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Events In Portugal And Southern Africa

The following editorial is from the May 4, 1974 issue of *The Zimbabwe Review*, the official organ of the liberation movement in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU).

The replacement of Caetano by Spinoia last week in Portugal would have been as less significant to Africa as the phenomenal coups in Greece had it not been for the hint in General Spinoia's book that military attempts to suppress the wars of liberation in Portuguese colonial territories would not succeed. Spinoia suggested that political solutions would have to be found. He did not spell what he meant in practical terms. He held on to this vague ground until as head of the new military junta in Portugal he was forced to come into the open by progressive groups which emerged and spelt their views that as far as they were concerned, immediate independence should be granted to the Portuguese colonial territories. Spinoia disagreed with this view and said his concept of a political solution for the colonies was self-determination for those territories, under the continued general sovereignty of Portugal. This defines Spinoia as a man of grandiose imperialist dreams in essence. He has found himself seized with the idea of radical variation of method in handling the colonial question without, however surrendering the objective of Portuguese domination of these territories. In this sense General Spinoia is a fake and his political posture represents an element and a moment of dangerous deception.

The whole event of the coup in Portugal cannot be simply read in terms of General Spinoia as an individual and his views particularly in relation to the question of the African liberation struggle. There are many unanswered questions and probabilities in the whole event that the only clear issues which still remain concrete are that Portuguese colonialism is still



nakedly there and the African liberation struggle is still marching forward. The revolutionary struggle must continue.

Outstanding questions are: What are the decisive elements in the "Armed Forces Movement" in the Portuguese Army which effected the coup and what precise views did they have on the future of the African colonies, apart from their hatred of fascism within Portugal itself? Or did they hate fascism (rightly-so) but without ideas of a substitute? The political structures of the different parties have not yet emerged and put themselves sufficiently across to make a guess of probables worthwhile.

In particular, and we repeat in particular, the roles of NATO and the CIA—which must be assumed in all certainty to have been activated—are not yet sufficiently discernable, at least by their usual symptoms in the whole flurry of events.

One thing certain, however, is that the events in Portugal are a direct compliment to the determined armed revolutionary struggle of our brothers in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique as well as a compliment to the contributory effects of similar struggles being carried out in Namibia,

South Africa and Zimbabwe, with all the weighty support of the O.A.U., the Socialist Countries and the progressive forces World-over. We must add that the events are also a compliment to those forces among the Portuguese themselves known to be fighting in support of the liberation forces in Africa. This compliment must mean only one thing to the liberation forces—an impetus to greater determination in fighting and further sacrifices in the battle-field. Complacency would be extremely fatal to the struggle.

Contradictions, by logical development of the liberation struggle, have been exposed and sharpened within the ranks of the racists and fascists in Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia, and between these regimes themselves. The sharpening of these contradictions is irreversible up to the final collapse of these regimes.

We do not expect the regimes of Vorster in South Africa and Ian Smith in Rhodesia to grasp the hint or draw the appropriate conclusion from the events in Portugal that it were better for them and their followers to abandon minority and racist rule now and settle for harmonious majority rule because they are so scared of the truth and so committed to falsehood and fascism that they cannot depart from the path of all fanatics—to break or be broken in the final analysis.

Communism is the simple blanket excuse often used by Smith and Vorster for justifying white domination and racism in Southern Africa against African liberation struggle. Events in Portugal may very likely deprive them of this excuse in the near future and increase their political moral and intellectual isolation. Our issues of liberation struggle are getting more and more clarified and consequently conditions of the armed revolutionary struggle have been maximised.

ONWARD WITH THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE.

Technological Colonialism:

Science and technology play an ever increasing role in the solution of the developing countries' main problems: consolidation of political independence, surmounting economic and cultural backwardness, industrialization, raising living standards and social progress. This new role of science and technology, in turn, is reflected to an ever greater extent in the policy of neocolonialism, whose most important objectives are new forms of imperialist domination in the developing countries and the preservation of the latter's unequal status in the international division of labor.

"Technological colonialism," as it was aptly described by Professor R. E. Zeid, General Director of Argentina's Secretariat on Science and Technology, envisages the implementation of a number of interrelated measures: economic, technical, political and ideological.

Making broad use of modern technology at plants belonging to them, foreign monopolies simultaneously hamper its introduction in the state and national industries of the developing countries. With the unfolding of the scientific and technological revolution it is more and more important that these countries receive the technical knowledge and production experience accumulated by the more developed countries on acceptable terms, and also that native specialists be trained not only to effectively employ all this under the specific local conditions, but also to conduct both applied and theoretical research on their own.

According to the estimates of the Secretariat of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), in 1968 alone the developing countries paid about 1.5 billion dollars (including more than 400 million dollars paid by Latin American states) for patents, licenses and different kind of technical services. At the end of 1970 the payments on this item were assessed at nine billion dollars.

Such large expenditures have an unfavorable effect on the balance of payments of the Latin American states. For instance, in 1968 these expenditures amounted to almost five per cent of their foreign currency receipts from exports. In addition, the developing countries are frequently sold production secrets that have lost their value in the West due to rapid changes in technology.

Licenses are often sold with strings attached (prohibiting the export of items produced on the basis of license agreements, etc.) which clearly leads to below capacity operation of national

plants. In most of the agreements on the sale of patents and licenses, provisions are made for the purchasing country to acquire products and equipment from the selling countries. Thus, the dependence of the developing countries on imports from the imperialist states is intensified and these items are sold at prices higher than those prevailing in the world.

The sending of foreign experts and specialists to hold key technical and administrative posts in the developing countries under the guise of "assistance" is expanding. In the five-year period from 1964 to 1969, the number of such experts increased by almost a third, reaching about 111,000. This figure does not include the large number of foreign engineers and managers stationed in plants belonging to American, West German and Japanese monopolies. When the process of nationalization began in the developing countries, these monopolies resorted to the tactics of recalling foreign specialists, as was the case in Chile. They tried in this way to disorganize production and weaken the national economy.



In addition, foreign firms discriminate against local engineering and technical personnel, hiring few of them and paying them lower salaries.

Such a policy is conducive to luring native specialists to the USA and Western Europe. In this way the developing countries annually lose many thousands of engineers, doctors and technicians. The loss caused by the "brain drain" is hard to estimate exactly, since it involves not only tremendous foreign exchange losses (accord-

ing to approximate estimates, the training of every student costs about 20,000 dollars). Besides the big material loss, the "brain drain" makes it difficult to provide industrial and other enterprises in the developing countries with local personnel and intensifies their dependence on the imperialist powers.

Investigations carried out by UNESCO and other UN agencies show that the outflow of specialists is the result of purposeful actions by the imperialist powers. They themselves save millions of dollars this way.

The struggle in the developing countries against neocolonialism is inseparably bound up with efforts to do away with scientific and technological dependence. Its success lies in strengthening the state sector through the nationalization of plants belonging to foreign capital, the creation of national corporations in different branches of the economy, the training of local skilled workers and replacing foreign specialists with them. The nationalization of large plants belonging to foreign capital is important not only from the economic point of view. It also helps the developing countries gain access to new technology since these enterprises are equipped with modern plants and use advanced processes. The experience in setting up national corporations in the developing countries, especially in those of a socialist orientation, shows that state factories and power stations in most cases turn into models of technological progress.

The joining of efforts of the developing countries strengthens their positions in the difficult struggle against the West's financial oligarchy. The success of this struggle depends to a great extent on carrying out domestic social transformations, on developing economic, scientific and technological ties with the socialist states.

The plants built with the assistance of the socialist countries have the most up-to-date equipment and use perfected technological processes. At the same time they serve as centers for the training of skilled personnel.

Scientific and technical assistance to the developing countries is rendered in different forms, including the training of specialists at local educational establishments built and equipped with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; aid given by Council of Mutual Economic Assistance member countries in building laboratories, scientific centers; the exchange of scientific workers; and the

(Continued on page 8)

For Independence Socialism and Unity

The following article presents excerpts from the speech delivered by Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba and the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, to the 4th Conference of Non-Aligned Nations, held in Algiers, Sept. 7, 1973. Reprinted from *The African Communist*, No. 56, First Quarter 1974. Ed.

There has been talk at this conference of the different ways of dividing the world. To our way of thinking, the world is divided into capitalist and socialist countries, imperialist and neocolonized countries, colonialist and colonized countries, reactionary and progressive countries — governments, in a word, that back imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, and governments that oppose imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism.

That seems to us to be basic in the issue of alignment and nonalignment, because there is nothing exempting us in any way from our central obligation of steadfastly fighting the crimes committed against humanity.

In this political terrain there has been an observable tendency during the months of preparation leading up to this conference that unquestionably militates against our cause and serves only imperialist interests, to seek to pit the non-aligned countries against the socialist camp.

The theory of "two imperialisms", one headed by the U.S. and the other by the U.S.S.R., encouraged by the theoreticians of capitalism, has been echoed at times deliberately and at others through ignorance of history and the realities of the present-day world, by leaders and spokesmen of the non-aligned countries. This is fostered, of course, by those who regrettably betray the cause of internationalism from supposedly revolutionary positions.

The revolutionary government of Cuba will always oppose that current in all circumstances. That is why we find ourselves obliged to deal with this delicate matter as an essential issue. There are some who, with patent historic injustice and ingratitude, forgetting the real facts and disregarding the profound, unbridgeable abyss between the imperialist regime and socialism, try to ignore the glorious, heroic and extraordinary services rendered to the human race by the Soviet people, as if the collapse of the colossal system of colonial rule implanted in the world up to World War II and the conditions that made possible the liberation of scores of people heretofore under direct colonial subjugation, the disap-



pearance of capitalism in large parts of the world and the holding at bay of the aggressiveness and insatiable voracity of imperialism — as if all that had nothing to do with the glorious October Revolution!

How can the U.S.S.R. be labelled imperialist? Where are its monopoly corporations? Where is its participation in the multinational companies? What factories, what mines, what oil-fields does it own in the underdeveloped world? What worker is exploited in any country of Asia, Africa or Latin America by Soviet capital?

Not for a moment can we forget that the guns with which Cuba crushed the Playa Giron mercenaries and defended itself from the U.S.; the arms in the hands of the Arab peoples, with which they withstand imperialist aggression; those used by the African patriots against Portuguese colonialism; and those taken up by the Vietnamese in their heroic, extraordinary and victorious struggle came from the socialist countries, especially from the Soviet Union.

The very resolutions of the non-aligned countries aid us in understanding where the dividing line in international politics comes today.

What state have those resolutions condemned from Belgrade to Lusaka for its aggression in Vietnam and all Indochina? The imperialist U.S. Whom do we accuse of arming, supporting and continuing to maintain

the Israeli aggressor state in its rapacious war against the Arab countries and its cruel occupation of the territories where the Palestinians have the right to live? We accuse U.S. imperialism. Against whom did the nonaligned countries protest over the intervention in and blockade of Cuba and the intervention in the Dominican Republic and against the will to their peoples? Who was behind the murder of Lumumba? Who supports the killers of Amilcar Cabral? Who helps to maintain Zimbabwe a white racist state and turn South Africa into a reserve of black men and women in conditions of semislavery? In all cases, the culprit is the same: U.S. imperialism, which also backs Portuguese colonialism against the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique.

When our resolutions list the millions of dollars, pounds, francs or marks that leave the developing neocolonized or colonized countries as a consequence of plundering investments and onerous loan, they condemn imperialism and not any other social system. It is not possible to change reality with equivocal expressions.

Any attempt to pit the nonaligned countries against the socialist camp is profoundly counterrevolutionary and benefits only imperialist interests. Inventing a false enemy can have only one aim, to evade the real enemy.

The success and the future of the nonaligned movement will depend on its refusal to allow itself to be penetrated, confused or deceived by imperialist ideology. Only the closest alliance among all the progressive forces of the world will provide us with the strength needed to overcome the still-powerful forces of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism and to wage a successful fight for the aspirations to peace and justice of all the peoples of the world.

When there is a real desire to free the country from imperialist exploitation, then the people must also be freed from the plunder of the fruits of the labour by the feudal lords, the landholders, the oligarchs, and the social parasites of all kinds.

All of this shows that our true unity depends not on circumstantial non-aligned but on a deeper, more lasting identity stemming from revolutionary principles, a common anti-imperialist programme and an aspiration to substantial, conclusive social transformations.

Thank you very much.

The Ship

The following poem by the great Chilean revolutionary poet is reprinted from the *African Communist*, No. 56, First Quarter 1974.

But we have already paid our fares in this world,
Why, then, don't you let us sit and eat?
We want to look at the clouds,
we want to bathe in the sun and smell the salt air;
honestly you can't say we are molesting others:
it's very simple: we are passengers.
We are all travelling through and time goes with us;
the sea goes by, the rose says goodbye.
the earth passes under shadow and under light,
and you and we pass by too, passengers all.
What bothers you then?
Why are you all so angry?
Whom are you looking for with that revolver?
We didn't know
that everything is taken,
the cups, the seats,
the beds, the mirrors,
the sea, the wine, the sky,
Now we're told
that there's no table for us,
it cannot be, we think.
You cannot convince us.
It was dark when we arrived at this ship
we were naked.
We all came from the same place,
we all came from women and men,
we all knew hunger and then grew teeth,
we grew hands to work with
and eyes to want what exists.
And you cannot tell us that we cannot,
that there's no room on board;
you don't want to say hello,
you don't want to play with us.
Why so many advantages for you?
Who gave you that spoon before you were born?
You are not happy here,
things cannot go well this way.
I don't like to travel like this,
to find sadness hidden in corners
and eyes without love or mouths that hunger.
There are no clothes for this gathering autumn,
and less, less, less for the next winter.
And without shoes how can we take a turn
around the world, with so many stones on the paths?
Without a table where are we going to eat,
where shall we sit if there are no chairs?
If it's an unfunny joke, decide gentlemen,
to end it quickly,
to talk seriously now.
Afterwards the sea is hard.
And it rains blood.

PABLO NERUDA



Kenya: The Development Of A Neo-Colony

There has been a great re-alignment of social forces, not always apparent in day-to-day events, in Kenya since independence in 1963. Nonetheless this re-alignment has taken place within the structural constraints of Kenya as a neo-colony, thus making it easier for the state to contain the contradictions and mystify the real nature of social relations.

Neo-colonialism is a system of asymmetric relations between former colonies and currently dominant capitalist states. It is the survival of economic imperialism in the era of political independence in the developing countries. It is therefore a major expression of contradictions in the capitalist system as a global phenomenon.

Realizing that economic dependence is out of step with political independence, that economic super-exploitation is out of step with political self-determination, certain sections of the African masses and large sectors of the intelligentsia frequently begin to question the rationale of independence, albeit they rarely provide adequate solutions to their problems. The petty bourgeoisie that led the way to independence, now propelled into positions of power, have a tendency to adopt either of these two options: (a) defend the *status quo* hence strive to contain the contradictions within the system that leads to economic dependence and exploitation, or (b) challenge the *status quo* and hence define new paths of development geared towards a re-organization of social relations nationally and internationally. The former alternative has frequently led to the growth of despotic types of governments rapidly dominated by an emerging national bourgeoisie; the latter to progressive governments which find it difficult to establish their hegemony, but which none-the-less tend to elevate workers and peasants into positions of power under the leadership of *petty-bourgeois national-socialists*. Kenya seems to be typical of type (a) while Tanzania, Guinea, and Somalia seem to be typical of type (b). Of course there are various shades of a-b admixtures, but we won't deal with these here.

By choosing this 'accommodationist' option, Kenya has managed not only to evolve a relatively stable African bourgeoisie, but it has also attracted some amount of foreign capital into her economy which gives a genuine sense of economic growth.

The ownership of the few manufacturing and processing plants are definitely not all in Kenyan hands but they are located in Kenya all the same. This means two things: (a) that an urban proletariat, very minute compared to the rest of the population, has grown and is growing; (b) that an aspiring petty bourgeoisie, also minute, has also grown (and is growing) and is increasingly wanting to take ownership of any means of production that emerges. The foreign companies, in order to ward off competition by local capitalists, frequently establish their firms on condition that they are owned in partnership with the government. This gives them assurance that their interests will be protected because they are bound up with those of the state. The emerging aspiring petty bourgeoisie do, on the other hand, try to use the proletariat and the masses to act as supports in their attempt to own more. Thus, in electoral politics for example, they appeal to the masses to vote for them so that they can put the economy in "African hands" and hereby pay better wages than the "mzungu" or "mhindi". Thus the battle for economic independence becomes the battle for the expropriation of personalities *per se* rather than the re-structuring of social relations of production.

The emerging pattern in Kenya at the moment is the grooming of a large sector of an African managerial stratum and state functionaries both of whom have ownership of minor means of production in various sectors of the economy, and are therefore prepared to defend the status quo as analogous to their interests. The broad masses and the small proletariat are, in the meantime, kept in hope that they will do better when their tribe is in power or is better favoured by the powers that be. Side-shows of ethnic rivalries among the elites therefore detract the broad masses from both serious trade union politics or a development of a serious progressive national-democratic movement. In any case, as days go by, the state becomes more and more efficient in controlling society; it is therefore a mistake committed by some comrades when they say that "things are bound to burst out in Kenya." Nothing is bound to burst out except occasional malodorous material!

Change may only come through a movement, planned to transcend the powers of the state, and aimed at awakening the masses to join a long-drawn struggle for their liberation from (a) political oppression by their own *national petty bourgeoisies*, and (b) economic exploitation by the national petty bourgeoisie and the inter-

national bourgeoisie. How is this to be done? Through political education, consistently and systematically carried out among the masses, legally or illegally. The tragedy is that no sectors of the African intelligentsia in Kenya is willing or prepared ideologically to do this. Isolated pockets of progressives have come out with no programme of action that may in any way give us some hope for the future. The field is barren. Who shall go before us?

Who Is The Enemy And What Is The Enemy? What Is Our Objective?



M.P.L.A. President

The following speech was given by Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA), at the University of Dar Es Salaam, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, Feb. 7, 1974.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades,

It is with the greatest pleasure that I am speaking before the always deeply interested audience of this University, whose preoccupation, on the part of both students and lecturers, shows a desire for a profound understanding of our continent and of the different factors affecting its development. This is a preoccupation worthy of the country's future leaders and of those who are forming them, which fact transforms the great pleasure of this meeting into a special honour.

I should like briefly to outline the fruit of my personal experience, the fruit of reflection on the national liberation struggle on our continent. This experience is simply an expression of a need experienced in Africa over the past five centuries, and most especially in the last decades, the need for each and every one of us to feel free. It is also a broader expression of the com-

mon desire of men in this world to regard themselves as free, as capable of releasing themselves from the shackles of a society in which they weaken and die as human beings.

In my opinion, the national liberation struggle in Africa cannot be dissociated from the present context in which it is taking place; it cannot be isolated from the world. A workers' strike in England, the imposition of fascism on the Chilean people or an atomic explosion in the Pacific are all phenomena of this same life that we are living and in which we are seeking ways to a happy existence for man in this world. This universal fact is however rendered particular in Africa through current political, economic and cultural concepts.

The historical bonds between our peoples and other peoples in the world are becoming ever closer, since there can be no other trend on earth. Isolation is impossible and is contrary to the idea of technical, cultural and political progress.

The problem facing us Africans now is how to transform unjust relations with other countries and peoples in the world, generally relations of political and economic subordination, without this transformation taking place to the detriment of the social progress which must of necessity be injected into action to win freedom, and without which one's behaviour would be that of a man coming out of one form of discrimination only to fall into another as negative as the first, as a simple inversion of the intervening factors. And within this same African society, the national liberation movement also seeks to ensure that the internal socio-economic forces, that is, those that evolve within each country, are restructured in the direction of progress.

In Africa we are making every effort to put a final end to paleo-colonialism, which barely exists today in the territories dominated by Portugal, contrary to the general belief, since they are in fact dominated by a vast imperialist partnership which is unjustly protecting the selfish interests of men, economic organisations and groups of countries.

The so-called white minority racist regimes are merely a consequence and a special form of paleo-colonialism in which links with the metropolises have become slack and less distinct in favour of a white minority dictatorship.

This visible, clear and open form of colonialism does not prevent the existence on our continent of another more subtle form of domination which goes by the name of neo-colonialism, in which he who exploits is no longer identified by the name coloniser, but

(Continued on page 6)

acts in the same way at various levels.

However, internal forms of subjugation caused by fragmentation into small ethnic or linguistic groupings, by the development of privileged classes endowed with their own dynamism, are also forms of oppression linked with the visible forms known as colonialism, old or new, and racism. They easily ally themselves with imperialism and facilitate its penetration and influence.

These phenomena are universal and they are found or have been found in all societies in the world, but at the present time they are acute and very tangible in Africa, and it is here that they most concern us Africans, as well as other nations with which we have relations either of subjugation or cooperation.

Colonial and racist domination and oppression are exercised in different ways and at different levels. They do not take place in a uniform way on our continent, they do not always use the same agents, and they do not always act on the same social stratum or on the same type of political or economic organisation.

For this reason, everyone, whether coloniser or colonised, feels in a different way this phenomenon which is today anachronistic and which it is desired to replace by other kinds of relations (and we Africans are not yet very clear or very much in agreement on these new kinds of relations).

Whereas for some people colonialism meant and still means forced labour, to others it is a racial discrimination, while for others it is economic segregation and the impossibility of political advancement. But the plunder of African lands by the colonisers, the enslavement of the worker, corporal punishment and the intensive exploitation of the wealth that belongs to us are forms of the same colonialism; and the capacity of each person to apply himself to the dynamics of solving the colonial problem, with greater or lesser intelligence and clarity, depends on a broad understanding of all these factors.

And, as previously stated, action against colonialism is closely linked with and part of something else of an apparently internal nature, but which is in fact as universal as the first, which is the need for social transformations, so that man may be truly free in every country and every continent in the world.

The way in which this aspect of the problem is tackled is also very important to the stand taken and the line to be followed in the liberation process.

These two crucial problems of our

continent and of our era are therefore closely interconnected with relations with foreign peoples, on the one hand, and with the relations among the ready forces within each country.

The correctness of attitude and the emotional intensity with which we embark upon action for liberation depend on how we see the world, how we foresee our country's future and the extent to which we feel in our skin the action of the foreign forces.

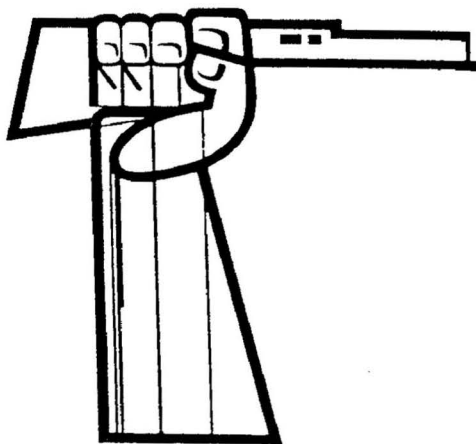
The national liberation struggle in our era is therefore influenced not only by the historical factors determining colonialism, neo-colonialism or racist regimes, but also by its own prospects, its objectives and the way each person sees the world and life.

Reaction to foreign domination, whether individual, collective or organised, must of necessity be influenced by the two factors mentioned, which have to do with both past and future history.

This is why the importance of the national liberation movements is much greater than is generally admitted, because through their activity they are transforming themselves into accelerators of history, of the development of the society within which they are acting and also outside it, imparting fresh dynamism to social processes to transcend the present stage, even that in politically independent countries.

The different types of colonisation in Africa have endowed us Africans with different ways of seeing the problem of liberation, and it is natural that it should be thus, since our consciousness cannot draw upon material to form itself except from the field of lived experience and from our possibilities of knowing the world.

Sometimes we differ in our concepts and, hence, in the practical implementation of combat programmes, and the line taken in action for liberation does not always fulfil the twofold need to concentrate both on transforming the relations between peoples and intrinsically transforming the life of the nation.



Hence the need to see the problem clearly and to provide clear answers to the following specific questions:

—Who is the enemy and what is the enemy?

—What is our objective?

It is obvious that the answers to these questions do not depend simply on the desire to be free. They also depend on knowledge and on a concept of the world and life, on lived experience. This means that they cannot be dissociated from acquired political ideas, from ideological positions which generally result from the origins of each and every one of us. Without wishing to go into an analysis of the Angolan problem in its specific aspects, I should nevertheless like to clarify the ideas I have just put forward and shall put forward later, basing myself on my own experience.

Angola is a vast country which today has a very low population density and which has been colonised by the Portuguese since 1482. This is the generally accepted idea. However, as far as colonisation is concerned, Portugal did not succeed in dominating all of our territory on its first contact. It took centuries before it was able to impose its political and economic rule over the whole of our people. And I wish again to emphasize that neither is it true that Angola is dominated only by Portugal. The world is sufficiently enlightened on this point to know that the political and economic interests of several world powers are involved in Angola. Portugal's administration has not prevented the presence of its partners, a presence which has been there for centuries. For example, Great Britain, the country with the largest volume of capital investments in Angola, and the United States of America, with growing economic interests and longing to control our country's strategic position, as well as other countries of Europe, America and Asia, are competing for the domination of our people and the exploitation of the wealth that belongs to us.

To think that Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and other colonies are dominated by small and backward Portugal today is to be as mistaken as to think that French society is now in the feudal era (the reference to France is merely by way of example).

Small and backward Portugal is not the chief factor of colonisation. Without the capital of other countries, without growing investments and technical cooperation, without complicity at various levels, radical transformations would already have taken place many years ago.

Therefore, if we can say that Portugal is the manager of a series of pol

(Continued on page 7)

(Continued from page 6)

in economic deals, we will see that it is not our principal enemy but merely our direct enemy. At the same time, it is the weakest link in the whole chain established for the domination of the peoples. If we look at Portugal itself, at the internal picture it presents, we see a society which is still striving to transcend an obsolete form of oligarchic government, incapable of abandoning the use of violence against its people for the benefit of just a few families, with a peasant class struggling in the most dire poverty in Europe, and where every citizen feels himself a prisoner in his own country. The Portuguese themselves are right when they say that their country is today one of the greatest disgraces of Europe and the world.

We can now give an answer to the question:

—Who is the enemy and what is his nature?

The enemy of Africa is often confused with the white man. Skin colour is still a factor used by many to determine the enemy. There are historical and social reasons and lived facts which consolidate this idea on our continent.

It is absolutely understandable that a worker in the South African mines who is segregated and coerced, and whose last drop of sweat is wrung from him, should feel that the white man he sees before him, for whom he produces wealth, is the principal enemy. It is for him that he builds cities and well-paved roads and maintains hygienic and salubrious conditions which he himself does not have.

Consciousness, as I have said, is formed chiefly from one's experience of life. The experience of South Africa could lead to this immediate conclusion, which is to a certain extent logical and emotionally valid.

All the more so in that the society created by the colonialists, to come back to the case of Angola, created various racial defence mechanisms which were made to serve colonialism. The same poor, wretched and oppressed peasant who is exploited in his own country is the object of special attention when he establishes himself in one of "its" colonies. He is not only imbued with a lot of jingoism, but he also starts to enjoy economic and social privileges which he could never have before. Thus he becomes a part of the system. He starts to get a taste for colonialism and becomes a watchdog of the interests of the fascist oligarchy.

However, deep in their hearts both the watchdog and the exploiter nonetheless feel themselves slaves of the

system as a whole.

We can therefore say today that the phenomenon of colonial or neo-colonial oppression in our continent cannot be seen in terms of the colour of individuals.

The same system as oppresses and exploits the peasant in Portugal also oppresses and exploits the Angolan citizen, using different motivation, different techniques, but always with the same goal — to exploit. And the establishment of just relations is possible between Portuguese men and Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean men, that is, the establishment of relations which prevent the exploitation of one man by another. The racial factor will play only a secondary role, and for a little time more, once relations between master and slave are ended.

An ideological understanding of this problem also makes it easier to solve it once the objectives of the liberation struggle are defined.

In special conditions there are already cases where the racial problem is overcome. This is what happens in the war. There are conscious Portuguese who desert to join the nationalist ranks in one way or another.

Our experience of clandestine struggle showed that there can be such racial cooperation in the struggle against the system.

And what do we really want basically?

I do not think that the national liberation struggle is directed towards inverting systems of oppression in such a way that the master of today will be the slave of tomorrow. To think in this way is to go against the current of history. Attitudes of social revenge can never be what we want, which is the freedom of men.

And I should like again to emphasise that the liberation struggles are not aimed solely at violently correcting the relations between men and especially the production relations *within the country* — they are an important factor for the positive transformation of our entire continent and the whole world.

The national liberation struggle is also a means of overthrowing a whole unjust system of oppression existing in the world.

Let us look at the question pragmatically:

We do not find a single country in Africa which does not maintain preferential relations with its former metropole, even through the absorption of the inevitable cultural values of a regime of a colonial type. What is more, the forms of exploitation do not end and neither, consequently, do the forms of racial discrimination, accentuated to a greater or lesser degree. In such cases, liberation is not yet com-

plete.

Under independence in which there is not merely apparent political independence, but also economic and cultural independence, where respect for true national values exists, so as to make it possible to abolish exploitation, I believe that man would find true freedom.



To answer our question, we would say that the enemy is colonialism, the colonial system, and also imperialism, which sustains the former, to the point of being the principal enemy.

These enemies use on their own behalf all the contradictions they can find in the dominated society: racial, tribal, class and other factors. On them they build their foundation for exploitation and maintain it, changing its appearance when it can no longer be maintained.

Thus, in Africa formal political domination can no longer prevail, but no one is yet free from economic domination. It is present there, and it is for this very reason that I am very pleased by the formula adopted by some political parties in power in Africa when they say that they too are national liberation movements. This expresses the full significance of the phenomenon of liberation.

This broader concept of national liberation has vitally important consequences as regards the necessary cooperation between the oppressed of the world.

I shall therefore go on to say that national liberation must be a stage for the achievement of a vaster form of liberation, which is the liberation of man.

If one loses sight of this idea, dynamism disappears and the essential contradictions in a country remain.

The Angolan experience has already shown that pure anti-racism cannot permit the full development of the liberation struggle. For centuries our society has had within it white people who came as occupiers, as conquerors, but who had time to establish roots, to multiply, and to live for generations and generations on our territory. This white population dominates the urban centres, giving rise to the fact of people who are racially mixed, making our society interlinked in its racial components. (Continued on page 8)

Recommended Books

1. *Portuguese Africa and the West*, by William Minter, Monthly Review Press, N.Y., Price: \$2.95. A readable and thoroughly researched account of the U.S. support of Portugal.
2. *Africa Calling; "Isolate the Racist"*, by John Pittman, New Outlook Publishers, N.Y. Price: 60¢. Information on the liberation struggles in Southern Africa.
3. *U.S. Business Involvement in South Africa*, Hearings before the Subcommittee On Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 1973. In three parts, Cong. Charles Diggs, Jr. Chairman, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
4. *History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.*, Vol. 3, by Philip Foner, International Publishers, N.Y. Price: \$3.65. The policies and practices of the American Federation of Labor from 1900-1909.
5. *The State and Revolution* by V. I. Lenin, Imported Publications, Chicago. Price: 50¢. Lenin's analysis of the capitalist state and what is to replace it.

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Harold Rogers Editor

WHO IS THE ENEMY

If the liberation struggle overlooks the realities of the country, and if formulations are taken up which are pleasing to nationalists who are sincere but not over-concerned about the aspect of the people's socio-historical development, it weakens itself and cannot attain its political and human objectives.

Everyone in a country who wants to participate in whatever way in the liberation struggle should be able to do so.

The preoccupation in Africa of making the liberation struggle a racial struggle of blacks against whites is not only superficial, but we can say that it is reactionary and that this view has no future at the very time when we see more contact between blacks and whites on the continent than in the era of colonialism.

The expanded relations with socialist countries and with countries which are against colonialism (in its old form), and the so-called relations of cooperation with the former metropolises have brought to Africa a noteworthy number of Europeans, Americans and Asians, more than there have ever been in any era of Africa's history.

Therefore, to pose the problem as one of black against white is to falsify the question and deflect us from our objective.

What do we want?

An independent life as a nation, a life in which economic relations are just both between countries and within the country, a revival of cultural values which are still valid for our era.

The literary concept of negritude, born of philosophico-literary trends which have had their day, like existentialism and surrealism, posed with discernment the problem of arousing the cultural consciousness of the black man in the world, irrespective of the geographical area to which he had been dispersed.

Like the idea of Pan-Africanism, the concept of negritude started at a certain point to falsify the black problem.

It is and was correct to heighten the essence of cultural values which black people took to all the continents, and predominantly to the American continent. Our culture must be defended and developed, which does not mean

that it must remain stagnant.

Basically, and as various thinkers have asserted, the national liberation struggle is a struggle for culture. But I do not believe that cultural links in any way prevent political compartmentalisation.

This has been an equivocal point in many alleged demonstrations of national liberation.

I cannot fail to express my full political identification with the struggle of the black peoples of America where they are, and to admire the vitality of descendants of Africans who today are still oppressed and segregated in American society, especially in the United States. I say especially in the United States, because I do not very much believe in the full freedom of blacks or the national equality in Brazil of which they talk so much and are trying to convince us.

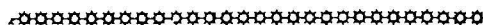
The social advancement of the black American has been noteworthy, to the extent that today the black American distinguishes himself in Africa not only by his comportment but also by his intellectual and technical level.

Only rarely do the physical characteristics of black Americans allow any doubt as to their country of origin. Thus, the phenomenon of miscegenation has produced a new kind of man. The type that the ordinary man in Angola calls a white man or a mulatto is a black man in the United States.

There is therefore no physical identity and there are strong cultural differences, as there could not fail to be.

Therefore, without confusing origins with political compartments, America is America and Africa is Africa.

(To be continued)



(Continued from page 2)

Colonialism

carrying out of joint research.

This is a far from complete list of the measures carried out by the socialist community with the aim of weakening the developing countries' scientific and technical dependence upon imperialism and promoting a more effective use by them of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

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