

Two-thirds of the peoples of the world are not yet liberated; since the World War II, Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm centre of revolutionary struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and its running dogs thus accelerating the downfall of capitalism and imperialism. Our new world is entering the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought and China has become the bastion of world revolution. Without the thought of Mao Tse-tung, Marxism-Leninism at its peak, the revolutionary people have no hope of liberation. History has proved and continues to prove the fallacy and bankruptcy of all bourgeois and revisionist theories on liberation, and that they are continuously losing market; they are being thrown in the dust-bin of history. Chairman Mao's theory on people's war is a universal truth of Marxism-Leninism which can be applied by the people fighting for liberation to the concrete situation of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It constitutes the line of demarcation between genuine and phony revolutionaries; between Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists; between those who want real liberation and those who want formal independence.

Here we are going to discuss the question of the African revolution and the theory of Chairman Mao on people's war.

### Stage of the Revolution in Africa:

Africa now is in the stage of the national democratic revolution. This revolution is directed against the main enemies of the African people today: imperialism, old and new colonialism, feudalism and compradore classes. Out of the total number of countries and regions in Africa which is 58, more than 40 have achieved national independence. More than 15 countries and regions are still under colonial rule. In more than six countries and regions people have taken up arms waging struggle to liberate themselves from the colonialists. In many African countries under the rule of puppet regimes, people at varying degrees have resolved to take up arms as the sole means to save their countries. In other countries ruled by the Left and middle sections of the national bourgeoisie the broad masses of the people are waging struggles in many forms against neo-colonialism coming under the cover of "aid, assistance and loans" particularly from the U.S.A., against cultural aggression, in support of their brothers still fighting against colonialism and African puppet regimes, and for winning their own democratic rights and freedoms.

The imperialists, feudalists and compradore classes have formed a united front against the broad masses of the people in the vast majority of countries in Africa, oppressing them, suppressing them and mercilessly exploiting them. The imperialists and colonialists

## forces of revolution

### Forces of the National Democratic Revolution:

What are the forces of the national democratic revolution in Africa? The main forces of the national democratic revolution in Africa are the working class, the peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The working class represents less than 10% of the total population of Africa which is estimated at about 300 million. The peasants constitute between 70% to 75% of the total population of Africa, that is the vast majority of the people. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, teaches us that the worker-peasant alliance is the sure guarantee for the victory of the revolution. Though the working class is the most revolutionary class and the most advanced yet it cannot alone achieve victory un-

are still plundering African wealth directly and indirectly and drawing fabulous profits from the sweat and blood of the toiling people. Africa which is considered the richest continent in the world is ridden by extreme poverty, disease and illiteracy.

# THE AFRICAN AND THE THEORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR

From the Afro-Asian Journalist  
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# REVOLUTION

(Part I)

Ahmed Kheir

## Two Basically Different Views on the N. D. Revolution in Africa:

For many years now, and especially during the last few years, many debates have been held and many different opinions expressed on the national democratic revolution especially in Africa; but all these different opinions can be summed up in two basically different viewpoints. The first is the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint based on the thought of Chairman Mao and the other is the reactionary viewpoint based on the arguments of either the imperialists, the bourgeoisie or the revisionists and which is fundamentally a bourgeois viewpoint.

The Marxist-Leninist view based on the thought of Chairman Mao stipulates that to lead the national democratic revolution to success three conditions are absolutely essential:

a) A well-disciplined Party

## conditions for the revolution

What is the situation in Africa regarding these three conditions? There are about 100 major political parties in Africa. Out of these more than 12 were communist parties which have become revisionist. Two or three of these have actually dissolved themselves and joined the national bourgeoisie and



armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people.

b) An army under the leadership of such a Party, and

c) A united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party.

and in addition to a new type of revolutionary nationalist party following at varying degrees the thought of Chairman Mao. Some of the latter, are either leading armed struggles or are resolved to conduct armed struggle. Today, in not less than thirty-five to forty African countries and territories, we discover this new phenomenon of the appearance either of Marxist-Leninist parties or groups, or revolutionary nationalist parties or groups, guided at varying degrees by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is an excellent situation most favourable to the African revolution.

As for the question of the united front as understood by Marxist-Leninists, though we find, in not a few cases some kind of alliances in some places among the revolutionary classes varying in scope,

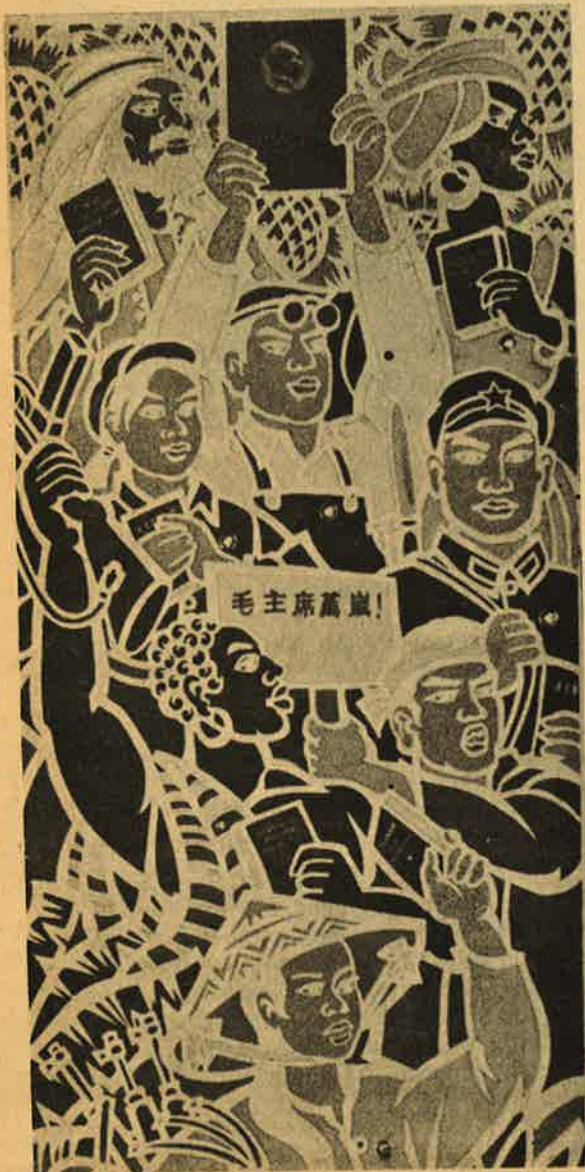


## modern revisionist view

yet we do not find in most cases the physical active presence of a united front based on the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. However Marxist-Leninist parties or groups and revolutionary nationalist organizations and groups are paying more attention to this crucial problem.

In places where armed struggle is waged under Marxist-Leninist leadership, or is under way, we find seeds of a people's army here and there.

From all this we can conclude that the subjective and objective conditions are most favourable for the success of the national democratic revolution in Africa under the leadership of genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung.



What is the reactionary viewpoint on the question of the national democratic revolution in Africa? Here I am not going to speak about the imperialist view for it is clear to every one of us. However I am going to speak about the view of the Soviet modern revisionist for the reason that it plays now a very damaging role in Africa and because in actual fact this view fully serves the reactionaries and the imperialists as well.

It was a few years ago, when in an international conference, a Soviet revisionist described the national liberation movement as a movement for piling corpses. This greatly aroused the indignation of the liberation fighters in the conference hall and the Chinese delegation headed by Comrade Liu Ning-yi walked out in protest. Later on, and on many international occasions the Soviet modern revisionists came out more brazenly against the national liberation movement, particularly against armed struggle and people's war as the sole reliable means for the liberation of the oppressed people. All their attitudes and positions stem from their basic original political line, the line of peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition. This notorious line which was formulated during the twentieth congress of the C.P.S.U. under the leadership of the revisionist gang headed by Khrushchov caused great harm to the national liberation movement leading to the massacres of thousands upon thousands of communists, revolutionary fighters and patriots, by the forces of reaction and imperialism. The theories of the Soviet modern revisionists on the national democratic revolution in Africa, where summed up by a representative of the Soviet revisionists at a seminar held in Cairo on the question of "Africa: National and Social Revolution" from October 24 to 29, last year, 1966. These revisionist theories can be summed up in three main points:

1) There is no class differentiation in Africa or if classes ever exist, have no clear-cut distinction and sharp lines of demarcation;

hence follows the conclusion that class struggle does not occupy any place of importance in the national democratic revolution in Africa today.

2) The main task of the national democratic revolution in Africa today is not to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and the compradore class and seize state power by armed force, but to develop the means of production and to democratise social life through the introduction of reforms.

3) To make the transition to socialism, it is not necessary to have the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party; it is not necessary for the workers to lead the peasants in revolution and seize power. The national bourgeoisie can lead the whole people to make socialism.

The Soviet revisionist representative went to great pains at the Cairo seminar to put across his theory on the absence of classes in Africa by using such expressions as "class differentiation proceeded extremely slowly", that there are "no class boundaries" and "there are intermediate groups" and "interpenetration of social groups" and so on and so forth. All this was meant to divert the people from tackling the question of the African revolution on the basis of class analysis. Everybody knows that in every African country and region there are exploiters and people exploited; there are oppressors and people oppressed, in short, nobody would deny the existence of clear-cut classes and class struggle except, sometimes the ruling classes themselves. We have often heard in Sudan big feudal plantation owners talking to the peasants by saying that they were all of the same class, that they were all of the same family and that classes do not exist in Sudan where "everyone eats almost the same food and wears the same clothes", etc. We often hear the same from the leaders of bourgeois parties in government and from compradore elements in control of state power. But we never heard peasants, workers or other exploited people say that



there are no classes and that we are all equal brothers and sisters. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years."** The Soviet modern revisionist allegation that there is no clear class distinction or that there are no classes in Africa is nothing but a metaphysical outlook deliberately propagated to dampen class struggle in Africa and to cater to the needs of imperialism and the reactionaries.

The Soviet modern revisionists propagate that the main task of the national democratic revolution in Africa is not to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and the compradore classes by the force of arms, but to develop the means of production and to democratise social life through the introduction of reforms. The

Soviet modern revisionists have declared a long time ago that the national democratic revolution has entered a stage in which the economic tasks have become the most important. At the Cairo seminar last year, the revisionist representative said that "the political approach implies a striving fully and deeply to reflect in political theories and actions the requirements of economic development and to find reserves to meet the demands of economic and social progress". He further said "the specific nature of the democratic phase of the social revolution in Africa consists further in that in the overwhelming majority of cases there is a real possibility of avoiding civil war between antagonistic classes, of isolating the hostile class elements and compelling them to bow to the will of the democratic majority by peaceful political and economic means..."

with imperialism to push forward the policy of world domination by the United States and the Soviet Union.

b) To strengthen relations with the ruling bourgeois, feudal and compradore classes of Africa by offering "aid, loans and assistance" to them with the purpose of dictating their policies on the independent African countries and thus secure, together with international monopoly capital, a share in the loot of those countries.

c) To extend the world reactionary front by building together with the local revisionists, pacifists and reactionaries another front in Africa to oppose the People's Republic of China and the African liberation movement which is developing along the path of armed struggle.

The Soviet modern revisionists advocate that to go over to social-

## revolution or reform

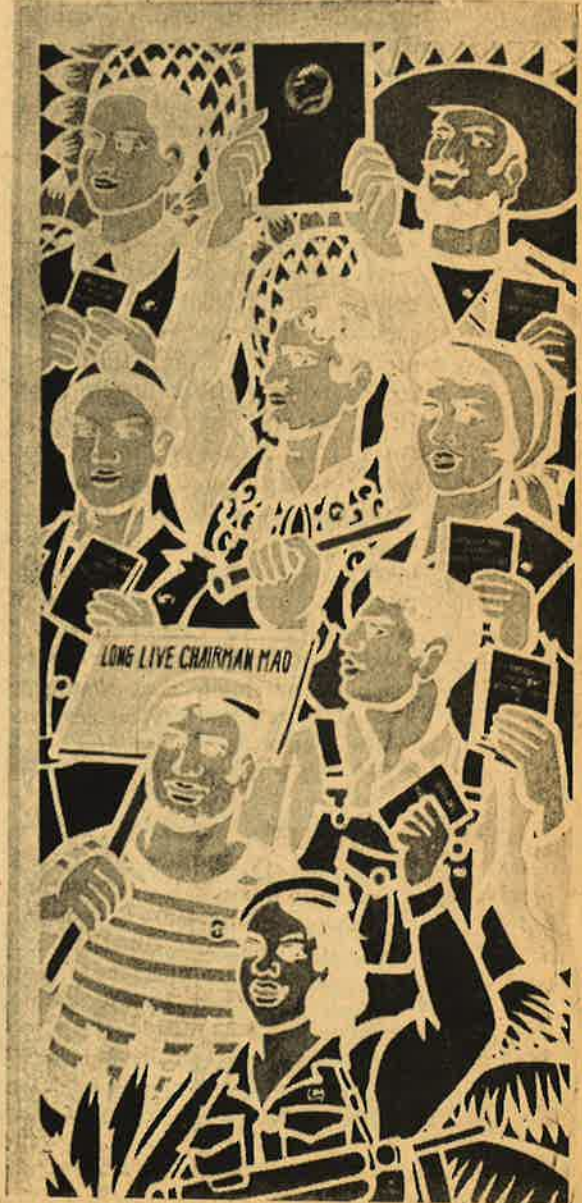
All these "theories" of the modern revisionists boil down to replacing the political revolutionary tasks in the period of the national democratic revolution by economic tasks and replacing the revolutionary class struggle of the workers, peasants and other oppressed people, by class reconciliation and reform. In a word, the Soviet modern revisionists advocate that political power and struggle for political power have no significance at all for the proletariat, the peasants and other revolutionary classes in the stage of the national democratic revolution; not only that but they go further advocating that revolutionary classes should completely abandon revolution and become mere advocates of bourgeois reformism. This is tantamount to saying to the oppressed people, particularly in the independent African countries today that they should completely leave matters as they are in the hands of the ruling classes lest there will be no progress at all. This is precisely what the U.S. and other imperialists are advocating among the African people today by saying that the main thing for independent African countries is to achieve economic and social progress.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **"all revolutionary struggles in the world aim at seizing power and consolidating it. And the counter-revolutionaries struggle desperately against the revolutionary forces for the sole purpose of maintaining their political power"**.

In his *Foundation of Leninism*, Stalin said, "To a reformist reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash." He continued to say: "To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are by-products of the revolution." He said: "The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

By advocating their above-mentioned "theories", the Soviet modern revisionists want to achieve several purposes:

a) To give ample proof to the U.S. imperialists of their opposition to revolutionary struggles and liberation wars of the African people and thus promote the Soviet revisionist peaceful co-existence





ism, it is not necessary to have the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party; it is not necessary for the workers to lead the peasants in revolution and seize power. They say that the national bourgeoisie can lead the whole people to make socialism.

The revisionist representative at the Cairo seminar said: "Building socialism implies, firstly, the creation of powerful productive forces in industry and agriculture; secondly, socialized means of production and creation of socialist relations of production; thirdly, political organization of society on a socialist footing." He said: "For many African countries the first stage (in the transition to socialism) . . . will be the preparatory democratic period when the material, social, political and cultural preconditions are created for the advance along the non-capitalist way." He further said: "Apart from revolution, there is another method—the method of competition of different structures. . . ." He laid great stress on what he called the practicability of ensuring the non-capitalist path by direct and indirect aid of the socialist system. . . .

According to the "transition" theory of the modern revisionists there are two stages to be covered before the transition to their socialism: the first is called the preparatory period and the second is the non-capitalist development stage. During the so-called democratic preparatory period progressive forces must concentrate on "building material, social, political and cultural preconditions." This means as a Sudanese revisionist put it in an article published in *World Marxist Review*, No. 2, 1966, that "the struggle centres around the demand that democratic rights and liberties be restored and extended. This demand is attracting all supporters of democracy, even the adherents of Westminster democracy". The revisionist Communist Party of Sudan stressed in its programme its firm determination to defend democratic and constitutional methods. A revisionist leader from Senegal stressed that "the transitional democratic revolution establishes a national democracy". Chairman Mao teaches us that "as a matter of fact, freedom and democracy do not exist in the

abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people."

As for the stage of non-capitalist development advocated by the Soviet revisionists, it is nothing in actual fact but a form of capitalism. In all the countries following the so-called non-capitalist road of development without exception, we find exploitation of workers, peasants and other toiling masses; we find foreign investments by world monopoly capital; we find suppression of revolutionary people, etc.

The Soviet revisionist representative after taking great pains to explain the non-capitalist stage went on to say, "In the light of all this one cannot agree with the contention that power alone should be the source of socialism. Socialism, a higher type of democracy, derives from the people. It is built by all the working people."

After having now laid down the difference between the two points of view, the Marxist-Leninist point of view and the revisionist one, on the national democratic revolution in Africa; now let us see what is the result of the revisionist point of view as far as the national democratic revolution in Africa is concerned.



Chairman Mao says: In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle.



# THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION AND THE THEORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR

From the Afro-Asian Journalist, (Part II)  
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Ahmed Kheir

## Damage of Soviet Revisionism to the African Revolution

Here, we are going to give a few concrete examples:

a) **Betrayal of armed struggle:** The revisionists are the agents of the enemy in the ranks of the fighting people. Their main task is to sabotage the revolutionary ranks from inside to serve imperialism and reaction. Since the appearance of modern revisionism in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and its control of the leadership in the Party and the state, the Soviet ruling clique left no stone unturned to make the revolutionary African people abandon the road of armed struggle and take the road of "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful transition", and "peaceful competition", claiming that "small sparks" may set a "world conflagration" and "small wars can grow into big wars". Thus basing themselves on these revisionist treacherous theories, they betrayed the armed struggle of the Algerian people. For seven years the Algerian people fought against the French imperialists with arms. Yet the Soviet modern revisionists never dared to recognise the Algerian National Front for Liberation. Khrushchov declared that the Algerian problem was an internal problem of France. The Algerian Communist Party which was controlled by the French and Soviet revisionists did not dare to support the armed struggle of their own people nor take part in it. Thus the disgrace the Algerian revisionists brought on the name of communism is un-

precedented in an African country.

The Soviet modern revisionists betrayed the armed resistance of the Congolese people under the leadership of Lumumba and voted for the despatch of troops under the flag of the United Nations in the Security Council to suppress the resistance of the people. Lumumba together with thousands of patriots were slaughtered and the Congolese revolution suffered a serious setback.

The Soviet modern revisionists have traded with the cause of people's liberation in Africa with a large number of African puppet regimes in search of their own narrow nationalistic interests.

The Soviet modern revisionists exerted great pressure on many African revolutionary fighters to abandon the road of armed struggle and come to terms with reactionaries. In places where their pressure failed they resorted to creating splits, confusion and anarchy.

b) **Catering to the needs of the bourgeoisie:** The Soviet revisionists have become liquidationists in the world communist movement. On their advice several Communist Parties have dissolved themselves, merged as individuals in national bourgeois parties or transformed themselves to social democratic parties as in the case of Egypt and Sudan.

c) **Spreading fear of struggle among the masses:** Everyone knows that the Soviet revisionists are spreading the fallacy that a small spark can bring about a world conflagration and that national liberation wars can become big wars affecting the destiny of the whole of humanity. Poisoned by such ideas, some so-called communists in Africa have become experts in spreading panic among the masses of the people. Here are a few examples: a leading revisionist in the S. African revisionist party who said, "Our people everywhere in S. Africa have fought and continue to fight for their liberation but on one condition, namely, that we fight with modern arms in hand. We are no longer prepared to call on our people to fight with sticks and stones as they have done for decades at the cost of thousands of lives. Surely it is not too much to expect that our friends in Africa and all over the world will at least ensure that the people of S. Africa are trained by the thousands and fully armed to fight the enemies of progress on our continent!" And a leading revisionist in Senegal who said: "The absence of 'land hunger' in Senegal should caution us against the automatic acceptance of diverse theories of peasant revolution." He continued, "In our case, although they constitute the majority, the peasants are very backward." And it is "the bulk of the radical-minded petty bourgeoisie who are fighting for a genuine national democratic revolution aimed in the long run, at building a socialist society".



A leading Sudanese revisionist said: "At the present stage of the liberation movement in Africa truly revolutionary changes can be effected only in conditions of genuine democracy, with the people enjoying full rights in the conducting of their political, social, economic and cultural affairs..."

Another Sudanese revisionist said, "In countries which chose the non-capitalist way of development, the one-party system helped, as before, to consolidate the front. Here, the people's participation in political life is not a matter of inner-party struggle but of developing intra-party democracy. The task of the most advanced, Marxist forces in these countries therefore consists not in creating opposition groups, but in obtaining various forms of participation by the masses in the management of the state and the economy on the basis of consolidating the ruling party."

The above-mentioned are only a few examples to show how Soviet modern revisionism caused harm to the liberation movement of the African revolution by completely distorting the essence of the national democratic revolution, its tasks, its target and its enemies. However, in spite of all the attempts of the Soviet and African modern revisionists, the revolutionary forces in Africa are growing fast in experience and numbers.



*As the enemy is sharpening his swords, we must sharpen ours too.*

### The Significance of Chairman Mao's Theory on People's War for African Revolutionaries Today

a) It can only be initiated and led on the basis of complete reliance on the broad masses of the peasants who are politically mobilized and voluntarily accept proletarian leadership. Having this character, it completely and thoroughly refutes the theory of the invincibility of bourgeois and reactionary armies however highly equipped they may be. **Chairman Mao said: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** He also said, "What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people

**who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it."**

Here, Chairman Mao expressed boundless and unquestionable faith in the masses, because the masses are the real makers of history. Contrary to this, the reactionaries have faith only in their armed forces. But these armed forces of the reactionaries are generally recruited in Africa

from among the poor who had no other way of earning a living; hence they usually go into action lacking real conviction and the just motive. What controls them is absolute commandism and the authority of the state. While the people on the other hand are bound by a common cause, an ideology and a fairly high level of political consciousness. **Chairman Mao said: "Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into material force which changes society and changes the world."**

Let us take an example from the history of our country:

When the Sudanese leader Mohamed Ahmed Al Mahdi rose in revolt against the Turkish rule in



Sudan in 1881, he had nothing to depend upon except the masses of the people and mainly the peasants. In the course of four years of revolution, the people who were armed only with sticks, spears and swords, defeated thousands upon thousands of colonial troops with modern equipment including British troops under General Gordon who suppressed the Taiping revolt in China. In the battle of Khartoum alone 11 thousand aggressor troops were massacred together with General Gordon in 1885. This victory which brought independence to Sudan for 16 years to follow was due chiefly to reliance on the people. Though the people were poorly armed, they were fighting a just war, while the colonial troops, although well armed, were fighting an unjust war.

b) Because people's war cannot do without the principle of self-reliance, that is reliance on the people, it completely refutes the modern revisionist theory that external "aid" and "assistance" is of vital importance to the victory of the revolution.

c) Because a people's army in a people's war begins by the formation of small guerrilla units whose members are bound together by a proletarian ideology, it lays down the foundation for a people's army of a new type, the type of the People's Liberation Army of China in which the Party commands the gun and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.

d) Because it requires the establishment of base areas, which are essential for the military strategy of the war and also for the training of cadres for administration, economic planning and construction, it refutes the bourgeois theory of pre-training of such cadres before the revolution as advocated by the revisionists and reactionaries.

From all this, we conclude that to believe in people's war does not only mean that one is revolutionary and wants revolution, but also means that he can enable himself to refute the bourgeois theories on the invincibility of reactionary armed forces; on the necessity of dependence on foreign aid; on the building of powerful armies and

on the necessity of training cadres for administration, economic planning and construction.

Herein, among other things, lies the significance of people's war for the African people.

The armed forces commanded by the reactionaries in Africa including those countries and territories which are not yet independent, constitute less than 5% of the total population of Africa which exceeds 300 million. All these forces are concentrated in the cities which are the base areas of the reactionaries. As for the vast countryside of Africa, only an insignificant number of reactionary forces is scattered here and there. To better illustrate this let us take the example of Sudan. Sudan is a vast country whose area is one million square miles. Out of its 14 million people, 85% live in the countryside; of these 15% are nomads and the rest are peasants. The 15% of the city population is distributed among 70 big, medium and small towns. The total strength of the army and police force is less than 30 thousand. Mountains, jungles, forests, lakes and rivers are to be found in many parts of the country. It is a well-established fact that when one travels deep in the countryside one very seldom sees a soldier or a policeman anywhere. This picture exists more or less in many African countries.

During the last few months, peasants in several places in Sudan in spontaneous movements killed a number of big landowners. In the southern part of Sudan bordering the Congo (K), Uganda and Kenya, national minorities are discriminated against and suffer from severe exploitation and oppression. On the eastern border of Sudan armed liberation struggle conducted by the people of Eritria under the rule of Ethiopia has been going for the last five years.

The suffering of our people is increasing by each passing day. A few figures can give a picture of the situation. There is one hospital in Sudan for every 225 thousand persons. One doctor for every 28 thousand people. In the countryside there is one doctor for each 41 thousand persons. There is one clinic without a trained doctor against

each 9 thousand persons in the countryside. Sudan consumption per person of sorghum which is the staple food dropped by almost half during the last five years. The death rate in the six northern provinces is more than 15 out of every one thousand persons. This rate rises to over 30 in each thousand in the three provinces of the south. The country is being turned into an American colony. Contradictions have become very sharp among the ruling classes and during the last ten years since independence Sudan had ten governments, none of which could be stable. In short, the objective situation is excellent for the struggle of the people.

Since the appearance of modern revisionism, and in spite of it, the number of countries and regions in Africa conducting armed struggle did not decrease, but has increased, many more parties and organizations have decided to wage armed struggle. The thought of Chairman Mao is increasingly spreading among all African revolutionary people. The imperialists, particularly those of the U.S.A., have never been so isolated as they are today; the success of the national liberation wars waged by the people of many countries in Asia and Latin America and particularly the success achieved by the Vietnamese people are giving great encouragement to the African people. The bourgeois theories on African liberation are going bankrupt everywhere in the continent of Africa. The African people have actually waken up to the truth that **"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"**; they have waken up to the truth that **"the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution."** In a word, the situation is excellent. We are absolutely confident, that guided by the theory of Chairman Mao on people's war, the whole of Africa will be liberated and Africa, without imperialism, without revisionism, and without exploitation will return to the hands of the African workers and peasants, to the other working people, and the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought will be raised higher than ever before.