of the first means of transport, was already more evident at the time of the Punic voyages and in the Greek colonisation, and was accentuated by maritime discoveries, the invention of the steam engine and the discovery of electricity. And in our own times, with the progressive domesticization of atomic energy it is possible to promise, if not to take men to the stars, at least to humanise the universe.

This leads us to pose the following question: does history begin only with the development of the phenomenon of class, and consequently of class struggle? To reply in the affirmative would be to place outside history the whole period of life of human groups from the discovery of hunting, and later of nomadic and sedentary agriculture, to the organisation of herds and the private appropriation of land. It would also be to consider — and this we refuse to accept — that various human groups in Africa, Asia and Latin America were living without history, or outside history, at the time when they were subjected to the yoke of imperialism. It would be to consider that the peoples of our countries, such as the Balantes of Guinea, the Coaniamas of Angola and the Macondes of Mozambique, are still living today — if we abstract the slight influence of colonialism to which they have been subjected — outside history, or that they have no history.

Our refusal, based as it is on concrete knowledge of the socio-economic reality of our countries and on the analysis of the process of development of the phenomenon 'class', as we have seen earlier, leads us to conclude that if class struggle is the motive force of history, it is so only in a specific historical period. This means that before the class struggle — and necessarily after it, since in this world there is no before without an after — one or several factors was and will be the motive force of history. It is not difficult to see that this factor in the history of each human group is the mode of production — the level of productive forces and the pattern of ownership — characteristic of that group. Furthermore, as we have seen, classes themselves, class struggle and their subsequent definition, are the result of the development of the productive forces in conjunction with the pattern of ownership of the means of production. It therefore seems correct to conclude that the level of productive forces, the essential determining element in the content and form of class struggle, is the true and permanent motive force of history.

If we accept this conclusion, then the doubts in our minds are cleared away. Because if on the one hand we can see that the existence of history before the class struggle is guaranteed, and thus avoid for some human groups in our countries — and

perhaps in our continent — the sad position of being peoples without any history, then on the other hand we can see that history has continuity, even after the disappearance of class struggle or of classes themselves. And as it was not we who postulated — on a scientific basis — the fact of the disappearance of classes as a historical inevitability, we can feel satisfied at having reached this conclusion which, to a certain extent, re-establishes coherence and at the same time gives to those peoples who, like the people of Cuba, are building socialism, the agreeable certainty that they will not cease to have a history when they complete the process of elimination of the phenomenon of 'class' and class struggle within their socio-economic whole. Eternity is not of this world, but man will outlive classes and will continue to produce and make history, since he can never free himself from the burden of his needs, both of mind and of body, which are the basis of the development of the forces of production.

The foregoing, and the reality of our times, allow us to state that the history of one human group or of humanity goes through at least three stages. The first is characterised by a low level of productive forces — of man's domination over nature; the mode of production is of a rudimentary character, private appropriation of the means of production does not yet exist, there are no classes, nor, consequently, is there any class struggle. In the second stage, the increased level of productive forces leads to private appropriation of the means of production, progressively complicates the mode of production, provokes conflicts of interests within the socio-economic whole in movement, and makes possible the appearance of the phenomenon 'class' and hence of class struggle, the social expression of the contradiction in the economic field between the mode of production and private appropriation of the means of production. In the third stage, once a certain level of productive forces is reached, the elimination of private appropriation of the means of production is made possible, and is carried out, together with the elimination of the phenomenon 'class', and hence of class struggle; new and hitherto unknown forces in the historical process of the socio-economic whole are then unleashed.

In politico-economic language, the first stage would correspond to the communal agricultural and cattle-raising society, in which the social structure is horizontal, without any state; the second to feudal or assimilated agricultural or agro-industrial bourgeois societies, with a vertical social structure and a state; the third to socialist or communist societies, in which the economy is mainly, if not exclusively, industrial (since agriculture itself becomes a form of industry) and in which the state tends to progressively disappear, or actually disappears, and where the social structure returns to horizontality at a higher level of productive forces, social relations and appreciation of human values.

At the level of humanity or of part of humanity (human groups within one area, of one or several continents) these three stages (or two of them) can be simultaneous, as is shown as much by the present as by the past. This is a result of the uneven development of human societies, whether caused by internal reasons or by one or more external factors exerting an accelerating or slowing-down influence on their evolution. On the other hand, in the historical process of a given socio-economic whole each of

the abovementioned stages contains, once a certain level of transformation is reached, the seeds of the following stage.

We should also note that in the present phase of the life of humanity, and for a given socio-economic whole, the time sequence of the three characteristic stages is not indispensable. Whatever its level of productive forces and present social structure, a society can pass rapidly through the defined stages appropriate to the concrete local realities (both historical and human) and reach a higher stage of existence. This progress depends on the concrete possibilities of development of the society's productive forces and is governed mainly by the nature of the political power ruling the society, that is to say, by the type of state or, if one likes, by the character of the dominant class or classes within the society.

A more detailed analysis would show that the possibility of such a jump in the historical process arises mainly, in the economic field, from the power of the means available to man at the time for dominating nature, and, in the political field, from the new event which has radically changed the face of the world and the development of history, the creation of socialist states.

Thus we see that our peoples have their own history regardless of the stage of their economic development. When they were subjected to imperialist domination, the historical process of each of our peoples (or of the human groups of which they are composed) was subjected to the violent action of an external factor. This action — the impact of imperialism on our societies — could not fail to influence the process of development of the productive forces in our countries and the social structures of our countries, as well as the content and form of our national liberation struggles.

But we also see that in the historical context of the development of these struggles, our peoples have the concrete possibility of going from their present situation of exploitation and underdevelopment to a new stage of their historical process which can lead them to a higher form of economic, social and cultural existence.

The political statement drawn up by the international preparatory committee of this conference, for which we reaffirm our complete support, placed imperialism, by clear and succinct analysis, in its economic context and historical co-ordinates. We will not repeat here what has already been said in the assembly. We will simply state that imperialism can be defined as a worldwide expression of the search for profits and the ever-increasing accumulation of surplus value by monopoly financial capital, centred in two parts of the world; first in Europe, and then in North America. And if we wish to place the fact of imperialism within the general trajectory of the evolution of the transcendental factor which has changed the face of the world — namely capital and the process of its accumulation, we can say that imperialism is partly transplanted from the seas to dry land, partly reorganised, consolidated and adapted to the aim of exploiting the natural and human resources of our peoples. But if we can calmly analyse the imperialist phenomenon, we will not shock anybody by admitting that imperialism — and everything goes to prove that it is in fact the last phase in the evolution of capitalism — has been a historical necessity, a consequence of the impetus given by the productive forces and of the

transformations of the means of production in the general context of humanity, considered as one movement, that is to say a necessity like those today of the national liberation of peoples, the destruction of capital and the advent of socialism.

The important thing for our peoples is to know whether imperialism, in its role as capital in action, has fulfilled in our countries its historical mission: the acceleration of the process of development of the productive forces and their transformation in the sense of increasing complexity in the means of production; increasing the differentiation between the classes with the development of the bourgeoisie, and intensifying the class struggle; and appreciably increasing the level of economic, social and cultural life of the peoples. It is also worth examining the influences and effects of imperialist action on the social structures and historical processes of our peoples.

We will not condemn nor justify imperialism here; we will simply state that as much on the economic level as on the social and cultural level, imperialist capital has not remotely fulfilled the historical mission carried out by capital in the countries of accumulation. This means that if, on the one hand, imperialist capital has had, in the great majority of the dominated countries, the simple function of multiplying surplus value, it can be seen on the other hand that the historical capacity of capital (as indestructible accelerator of the process of development of productive forces) depends strictly on its freedom, that is to say on the degree of independence with which it is utilized. We must however recognise that in certain cases imperialist capital or moribund capitalism has had sufficient self-interest, strength and time to increase the level of productive forces (as well as building towns) and to allow a minority of the local population to attain a higher and even privileged standard of living, thus contributing to a process which some would call dialectical, by widening the contradictions within the societies in question. In other, even rarer cases, there has existed the possibility of accumulation of capital, creating the conditions for the development of a local bourgeoisie.

On the question of the effects of imperialist domination on the social structure and historical process of our peoples, we should first of all examine the general forms of imperialist domination. There are at least two forms: the first is direct domination, by means of a political power made up of people foreign to the dominated people (armed forces, police, administrative agents and settlers); this is generally called classical colonialism or colonialism. The second form is indirect domination, by a political power made up mainly or completely of native agents; this is called neocolonialism.

In the first case, the social structure of the dominated people, whatever its stage of development, can suffer the following consequences: (a) total destruction, generally accompanied by immediate or gradual elimination of the native population and, consequently, by the substitution of a population from outside; (b) partial destruction, generally accompanied by a greater or lesser influx of population from outside; (c) apparent conservation, conditioned by confining the native society to zones

or reserves generally offering no possibilities of living, accompanied by massive implantation of population from outside.

The two latter cases are those which we must consider in the framework of the problematic national liberation, and they are extensively present in Africa. One can say that in either case the influence of imperialism on the historical process of the dominated people produces paralysis, stagnation and even in some cases regression in this process. However this paralysis is not complete. In one sector or another of the socio-economic whole in question, noticeable transformations can be expected, caused by the permanent action of some internal (local) factors or by the action of new factors introduced by the colonial domination, such as the introduction of money and the development of urban centres. Among these transformations we should particularly note, in certain cases, the progressive loss of prestige of the ruling native classes or sectors, the forced or voluntary exodus of part of the peasant population to the urban centres, with the consequent development of new social strata; salaried workers, clerks, employees in commerce and the liberal professions, and an instable stratum of unemployed. In the countryside there develops, with very varied intensity and always linked to the urban milieu, a stratum made up of small landowners. In the case of neocolonialism, whether the majority of the colonised population is of native or foreign origin, the imperialist action takes the form of creating a local bourgeoisie or pseudo-bourgeoisie, controlled by the ruling class of the dominating country.

The transformations in the social structure are not so marked in the lower strata, above all in the countryside, which retains the characteristics of the colonial phase; but the creation of a native pseudo-bourgeoisie which generally develops out of a petty bourgeoisie of bureaucrats and accentuates the differentiation between the social strata and intermediaries in the commercial system (compradores), by strengthening the economic activity of local elements, opens up new perspectives in the social dynamic, mainly by the development of an urban working class, the introduction of private agricultural property and the progressive appearance of an agricultural proletariat. These more or less noticeable transformations of the social structure, produced by a significant increase in the level of productive forces, have a direct influence on the historical process of the socio-economic whole in question. While in classical colonialism this process is paralysed, neo-colonialist domination, by allowing the social dynamic to awaken (conflicts of interests between native social strata or class struggles), creates the illusion that the historical process is returning to its normal evolution. This illusion will be reinforced by the existence of a political power (national state) composed of native elements. In reality it is scarcely even an illusion, since the submission of the local 'ruling' class to the ruling class of the dominating country limits or prevents the development of the national productive forces. But in the concrete conditions of the present-day world economy this dependence is fatal and thus the local pseudobourgeoisie, however strongly nationalist it may be, cannot effectively fulfil its historical function; it cannot freely direct the development of the productive forces; in brief it cannot be a national bourgeoisie. For as we have seen, the productive forces are the motive force of history, and total freedom of the process of their development is an indispensable condition for their proper functioning.

We therefore see that both in colonialism and in neo-colonialism the essential characteristic of imperialist domination remains the same: the negation of the historical process of the dominated people by means of violent usurpation of the freedom of development of the national productive forces. This observation, which identifies the essence of the two apparent forms of imperialist domination, seems to us to be of major importance for the thought and action of liberation movements, both in the course of struggle and after the winning of independence.

On the basis of this, we can state that national liberation is the phenomenon in which a given socio-economic whole rejects the negation of its historical process. In other words, the national liberation of a people is the regaining of the historical personality of that people, its return to history through the destruction of the imperialist domination to which it was subjected.

We have seen that violent usurpation of the freedom of the process of development of the productive forces of the dominated socio-economic whole constitutes the principal and permanent characteristic of imperialist domination, whatever its form. We have also seen that this freedom alone can guarantee the normal development of the historical process of a people. We can therefore conclude that national liberation exists only when the national productive forces have been completely freed from every kind of foreign domination.

It is often said that national liberation is based on the right of every people to freely control its own destiny and that the objective of this liberation is national independence. Although we do not disagree with this vague and subjective way of expressing a complex reality, we prefer to be objective, since for us the basis of national liberation, whatever the formulas adopted on the level of international law, is the inalienable right of every people to have its own history, and the objective of national liberation is to regain this right usurped by imperialism, that is to say, to free the process of development of the national productive forces.

For this reason, in our opinion, any national liberation movement which does not take into consideration this basis and this objective may certainly struggle against imperialism, but will surely not be struggling for national liberation.

This means that, bearing in mind the essential characteristics of the present world economy, as well as experiences already gained in the field of anti-imperialist struggle, the principal aspect of national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism. Furthermore, if we accept that national liberation demands a profound mutation in the process of development of the productive forces, we see that this phenomenon of national liberation necessarily corresponds to a revolution. The important thing is to be conscious of the objective and subjective conditions in which this revolution can be made and to know the type of types of struggle most appropriate for its realisation.

We are not going to repeat here that these conditions are favourable in the present phase of the history of humanity; it is sufficient to recall that unfavourable conditions also exist, just as much on the international level as on the international level of each nation struggling for liberation.

On the international level, it seems to us that the following factors, at least, are unfavourable to national liberation movements: the neo-colonial situation of a great number of states which, having won political independence, are now tending to join up with others already in that situation; the progress made by neo-capitalism, particularly in Europe, where imperialism is adopting preferential investments, encouraging the development of a privileged proletariat and thus lowering the revolutionary level of the working classes; the open or concealed neo-colonial position of some European states which, like Portugal, still have colonies; the so-called policy of 'aid for undeveloped countries' adopted by imperialism with the aim of creating or reinforcing native pseudo-bourgeoisies which are necessarily dependent on the international bourgeoisie, and thus obstructing the path of revolution; the claustrophobia and revolutionary timidity which have led some recently independent states whose internal economic and political conditions are favourable to revolution to accept compromises with the enemy or its agents; the growing contradictions between anti-imperialist states; and, finally, the threat to world peace posed by the prospect of atomic war on the part of imperialism. All these factors reinforce the action of imperialism against the national liberation movements.

If the repeated interventions and growing aggressiveness of imperialism against the peoples can be interpreted as a sign of desperation faced with the size of the national liberation movements, they can also be explained to a certain extent by the weaknesses produced by these unfavourable factors within the general front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

On the internal level, we believe that the most important weaknesses or unfavourable factors are inherent in the socio-economic structure and in the tendencies of its evolution under imperialist pressure, or to be more precise in the little or no attention paid to the characteristics of this structure and these tendencies by the national liberation movements in deciding on the strategy of their struggles.

By saying this we do not wish to diminish the importance of other internal factors which are unfavourable to national liberation, such as economic under-development, the consequent social and cultural backwardness of the popular masses, tribalism and other contradictions of lesser importance. It should however be pointed out that the existence of tribes only manifests itself as an important contradiction as a function of opportunistic attitudes, generally on the part of detribalised individuals or groups, within the national liberation movements. Contradictions between classes, even when only embryonic, are of far greater importance than contradictions between tribes.

Although the colonial and neo-colonial situations are identical in essence, and the main aspect of the struggle against imperialism is neo-colonialist, we feel it is vital to distinguish in practice these two situations. In fact the horizontal structure, however it may differ from the native society, and the absence of a political power composed of national elements in the colonial situation make possible the creation of a wide front of unity and struggle, which is vital to the success of the national liberation movement. But this possibility does not remove the need for a rigorous analysis of the native social structure, of the tendencies of its evolution, and for the adoption in practice of appropriate

measures for ensuring true national liberation. While recognising that each movement knows best what to do in its own case, one of these measures seems to us indispensable, namely the creation of a firmly united vanguard, conscious of the true meaning and objective of the national liberation struggle which it must lead. This necessity is all the more urgent since we know that with rare exceptions the colonial situation neither permits nor needs the existence of significant vanguard classes (working class conscious of its existence and rural proletariat) which could ensure the vigilance of the popular masses over the evolution of the liberation movement. On the contrary, the generally embryonic character of the working classes and the economic, social and cultural situation of the physical force of most importance in the national liberation struggle — the peasantry — do not allow these two main forces to distinguish the national independence from fictitious political independence. Only a revolutionary vanguard, generally an active minority, can be aware of this distinction from the start and make it known, through the struggle, to the popular masses. This explains the fundamentally political nature of the national liberation struggle and to a certain extent makes the form of struggle important in the final result of the phenomenon of national liberation.

In the neo-colonial situation the more or less vertical structure of the native society and the existence of a political power composed of native elements — national state — already worsen the contradictions within that society and make difficult if not impossible the creation of as wide a front as in the colonial situation. On the one hand the material effects (mainly the nationalisation of cadres and the increased economic initiative of the native elements, particularly in the commercial field) and the psychological effects (pride in the belief of being ruled by one's own compatriots, exploitation of religious or tribal solidarity between some leaders and a fraction of the masses) together demobilise a considerable part of the nationalist forces. But on the other hand the necessarily repressive nature of the neo-colonial state against the national liberation forces, the sharpening of contradictions between classes, the objective permanence of signs and agents of foreign domination (settlers who retain their privileges, armed forces, racial discrimination), the growing poverty of the peasantry and the more or less notorious influence of external factors all contribute towards keeping the flame of nationalism alive, towards progressively raising the consciousness of wide popular sectors and towards reuniting the majority of the population, on the very basis of awareness of neo-colonialist frustration, around the ideal of national liberation. In addition, while the native ruling class becomes progressively more bourgeois, the development of a working class composed of urban workers and agricultural proletarians, all exploited by the indirect domination of imperialism opens up new perspectives for the evolution of national liberation. This working class, whatever the level of its political consciousness (given a certain minimum, namely the awareness of its own needs), seems to constitute the true popular vanguard of the national liberation struggle in the neo-colonial case. However it will not be able to completely fulfil its mission in this struggle (which does not end with the gaining of independence) unless it firmly unites with the other exploited strata, the peasants in general (hired men, sharecroppers, tenants and small farmers) and the nationalist petty bourgeoisie. The creation of this alliance demands the mobilisation and organisation of the nationalist forces within the framework (or by the action) of a strong and well-structured political organisation.

Another important distinction between the colonial and neo-colonial situations is in the prospects for the struggle. The colonial situation (in which the nation class fights the repressive forces of the bourgeoisie of the colonising country) can lead, apparently at least, to a nationalist solution (national revolution); the nation gains its independence and theoretically adopts the economic structure which best suits it. The neo-colonial situation (in which the working classes and their allies struggle simultaneously against the imperialist bourgeoisie and the native ruling class) is not resolved by a nationalist solution; it demands the destruction of the capitalist structure implanted in the national territory by imperialism, and correctly postulates a socialist solution.

This distinction arises mainly from the different levels of the productive forces in the two cases and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle.

It would not be difficult to show that in time the distinction becomes scarcely apparent. It is sufficient to recall that in our present historical situation — elimination of imperialism which uses every means to perpetuate its domination over our peoples, and consolidation of socialism throughout a large part of the world — there are only two possible paths for an independent nation: to return to imperialist domination (neo-colonialism, capitalism, state capitalism), or to take the way of socialism. This operation, on which depends the compensation for the effects and sacrifices of the popular masses during the struggle, is considerably influenced by the form of struggle and the degree of revolutionary consciousness of those who lead it. The facts make it unnecessary for us to prove that the essential instrument of imperialist domination is violence. If we accept the principle that the liberation struggle is a revolution and that it does not finish at the moment when the national flag is raised and the national anthem played, we will see that there is not, and cannot be national liberation without the use of liberating violence by the nationalist forces, to answer the criminal violence of the agents of imperialism. Nobody can doubt that, whatever its local characteristics, imperialist domination implies a state of permanent violence against the nationalist forces. There is no people on earth which, having been subjected to the imperialist yoke (colonialist or neo-colonialist), has managed to gain its independence (nominal or effective) without victims. The important thing is to determine which forms of violence have to be used by the national liberation forces in order not only to answer the violence of imperialism but also to ensure through the struggle the final victory of their cause, true national independence. The past and present experiences of various peoples, the present situation of national liberation struggles in the world (especially in Vietnam, the Congo and Zimbabwe) as well as the situation of permanent violence, or at least of contradictions and upheavals, in certain countries which have gained their independence by the so-called peaceful way, show us not only that compromises with imperialism do not work, but also that the normal way of national liberation, imposed on peoples by imperialist repression, is armed struggle.

We do not think we will shock this assembly by stating that the only effective way of definitively fulfilling the aspirations of the peoples, that is to say of attaining national liberation, is by armed struggle. This is the great lesson which the contemporary history of liberation struggle teaches all those who are truly committed to the effort of liberating their peoples.

It is obvious that both the effectiveness of this way and the stability of the situation to which it leads after liberation depend not only on the characteristics of the organisation of the struggle but also on the political and moral awareness of those who, for historical reasons, are capable of being the immediate heirs of the colonial or neo-colonial state. For events have shown that the only social sector capable of being aware of the reality of imperialist domination and of directing the state apparatus inherited from this domination is the native petty bourgeoisie. If we bear in mind the aleatory characteristics and the complexity of the tendencies naturally inherent in the economic situation of this social stratum or class, we will see that this specific inevitability in our situation constitutes one of the weaknesses of the national liberation movement.

The colonial situation, which does not permit the development of a native pseudo-bourgeoisie and in which the popular masses do not generally reach the necessary level of political consciousness before the advent of the phenomenon of national liberation, offers the petty bourgeoisie the historical opportunity of leading the struggle against foreign domination, since by nature of its objective and subjective position (higher standard of living than that of the masses, more frequent contact with the agents of colonialism, and hence more chances of being humiliated, higher level of education and political awareness, etc.) it is the stratum which most rapidly becomes aware of the need to free itself from foreign domination. This historical responsibility is assumed by the sector of the petty bourgeoisie which, in the colonial context, can be called revolutionary, while other sectors retain the doubts characteristic of these classes or ally themselves to colonialism so as to defend, albeit illusorily, their social situation.

The neo-colonial situation, which demands the elimination of the native pseudo-bourgeoisie so that national liberation can be attained, also offers the petty bourgeoisie the chance of playing a role of major and even decisive importance in the struggle for the elimination of foreign domination. But in this case, by virtue of the progress made in the social structure, the function of leading the struggle is shared (to a greater or lesser extent) with the more educated sectors of the working classes and even with some elements of the national pseudo-bourgeoisie who are inspired by patriotic sentiments. The role of the sector of the petty bourgeoisie which participates in leading the struggle is all the more important since it is a fact that in the neo-colonial situation it is the most suitable sector to assume these functions, both because of the economic and cultural limitations of the working masses, and because of the complexes and limitations of an ideological nature which characterise the sector of the national pseudo-bourgeoisie which supports the struggle. In this case it is important to note that the role with which it is entrusted demands from this sector of the petty bourgeoisie a greater revolutionary consciousness, and the capacity for faithfully interpreting the aspirations of the masses in each phase of the struggle and for identifying themselves more and more with the masses.

But however high the degree of revolutionary consciousness of the sector of the petty bourgeoisie called on to fulfil this historical function, it cannot free itself from one objective reality: the petty bourgeoisie, as a service class (that is to say that a class not directly involved in the process of production) does not possess the economic base to guarantee the taking over of power. In fact history has shown that whatever the role — sometimes important — played by individuals coming from the petty bourgeoisie in the process of a revolution, this class has never possessed political

control. And it could never possess it, since political control (the state) is based on the economic capacity of the ruling class, and in the conditions of colonial and neo-colonial society this capacity is retained by two entities: imperialist capital and the native working classes.

To retain the power which national liberation puts in its hands, the petty bourgeoisie has only one path: to give free rein to its natural tendencies to become more bourgeois, to permit the development of a bureaucratic and intermediary bourgeoisie in the commercial cycle, in order to transform itself into a national pseudo-bourgeoisie, that is to say in order to negate the revolution and necessarily ally itself with imperialist capital. Now all this corresponds to the neo-colonial situation, that is, to the betrayal of the objectives of national liberation. In order not to betray these objectives, the petty bourgeoisie has only one choice: to strengthen its revolutionary consciousness, to reject the temptations of becoming more bourgeois and the natural concerns of its class mentality, to identify itself with the working classes and not to oppose the normal development of the process of revolution. This means that in order to truly fulfil the role in the national liberation struggle, the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong.

This alternative — to betray the revolution or to commit suicide as a class — constitutes the dilemma of the petty bourgeoisie in the general framework of the national liberation struggle. The positive solution in favour of the revolution depends on what Fidel Castro recently correctly called the development of revolutionary consciousness. This dependence necessarily calls our attention to the capacity of the leader of the national liberation struggle to remain faithful to the principles and to the fundamental cause of this struggle. This shows us, to a certain extent, that if national liberation is essentially a political problem, the conditions for its development give it certain characteristics which belong to the sphere of morals.

We will not shout hurrahs or proclaim here our solidarity with this or that people in struggle. Our presence is in itself a cry of condemnation of imperialism and a proof of solidarity with all peoples who want to banish from their country the imperialist yoke, and in particular with the heroic people of Vietnam. But we firmly believe that the best proof we can give of our anti-imperialist position and of our active solidarity with our comrades in this common struggle is to return to our countries, to further develop this struggle and to remain faithful to the principles and objectives of national liberation.

Our wish is that every national liberation movement represented here may be able to repeat in its own country, arms in hand, in unison with its people, the already legendary cry of Cuba:

PATRIA O MUERTE, VENCEREMOS!
DEATH TO THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM!
FREE, PROSPEROUS AND HAPPY COUNTRY FOR EACH OF OUR PEOPLES!
VENCEREMOS!

"Insurrection of Thought
Always precedes
Insurrection of Arms." W. Phillip,

NAIROBI DIARY

by ICONOCLAST

17th April, 1970.

Being a student myself, the subconscious mind propelled my limbs to seek out the university college as soon as I was free to roam about in the streets of Nairobi. And I was there before realizing it, for it is situated just near the city centre. Architecturally impressive buildings stood erect on the campus, complemented by a flamboyant fountain pouring perpetually. It was the library that I first explored. Despite the fascinating internal decoration it's intellectual equipment appeared a dwarf in comparison with the library at Dar es Salaam college, especially in social sciences. Many shelves were not fully stocked, which I initially attributed to student borrowing but was later informed that this was not substantial in quantity. Neither was the bookshop tour impressive.

18th April

Having made some student acquaintances, I remarked to one about the paucity and quality of reading material available to them, and mentioned that those students I have met thus far viewed with distaste extracurricular reading, especially the non-frivolous type. She retorted back, "I am glad we don't have bookworms here." Much as I would have liked to expound upon the fundamental necessity of such activities, the futility of the situation restrained me to a single remark, "If only would you realize what magnificent treasures lay for all in books!"

19th April

This day had some surprises in store for me. A friend at U.C.N. introduced me to a hippie-hitherto I had thought such creatures existed only in the U.S. To my consternation, he seemed incapable of uttering anything except obscenities, and that too, impudently. And when he noticed that our communication wavelengths were dissimilar, he barked, "Hey,..., you are one of those quiet type, aren't you?" Speechlessness overpowered me at this moment.

In the afternoon I came upon a notice in Hall 8 signed by "Pot-lover" complaining about misplacement of his "relaxation" material.

20th April

Went sight-seeing in the morning. The streets were crowded - I remembered reading newspaper reports on the urban explosion and concomitant unemployment. At first glance one can easily be misled - opulence appeared to be all-permeating. Even the shoe-shine boys were dressed in a tie and coat. Tourism has made itself felt everywhere. Moral laxity is reflected in the mode of dressing. Ubiquitous hotels, cinemas, curio shops, gift shops, tour operators dominate the commercial scene. One gets the impression that if tomorrow, for some reason, the tourist inflow stops, the city's economy will collapse.

The shanties on the outskirts dispel anyone's illusions about Nairobi's "good" living standards. One "Daily Nation" report had stated that some shanty-dwellers had dug up a diseased cow's carcass which had been buried a few days earlier, for there was nothing else to eat. And later, these people were prosecuted in court for

endangering public health!!

24th April

Pickpockets appear to be common around here. Today one tried, but unsuccessfully, to squeeze my pockets dry. Unfortunately for him, I pounced on him right in the middle of his manipulations, and asked him a simple question, "What can I do for you?" Being unable to reply he turned on his back and disappeared, presumably to look for somebody-else. As a product of an unjust society, he cannot be blamed for trying to lay his hands on that goddess-MONEY-so necessary and so scarce, but for a few.

The increasing rate of armed robberies, too, are a manifestation of the existing contradictions.

25th April

I was treated with quite a spectacle today. It being a Saturday, and it being customary in Nairobi to reserve Saturdays for what I dubbed a "general exhibition of eccentricity and eroticity" people, mostly Asian teenagers, paraded informally on Government road and Kimathi street, attired in latest fashions and all sorts of queer stuff on some of them. This was part of what my college friends used to describe as "enjoying life".

27th April

It was just by chance that I got entangled in some arguments with a finalist political science student at the college. He was propounding an obscurantist thesis - that "love is the cause of all misery in the world". Asked to elaborate, he went on "Because of inherent craving for love, men produce children, and this is the cause of all problems". Being unable to withstand such nonsense, I explained to him that firstly he was confusing lust with love, secondly that many psychological drives have a physiological basis, thirdly if mankind did not reproduce it would perish, and fourthly that the roots of the so-called population explosion lay in socio-economic circumstances, illustrating the case by examples of China and India. Actually it is the lack of love and co-operation amongst humans that adds to the existing problems.

The ferocity of counter-attack disturbed him. He departed by quoting the first article of the U.S. constitution about liberty etc. and said that he had been irritated by my "ideological mania".

Actually, this was one of the few "political" discussions that I managed to hold with other students. For politics (excluding the petty student-politics) is an anathema to many, and especially a critical view of Kenya politics is not liked generally. The motto that reigns supreme on the campus is "Enjoy life - no problems".

29th April

At U.C.N. a barbarous tradition, the so-called initiation for fresher students exists. It is predominately practiced by the Asian students, the inheritors of the decadence introduced by the Europeans during the early days of this college. It is a most humiliating experience for those who become its victims, being subject to most vulgar practices and abuses.

Is this a University or a lunatic asylum?

18th May

The tranquility of the night was disturbing. But at 9.30 p.m. the peace was shattered by a piercing scream. Sounds of scuffle came to the ear. And what a spectacle was it outside. On the tarmac road between Hall II and Hall IV had gathered a mob of about 300 to 400 university students shouting and urging - the object of curiosity was a frightened girl, clinging to her half-torn clothes. It had all started when a single student tried to molest her. At last she managed to walk away.

Despite the fact that the exams were near, so many found time to attend this exercise in "relaxation".

24th May

The real nature of "student-power" or rather "student-terror" manifested itself today. The warden of Hall IX decided to partly demolish the fire-escape in order to seal off illegal "nocturnal visitors". The students ransacked his office, cleared his property and books and forcibly deposited the things in his house.

30th May

Daily Nation report: "Nairobi University College authorities are investigating reports in which students are alleged to have "sacked" a hall residence warden".

Brawls with cooks in the kitchens are a daily occurrence here,

In a conversation with a student, I was informed that an invisible barrier between races and tribes existed on the campus. This is not surprising since the disease is rampant in the nation as a whole. There are numerous tribal/communal associations established on the campus. In a television interview sometime ago, a representative of one such organization dismissed the deleterious effects of such divisions by saying, "Charity begins at home."

2nd June

Towards the end of my stay in Nairobi, I got to know that whatever had I witnessed here was nothing in comparison to the "Rag week", annually celebrated by college students. For, then, true anarchy prevails on the campus. Ducking in the fountain is the fate of those who dare to walk around the campus during this week. On a particular day, a procession is organized in which students, dressed up in rags go on a begging spree in Nairobi city. They are licensed to behave as they wish, and of course, they do what they like. As it is said the motive behind these activities is to help the poor! The same night, a barbecue is held where the students specialize in hurling food at each other. It is a common story that a group of students burst into a female statistics lecturer's class and inquired about her "vital-statistics" during the same week.

6th June

On my way back to Dar I was filled with the following thoughts; "If 'academic freedom' means what I had experienced then servitude is better. And the advocates of tourism in Tanzania must be sent to Nairobi to see their future image of Dar es Salaam

AGENTS ANONYMOUS (CIA DOSSIER)

During the crisis in the Faculty of Law, University College, Dar es Salaam in March 1969, the radical students charged some of the faculty staff of being CIA agents planning to introduce Military Law in the curriculum for subversive purposes. This charge was contemptuously laughed-off by many as a "figment of students' imagination".

We have compiled the following information to show that CIA is a reality; it operates even in Tanzania. For an extensive list, and full accounts the interested reader may refer to the original sources cited.

Partial list of CIA Agents reported to have operated at one time or another in Tanzania.

Source: Who's Who in CIA - Mader, Berlin 1968.

1. Bellinger, Earl W.
b.: 7.2.1927;
1945-46 in U.S. Navy; 1949 and 1961-62 in U.S. Air Force;
1960-61 in UNO Mission in the Congo; from 1962 in
Department of State, work for CIA;
OpA: Usumbura, Fort Lamy, Dar es Salaam (Advisor). (p.53).
2. Davis, Stella E.
b.: 2.6.1917; L. Swahili
1939-40 in FBI; from 1951 in Department of State; from
1953 in USIA;
OpA: Addis Ababa, Nairobi, Saigon, Dar es Salaam, Accra
(Cultural Officer). (P.127).
3. Hummon, Dr. John P.
b.: 23.7.1930;
1958-60 Analyst in Department of Navy;
from 1960 in ICA and AID, work for CIA;
OpA: Dar es Salaam (Advisor), Washington. (P.251).
4. Pickering, Thomas Reeve.
b.: 5.11.1931; L.: French, Swahili;
1956-59 Ensign in ONI of U.S. Navy; from 1959 in
Department of State; from 1960 work for CIA; 1963
in ACDA;
OpA: Geneva (ACDA representative), Zanzibar (Consul) (P.413).

The pamphlet "African Studies in America" produced by Africa Research Group lists the following as involved in counter-revolutionary activities.

1. Coleman, James/UCLA/SDA, ASA, SSRC, American Society of African Culture (AMSAC - CIA funded) Advisory Board; leading agent of the Rockefeller Foundation in East Africa which is "Modernising" university education and reinforcing bourgeois educational approaches in Tanzania.

(P.49).

2. Green, Reginald/The Treasury, Government of Tanzania/Economic Advisor financed by the Ford Foundation/NSA - CIA student leader (P.50).

3. Rosberg, Carl/University of California, Berkley/SDA, RLC/ Recently harassed by students at Dar es Salaam for trying to teach functionalist nonsense in a socialist country. (Former Professor of Political Science, U.C.D.). (P.51).

Contd. on p.45.

REVERSAL OF REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS

"The students.....maintain that as long as neo-colonialist expatriate lecturers constitute a majority of the teaching staff and they are allowed to impose their ideology to the exclusion of socialism, as long as they decide what should be taught and who should teach it, then the University College will remain a dangerous stronghold of counter-revolution and imperialist subversion against socialism in Tanzania. It is because they are painfully aware of these facts that the students have launched the present struggle to ensure the survival of socialism and its eventual supremacy on the Hill. From this premise, it is obvious that the struggle has already outgrown the Faculty of Law where it started, just as it has already outgrown the New Curriculum issue which sparked it off." - Extract from the Second Memorandum of the Student Vigilance Committee of the Faculty of Law, University College, Dar es Salaam.

The Law Faculty crisis of March 1969 led to numerous positive results. The general political consciousness of students was heightened, the "New Curriculum", which included Military Law, was revoked and the Legal Research Centre (U.S. financed) was dismantled. The student participation in the academic and administrative affairs increased significantly too.

However, the reactionaries have not given up, and it seems are planning a comeback. It is rumoured that the Legal Research Centre is to be re-established, and the American financier, Bainbridge, will be coming here personally in September to deal with staff allocation. And it appears that Y.P. Ghai, the former Dean of the Faculty who resigned as a result of student pressure during the March 1969 crisis, will be appointed as its Director.

we
Comrades and friends, are going to remain complacent while this institution is being erected to conduct researches, ostensibly for academic purposes but in reality to help C.I.A. analysts in the Pentagon to combat socialism in Tanzania?

No, no. emphatically NO!

THE SYSTEM OF SEVERAL COVER ORGANISATIONS USED BY THE CIA

(1967)

Young Women's Christian Association; World Assembly of Youth; International Union of Socialist Youth; International Union of Young Christian Democrats; International Student Conference in Leiden; International Youth Centre in New Delhi; National Student Association in Canada; Gambia National Youth Council; Pan-American Foundation, University of Miami.	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; The Cooperative League of America; International Labour Research Institute; Conference of the Atlantic Community; International Marketing Institute; International Secretariate of the Pax Romana; West Berlin Union for the Advancement of Educational Aid in Development Countries	International Press Institute; Newspaper Guild of America; International Journalists Conference in Geneva; International Federation of Journalists in Brussels; Asian Student Press Bureau; National Student Press Council of India; West Berlin Union for the Advancement of Journalism in the Development Countries; Radio Free Europe; Radio Liberation; Radio Free Asia.
YOUTH AND STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS	TRADE UNIONS, INSTITUTES, ASSOCIATIONS	JOURNALISTS' AND PRESS ORGANISATIONS, SUBVERSIVE RADIO STATIONS

CIA

Tower Fund	M.D. Anderson Foundation	American Council for the International Commission of Jurists	Editorial Offices: "Monat", West Berlin "Forum", Vienna "Preuves" Paris "En-counter". London
Gotham Foundation		Congress for Cultural Freedom	
Borden Trust	Hoblitzelle Foundation	Institute of International Labor Research, Inc.	
Beacon Fund		Synod of Bishops of the Russian Church Outside of Russia	
Price Fund	J.M. Kaplan Fund Inc.	African-American Institute	
Heights Fund		American Friends of the Middle East	
Williford-Telford Fund		American Society of African Culture	
Edsel Fund	Baird (David, Josephine & Winfield) Foundation, Inc.	Institute of International Education	
San Miguel Fund		Institute of Public Administration	
Kantfield Fund	J. J. Frederick Brown Foundation	Atwater research program in North Africa	
Monroe Fund		National Student Association	
Michigan Fund		Operation's & Policy Research Inc.	
Andrew Hamilton Fund	Rebb (Sidney and Esther) Charitable Foundation		
Application Fund			
Wynnewood Fund			
Charles Price Whitten Trust			
James Carlisle Trust	Marshall Foundation		

4. Stopler, Wolfgang/Michigan/While part of the Ford funded MIT team, he wrote the first Nigerian Economic Plan (without facts, it didn't work.

(P.52).

The same document reports that Africa Research Committee (U.S. Army's creation) sponsored the following conferences:

1. Research in Sukumaland, Tanzania, held May 1966, chaired by G.O. hang.
2. Research Priorities in Africa haw, held December, 1965 at Columbia, chaired by Arthur Schiller.

(p.42).

The CIA recruits people from all walks of life, as the following item indicates:

"....the philosopher Herbert Marcuse who was very much in vogue in the West in the 1950's and perhaps still is, has played a prominent part in V.S. secret service activities".
(New Times, 23/7/69, P.28).

High Level Strategy

"A high-powered, closed-door conference on United States' policy in Southern Africa is to be held in a stately Virginia home near Washington today", reported The Star of Johannesburg (September 13).

"No report will be issued on its findings and participants have been asked to give a solemn undertaking that they will disclose to nobody what was said".

Under the sponsorship of the John Hopkins School of International Studies, a para-governmental institution based in Washington, the conference brought together top-level African professors, politicians, businessmen and ambassadors with U.S. strategists.

The U.S. "team" consisted of David Newsom, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, a bi-partisan group of liberal congressmen made up of three Senators and 10 Representatives and Roger Morris, a member of President Nixon's National Security Council. The Ford Foundation was represented by Wayne Fredericks and the Carnegie Foundation had its man, Frederick Mosher, on the scene. The Agency for International Development and selected academicians from various African Institutions were also present.

Among the Africans present were Mr. Arthur Wina, Zambian political and member of the Board of Directors of Continental Ore Corporation, and Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira, Lecturer in Political Science at University College in Dar es Salaam and a leading member of ZANU. The Ambassadors to the U.S. from Sierra Leone, Zambia, Ghana, Tunisia and Kenya were present. According to The Star, air fares for those Africans in attendance had been paid by the Ford Foundation.

The press release issued by Johns Hopkins said only that the meeting had been called "to discuss African economic and political problems".

When the real heavies get together, though, it is to discuss more immediate problems. According to The Star: "Today the conference will discuss - in this order - U.S. policy on Rhodesia, Zambia, Angola and Mozambique, and then South Africa. The final item on the agenda will concern the role of U.S. pressure groups in influencing U.S. policy in Southern Africa".

Against the background of sharpening guerrilla struggle throughout the subcontinent, recent nationalisations and political instability in Zambia, and a growing northern push by South Africa, the U.S. is quietly lining up support for its own manoeuvres to contain revolutionary movements and manage social change. (Emphasis supplied).

From Africa & the World p.18.

The following books are recommended for anyone who wants to understand C.I.A. intrigues for maintaining U.S. economic/military domination of the world.

1. The Invisible Government - D. Wise & Thomas Ross.
2. The Real C.I.A. - L. Kirkpatrick, Jr.
3. C.I.A.: The Inside Story - A. Tully.
4. From Yalta to Vietnam - D. Horowitz.



BOOK REVIEW

THE DUTY OF A REVOLUTIONARY IS TO MAKE A REVOLUTION

REVOLUTION IN GUINEA-

An African People's Struggle

Selected Texts by AMILCAR CABRAL

Stage I, Theobalds Rd 21, London, 1969, pp.142, Paperback 9/=

I remember after meeting Amilcar Cabral sometime last year when he was in Dar, and hearing him talk, one thing struck me that I did not fully realize then. He was not the first African nationalist leader for me to meet. In the course of more than ten years of political journalism, I have met or heard speaking many, including Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Ben Bella and our own Nyerere.

What struck me then, I came to realise later on, was the similarity I found in Cabral with another great revolutionary personality. And so this meeting brought the reminiscences of almost ten years back when I first and the last time saw the legendary Commandant Ernesto Che' Guevara. Talking to a friend recently, who had the fortune and privilege of meeting both and of knowing them well, he confirmed that there was much in common in the personalities of these two great revolutionaries.

Cabral was born in Guinea-Bissau (the so-called 'Portuguese Guinea') the exact date being unknown to the reviewer. But this can be guessed. Two of his colleagues during student days in Lisbon, who later turned out to be his comrades-in-arms in the anti-Portuguese liberation movements, namely Dr. Augustine Neto of MPLA and Vice-President Marcelino dos Santos of FRELIMO, were born in 1920 and 1929 respectively. And since Cabral is younger than Neto and older than dos Santos, we can assume that he was born around 1926.

Cabral graduated from Lisbon with a Diploma in Agronomy, after which he started working, first in Portugal, and then in the colonies of Guinea-Bissau and Angola. From 1952 to 1954, while working as a Civil Servant preparing an agricultural census for the colonial administration, he acquired detailed knowledge of his people and their situation, and this was a sort of 'baptism' for him, and was to prove of great help in the years to come when he embarked a revolutionary course.

The volume under review is a well-presented compilation of some of Cabral's speeches and writings from 1961 to 1969.

Reading carefully through the pages, one sees the great knowledge that Cabral has of his country and his people, and also shows very clearly the intricate problems that his people are facing in their fight. While all of us know him as a committed practicing revolutionary, in this volume one sees also his great contribution to revolutionary theory, and especially to the theory of guerrilla warfare. Alone his speech to the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in 1966 (which is reproduced in this issue), more than any other, shows his importance among living revolutionary thinkers.

Guinea-Bissau, which is situated in the western part of our continent, has an area of 15,500 sq. miles, roughly the size of Switzerland and a population of 800,000 inhabitants. Together with peoples of other Portuguese colonies (Portugal refers to them as 'overseas provinces'), they make 15 million in all. Explaining the situation of Guinea, Cabral explodes the myth of so-called 'overseas provinces': "The analysis makes clear that the constitutional, political, legal, administrative and judicial status of Guinea, far from that of being a 'province of Portugal' is that of a non-self-governing country, conquered and occupied by force of arms, ruled and administered by a foreign power" (p.20).

It was because of this situation that agitation, and eventually, the nationalist movement started. The first organisation to be formed was the Movement for the liberation of Guinea (MING). After all attempts at lawful political action had failed, and because of some organisational and other weakness of MING, in September of 1956, a Political Organisation of a new type was formed known as PAIGC - Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine'e Cabo Verde, with Cabral as its undisputed leader. This party took up the struggle not only of the people of Guinea, but also of the people of Cape Verde Islands. The party has fought from the beginning for immediate independence and for the achievement of rapid economic progress and true social and cultural advancement for the peoples of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands. It cooperates with MPLA and FRELIMO in the Conference of Nationalist Organisations of the Portugues Colonies (CONCP), whose major international gathering is currently being held in Rome, in a continuing effort to coordinate the struggle of the peoples of the Portugues colonies and to ensure unity, solidarity and cooperation. The Party's aim at the home front is to unite all the forces that can be united:

".... We must try to unite everybody in the national liberation struggle against the Portugues colonialists; this is where our main contradiction lies, but it is also imperative to organise things so that we always have an instrument available which can solve all the other contradictions. This is what convinced us of the absolute necessity of creating a party during the national liberation struggle. There are some people who interpret our Party as a front; perhaps our Party is a front at the moment, but within the frame-work of the front there is our Party which is directing the front. For the circumstances of the struggle we maintain a general aspect, but within the framework of the struggle we know what our Party is, we know where the Party finishes and where the people who just relied for the liberation struggle begin." (pp.53-54).

The Portugues Government answered PAIGC's efforts for peaceful solution to the conflict with more troops and an intensification of repression. Hundreds of nationalists and Party militants have been incarcerated by the Portuguese political police (PIDE), and hundreds are held in the prisons of PIDE, and the concentration camps of the island of Galinhas. Thus the Party was faced with no alternative but to answer this counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. On August 3, 1961, on the anniversary of the massacre of Pijiguiti-quay, the Party proclaimed the end of a purely political phase and embarked on direct armed uprising. "We...are fighting so that insults may no longer rule our countries, martyred and scorned for centuries, so that our peoples may never more be exploited by imperialists - not only by Europeans, not by people with white skin, because we do not confuse exploitation or exploiters with the colour of men's skins; we do not want any exploitation in our countries, not even by black people...." (p.65).

It is a known and accepted fact now that Portugal is not alone in the war of genocide that she is carrying out in Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique. Portugal herself is undeveloped, the backyard of Europe and could not support such a war alone. In fact the Portuguese military presence in Guinea today, in proportion to the populations involved, is stronger than U.S. forces in Vietnam. Behind Portugal stand the aggressive block of NATO, international imperialism headed by United States and world reaction army forces. Testifying to this point, Cabral stated: "It is our duty to stress the international character of the Portuguese colonial war against Africa and the important, and even decisive role played by the U.S.A. and Federal Germany in pursuing this war. If the Portuguese government is still holding out on the three fronts of the war which it is fighting in Africa, it is because it can count on the overt or covert support of the U.S.A., freely use NATO weapons, buy B26 aircraft for the genocide of our people (including from 'private parties'), and obtain whenever it wishes money, jet aircraft and weapons of every sort from Federal Germany where, furthermore, certain war-wounded from the Portuguese colonial army are hospitalised and treated" (p.101).

But despite this mammoth onslaught of international imperialism the Party and peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands have scored many a victory in their revolutionary struggle. Two thirds of the country is liberated. "Whatever the forces of the enemy, our victory over Portuguese colonialism depends mainly on ourselves, on our own militants. We must be conscious of the real forces at our disposal and base our revolutionary work on the popular masses." (p.19). In the liberated areas, there is full democratic administration, and efforts are being made to build more schools, hospitals, shops and to carry out development projects. "Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children" (p.70). Basil Davidson, in his highly recommended book, The Liberation in Guinea, describes the new/established in PAIGC's occupied areas. In the Party directive of 1965, Cabral stated: "In the liberated areas, do everything possible to normalise the political life of the people. Section Committees of the Party (tabanca committees), zonal committees, regional committees, must be consolidated and function normally. Frequent meetings must be held to explain to the population what is happening in the struggle, what the Party is endeavouring to do at any given moment, and what the criminal intentions of the enemy may be". (p.71).

In their struggle for their country's complete liberation, the Party and the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands enjoy the support and solidarity of Africa, radical and left-wing forces in Portugal and progressive mankind. As we know, the people of Portugal themselves are languishing under the most despicable fascist system. "Through our liberation struggle we are making an effective contribution towards the defeat of Portuguese fascism and giving the Portuguese people the best possible proof of our solidarity," (p.16). "...The fight of Guinea for national liberation is part and parcel of the struggle of the African peoples for the total abolition of foreign rule in Africa - for the final and irrevocable abolition of the colonial system - which is one of the outstanding features of contemporary history" (p.29). "It is our duty to state here, loud and clear, that we have firm allies in the socialist countries...we...know that since the socialist revolution and the events of the Second World War, the face of the world has been definitely changed. A socialist camp has arisen in the world. This has radically changed the balance of power, and this socialist camp is today showing itself fully

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conscious of its duties, international and historic, but not moral, since the peoples of the Socialist Countries have never exploited the colonised peoples. They are showing themselves conscious of their duty, and this is why I have the honour of telling you openly here that we are receiving substantial and effective aid from these countries, which is reinforcing the aid which we receive from our African brothers". (p.67).

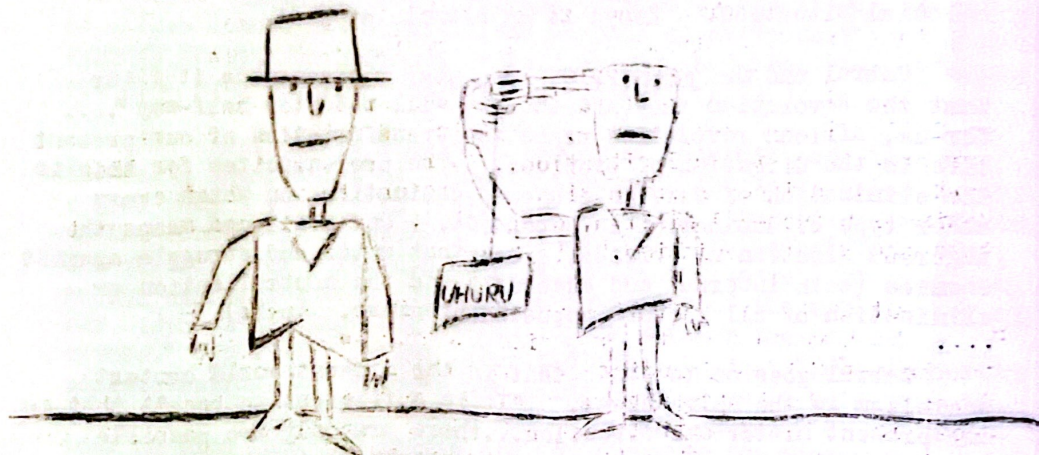
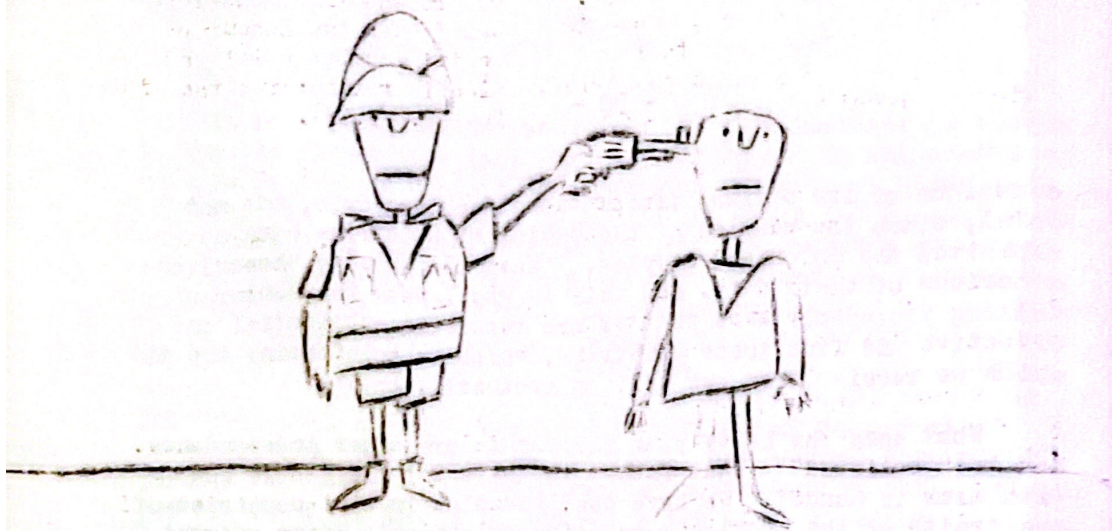
What does the Party plan for the future after independence has been achieved? What future is there for the people now with arms in hands? We have seen examples in some countries of the fruits of the peoples revolutionary struggle being enjoyed not by the masses but by the elite. We know of revolutions being 'hijacked' to preserve the status quo, and to enhance a neo-colonial situation. Kenya is an example at hand.

Cabral and the party PAIGC have many a times made it clear that the Revolution they are leading will not stop half-way "... for us, African revolution means the transformation of our present life in the direction of progress. The prerequisites for this is the elimination of foreign economic domination, on which every other type of domination is dependent. Our vigilance means the rigorous selection of friends, a constant watch and struggle against enemies (both internal and external) and the neutralisation or elimination of all factors opposing progress. (p.14).

Cabral goes on to state that in the present world context socialism is the only answer. "It is sufficient to recall that in our present historical situation...there are only two possible paths for an independent nation: to return to imperialist domination (neo-colonialism, capitalism, state capitalism), or to take the way to socialism." (p.87).

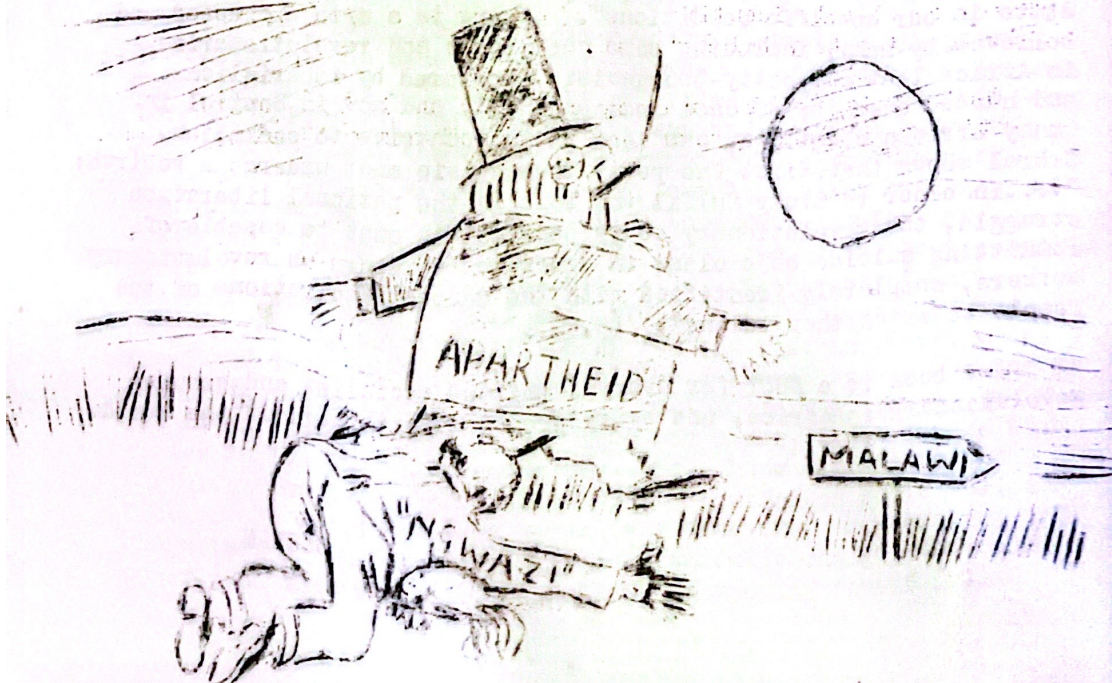
But as to how socialism can be attained, Cabral warns: "... We have to face the question whether or not socialism can be established immediately after the liberation. This depends on the instruments used to effect the transition to socialism; the essential factor is the nature of the state, bearing in mind that after liberation there will be people controlling the police, the prisons, the army and so on, and a great deal depends on who they are and what they try to do with these instruments. Thus we return again to the problem of which class is the agent of history and who are the inheritors of the colonial state in our specific conditions". There is a myth expressed and believed by many, including some socialists and revolutionaries in Africa that our petty-bourgeoisie, nurtured by imperialism and handed over 'brief case independence', and now in control in many African countries, can lead these countries to socialism. Cabral shows that first the petty bourgeoisie must undergo a rebirth: "...in order to truly fulfil the role in the national liberation struggle, the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the deepest aspirations of the people to which they belong". (p.89);

The book is a MUST for every committed socialist and genuine revolutionary in Africa, and every progressive throughout the world.



THE OLD & NEW COLONIALISM

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CONTRIBUTORS' CORNER

D.W. NABUDERE,
Ugandan lawyer, former Chairman of
the now banned Vietnam Solidarity
Committee, Uganda.

Y. MUSEVENI,
Recently graduated at University
College, Dar es Salaam, former Chairman
of the U.S.A.R.F., now in Uganda.

D.U. VESTBRO &
G. PERSSON,
Both lecturing at University of Lund,
Sweden.

S. RAMJI,
Finalist science student at University
of Dar es Salaam and Treasurer of
the U.S.A.R.F.

AMILCAR CABRAL,
Secretary General of the P.A.I.G.C.,
Guinea Bissau.

H. OTHMAN,
Former Assistant Dean, Faculty of Law,
University of Dar es Salaam.

I m p o r t a n t A n n o u n c e m e n t

The Editorial Board takes pleasure
in notifying the readers that CHECHE Research
Paper No. 1 shall be out in August, 1970,
entitled:

TANZANIA: THE SILENT CLASS-STRUGGLE.

A thought provoking and analytical study
of the Tanzanian socio-economic scene. Make
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