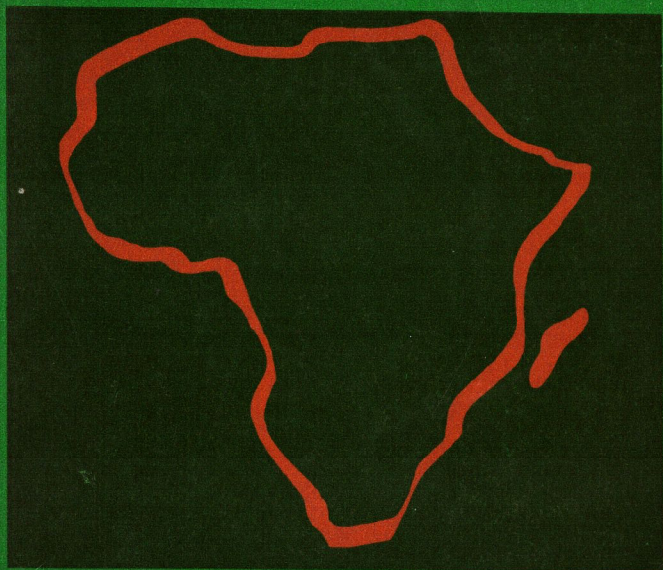


Africa

on the

NEW ROAD



PYOTR MANCHKHA

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Introduction

The People of Africa are going through a momentous period in their long history. Emancipating themselves from colonial oppression, they are achieving national independence and are building a new, progressive society.

Africa supports a population of more than 350 million and has immense natural resources. But the continent produces no more than two per cent of the total industrial output of the capitalist world. Its economic, social and cultural backwardness is the result of its long oppression by the colonialists and the imperialists. To quote Karl Marx, for five hundred years Africa was "a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins. . ."

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the effective building of a new society in the USSR, the rout of the most aggressive imperialist groups during the Second World War, and the triumph of socialist revolutions in many countries of Europe and Asia—all this has changed the alignment of social and political forces in the world and acce-

lerated the development of the national liberation struggle leading to the downfall of the colonial empires. The expulsion of most of the colonial regimes from Africa is a historical gain of the African peoples, the world liberation movement and progressive mankind.

Lenin's prophecy that the majority of the world's population would join the struggle to end exploitation and secure economic, social and spiritual freedom has been fully corroborated. Many new national states, whose people were for centuries kept by the colonialists "outside history," to use Lenin's expression, have now taken their place on the world scene. The imperialists, however, are sparing no effort in their attempt to foist a new form of exploitation and oppression upon Africa in their bid to re-colonize the continent. "Imperialism has become more active in a number of *African* countries," reads the Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow. "It tries to halt the growth of the liberation struggle and preserve and strengthen its positions in that continent. The British and French imperialists, and the imperialists of the USA, West Germany and Japan are making extensive use of neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation. The armed intervention in the Congo (Kinshasa) ¹, the reactionary coups in Ghana and some other countries, imperialist moves designed to dismember Nigeria, the political and military support given to reactionary and anti-national cli-

¹ According to the decree of the President of the Democratic Republic of Congo, from October 27, 1971 the country is known as the Republic of Zaïre.

ques, to the fascist and racist regimes in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the fomenting of inter-state conflicts and inter-tribal strife, economic pressure and monopoly expansion—all serve to further imperialist plans." ¹ African patriots are therefore still faced with the struggle to achieve the full emancipation of their continent.

Today the national liberation movement in Africa is developing along two major lines. Firstly, the struggle to drive the colonialists from their last possessions in Africa is steadily expanding. Secondly, in those countries that have gained political independence, the national liberation revolution is gaining in scope as it enters upon a new stage—the struggle to consolidate this independence and achieve economic independence.

The successful accomplishment of these tasks depends primarily on whether a correct choice is made of the path of social and economic development. This is a special feature of the new stage in the national liberation revolution—the necessity to decide along what lines African countries will continue their social and economic progress. To bring the national liberation revolution in Africa to a successful conclusion requires that African countries take the path of non-capitalist development with the final aim of building a socialist society. The task of the progressive forces is to continue the struggle against imperialism, for national liberation and at the same time to direct this struggle against capitalism as a system incapable of giving the peoples of Africa their economic inde-

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, pp. 15-16.

pendence or of allowing for their progressive social development.

African Communists and revolutionaries have to contend with difficult conditions. The long years of colonial exploitation and the resulting social, economic and cultural backwardness, the still continuing process of the formation of nations and classes (with the exception of several countries in North Africa) and the small numbers of the working class—all this has hindered the formation of organized, politically and ideologically tempered Communist and Workers' parties. Nevertheless, the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the formation of the world socialist community have contributed to the emergence in Africa of Marxist parties, forming a militant part of the international communist and working-class movement.

The emergence of new, revolutionary-democratic parties is an important achievement of the national liberation revolution. They have won acknowledgement and prestige in the course of the anti-colonial struggle and many of them are playing a leading part among the countries of socialist orientation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by the Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism, is continuing to strengthen its ties and co-operation with the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary-democratic parties of Africa.

* * *

This book deals with some of the vital problems of the struggle being waged by the peoples of Tropical and southern Africa for national and so-

cial emancipation. Its aim is to show the place and role of Africa's Communists and other revolutionaries in this struggle, and to consider the difficulties they face in carrying out their work. Special attention is given to the friendship and co-operation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with the Communist and revolutionary democratic parties of Africa. The book also deals with the subversive activities of the Maoists on the African scene.

I. The Triumphant March of the African Revolution

Africa is an important area of the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggle. The liberation of the African peoples from oppression and exploitation and the emergence of numbers of independent states on this continent is the direct result of the process begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution of man's liberation from the yoke of imperialism. "The salvoes of the October Revolution," said John B. Marks, Chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa, "reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the world." "The October Revolution," said Sékou Touré, Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea and President of the Guinean Republic, "has had a decisive impact on contemporary history. The area of freedom has expanded and grown stronger since October 1917. More, the fight against imperialism has gained in intensity as the peoples of the world became confident of their ability to destroy imperialism."

The enemies of progress are trying to make out that the constructive ideas of the October Revolu-

tion and Lenin's teaching cannot be applied to other continents. These are futile attempts. The peoples of Africa have welcomed the victory of the Great October Revolution as a step towards their own liberation from colonial and imperialist oppression. Lenin, who had implicit belief in the revolutionary potential of the oppressed peoples, saw the inevitability and progressive character of national liberation revolutions as stemming from the age of imperialism. He noted that the Great October Socialist Revolution was "not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international. . ."¹ that "not merely several but all the primary features of our revolution, and many of its secondary features, are of international significance in the meaning of its effect on all countries." Lenin also emphasized that the socialist revolution "will be a struggle of all the imperialist-oppressed colonies and countries, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism."²

History has fully confirmed Lenin's conclusions. The anti-imperialist struggle in Africa shows that Lenin's ideas are penetrating into the minds and hearts of revolutionaries and democrats, of all peoples fighting for their lawful rights and vital interests.

The Downfall of the Colonial System

The collapse of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is second in historical importance only

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 159.

to the emergence of the world socialist system. By the early 1950s colonialism had suffered heavy losses in Asia: the peoples of India, Indonesia and China, Asia's three largest countries, had cast off the fetters of colonialism. But it continued to dominate nearly all of Africa. The colonialists regarded their position in the African colonies as quite secure. Besides, the loss of Asian territories considerably increased the importance to imperialism of the African colonies. The colonialists made desperate efforts to retain their hold on Kenya, Nigeria, the Congo (Kinshasa), Madagascar and southern Africa, territories which were considered especially valuable from an economic and strategic point of view. In 1952 the colonialists put down the movement of Kenyan patriots who had risen to fight for land and freedom. Twelve thousand Kenyans were killed in this blood-bath. Those of their leaders who were not murdered were imprisoned. In 1947 French punitive troops massacred 100 thousand of the inhabitants of Madagascar. Many other African peoples suffered a similar fate.

Yet the imperialists failed to hold back the tide. The strengthening of the world socialist system, the elimination of colonial regimes in Asia, the extensive penetration of the ideas of liberation, which the colonialists could not keep in check—all these things undermined imperialism and breathed new life into the struggle of the African peoples. At the end of 1951 Libya broke away from Italian colonial rule and secured its national independence. In 1952 Egypt successfully accomplished a national revolution. In 1954 the heroic people of Algeria took to arms. Two years later independence was achieved by Morocco, Tunisia

and the Sudan. From the north the wave of national liberation movements swept southwards. It rolled through West, Central and East Africa. The Gold Coast was the first colony in Central Africa to secure independence. In 1957 it shook off the British colonial rule and emerged as the Republic of Ghana. In 1958 Guinea followed in its footsteps. The emergence of Ghana and Guinea became a turning point in the liberation struggle of Central Africa in favour of the patriotic forces.

The year 1960 was called "Africa Year." It became the year of decisive blows against the colonial empires and first of all against the French colonies. Cameroon, Togo, Senegal, Mali, Madagascar, the Congo (Kinshasa), Somalia, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Chad, the Central African Republic, the Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Nigeria, Mauritania—seventeen states in all, proclaimed their independence. The French colonial empire ended with the victory of the Algerian people and the emergence of independent Algeria (1962). That same year Ruanda and Burundi, the last Belgian colonies in Africa, secured their freedom.

In the course of 1960-1962 heavy losses were suffered by the British colonialists. Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Uganda won their independence, and British Somaliland became part of the Republic of Somali. In 1963 the British colonialists were compelled to acknowledge the independence of Kenya, and later of Zanzibar at the end of the year.¹ In 1964 independence was attained by Ma-

¹ In April 1964 Zanzibar and Tanganyika united to form Tanzania.

lawi (former Nyassaland) and Zambia (the former British protectorate of Northern Rhodesia); Botswana (the former British protectorate of Bechuanaland) followed suit in 1966. This was also independence year for Lesotho (the former protectorate of Basutoland) and Mauritius. Swaziland and Equatorial Guinea became independent in 1968.

When the United Nations Organization was founded in 1945 its 51 member states included only four formally independent African states: Egypt, Liberia, the Republic of South Africa and Ethiopia. The remainder of Africa consisted of the colonial possessions of Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain.¹ Today Africa has 41 national states all of which are members of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. This has tipped the balance of forces in the world against imperialism.

Events have fully supported Lenin's thesis on the disintegration of the colonial system. Considering the prospects of world development from the viewpoint of Marxist theory, Lenin noted that "...the morrow of world history will be a day when the awakening peoples oppressed by imperialism are finally aroused and the decisive long and hard struggle for their liberation begins."² And that is exactly what has happened. Now the awakened peoples of Africa are demolishing the last bulwarks of colonialism.

However, the degree of independence secured

¹ Germany and Italy also had colonies in Africa. Germany was deprived of its African territories (Togo, Cameroons, Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, South-West Africa) after the First World War. Italy lost its colonies (Libya, Italian Somalia, Eritrea) after the Second World War.

² Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 36, p. 611.

by the young African states varies. They can be divided into three groups. The peoples of several African states have chosen the path of non-capitalist development which has enabled them to surmount the legacy from the past and to lay the foundation for the building of socialism. This group includes the Arab Republic of Egypt, Algeria, Guinea, the Congo (Brazzaville), Tanzania and Somalia. And recently Zambia, Mauritania and Sierra Leone have taken measures to cast off the rule of foreign monopolies and implement radical social and economic changes based on socialist principles.

In the second group—Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malawi, the Malagasy Republic and Niger—the governments propose to overcome their countries' backwardness by developing along capitalist lines. Here political independence exists side by side with the domination of the economy by foreign monopolies. Actual power is in the hands of an emerging bourgeois élite which is supported by the monopolies and which profits from this collaboration.

The third group (Kenya, Senegal, Ruanda, Burundi) remains undecided and is characterized by a struggle between progressive, anti-imperialist forces on the one hand, and reactionary, pro-capitalist forces on the other. Influenced by the weight of anti-capitalist sentiment among the African peoples who are demanding radical change, and by the victories of world socialism, the leaders of these countries are tending to support a socialist orientation, although their intentions are often vaguely expressed.

The disintegration of the colonial empires is a characteristic feature of the second stage in the ge-

neral crisis of capitalism. It is the result of the acute contradictions existing between the oppressed peoples and imperialism, and the direct outcome of the heroic struggle of the peoples of Africa and other countries, a struggle in which the majority of the population has been involved.

The downfall of colonialism in its former, "classical" form, and the anti-imperialist revolution under way in contemporary Africa are an essential part of the third stage in the general crisis of capitalism, engendered in the first place by socialism becoming a world system and by the steady growth of its might. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have given extensive material aid and strong moral support to the cause of Africa's freedom and are continuing to do so.

Bourgeois propaganda goes to great lengths to explain the collapse of colonialism as the voluntary withdrawal of the colonialists from the colonies. But the facts tell a different story. Never have the oppressors ever freed the oppressed of their own free will.

The collapse of the colonial regimes in Africa and the emergence of a large number of independent states have drawn many millions of Africans into active participation in the social processes which are today stirring the imagination of mankind. The emergence of the African states on the world stage, despite the fact that many of them display uncertainty in their policies, is creating new impediments for imperialism.

Liberation opens up before the African peoples prospects of eliminating poverty, of overcoming the dire legacies of colonialism, and of achieving progress in the political, economic and cultural spheres. The industrious and talented peoples of

Africa now have the possibility of forging ahead and of developing their continent's immense resources.

Remaining Areas of Colonialism and Racialism

The patriots of Africa are continuing their courageous struggle, chiefly by the use of arms, to drive the colonialists from their continent. Today there are still African countries suffering under colonial exploitation. In the Republic of South Africa, in Namibia (South-West Africa), which is occupied by South Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia, some 20 million Africans are subject to racial discrimination, the most repugnant feature of colonial oppression.

Below are the remaining links in the shameful chain of colonialism in Africa.

Britain's colonial territories include Southern Rhodesia, Saint Helena Island and the Seychelles. Their total area is almost 480 thousand square kilometres and their population numbers approximately 5.5 million.

French territories comprise the Comores, Reunion, the Mascarene Islands, and Djibouti, with an area of 30 thousand square kilometres and a population of nearly half a million.

Spain still holds the Western Sahara, and Ceuta and Melilla, two small enclaves on the northern coast of the continent. Their area is approximately 260 thousand square kilometres and their population nearly 300,000.

Portugal's colonies include Angola, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Saint Thomas and

Principe Islands, and Mozambique, with an area of more than two million square kilometres and a population of over 13 million. Portugal, an economically backward country, does not have the wherewithal to maintain its large forces of punitive troops or to bear the expense connected with the steadily mounting struggle of the patriotic anti-colonial forces. It is continuing its precarious existence as a colonial power only with the active support of the USA and other NATO countries.

Time and again the peoples of the Portuguese colonies have risen in an unequal struggle against colonial slavery and racial discrimination. Now, the national liberation forces in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are waging a determined armed struggle for national independence and social progress.

The patriots of Angola began their war against the Portuguese colonialists in 1961. On the night of February 4th several insurgents disarmed the prison guards in Luanda in a bid to free their compatriots. In March the progressive trade unions of Angola declared a general strike which soon grew into an armed rebellion. The insurgents destroyed the coffee plantations of the colonialists, made short work of the plantation owners and police and slipped away into the jungle and the savannahs. There they set up a number of strongholds in order to continue their struggle. Some two or three months later the insurgents had won control of vast areas in different parts of the country. The flame of the national liberation movement grew stronger.

From the very outset of this movement the militant revolutionary democratic Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) became its



Fighters of the People's Liberation Army of Angola on the march.

guiding force. Its chief goal is to free Angola and set up an independent democratic state. The MPLA is the most influential organization of Angola and has 40 thousand workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals in its ranks. The movement guides the work of the General Workers' League of Angola, the Angolese Women's Organization and the Youth Organization of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

One of the MPLA's most important achievements is the formation of the National Liberation Army of Angola whose aim is to expel the Portuguese murderers from the country and guarantee the people of Angola a free and independent life. The Army, which began its existence as separate guerrilla detachments, has developed into a full military organization numbering thousands of patriots. It is conducting military operations in the north-western areas of Angola (near Luanda and North Cuanza) and in the south-east (districts bordering on Zambia and Botswana). At the same time the Angola patriots are continuing to extend their influence in the northern coastal areas. Five of the country's six regions are already carrying on an armed struggle.

The struggle in Angola has acquired a protracted character and is encountering great difficulties because of the counteractions of pseudo-revolutionary organizations. One of these is a political group known as the Angola People's Union (UPA) and the self-styled Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE) set up by the UPA in 1962 with Holden Roberto at its head. The subversive activities of Roberto and his accomplices are inspired by the US imperialists who give them every support. Roberto has also wormed his way into the confidence of several African states. The Congolese government has given him shelter in Kinshasa where he is living a life of ease. Of late, however, the reactionary and pro-imperialist character of his ideas and actions is becoming increasingly evident. Many independent African states have reconsidered their attitude to Roberto's "government". The OAU has adopted a decision refusing to acknowledge it.

The national liberation movement of Angola has to deal with a ruthless enemy in the Portuguese colonialists who have concentrated some 80,000 troops in the country. They are heavily armed with modern weapons supplied by the USA, West Germany, Israel and the Republic of South Africa.

Racialist Portugal has no intention of giving up this rich country, but nevertheless the colonialists will have to go. The MPLA armed forces have already fully liberated more than 400 thousand square kilometres of Angolese territory. Some 300,000 people live in the liberated areas. Besides, several regions of the country are controlled by armed detachments of the Angolese patriots. "The Portuguese colonialists," said MPLA Chairman Agostinho Neto, "are suffering one defeat after another; the end of their rule is near at hand."

"The struggle against colonialism and racialism has always been a firm principle of the Soviet Union's Leninist foreign policy," he noted. "In practical life this principle finds expression in the moral and material support given by the USSR to our movement, in international solidarity with the champions for Africa's independence."

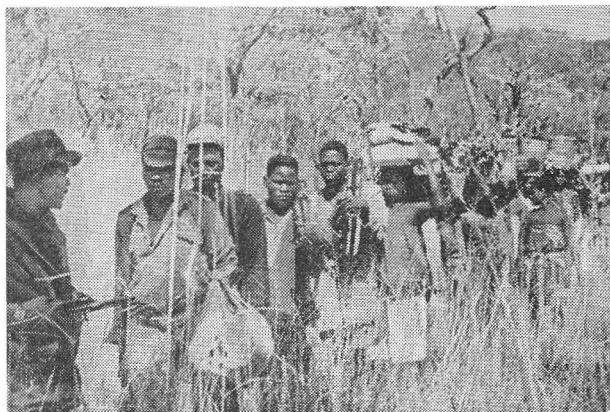
The patriots of Mozambique have also taken up arms against the Portuguese colonialists. Portugal has dominated this "overseas province" for more than 400 years. Here, as in Angola, the Portuguese secret political police are guilty of the most foul crimes against the African people.

On the night of September 24, 1964, a courageous operation was carried out by the guerrillas against a Portuguese stronghold in Cabo Delgado province. The day was subsequently proclaimed as Mozambique Revolution Day and is marked in other countries as Day of International

Solidarity with the Peoples of Mozambique.

From the very outset, the struggle waged by the Mozambique patriots against colonial oppression has been inspired and organized by the revolutionary democratic Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). The Liberation Army guided by FRELIMO numbers 10 thousand and is equipped with up-to-date weapons. They face 35 thousand soldiers and officers of the Portuguese regular army who are supplied with tanks, artillery and aircraft from the USA, West Germany and Britain. Despite the numerical superiority of the enemy the Liberation Army has won control of Cabo Delgado and Niassa, the two northern provinces which make up one-fifth of the total area of the country and which have a population of about a million. Military operations are being extended to the southern provinces as well.

FRELIMO soldiers set out on another sortie against the Portuguese colonialists.



The command of the Liberation Army and the FRELIMO Central Committee have given the patriots the task of consolidating their position in the liberated areas and preparing the ground for extending operations to the central regions. In the liberated areas FRELIMO is concerned with the organization of economic life. It arranges the supply of foodstuffs and essential commodities to the population, and provides facilities for medical assistance and public education. New government bodies and organizations of economic management have been set up to take care of these matters.

The Mozambique patriots are still faced with great hardships, including fierce battles against an enemy which resorts to every kind of atrocity. In 1966, Samuel Magaya, the Commander-in-Chief of the FRELIMO Armed Forces and courageous patriot of the Mozambique people, died under mysterious circumstances. In 1969, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Chairman of FRELIMO and famous champion for the freedom of the Mozambique people, was brutally murdered by the mercenaries of the Portuguese fascist dictator, Marcelo Caetano.

The subversive activities of a reactionary organization known as the Mozambican Revolutionary Council (COREMO) are making things very difficult for the progressive forces of Mozambique. However, despite all the hardships, the forces of the Liberation Army are intensifying their military operations and continuing to gain hold of new areas.

Steady progress is being made by the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. The patriots of Guinea-Bissau have repeated-

ly risen against their numerically stronger oppressors. These movements have been brutally suppressed by the Portuguese troops. In 1961, when the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), which unites peasants, workers and revolutionary intellectuals, became the leader of the patriots, the spontaneous actions of the people soon began to take the form of organized armed struggle against the colonialists.

Today this national revolutionary party is the direct and sole leader of the armed liberation struggle which is being waged by the patriots of Guinea for their country's independence, for the introduction of a democratic system and for economic and social progress. PAIGC guides the work of the trade unions, and of the youth and women's organizations which have been set up on its initiative.

PAIGC's most important achievement has been the founding of the National Liberation Army whose regular and guerrilla forces comprise more than 10 thousand men. It has already liberated more than half of the country from the colonialists. According to the Secretary General of the PAIGC Central Committee Amilcar Cabral, the enemy now controls only sections of the roads linking the bigger towns and some of the waterways leading to the main ports, through which the enemy supplies its remaining strongholds in the hinterland. In the liberated areas local government bodies have been set up and schools, and people's courts, agricultural co-operatives, shops and medical centres are being established.

The patriots are dealing with a 25 thousand

strong Portuguese army which receives various kinds of assistance from the USA and other members of NATO. The enemy is also supported by the colonial-racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia which have formed a bloc with Portugal. Of late the colonialists have been regularly bombing the frontier areas of Guinea and Senegal with the aim of intimidating the Guinea and Senegal authorities into giving up their support of the patriots in Guinea-Bissau. Despite these difficulties the patriots are continuing their successful advance along the road to freedom. They receive aid of different kinds from the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces. Amilcar Cabral has said that the victories achieved by the patriots of Guinea have been made possible by the help and support of the Soviet people.

As stated in the Resolution of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "The CPSU is invariably true to the Leninist principle of solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. As in the past, the fighters against the remaining colonial regimes can count on our full support."¹

The successful military operations of the African patriots in the last bulwarks of colonialism demonstrate the futility of the imperialists' hopes to consolidate their position in Africa. As stressed in the Main Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, "The armed struggle which is being waged in this area by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Namibia and

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 215.



A local public school in one of the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau.

South Africa is inflicting heavy blows on the coalition of fascist and racist regimes, which are supported by the imperialists, and is opening up prospects for fresh big victories of the African revolution."¹

Special Features of the National Liberation Struggle at the Present Stage

The historical victories won by the African peoples in their struggle have created the necessary conditions for the independent development

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 27.

of the African countries and the carrying out of the further tasks of the national liberation revolution.

The main feature of the first stage of the anti-imperialist revolution of national liberation was the elimination of the direct colonial rule of the imperialist powers and the gaining of political independence by the peoples of Africa. But the achievement of political independence did not necessarily mean the end of imperialist exploitation. In several countries "classical" colonialism has given way to neo-colonialism which is no less dangerous than its predecessor. In fact it entails more subtle forms of oppression by the imperialist monopolies.

Analysing instances of such a veiled dependence, Lenin wrote, "Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the epoch of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its foreign policy... give rise to a number of *transitional* forms of state dependence. Not only are the two main groups of countries, those owning colonies, and the colonies themselves, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, politically, are formally independent, but in fact are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence, are typical of this epoch."¹

Lenin's analysis can be wholly applied to the present situation in Africa. Imperialism still has a firm grip on the continent. It exerts pressure on many young sovereign states, which greatly restricts their independence. The imperialist powers still maintain military bases on the African continent. They have also foisted a "defence pact" on

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 263.

many of their former colonies, in order to build new military bases on their territory.

It is from such bases that the imperialists launched their aggression against Egypt in 1956, suppressed the progressive Mau-Mau movement in Kenya and the national liberation movement in the Congo, killed hundreds of thousands of Algerians and unleashed a brutal war against the patriots of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. The peoples of Africa have seen for themselves the threat to the national liberation movement posed by these bases.

In several African states foreign monopolies still own the mining and processing industries and large plantations which are of vital importance for these countries. In most cases monopolies control the states' finances, their foreign and often even their home trade. The imperialists keep most of the young African states within their currency zones.

Britain, France, Belgium and the USA have very large state and private investments in the newly-free states. Consequently many monopolies are still receiving huge profits.

The infiltration of US capital into Africa is particularly evident. Africa provides 100 per cent of all US diamond, columbite and cobalt imports, up to 50 per cent of its imports of manganese, chromium and antimony, and a sizable proportion of its gold, uranium and rubber purchases. In 1960 the volume of direct private US investments in Africa was smaller than that of France and Britain. But in 1971 the USA was already in the lead, its direct investments in the continent amounting to some 3,000 million dollars.

The regular visits of prominent American po-

liticians to the African states testify to the growing US interest in the continent. In March 1957, Richard Nixon, then Vice-President of the USA, visited several African countries. In the summer of 1960, Percy H. Johnston, Chairman of the State Chamber of Commerce, followed suit. In 1968 Hubert H. Humphrey also made a trip to Africa in his capacity as Vice-President.

In February 1970, the US Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, visited 10 states during his 16-day sojourn in Africa. According to the African press, Rogers, like his predecessors, was not able to sell to the Africans the idea that the US was their friend and protector. The official Nigerian newspaper, *Morning Post*, summing up the results of the Rogers visit to Africa, commented that the Secretary of State could not give a coherent explanation to the governments of the African states, including that of Nigeria, as to why the USA supported the racist regimes of Smith and Voerster, why it collaborated with the Portuguese colonialists in suppressing the national liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique and other parts of the continent, or why it was helping the separatists in Nigeria. Nevertheless, Rogers, in his report to the President, stressed the necessity of "co-operation" with the African countries, which answered the "national interests" of the USA.

In July 1971, Spiro Agnew, Vice-President of the USA, concluded his trip across Africa (Kenya-Ethiopia-Congo /Kinshasa/) with a visit to Portugal, the only European state still with colonies in Africa.

History shows that political independence is incomplete, and often merely formal, if it is not supported by economic independence. Lenin noted that

capitalist ideologists "... are talking of *national* liberation... leaving out *economic* liberation. Yet in reality it is the latter that is the chief thing."¹ The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stresses that, "Independence will be unstable and will become fictitious unless the revolution brings about radical changes in the social and economic spheres and solves the pressing problems of national rebirth."²

Experience shows that even in those countries where patriotic forces are in power the chances of setting up an up-to-date industry and agriculture are extremely limited if the country remains an agrarian and raw material appendage of the imperialist economy or if the key sectors of its economy are in the hands of foreign monopolies. It is impossible to achieve national rebirth without building an advanced national economy and without eradicating poverty and making social progress.

Unfortunately many African countries are still subject to colonial or neo-colonial exploitation and continue to be agricultural and raw material appendages of the world imperialist economy. The gaining of political independence did not and could not change this situation. That is why African patriots are still faced with a long and difficult struggle for the final liberation of their continent.

The national liberation revolution has not been completed in Africa. Only its objectives are changing. The contradiction caused by the fact that political independence achieved by some countries is combined with their economic dependence on im-

perialism has ushered in a new stage in it, that of struggle to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

The question which now arises is how to escape from the web of economic dependence.

The answer to this question is tied up with the future trend of the social and economic development of the African states—whether they take the road of non-capitalist development, leading to national democracy and the establishment of close ties with the socialist countries, or the road of nationalism and isolation from the socialist states and other key revolutionary forces of our time, leading inevitably to further subjugation and exploitation by the imperialist colonialist forces.

That is why the progressive forces of contemporary Africa, determined to bring the revolution of national liberation to a successful conclusion, have embarked upon the path of non-capitalist development. That is why it is necessary for all the progressive forces of Africa to continue to keep the liberation struggle spearheaded against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. This means that, simultaneously, the struggle must be directed against capitalism which impedes national progress.

Practical experience has already shown that capitalism has no intention of promoting the economic development of the African states. Instead the capitalist monopolies are tightening their hold on the countries formally classified as independent. No matter in what form (traditional or new as it emerges in the newly-free countries) capitalism cannot become the basis of economic progress. Moreover, its vices are multiplied and show up in their worst form in the young states owing to the backwardness and serious economic dispro-

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 398.

² *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, M., 1961, p. 45.

portions, the weakness of national capital and the destructive influence of the foreign monopolies, all inherited from colonialism. The familiar methods of boosting capitalist industrialization, such as wars and colonial plunder, are not available to the newly free countries. As for other ways of achieving economic growth, they cannot be accepted by capitalism, since they must infringe on the interests of the privileged sections.

Capitalism deliberately preserves the feudal and pre-feudal survivals in Africa and hinders the introduction of any radical social and economic changes that would clear the way and create the prerequisites for a rapid and large-scale development of the productive forces. Capitalism invariably encourages the bourgeois and reactionary elements that are interested in striking a deal with imperialism, and invariably it means suffering for the people. Under capitalism the efforts and means of the working people are not directed towards the tasks of national construction, which means that no headway can be made in solving any of the major problems of social and economic development.

The African states which choose to develop along capitalist lines find themselves shackled to world capitalism and imperialism, drawn into imperialist blocs and alliances and bound to aggressive policies aimed against world peace and security.

The road of capitalism inevitably ensnares them in the meshes of neo-colonialism. This means an end to their hopes of national liberation, undermines social progress and hampers the solution of the nationality problem in Africa as a whole.

The processes of national consolidation are of

exceptional importance for the continent. In Tropical Africa, where states emerged ahead of nations, these processes are only being started. The colonialists are continuing their policy of provoking discord between tribes and peoples, and to this end make use of the artificial boundaries between African countries which they themselves deliberately established. By accepting capitalist tutelage young states play straight into the hands of the colonialists, perpetuating national discord and enmity among the African peoples and undermining the cause of Africa's unity.

The further development of the national liberation revolution, the gaining of economic independence and the building up of the national economies of the young African states entail radical social and economic changes which are impossible under capitalism owing to its very nature.

Lenin demonstrated—and it has been corroborated by practical experience—that under specific conditions economically underdeveloped countries may proceed directly to the building of socialism without passing through the capitalist stage. One of these conditions is the help afforded these countries by the proletariat of the countries that have attained socialism. "It is unquestionable," Lenin emphasized, "that the proletariat of the advanced countries can and should give help to the working masses of the backward countries, and that the backward countries can emerge from their present stage of development when the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Republics extends a helping hand to these masses and is in a position to give them support."¹ In the new historical condi-

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 243-244.

tions, with the consolidation of the world socialist system, this question has been further developed in the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the programme documents of fraternal Communist Parties and the documents of International Meetings of Communist and Workers' parties. As stated in the Document of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1969, "Under the impact of the revolutionary conditions of our time, distinctive forms of progressive social development of the newly-free countries have appeared, and the role of revolutionary and democratic forces has been enhanced. Some young states have taken the non-capitalist path, a path which opens up the possibility of overcoming the backwardness inherited from the colonial past and creates conditions for transition to socialist development. In these countries the socialist orientation is making headway, overcoming great difficulties and trials. These states are waging a determined struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism."¹

The preamble of the Three-Year Development Plan of the Somali Democratic Republic for 1971-1973 reads: "The Somali people, being convinced that socialism is the surest guarantee of the quickest and fullest achievement of these goals (the introduction of several progressive changes-P.M.) have decided to give their economic and social development a socialist character."

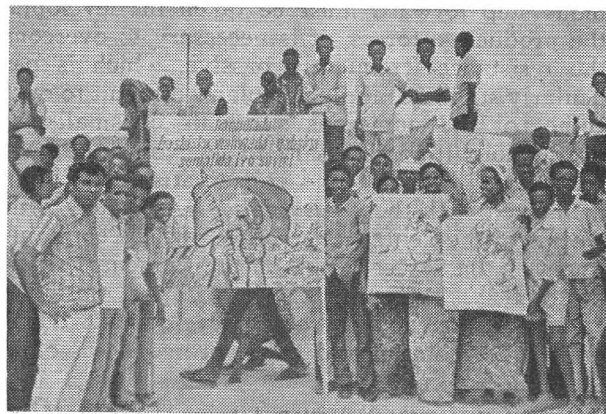
In his speech at the parade of the Congolese National Army and the People's Militia on August

15, 1971, on the occasion of the Eighth Anniversary of the revolution, Marien Ngouabi, President of the People's Republic of the Congo said, "Having chosen the non-capitalist path of development we are firmly resolved to build a truly popular, prosperous Congo, to ensure the economic and political liberation of the Congolese people and the defence of their gains."

A general summary of the basic propositions in regard to the non-capitalist stage of development in the African states prompts the following conclusions:

The non-capitalist path of development is a new trend for Africa. Its aim is to enable countries with a mixed, backward economy to achieve as much in a matter of a few decades as it took centuries for others to achieve;

The Somali people are for friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union.



¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 28.

Historical tasks which were carried out by older societies within the framework of feudalism and capitalism and by their methods, will be carried out in the pre-socialist period within the framework of non-capitalist development as general democratic tasks and by revolutionary, democratic and socialist methods;

In its essence the non-capitalist path of development is a transitional stage which gives rise to a society with transitional production relations. The social and economic structure of this period includes a state sector, a state capitalist sector, a foreign capitalist sector, a privately-owned capitalist sector, a co-operative sector and a petty commodity sector (including the natural economy);

The non-capitalist path makes it possible to progress directly from patriarchal social and economic relations, which have become obsolete, to ultimately building socialism, without passing through the capitalist stage.

"In order to achieve this," Lenin said, "an enormous step forward must be taken in developing the productive forces; it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small-scale production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals."¹ As stated in the Theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin, "... a historical period of transitional stages of social development during which the material and social prerequisites of so-

cialism are gradually prepared and a working class and an intelligentsia loyal to the people take shape"¹ precedes the victory of socialism in the young national states.

Such prerequisites include the gaining of independence from foreign monopolies in the most important spheres of the economy; the elimination of capitalist ownership of the basic means of production and the gradual reorganization of agriculture along collective lines; the establishing of new production relations; the changing of attitudes and outlook of the people and the elimination of all forms of racial and colonial oppression, while at the same time steadily improving the living standards of the working people; the formation and consolidation of a fraternal alliance of the working class, the peasantry and other sections of working people; the bringing up of an intelligentsia educated in keeping with the principles of the socialist ideology and culture; the consolidation of fraternal co-operation and proletarian solidarity with socialist countries and the international working class; the formation of a reliable apparatus to defend the gains of the revolution from internal and foreign enemies; the democratization of all aspects of social and state life with the aim of drawing all the people into the building of a new society along non-capitalist, or rather anti-capitalist, lines; and finally, the creation of a party of the working class and all working people whose activities will be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which, judging from

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

¹ *On the Centenary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin*, Theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1969, p. 47.

historical experience, is a decisive factor for the victory of socialism.

The reorganization of social relations along non-capitalist lines and the creation of the essential prerequisites for socialism will naturally require some time, for they will involve numerous hardships and serious social upheavals. The African people have to solve the problems of their future social and economic development in a situation where they are being continually attacked by the neo-colonialists and their henchmen. As stated in the Central Committee's Report to the 24th Party Congress, "This makes it all the more important that despite all these difficulties the states taking the socialist orientation have been further advancing along their chosen path."¹

It should be emphasized that the peoples themselves must choose their particular path of development. However, the working people are becoming convinced that only by taking the non-capitalist path towards socialism can they solve their vital problems, eliminate the grim legacy of the past and improve living conditions. It is only by advancing along these lines that the peoples of the developing countries can cast off all forms of exploitation and racial discrimination and do away with hunger and poverty. Speaking at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said, "... the more headway the revolutionary-democratic countries make in their economic and cultural development, the fuller the

advantages of non-capitalist development are revealed."¹

The present stage of the national liberation movement in Africa is characterized by the fact that imperialism is beginning to feel increasingly the pressure of the young sovereign anti-imperialist-minded states. Evidence to this effect is the signing of the first mutual defence agreement between Sierra Leone and Guinea in April 1971. Such a military alliance of two African countries which have considerable economic, political and ethnic differences was made necessary by the need to block the attempts of the imperialists and their agents in Sierra Leone to engineer a reactionary military coup and to assassinate the President of Sierra Leone, Siaka Probyn Stevens. The introduction of Guinean troops into Sierra Leone helped the anti-imperialist forces to prevent the coup and to consolidate their position.

The mutual defence agreement between these two countries could serve as a good example for those African states which are regarded by the imperialists as easy prey for their neo-colonialist schemes.

The Class Structure of African Society and the Motive Forces of the National Liberation Movement

The class composition of contemporary African society reflects the consequences of centuries of colonial oppression. Even today the patriarchal-

¹ *24th Congress of the CPSU*, M., 1971, p. 24.

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 152.

tribal system exists side by side with foreign capitalist companies which hold the key positions in the economy of several African countries. Petty-commodity production which is carried on by large numbers of farmers and artisans plays a key role in Africa's economy.

The peasantry-Africa's most numerous social class-is a powerful revolutionary force and the major force in the anti-imperialist struggle. Its participation in the national liberation movement strongly influences the development of the liberation revolution which takes on an anti-feudal character particularly in countries with well-developed feudal relations (Kenya, Cameroon, Angola, Nigeria). At the same time the African peasantry gives active support to anti-imperialist trends. In many countries it has constituted the main force of all armed uprisings.

Of late the development of capitalist relations in a number of African countries has led to the disintegration and stratification of the peasant community. Capitalist methods are being applied in agriculture, and private ownership of land has been expanding. In those countries where the stress is on achieving economic independence, on the other hand, there is a tendency to utilise the traditional communal-type relations to develop the co-operative movement. This is a characteristic feature of Tanzania where communal land cultivation has given rise to co-operatives or "Ujamaa" which is the Swahili for "large family." Tanzanians call these co-operatives "socialist villages." The "Ujamaa Programme," which has been adopted by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Government of Tanzania as a platform for the reorganization of the coun-

try's agriculture, envisages the gradual voluntary shifting of villagers to collective land cultivation and crop harvesting.

The founding of agricultural co-operatives on the basis of communal ownership frequently gives rise to different ideas. However, the chief tendency is to rebuild the village along collective, socialist lines, and this is accompanied by measures to keep foreign capital out of the agricultural economy. In several African countries the process has brought new state farms into being or has assisted the development and consolidation of existing ones.

On the whole the disintegration of the patriarchal economy in Africa is a process that has not yet affected deeply the bulk of the peasantry who are in one way or another connected with communal land ownership. Due to the low level of agricultural production, the primitive implements, the scattered character of the peasant holdings and the ruthless exploitation of the peasantry by foreign monopolies, local feudal landowners and the tribal chiefs, the position of the peasant is one of eking out a bare existence.

Large numbers of peasants, particularly in South Africa, are forced to seek additional sources of income by taking jobs in towns, plantations and mines, while continuing their attachment to their plots of land. This "migratory" labour force hinders the emergence of the proletariat as a class and its understanding of its class interests, but is extremely convenient for the European capitalists. Nevertheless, the migration of the peasants to towns also has its advantages. It draws them into industrial production and the life of the working class, increases their political knowledge and helps

to overcome tribal isolation and to eradicate national and tribal prejudices.

"Like the diversion of the population from agriculture to the towns," wrote Lenin, "non-agricultural migration is a *progressive phenomenon*. It tears the population out of the neglected, backward, history-forgotten remote spots and draws them into the whirlpool of modern social life. It increases literacy among the population, heightens their understanding, and gives them civilized habits and requirements."¹ This is completely applicable to Africa at the present time.

The African peasantry can be regarded as a huge, potential revolutionary force, for its interests lie in intensifying the national liberation revolution, in a complete rebuilding of agrarian relations and the development of agricultural production along collective lines and with the wide application of up-to-date agrotechnical methods and means. The latter can be achieved through the introduction of radical agrarian reforms, first of all in those countries where feudal land ownership still prevails, or where the bulk of the land is in the hands of the white colonialists (South Africa and Rhodesia), by nationalizing plantations belonging to foreign capitalists (Kenya, Ethiopia), and encouraging and assisting co-operation through state measures.

Revolutionary experience in the struggle against colonialism, anti-imperialist sentiments and active participation in social life are the factors that at the present stage of the national liberation movement make the African peasantry capable of giving active support to the political forces fighting

foreign oppression in order to embark upon the non-capitalist path of development. "...The masses of toilers," noted Lenin, "—the peasants in the colonial countries—are still backward, they will play a very important revolutionary part in the coming phases of the world revolution."¹ The development of the national liberation movement in Africa fully bears out this prediction.

The working class, the most revolutionary force of African society, is the most consistent and active champion against imperialism. It is a new class and small in number. Most African countries have no statistics as to its number—or even of their populations as a whole—but it is estimated that the hired labour force, including workers, peasants and intellectuals, makes up 20 per cent of the economically active population, with the industrial proletariat accounting for no more than five per cent of this number. In countries situated to the south of the Sahara, industrial workers are concentrated chiefly in southern Africa (South Africa and Rhodesia).

In most of the newly-free countries, which are located in Tropical Africa, the industrial proletariat is numerically weak. Nigeria, however, has a sizable working class (one million), the Republic of Zaire (1.2 million) and Ghana (over 500,000). The largest number of industrial workers is concentrated in the mining industry, transport, and agriculture (farming and plantations). Only a small number of workers is employed in the processing industries.

Seasonal workers are typical of most African countries, particularly of South Africa, where there

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 3, p. 576.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 482.

is a semi-proletarian, semi-peasant type of worker. Forced labour is still practiced in the Portuguese colonies and in South Africa.

The working class of Africa is still ruthlessly exploited by the foreign monopolies. That is why, from the very start, the proletariat has come into conflict with the colonial authorities and has been drawn into the struggle against foreign domination. This merging of the struggle against capitalist exploitation with the struggle for national independence has promoted the development of national awareness in the proletariat, increased its political maturity and given rise to anti-imperialist sentiments.

In most of the African countries the proletariat emerged prior to the national bourgeoisie and was the first of the two to join the struggle for national liberation. A characteristic of the proletariat is that it develops effective forms of struggle such as strikes and political demonstrations. At the same time the working class has great possibilities for an alliance with the peasantry. Peasants who take seasonal jobs in towns or large plantations absorb the ideas of liberation from the proletariat and spread these ideas among the villagers when they return home. Although the proletariat has considerable influence on the liberation struggle in Africa it has not become its ideological and organizational leader. Colonialism greatly impeded the growth of the working class and the development of its political awareness.

The role of the working class and its tasks grow particularly at the second phase of the national liberation revolution. This is the class that most consistently defends the non-capitalist path of development for African states. In many coun-

tries (Guinea, the Congo /Brazzaville/, Tanzania, Somali, Zambia, Mali) the working class is developing quickly both numerically and organizationally, and its political and ideological outlook is becoming more mature. At the same time the part played by the proletariat in social life and in defining the path of development of their countries is increasing. Evidence of this is the effective work of the African trade unions. Because of the conditions in which the African working class comes into being, its trade unions are often organized much better than the political parties. African trade unions play an important part in organizing and guiding the working people in the solution of all major social problems.

They take an active part in public activities and approach all the key problems of the national liberation movement from a proletarian point of view. In Africa the working-class movement has always been closely linked with the anti-colonial, national liberation struggle of the people in which it has often played a leading role. It spread after the Second World War when, with the growing anti-colonial, liberation struggle, the first trade unions emerged in Ghana and South Africa, and later in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Senegal and some other countries.

Today the character and content of trade union work in Africa is determined by the political climate in each particular country. In countries under direct colonial oppression (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, etc.) the prime task of the working-class and trade-union movements is to expel the colonialists and obtain national independence. In countries where the people are still subjected to racist regimes (South Africa, Rhodesia) the

trade union struggle merges with that of the Communists and democrats against the "racial barrier"—discrimination against the local African population on grounds of nationality.

In the newly-free countries the trade unions are faced with complex tasks. In countries under democratic rule (Congo /Brazzaville/, Guinea, Tanzania) the trade unions stand at the head of the struggle for the non-capitalist path of development and take an active part in introducing radical social and economic changes, and educating national intelligentsia. In countries ruled by pro-capitalist forces the trade unions are compelled to continue working for genuine national independence.

The founding of the All-African Trade Union Federation on May 1, 1961, was a major event in the history of Africa's working-class and trade union movement. The Federation, which unites within its ranks the most influential national organizations comprising more than two million members, represented a severe blow to the schemes of the reactionaries and reformists in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions who were scheming to use the trade-union movement of Africa for their own ends. The All-African Trade Union Federation proclaimed the struggle against colonialism and imperialism as its chief goal.

The basic programme and tactical directives of the Federation are fixed in the Charter adopted at its constituent congress. They contemplate trade-union struggle for the gaining and consolidation of national independence by African countries, in defence of democratic freedoms and the vital interests of the working people. The Rules of the

Federation give a clear-cut definition of its internationalist principles: "The African trade-union centre will maintain fraternal ties with all workers of the world on a strictly equal footing. Any trend towards isolation of our struggle in Africa would be reactionary and harmful. For our fight is the fight of all democrats, and just as the forces of oppression and exploitation recognize neither nations nor national boundaries, so our aims are those of the workers of the world, irrespective of race and sex."

The leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions do everything they can to undermine the Federation. It is with this aim in view that they founded the Confederation of African Trade Unions in January 1962, in opposition to the Federation. This has greatly impeded trade-union work. Leading progressive African trade unions are members of the All-African Trade Union Federation. There are frequent cases when some trade-union organizations of one and the same country belong to the Federation while others are members of the International Confederation of Trade Unions. This is the situation in Kenya, Madagascar and several other countries. However, the trade-union organizations connected with the International Confederation are gradually breaking off relations with this organization which is supported by the imperialist powers.

The US Central Intelligence Agency has close contacts with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Afro-American Trade-Union Centre. As reported by the Nigerian *Sunday Times* the CIA is spending large sums of money on bribes and in other ways to foil the efforts of the Nigerian workers to establish a strong amal-

gamated trade-union organization in the country. However, the African trade unions are increasing their efforts to unite the All-African Trade Union Federation and the Confederation of African Trade Unions in a single African trade-union centre.

It is important for the progressive trade-union leaders of Africa to remember Lenin's words: "Unity is infinitely precious, and infinitely important to the working class. Disunited, the workers are nothing. United, they are everything."¹ The President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, said that there is no sense in Africa's having two separate trade-union organizations, and that the trade unions of Africa must free themselves of all foreign interference and influence. However, he pointed out that this was impossible until they broke off relations with foreign trade unions which were playing into the hands of imperialism.

Addressing the 15th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The ranks of the international working class—the most advanced revolutionary class of our time, and its role as the main productive and socio-political force in the world will continue to grow."²

All this shows that the working-class and trade-union movements in Africa are part and parcel of the African national liberation movement and the entire international revolutionary movement of the working class.

The Consultative Solidarity Conference of African and European Trade Unions held between

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 519.

² L. I. Brezhnev. *Decisions of the 24th Congress — a Programme of Action for the Soviet Trade Unions*, M., 1972, p. 25.

March 18 and 21, 1969, in Conakry was an important step towards consolidating the unity of the working class. The holding of this forum, the first of its kind in the history of the world trade-union movement to represent organizations of the working class in socialist, capitalist and developing countries, was the result of close co-operation between the All-African and the World Trade Union Federations. This Conference promoted the co-operation of trade unions of different trends in the struggle against imperialism.

The domination of foreign monopolies in Africa has hindered the development of Africa's bourgeoisie whose activities are restricted to the sphere of trade, small-scale production and agriculture. This class is characterized by waverings and inconsistency and is prone to do a deal with imperialists who count on it to become their social support and go to any lengths, even as far as bribery, to achieve this end.

That is why in newly-free countries the bourgeoisie constitutes a grave danger to national sovereignty. Dealing with this matter, the Ugandan *People* commented that although one of the privileged classes—the feudal lords—has been eliminated, there still remains the bourgeoisie which has become a powerful force working against the interests of the people. That is why the next phase of development is to wage a relentless and uncompromising struggle against the local bourgeoisie, the agents of the capitalists and neo-colonialists, the enemies of Uganda's independence.

At the same time it would be wrong to underestimate the progressive role of the African bourgeoisie at the stage of the liberation, general-de-

mocratic revolution. Large sections of the middle class, which is chiefly petty-bourgeois, are objectively interested in freeing the economy of the foreign monopolies and in gaining economic independence. That is why, as the struggle for the consolidation of national independence in the African countries gains momentum, a part of the national bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia connected with it are capable of supporting the forces that stand for social progress. Under specific conditions they are capable of joining the united national democratic front.

Some of the feudal élite and tribal chiefs have also taken part in the anti-colonial struggle, but once national independence has been gained they have immediately turned around and worked to prevent social progress. In several countries the progressive revolutionary democratic forces are managing to limit the influence of the tribal chiefs and to neutralize their activities. In those countries where feudal relations were well-developed and where their influence is still strong the feudal élite still retain their economic and political importance. On the whole feudal aristocracy and tribal chiefs constitute a serious hindrance to progress in the national liberation revolution and to achieving economic independence and progressive social and economic change. Taken by themselves, the tribal chiefs, wherever they may be, are a conservative force.

An important part in the national liberation struggle belongs to the African intelligentsia. It has produced leaders and ideologists of the national liberation movement such as Sékou Touré, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, Milton Obote, Kwame Nkrumah and Modibo Keita. The ideo-

logical and political views of this section of the African population, which is politically the most active, are formed under the influence of a wide range of factors. For instance the intelligentsia is prompted to take part in the movement because of racial discrimination which it experiences at home and in the metropolitan country, and also because of the mocking attitude of the colonialists towards African culture and local customs.

The African intelligentsia consists in the main of representatives of comparatively well-to-do sections of the population, the tribal and feudal aristocracy, the local middle class and colonial officials. Many of them have been educated in capitalist countries. Their world outlook has been greatly influenced by a variety of progressive currents in the social life of the metropolitan country, by Communist parties and progressive trade unions. Considerable sections of the African intelligentsia, having no direct links with landed property or local capital, have a militant anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist outlook. They are quick to grasp progressive, democratic views and show a keen interest in the ideology of scientific socialism.

The consolidation of the world socialist system, its achievements in the competition with capitalism, and the rapid cultural advance and development of science and technology in the socialist countries are exerting a growing influence on this group of African intellectuals. As stated in the Main Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "... growing numbers of intellectuals are swelling the ranks of wage and salary workers. Their so-

cial interests intertwine with those of the working class. . ."¹

Colonialism has not only hindered the emergence of classes. It has crippled every aspect of the development of the African peoples, and has upset the natural process of the formation of nations by fomenting tribal enmity.

Africa is a multi-national, or to be more precise, a multi-tribal continent. It is inhabited by peoples of all races, and by tribes and ethnic groups speaking different languages. Such countries as Nigeria and the Congo are inhabited by more than 200 tribes and peoples. Even such a comparatively small country as Dahomey has a number of different tribes. Linguists claim that the people of Africa speak more than 900 languages and dialects. It is not unusual to find in one country dwellers of neighbouring villages who cannot converse without an interpreter. As a rule, ethnic boundaries do not coincide with the political and administrative division of the continent. For example, the Ewe tribe is divided between Ghana and Togo; the Masais live in Kenya and Tanzania; the Wolofs in Senegal and Gambia; the Malinke tribe is spread over Mali, Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast; the Somali people live in Ethiopia and northern Kenya and also in Djibouti which is still under French rule; the Bakongo tribe lives in the Zaire Republic, the Congo (Brazzaville) and in the northern part of Angola; the boundary between Tanzania and Malawi is also artificial from the ethnic point of view.

This is an extremely complicated problem for

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 25.

contemporary Africa and it is quite clear that the imperialists find it easier to maintain their hold on Africa with the country divided into small states. The old "divide and rule" principle is a well-tested means of imperialist subjugation. In Nigeria, with its population of 65 million, the imperialists provoked and then encouraged a fratricidal war between its different tribes. Their aim was to break up the territory and set up an "independent" state of Biafra where they would be able to consolidate their position. Similar manoeuvres were undertaken by the imperialists in the Congo (Kinshasa) to cut off the province of Katanga.

Continuing to cultivate tribalism, the imperialists are out to preserve and restore their former colonial domination by resorting to more flexible and subtle methods. Consequently, the elimination of tribalism and its harmful effects is essential for the final liberation of Africa from colonialism and neo-colonialism. In some countries, such as Mali and Guinea, legal measures have been adopted to combat the fostering of tribal enmity. The 6th national conference of the ruling United National Independence Party of Zambia, held in May 1971, adopted a special resolution denouncing tribalism and parochialism. The motto "One Zambia, One Nation" is inscribed on Zambia's national emblem. But it will take a long time to do away with obsolete social relations. The complex task of overcoming the colonial legacy requires, to quote Leonid Brezhnev, "...extensive and persevering work by the entire people, by the workers, peasants and intelligentsia led by the vanguard which clearly sees the socialist goals and the road to them. Of particular importance here is the unity of all progressive, democratic forces without exception. The

peoples of the countries that have chosen the non-capitalist road of development have enthusiastically embarked on this great work for they know that it is being done for the benefit of all the working people, for the sake of the genuine independence and prosperity of the beloved Homeland.”¹

¹ L. I. Brezhnev. *Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs*, M., 1970, p. 75.

II. In the Forefront of the Revolutionary Process

The contemporary progressive forces of Africa are represented by different sections of the revolutionary struggle. Their distinctions are accounted for by the conditions in which they emerged and acquired their organizational framework, by their ideological positions and their tactics, the extent of their participation in the national liberation movement, and their place and role in contemporary African society.

Among the progressive forces a place of honour belongs to the Communist and revolutionary democratic parties.

The Communists of Africa

The emergence of Marxist-Leninist parties in Africa was prompted by the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution which gave rise to the contemporary communist movement and ushered in the age of socialism.

Among the large number of different political parties functioning in Africa, only nine are guided in their activities by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Economic backwardness, the colonial structure of the economy, the numerical weakness and recent emergence of the working class, and the constant persecution of and terror against Communists have hindered the emergence of well organized and ideologically tempered mass Communist and working-class parties in Africa.

The situation of the proletariat, particularly in Tropical Africa, is radically different from that of the proletariat in Europe and other parts of the world. Indistinct class differentiation, the seasonal character of employment for most workers, weakness of proletarian traditions, insufficient organization, and the considerable influence of tribal traditions and survivals coupled with a high percentage of illiteracy—all these factors prevent the working class of Africa from becoming a decisive force of social and economic development. Nevertheless, it is increasingly influencing the introduction of revolutionary social and economic changes in the young developing states.

The Marxists-Leninists of Africa have to work in very difficult conditions. Nearly all these parties are persecuted and consequently carry on their activities semi-legally or illegally. The revolutionary struggle is continually being joined by new social groups and whole peoples who have different traditions, and unequal levels of economic and social development and experience of waging a struggle. All this determines the character of the activities carried on by the African Marxist-Leninist parties. The Communists of the Republic of South Africa and Lesotho give priority in their

struggle to the eradication of racial inequality. The Marxists-Leninists of Tropical Africa (Nigeria and Senegal) concentrate their effort on the fight against neo-colonialism and against those representing the interests of world imperialism. In North Africa the activities of the Algerian Socialist Vanguard Party, the Party of Liberation and Socialism of Morocco, the Communist Party of the Sudan and the Communist Party of Tunisia likewise have their distinctive features.

African Marxists, the political revolutionary vanguard of the working people of the continent, are a militant section of the international communist movement. Although the Marxist-Leninist parties of Africa have not yet acquired a mass character they are steadily growing in strength and number of supporters. In Africa, as in other parts of the world, revolutionary experience has shown that the working class and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard is the most consistent champion of the interests of the working people.

The emergence of Marxist-Leninist parties in Africa, as elsewhere, was the greatest historical service performed by the Third Communist International (Comintern) founded in 1919 on the initiative and under the direct leadership of Lenin. The Comintern played an important part in the ideological and organizational consolidation of the young Communist parties and the development of the national liberation movement in the colonies as an integral part of the world revolutionary process.

Lenin's report on the question of nationalities and colonies at the Second Congress of the Comintern held in 1920 was of the greatest importance for the elaboration of the problems connected with

the liberation struggle. The Comintern inspired the colonial peoples to wage a relentless struggle against imperialist oppression for national independence. As stated in the resolution of the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, the national liberation movement was a major component of the wider liberation movement leading to the victory of the socialist revolution not only in Europe but throughout the world.

The Communist Party of South Africa, founded in 1921, was the first African Communist Party. During the 1920s Communist parties were founded in Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The last three parties started out as branches of the French Communist Party and later became independent.

The rapid development of the anti-imperialist struggle and the political awakening of the people stimulated the growth of the communist movement and raised the prestige of the Communists.

In the post-war years the communist movement in Africa made rapid progress. In 1939 Africa had 5,000 Communists, in 1957, 20,000, in 1961, 40,000 and in 1971, over 60,000.

African Communists have played an important part in the struggle to free the peoples of the continent from colonial exploitation and oppression and are continuing to do so. The task of Communists in colonial and dependent countries, said Lenin, was "... to arouse the working masses to revolutionary activity, to independent action and to organization, regardless of the level they have reached; to translate the true Communist doctrine, which was intended for the Communists of the more advanced countries, into the language of every people; to carry out those practical tasks which must be carried out immediately and to

join the proletarians of other countries in a common struggle."¹ Communists express the true national aspirations of the working class, the peasantry and all the working people who make up the majority of Africa's population. They consistently champion national interests, and are the most reliable and fearless fighters against all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Communists are active propagandists of proletarian internationalism and work to consolidate the unity of the African peoples with the anti-imperialist and socialist forces of the rest of the world so that the cause of freedom may triumph in Africa. During the years of colonial rule the Communists were in the thick of the most violent clashes with the imperialist oppressors. Many of them gave their lives for the national liberation of their countries. Nearly all the leaders of the Communist parties of Africa have seen colonial prisons and concentration camps.

Communists are subjected to severe persecution by the colonialists and neo-colonialists for their progressive part in the struggle for freedom and independence, for the interests of the working people. Communists are the vanguard of the national liberation struggle in those African countries still enslaved under colonialism (such as Reunion) or under the rule of the racialists (the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia). African Marxists-Leninists support all the undertakings of the national governments to better the life of the working people, defend democracy and social progress and fight imperialism and neo-colonialism.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

As noted by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "Soviet Communists, whose path to the socialist revolution was complex and difficult, are well aware of the tension, the determination and flexibility, steadfastness of spirit and readiness at any moment to sacrifice everything for the Party's cause that are constantly demanded of the revolutionary fighters confronting the class enemy. These qualities of Communists are of special importance in our time, a time of intense and bitter class battles."¹

Communists have a clear-cut programme. One of the programme demands of all Communist parties in Africa is the formation of a new state which will follow the non-capitalist path of development—the path leading to the building of socialism and communism. Contrary to the assertions of imperialist propaganda, the class position of Communists in no way hinders the emergence of a single national front of all democratic forces.

The interests of the African working people demand the elimination of colonialism and all its after-effects, a complete break with imperialism, the consolidation of independence, and national revival. Social progress—the programme of Communists—cannot be achieved except on the basis of the fulfilment of these demands. The class position of Communists, therefore, promotes the consolidation of a single anti-imperialist front, rallying together the working class, the peasantry and progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.

Despite the numerical weakness and insufficient

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 155.

organization of the working class of Africa, the Communists regard it as the most consistent champion of national interests and social progress. The part being played by the working class in the progressive social and economic development is much greater than its size in relation to the rest of the population.

Lenin emphasized that it was the working class that expressed "... the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people under capitalism." That is why Communists spare no effort to achieve a close alliance between the working class and its closest ally, the peasantry, which makes up the bulk of Africa's population, and with the middle sections of the population who are vitally interested in national liberation and social progress. Lenin regarded the alliance of the working class and the peasantry as the chief prerequisite for the revolutionary reorganization of society.

Availing themselves of the experience of the more mature Communist and Workers' parties, the Communists of Africa are trying to become proficient in all the different ways of protecting the vital interests of the working people, including making full use of peaceful, parliamentary methods and also including armed struggle, so as to be ready for any changes in the political climate. "We must bear in mind," noted Lenin, "that any popular movement assumes an infinite variety of forms, is constantly developing new forms and discarding the old, and effecting modifications or new combinations of old and new forms. It is our duty to participate actively in this process of working out means and methods of struggle."¹

¹ *Lenin. Coll. Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 194-195.

rican Communists endeavour to carry out their practical work in accordance with these injunctions.

Despite the fact that Communists are firm supporters of national and anti-imperialist interests they are persecuted in some independent African states. Marxist-Leninist parties are banned in a number of countries in North Africa. Marxists are persecuted in the Republic of South Africa, Lesotho and Reunion. The African Party of Independence of Senegal and the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party (SWAFP) of Nigeria have been forced underground. This persecution of Communists, and the attempts to isolate them from other sections of the national liberation struggle are a severe blow to the cause of Africa's independence and freedom, and play into the hands of the imperialists who go to all lengths to whip up anti-communist sentiment in the national liberation movement.

In Africa, as in other parts of the world, anti-communism manifests itself as a reactionary ideological and political weapon of imperialism in its struggle against the national liberation movement, and against all social, economic, political, scientific and cultural progress. The imperialists use anti-communism as a political and ideological trap to snare bourgeois elements in the African countries. Being afraid of concerted action on the part of the national anti-imperialist forces, the imperialists look upon anti-communism as a weapon for splitting the African patriots and preventing the development of ties between the African countries and their true friends, the socialist states.

In different countries of the continent anti-communism assumes different forms. It often wears the mask of nationalism. And this is the most

dangerous of its forms, for in many countries nationalism has great influence among different social groups of the population.

The Communists of Africa have never completely renounced nationalism. They accept the fact that in the existing specific conditions in Africa, where nationalism is spearheaded against the colonialists and the imperialists, it has a certain progressive aspect. Such nationalism, said Lenin, is "historically justified." "An abstract presentation of the question of nationalism in general," he said, "is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation."¹ "The bourgeois nationalism of *any* oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed *against* oppression, and it is this content that we *unconditionally* support."²

Guided by Lenin's teaching, the Marxists of Africa support the democratic elements of African nationalism without compromising the principle of proletarian internationalism.

In the countries of Tropical Africa anti-communism is often disguised by the label of "African socialism." Those who peddle this brand of "African socialism" claim that communism of the "Soviet type" does not suit Africa which requires "its own, special" form of socialism.

In countries with racist regimes anti-communism takes the form of persecution of Communists and all who support the Marxist ideology. This type of anti-communism actually copies nazism.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 36, p. 607.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, p. 412.

Revolutionary and practical experience show that those who fall for the bait and adopt a hostile attitude towards Communists deprive their countries of the possibility of socialist development and expose them to the threat of losing their national independence, to falling prey to colonialism once again. Events have fully confirmed the thesis of the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that, "Anti-communism is becoming the main instrument of reaction in its struggle against the democratic forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the meeting ground of imperialist ideology and the ideology of the feudal, pro-imperialist elements and the reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie of the countries which have gained their freedom from colonial tyranny."¹

The imperialists spare neither effort nor expense in carrying out their anti-communist schemes. Western publishing magnates have established modern printing facilities in a number of African countries. They employ special staffs of journalists and their printed matter is circulated by special establishments. The periodicals and books they publish contain anti-communist propaganda, depicting communism and Marxism-Leninism as a doctrine alien to the African peoples, that has been "imported" in the interests of certain foreign powers, by which they principally mean the Soviet Union. Recently the adversaries of the communist ideology have intensified their activities among African students.

Historical experience shows that no act of anti-

¹ *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, M., 1961, p. 51.

communism has ever done any good to anyone, no matter on what grounds it was committed. Anti-communism only plays into the hands of the imperialists and reactionaries, undermines the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and works against the progressive patriotic forces fighting for national independence and against the entire liberation movement. Any manifestations of anti-communism meet with rejoicing from the imperialist and reactionary forces of the world.

In this connection one cannot but recall the tragic events that took place in July-August 1971, in the Sudan. Within a short space of time hundreds of Sudanese Communists and democrats were arrested and hastily convicted and a number were executed.

In the general anti-communist chorus the voice of the Moral Re-Armament organization founded by the US clergyman, Frank N. Buchman, stands out. This organization has branches in Africa, that are used for anti-communist propaganda work.

US personnel show films, distribute periodicals, some of which are published in America, and put out anti-communist literature locally.

Religious missions, particularly those of the Catholic church, work hand-in-hand with the propagandists of Moral Re-Armament.

The chief aim of the propaganda carried on by the American preachers of anti-communism is to persuade the peoples of the young independent states that the Marxist-Leninist ideology is no good for them. In order to make a greater impression they even say that the capitalist ideology is also unsuitable for Africans who must choose a third ideology, "the ideology of the new man."

All this shows that imperialism, and above all

US imperialism, is the chief enemy of the African peoples in their struggle for national independence and social progress. Imperialism "supports reactionary circles, retards the abolition of the most backward social structures and tries to obstruct progress along the road to socialism or along the road of progressive non-capitalist development, which can open the way to socialism. "... Through anti-communism it tries to split the ranks of the revolutionaries in these countries and isolate them from their best friends—the socialist states and the revolutionary working-class movement in the capitalist countries,"¹ reads the Main Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

African Communists are fighting indefatigably for the implementation of the anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist programme worked out jointly at the 1969 Meeting. At the same time they are combating revisionism, which, favouring bourgeois ideology, seeks to take away from Marxism-Leninism its militant, revolutionary content. They are also fighting dogmatism, which fetters Marxist ideas with lifeless schemes and gives rise to sectarianism and leftist adventurism, both of which are particularly dangerous for Africa.

As emphasized in the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960, the Communists of Africa, like Marxists-Leninists all over the world, "are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of na-

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, pp. 12-13.

tional democracies, for a radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and to undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence."

The Marxist-Leninist parties of Africa maintain close, friendly ties with all the Communist and Workers' parties which uphold the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the unity of the international communist movement. These ties provide for a sharing of experiences of the revolutionary struggle. In the struggle for the liberation of the African peoples the Communists and democrats of Africa have invariably received the fraternal support of Communists and politically aware workers in the metropolitan countries—Britain, France, Portugal, Spain and Italy. In their activities the Communists of these countries are always guided by the Marxist principle: "A people that oppresses other peoples cannot itself be free."

Besides the unprecedented internal difficulties confronting the African Communists, they also have to cope with serious difficulties caused by the dissentient activities of Peking's followers. In Africa, as in other parts of the world where the national liberation struggle is being waged, the Maoists camouflage their great-power plans with emotive revolutionary phrases, seeking to instil ultra-left ideas concerning the acceleration of the world revolution; they advertize the revisionist stand denying the key role of the world socialist system in the revolutionary process; they reject the revolutionary role of the working class

in capitalist countries and oppose the national liberation movement to other contemporary revolutionary trends.

Chinese representatives in Africa show particular zeal in spreading fabrications about the "inadequacy" of Soviet aid to the national liberation movement. They declare that revolutionary struggle can be successful only if it is inspired by Maoism. But the Communists of Africa denounce the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist line followed by Peking and all its adherents.

African Communists have gone through a serious school of struggle and have rich resources on which they can draw—the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the theoretical and practical experience of the world communist and working-class movement, and the example and experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Economic progress, the deepening social differentiation and the resultant rise of the working class, the mounting national liberation struggle, the increasing political consciousness and activity of the people, the ideological and organizational consolidation of the Communist parties themselves and the ever increasing popularity of the ideas of scientific socialism and communism—all these factors are ensuring the rapid growth of the ranks of the communist movement in Africa. We are reminded again of Lenin's words: "Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, go to extremes. . . Communists should know that, in any case, the future belongs to them. . ." ¹

Social experience, and practical international activities, show very clearly that the aims of Com-

munists-Leninists are in keeping with the vital interests of the working people. "The strength of the Communists," says Leonid Brezhnev, "lies in the fact that their actions are guided by ideological conviction and belief in the righteousness of their cause, in the historical inevitability of the victory of communism."

Revolutionary Democrats

In the course of the struggle for national liberation revolutionary democratic parties, as militant political organizations of the people, have emerged in many African countries. The appellation "revolutionary democratic" emphasizes their leadership in the liberation revolution and the fact that they are democratically organized. Among them are the Democratic Party of Guinea (DPG), the Congolese Party of Labour (CPL—Brazzaville), the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar), the Algerian National Liberation Front, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), the Union Soudanaise (Mali) and the Convention People's Party (Ghana). There is reason to believe that the United National Independence Party (Zambia) and the All People's Congress Party (Sierra Leone) are gradually becoming revolutionary democratic parties. All these parties, with the exception of the Union Soudanaise and the Convention People's Party, are in power. Their successes are important in outlining ways of social and economic development for the African continent as a whole as well as for the respective countries.

The revolutionary democratic parties represent

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*. Vol. 31, p. 101.

the interests of the working people and all the anti-imperialist forces. However, they are not class parties. Because of the absence of distinct class differentiation, their social make-up is often quite obscure. Most frequently they are mass national organizations amounting to popular fronts. At the present stage of the revolutionary movement in Africa, with its still existing pre-capitalist and even pre-feudal traditions and survivals, and with its task of preserving and consolidating national independence, a task which is common to almost all sections of society, this is a natural development. With the majority of the African states having gained political independence, the revolutionary democratic parties have proclaimed the struggle for social progress as their principal aim.

Revolutionary democrats are firmly convinced that capitalism as a socio-economic formation is not capable of dealing with the complex tasks of rapidly increasing the productive forces of these countries, of promoting their national culture and of improving the people's standard of living. As a result the struggle against imperialism and against the schemes of neo-colonialism continues to be the main task of the revolutionary democrats in Africa. In this struggle they are eager to avail themselves of the ideological wealth of scientific communism and its experience of political and economic struggle against imperialism and capitalism.

On the initiative and under the leadership of the revolutionary democratic parties important social and economic changes are being wrought. Their aim is to hinder the spontaneous development of capitalist relations and lead their countries along the non-capitalist path with the final

aim of building socialism, the most just social system. The leaders of these parties consider as the basis of reorganizing society: the development of national productive forces and resources with the support of the socialist countries; the development of the state sector in industry; the organization of state farms and co-operatives of peasants in rural districts, nationalization of the banks; a state monopoly of foreign trade, and the gradual introduction of state control of home trade.

In these respects the programmes of the revolutionary democratic parties often coincide with, or are close to, the main planks in the programmes of the Marxist-Leninist parties. But they differ on many other major points, for the revolutionary democratic parties are not Marxist-Leninist parties and they are largely made up of peasants with their colonial legacy of illiteracy, religious prejudice and superstition.

At the same time, representatives of the African intelligentsia and working class who are inspired with the ideas of scientific socialism and are consistent fighters against colonialism, racialism and all forms of imperialist oppression, take an active part in the work of the revolutionary democratic parties, both at the centre and in the local branches.

Of late those African states which have chosen the socialist path, and where revolutionary democratic parties are in power, have achieved considerable success. They have democratized social life and introduced a number of progressive social and economic changes including complete or partial nationalization of the banks, large-scale (and in some cases medium-sized) industries, the limit-

ing and expulsion of foreign capital, and the priority development of the state sector in industry, trade and agriculture.

On the initiative of the revolutionary democratic parties, and under their leadership, a beginning has been made in national economic planning, and in developing co-operative movements in the villages; a social security system has been put into operation, and public education and health services have been improved. The national democratic regimes in the African states have reorganized the state apparatus, established national armies, set up national security and public order bodies, eliminated the military bases of the former metropolitan countries and introduced many other measures to consolidate state sovereignty. All this has greatly undermined the position of the imperialist powers, limited the development of capitalism and the national bourgeoisie, made possible wider participation by the working people in the building of the national state and the new society, increased the prestige of the revolutionary democratic parties among the working people and consolidated their position in trade union, youth, women's and other mass organizations.

In the sphere of foreign policy the revolutionary democratic parties adhere to anti-imperialist views. They denounce the aggressive war of the USA against Vietnam, oppose the expansionist policy of Israel in the Middle East, and take an active part in combating all the imperialist schemes. On the whole the strengthening of contacts and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries plays an important part in their foreign policy. The African states of socialist orientation form a united front with the countries of

the socialist community in the United Nations Organization and other international bodies in the consideration of political issues of international importance.

A feature of the ruling revolutionary democratic parties in Africa is the fact that their leaders study scientific socialism and make every effort to apply its main tenets to the situation in Africa. In their programme documents they have given priority to the non-capitalist path of development leading to a socialist orientation. The 6th Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea (December 1962) declared that Guinea had chosen the non-capitalist road. Its 8th Congress (September 1967) confirmed the Party's socialist orientation and outlined the non-capitalist path of development to be followed.

As stated in the Party Programme of TANU, the Tanganyika African National Union, known as the Arusha Declaration, "The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the peasants and the workers themselves through their government and their co-operatives. It is also necessary to ensure that the ruling party is a party of peasants and workers."¹

The Rules of the Congolese Party of Labour adopted at its congress in December 1969, emphasize that the aim of the party is to build a democratic and socialist society free from all forms of exploitation of man.

It is interesting to note that the majority of the leaders of the revolutionary democratic parties are rejecting the bourgeois nationalist conceptions

¹ *The Arusha Declaration*, Dar es Salaam, 1967, p. 3.



Detachments of the people's militia in the Republic of Guinea on an anniversary parade to mark the defeat of imperialist aggression

of "African socialism" and other varieties of "national socialism" ("humane", "democratic", etc.) in favour of scientific socialism.

However, petty-bourgeois ideas continue to play an important part in the ideology of these parties. Their representatives often see socialism as a most effective method of making economic and social progress and eliminating dependence on the imperialist monopolies, but not as a historically inevitable socio-economic formation.

The limited character of their ideology can be seen in their exaggeration of the specific conditions of Africa's development and their idealiza-

tion of the peasant community and traditions of collectivism which they claim to be typical of all African peoples but which are nevertheless a survival of the tribal and clan system. In patriarchal communal relations and the traditional African clan they see the beginnings of collectivism and even socialism, and they consider that these relations should be cultivated in every possible way.

Until recently many prominent revolutionary democratic leaders denied the existence of antagonistic classes and class struggle in Africa. Their views were based on ideas of the social homogeneity of the African, chiefly peasant, society, on a rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class and an exaggeration of the revolutionary potential of the African peasantry.

Of late, however, as a result of the mounting class struggle in African countries, the revolutionary democrats have acknowledged the existence of classes and class struggle. In his book, *The People's Power*, Sékou Touré notes, "The DPG lays emphasis on class struggle and has turned into a revolutionary vanguard, into an instrument of dictatorship in the hands of the working people for the building of socialism." "Political struggle," says Sékou Touré, "is the highest, most perfect form of class struggle." At the same time, the leaders of the revolutionary democratic forces, while acknowledging the existence of classes and class struggle in Africa, and understanding the decisive part of the popular masses in history, often underestimate the role of the working class in reorganizing society along socialist lines.

Some African leaders whose countries have taken the non-capitalist path of development, while on the whole maintaining an anti-imperialist

foreign policy sometimes understand co-operation with the socialist countries only as adherence to a policy of non-alignment and neutrality.

Despite their achievements, the situation of the revolutionary democratic parties remains complicated. They are confronted with serious economic and political difficulties caused by both internal and external circumstances.

From the very first days of the existence of the national democratic regimes the imperialist powers have waged a campaign of active subversion against them. Capitalizing on the economic backwardness of the countries and the problems resulting from this, they are attempting to subordinate the newly-free states by means of economic blockade, by disorganizing their trade in traditional African exports in the world market, and by other means which include direct interference in their internal affairs.

Western secret services support reactionary military dictatorships, organize counter-revolutionary coups and make attempts on the lives of prominent progressive leaders. The imperialists encourage nationalist and separatist sentiments which helps them to rally the forces of local reactionaries.

The imperialists have had a hand in overthrowing progressive regimes in several African states, including Ghana and Mali. Recently counter-revolutionary plots have been exposed in national democratic countries such as Guinea, Tanzania and the Congo (Brazzaville). The reactionary forces of these countries, with foreign support, attempted armed uprisings against the leadership of the revolutionary democratic parties and governments. With the implementation of progressive changes

and the growth of class differentiation, the local reaction is consolidating its forces which are replenished by the bureaucratic middle class and elements who are profiting by speculation, corruption, embezzlement of state property, etc.

There are cases where the leadership of the national democratic states, in their attempt to solve pressing economic problems, accept "aid" from imperialist powers. Such aid, rendered as it is not without its reason, cannot help overcome the existing difficulties, and if it is free of constant public control, it inevitably weakens the national democratic regimes.

In their efforts to unite all the progressive forces on the basis of national democratic slogans, the revolutionary democrats come up against such obstacles as the survivals of tribal and caste enmity, and religious fanaticism. The continuous tribal strife, which is often stirred up by imperialist agents, exacerbates the political atmosphere and weakens the national democratic regimes.

Another great difficulty encountered by the revolutionary democratic parties is the shortage of experienced party and state workers. There are many tasks to be coped with in connection with the organization of party work. Some parties, although they include most of the country's adult population in their membership, still have a weak organizational structure and are incapable of effective action. Party organizations are usually set up on a territorial basis and there is still not much attention paid to the establishment of political organizations at places of work and in the Armed Forces.

In some parties little thought is given to the ideological and political education of party in-

structors, a conciliatory attitude is adopted towards reactionary elements occupying responsible party and state posts and inadequate measures are taken to combat bourgeois tendencies, corruption and sabotage prevailing among reactionary officials and other representatives of the propertied classes.

Revolutionary democratic parties engaged in armed struggle against the colonialists are distinguished by a number of special features: they have a heterogeneous social composition, their members have diverse political views; as a rule they have no clear-cut formulations of their ideological positions and political programme; in many of them the process of consolidating the revolutionary democratic forces is still under way.

At the present phase of their struggle they consider their first and most important task to be the elimination of the remaining colonial and racialist regimes, the gaining of national independence and the founding of a democratic state. As far as their long-term goals are concerned, in most cases they have not been mapped out and are confined to general demands such as social progress, economic reconstruction, agrarian reform, higher living standard of the working people, etc. On the whole, however, the revolutionary democratic parties heading the armed struggle are anti-colonial and anti-imperialist in their orientation and are actively working to consolidate ties and fraternal co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The activities of the revolutionary democratic parties are seriously impaired by Peking's divisive policy, its persistent attempts to force Maoist ideas upon these parties and subordinate them to

its influence. Of particular danger are Peking's attempts to sow among the progressive African states and parties the seeds of distrust and enmity towards the Soviet Union, the other socialist states and the entire international communist movement, and to thrust upon the African countries adventurist and extremist actions on the pattern of the Chinese "cultural revolution." This creates further difficulties for the revolutionary democratic parties in their struggle to adopt a socialist orientation in their social and economic development.

The experience of the revolutionary democratic parties in the African states in their struggle against imperialism and capitalism, their temporary set-backs and the great difficulties with which they have to cope show that national rebirth and social and economic progress can be achieved only by waging a consistent struggle against the schemes of the imperialist powers and local reactionary forces, by consolidating the parties organizationally on socialist principles, and by developing and strengthening ties with the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement.

Communists and Revolutionary Democrats Co-operate

The Communist parties of Africa, like the Communist and Workers' parties elsewhere throughout the world, are strengthening and expanding their ties with the revolutionary democratic parties. Their efforts were marked by the seminar of political parties of African countries held

in Cairo in October 1966, which was attended by 75 representatives of 35 Communist and revolutionary democratic parties from 28 countries. The seminar discussed the major problems of Africa's national liberation revolution and social development at the present stage.

The consultative meeting of representatives of the Italian Communist Party with those of the Algerian National Liberation Front, the Arab Socialist Union and the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party held in Algiers in March 1969, testified to the further consolidation and expansion of ties between Communist and revolutionary democratic parties. The participants in this meeting discussed the future problems and tasks of the struggle against imperialism and its expansionist designs in the Middle East. They voiced their unconditional support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, and their solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and other territories waging a national liberation struggle.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969 pointed out that the further expansion of contacts between the revolutionary democratic and the Communist parties of Africa, and the Communist parties and progressive organizations of the rest of the world, was of great importance for the effective struggle against imperialism, for genuine independence. In this connection it is essential to bear in mind Lenin's words, that Communists must show their ability "to link up, maintain the closest contact, and—if you wish—merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people—prima-

rily with the proletariat, *but also with the non-proletarian masses of working people.*"¹

Under African conditions the contacts between Communists and revolutionary democrats show their common views on the national liberation struggle and on its final aim, that of building a society free of exploitation, racial discrimination and national oppression.

The question of relations between Communists and revolutionary democrats is in the final analysis the question of the interconnection of the Communist and national liberation movements. It is only to be expected that the views of Communists and revolutionary democrats will differ on some specific problems. One of these is the attitude to religion. However, considering the diversity of religious beliefs among the peoples of Africa, any divergence of views in this respect should not give any cause to impede the joint struggle against colonialism and imperialism for the implementation of progressive social and economic measures in the newly-free countries. Pointing to the necessity of drawing the working people into the active struggle against capitalism, Lenin noted, "atheist propaganda must be *subordinated* to its basic task—the development of the class struggle of the exploited *masses* against the exploiters."² "We must not only admit workers who preserve their belief in God into the Social-Democratic Party," emphasized Lenin, "but must deliberately set out to recruit them; we are absolutely opposed to giving the slightest offence to their religious convictions. . ."³

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 24-25.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 15, p. 406.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 15, p. 409.

Communists have never contemplated any violence against religion or believers and this is demonstrated by the policy and practical activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government in the sphere of religion. The firm foundations of this policy received legal form in the Decree of the Soviet Power of January 1918, separating the church from the state and the school from the church. This Leninist Decree was a practical example of the solution of one of the most complex problems, that of relations between state and church. The principles enunciated in this decree are fixed in the USSR Constitution (the Fundamental Law of the USSR), which guarantees freedom of conscience to all Soviet citizens. Freedom of religious worship is recognized for all citizens of the USSR.

In a capitalist state the picture is quite different. The ruling class is interested in making use of religion to "keep the worker in his place"—in other words, as a means of exploiting him and keeping him in the dark concerning realities. In the Soviet Union the complete elimination of exploitation and the total absence of all forms of oppression guarantee the citizens' complete freedom of conscience.

African Communists expose the attempts of the colonialists to set the Communists and the revolutionary democrats against each other. But there are some revolutionary democrats who are influenced by anti-communist propaganda. They oppose capitalism but at the same time reject communism on the grounds that it has no actual foundation in Africa. As a result they find themselves in the camp of the anti-Communists and champions of capitalism.

The African Communists have shown that they are willing to co-operate with the revolutionary democrats and all patriotic forces, and that they are continuously working for the creation and consolidation of a united anti-imperialist democratic front. They are well aware that the creation of such a front is the prime prerequisite for the effective development of the African countries along the path of national independence and social progress.

III. The Struggle for National Independence and Social Progress

Now to certain specific problems confronting progressive forces in southern and Tropical Africa in their struggle for national and social emancipation.

Southern Africa is the term usually used to denote countries and territories lying south of the Copper Belt. It comprises Malawi (Nyassaland), the Kingdom of Lesotho (Basutoland), Botswana Republic (Bechuanaland), the Kingdom of Swaziland, Rhodesia, the Republic of Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia (South-West Africa), the Republic of South Africa, the Malagasy Republic, and the Comore and Mascarene Islands.

These countries have different historical backgrounds, state systems, socio-political structures and economic development levels. Some of them (Botswana, Zambia, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi and Swaziland) have achieved political independence. Angola and Mozambique are the "overseas provinces" of Portugal. Rhodesia is a self-governing British colony where the white minority

clique under Ian Smith in collusion with the British colonialists has unilaterally declared its "independence" and proclaimed for itself the status of "republic". Namibia, after its illegal annexation by the Republic of South Africa in 1949 continues to be occupied and ruled by the racialists.

Southern Africa covers an area of some 4,000,000 square kilometres and has a population of more than 44,000,000. It is a land of the most acute social, ethnic and racial contrasts. In the imperialist plans of the chief NATO powers southern Africa is regarded as one of the most important areas of the continent in economic terms. At the same time the imperialists look upon southern Africa as a counterbalance to the national liberation movement, as a key ideological and strategic bulwark of aggression against the young independent countries of Tropical and North Africa.

It is in southern Africa that the reactionary military-political bloc of racist Rhodesia and fascist Portugal has emerged under the leadership of the Republic of South Africa. Due to the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and the closing of the Suez Canal, which has once again heightened the role of the navigation route via the Cape of Good Hope, the importance of this area has been steadily growing.

South Africa—a Bulwark of Imperialism and Racialism

The Republic of South Africa is the most economically developed country of the continent. Although it comprises only five per cent of the territory and contains no more than seven per cent

of the population of the continent, it accounts for 22 per cent of Africa's total production and 40 per cent of its industrial output. The republic accounts for 20 per cent of Africa's exports and 18 per cent of imports.

South Africa has a number of extracting and manufacturing industries which are developed on a large scale. A high level has been attained by its engineering, metallurgical, chemical, building and power generating industries.

Gold mining (nearly 1,000 tons yearly) accounts for a considerable proportion of the country's national income. The republic is the principal supplier of gold to the world market (70 per cent of all the gold mined in the capitalist world), which accounts for 40 per cent of its foreign currency receipts.

Its resources of uranium (the world's largest) which is a by-product of the country's gold mining industry, offer good prospects in the field of atomic energy. South Africa is among the leading countries of the world in the extraction of diamonds, platinum, antimony, chrome and polymetal ores.

The republic is a major supplier of wool, fruit and vegetables to the world market.

The racist regime of the Republic of South Africa is strongly backed by the chief NATO powers. Britain's investments in the republic exceed 1,000 million dollars, and there are more than 500 subsidiary British companies operating in the country. The US imperialists are also interested in preserving and consolidating the present regime. US exports to the republic include industrial plant, automobiles, chemicals and textiles.

According to the US press, more than 300 pro-

minent US companies maintain branches in South Africa. Among them are Coca-Cola, Singer and Kodak; General Motors and Ford have huge assembly plants in Port Elisabeth which are sometimes referred to as "Little Detroit"; there is also a large tyre-manufacturing plant there. American Metal Climax and Newmont Mining Corporation, among other US concerns, mine copper (chiefly in Namibia) and other ores and minerals. US monopolies have invested more than 2,000 million dollars in the economy of the republic, from which they make enormous profits. De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. and Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa, the two big Oppenheimer companies, produce nearly 45 per cent of the world diamond output for the jewelry industry.

Some 6,000 US citizens live permanently in the republic.

It is common knowledge that the ugly South African racist regime, with its brutal apartheid, maintains its position only through the open support of the biggest imperialist powers.

Although the United Nations has more than once denounced apartheid, which has become a synonym for fascism, and called upon countries to boycott the South African regime, these calls have been ignored by the imperialist powers who continue to trade with and supply the country with goods that promote its economic development.

In the last ten years the South African regime has established ties with West Germany. In 1961 the two countries concluded an agreement on military co-operation and co-operation in the use of atomic energy, based on the South African ura-

mium deposits. At a time when world opposition to this citadel of racialism is becoming ever more pronounced, the reactionary government of South Africa regards its co-operation with West German monopolies as a timely measure. For the other side, the West German monopolies obtain access to much needed strategic raw materials, markets and spheres for investing capital.

In the plans of the imperialists the South African regime is intended to perform the function of forcibly suppressing the revolutionary liberation movement.

Until 1961 the Republic of South Africa was a member of the British Commonwealth. It was considerably dependent on Britain for its armaments for it had no large-scale war industry. In November 1964, the British Labour Government, under pressure from African and world opinion, placed an embargo on these deliveries, a step apparently in keeping with the spirit of the 1963 General Assembly resolution, approving the Security Council ban on arms deliveries to racist regimes.

However, even after the embargo went into force, Britain continued to provide the Pretoria regime with arms, and particularly heavy armaments. More than that, Britain and its NATO partners assisted the Pretoria rulers in the building of munitions plants with the result that the republic is now able to meet its needs in rifles, explosives and different types of ammunition.

As compared with the Labour Government, which took pains to conceal its secret military co-operation with the South African racials, the Heath Government, when it came to power in June 1970, openly voiced its rejection of the UN

embargo resolution, causing a world outcry and arousing especially strong indignation among the African countries.

The Organization of African Unity, on behalf of all the independent African states, labelled the move of the British Tories as "a hostile act against all African countries and people." The Presidents of Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda met in Dar es Salaam where they declared that they would withdraw from the British Commonwealth should the British Government make a deal with the racials.

The unprincipled actions of the British Tories involved the interests of the entire continent and the question of world peace and security. Forty states of Africa and Asia, supported by the Soviet Union, which has always resolutely opposed the racist regime in South Africa, voiced their protest in the United Nations against the lifting of the embargo which, in their opinion, should instead be strengthened and strictly observed. The press of many African countries sharply denounced Britain's collusion with the racist countries.

Despite this strong opposition the Tory Government is persisting in its policy of collusion with the racials. In October-November 1971, South African and British warships conducted joint naval exercises in the vicinity of Capetown. These were described by the BBC as a manifestation of co-operation between South Africa and Britain in the face of the "communist threat" in Africa.

Not all African leaders have condemned the collusion of the Tories with the South African racials, however. There have been some who have been willing to fall in with the imperialist plan for a "peaceful dialogue" between the in-

dependent African states and the racialists in Pretoria. Among such "peacemakers" pride of place belongs to Felix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast Republic, who in November 1970, raised the question of holding a "dialogue" with the South African racist regime. His proposal that the leaders of African states hold a conference to discuss ways of "adjusting" relations and entering upon a "dialogue" with the government of South Africa found little sympathy with the African people. Other would-be collaborationists included Malawi President Hastings Banda, Gabon President Albert Bongo, Lesotho Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, and President of the Malagasy Republic Philibert Tsiranana.

The idea of entering upon such a "dialogue" was also condemned by the Organization of African Unity as being reactionary and harmful to Africa. Despite this the Malawi President, anxious to please the South African government, paid an official visit to the racist republic in August 1971, thereby betraying the interests of his country and the whole of Africa.

It is noteworthy that Britain, the USA and West Germany, among other imperialist states, whose relations are not free of contradictions and rivalry, act in concert in their efforts to promote military and other forms of co-operation with the Republic of South Africa. Pretoria has placed an order with France for the delivery of warplanes, vessels and submarines, guided missiles and radar installations among other military equipment, to be delivered in the course of the ten years. Under this order, deliveries are already being made of "Mirage" aircraft, "Alouette" and "Super Frelon" combat helicopters, patrol vessels and submarines.

British and Italian companies supply the racist regime with "Macchi MV-326" warplanes.

The South African Army has purchased a batch of "Cessna-182" warplanes from the United States. The US Atlas Aircraft Company and the West German Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Konzern are building a large aircraft plant in Kempton Park near Johannesburg. The prospect of equipping the South African Army with atomic weapons accounts for the particular attention devoted by the US to the production of nuclear power in South Africa. A nuclear reactor of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company of the USA has been operating in South Africa on local uranium ore since May 1965. As part of the overall nuclear plan the government of South Africa has been testing multistage rockets at bases on the Atlantic coast of South-West Africa (Namibia).

The first chain reactor ("Safari") has been operating for some time now and according to the Pretoria rulers South Africa is capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons.

In this way the Western powers have been violating, openly as well as secretly, the United Nations ban on military deliveries to South Africa and on any military co-operation with the racist regime.

The clear aim of the imperialists is to turn South Africa into a heavily armed base for neo-colonialism. Already such formally independent states as Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland are in great degree dependent upon South Africa.

The activities of the Pretoria racists and their imperialist patrons in Mozambique provide an example of the strategy they are adopting for enslaving the peoples of southern Africa. In the Ca-

borabassa district of the Tete province of Mozambique the construction of a huge hydropower complex has begun. When completed it will produce 18,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity yearly.

A consortium of three—South Africa, West Germany and Portugal—has been set up to manage the construction which will cost 350 million dollars. The Big Boss of the entire project is the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa headed by Oppenheimer. The power station will be commissioned in May 1974 and will promote the intensive mining of coal, copper, chrome and nickel in the Tete province. Its object is to supply electricity to Johannesburg, South Africa's largest industrial area, where large-scale atomic industry building projects are now under way. Another transmission line will be extended to Salisbury, the capital of racist Rhodesia.

But first and foremost the Caborabassa project has a military-strategic and political objective. The racials and their accomplices are aiming to prevent the further development of the national liberation struggle in Mozambique and to secure the position of the Portuguese colonialists in the Tete province. Above all, the long-term plan is to expand the zone of the "white belt" and set up another racist order after the example of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia. With this aim they are contemplating sending up to a million white settlers to Mozambique to add to the 180,000 white residents already inhabiting the country.

The plans of the South African militarists and their imperialist partners do not even stop there. They dream of controlling, ultimately, Tanzania,

Zaire, the People's Republic of the Congo, Kenya and Uganda, which they look upon as their "rear" territories.

Furthermore, with the closure of the Suez Canal as a result of the Israeli aggression in the Middle East in June 1967, the economic and military-strategic importance of the sea routes around South Africa has become much greater. The imperialist NATO powers are now aiming at the creation of a new aggressive bloc to cover the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, comprised of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Brazil and Argentina. The South African port of Simonstown has been designated as the principal military base for this bloc. South African naval craft are already cruising between Simonstown and the Australian ports of Melbourne and Sydney.

The militarization of the South African Republic is proceeding rapidly. Its armed forces already comprise over 200,000 regular soldiers, with 55,000 in reserve. In 1967, military service was made compulsory for all whites and 56,000 men can be called up at any moment. The entire white population undergoes military training. Militarization extends to children through the republic's Boy Scout organization which has centres all over the country. The Boy Scouts are youngsters of 12 to 20 years old. They are taught military discipline and the handling of firearms and are trained to be physically fit.

The South African Army and police are used not only to suppress the liberation struggle of the South African peoples but also that of the African peoples in general. In addition, South African mercenaries had a hand in the suppression of the national liberation movement in the Congo in

1965 and are now employed with the Portuguese troops fighting the patriotic forces of Angola and Mozambique.

In an Atmosphere of Tyranny and Racial Discrimination

The Communist Party of South Africa, which marked its 50th anniversary on July 30, 1971, is an important contingent of the revolutionary forces struggling against colonialism, imperialism and racialism. It carries on its work in an atmosphere of tyranny and racial discrimination.

The government of the Republic of South Africa divides the population of the country into the following racial groups: Europeans, or whites; natives, or Africans; Asians; and coloureds. The present population of the republic is approximately 20 million, of which Africans and other non-whites make up over 16 million. The material and spiritual wealth of the country is produced by the whole population, but is appropriated almost entirely by the white minority. And according to the republic's racial laws the "non-Europeans", comprising millions of Africans, Asians and coloured groups, are not classed as full citizens. Such is apartheid, the racial policy declared by the UN General Assembly to be a crime against humanity.

As noted by the Communist Party of South Africa, in the Republic of South Africa "within a single state frontier are to be found modern imperialism, monopoly capitalism, and colonialism of a special type, brutally exercised against the indigenous Africans."¹ Unlike other African coun-

tries which have freed themselves or are waging a struggle for their liberation, where the chief enemy of the national liberation movement was or is the metropolitan country, situated thousands of miles from its colony, in the Republic of South Africa the oppressor nation is ensconced in the colony itself. The white-minority-backed racist government maintains master-slave relationship of apartheid in the economic, social and political spheres.

The first racist laws in South Africa were adopted soon after the subjugation of all the tribes of the indigenous African population by the European colonialists. The "pass-law", for example, was introduced in order "to identify the natives". This law, later supplemented by others, remains a means of controlling the lives of Africans, Indians and "coloureds" to ensure their isolation from the whites.

After the Union of South Africa was founded in 1910 a series of new laws was introduced to restrict the freedom of movement of non-Europeans, their place of residence, etc. In 1913, the first South African government passed a law which is still in force, prohibiting the native population on 87 per cent of the country's territory from owning land. In 1919, further racial laws were adopted, one of which barred Africans from all jobs calling for skilled workers.

Africans have never reconciled themselves to the racist policy of terror. Their struggle against the European oppressors was led by the African National Congress (ANC) founded in 1912, which united representatives of all classes and social groups of the indigenous population. The chief task of the Congress was to wage a struggle for

¹ *The African Communist*, No. 46, 1971, p. 21.

the democratic reorganization of society where there would be no room for racial discrimination.

The founding of the International Socialist League in 1915 was an important milestone in the history of the liberation movement in South Africa. This revolutionary organization united sundry socialist organizations and Marxist groups and circles. Despite its enforced isolation from the communist and working-class movement in Russia and other countries the League found ways of expressing its sympathies with Lenin and the Bolsheviks during the preparation and later during the development of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and of rendering them moral support. On the eve of the October armed uprising the League's newspaper, *International*, founded by the talented South African Marxist David Ivon Jones, wrote that from every point of view the events showed that the principles proclaimed by Lenin were correct, that each week gave new evidence that Lenin was right.

After the victory of the October Revolution the Socialist League launched a campaign to explain the revolutionary events that had taken place in Russia. At the same time it exposed the bourgeois propaganda that was doing everything it could to discredit Bolshevism and the first Land of the Soviets. One of the leaflets distributed by the Socialist League in 1919 called on the black and white workers of South Africa to unite in a single workers' organization, irrespective of their occupation, religion or colour of their skin. It said that the white worker could no longer be free while the black worker was fettered. That was what Bolshevism and labour solidarity meant. Workers of the world should unite, because they

had nothing to lose but their chains, and they had the world to win.

In January 1920, the Socialist League decided to join the Communist International. On July 30, 1921, representatives of the League and other Marxist groups from all over South Africa gathered in Capetown for their First Congress. Following the proposal of David I. Jones and his comrades S. P. Bunting and W. H. Andrews, the Congress adopted a resolution on the founding of the Communist Party of South Africa (section of the Communist International). Membership was open to all working people, regardless of race or colour. The South African Marxists were the first in Africa to put forward the idea of liberating oppressed peoples by means of a social revolution.

The Congress adopted the Party Programme. It demanded the founding of a democratic republic and on this basis the granting of universal suffrage, the right to be elected to all government bodies, freedom of speech, assembly and organization, freedom of conscience and of the press and the abolition of the anti-popular racialist laws.

The adopting and the subsequent popularization of a large-scale programme of social and democratic changes raised the prestige of the Communists and gave vigour to the people's struggle for a truly democratic republic.

The strike movement gained ground in the country. The first trade unions emerged uniting workers of non-European origin. The Communist Party took part in TU work regardless of whether the unions united Europeans or non-Europeans. One of the Communist Party leaders, W. H. Andrews, was elected Secretary of the Congress of Non-Eu-

ropean Trade Unions, founded in 1925. However, until 1928 the Communist Party of South Africa comprised chiefly factory and office workers of European origin.

The 6th International Congress of the Communist International, which gave special attention to the situation in South Africa and its Communist Party, was an important event in the work of the South African Communist Party. It called upon the Party to intensify the struggle for the solution of the nationality question, the bringing of the African majority to power and the founding of an independent democratic republic. After the Congress the Communist Party redoubled its efforts in the fight against racial discrimination and, first of all, against the repugnant "pass-law." Communists working in close contact with the African National Congress, the largest and most influential political organization, intensified their work among broad sections of the population.

During the Second World War the Communist Party of South Africa worked unflinchingly to mobilize the working people for the struggle against international fascism and domestic racialists. The anti-fascist drive of the Communists raised their Party's prestige and brought new members into its ranks. In 1943, Communist representatives were elected deputies to the municipal councils of Capetown and Johannesburg.

After the Second World War the Communist Party of South Africa called upon the working people to step up their activity against the racialist government. In Transvaal and several other cities numerous demonstrations were held under the call: "Fascism, routed from Europe, must be done away with in South Africa!" In all this acti-

vity the South African Communists were supported by the majority of the population.

The prestige of the Communist Party and the African National Congress continued to grow. In 1948, Communists and democrats were able for the first time in the history of the country to bring a Communist deputy, a representative of the indigenous population, into Parliament. The Party's mounting influence and the successful co-operation of the Communists and democrats in the struggle for common ideas gave the racialist government more and more cause for worry. In 1948, the South African and British monopolies and the numerous class of South African planters put into power the country's most reactionary Nationalist Party, headed by the most rabid adherents of fascism. It was this party that proclaimed apartheid as its official doctrine and made racialism and anti-Communism the leading principles of government policy.

Upon coming to power the Nationalist Party immediately launched a campaign of repression against the progressive forces, and first of all against the Communist Party of South Africa. In 1950, the fascist government of Dr. Malan, frightened by the rapid spreading of progressive ideas, adopted the Suppression of Communism Act and banned the Communist Party. According to this law all opponents of apartheid were declared "terrorists" and "subversive elements."

The Communist Party found itself in an extremely difficult situation. To deprive the government of formal grounds for persecuting Communists and to prevent mass arrests of Party workers the Central Committee adopted a decision to disband the Party. It declared, however, that the

cause of communism would continue to live in South Africa. Soon after the disbanding of the Party its leading workers, including Moses Kotane, John B. Marks, Yusuf Dadoo and Michael Harmel, began to re-establish the Party as an underground organization. This was a time of dedicated activity and serious trial for the Leninist nucleus of the Party, for Communists and all democratically-minded participants of the national liberation movement in South Africa.

The popular struggle continued and intensified. Strikes swept through the country one after another. In June 1952, a broad campaign in defiance of unjust laws was launched. The racist government took massive repressive action: more than 8,000 Communists and other patriots were imprisoned. The struggle against racialism and the onslaught of reaction demanded the unity of all anti-racist democratic forces. With this aim the Communists took an active part in preparing and organizing a congress of all the country's progressive democratic organizations.

The Congress was held in 1955 in Kliptown (a district of Johannesburg) and was attended by some 3,000 delegates. It adopted an important decision on the founding of the Union of Congresses, a united front of the national liberation movement which comprised progressive organizations of all the racial groups populating South Africa: the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The Congress adopted the Programme of the Union—the Freedom Charter which spelt out the basic aims of the national democratic revolution in

South Africa: the elimination of the system of racial discrimination, the founding of a multiracial democratic state, the guaranteeing of basic political and civil liberties, the nationalization of mineral resources and the mining industry, banks and industrial monopolies; the redistribution of land to those who work it. A beacon light showing the way, is how Albert Lutuli, one of the first leaders of the national liberation movement in South Africa, described the Freedom Charter.

The Charter became in fact the programme of the national liberation movement. It formulated the chief goals of the democratic revolution in South Africa. Nelson Mandela, a prominent leader of the patriotic movement in the Republic of South Africa, said that for the first time in the history of the country the democratic forces, irrespective of race, creed, convictions and party membership rejected and denounced racialism in all its manifestations, gave a clear-cut definition of their goals and rallied around a common programme of action.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa gave its wholehearted support to the Freedom Charter. The Communists, who are the most advanced champions of the liberation movement, regard the Freedom Charter as a programme of action for all progressive forces fighting for a democratic state entirely free of racial discrimination. The Party's internationalist ideas and its experience of mass organizational and propaganda work are shared by numerous activists of the African National Congress and other political organizations of South Africa.

In 1956, the South African Communists informed the people of the revival of the Communist

Party. Here is an excerpt from one of their leaflets which was distributed among the democratic public: "The former Communist Party of South Africa was dissolved, but a new one—the South African Communist Party—has grown up in its place to carry the struggle on to victory."¹ This information and the activization of democratic organizations resulted in a new wave of racist repression.

In December 1956, the South African government arrested 156 prominent representatives of democratic organizations. They were accused of organizing a "Communist plot." It became evident that the racials were intent upon outlawing the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and other democratic organizations. The Communist Party came forward with its Call to the People of South Africa to wage an active struggle against the local forces of reaction and their patrons. Soon a new wave of mass demonstrations of the working people swept the country.

The racist government intensified its apartheid policy and launched a new campaign of repression against the progressive forces. On March 21, 1960, racist troops and police savagely and wantonly slaughtered peaceful African demonstrators in Sharpeville (Transvaal) and Langa (Cape-town)—unarmed people who had gathered to demonstrate peacefully against the notorious "pass-law" and other laws humiliating to the African people. In that blood bath 69 people were killed and several hundred injured. To commemorate

¹ *The African Communist*, No. 7, 1961, p. 80.

the events of 1960, March 21 is now observed as Day of Struggle against racial discrimination.

These brutal actions were followed by new repressions. The racist government outlawed several organizations and banned the African National Congress. It resorted to armed force to suppress the mass demonstrations of the African people.

At the beginning of 1962 the government passed a so-called Sabotage Act, actually prohibiting strikes by African employees. It introduced the death penalty for any actions aimed against the existing system. Soon after this the government banned all member organizations of the Union of Congresses and their leaders fell victim to reprisals. The racials began to build up their armed forces in preparation for civil war. Military training was made compulsory for all whites.

In this atmosphere the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party which had hitherto employed only peaceful methods of struggle decided to go over to armed struggle. At the same time the Party warned against acts of individual terror.

The racist government thus forced the South African Communists and democrats to prepare for an armed struggle. The founding in 1961 of the military organization *Umkhonto We Sizwe* ("Spear of the Nation") gave the liberation forces a base for achieving their goals through armed struggle as well as by political methods; it meant that they could meet violence with violence.

The underground Party conference held in December 1962 gave the South African Communist Party a new programme—"The Road to South African Freedom." The Programme summed up the

Party's long experience and defined the ways of overthrowing the racialist regime and building a democratic state.

All basic provisions of the Programme are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the documents of International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Programme defines the main content of the national democratic revolution as the drive for "the genuine independence of the African peoples,"¹ emphasizes the vanguard role of the working class in the national liberation movement and the necessity of consolidating the unity of all classes and sections of South African society interested in eliminating the rule of the monopolists and racialists, and determines the chief goal of the national democratic revolution—the building of a South African national democratic state "as a transitional stage to socialism."²

The national democratic revolution, the goal of all South African Communists, will abolish all forms of racial discrimination and guarantee democratic rights to all sections of the population irrespective of their race. The Communist Party gives resolute support to all democratic forces fighting for national and social emancipation.

Together with other progressive organizations, such as the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party calls for the convocation of

a Constituent Assembly to elaborate a Constitution and introduce socio-democratic changes leading to the emergence of a national democratic state. As stated in the Party Programme the task of the national liberation revolution is to sweep away the existing apparatus of state power which is nothing but a tool for suppressing the exploited masses and supporting colonialism, and set up organizations of people's rule in its stead. With regard to the form of struggle, the Party Programme holds that the people would prefer "to achieve their liberation by non-violent means. But today they are left with no alternative but to defend themselves and hit back; to meet violence with violence."¹

The South African Communist Party adheres to Marxist-Leninist positions in the ideological struggle, foisted upon the international Communist movement by the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The leaders of the SACP have repeatedly and severely condemned the subversive activities of Chinese agents in South Africa and their attempts to split the liberation movement. The resolution of the SACP Central Committee on events in China, adopted at its Plenary Meeting in January 1967, denounced the "cultural revolution" in the Chinese People's Republic and expressed its regret and anxiety that Mao Tse-tung's group was increasingly deviating from the principles of scientific socialism. The decisions of the Plenary Meeting make a point of the fact that the present course of the Peking leaders threatens and undermines the unity of the anti-

¹ *The Road to South African Freedom*. Programme of South African Communist Party, L., 1965, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹ *The Road to South African Freedom*, Programme of South African Communist Party, L., 1965, p. 45.

imperialist front, the communist movement and the socialist countries.

At present the South African Communist Party publishes its journal *The African Communist* which is performing its noble task of spreading Marxist-Leninist ideas not only in South Africa but throughout the entire continent. The Party marked its 50th anniversary with the first issue of its underground paper *Inkululeko* ("Freedom").

It has already been mentioned that the South African Communists are compelled to work under extremely difficult conditions. Under the Suppression of Communism Act the authorities may accuse any person or organization of being "Communist," with all the ensuing consequences. Anyone opposing the apartheid policy is automatically declared a Communist.

In keeping with the "pass-law" and the inhuman doctrine of the "separate development of the races" fixed in the 1963 act on Bantustans, Black Africans, who make up 80 per cent of the population of the republic, are permitted to settle on only 13 per cent of its area. They inhabit the most barren lands, where they are forced to live in special isolated reservations, Bantustans. According to the apartheid laws, Africans are allowed into "white" areas only "to perform jobs unsuitable to whites" (as miners, servants, maids, etc.).

Sometimes when there is a shortage of manpower the racialists allow African and coloured workers to take temporary jobs at railway stations, in post offices and in the mining and processing industries. This, too, is done on a discriminatory basis: the wages of non-white workers are as a rule one-tenth, or even one-fifteenth those of whites, whereas their tax payments are higher.

Even when Africans are hired by white industries the authorities take care to prevent an excessive concentration of non-whites. In 1969, four Johannesburg clothing factories were closed down so as to reduce the number of African workers employed in white urban areas. The African unemployed have only one road open to them—to return to the Bantustans and poverty.

In March 1970, the Voerster government passed yet another law, making it an offence for an African servant to live under the same roof as his employer.

The policy of racial discrimination pursued by the South African government meets with protest not only from the black and coloured population but is also condemned by many of the country's white residents. The prominent South African heart surgeon, Professor Christian Barnard, has been quoted as saying that it was wrong to pay lower wages to doctors because they happened not to be white, although they had the same qualification and performed the same kind of work as their white colleagues. Objectively this statement is close in meaning to Karl Marx's words that "the labour of whites cannot be unfettered if the labour of blacks bears a stigma."

The United Nations takes certain steps to fulfil its obligations in regard to the struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa. United Nations bodies and the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa have recommended the breaking off of all political, economic and military co-operation with the government of South Africa. However the NATO members of the United Nations are openly violating the decisions and ap-

peals of United Nations bodies by helping to consolidate the racist regime in South Africa and by assisting the racists in their attempts to undermine the patriotic forces waging a just struggle against apartheid.

In 1967 the Voerster government passed the Terrorism Act, according to which anyone who attempts any action that has the aim of endangering the maintenance of the existing law and order, or induces, helps, advises, or encourages any other person to do the same, is accused of terrorism. In the first half of 1968 some 700,000 Africans in South Africa were arrested on the basis of this law. Many patriots in South-West Africa met a similar fate.

The racists resort to terror, bloodshed and wholesale repression to suppress the struggle of the African peoples for their rights. More than 10,000 South African patriots (including those of European origin) are being held in the prison on Robben island, which has become notorious as the "island of death", and in other racist torture-chambers. Among them are prominent leaders of the national liberation movement such as Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg and the International Lenin Peace Prize winner, Abraham Fischer, who have received life sentences. Hundreds of opponents of the racist regime have been imprisoned without any charge or trial.

According to the South African press, half a million persons have been arrested every year in the course of the last ten years. An average of 36 hours of confinement per year falls to every resident of South Africa, regardless of whether he is a man, woman, or child, an African or a white.

According to the data of the South African Institute of Racial Relations, 98 racist laws were adopted between 1961 and 1971.

In short, the Republic of South Africa has been turned into one great concentration camp for all who oppose racial discrimination and apartheid. Information coming from the Republic, including the testimony of former prisoners, shows that the South African racists, just like Hitler's butchers, resort to inhuman practices in their efforts to break the spirit of their political prisoners.

People all over the world have a profound respect for the courageous South African Communists and democrats who are continuing the fight against the racist regime regardless of the great difficulties and dangers.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1969 devoted special attention to South African problems. Its Main Document notes: "Of great importance for the future of Africa and the cause of peace is the liberation of southern Africa, one of the last areas of colonial domination."¹

Until recently, South Africa, the chief stronghold of racism, bordered on territories with colonial regimes. In the course of the national liberation movement the situation began to change radically. In 1953 the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland, which united Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland, against the wishes of the African population, was divided up. Northern Rhodesia became the independent African

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 27.

state of Zambia, and Nyassaland became the present state of Malawi. This was a grave blow to the position of the colonialists and imperialists. The liberation movement was gaining strength.

The development of the national liberation movement in southern Africa was promoted by measures aimed at consolidating the unity of all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces. In June 1967, the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the revolutionary democratic party of Southern Rhodesia, concluded an agreement to conduct a joint armed struggle against racialism and imperialism. This document marked a new stage in the liberation struggle of the southern African patriots, whose first military operations awakened the hopes and revolutionary

Ian Smith, ringleader of the Rhodesian racialists, aims to perpetuate the racist rule in the country. The Zimbabwe people say "No!" to the Anglo-Rhodesian collusion.



enthusiasm of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Rhodesia.

In this atmosphere the Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon alliance supported by Britain and other Western countries, perpetrated another crime against the African peoples. On June 20, 1969, the Rhodesian racialists under Ian Smith, spurred on by Britain, held a "referendum" in which only 80,000 of the 240,000 white population and 7,000 of the 5,000,000 indigenous population took part.

The result was the adoption of a new "constitution" aimed at perpetuating the inferior position of the African people in which they are little better than slaves, and the policy of racial oppression and apartheid after the example of South Africa. While continuing the process of turning southern Africa into a bulwark of racialism and neo-colonialism, the racist Smith regime and its imperialist, particularly British, patrons, staged a farce in Salisbury on March 2, 1970 which end-



ed with the proclamation of Southern Rhodesia a "republic".

The visit of Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Foreign Secretary, to Rhodesia in November 1971, was a further step in the collusion between the British Tories and the ringleader of the Rhodesian racialists, Ian Smith. An agreement was reached "to adjust the constitutional conflict" between London and Salisbury.

This agreement has been condemned by the African public and the rest of the world as a shameful deal of the British Government with the Rhodesian racialists designed to perpetuate the discrimination of the indigenous population of Zimbabwe. Soviet people have joined in this condemnation. The Soviet Union has consistently supported the taking of effective measures against the racist regime in Rhodesia and the immediate handing over of power in the country to its lawful master—the Zimbabwe people.

The situation in Rhodesia calls for joint action on the part of all of the country's patriots against the racist regime. Unfortunately a lack of unity within the ranks of the organizations fighting for African rights is impeding the further expansion and activation of the liberation struggle in Rhodesia. The emergence of the Front of Liberation of Zimbabwe in October 1971, set up to counterbalance the Zimbabwe African People's Union with its claims to leadership of the country's national liberation movement, has further splintered the forces of national liberation.

However the patriots of southern Africa have no intention of laying down their arms. Leaflets distributed in the Republic of South Africa inform the people that the Communists of southern Af-

rica are keeping up their battle and will continue to do so until victory is achieved. The country lives in an atmosphere of struggle to end the tyranny of the white racist minority and complete a national democratic revolution in order to free the African and other oppressed peoples. The Communist Party, following its Leninist course, is in the forefront of this struggle. Communists are fighting side by side with members of the African National Congress and their allies in the ranks of the Army of Liberation. The Party calls upon all workers to unite their efforts to inspire and organize the people to take part in the struggle.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the South African Communist Party (July 30, 1971) the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent a message of congratulation on behalf of all the Soviet people wishing the South African patriots success in their courageous and just struggle.

The Communists of Lesotho

The state of Lesotho is an enclave within the Republic of South Africa. This is one of the reasons accounting for the complicated atmosphere in which the Lesotho Communist Party, one of Africa's young Marxist-Leninist parties, carries on its work. The emergence of this party in May 1962, came about as a result of the growing numbers of the country's workers and semi-proletarians, and also because of the extremely difficult material and social conditions of most of the working people. At the same time the founding of the Lesotho Com-

munist Party demonstrates the growing political consciousness of the Basuto people and their determination to struggle for their rights and overcome social oppression. It also shows that Marxist-Leninist ideas are gaining ground in Africa.

For over a hundred years this territory, with an area of just over 30 thousand square kilometres, was a British colony known as Basutoland. Time and again its freedom-loving mountain dwellers, today numbering only about a million, rose in an unequal struggle against the Boers and the British for their freedom and national independence. In 1965 Basutoland was granted self-government, and on October 4, 1966, the new state of Lesotho appeared on the map of the continent.

However, being situated geographically inside the Republic of South Africa, the country fell under the factual rule of the racist government which entirely controls all its means of access with the outer world. The country also has a customs alliance with South Africa. Foreigners play the dominant part in Lesotho's domestic and foreign trade. The official currency is the South African rand.

In outlining the country's home and foreign policy, the Prime Minister, Leabua Jonathan, said that Lesotho's foreign policy would be to strengthen "friendly relations" with South Africa. As for its home policy, the government would preserve the "traditional social structure" and continue economic development with the aid of foreign capital, especially South African capital.

The country's democratic forces, supported by the Communists, boycotted the celebrations organized to mark Lesotho's sham independence and called upon the people to take part in a general

strike. King Moshoeshoe, who objected to being given the status of titular head of state, expressed his solidarity with the opposition parties.

Lesotho has a backward economy and is wholly dependent on South Africa. There are practically no processing industries, and no railways. Agriculture, confined chiefly to livestock-farming, is in a pitiful state. The best Alpine meadowlands are leased to European cattle-breeders from South Africa. The Basuto peasants eke out a miserable existence, unable to support themselves. More than 200,000 Lesotho residents are forced to take seasonal jobs, chiefly in the South African mines.

Thus, after Lesotho's liberation from British rule it became in fact a colonial estate of the South African racists, providing them with raw materials and cheap manpower.

The Lesotho Communist Party Programme adopted at the constituent Party Congress in May 1962, says that the Lesotho Communist Party is an independent Party of workers and peasants whose aim is to build a Socialist Lesotho Republic. The Lesotho Communist Party is a party of a new type guided by the most advanced political and economic theory, that of Marxism-Leninism, and a scientific world outlook which has already given freedom to one-third of mankind and is a symbol of peace and prosperity for peoples the world over. The programme calls upon all party members to make a close study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in order to apply them creatively in solving the problems that face the country.

The Lesotho Communist Party is struggling to turn the country into a sovereign democratic state. The Party demands the elimination of all ves-

tiges of colonialism and particularly that the National Council (Parliament) be given control over the state apparatus, the country's defence, foreign policy, internal security, postal and telegraph services, internal and external lines of communication, air lines, and all currency dealings, and that it enjoy all the other powers of a sovereign state. The Programme lists the specific social and economic changes essential for the winning of genuine independence. At the same time it demands the return of the territories illegally handed over to the Boers by the British imperialists and later included into the Republic of South Africa, and also that Lesotho be given an outlet to the sea.

The Rules of the Lesotho Communist Party define the Party's organizational principles which are based on democratic centralism. The Rules also state the goal of the Party: to eliminate the colonial regime, to organize a united front of the country's patriotic and progressive forces, and to found a socialist republic based on public ownership of the means of production.

In keeping with its Programme, the Party considers its first task to be the achievement of unity between all the progressive forces inside the country and the founding of a United Front of democratic forces with the aim of replacing the neo-colonialist regime with a government that will set out to achieve economic independence and social progress. The Communist Party strives to co-operate with the country's progressive political parties, particularly with the Congress Party, which is the chief opposition party and a large-scale national organization, and also with the Marematlous Freedom Party.

At the parliamentary elections held in April 1965, the Lesotho Communist Party made every effort to achieve unity of action with the opposition parties in keeping with the decisions of the 2nd Party Congress held in October 1964. It invited their co-operation and gave its support to the candidates of the opposition. In spite of these efforts, however, the Party was not successful in creating a united front.

The elections were won by the reactionary, pro-fascist National Party of Basutoland headed by Leabua Jonathan, which is backed by Britain and South Africa. It is the mouthpiece of the tribal aristocracy, the reactionary elements of the lower middle class and the Catholic hierarchy which obeys the dictates of the Vatican. Under the leadership of Jonathan the government began the wholesale persecution of the democrats, particularly the Communists. It had always been Jonathan's desire to outlaw the Communist Party and other progressive parties. In preparing to carry out this anti-democratic act, Jonathan's government made repeated attacks on the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Lesotho Communist Party and on the homes of its leaders, confiscated literature and party documents and engaged in other repressive operations.

In reply to the efforts of the ruling clique to heighten anti-communist hysteria and launch a campaign of incitement against the Communist Party, *Majammoho* ("Communist"), the Communist Party magazine, wrote that neither the colonialists nor the compradors had been able to suppress communism in the country. Nor could this be achieved by the emerging national bourgeoisie, for communist ideas had taken root among the

working people and therein lay the secret of their invincibility.

The Lesotho Communist Party devotes considerable attention to the drawing of the country's still numerically small working class into active political life. With this aim the Communists, together with the South African Federation of Trade Unions, have set up the country's first national Trade Union Centre, organized trade unions of African miners, unskilled workers, diamond mine workers and road builders. A Communist Youth League has been founded to work with the country's youth.

The Communist Party has repeatedly raised the question of the unity of the international Communist movement, denouncing the erroneous theoretical views and splitting activities of the present Peking leaders and their deviation from Marxism-Leninism. The 3rd Congress of the Lesotho Communist Party held in March 1967, adopted a special resolution denouncing the policy of the Chinese leaders who discredit the great ideas of socialism and imperil the gains of the Chinese revolution.

An important milestone in the history of the Lesotho Communist Party was its 4th Party Congress held in October 1968. In the Report of the Central Committee to the Congress, Jacob M. Kena, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, said that the Lesotho Communists supported the country's economic development along the non-capitalist path, as stated in the draft of the new Party Programme. Under favourable political conditions, namely those of a national democratic state, Lesotho would be able to fulfil its

progressive economic and social programme by substituting a pattern of independent national economic development for that of the neo-colonialist economy. It was emphasized at the Congress that the Party's chief task at the present stage was to unite and consolidate all the anti-colonial and democratic forces of the nation in a single front that would work to establish a regime of real national independence and national democracy instead of the present neo-colonialist rule.

A delegation of the Lesotho Communist Party took part in the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. The Central Committee of the Lesotho Communist Party voiced its approval of the delegation's work and its full agreement with all the documents adopted by the Meeting. The Lesotho Communist Party considers its chief task at the present moment to be the overthrowing of the existing neo-colonialist regime and its replacement by a government of national independence. In his speech at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties the head of the Lesotho delegation said, "The Communist Party of Lesotho considers that a united front of the progressive organizations including the Communists can replace the present neo-colonialist regime, establish a national democracy and construct an independent economy step by step."¹

New parliamentary elections were held in January 1970 in an atmosphere of mounting dissatisfaction with the Jonathan regime and its South

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 634.

African and British patrons. The opposition parties supported by the majority of the people and the country's progressive organizations, including the Lesotho Communist Party, dealt a serious blow to the ruling National Party. The authoritative Congress Party won 36 of the 60 seats in the parliament, whereas the National Party managed only 23 seats.

Instead of resigning, however, Jonathan and his overseas patrons declared the elections invalid. The Constitution was suspended and a state of emergency proclaimed in the country. South African troops were drawn up along the Lesotho frontier. Police detachments under the command of South African and British officers controlled the country. Over a hundred Party activists and democrats were arrested at that period, including the leader of the Congress Party, Ntsu Mokhehle. All publications of the opposition parties were banned. On February 7, 1970, the Communist Party was outlawed. Its General Secretary and Chairman were arrested; *Majammoho*, the Communist magazine, was banned.

At the present time it appears that Jonathan is manoeuvring to lure certain representatives of the opposition into his reactionary government. The position in the country demands the vigilance of all democratic forces and their concentration on the creation of a popular anti-imperialist front. The new Party Programme, pinpointing the most urgent task at the present stage, states that "...the struggle against neo-colonialism and in particular against the neo-colonial (Jonathan) regime has become the principal question for Lesotho's liberation movement at the present time".

Reunion—the Land of "Bitter Sugar"

The Communist Party of Reunion holds an important place in the struggle of the African peoples for their national independence and social emancipation.

Like Martinique and Guadeloupe, Reunion is one of the few remaining French colonies. For more than 300 years the French colonialists have ruled the island's population of Creoles, Malagasy, Chinese and Europeans.

In 1946, by French statute, Reunion was declared an "overseas department"—a "concession" which changed nothing of the colonial social and economic structure of the island. Its economy has retained its colonial mono-cultural character. Being wholly dependent on France and other members of the European "Common Market", the country specializes in sugar cane cultivation and the production of sugar. *France Nouvelle* had every reason to call Reunion the "island of bitter sugar."

Speaking at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Paul Vergès, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Reunion, said that the situation on the island was characterized by an ever growing economic crisis, a deficiency in foreign trade accounted for by the prevalence of imports over exports (two-thirds to one-third), and a constant shortage of resources. From the social aspect, one-fourth of the working class is unemployed, small and middle-ranking peasants are being ruined, and universal poverty contrasts strikingly with the growing wealth of the privileged minority.

In the course of their history, the people of Reunion have time and again taken up arms in de-

fence of justice, civil rights and elementary freedoms. In most cases this struggle has been spontaneous. With the founding of an independent Communist Party of Reunion in 1959 the national liberation movement in general, and the people's demonstrations in defence of their rights, acquired a militant character.

In 1962, hundreds of peasants of the St. Louis district, driven to despair by their ruthless exploitation by the sugar-cane planters and by their lack of political rights, demonstrated against the "sugar barons" and the monopoly rule. On one occasion, when the way was barred to the demonstrators, the peasants turned their steps towards St. Louis where they joined forces with the urban workers. There they erected barricades and seized the town hall. The army and the police force opened fire against the demonstrators. There were many casualties and large numbers of arrests. The militant demonstration of the working people of St. Louis provided a good example of solidarity between workers and peasants in their struggle against the exploiters.

The Party Programme adopted in May 1959, at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Reunion, outlined measures to liberate the people of Reunion from oppression and colonial exploitation. Under the existing conditions the Party considers it essential that in order to throw off the yoke of colonialism the people of Reunion should first of all win the right to democratic self-government, i.e. genuine autonomy, within the framework of a union with France. Such national autonomy requires that there be free elections to form a Legislative Assembly of Reunion which would be competent to deal with all domestic

problems and form a Government of Reunion answerable to the Legislative Assembly. The Prefect, who now exercises supreme power on the island on behalf of France, would be replaced by a representative of the French Government who would co-ordinate the work of bodies representing French government interests in Reunion and be in charge of their relations with the local Government.

The Party's demand for self-government reflects the interests of the democratic majority of the population who are giving this demand unanimous support. The Programme of the Party provides a practical basis for creating a broad democratic front of the island's workers, peasants, progressive intelligentsia and intermediate sections of the population. The Communist Party of Reunion is of the opinion that the legal status of Reunion can be changed by peaceful means on the basis of the present Constitution of the French Republic.

Reunion's specific conditions prevent the Party from presenting a demand for full independence. Such a demand would be impractical and would not be supported by the people as a whole. The island's remoteness from France and other developed countries, its small area (2,511 square kilometres) and population (418 thousand), and the existence of French military bases on Madagascar and the Comores exclude the possibility of waging a successful struggle, particularly an armed struggle, for full independence. A further factor is that even if the French Government were to agree to such an arrangement Reunion would immediately find itself threatened by the USA which is stepping up its aggressive activity in this part of the world. Such a turn of events would

only affect the democratic movement on the island.

The Programme of the Reunion Communists envisages a range of democratic social and economic transformations to be accomplished immediately upon achieving autonomy. These include the nationalization of the sugar industry with the confiscation of lands now owned by the sugar monopolies, followed by an agrarian reform which would provide all small landowners with sufficient land, without encroaching upon the right to private, non-monopoly land ownership (large, medium and small-scale non-monopoly land holdings would remain intact). The implementation of these and several other social and economic measures would help to overcome backwardness, ensure genuine democratic freedoms, and raise the living standard of the working people and the cultural level of all the peoples inhabiting the island.

At present the Communist Party of Reunion, which has more than 4,000 members, is the best organized and authoritative political party on the island. It is supported by the trade unions and other democratic organizations, including the Association of Democratic Youth and the Women's Organization of Reunion.

At the elections to the National Assembly of France held in 1956, despite the standard amount of falsification, Communists received 54 per cent of the vote and were allotted two of the three seats available to Reunion. Communists stood at the head of the island's biggest municipalities. However, soon after these progressive achievements, the government disbanded 6 municipalities under the control of the Communists. The results of the parliamentary elections in Reunion of 1958, 1962,

1963 and 1967 were falsified. The last and most flagrant falsification (1967) testified to the existence of a regime of colonialism and oppression in Reunion.

The Communist Party of the island is waging a relentless struggle for universal suffrage that would make the usual practice of falsifying election returns impossible.

The Communist Party of Reunion played an active part in drafting the Manifesto demanding autonomy for the overseas departments of France. It was signed on December 14, 1963, by 24 anti-colonial organizations of Reunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe and French Guinea. The Party is continuing its political campaign in support of the Manifesto.

The ideas of the Manifesto have been fully supported by the Congress, held in Morne-Rouge (Martinique) in August 1971, of representatives of 15 democratic organizations (trade unions, youth organizations and women's organizations) of France's overseas departments, as well as by the Communist Parties of Guadeloupe, Martinique and Reunion, and the Guiana Circle for the study of Marxism.

The Congress adopted a declaration confirming the decision of the organizations of the participating countries to continue the struggle for self-determination and the granting of national autonomy to the overseas departments of France. It outlined an economic, social and cultural programme which is to become the basis of the autonomous status and the forms of legislative and executive power for the future autonomies. The participants of the Congress declared that the self-determination of the peoples of Guadeloupe, Guiana, Martinique

and Reunion could be achieved only as the result of free democratic elections on the basis of universal suffrage.

The Communists of Reunion are determined to continue their struggle against colonial tyranny for the vital interests of the working people.

The Communist daily, *Témoignages* ("Evidence"), plays an important part in the activities of the Communist Party of Reunion. Besides information it publishes a variety of material dealing with problems that are of vital interest to all sections of the island's population. It exposes the ruthless exploitation employed against the working people, and the racist tendencies of the French monopolists and their servants in Reunion; it unfailingly supports the vital interests of the working class, and calls for the improvement of the living conditions of sugar industry workers, miners, builders and all other working people. The paper also supports the interests of the peasants, particularly those engaged in the cultivation of sugar cane, who form the bulk of Reunion's rural population.

Témoignages helps the people to fight for their rights and liberties and exposes the machinations of the French administration and its puppets during elections. It enjoys the respect of its readers and is steadily raising the level of political consciousness of the people.

The Communist daily provides regular information on the achievements of the Soviet Union and all the socialist states, on the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries for its rights and on the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and Latin America and particularly Africa.

The paper faces great difficulties owing to its persecution by the colonial rulers. Its editorial office is subjected to heavy fines; companies and businessmen are forbidden to advertise in its pages; and editions are often confiscated by the authorities. Despite all this, *Témoignages* continues to explain to the people the aims of the Communist Party.

The 2nd Party Congress held in Saint-Denis in August 1967, played an important part in the work of the Communist Party of Reunion. It discussed the results of the Party's activities and outlined the future tasks of the struggle for the national independence and social emancipation of the Reunion people. It denounced the aggressive policy of US imperialism in different areas of the world, voiced its solidarity with the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and independence and its support of the just struggle of the peoples of the nearby countries of Madagascar, Mauritius and South Africa.

Delegations of the Communist Party of Reunion took part in the International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1960 and 1969. It must be noted, however, that at the Meeting in 1969 the representatives of the Communist Party of Reunion showed inconsistency. Although they said they were in favour of consolidating the unity of Communist and Workers' Parties and all the anti-imperialist forces, nevertheless, (like the delegations of Australia, Italy and San Marino) they expressed full agreement only with the chapter of the Main Document which outlined the joint programme of struggle against imperialism.

In its practical activities, however, the leadership of the Communist Party of Reunion, has never

taken up an anti-internationalist position. Fraternal ties have been established between the Communist Party of Reunion and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on a regular basis. Reunion Communists attended the 22nd and 24th Congresses of the Soviet Communist Party (the Reunion authorities prevented them from attending the 23rd Congress and obstructed the visit of the Soviet Communist Party delegation to the 2nd Congress of the Reunion Communists).

In September 1969, a delegation of Reunion Communists arrived in the USSR where they acquainted themselves with the experience of the Soviet Communist Party in organizational and political work. As stated in an account of this visit, "Both sides expressed confidence that the visit of the Communist Party of Reunion would promote the further consolidation of fraternal ties between the two Parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

The speech of Paul Vergès at the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in June 1969, in Moscow shows the sympathies of the Reunion Communists towards the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people. Proletarian internationalism, he said, meant "...fighting against anti-Sovietism always and everywhere, for the peoples should at all times remember what they owe to the October Revolution, should remember the untold suffering and sacrifices of the peoples of the Soviet Union during the Civil War, their sacrifices in the Great Patriotic War, when they fought for victory over fascism, and the sacrifices and privations that fell to their lot in building the foundations of socialist society. Proceeding from

the attitude of its people to the Soviet Union, each Party can decide for itself whether it has acquitted itself honorably of its internationalist duty..."¹

* * *

Tropical Africa is a vast area of nearly 18 million square kilometres stretching from the Sahara Desert in the north to the Copper Belt in the south. It comprises some 35 countries and territories with a population of over 200 million, including the Nilotic tribes in the southern Sudan (nearly 5,000,000) and the negroid population in the southern part of Mauritania.

Economically, socially and culturally Tropical Africa is the most backward area of the continent, for it is to this part of Africa that the first slave-traders and colonialists flocked in the middle of the 15th century. A large part of what is now known as Nigeria was then given the name of the "Slave Coast." And it is in Tropical Africa that Britain, Portugal and France still have their remaining colonies.

In contrast to Europe, where one socio-economic structure replaced another in strict succession, in almost all the countries of Tropical Africa the primitive communal and tribal systems gave way to colonialism which cut short the process of social development at its earliest stage and established regimes of brutal exploitation of the local population.

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, pp. 584-585.

An important feature of the countries of Tropical Africa that have won national independence is the fact that most of them became sovereign national states before becoming nations. As a result, political parties tended to be formed on a tribal basis. The tribal structure often accounts for the instability of the political situation in the newly-free states and for the frequent coups during which the army usually takes charge.

All these factors have impeded the development of the communist and working-class movement in this part of Africa. However, the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism is penetrating into Tropical Africa, where it is beginning to exert an increasing influence on the destinies of the African peoples. In the 1960s the African Party of Independence of Senegal and the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria were founded, both of which adopted Marxist programmes.

The Patriots of Senegal

The African Party of Independence of Senegal was the first Marxist Party of Tropical Africa. It was formed in September 1957, with the direct assistance of the French Communists. The Manifesto issued on its foundation, which became the Party's Programme, called for the immediate granting of independence to Senegal and other African countries. The goal of the Party in the social sphere was to do away with exploitation. With this aim it called for the nationalization of industry and the distribution of the land to those who work on it. The Rules of the Party state that

the African Party of Independence "is a political organization adhering to the principles of scientific socialism and implementing them to win independence for all of Black Africa and build an African socialist society."

The Party was founded when the Federation of French Western Equatorial Africa was still in power. At that time there were several large-scale federal parties in the French colonies with branches in different territories (the African Democratic Assembly, the African Socialist Movement and the Party of African Entente). This influenced the organizational pattern of the Party of Independence which at that period also had a federal structure, with branches in the Sudan (Mali) and Guinea as well as in Senegal. Other branches were being formed in Niger, Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Mauritania, Ubangi-Shari (the present Central African Republic) and Chad. After the disintegration of the Federation of French Africa and the emergence of more or less independent states the African Party of Independence abolished its federal structure and took the course of independent national development. By 1960 it had all the features of a national party.

During the colonial period the African Independence Party of Senegal promoted the development of the national liberation movement and did much to spread Marxist-Leninist ideas in the French-speaking African colonies. Through the efforts of its leadership the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* were published in the Wolof language.

When a referendum was held in the French colonies in Africa in 1958 the Party of Independence

opposed the plans of the French Government and called upon the people to resist the introduction of a "new" constitution. (At that time the Party cooperated with the trade unions and other progressive organizations and had considerable influence with them). The Party's opposition brought on a wave of repression against it and its leaders who were put on trial. Despite this persecution the Party consolidated its organizational structure and continued to increase its membership.

By 1960 there were already 20,000 members of the Party of Independence in Senegal. The majority were urban workers of which there were some 100,000 at that time, followed by the intelligentsia and students.

The Senegal authorities were looking for some pretext for banning the Party of Independence, and when the Party campaigned against the suppression of democratic rights during the 1960 elections, the government provoked a series of disturbances and outlawed the Party. Aware of the danger of the Party's activity against the pro-imperialist foreign policy and the anti-democratic home policy of the Senghor Government, the authorities concentrated police and state security forces against the Party of Independence. Many of the Party's leaders were imprisoned. The banning of the Party caused confusion within its ranks and reduced its membership. Those leaders of the Party who had managed to escape arrest united the Party's ranks and reorganized its activities in keeping with its illegal status. Priority was given to work among the people and this greatly increased the Party's influence, particularly in the countryside.

The 1st Congress of the African Party of Independence of Senegal, held in March 1962, strengthened the Party organizationally and ideologically. An important event was the adoption of a new Party Programme on the basis of its Manifesto. It gave an analysis of the distribution of class forces in Senegal, defined the stages in the Party's struggle for independence (Minimum Programme) and socialism (Maximum Programme), dwelt on the problem of African unity, formulated the Party's attitude to all social classes in Senegal and outlined the Party's policy in the struggle for democracy and cultural development. It also stressed the importance of creating a Senegalese United Front of Independence and of building a national democracy in Senegal.

In a special resolution the Congress emphasized the necessity of eliminating all French military bases and annulling all military pacts between Senegal and France.

As noted before, as a result of the changed nature of the national liberation movement and the emergence of several independent states in Tropical Africa, the African Party of Independence of Senegal was reorganized into a national Senegalese party. Because the chief goal of the Party—the achievement of genuine independence for Senegal—had not been attained, and also because of Party traditions, the 1st Congress of the Party decided to leave the name of the Party unchanged.

After its Congress the Party stepped up its activity. Its leadership established friendly relations with revolutionary democratic parties in other African countries, made contacts with many Communist and Workers' parties of the world, and sent delegations to the 22nd, 23rd and 24th

Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

At the end of 1962 the Party leadership encountered serious difficulties. The Party was rent by serious differences which led to the emergence of a group-headed by Babacar Niang, Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee—which did everything it could to obstruct the decisions of the Party Congress on the creation of a common front. This dissident faction advocated dissolution of the Party in order to merge the African Party of Independence of Senegal with the legal nationalist opposition party, the Bloc of Senegalese Masses. Their suggestions were wholly unacceptable to the Party of Independence. The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, held in August 1963, exposed and condemned the reactionary activities of the breakaway faction.

But Niang's group did not abandon its schemes. They, and particularly their leader, then took up with the Chinese Maoists with whom they maintained contact. In February 1964, the Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee expelled the Niang group from the Party for its disruptive activities.

After the Meeting the Party outlined a series of new measures to enhance its underground work. However, the Senegal secret police managed to infiltrate the Party. This had disastrous consequences: more than 70 of its leading members and 100 active Party workers were arrested.

Straight after this blow the pro-Chinese splitters (Niang and his followers) renewed their subversive anti-party activities. They proclaimed the founding of a so-called Senegalese Communist

Party and published a "Manifesto of the Communist Party" full of criticism of the leadership of the Party of Independence. Representatives of the "Communist Party," propagating their reactionary ideas among workers in local Party organizations, and playing on their natural desire to put an end to disorganization, succeeded in disorganizing the ranks of the Party of Independence.

In October 1966, another breakaway group emerged under the name of the New Organization of the African Party of Independence. It is significant that the Senegal government, which subjects members of the Party of Independence to brutal persecution, is quite content to leave the dissenting organizations in peace.

The government policy in regard to the Party of Independence is concentrated on promoting dissident groups inside the Party with the aim of splitting its ranks and undermining its work. At the same time it spares no effort to compromise its leaders and persuade suitable candidates among their number to support the official policy of "national unity." Moreover, Senghor made a demagogic statement on the readiness of the Senegal government to take a lenient view of the legal activity of Marxists in the country.

In this complicated atmosphere the leadership of the Party of Independence believes that the Party should continue to work for the genuine unity of all progressive, democratic forces of Senegal on an anti-imperialist basis. It popularizes the demand for unity, expressed in the Party Programme which holds that "Unity . . . must be built on confidence and militant fraternity, i.e. on democracy in its inner and outer aspect. In the present world situation the rallying of national forces in

the government of a patriotic union for the joint solution of actual issues acquires outstanding practical significance."

At present there has been a marked rise of activity among trade union and youth organizations which have always been reliable supporters of the Party of Independence. At a time when the ruling Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (Progressive Union of Senegal) has usurped power, the activization of public organizations is of particular importance for the consolidation of the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist forces. In the trade union movement an advanced part is played by the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal (National Union of Working People of Senegal). The progressive Senegalese trade unions are fighting for the interests of the working people, for democratic and trade union rights, for the consolidation of national independence, for a just distribution of the national income and for development along the socialist path in the name of genuine democracy.

Because of this, the government of Senegal resorts to every possible trick in an effort to subordinate the trade unions to its interests, to discredit the trade-union leadership and introduce discord among its members and split the trade-union movement. Through various machinations and outright bribery the government has succeeded in knocking together and "legalizing" a dis-sentist pro-government group, the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers which forms an integral part of the ruling Union Progressiste Sénégalaise. However, the government has failed to destroy the influence of the progressive trade unions on the coming working class.

Of late Senegal has experienced a wave of de-

monstrations of workers, employees and students. These have been on such a scale that the government proclaimed a state of emergency and employed special shock troops against the patriots. But developments show that the determination of the Senegalese working people to attain freedom and social progress cannot be shaken.

Nigerian Marxists

Of all African countries Nigeria has the largest population—65,000,000 which is more than 20 per cent of Africa's entire population. With an area of 925,000 square kilometres, Nigeria is larger than Britain, France, Belgium and Holland put together. The country is populated by more than a hundred different tribes and peoples, all at different levels of social development and having different languages, religions, customs, and cultures. The most numerous peoples are the Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba.

Nigeria is one of the most economically developed countries of Tropical Africa. It is rich in oil, iron ore, coal, gas, polymetal ores, wolfram, columbite, marble, lime and uranium. According to Nigerian estimates, the country's reserves of oil, the key export item, exceed 800 million tons. At the end of 1971 Nigeria's yearly oil output amounted to just under 80 million tons, and by the end of 1972, it is expected to exceed 100 million tons. Nevertheless Nigeria remains an agrarian country and 75 per cent of its population is employed in agriculture.

The country's situation in the equatorial zone accounts for the diversity of Nigeria's climate, ve-

getation and animal life. It ranks first in the world for the production of palm oil, second for peanuts and cocoa beans, and sixth for the production of natural rubber. Its agricultural produce includes rice, millet, beans, maize, cotton and citrus fruits. Its forests produce many valuable kinds of wood. It has great opportunities for developing livestock farming and fishing.

Foreign capital still predominates in the country's economy, particularly in the mining and processing industries. British capital accounts for some 75 per cent of all direct private foreign investments in Nigeria. (From 1914 until the achievement of political independence on October 1, 1960, Nigeria was a British colony and protectorate.)

Of late US, West German and French capital has been making inroads in the Nigerian economy. At the same time businessmen and progressive leaders are keen to develop economic and trade relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Until recently Nigeria was made up of four large provinces: Northern, Eastern, Middle-West and Western (with a special district for the capital Lagos). The provinces of this federal state enjoyed considerable economic and political autonomy.

* * *

The Socialist Workers and Farmers Party (SWAFP) of Nigeria plays an important part in the country's social and political life and in the struggle of the Nigerian working people for their freedom and their rights. The Party was establish-

ed in August 1963, at a Constituent Conference in Lagos which was attended by delegates from the country's numerous Marxist groups and representatives of mass organizations including the Nigerian Youth Congress, the Nigerian Trade Union Congress and the Northern People's Congress. The Conference adopted the Manifesto and Constitution of the Party and elected its leading bodies.

The Manifesto of the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party, which is the Party's programme document, declares that "the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party is the Party of the toilers of Nigeria, guided by Scientific Socialist ideas, whose aim is the realisation of a Socialist Nigeria through the process of national revolution."¹ The Manifesto emphasizes the tasks of conducting a vigorous struggle for peace and social progress, and of supporting all peoples in the fight against imperialism, for social progress.

The Party calls for the immediate granting of independence to all African countries still under colonial domination, for the unity of African countries and peoples in their struggle against imperialism, and for the elimination of all foreign military bases in Africa.

The Constitution adopted at the Lagos Conference stresses that the Party's aim is to "strengthen ties with the workers and their movements in other countries in the struggle to establish socialism."² It also defines the organizational pattern of the Party whose basic principles are democratic centralism and collective leadership.

¹ *The Manifesto of the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria*, Lagos, 1965, p. 1.

² *Constitution of the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria*, Lagos, 1965, p. 4.

After the Conference the Party leadership called upon the Nigerian working people and all honest-minded people who cherish democracy, to support the struggle of the working class. It called upon all those working for peace, democracy and socialism to rally under its banner to form a single national democratic front against imperialism and its feudal and comprador allies. This appeal met with a ready response from the working people.

The result of the organizational work undertaken following the Party's appeal was the emergence of a United Front of Nigerian Youth organization which comprised all of the country's youth organizations including the Nigerian Youth Congress.

An important achievement of the Party was the founding of the Joint Action Committee of the Nigerian Trade Unions which represented a million Nigerian workers. The Committee headed two general strikes in support of the working people's economic demands (September 1963 and June 1964), which had great political significance.

The Socialist Workers and Farmers Party took an active part in the parliamentary elections of December 1964, calling for the creation of a common democratic bloc. Several bourgeois parties were forced to join forces with the SWAFP during elections in order to combat the bloc of feudal lords and comprador reactionaries. This was an indication of the Party's growing prestige and popularity.

The 1st Party Congress, held in December 1965, was a landmark event in the life of the Party and the working people. It defined the prospects for the Party's ideological and organizational consoli-

dation and outlined the immediate tasks ahead in the struggle for Nigeria's genuine independence and the national liberation and social emancipation of its people. The Congress was attended by 165 delegates representing 22,000 members of 83 local Party organizations. Delegates from the CPSU and other fraternal parties were given a rousing welcome by the participants.

The Congress analysed the contemporary economic and political situation in Nigeria, defined the role of the Party as a party of workers, farmers and progressive intellectuals of Nigeria, a Party solidly based on the principles and theses of Marxism-Leninism. As stated in the Report of the SWAFP Central Committee, "The SWAFP is a voluntary union of likeminded persons united for the purpose of applying the Marxist world outlook to Nigerian problems and to guide and lead the Nigerian working class and the masses of the working people in their historic mission of building a socialist Nigeria."¹

The Report emphasized that the chief enemy of the Nigerian people was neo-colonialism. Therefore the prime task of the Party and the people was to rout the forces of neo-colonialism and feudalism and build a truly independent democratic state.

The Congress defined the Party's concrete tasks, first of which was the formation of a united popular front of all democratic organizations and anti-imperialist patriotic forces.

It called upon Party members to spare no effort in consolidating fraternal relations and mutual un-

¹ *Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party of Nigeria, Lagos, 1965, p. 30.*

derstanding in the international working-class movement on the basis of mutual respect and equality. The Resolution of the Congress stressed the necessity of conducting a struggle against all forms of revisionism and great-power chauvinism in the international communist and workers' movement.

The decisions of the Congress deal with the struggle for the final elimination of the colonial system in Africa, for the consolidation of African unity on an anti-imperialist basis, and for the development of the Organization of African Unity into an effective mechanism of the African peoples' struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Congress declared its fraternal solidarity with the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and South Africa, with all the patriots waging a struggle for national independence. It adopted a special resolution on Vietnam vigorously condemning the aggressive war of US imperialism against the heroic Vietnamese people.

The SWAFP Congress and the Party's activity since its inception showed that the Party was rapidly becoming the militant vanguard of all the working people of Nigeria. However, the Party encountered tremendous difficulties arising from the complex and tense situation in the country.

The first Nigerian Government under Abubakar T. Balewa that came into power after the winning of independence represented the interests of the feudal rulers, the landlords and the comprador bourgeoisie. It proved incapable of solving the complex social and economic problems facing the country upon the achievement of independence. The official pro-imperialist policy, corruption of the state apparatus and the enrichment of

the ruling aristocracy accompanied by the deterioration of the living standards of the working people, undermined the authority of the Government and gave impetus to anti-government manifestations.

In January 1966, a military coup put Balewa's Government out of power. The new authorities, headed by Major General A. Ironsi, abolished Nigeria's federal structure and made the country a single state. The new Government suspended the Constitution, dissolved Parliament and outlawed all political parties, including the SWAFP although it had consistently opposed the reactionary home and foreign policy of Balewa's Government.

The attempts of Ironsi's Government to solve by administrative means the nationality question, one of the most complex for Nigeria, only aggravated the contradictions between Nigeria's peoples and deepened the political crisis in the country. In July 1966, a second military coup brought a new government into power, this time under General Yakubu Gowon.

On May 27, 1967, following consultations with the leaders of all of the country's regions, the new Government enacted a law dividing Nigeria into twelve states. A Supreme Military Council, comprised of the military governors of the twelve states and the most senior officers of the Army, was proclaimed the highest legislative body. The Government was headed by a Federal Military Council which included civilian leaders (as Ministers) as well as military personnel. The Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, Major-General Gowon, was elected Chairman of both Councils.

Nigerian Marxists, and progressive trade union,



Death and destruction were the rewards of the civil war in Nigeria.

youth and other public organizations supported the new federal organization of the country, as one that would provide real conditions for the solution of the nationality question and for achieving self-determination.

However the measures of the Federal Government were opposed by an Eastern Nigeria military grouping headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Odukwu Ojukwu, which had set up a regional government. On May 30, 1967, this group declared the secession of Eastern Nigeria from the Federation and the founding of a "Republic of Biafra" with Enugu as its capital. The Federal Government, determined to uphold the unity and territorial integrity of the Nigerian state, refused to recognise the separatists.

On July 7, 1967, civil war broke out in the country, which lasted two and a half years. During the war the Federal Government made repeated efforts to settle the conflict by peaceful means, but without avail. The separatists were actively aided and abetted by the imperialist states which gave them extensive material assistance.

In the first week of January, 1970, Federal troops mounted a vigorous offensive against the eastern separatists and defeated them on January 12. Ojukwu sought refuge in the Ivory Coast Republic. The separatists signed their unconditional surrender in Lagos. The "Biafra" Republic ceased its ill-fated existence; its territory once again became an integral part of united Nigeria. With the ending of the internecine war, in which hundreds of thousands were killed, Nigeria set about the mammoth task of repairing the damage done to the country.

The Organization of African Unity steadfastly condemned the separatists. The resolutions adopted at its sessions called, in the interests of all the peoples of Africa, for the ending of the civil war and the acknowledgement of the unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. Note must be made of the fact that several African states, namely the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Zambia and Tanzania, supported the separatists and recognized the "Republic of Biafra." They defended their position on the grounds of the right of nations to self-determination. Contending that the Ibo people had attained a high level of economic and cultural development, despite the continued existence of tribal survivals, the separatists and their supporters claimed that the Ibo people had the right to set up an independent republic.

But of the 12,000,000 population of Eastern Nigeria only 7,000,000 are Ibo. The remaining 5,000,000 comprise people of the Efik, Ibibio, Ijos, Ogoja and other tribes, who have never demanded separation or autonomy. Yet it is these minorities that inhabit nearly a half of "Biafra" territory—the area that accounts for more than a half of Nigeria's oil output and tropical produce for export.

All the talk about the right of the Ibo people to form a separate state was, in fact, the work of the imperialist instigators behind them.

Nigerian Marxists and democrats maintain that the principle of a people's right to self-determination must be subordinated to the tasks of class and national liberation, not to the aims of social enslavement and capitalist exploitation. They proceed from Lenin's doctrine that the question of a nation's right to free secession must not be confused with the question of whether secession is expedient for a particular nation at any given moment. "While, and insofar as, different nations constitute a single state," Lenin wrote, "Marxists will never, under any circumstances, advocate either the federal principle or decentralization. The great centralized state is a tremendous historical step forward from medieval disunity to the future socialist unity of the whole world. . ."¹

In this connection it will be noted that Eastern Nigeria's attempted secession played solely into the hands of the imperialist powers, each of which was intent on securing for itself a dominating role in exploiting the resources of this coveted area.

Meanwhile Nigeria's integrity provides all the advantages of a big state. Lenin maintained that

peoples should strive for "as large a state as possible, for this is to the advantage of the working people. . ." The history of the Soviet Union—a voluntary alliance of all the peoples living on its territory—is a graphic illustration of Lenin's brilliant forecast.

In the complex atmosphere created by the political crisis and then the civil war, Nigerian Marxists adopted a firm attitude to the events and consistently defended the country's unity on the basis of the equality of all tribes and ethnic groups. They supported General Gowon's Government bearing in mind that Nigeria could be strong only if it preserved its unity and true political and economic independence. *Advance* commented that Nigerian unity would prove effective only if it was combined with a genuinely patriotic policy aimed against the splitting activities of imperialist Britain, the USA and West Germany.

Besides denouncing Ojukwu's separatist activities, Nigerian Marxists devoted particular attention to exposing the subversive activities of US imperialism and particularly the CIA. As revealed by *Advance*, Ojukwu and his clique would have collapsed much sooner had it not been for US, British and West German backing.

"Biafra" was actually an object of struggle between the biggest imperialist powers which were out to retain or establish their control over this part of Africa for economic, strategic and political reasons. That is why Nigerian Marxists firmly adhered to the opinion that only a united Nigeria can wage an effective struggle against the country's exploitation by foreign capital, for its economic independence.

From the very outset of the civil war in Nigeria

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 46.

the Soviet Union, noting the attempts of the imperialist powers to split Nigeria in contradiction to its national interests, voiced its support of the Federal Government and national patriotic forces.

The Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria expressed gratitude to the Soviet Government and people for their support. After the ending of the civil war the Nigerian *Daily Express* declared that the time had come to do justice to the friendly countries and peoples who had stood by Nigeria during her ordeal. Especially, said the paper, did this apply to the Soviet Union who had given the country a helping hand when its so-called friends had turned their backs upon it. The declaration of the Executive Committee of the Nigerian Trade Union Council, the most influential working class organization in the country, also declared that the Nigerian working class and the Nigerian people would never forget the disinterested and decisive support rendered by the Soviet Government and people throughout the crisis.

Despite the fact that Marxists and other Nigerian revolutionaries are the country's most patriotic force, the champions of the national interests of the working people, they are subjected to persecution. At present many prominent leaders of the national liberation struggle and the trade union movement (for example, A. Goodluck, S. Bassey) are in prison.

The Nigerian public is perplexed about the repressive measures taken by the country's authorities against true patriots. They demand their liberation and genuine democratic freedoms.

In this connection it must be noted that the contemporary situation in Nigeria and beyond its bounds calls for the unity of all patriotic, anti-

imperialist forces. The Nigerian separatists and their imperialist patrons have not given up their scheming. Ojukwu's followers are building up forces in neighbouring Gabon, the Ivory Coast and elsewhere. They are plotting once again to plunge Nigeria into another civil war and with this aim have founded a "Free Biafra Movement" and are undergoing intensive military training.

Marxism Expands its Horizons

Alongside the Communist Parties, Marxist groups and circles are becoming more active in a number of African countries. It is significant that Marxists and other patriots of proximate ideological viewpoints are not isolated but carry on their work within the frameworks of progressive political parties and organizations, comprising:

Ruling national democratic parties in young sovereign states that have chosen a socialist orientation (the National Liberation Front of Algeria, the Arab Socialist Union, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Congolese Labour Party [Brazzaville], the Tanganyika Africa National Union, the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar);

Revolutionary democratic parties heading the armed national liberation struggle (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, the Mozambique Liberation Front, the African National Congress of South Africa, the Zimbabwe African People's Union);

Opposition democratic parties of Cameroon, Kenya and Ghana, among other countries.

World social development is clear evidence of the fact that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the Great October Socialist Revolution, despite all the efforts to falsify the historical truth, are exerting great and increasing influence in all parts of the world. These ideas have ushered in a new era of world history, an era of the revolutionary rejuvenation of our planet. They show that the world can rid itself of exploitation, oppression and violence, that it can abolish capitalism and advance to socialism and communism.

The inspiring ideas of Marxism-Leninism are spreading and finding expression in the great social, economic and political changes that are taking place in Africa. These changes are an embodiment of Lenin's genius and a demonstration of the transforming force of the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Independence Congress of Madagascar (AKFM), founded in November 1958, is characteristic of African political parties whose work is guided by Marxists.

Madagascar, with its area of 587,000 square kilometres and 7,000,000 population, is often called a minor continent.

Its Marxists publish a daily paper, the *Imongo Vaovao*, which is widely distributed throughout the Malagasy Republic. "The instrument of revolutionary unity in our country," says Rischard Andriamanjato, AKFM Chairman, "is the Independence Congress Party of Madagascar (AKFM), a coalition of several parties advocating scientific socialism, which, unlike the many pseudo-socialist theories, makes it possible to analyse all national and international phenomena in an objective light in

search of the best solutions to the many vital problems of the country."¹

At present the Independence Congress Party has a membership of over 30,000. It is a legal party with 365 local organizations uniting workers, farmers and progressive intellectuals. Its aim is the achievement of complete independence of Madagascar. But its immediate task is to win economic independence, and this involves the following measures:

Creation of a state sector and nationalization of the key sectors of the economy;

Return to the people of the lands seized by the colonialists and the rebuilding of agriculture on a socialist basis;

Restriction of and state control over the activities of foreign companies;

Withdrawal from the "franc zone" and the Common Market.

The Independence Congress Party stands for guaranteed democratic freedoms and calls for all patriotic forces of the country to unite against domestic reaction. It demands the revision of Franco-Malagasy agreements and the elimination of French and other military bases, and that the Malagasy Republic conduct an independent foreign policy. It also calls for the establishment of broad ties with the socialist countries.

The party and its paper are supported by the workers, farmers and progressive intellectuals. AKFM is active in the trade unions. Gisèle Rabe-sahala, AKFM General Secretary, and her comrades stand at the head of the Federation of Workers' Trade Unions (FISEMA), the most progres-

¹ *World Marxist Review*, 1967, No. 2, p. 15.

sive and most popular TU centre, which unites the trade unions of workers of industrial enterprises in the larger towns and cities, such as railway workers, dockers, craftsmen, and press operators, and also several trade unions of state employees. FISEMA is a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions. AKFM co-operates with the Madagascar Solidarity Committee, the National Peace Council, and the republic's Youth Organization which is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The AKFM leadership, party activists and the publishers of *Imongo Vaovao* are spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and they are held in high regard by the working people. Dwelling on the Communists' role as active organizers and inspirers of the national liberation struggle in Madagascar Rischard Andriamanjato said, "The patriots of Madagascar owe it to Communists that they have read books about the October Revolution and learned that it was the source of the international solidarity of the oppressed classes and peoples."¹

The fact that, despite the falsifications and machinations employed by the authorities during the parliamentary and local elections, AKFM representatives were successful in a number of instances is indicative of the growing prestige and influence of the party and of the Malagasy Marxists. Three leaders of the party, including Rischard Andriamanjato who has been the Mayor of Tananarive for 13 years, are deputies to the National Assembly.

¹ *World Marxist Review*, 1967, No. 7, p. 30.

The leadership of the party and its most active members are subjected to systematic persecution which is a great hindrance to their work. They are refused passports to go abroad. Issues of *Imongo Vaovao* are often confiscated.

In their work the AKFM leaders and Malagasy Marxists come up against great difficulties due to imperialist intrigues. Of late the United States, attracted by the country's strategic position in the Indian Ocean, has been paying increasing attention to Madagascar. The number of American visitors to the republic is steadily increasing. The USA is bringing pressure to bear on the country and is doing all it can to undermine the growth and influence of its democratic forces.

Madagascar also holds an important place in the schemes of West German revanchists who have their eye on the military port of Diégo-Suarez, which Hitler dreamed of turning into a German naval base. Goering called Madagascar "an ideal unsinkable aircraft carrier for German planes." The CDU/CSU Government that was in power in West Germany until the autumn of 1969 made available to the Malagasy rulers several naval craft complete with their German crews.

Peking's subversive activities constitute a serious obstacle to the development of the Marxist movement in Madagascar. They are made possible by the "Madagascar Communist Party," which consists of renegades and confused people, some of whom have even visited China at the invitation of the CPC leadership.

After visiting China these "communist activists" set up a newspaper and began a non-stop campaign to lure away the AKFM members. They called upon them to organize an armed struggle

with centres in the forests. The AKFM gave a due rebuff to the pro-Chinese elements.

The Chinese dissenters and their followers in Madagascar refuse to quieten down yet. They continue to distort the Soviet Union's foreign policy, and to discredit its disinterested aid to the national liberation movement, the Vietnamese and other peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The slanderous campaign of the Peking agents was intensified during the Israeli aggression against the progressive Arab countries. *Imongo Vaovao* gives a resolute rebuff to the Maoists' hostile activities and provides convincing evidence to show that the Maoists are connected with the imperialists and their yesmen.

As for the "Madagascar Communist Party," it is one of many of the same kind in the African continent. Similar organizations have appeared of late in Senegal, Somalia, Kenya, the Republic of Zaire, Mauritius and other countries. The organizers and ideological leaders of these pseudo-Communist parties are to be found beyond the bounds of Africa. The evidence shows that these "parties" are without a future.

An important event in the life of AKFM was its 6th Congress held in Tananarive in August 1971. It was attended by some 700 delegates representing more than 30,000 AKFM members and delegates of Communist parties and public organizations of several countries. The Congress stressed the fact that the party was working under the banner of scientific socialism, for democracy and social progress.

It noted that at the present stage neo-colonialism, which still has a firm grip on the country, is the chief enemy of the Malagasy people, and cal-

led upon AKFM members and all patriots of Madagascar to wage a more vigorous struggle against the neo-colonialists and their agents.

Maoism in Africa

Of late Chinese representatives in Africa, whose number is growing daily, have considerably activated their propaganda efforts to promulgate the "thoughts of Mao."

The author has time and again heard from unbiased Africans that their progressive compatriots and the entire national liberation movement have to contend not only with a foreign enemy in the form of imperialism and neo-colonialism, and with domestic reactionary forces, but also with the subversive activities of Chinese representatives. The Chinese leaders are ready to pay any price to foist upon the liberation forces of Africa their anti-Marxist aims and to undermine the ties and close co-operation of Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary democratic parties with the CPSU and other Communist parties. Peking's great-power aims, its claims to leadership of the international Communist, working-class and national liberation movements, are steeped in anti-Sovietism.

Putting aside the Maoist propaganda of the "successes of the cultural revolution" and the home policy adopted by the Chinese leadership, which resulted in the break-up of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, let us examine some aspects of Peking's chauvinistic foreign policy which, in its anti-Leninist, great-power aims, patently contradicts the interests of the peoples' national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle.

The chief aim of the Chinese ideological sabotage in Africa is to discredit the Soviet Union's home and foreign policy and its aid to the developing countries, and to undermine the influence of its Communist Party.

To achieve their hegemonic aims in Africa, which the Peking rulers regard as a suitable zone for spreading Maoism, the Chinese leaders, setting out to exploit existing nationalist and extremist sentiments, have invented a theory about the alleged danger for African and other "minor and medium-sized countries" presented by the "two superpowers"—the USA and the USSR. China, according to this theory, being Africa's "true friend" has to fulfil its mission of heading the struggle of small countries against the "two superpowers."

As it happens, however, Peking's friendly overtures to Washington, including its invitation to the US President to visit China, have created additional difficulties for Africa's Chinese "friends." The progressive African public is concerned as to whether the dialogue between Peking and Washington is aimed only against the Soviet Union and the forces of world socialism, or whether it might not also be directed against the peoples fighting for their freedom and national independence. Independent Africa regards the rapprochement between China and the USA as a betrayal of the African peoples' interests.

There is clear evidence that Peking's representatives in Africa do not confine their activities to the "interpretation" of the theoretical aspects of Maoism, but actively interfere in the domestic affairs of governments and public and political organizations, trying to force them to adopt the ways of the Chinese "cultural revolution," and to "has-

ten the revolutionary process." As noted by the weekly, *Afric-Nouvelle*, the subversive activities of the Maoists in Africa have earned them a notorious reputation, one which is well-known in Niger, Tunisia, Kenya, and Ethiopia, for example.

The experience of the Republic of Mali affords a good illustration of the results attained by a leftist, sectarian and adventurist policy in the national liberation movement.

Mali was delivered from the French colonialists in 1960. Under the guidance of the revolutionary democratic Union Soudanaise a range of progressive economic and social changes was implemented in the country. Then, instead of consolidating these progressive gains, the Mali leaders fell under the influence of Chinese representatives (at the end of 1968 there were more than 1,500 Chinese citizens in Mali) and their noisy "revolutionary" slogans. They ignored the country's economic development, the role of material incentives in agriculture and the needs and vital interests of the working people.

The Mali leaders took the line of "forcing the class struggle," embarking upon "the active phase of the revolution" and undertaking a mass purge of the party. The Politbureau and other leading bodies of the Union Soudanaise were disbanded; the Parliament and local bodies were abolished. Official party organs were replaced with "Committees for Defence of the Revolution" appointed from above. Instead of strengthening the army and improving political and educational work among the military the Mali leaders, prompted by Peking, began to counterbalance it by setting up "people's militia" and "brigades of vigilance"

chiefly from among the unemployed illiterate youth and not from among workers, peasants or other representatives of the working people.

This weakened the progressive regime and led to a military coup in November 1968. Many progressive leaders, including Modibo Keita, Madeira Keita, Ousman Ba and Yacouba Maiga were removed from their state and party posts and arrested. The democratic rights and progressive gains of the Mali people were threatened.

The Chinese leaders aim to gain control over the progressive organizations in the African colonies and countries under racist regimes, isolate them from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the international communist movement, consolidate the pro-Peking dissident organizations and vilify those leaders of liberation organizations who refuse to follow their adventurist course.

Nevertheless the Chinese disrupters have failed to penetrate such leading revolutionary democratic parties maintaining close contacts with the Soviet Union as the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the African National Congress (ANC), the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Hence their support for those nationalist organizations that oppose the vanguard sections standing at the head of the liberation struggle and carrying on an armed struggle.

These dissident organizations include:

The National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a small nationalist organization

which, through the efforts of the Chinese representatives and their local agent, Sawimbi, has broken off with MPLA: it has no actual influence on the liberation movement;

The Pan-African Congress (PAC), a reactionary organization adhering to extreme nationalist and even racist views, which wholly refuses to cooperate with progressive circles of South Africa's white population. The PAC leaders are rabid anti-communists who are openly hostile to the USSR and other socialist countries;

The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), a very small dissident organization which is supported chiefly by a narrow group of intellectuals. ZANU has several detachments (armed with Chinese weapons) stationed in Zambia but does not carry on any struggle in Rhodesia;

The South-West Africa National Union (SWANU), an organization of small membership comprising in the main students of South-West Africa studying in Britain, Sweden and the USA. It does not enjoy popular support and does not wage a struggle against colonialism and racism.

Until recently Chinese representatives have been very active in these organizations—helping them with subsidies, granting scholarships to students and inviting their leaders to Peking, etc. Active members of these organizations are invited to the Embassies of the CPR where they are shown films and listen to lectures and talks which as a rule contain slander against the Soviet Union and leaders of the anti-colonial and liberation movement.

The pro-Maoist organizations and groups have completely discredited themselves; they have bro-

ken contact with the people and exposed themselves as rabid adversaries of Africa's true revolutionary forces. This accounts for their change of tactics. They are in no hurry to sever contacts with their former "friends", yet are doing their best to worm themselves into the chief national liberation organizations, to secure leadership in these organizations and undermine their union with the USSR and other socialist countries.

Thus, under the guise of aid to the national liberation movement of Africa, Maoist China, while pretending to an "ultra-revolutionary" policy, is actually pursuing great-power, chauvinistic aims contrary to the interests of the African peoples.

Progressive, revolutionary Africa denounces the subversive activities of Maoists in the continent. Speaking on behalf of the delegation of Tunisia at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, its leader Mohammed Harmel said, "How can anyone pass over in silence the Maoist leaders' disastrous role in the liberation movement, the harm they have done and are capable of doing in the future? Gambling on the prestige of the Chinese revolution among the peoples of the Third World, they developed feverish efforts to divert the progressive forces under their influence from the real struggle against imperialism and to slander Lenin's Party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—, to smear the first socialist state—the land of the October Revolution—, the Communist Parties and to split them at all costs. They sowed discord, doubts and division. . . ." ¹

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 185.

Ali Yata, a prominent leader of the Party of Liberation and Socialism (Morocco), commented similarly: "... One cannot proclaim one's service to socialism and at the same time wage a struggle against the country which has been the first to build it and which is the pivot of the socialist world system.

"One cannot declare that one fights imperialism, while aiming blows at those who are shaking its foundations with their resolute actions.

"One cannot claim one's allegiance to the cause of international socialism and at the same time vilify the Party which accomplished the first proletarian revolution—the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"One cannot speak about one's solidarity with the oppressed peoples and at the same time slander and try to weaken their most devoted friend and their most reliable and consistent ally." ¹

It must be noted that not all the people of Africa act and think in keeping with the views and sentiments here quoted. Sometimes the pseudo-revolutionary Maoist slogans appeal to nationalist and extremist-minded elements among the intelligentsia and youth in some of the African states. They find favour among those who have not yet discerned the true face of Maoism. The record shows that a closer acquaintance with Maoism and its schemes usually dissipates all former illusions; it becomes clear that the "thoughts of Mao Tse-tung" are incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism and run counter to the inte-

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, pp. 544-545.

rests of struggle against imperialism, for the peoples' national liberation and social emancipation.

Particular note should be taken of the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist parties who are conducting an ideological struggle against Maoism, have never identified the Maoist leadership with the true Communists and people of China.

In his speech at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 Leonid Brezhnev said, "We do not identify the declarations and actions of the present Chinese leadership with the aspirations, wishes and true interests of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. We are deeply convinced that China's genuine national renaissance, and its socialist development, will be best served not by struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, against the whole communist movement, but by alliance and fraternal co-operation with them."¹

The desire of the Soviet Union to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations has once again been confirmed in the resolutions of the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party: "Improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would meet the vital, long-term interests of both countries, the interests of world socialism, the interests of intensifying the struggle against imperialism."²

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 160.

² *24th Congress of the CPSU*, M., 1971, p. 213.

IV. Consolidation of Contacts and Co-operation

Concern for the all-round consolidation of co-operation with Communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic parties is a key element of the international policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The pivot of this policy, the foundations of which were laid by Lenin, is the undying motto of Marx and Engels: "Workers of all countries, unite!" Soon after the Communist International took shape in 1919 on the initiative and under the guidance of Lenin, this motto was broadened to: "Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!"¹

At the present time, when man has entered the last third of the 20th century and a change-over from capitalism to socialism is taking place throughout the vast stretches of our planet, the motto of the founders of Marxism-Leninism has found new embodiment in the decisions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers'

¹ *Lenin. Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 453.

Parties held in 1969. "*Peoples of the socialist countries,*" reads an excerpt from the Main Document, "*workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!*"¹

In keeping with the Party Programme, the decisions of the 24th Congress and the Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee, the Soviet Communist Party is steadily developing its international Party contacts. This fully accords with the foundations of the Leninist internationalist policy. The chief aim of this policy is the all-round consolidation of fraternal relations and co-operation with Communist and Workers' parties. The November (1971) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee noted with satisfaction that fraternal Communist Parties and broad sections of the democratic public welcomed and supported the international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet Government.

The Soviet Communist Party is a consistent champion of the internationalist unity of all fraternal parties on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is a staunch advocate of the joint action of Communists the world over in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. At the same time the Party is indefatigably strengthening its union and its co-operation with the forces of the national liberation movement—one of the mainstays of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The policy of close co-operation with all the

¹ *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, M., 1969, p. 39.

forces of the national liberation and revolutionary democratic movement and those fighting against exploitation and national oppression was defined by Lenin. In June 1917, he wrote in his article *The Foreign Policy of the Russian Revolution*, "The foreign policy of the proletariat is alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed nations against all and any imperialists."¹ At the 2nd Congress of the Communist International three years later, Lenin spoke on the nationality and colonial problems. In the backward countries, he said, "we are in a position to inspire in the masses an urge for independent political thinking and independent political action, even where a proletariat is practically non-existent."²

Following Lenin's behests, the young Soviet Republic from its very inception took a resolute stand in defence of all nations fighting for their national and social emancipation. The decisions of the 24th Congress and the November (1971) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party once again confirmed the historical role of the national liberation movement as an integral part of the world revolutionary process.

The Soviet Communist Party regards the development of relations with the forces of national liberation and the young national states as an important historical step. For the prospects of social progress for most of mankind depend on whether the countries that have cast off the yoke of colonialism will take the road of socialism or succumb to imperialism.

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 25, p. 87.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 243.

That is why the Programme and decisions of the Soviet Communist Party formulate the key aims and tasks of the Party's foreign policy in regard to the national liberation movement in the African continent along the following lines:

To give diverse aid—moral and political, ideological, diplomatic and military—to the struggle for national and social emancipation of the remaining colonies in Africa;

To support efforts aimed at consolidating the political and economic independence of young African states;

To give all-round support through political and economic co-operation and ideological influence to progressive tendencies in the socio-economic development of African countries;

To oppose actively the attempts of the imperialists to retain their positions in Africa, impose the yoke of neo-colonialism upon the continent, and isolate African states from the socialist countries and the world communist and workers' movement.

The necessity to support progressive forces in Africa calls for: all-round support of the communist movement; the maintaining of diverse ties and the rendering of aid to revolutionary democratic parties, and particularly to those that are in power, while at the same time urging them to establish closer contacts with the world communist movement and to develop along the lines towards Marxism-Leninism; the support of Marxist groups in progressive and some other nationalist parties in order to consolidate the positions of these groups and their influence.

The growing contacts and co-operation of the Soviet Communist Party with progressive parties

of Africa give concrete embodiment to Lenin's ideas on consolidating the alliance of socialism and the national liberation movement. Accordingly, the Soviet Communist Party has established and is promoting its ties with Communist and revolutionary democratic parties of Africa. This policy serves to consolidate the Party's international position, broadens the world front of anti-imperialist struggle and promotes the growth of socialist tendencies in the national liberation movement.

Friendly contacts between the Soviet Communist Party and the revolutionary democratic parties of Africa were first established during the visit of the Soviet Communist Party delegation to the 5th Congress of the Democratic Party of Guinea in September 1959. In October 1961, delegations of the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Union Soudanaise (Mali) and the Convention People's Party (Ghana) attended the 22nd CPSU Congress. Since then relations with the revolutionary democratic parties have been developing steadily.

In May 1965, the first contacts were made with the National Revolutionary Movement of the Congo (Brazzaville) and in March 1966, with the African National Union of Tanganyika, whose delegates were present at the 23rd and 24th CPSU Congresses.

At that time relations were also established with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau, the Mozambique Liberation Front and the Zimbabwe African People's Union.

The Soviet Communist Party's ties with African countries and the revolutionary democratic parties are diverse. A regular form of co-operation is that of mutual exchange of party and party and govern-

ment delegations. Of late numerous party delegations from Africa have visited the Soviet Union. During their stay in the USSR delegates of the revolutionary democratic parties study the experience of the CPSU in its organizational and ideological work and acquaint themselves with the achievements of the Soviet people in communist construction. Their meetings and talks with the Soviet Communist Party leaders promote the exchange of information on key issues of domestic and international politics.

The attendance of African party delegations at Soviet Communist Party congresses, the celebrations of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and Lenin's birth centenary, and numerous visits of party and party and government delegations to the USSR have played an important part in the development of relations between the Soviet Communist Party and revolutionary democratic parties.

Soviet Party delegations have also been to different African countries. In November 1970, one of these delegations, headed by D. S. Polyansky, a member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee and First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, visited Somalia. In February 1971, a delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by A. Y. Snehkus, a member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, paid a visit to the Congo (Brazzaville). Another delegation headed by D. R. Rasulov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Tajik Communist Party, visited Guinea in May 1971.

True to the principles of internationalism, the Soviet Communist Party renders the revolutionary democratic parties considerable aid in the training of national party cadres. Many African party workers were trained in Soviet establishments for party education. Leaders of African Communist and revolutionary democratic parties who have graduated or are still studying in Soviet establishments for party education, follow the traditions of African revolutionary leaders of the older generation who received Marxist training in Moscow in the thirties in the International Leninist School and

Vehicles presented to the Congolese Labour Party by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.



the Communist University of Working People of the Orient.

Representatives of revolutionary democratic parties are invited to the USSR to take part in theoretical seminars and conferences. Soviet teachers of social sciences work in the educational institutions of revolutionary democratic parties.

These parties also receive material aid from the Soviet Communist Party. The Central Committee has made Mali a gift of a Party School of Higher Learning for 300 students with the necessary educational equipment and hostel facilities. Printing equipment, means of transport and communication, motion picture projectors, feature and documentary films, and political and scientific literature have been presented to the Congolese Labour Party (Brazzaville).

Friendly relations have been established between the Soviet Communist Party and African revolutionary democratic parties standing at the head of the armed national liberation struggle. The Soviet Union renders these parties moral and political aid and diplomatic support, and military and other forms of material assistance. Their leading cadres undergo training in the USSR. The Soviet Union also assists the population of liberated areas with shipments of clothing, foodstuffs, medicine, etc.

This assistance is valued highly by the leaders of African revolutionary democratic parties waging a liberation struggle in their countries. The Soviet working people, said Amilcar Cabral "spare no effort to help our country in its difficult battle for national independence and progress." FRELIMO's message of greeting to the Soviet Communist Party reads: "The people of Mozambique where FRELIMO is waging a revolutionary war against

Portuguese colonialism know that socialist countries are their true and staunch allies. We know that in our struggle against the Portuguese regime and its NATO allies we can always rely upon the material aid and solidarity of the USSR, and that this support plays a decisive part in our victories over the enemy."

The alliance and close co-operation of the Soviet Communist Party with revolutionary democratic parties has played an important role in activizing the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle in the continent, and in raising the prestige of the USSR and other socialist countries in Africa. It has also added weight to the foreign policy activities of the revolutionary democratic parties and given impetus to their anti-imperialist actions in the world arena.

The friendly ties maintained by the Soviet Communist Party with the revolutionary democratic parties of Africa are increasing the influence of socialist ideas in the continent. They enable these parties to acquaint themselves more fully with the experience of the Soviet Communist Party and the programme documents and activities of the international communist movement, which in its turn influences the ideological and organizational formation of revolutionary democratic parties, bringing into their ranks those who are sincerely interested in reorganizing society along progressive lines.

Already the ideological and organizational principles of several revolutionary democratic parties in Africa are undergoing considerable modification. The necessity, in the sphere of organizational structure, of advancing from broad anti-imperialist movements to the formation of the party as the

vanguard of the people uniting in its ranks the most socially-conscious representatives of the working people, is increasingly being recognised. An illustration of this trend is afforded by the events in the Congo (Brazzaville) where the 1st (constituent) Congress of the new ruling Congolese Labour Party (CLP), which has succeeded the former ruling National Revolutionary Movement Party, was held in December, 1969.

One hundred and sixty delegates from all districts of the country took part in the work of the Congress whose watchword was "Everything for the people, only for the people." The Congress adopted the Rules of the new party, which are based on the principles of scientific socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology. The aim of the Congolese Labour Party is the building of a democratic and socialist society free of any forms of national oppression or exploitation. Its organizational structure follows the principle of democratic centralism.

Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism the CLP declares its readiness to co-operate with all political and public organizations fighting for the complete liberation of the Congolese people from imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The Party maintains an internationalist stand on all key international issues. Its leadership seeks co-operation with the Soviet Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

In its foreign policy the CLP is anti-imperialist; it supports the armed struggle of the neighbouring Angolese patriots against the Portuguese colonialists and resolutely denounces the United States' "dirty war" of aggression in Indochina and the Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

In domestic policy the Party aims at strengthening the state sector of the economy with the gradual introduction of control over large-scale foreign property and the private sector. Of late it has been implementing measures to restrict national private capital. The land has been proclaimed the property of all the people.

The events in the Congo are of great significance for other young African countries.

Party and state leaders of the Congo are aware that the building of socialism in their country cannot be achieved in a day, that the Republic will have to go through a series of transitional stages in its socio-economic development. At the same time these events show that the most consistent revolutionary democrats, those who are eager to promote the national democratic revolution and consolidate its gains, are increasingly realizing the need to assimilate and implement the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the only correct revolutionary doctrine.

The social and economic changes under way in the African countries and on the world scene lead objectively to the development of friendly relations between the revolutionary democratic parties of Africa and Communist Parties, between progressive African states and the world socialist system. The polarization of class forces in the countries of Africa leads to the consolidation of left-wing forces in revolutionary democratic parties on the platform of resolute anti-imperialist struggle and close ties with the Soviet Communist Party and the international communist movement.

The unity of the forces who are struggling against imperialism, for consolidation of the polit-

ical and economic independence of African countries and who have proclaimed anti-capitalist reorganization as their major task, and the consolidation of the existing regimes by isolating and routing reactionary elements, are creating a favourable atmosphere for the development of friendly relations with Soviet Communists and for an ideological alliance between scientific socialism and revolutionary democracy.

Faced with the activation of imperialism's aggressive forces in Africa and observing the mounting socio-political crisis in the capitalist world, the revolutionary democratic parties see, in the development of relations and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the way to oppose the aggressive imperialist assaults and liberate their countries from political and economic dependence on the biggest capitalist powers.

True to its internationalist duty, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to make every effort to strengthen its bonds and its cooperation with the young African states and the revolutionary democratic parties in order to promote the victory of the ideas of scientific socialism throughout the continent and eliminate the dependence of African countries on imperialism as quickly as possible.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always been true to Lenin's behest—to do "the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*."¹ The policy of the Soviet Communist Party and Government in regard to the

young sovereign states is abundantly clear. As emphasized in the Party Programme, "The CPSU regards it as its internationalist duty to assist the peoples who have set out to win and strengthen their national independence, all peoples who are fighting for the complete abolition of the colonial system."¹

The celebration of the centenary of Lenin's birth in Africa was a testimony to the growing triumph of Marxism-Leninism. It is with a feeling of profound respect and admiration that the African peoples, who have cast off the shackles of colonial oppression and are fighting imperialism and neo-colonialism for the consolidation of their independence and for progressive social development, pronounce Lenin's name.

Contemporary Africa is confronted with many of the problems that, in their time, had to be solved by the peoples of Russia under the guidance of Lenin and the Party he founded. Lenin's enlightening ideas open up victorious prospects before the African peoples and equip them with a mighty weapon. The fact that representatives of more than 20 revolutionary democratic parties and national liberation organizations of Africa took part in the Lenin centenary celebrations in Moscow is evidence of the great attractive force of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Special state commissions were set up in Tanzania, Zambia, Uganda, Mali, the Congo (Brazzaville), Somalia, Sierra Leone and Mauritius and other countries to prepare and organize the celebration of Lenin's birth anniversary. The African

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

¹ *Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, M., 1961, p. 48.



Ceremony in Brazzaville naming a street in the capital after Lenin in connection with the Lenin centenary celebrations.

press featured materials on Lenin and his ideas. Film festivals, exhibitions of books, photos and the graphic arts devoted to Lenin were held throughout these countries. The book exhibitions displayed Lenin's works translated into many African languages, including Swahili, Yoruba, Hausa, Ibo, Amharian and Malagasy. Lenin's biography has been published in Burundi in the rare African language of Kirundi.

A main street of Brazzaville has been named af-



ter Lenin. On the decision of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic Lenin's name has been given to one of Mogadiscio's streets. The Congo (Brazzaville), Mali, Cameroon, Somalia and Senegal have all issued special postage stamps bearing Lenin's image.

In their speeches at ceremonies and rallies devoted to the Lenin jubilee, the speakers emphasized the exceptional importance of Leninism for peoples fighting for freedom and national independence. In Mali a gala literary evening on the occa-

sion of the Lenin Centenary was organized under the motto: "I should study Russian if only because Lenin spoke it."

The rallies held by representatives of fighting

Commemorative stamp issued by the Republic of Guinea on the occasion of the Lenin Centenary.



Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa were particularly festive occasions. "Lenin's contribution to the cause of the national liberation movement is invaluable," said one of the speakers at the jubilee rally of representatives of guerrilla armies in southern Africa held in Lusaka. "Lenin's works have become a source of experience and knowledge which are now helping the oppressed peoples to fight for their freedom and independence."

The celebration of the Lenin Centenary in Africa has developed into a triumphal march of the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism and reflects their all-conquering force and vitality. "There is no place on earth," said Leonid Brezhnev, "where Lenin's name does not ring as a fiery call to struggle against oppression, deprivation and exploitation, as a symbol of fighting unity, as an earnest of victory in the historic battle for the triumph of communist ideals."¹

The fact that representatives of revolutionary democratic parties of Africa took part in the 24th CPSU Congress alongside representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties is evidence of the growing co-operation between the Communist Party of the USSR and the revolutionary forces of the continent.

The 24th Congress charged the Party's Central Committee with the following mission: "to extend and strengthen the ties with the revolutionary democratic parties of the developing countries, and to promote joint action and co-operation with mass organizations and movements."²

¹ L. I. Brezhnev. *Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs*, M., 1970, p. 6.

² *24th Congress of the CPSU*, M., 1971, p. 216.

Conclusion

The colonialists have left the peoples of Africa a sorry legacy. To overcome this legacy, to eliminate the consequences of colonialism and lead the African peoples out onto the high road of economic and social progress—this is the task that history has placed before the progressive forces and all the patriots of the continent.

The national liberation revolutions in Africa are tackling complicated problems of eliminating the systems of colonial exploitation and breaking away from imperialism, problems of social progress and national revival for peoples who have been relegated by the colonialists to the backyards of world development. As noted in the Resolution of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "The countries which have taken the non-capitalist path of development, that is, those which have taken the long-term line of building socialist society, are the advance contingent of the present-day national liberation movement."¹

¹ 24th Congress of the CPSU, M., 1971, p. 215.

The final achievement of national independence for young African states is inevitably linked with the gradual development of national democratic revolutions into socialist revolutions.

The revolutions under way in Africa are broadening their scope at a time when socialism has become the chief motive force of world development, and imperialism is suffering a sharp decline under the impact of the national liberation forces. They are developing at a time when the wave of anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle, which has acquired a general character, is sweeping the continent.

In this atmosphere the freedom champions have all the chances of bringing the revolution to its victorious conclusion and of solving its problems in keeping with the interests of the African peoples. To achieve this it is necessary to wage a relentless battle against imperialism, to organize the people and arrange for their political education, and to spread the ideas of scientific socialism and consolidate friendship with the socialist countries. The liberated peoples of Africa are becoming ever more convinced that only by a close alliance with the socialist countries and the international communist and working-class movement can they achieve progress.

It must be noted, however, that the development of the national democratic revolution into a socialist revolution is a lengthy process. The course and result of this process depend on many factors. The rate of the further development and intensification of the anti-imperialist revolution in Africa and the trend that it takes will depend on the balance of social and political forces in each country and in the continent as a whole. Changes in

the alignment of socialist and capitalist forces in favour of socialism will promote the consolidation of progressive forces adhering to an anti-imperialist position and fighting for the non-capitalist way of development.

Under the existing conditions in the continent even the loudest hucksters of imperialism and monopoly capital do not dare to come out in the open and advocate the capitalist way of development for the young African states, for the people identify capitalism with the hateful colonial system. Neither do they dare to come out against socialism, the socio-economic system that attracts the mass of the people with prospects of overcoming age-long backwardness.

The laws of social historical development testify that socialism, as the most progressive social system, inevitably gives rise to the party equipped with Marxism-Leninism, the most advanced ideology of mankind, as the leading force of socialist society. This has been confirmed by the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But it would be quite wrong to raise the question of substituting Marxist-Leninist parties now for the existing revolutionary democratic parties in countries of socialist orientation, disregarding the concrete stage of their development. Lenin repeatedly warned against the danger of the revolutionary phrase, the repeating of "revolutionary slogans irrespective of objective circumstances at a given turn in events, in the given state of affairs obtaining at the time. The slogans are superb, alluring, intoxicating, but there are no grounds for them; such is the nature of the revolutionary phrase."¹

¹ Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 19.

In reply to the question posed by the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic on November 5, 1921, whether a people's revolutionary party ought to turn into a Communist party, Lenin said that revolutionaries would still have to work on their state, economic and cultural construction to form, out of the country's shepherders, a solid proletariat which subsequently would help to turn the people's revolutionary party into a Communist party. A simple change of the sign-board would be dangerous and damaging.

Time and social experience have fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin's answer. That is why his words are exceptionally important for African countries building a new life on socialist lines, in social and economic conditions similar to those that existed in Mongolia.

Particular note should be taken of the fact that of late some socialist-oriented countries have decided to gradually turn a number of African revolutionary democratic parties from being parties of the entire people into parties of the vanguard type, parties of the working people.

The domestic political situation in the newly-free African states is extremely complicated. Most of the governments lack a broad social base and are hampered by serious economic difficulties and tribal and racial contradictions. Their instability and the frequent occurrence of coups in the young states is seen by some as evidence of a decline of the national liberation struggle in the continent, as a victory of counter-revolution and imperialism. But these are unwarranted conclusions. The revolutionary process does not develop along a straight line; it may follow zigzags and roundabout ways. Along these ways, besides victories and achieve-

ments, there are also reverses. Hence it is necessary to be able to grasp the tendency of development from the point of progress along the road of democratic development and social justice.

The national liberation movement in Africa, like historical development as a whole, should be regarded dialectically—not as moving forward only, and only along a straight line, but with regard for possible deviations and sometimes even temporary set-backs. "...in developments of such magnitude," Marx wrote, "twenty years are more than a day—though later on days may come again in which twenty years are embodied."¹ When the question concerns great historical epochs, "in each of them," wrote Lenin, "there are and will always be individual and partial movements, now forward, now backward."²

As Africa gradually frees itself of direct colonial rule, the imperialist countries, above all the former metropolitan countries, are exerting every effort to preserve their military and strategic, and economic positions there. With this aim the Western powers, who are losing one position after another, are concentrating their efforts on undermining the development of the national liberation movement and overthrowing progressive regimes in the countries where the prerequisites for the building of socialism are being created under the leadership of revolutionary democratic parties. But in the 20th century—Lenin observed—one cannot be a revolutionary democrat if one is afraid to move towards socialism.

¹ Marx and Engels. *Selected Correspondence*, M., 1965, p. 140.

² Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145.

Tribalism, which is being used as a tool by the imperialists to preserve their former rule by fomenting tribal wars and instigating coups, greatly impedes the socio-economic development of contemporary Africa. Communists and revolutionary democrats consider the elimination of tribalism to be an essential condition for the final liberation of the continent from colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Racialism, which is manifested in its most naked form in the Republic of South Africa, the main stronghold of nazism and fascism, and in Rhodesia, is a mainstay of imperialism in the continent.

The national liberation revolution in Africa is entering its final stage, that of relentless struggle to eliminate the last seats of colonialism in the continent. Here, unlike the peaceful forms of struggle typical of the previous stages, it has acquired an armed character.

At the same time the peoples of the liberated countries are confronted with major problems dealing with the consolidation of their political sovereignty and the attaining of economic independence. In practical terms this demands that there be a fundamental and rapid transition from a semi-feudal and semi-capitalist, and frequently even tribal system, to non-capitalist development, which is not a third road of progress but a transitional stage leading ultimately to socialism.

Despite the hostile schemes of the imperialist and adventurist forces the national liberation movement the world over, and particularly in Africa, is steadily merging with world socialism and the international working class to form a single revolutionary torrent which is undermining

the foundations of imperialism, adventurism and racial inequality. History is presenting the African revolutionaries with new tasks, which can be effectively accomplished only by the unity of the revolutionary forces with all anti-imperialist forces.

The Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary democratic parties, the political vanguard of the working class, and other contingents of the working people, are called upon to play a key role in the battle for economic, social and political progress in Africa.

The present situation in Africa is vivid confirmation of the accuracy of Lenin's predictions: the peoples of vast colonial territories which in the past were the reserve of capitalism and imperialism, are becoming the staunch ally of world socialism in the struggle against imperialism.

The Soviet Union has always supported and will continue to support the people fighting for their liberation from exploitation and national oppression, those fighting for political and economic independence. "This is known to the soldiers of the liberation armies of Angola and Mozambique," said Leonid Brezhnev. "This is known to the peoples who have cast off the yoke of colonialism and taken the road of independent development. The Soviet people will remain a true friend of the oppressed peoples."