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Women's Liberation Is Essential For The Revolution

The following excerpts are taken from a speech given by Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO to the first conference of Mozambican women on March 4, 1973. Its message is particularly meaningful in 1975, International Women's Year.—Ed.

The Need for Emancipation

The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, the result of a humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for the Revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition for its victory. The main objective of the Revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potentialities of human beings, reconciling them with labour and with nature. This is the context within which the question of women's emancipation arises.

Generally speaking, women are the most oppressed, humiliated and exploited beings in society. A woman is even exploited by a man who is himself exploited, humiliated by the man who is crushed under the boot of the boss and the settler.

How can the Revolution triumph without the liberation of women? Will it be possible to get rid of the system of exploitation while keeping one part of society exploited? One cannot only partially wipe out exploitation and oppression, one cannot tear up only half the weeds without even stronger ones spreading out from the half that has survived.

How then can one make a revolution without mobilising women? If more than half the exploited and oppressed people consist of women, how can they be left on the fringe of the struggle? To make a revolution it is necessary to mobilise all the exploited and oppressed, and consequently women as well. If it is to be victorious, the Revolution must eliminate the whole system of exploitation and oppression, liberating all the exploited and the oppressed. Therefore it

must eliminate the exploitation and oppression of women.

Moreover, if we also consider the basic need for the revolution to be continued by the new generation, how can we ensure the revolutionary education of the generation which will carry on our work if mothers, the first educators, are marginal to the revolutionary process? How can one turn the homes of the exploited and the oppressed into cells of revolutionary struggle, centres for the diffusion of our line, encouraging the involvement of the family, if women remain apathetic to this process, indifferent to the society which is being built and deaf to the call of the people?



The United Nations official emblem for International Women's Year, 1975. The emblem consists of a stylised dove, the biological symbol for women and the mathematical sign for equality.

To say that women do not feel the need to liberate themselves, or that it is often FRELIMO, and not the women, which uphold women's emancipation is a paltry argument which cannot stand up to analysis. Women feel their subjection, they feel the need to change their situation. What happens is that the domination imposed by society, by stifling their initiative, often prevents them from expressing their aspirations, often prevents them from thinking of how to wage their struggle. It is here that FRELIMO intervenes. As the conscious vanguard of the women and men of Mozambique, of the oppressed people, FRELIMO formulates the line and indicates the methods of struggle.

The Right Time to Launch the Fight

The other question that arises is when is the right time to launch the struggle?

The precondition for advancing the armed struggle is to attack the very roots of exploitation. The idea of waiting until later to emancipate women is erroneous; it means allowing reactionary ideas to gain ground only to fight them when they are strong. It is like not fighting the alligator on the bank only to fight him in the middle of the river.

FRELIMO's line has been internalised and developed in practice, our cadres are gaining experience, being tempered in the struggle, and the process of purifying our ranks has thus begun. The revolutionary process has been assured, the struggle has already been transformed into a revolution and national unity is becoming ideological unity.

The participation of women in the armed struggle, the principal task at our present historical stage, enables them to put our unity into practice and creates the conditions for transforming their consciousness, so that they feel their responsibilities, become consciously involved, undertake critical analysis and understand that society is created by ourselves.

The System of Exploitation— The Starting Point

To speak of the emancipation of women clearly implies that they are oppressed and exploited. It is important to understand the basis of that oppression and exploitation.

Let us begin by saying that the oppression of women is the result of their exploitation; oppression in society is always the result of imposed exploitation.

From the moment when early man started to produce more than he consumed, the material foundations were laid for the emergence of a stratum in society which would appropriate the

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fruits of the majority's labour. This appropriation of the product of the masses' labour by a handful of people in society is the essence of the system of the exploitation of man by man and the crux of the antagonistic contradiction which has divided society for centuries.

As soon as the process of exploitation was unleashed, women as a whole — like men — were subjected to the domination of the privileged strata. Women are also producers, and workers, but with specific characteristics. To possess women is to possess workers, unpaid workers, workers whose entire labour power can be appropriated without resistance by the husband, who is the lord and master. In an agrarian economy, marrying many women is a sure way of accumulating a great deal of wealth. The husband is assured of free labour which neither complains nor rebels against exploitation.

It is clear that the exploitation of women and their consequent oppression starts in the system of private ownership of the means of production, in the system of exploitation of man by man.

The Ideological and Cultural Mechanisms of Domination

A society based on private ownership of the means of production, on the exploitation of men, creates and imposes the ideology and culture which upholds its values and ensure its survival. The economic exploitation of women, their transformation into mere producers with no rights, at the service of their owners — whether husbands or fathers — requires the establishment of a corresponding ideology and culture, together with an educational system to pass them on. Obviously, this is not something which happens all at once, but a process developed and refined over thousands of years of the society's existence.

The exploitative society promotes the ideology, culture and education that serves its interests. It does so with women, just as it does with colonised people and with workers in capitalist society. All are deliberately kept in ignorance, obscurantism and superstition with a view to making them resigned to their position, of instilling in them an attitude of passivity and servility.

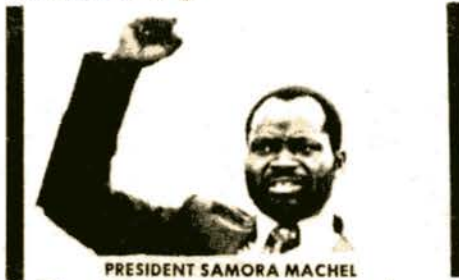
We have seen that the basis of the domination of women lies in the system of economic organisation of society, private ownership of the means of production, which necessarily leads to the exploitation of man by man.

This means that, apart from the specific features of their situation, the contradiction between women and the social order is in essence a contradiction between women and the exploitation of man by man, between women and the

private ownership of the means of production. In other words, it is the same as the contradiction between the working masses and the exploitative social order.

Let us be clear on this point. The antagonistic contradiction is not between women and men, but between women and the social order. The fact that they are exploited explains why they are not involved in all planning and decision-making tasks in society, why they are excluded from working out the concepts which govern economic, social, cultural and political life, even when their interests are directly affected.

This is the main feature of the contradiction: their exclusion from the sphere of decision-making in society. This contradiction can only be solved by revolution, because only revolution destroys the foundations of exploitative society and rebuilds society on new foundations, freeing the initiative of women, integrating them in society as responsible members and involving them in decision-making.



PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL

Therefore, just as there can be no revolution without the liberation of women, the struggle for women's emancipation cannot succeed without the victory of the revolution.

But apart from the antagonistic contradiction between women and the social order, other contradictions of a secondary nature also arise between women and men as a kind of reflex.

The marriage system, marital authority based solely on sex, the frequent brutality of the husband and his consistent refusal to treat his wife as an equal, are sources of friction and contradiction. If they are not correctly solved, these secondary contradictions may become more acute and produce such serious consequences as divorce. But however serious they may be, these factors do not alter the nature of the contradiction.

It is important to stress this aspect, because we now see an ideological offensive taking place particularly in the capitalist world, in the guise of a women's liberation struggle. The aim is to transform the contradiction with men into an antagonistic one, thereby dividing exploited men and women to prevent them from fighting the exploitative society. In fact, leaving aside the demagoguery which hides its true nature, this ideological offensive is an offensive by

capitalism to confuse women, to divert their attention from the real target.

Men and women are products and victims of the exploitative society which has created and formed them. It is essentially against this society that men and women should fight united. Our practical experience has proved that the progress achieved in the liberation of colonialism and imperialism, against the exploitation of man by man, and to build a new society.

Our Main Lines of Action

There are those who see emancipation as mechanical equality between men and women. This vulgar concept is often seen among us. Here emancipation means that women and men do exactly the same tasks, mechanically dividing their household duties. If I wash the dishes today you must wash them tomorrow, whether or not you are busy or have the time.' If there are still no women truck drivers or tractor drivers in FRELIMO, we must have some right away regardless of the objective and subjective conditions. As we can see from the example of capitalist countries, this mechanically conceived emancipation leads to complaints and attitudes which utterly distort the meaning of women's emancipation. An emancipated woman is one who drinks, smokes, wears trousers and mini-skirts, who indulges in sexual promiscuity, who refuses to have children, etc.,

Others associate emancipation with the accumulation of diplomas, and particularly university degrees, which are regarded as certificates of emancipation.

Yet others think that emancipation consists of achieving a certain economic, social and cultural level.

All these are erroneous and superficial concepts. Not one of them either gets to the heart of the contradiction or suggests a line that will really emancipate women.

Emancipation requires action on several essential levels.

First of all, a political line of action must be laid down. For women to emancipate themselves there must be conscious political commitment. What does this mean in practical terms?

It means, firstly, that the line must be laid down by a revolutionary political organisation which, defending the interests of the exploited masses as a whole, leads them in the fight against the old society. Only such an organisation is in a position to formulate a global strategy for the fight for liberation. In our case, what this means in concrete terms is that in order to liberate themselves, women must internalise FRELIMO's political line and live by it in a creative way. Otherwise they will throw themselves into sterile and secondary battles which will exhaust them uselessly and to no effect.

Women's Liberation

Revolutionary practice destroys the exploitative society, unleashes the internal struggle, demolishes our erroneous ideas and releases our critical sense and creative initiatives. In this context women must be mobilised for internal struggle and for mass struggle, and they must be organised. They will then be able to internalise the political line to start the offensive. They must be involved in the battle for the political education of the next generation and in the battle for the large-scale mobilisation and organisation of the masses. Their commitment to the liberation struggle will then become concrete action, leading them to take part in making decisions affecting the country's future.

There also arises the need to engage in production.

Releasing the productive forces and launching the process of economic development will lead to deeper ideological understandings, and a sounder knowledge of reality of society and nature.

A third aspect is scientific and cultural education. A scientific and cultural grounding enables women to achieve a correct understanding of their relationship with nature and society, thus destroying the myths fostered by obscurantism which oppress them psychologically and deprive them of initiative.

In this way, women will gradually attain all levels of planning, decision-making and implementation in organising the affairs of children, hospitals, schools, factories, the armed forces, diplomacy, art, science, culture and so on.

It should also be emphasized here that all these needs do not apply solely to women, because men are also alienated, though in different ways.

The last aspect is that of the relationship between men and women, that is, the new revolutionary concept of the couple and the home. We can already see clearly what this relationship should not be. Until now it has been based on the alleged superiority of man over woman, aimed at satisfying the male ego.

We must state here — and this is something new in society — that the family relationship, the man-woman relationship should be founded exclusively on love. We do not mean the banal, romantic concept of love which amounts to little more than emotional excitement and an idealised view of life.

For us, love can only exist between free and equal people who have the same ideals and commitment in serving the masses and the revolution. This is the basis upon which the moral and emotional affinity which constitutes love is built. We need to discover this new dimension, hitherto unknown in our country.

The Organisation of Women

The organisation of Mozambican Women is a body which will provide leadership and guidance for all Mozambican women in the struggle for the emancipation of women and for the revolution. Apart from this, its central task is to mobilise international public opinion in favour of our struggle and to express the solidarity of the Mozambican women and people with the liberating and revolutionary struggle of the women and peoples of the whole world.

Women must unite. Unity is the main weapon of the struggle, its driving force. FRELIMO's political line is your platform for unity, while tribalism, regionalism and racism stand against it.

Tribalism and regionalism prevent one from realising the greatness of our country and of our struggle. They make it impossible to understand the complexity of our country and, above all, they disperse one's forces.

Racism is a reactionary attitude. The enemy has no colour. The function of racism in our case and in any struggle is to make it difficult to define the real target, creating confusion so as to divide the national revolutionary and progressive forces, weakening them and leading to their annihilation by the common enemy and exploiter. Our struggle would remain isolated from the worldwide struggle of the progressive forces against the exploitation of man by man.

We are united through the discovery of common wounds and scars, but above all unity is realised through common effort, links are forged through collective work and study, through collective internal struggle, through criticism and self-criticism, and through action against colonialism.

We must also learn from the experience of our sisters throughout the world. That, will help us to understand that there are no races or peoples who are exploiters or oppressors. There are no racist peoples, no colonialist people. By opening our minds to the experience of others we will not only learn useful lessons, but we will also understand that all countries, all peoples, all races, are waging the same struggle as we are: a struggle against the colonialists and imperialists who have no country, a struggle against the exploiters who have no race. In this way we will be able to see how the struggle of the Mozambican women and of our people is the struggle of all of humanity, and we will understand the warmth of the solidarity between us.

Our struggle is not an isolated struggle. The Mozambican Women's fight, the Mozambican people's fight, is an integral part of the world wide front of struggle against colonialism and imperialism, against the exploitation of man by man, and for the construction of a new popular social order.

Chile's Experience And Problems Of The Class Struggle Part II

The first part of this article was published in the last issue of the **African Agenda**, April-May, 1975. The following second part is taken from *Political Affairs*, Feb. 1975.

The struggle on the economic front in Chile introduces a certain clarity into the discussion that was conducted by some Marxists on the question of the Party's economic policy. Some comrades contend that as the means of production pass over into the hands of the people the Communist Party's functions in economic management should shrink. In reality the struggle on the economic front in Chile was becoming more stubborn with every passing month. International imperialism and local monopolists and latifundists still possessed tremendous economic reserves, economic ties and experience in management. Relying on these levers, they started a real economic war against the Allende government. The reactionaries organized economic sabotage and the flight of capital, artificially intensified inflation and accelerated the growth of prices. Their main task was to create economic chaos in the country.

The Allende government performed a huge volume of work to paralyze the economic subversion of the Rightists. It devoted exceptionally great attention to raising the effectiveness of social production, to reducing inflation and unemployment and raising the living standards of working people. But it could not solve the economic problems confronting it. In addition to this, the Allende government itself made certain mistakes in its economic and social policy. The state sector was swollen out of proportion, including quite a number of small enterprises that operated at a loss. The agrarian reforms that were not followed up by provision of peasants with implements of labor in many instances held up growth of agricultural production. Workers were paid fixed wages without consideration for the results of their labor, and this did not stimulate a growth of labor productivity and facilitated inflation.

The activities of the monopolists and latifundists on the economic front also transcended the framework of constitutionalism, but parliament demanded of the Popular Unity government a meticulous observance of legality. In these conditions the government could not stop the sabotage by big capital and this considerably undermined its positions. It so happened that the economic front became the main front of struggle both for power and for the masses. And on

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Scientific Socialism In Africa

The following edited article is by Marien Ngouabi, Chairman of the Central Committee, Congolese Party of Labor, and President of the People's Republic of the Congo. The Congo (Brazzaville), proclaimed its independence in 1960 from French colonialism. On Dec. 31, 1969, the Congolese Party of Labor was founded and is one of the few parties in Africa that declares Marxism-Leninism as its official state ideology. Subtitles added—Ed.

Congo Problems, Views and Experience

Independence and sovereignty are essential for the new life. The idea of independence implies a drive for progress and growth, and the flowering of the human personality. Independence is that definite phase in which these aims are attained. And the bitterness prevailing among our peoples today, their concern for the future, have their roots in the fact that proclamation of independence has not yielded relief or changed their condition.

Real independence is still to be achieved. Most of the African countries are still economically, politically and culturally dependent. The state structures the colonialists had created to suppress the masses continue to stand, and many of the conditions needed for progress are lacking.

The African peoples expose and reject the new forms of colonialism, just as they had rejected the previous forms. The struggle continues. *And the national question is linked with the social question.*

What type of society, what type of governmental and economic organization, would deliver our peoples from the many centuries of abject poverty in a reasonable space of time? What would have to be done to overcome the social backwardness of our young states? What orders should be given our army, the popular masses, on its historic march? What pace should be set, and what goal?

The period ushered in by independence has been a period of reappraisal and negation:

- reappraisal of our traditional society, because going back to it would be tantamount to suicide for the African peoples;

- negation of all forms of colonialism, which is trying to delude the African peoples about the source of their misery;

- negation of capitalism, the social system that spawned colonialism and imperialism.

Instead of capitalism we shall build a *socialist society*, the only type of society that guarantees independence and social progress.

The first socialist state, Soviet Russia, came into the world with the 1917 October Revolution. Since then the new system has spread to other countries of

Europe, to Asia and America.

But nowhere did so many questions arise over this as have arisen in Africa. Yet the European peoples that have attained socialism had also practised religion, and possessed traditions and customs, and a long history. The new social system made the most of all the good elements in the old heritage and absorbed that which may be described as the 'soul of the people.' Is it right to say, therefore, as some do, that socialism is not suited for Africa?



Only One Socialism

To begin with, there is only one socialism — *scientific socialism*, the foundations of which were laid by Marx and Engels. It studies diverse and broad questions of practically unlimited scope. Like any other science it takes in new knowledge. But this does not annul it. On the contrary, it grows richer, Marx's science is *not a dogma, but an open book*. Unfortunately, this correct thought is often used to negate Marx and his science, to produce harmful and artificial constructions contrary to Marx's scientific theory.

The African is the same as all other people, and the society in which he lives is subject to the same universal laws. Our various peoples lived and labored in dissimilar conditions. Relying on the universal laws, we must therefore study the concrete phenomena in time and space, that is, apply the scientific approach. It is just as unscientific to ignore the specific situation as it is to negate science in general. This is why we, the peoples of Black Africa, can also contribute to human knowledge, enriching rather than negating science.

We maintain that the future of the world, and of Africa, is associated with socialism. As we see it, therefore, the option today is not, in effect, between types of society, but between the ways and means of building a socialist society.

One can speak of African ways to socialism, but certainly not of an African socialism. Then socialism will retain its scientific character and at the same time take account of the specific conditions (i.e., history, morality and customs, geography). This is no novel discovery. It was Lenin who said that all peoples will come to socialism — each in its own way and in different forms.

Yet we often encounter specific political theories based on specifically African realities. They are especially constructed to differ from the ideology of capitalism and also from that of scientific socialism. But what are the realities they are built upon? Are these realities immutable?

One of the tendencies, influenced by the idealistic currents dominant in bourgeois sociology and ethnography, is to infer the social organization from the people's religious beliefs. But this approach is a total failure, for the many 'theories' it has produced do not even attempt to generalize, which reduces them to a mere recital of facts.

Our Recent Experience

Even a cursory glance at the history of our country will show that the Congolese society of 1975 is not what it was in 1960, and certainly not what it was in, say, the 15th century. Nor, we think, does this apply to the Congo alone.

In his 'Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State,' Frederick Engels offers what we hold to be the right approach to the problem, presenting African society in a new light. Certainly, Engels' general explanation of the evolution of human society from the primitive commune to the inception of states has remained valid within the bounds of the material he had examined. But we hold that the evolution of society in Africa is subject to the same general laws as in other regions of the world, though it takes distinctive and highly original forms. Even a brief study of the history of Congolese society will suffice to illustrate this point.

The economic system imposed on our country by the colonialists (company concessions) has proletarianized the Congolese people, while most of the social structures of the precolonial period remained intact. Colonialism gradually produced an intellectual 'elite' to serve its needs, consisting of petty employees and civil servants, the so-called 'evolue.' Following the Second World War and then as a result of the 'Loi-cadre,' Congolese were also admitted to responsible political posts. This created a new social stratum, which lined its pockets through political activity (emergence of the parliamentary bourgeoisie) and used its position to grant privileges enabling individuals to run their businesses more profitably (emergence of

Congolese businessmen and inception of a comprador bourgeoisie).

In sum, colonialism created an urban and rural proletariat (through the policy of concession) and at the same time spawned privileged classes — the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie (bureaucratic, comprador and parliamentary) — connected with the old social strata and classes. This connection and resemblance is, among other things, clear evidence that pre-colonial society, too, had a class essence. So, as we see, Congolese society consists of classes, with some classes exploiting others, and the contradictions between them are antagonistic.

But unlike many other African countries, the Congolese proletariat is conscious of being an exploited class and is therefore highly active on the political scene in order to change this state of affairs.

It is precisely the proletariat's knowledge of its mission that predicated the founding in 1969 of the vanguard party representing the standpoint of the working class.

The parties that sprang up after the war had a chiefly tribal basis, though also associated with the political structures of the colonial regime.

Tribal feelings were cultivated for political purposes as a basis for unity. This reduced elections to collisions between different ethnic groups. The culmination point came with the 1959 elections, when there was violence and bloodshed. Tribalists headed by Abbot Youlou took power at first in the independent Congo.

But the Congolese masses were quick to see that independence administered by lackeys of the colonialists, even though in clerical attire, was a total fraud. On August 13-15, 1963, the people went into the streets. They stormed the palace of the head of the neo-colonialist administration, and conquered despite the French army units which had then occupied Brazzaville. Youlou's overthrow became an example for the peoples of other African countries that had gained independence in the same conditions as the Congo.

Caught unawares by the August 13-15 events, the imperialists and their local agents began trying to regain their privileges by force and corruption.

Faced with this threat to the revolutionary movement, the trade unions, youth and women's organizations and the political parties decided to set up a single mass party, the National Revolutionary Movement (NRM). Its constituent congress was held in Brazzaville in 1964.

The party came out in favor of scientific socialism, but there was a wide spectrum of views — from socialist to capitalist — within its ranks of how to carry forward the revolution and develop the country. The party failed to

provide adequate leadership. More, it tried to eliminate the progressive forces in order to emasculate the revolutionary movement and place the country under a neo-colonial regime. This led to the revolutionary rising of July 31, 1968, in which progressive servicemen, the youth, the trade unions — the entire population in fact — joined together to save the revolution. Clearly, the country needed a single, united class-vanguard Marxist-Leninist party.

Principles of CPL

The Congolese Party of Labor (CPL) is a working-class party standing at the head of our people's fight against imperialism and for a socialist society.

The CPL is a vanguard party. It draws its strength from the masses, and is guided in all its activities by Marxism-Leninism. Its slogan is: 'Everything for the people, only for the people.'

What are our basic principles?

—Our world outlook is materialist, and we consider religious or other idealistic world outlooks to be wrong.

For us man is not only the product of nature and matter, but, above all, the product of society, of which he is the creator and organizer. Man, consciousness, cannot exist outside of society.

—We recognize the existence of classes and conduct our struggle from working-class positions. Though too general and incomplete, our analysis of classes in Congolese society has disclosed the existence, both in the past and now, of antagonistic social classes.

The main contradiction in our country as explained in the Party program is between:

'The revolutionary forces, including the working class which though numerically small and ideologically immature is the pillar of the revolution; its ally, the peasantry, comprising a large but still unorganized group; and the still vacillating intermediate strata (petty bourgeoisie, the youth and students)...

and

'The reactionary forces, including international, and particularly French, imperialism, and its Congolese allies, the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal element.'

Hence, our struggle against imperialism, the principal enemy of the Congolese people, must not overshadow the struggle against the exploiter classes within the country.

—For democratic government. We believe that the state is, above all, an instrument of dictatorship. It is not the 'father of the family' because relations between antagonistic classes are based on force, not on love and attachment. It is thus perfectly clear that in countries influenced by neo-colonialism the machinery of government is a weapon of repression and dictatorship. We must demolish it and build up in its stead a new government apparatus committed

to the anti-imperialist struggle, serving the African masses and controlled by them. Towards that end, the CPL, together with the working people (workers and peasants), the youth, the intellectuals, the armed forces, is campaigning for thorough democratization. We have begun by reorganizing the police, the army and the courts.

—We are working towards public ownership of the means of production. Under the Constitution, the land is the property of the people and land tenure is regulated by the state.

The Party program envisages nationalization of all property that can serve society. First the main, and subsequently all means of production will gradually be turned over to the state and the working people.



Foreigners are now allowed to invest only in mixed companies, that is, in companies with state capital. At the socialist stage, private property will, in the main, be abolished to give way to public ownership of the means of production.

—We consider it necessary to unite all the progressive forces, the working people in the first place. Proletarian internationalism can accelerate the building of socialism in Africa and throughout the world.

African unity, solidarity with liberation movements, sincere friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries solidarity with all embattled peoples will help put an end to the capitalist system, imperialism and colonialism. Unity of the oppressed nations must be founded not on sentiments or geo-political considerations, but on their real interests.

National, Democratic and Peoples Revolution

Beginning with the memorable days of August 13-15, 1963, our revolution has been advancing towards Congo's fundamental transformation by abolishing the exploitation of man by man and creating

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a just and prosperous society.

The revolutionary institutions and laws needed to achieve this were established as a result of the mass pressure following the July 1968 rising.

Unfortunately, there were still advocates of leftist and adventurist policies in the party. Their anarchistic proclivities were clearly demonstrated during the abortive coup of February 22, 1972. These elements prevented a clear definition of the present stage of the revolution. It was only after these deplorable developments that the special Party congress in December 1972 clearly stated that Congo was passing through the stage of national, democratic and people's revolution.

This clarification was very timely, for it enabled us to dispel the dangerous misconceptions assiduously cultivated by leftist groups. They argued that once we had accepted Marxism-Leninism as our ideology and guide to action, Congo was already a socialist country.

Now the confusion was resolved: revolution means one class overthrowing another and assuming power, but it also means that revolutionary change is a long process. In the People's Republic of the Congo we shall have to resolve the main contradiction, between the people and imperialism, before we can advance to the next stage, socialism.

There will have to be an all-out offensive against imperialism, in particular French imperialism. And there will have to be an all-out offensive against imperialism's allies in Congo to win and consolidate full independence. Such are our tasks at the present stage, the stage of national, democratic and people's revolution.

National, because our goal is an end to domination by French imperialism which, by controlling the national economy, factually controls also the political situation. Another goal is to create the objective and subjective preconditions for the formation of the Congolese nation and to rid the country of tribalism and regionalism.

Democratic, because it replaces minority by majority rule, and because it draws its support from the masses, the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals.

People's, because it strives to lay the economic, social and cultural foundations for the next stage, socialist revolution, and prepare the objective, subjective and psychological prerequisites for this by mobilizing and uniting the broad mass of the dispossessed under the banner of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Congolese Party of Labor.

In other words, at the present stage of the national-liberation struggle, at the stage of national, democratic and people's revolution, all our activities must rest on alliance of the revolutionary

classes and patriotic forces within a united anti-imperialist front. Its purpose is to mobilize the broad masses on the basis of their interests, and unite, under the leadership of the working-class party, the CPL, the women, youth, peasants, small tradesmen and artisans, as well as trade unions, religious groups and cultural associations.

The workers join this united front, in alliance with the peasantry and the revolutionary intelligentsia, because the revolution is in the interests of the exploited classes. The national middle bourgeoisie, small tradesmen and artisans suffer from the impact of foreign capital; they want to control the economy and are therefore against imperialism. The religious groups, too, have good reason to oppose imperialism, for they want freedom of worship. Consequently, the vital interests of all classes and social strata dictate opposition to imperialism. The CPL must therefore unite these classes and strata and give them leadership in the fight for national liberation.

The Party's biggest success in democratization came with the democratic elections to the Peoples' Assemblies, composed of representatives of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other patriots. Their job is to manage the affairs of the community and safeguard the interests and wealth of the people through a simple but effective administrative structure.

Socialist State Apparatus

Lastly, the building of socialism requires a government apparatus attuned to the interests of the people. We are now building such an apparatus. In particular, we are strengthening the army under the slogan: 'A people without its own army is powerless.' We have proclaimed the National People's Army the right hand of the Party, and a while ago the CPL worked out the basic principles of political and economic work and professional training in the army.

Our policy of democratizing all aspects of national life, plus demolition of the neo-colonialist government apparatus, has given the working class and the people a full share in the management of state enterprises and offices in accordance with the 'crucial triad' principle, i.e., all questions pertaining to the operation of the given enterprises are decided by representatives of the Party, trade unions and management. Planning has also been democratized.

In line with the democratization policy, we are extending Party control, in conformity with the Party program, to all major sectors and entrusting their administration to the working people. In the agrarian sector, which enjoys top priority, we are concentrating on setting up cooperatives as the forerunners of collective farming and the peasants'

changeover to proletarian and socialist positions.

Nationalization is going ahead steadily and methodically, accelerated from time to time by the needs of the moment or by mass pressure.

Our experience is added proof that a party that upholds the interests of the working class and its ally, the peasantry, is the most consistent leader of the liberation struggle of the oppressed classes. We are firmly convinced in the correctness of our policy.

¹Among other things, this law envisaged internal autonomy for the French colonies in Africa. (1956)-Ed.

Africa's Choice

Independent Africa has worked out its new common approach to the liberation struggle in the South. Attempting to be flexible, and taking into consideration the changes in the international arena, independent Africa continues to be loyal to the strategic aims of decolonization with support for the struggle waged against the racist regimes.

The decision was made at the extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) April 7-10, 1975, to facilitate the talks with the Smith regime on the transfer of power to the African majority in Rhodesia. This decision reflected the policy of the group of independent countries contiguous to the territories of the racist regimes. Apart from Tanzania, Zambia, and other countries, a similar position is held by the Zimbabwe Liberation Movement — the African National Council of Rhodesia. The leaders of Tanzania and Zambia had already established contacts with Pretoria and Salisbury, and based on their successful experiences, they upheld this course at the Dar-Es-Salaam session.

As a result of a weakening of its military, strategic, and political positions after the downfall of its ally — Portuguese colonialism — the Republic of South Africa (RSA) was forced to make certain foreign policy concessions. Thus Prime Minister Vorster exerted certain pressures on the Rhodesian regime, which depends upon the RSA to propel it on to talks with the African National Council. Vorster fears that the armed struggle, threatening the apartheid system, may spread to the territory of the RSA.

The OAU Council of Ministers believes that the choice of methods of struggle in Rhodesia has to be made by the Liberation Movement. Independent Africa, as stated before, commits itself to ensure the freedom fighters with its support. This support also pertains to the efforts in Rhodesia to achieve a peaceful transfer of power to representatives of the five-million strong supporters of

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Chile's Experience

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this front the Allende government suffered serious setbacks, this being one of the causes of its downfall.

Still, in the process of the implementation of economic undertakings definite experience has been accumulated, and it is not only of national but also of international significance.

First of all this experience points to the possibility in principle for the revolutionary democratic government to carry out cardinal economic transformations. Some theoreticians entertain the notion that the process of socializing the means of production by constitutional means should be accomplished either in a single blow or nationalization should be given up altogether. It is being contended that having retained economic levers and being threatened with expropriation employers can plunge the country into the abyss of chaos. In practice the dilemma was posed as follows: either to socialize all means of production simultaneously, something practically unattainable in the process of the peaceful development of the revolution, or not to socialize them at all. In other words, there existed a hopelessly pessimistic concept whereby it was impossible to socialize the means of production in conditions of the peaceful development of the revolution. This actually meant a negation of the reality of the revolution itself.

Although Chile's experience in this most acute question is quite complex, an attentive analysis of the sum total of political and economic relations makes it possible to draw the following conclusions: in Chile the possibility of socializing the means of production, of creating a state sector with an anticapitalist content and of simultaneously increasing the volume of production was proved theoretically and practically in the process of the peaceful development of the revolution, as well as the possibility of raising the living standards of all working people. Chile's experience, though small, shows that this task could be solved first of all by way of a consistent expropriation of the property of monopolists and latifundists, by raising the role of the state sector and giving assistance to small privately-owned enterprises.

The social front is the third important front of class struggle. A serious struggle for the masses mounted in the country in the course of the revolution's development. The Popular Unity coalition actively struggled to strengthen the unity of all working people, to rally Leftwing politics parties.

The most important role in this struggle was played by the working class, which demonstrated that it is a consistently guiding revolutionary force. The working class headed the battle for production and, in effect, this was an

important direction in the development of the entire revolutionary process. In the hardest days of struggle the working class courageously fought against the reactionary forces, ensuring decisive support for the Allende government.

It should be borne in mind at the same time that the working class was not uniform, that some of its segments were passive and even failed to understand the new tasks, that there were sentiments of *economism*. At a number of big enterprises nationalized by the state workers staged lengthy strikes that inflicted much damage on the national economy. As a rule, the backward segments of the working class rallied behind the Christian Democratic Party, which intensified the sentiments of *economism*.

The struggle for the middle layers of Chilean society turned out to be the sharpest one. On the whole, the program of the Popular Unity coalition correctly formulated the general theses concerning the middle layers. But the policy of alliance of the working class and the middle segments was not elaborated deeply enough and was not always pursued with due effect. An especially important role was played by the circumstance that there was not clarity about the position of the middle segments in terms of the distant future. All this weakened the alliance of the working class and the middle layers.

The Left-wing extremist elements played a provocative role in respect to the middle layers. They proceeded from the assumption that a socialist revolution was developing in the country and for this reason demanded the immediate socialization of all means of production.

But these extremists did not limit themselves to abstract talk about socialism. They arbitrarily nationalized medium industrial enterprises and peasant farms that were not subject to nationalization and reform. These activities created a veritable panic among the middle layers of town and countryside. The Allende government struggled against the "Left-wing revolutionaries" but could not fully paralyze their activities. Then, a large number of members of the Socialist Party sympathized with the "Leftists." Reaction used this to drive a wedge between the working class and the middle layers. Some researchers are almost right in contending that Chile's working class remained isolated. In any case, however, the alliance of the working class and the middle layers really had disintegrated. This process especially intensified late in 1972 when the polarization of class forces began in the country and the struggle between reaction and the revolution was becoming ever fiercer.

By means of political maneuvers the Allende government succeeded in somewhat damping the acuteness of the

contradictions between the working class and the middle layers, but the problem remained very acute.

Reaction's strategic plan directed at overthrowing the Allende government began to take shape already at the end of 1972. It planned either to win the struggle for the masses, to score an election victory at the polls in 1973 and topple the Allende government by constitutional means or, if this failed, to engineer a counterrevolutionary coup.

The struggle for the masses took place in a very difficult situation, but reaction failed in this part of its strategic plan. It is very indicative that in the 1973 elections the Popular Unity coalition got nearly 44 per cent of the votes, that is, much more than in the presidential elections in 1970. This meant the failure of reaction's first strategic plan. But this success of the Popular Unity prompted reaction to prepare for the counterrevolutionary coup.

First of all preparations were started in the army, where progressive officers were subjected to persecutions and were dismissed from their posts. At the same time fascist organizations stepped up their provocative activities, sowing fear among the population and doubts about the correctness of the Allende government's actions. The situation in the country became ever more strained. In conditions of political confusion in the Popular Unity coalition, the weakening of the alliance of the working class with the middle layers, a serious worsening of the economic situation in the country and rampant activity of fascist organizations, the counterrevolutionary coup was accomplished in September 1973. The revolution in Chile suffered a defeat.

* * *

One Million Voices

The petition campaign launched by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation is quickly coming to an end. One million signatures are currently being collected in different U.S. cities in order to accelerate the expulsion of South Africa from the UN. In the February-March issue of the **African Agenda**, we printed the petition for our readers. We are urging you to return all petition signatures that you have collected. In early October of this year, the petitions will be presented to the United Nations. If you need more petitions, please contact the **African Agenda** at P.O.B. 1941, Chicago, Ill. 60690; or the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation at 156 Fifth Ave., Rm. 405, N.Y.C., N.Y. 10010; or call them at 212-929-5689. Time is running out and we need your support.

Recommended Books

1. *Socialism and the Newly Independent Nations* by R. Ulyanovsky. An excellent book dealing with the theoretical aspects of the national-democratic state and the non-capitalist path of development; the national liberation revolution and the communist movement. Imported Publications, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago, 60610.
2. *Africa and the USA (The People Must Unite)*, by Tony Monteiro. Short and to the point on why South Africa must be expelled from the U.N. National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, 156 Fifth Ave. R-405, N.Y.C. 10010, Price: 25¢.
3. *Revolutionary Tracings*, by James Jackson. A collection of polemical writings on world politics, Black liberation, etc. Price: \$3.50, International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. South, N.Y.C. 10016.
4. *Keeping The Faith: Writings By Contemporary Black American Women*, P. C. Exum, ed. Good collection of essays, poetry, autobiography and fiction by contemporary Black women. Fawcett Publications. Price: \$1.75.

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After 477 Years Of Struggle

Independence was achieved for the people of Mozambique on June 25, 1975 when the Mozambique Liberation Front (popularly known as FRELIMO) formally took over the government. Less than two weeks later on July 5, 1975, the Republic of the Cape Verde Islands became independent under the leadership of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). The new Republic, which lies 300 miles off the coast of northwest Africa, elected a 56-member National Assembly and chose Aristides Pereira as its first President. Pereira is also General Secretary of the PAIGC. The National Assembly will soon take up the question of full integration with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

After 477 years of unrelenting struggle against Portuguese colonialism President Samora Machel, Vice-President Marcelino Dos Santos, the Central Committee of FRELIMO and the Mozambican peo-

ple have chosen to build a socialist society. This development, along with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau's declaration to build socialism, reaffirms the Leninist theory of ex-colonial countries accepting socialism as the *only* way for a rapid economic and social development. Both of these countries have established relations with the Socialist countries, knowing that the achievement of socialism cannot be done without the solidarity and help of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

These two progressive events, as well as the coming independence of Angola in November of this year, signal the end of one stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-colonialist struggle in these countries. The African American Solidarity Committee salutes the independence of Mozambique and the Cape Verde Islands and wishes them every success in their new stage of solving the national and class tasks of building new societies.

Africa's Choice

(continued from page 6)

Zimbabwe. The armed struggle, the OAU declared, will be intensified if the racist regimes blockade the peaceful talks.

The OAU's position with regard to Namibia has undergone changes. The organization's special committee may enter into contracts with the Republic of South Africa under two conditions: The RSA must recognize the independence of Namibia as a single state with African rule; and the Southwest African People's Organization which heads the Liberation Movement there must give their consent. As for the Republic of South Africa's internal affairs, the OAU held the viewpoint that, at present, changes may be achieved there only by means of armed struggles.

A program of toughening economic sanctions against South Africa has been adopted in Dar-Es-Salaam. The session has also confirmed the commitment to work for the RSA's expulsion from the United Nations, to intensify the trade boycott and oil embargo, and to recall from the RSA 600,000 Africa workers from the independent states. These measures will play a most important role in the decolonization process.

Thus, Africa has made its choice in Dar-Es-Salaam. It allows limited contacts with Pretoria, but only with the aim of successfully waging the Liberation struggle. At the same time, the policies

of further economic and political pressure against the RSA, support of the fighters for freedom, and readiness to intensify armed struggle are being upheld. This approach is a compromise of various viewpoints, and reflects the quests for more effective and spedier methods of decolonization which correspond with the new situation. The effectiveness of this policy will be tested during the few months left before the heads of state and governments of the Organization of African Unity member-countries meet for their regular assembly.

The extraordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers has far from caused a split in the organization due to different conceptions of the Liberation strategy. In the opinion of the OAU leaders, it has confirmed its unity and strength. While rejecting the "dialogue" and "peaceful coexistence" requested with the apartheid regime, Africa is fully aware that Pretoria will continue its attempts to undermine the unity of its ranks. On the other hand, permission for even limited contacts with the racist regimes may be used by those African governments who, with the support of the West, have long promoted cooperation with South Africa. The Dar-Es-Salaam strategy opens up new vistas for the freedom fighters. But it is also fraught with new problems.

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