## The Complex Enemy ZAPU

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The tendency of some elements within a struggling people to pursue wealth as against commitment to the struggle constitutes a problem. These elements move directly against the tide of liberation. They either have failed to find answers to the problems of an oppressed people beyond the status quo or are indeed of the types of the oppressors in their general motivations. They are pretenders to the privileges of the oppressors without the common sense of realising the injustice which brings it all about. The danger lies not so much in the economic strength they command – which in reality they do not – but in the acceptance of the system which has provoked the nation to revolt. No African in Zimbabwe, at the moment, runs a business or commands property worth mentioning as a factor in the conduct of modern economy. Wealth seekers are therefore just chasing an elusive hope which the controlling foreign capitalist will dangle for as long as there are resources for him to continue to exploit. The danger of these bourgeois-like elements is in that they are of the nature of capitalists and consciously or unconsciously work in the direction of entrenching the status quo. They are entry points to the real and destructive capitalists who stand to lose by the success of the liberation struggle. Tshombe's example is universally known to demonstrate and summarise the point. The advantage of the current liberation struggle is that the actual danger of these bourgeois elements in the society is more potential than real, as they do not as yet wield such economic force as to impose their line on the revolutionary struggle. The movement must, of course, always be watchful for elements that so often seek to bail themselves out of the struggle by their developing economic strength.

People struggling for liberation, like any other society, have within them all sorts of class tendencies which if not suppressed could overtake the struggle and ditch it. The quest for education is a tremendous force in Africa today. Education is naturally an element of social progress. It is part of colonialist education however to identify education with superiority over and not with service to the people. Since it is the colonialist who designs and dishes the education in colonial countries, he has used it as bait for building a 'species' contemptuous of the masses, called the 'elite'. In his conspiracy to grant independence, the colonialist has in some cases sought to create the petit bourgeoisie referred to above and the elite and then ceded power to them, which in fact is neo-colonial independence. These processes are manipulated in the course of the liberation struggle from among the oppressed in order to divert and defeat the objectives of the genuine struggle. This constitutes a problem to the liberation struggle. Whilst the colonialist must be blamed for promoting, and sometimes master-minding it, it must be acknowledged that the colonialist finds his material from among people struggling for liberation. Simple and straightforward acknowledgment of this fact is the first step towards honest and effective combating of the problem.

The endeavour towards education can constitute a problem to the liberation struggle not in a class sense but on the simple question of priorities. Perhaps the point is better put by saying it can be a problem for individuals in the struggle and not for the struggle as such. Even if it arises this way, it ultimately lands itself in the laps of the liberation movement. The mutual value of one carrying a gun at the fighting front and another studying to be a doctor at some university is not difficult to appreciate. The problem for the liberation movement is the mutual attitude between these two persons and the effect of this on the general internal state of the movement. Away from the clouds of general theories, these are basic questions which compel liberation movements towards precise definition of principles in a world full of all kinds of stresses.

The general principle is that education and the liberation struggle are not mutually exclusive providing the education undertaken is towards reinforcing the urgent requirements of the struggle and that the candidates understand it as clearly. In short the priority is the battlefield and any activity undertaken by an individual from struggling masses must be a contribution or commitment to the struggle. The fundamental problem to the liberation struggle,

however, as pointed out earlier, is the design of a type of education, the promotion or acceptance of a nation of education which creates an 'elite' type regarding itself above and different from the society of which it is a part and unwittingly interpreting freedom as escape from the masses to a level in alliance with the oppressors and exploiters. This is not the elite that has come to be regarded historically in Europe as the leading exponent of the revolution. In fact the coloniser from Europe analysing the experience of his own situation has come to the clever conclusion that if you create and control an elite in a colonial country and thereafter control the whole range of information media, then you can carry out the economics of 'extraction' almost indefinitely. This point is worth stressing to enlighten those who conservatively and dogmatically apply the theory that the elite is the leader of the revolution without realising that the imperialists have already overtaken this development in their counter-revolutionary strategy.