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AFRICAN AGENDA

A Voice Of Afro-American Opinion

Vol. 6 No. 2

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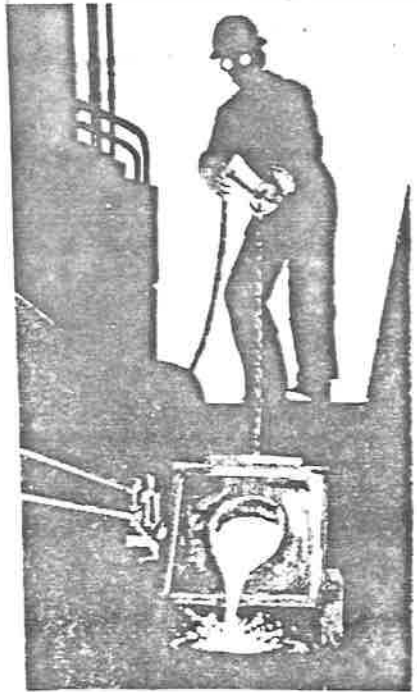
Double Issue, 40 cents

American Steel Workers Against Apartheid

On May 23, members of United Steelworkers of America, Local 1011, representing 8500 workers at Youngstown Sheet and Tube (YST) in East Chicago, held a press conference regarding the use of South African coke and coal. The union put forward a local bargaining demand that, "YST not use or purchase products produced under non-union conditions in Southern Africa, including but not limited to chrome from Rhodesia and coal and coke from the Republic of South Africa. The Union further demanded that a monitoring system be provided to assure the Union of Company compliance". This local demand, negotiated separately from the Basic Steel Agreement that goes into effect August 1 is one of more than 200 issues separating Local 1011 and YST.

The Union position according to Local 1011 President Norman Purdue, "is based both on the defense of our members' jobs, which are threatened by the use of the 'Slave Labor Coke' and also as a move in solidarity with the demand of Black African workers for union representation and majority rule. Liberation forces in South Africa have called for a ban on goods from the white-ruled regime".

The importance of this local bargaining demand was highlighted by the fact that for Local 1011 this is the first time in the U.S. that the issue of South African raw materials has become a contract demand



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and is considered by the Local to be a strike issue. At the Press conference Local 3133 of Calumet Steel Casting under the leadership of president Gary Shelton also announced that his local was making this a contract demand. Statements of support came from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists of Chicago and Gray, the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union, The Chicago Peace Council, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary and Mayor Robert Patrick of East Chicago, The African American Solidarity Committee, and other organizations and unions.

The actions by Local 1011 of East Chicago is a continuation of the actions of the Gary city council which passed a resolution on November 1975 calling on the city to refuse to do business with IBM, ITT, Motorola and Control Data corporations because of their investments in South Africa.

These actions are concrete ways that people are expressing their opposition to the racist South African government. Local 1011 has taken an historic step of solidarity with Africa now it is up to the company to honor the demand or face the possibility of being shut down.

Sorry for the Inconvenience

For the past five years the African American Solidarity Committee has consistently published the *African Agenda*. The important developments that are taking place in Africa need the kind of interpretation that you can find in our publication. Africa is on the agenda for the 70's especially as imperialism faces the blows of the three revolutionary currents in the world. Imperialism today is not as strong as it was 20 years ago, but imperialism is not dead, but on the contrary, it is even more reactionary, and will do anything to try and preserve its oppressive grip on the peoples of the world. Africa is playing more of a role because the continent is where imperial-

ism is making one of its last stands to turn the tide of anti-imperialism. We only have to look at the situation in Zaire where imperialism led by the U.S., had sent in troops and money to preserve the reactionary Mobutu government. Or the situation in Angola last year where western capitalism tried to intervene to try and stop the process of national liberation. Today South Africa, Rhodesia, and Namibia are the last bastions of racism on the continent, and the U.S. is doing everything possible to prop-up and preserve its investments in those countries.

The *African Agenda* has been in the forefront of exposing and providing an analysis of events in Africa, but we cannot continue to publish the *African*

Agenda without your help. In the last few months we have suffered from financial constraints and have been unable to publish on our scheduled dates. This issue is the second one this year after the last issues of December-January, 1976. We would like to continue to bring you the kind of information that you need today to understand the moves of imperialism in Africa, but we cannot do this without your help. We are appealing to you to send us any donations that you can spare. We would like to publish more often, and we hope in the future to get back on our regular schedule. However if we do not receive your help we will be forced to stop our publication.

Problems of the Ethiopian Revolution

Recent events in Ethiopia, including the attempted coup last February which culminated in the execution of the head of state, Brigadier-General Teferi Bante and other members of the Dergue, indicate that an intense struggle is being waged to determine the direction in which the Ethiopian revolution moves.

The consolidation of the authority of the group in the Dergue headed by Mengistu Mariam, then vice-chairman of the Dergue and one of the key figures in the government, meant that the progressive forces were still in control. However, this was not the first time that an attempt had been made to dislodge Mariam and his supporters from power, and it will probably not be the last. Powerful forces are at work attempting to turn the clock back in Ethiopia—both reactionary and ultra-revolutionary elements in Ethiopia itself and the cohorts of imperialism attempting to turn Ethiopia on the path of neo-colonialism. Counter-revolutionary pressures are also being exerted by the governments of the Sudan and Saudi Arabia who are assisting the Eritrean secessionists in a bid to balkanise and weaken the Ethiopian state in the interests of Arab reaction and feudalism.

Class and national elements are also involved in this intense struggle, the outcome of which may well determine the course of events in north and east Africa and the Middle East for a long time to come.

Since February, 1974, Ethiopia, which had for so long been a happy hunting ground for the local feudal and reactionary elements, imperialism and Zionism, has undergone radical change. This process of radical change from the remnants of feudalism and low level capitalist development to the path of socialist orientation is significant for Africa as a whole.

Prior to the revolution members of the royal family, the feudal aristocrats and the higher officials of the church owned and controlled most of the fertile land, with 60% of cultivated land belonging to less than 1,000 families. The political power exercised by the feudal autocracy had its base in the ownership of land, the excessive exploitation of the peasants and its dependent links with imperialism.

Peasants were compelled to surrender up to 75% of their crop to the landowners and were press-ganged into providing services, such as building and mending of fences, houses and stables and herding of animals. Moreover in a typically feudal relationship the landowners and their agents exercised great control over the lives of the peasants by giving them loans at exorbitant rates of interest which could be as high as 300%.

The peasants, like the workers and other strata in the urban areas, suffered



harshly from exploitation, taxes, natural disasters and lack of basic rights. Indeed the scientific and liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism were proscribed and it was dangerous to be in possession of such literature. The old regime was totally corrupt and the corruption can be traced from Haile Selassie downwards. Investigations showed that in addition to all the land and property that he and his family owned, he received more than \$11 million in dividends from the St. George Brewery and the staggering amount of \$979,506.84 was found at the National Palace.

By the beginning of 1974 the position of the outdated system of government based on the ruthless exploitation of the toiling masses had been severely aggravated by the criminal failure of the Selassie regime to tackle the effects of the drought, bad harvest and famine which killed hundreds of thousands of people. The country was also hit by the monetary and energy crisis of the world capitalist system. Thus the social, economic, political national problems which had for so long shackled Ethiopia came to the fore and aroused the wrath and indignation of growing sections of the people, in particular the intellectuals and students.

In February, 1974, there were mass demonstrations and virtual uprising in Addis Ababa. Taxi drivers and teachers went on strike, workers and students staged mass protest rallies. In the rapidly-evolving situation the first general strike in the history of Ethiopia took place in March, 1974, under the leadership of the Confederation of Ethiopia Labour Unions. The peasants, workers and students advanced slogans such as "land for the tiller" and "liquidate poverty and backwardness".

Armed Forces

In the absence of any organised political force, the armed forces played the leading role in opposition to the monarchist regime. Realising that they had to be better organised and united in order to overthrow the old regime and to withstand pressures from world imperialism, especially US imperialism, units of the army and police democratically elected their representatives to form a Co-ordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army. By skilfully utilising their position the Co-ordinating Committee began unmasking the old regime and even compelled Haile Selassie to agree to the abolition of the Crown Council, Imperial Court and Judicial Review Commission, and the transfer of the Chief of Staff Office to the Ministry of National Defense. By September the Co-ordinating Committee fully supported by the popular masses deposed Haile Selassie and changed its name to the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC).

However, within the armed forces, even as now, two main tendencies asserted themselves. One sought to arrest the development of the revolutionary process and the other fought to intensify the search for socially progressive solutions. The internal battle led to the execution of Aman Mikail Andons and 69 other officers and members of the armed forces.

The military regime characterises the present stage as completing the National Democratic Revolution which would lay the material and technical basis for the transition to socialism.

As in the rest of tropical Africa the key

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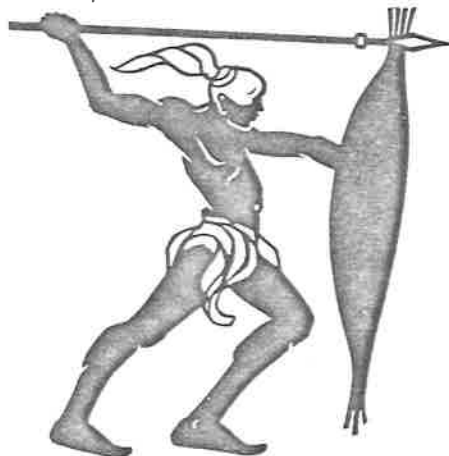
resolving the socio-economic problems lay in carrying out an effective radical programme of land reform. In Ethiopia approximately 90% of a population of 28 million are peasants toiling hard for a living. With the nationalisation of rural land in March, 1975, the PMAC undertook one of the most radical agrarian reforms in Africa. The land reform proclamation transferred ownership to the toiling peasants, abolished the archaic social relationship between landlord and tenant, annulled all outstanding debts and halted the onerous system of rent collecting. Small farmers and landless peasants who were willing to cultivate the land personally were allotted land not exceeding 10 hectares and which cannot be divided, sold or mortgaged. On the huge estates owned by large landowners state farms are being established.

In order to organise the farmers in a collective and cooperative manner and to enable them to protect their interests, farmers' associations and production units have been or are in the process of being created. Already there are over 21,000 farmers associations with a membership of over 5 million. Though these associations the previously downtrodden and exploited serfs are becoming active participants in the fight to build a new Ethiopia. The duties of these associations range from digging wells, purchasing farm machinery, constructing schools and health clinics, to organising self-defence units for the defence of the revolution. Today the latter units have a membership of over half a million. In addition women have formed their own organisations to better enable them to play their rightful role in socially transforming the countryside, improving living standards and raising agricultural production.

To ensure that the land reform programme was implemented, in particular the setting up of peasants association, eradication of illiteracy and improving of health conditions, about 60,000 students and teachers, including 982 officers and rank and file soldiers were sent to the rural areas under the National Work Campaign for Development through Cooperation. This campaign played a very important role in explaining to the peasants their new rights and obligations teaching a great number of people the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic and in building many new schools. In the initial period alone some 4,377,500 functional literacy books were published in Amharic, Tigrigna, Oromigna, Wolaitigna and Somaligna. In the public health sector over 200 medical clinics were set up, people were taught the elementary rules of hygiene, diet and child care, mass vaccinations were carried out against tuberculosis and smallpox and nearly half a million cattle were inoculated against animal disease.

Nationalisation Measures

In the cities too action was taken by the PMAC to check the domination of private capital. Banks, insurance companies and hundreds of leading firms were nationalised. The emperor's financial interests and palaces were brought under popular control and the government took over the extractive industry including precious metals, salt and oil refining. Landlordism was officially abolished and rents slashed by the nationalisation of urban land. Under this proclamation no person or family can own more than one dwelling house and only cooperative societies of urban dwellers are allowed to earn rent on ownership of land or house. The urban land proclamation also contains details on the creation, functions and membership of cooperative societies and judicial tribunals, the highest of which would have jurisdiction over disputes arising between urban dwellers and cooperative societies.



A new labour law was also promulgated under which an All-Ethiopian Trade Union Federation replaces the former CELU, workers have more rights to form trade unions including within the public sector and women workers are guaranteed equality in employment opportunities and an extension of paid maternity leave to 45 days. The proclamation points out the through trade unions led by progressive leaders in line with socialist principles the working class can more effectively participate in the struggle for national and social revolution.

Ethiopia has a relatively small industrial working class—less than 100,000—scattered over numerous small enterprises. But it has played, is playing and will continue to play a very significant role. This is recognised by the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia which assigns to the working class the leading role and correctly stresses the fundamental importance of the worker-peasant alliance.

At present preparations are in hand to create a new political party based on the principles of scientific socialism and which would rely on the working class. A step in this direction was taken recently

when the PMAC was transformed into a people's congress of 100 members, with a central committee and a permanent committee.

Foreign Policy

In its foreign policy Ethiopia has moved closer and closer to the worldwide progressive anti-imperialist forces. It is now a much more active member of the non-aligned movement and is more closely identified with the progressive governments in the OAU. Its cooperation with the socialist world, in particular the Soviet Union, is on a higher level.

In line with their new foreign policy the Ethiopian government agreed to host last October the jointly sponsored AAPSO-ANC emergency conference in support of the people of South Africa. Before and during the conference solidarity meetings and rallies were held throughout the country in support of the ANC and the people of South Africa. At the end of this historic and highly successful conference a mass rally was organised by the PMAC. Over 70,000 people representing different enterprises, peasant associations and cooperative societies attended the rally. Representatives of the ANC, Angola, Vietnam and the Soviet Union were accorded exceptionally warm receptions and the entire rally was punctuated by tremendous applause for the most anti-imperialist and pro-socialist declarations. Only in a socially progressive country is it possible to have such a mass rally which clearly identifies the enemy as imperialism, capitalism, neo-colonialism, racism and fascism.

As is to be expected there has been and will continue to be fierce resistance from the local feudal and reactionary elements and world imperialism. There is a concerted conspiracy to create a political atmosphere of tension and insecurity in which a counter-revolutionary plot may be hatched. The reactionaries have organised campaigns leading to the destruction of crops, sabotaging industries, price rises, currency speculation and disruption of food supplies. Within the armed forces also there are elements who wish to stop the revolution in its tracks. Many of them have already been deprived of their posts or executed. Nevertheless, there remain certain sections in the armed forces who are opposed to socialism and would like to keep Ethiopia within the orbit of world capitalism. This is not peculiar to Ethiopia but is an objective factor which must be taken into account in any liberation movement. In Ethiopia as in other parts of the world there is an ongoing struggle between the progressive anti-imperialist trend and the conservative pro-capitalist trend. In such a situation it is the duty of communists and other progressive and

(continued on page 4)

democratic forces, notwithstanding political and ideological differences, to support the mainstream of anti-imperialist and socialist struggle.

The Ultra-Left

It is in this light that we should view the actions of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party. The EPRP characterises the present government as a fascist regime and compares it to Pinochet's Chile. Under the guise of demagogic ultra-left revolutionist slogans and phraseology the EPRP has systematically carried out terrorist and adventurist actions. These included the smashing of machinery, bank robberies, sabotage and the murder of political functionaries. In September and October, 1976, they attempted to assassinate Mengistu Mariam, the first vice-chairman of the Dergue, and destroyed a political studies centre and library in Addis Ababa which contained a large quantity of Marxist-Leninist literature.

The EPRP cannot be merely dismissed as a hired gang of thugs, as they do arise from a certain social class. It seems that the EPRP consists mainly of disgruntled intellectuals from the old upper classes and middle strata. Coming basically from a feudal bourgeois or petty-bourgeois background they are especially susceptible to petty-bourgeois revolutionism; adventurism and dogmatism in their interpretation of the revolutionary process. Some of them claim to be Marxists fighting for a proletarian revolution.

But Marxists should never be sectarian or dogmatic. Lenin and Dmitrov have in their writings demonstrated the great dangers of sectarianism. They point out that sectarianism a) ignores the essential and distinctive features of any given situation, b) ignores the real disposition of class forces and overestimates the actual level of the class consciousness of the masses, c) solves complex problems on the basis of stereotype schemes and d) treats the science of Marxism as a dogma rather than as a guide to action.

To be sure Ethiopia is not yet a socialist society but is in the transition stage in which it is attempting to move in the general direction of socialism. The transition stage represents an exceptionally complex and at time contradictory process. The struggle requires the greatest possible unity in action of all the anti-imperialist forces. Precisely because of the low economic, political and cultural development, the superstructure plays a crucial role in determining the direction in which a country moves. It is therefore possible that while a country in such a stage may at one time follow socially progressive policies, it can with changes in superstructure follow a different course. Egypt under Sadat offers a very good example of this. Nor should we ignore the fact that certain sections of the

armed forces may be corrupted and that the government may take hasty and ill-prepared social and economic decisions which can lead to social and economic deterioration. Socialism can never be built by wishful thinking but only by preparing the historically necessary socio-economic basis. To do this requires, in Ethiopia as in other parts of tropical Africa, the completion of the National Democratic Revolution.

The National Question

The Ethiopian government has also indicated its intention to resolve the national question and under the Programme the nationalities have for the first time been given the right to regional autonomy and to develop their native languages and culture. As the Programme points out "Given Ethiopia's existing situation, the problem of nationalities can be resolved if each nationality



President Mengistu Haile Mariam

Thus we are not arguing that Ethiopia has irreversibly taken the road to socialism and that severe setbacks, indeed social regression, cannot occur. But we are arguing that we should not confuse that main trend of development and elevate secondary contradictions to primary ones. The main trend of development in Ethiopia today is a progressive anti-imperialist one in which the remnants of feudalism are being smashed and capitalist development curtailed. Great changes have already taken place and it is therefore necessary to support and to strengthen the anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist content of the revolutionary process. This cannot be done by acts of terrorism and adventurism which objectively are of value only to the national reactionary and bourgeois elements and world imperialism. What is needed is to ensure by the greatest mobilisation of the toiling masses that the programme of the government is implemented in full.

US imperialism has over the past three years hatched a number of plots, mainly through the CIA, to strengthen the hands of the pro-imperialist forces. In Ethiopia a popular watchword is "beware of the CIA and we shall not have another Chile". From our own experience in Southern Africa, from Chile and through the recent revelations of former CIA agents and employees, we are fully aware that the CIA is ever ready to use any disgruntled elements from the right or the ultra-left to prevent a country and people from pursuing socially progressive policies.

will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs. Within its environs, it has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic and social life, use its own language and elect its own leaders and administrators to head its internal organs".

What is needed above all is for the progressive forces to ensure that this part of the programme is implemented in full. Any prevarication on this sensitive question will only exacerbate the present difficulties and conflicts which are grist to the mill for the forces of reaction, imperialism and neo-colonialism. Lenin vigorously and consistently pointed out that oppressed nationalities should be given the greatest consideration and that their justified feelings of national oppression under reactionary regimes should be fully recognised. The implementation of this policy on Leninist lines is vital to the solution of the problem in Eritrea.

In attempting to analyse whether radical changes have taken place in Ethiopia we should bear in mind that in all countries suffering from abject poverty and backwardness the socio-economic problems are immense and cannot be solved by a stroke of the pen. There is in Ethiopia grinding poverty. The streets of Addis Ababa have a large number of hungry looking beggars, mainly urchins; prostitution is still rife. It must be remembered that the industrial base is very small and agricultural production is still at a low level. Nor should we ignore the fact that US imperialism through its various nefar-

...agencies still exercises some influence amongst certain sections of the population including within the armed forces.

Like the other socialist-oriented states in Africa and Asia, Ethiopia faces tremendous problems in giving lift to their revolutionary programme, strategy and tactics, and in creating the necessary political, economic, social and cultural organisations which can allow for and encourage the greatest participation of the masses in every aspect of life and decision-making. Practice has shown that without this active participation it is not possible to carry out fundamental social transformations whatever the subjective wishes of the leaders.

In the transition stage a fierce class struggle takes place against imperialist exploitation, remnants of feudal production relations and predatory tendencies of local capitalists. This is first and foremost a struggle against those sections comprising the reactionary bourgeoisie, comprador bourgeoisie, feudalism and agents of imperialism. But there is also a duty to examine and analyse objectively and honestly the social base, programmes, strategy and tactics of the ultra-left. Where they are in conflict with the main trend of development the authorities must firmly but patiently show them the correct path and win over the most honest and dedicated elements within that group.

As Marxist-Leninists we are for an enduring unity of all the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-neo-colonialist forces. We should not allow our political and ideological differences to impair in any way the fundamental unity of Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary democrats for a new and better society free from the shackles of imperialist and capitalist domination.

Thus in taking a historico-dialectical view we can see how rapidly Ethiopia has developed over the past three years, the problems it has faced and those which it faces in the future.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN AFRICA

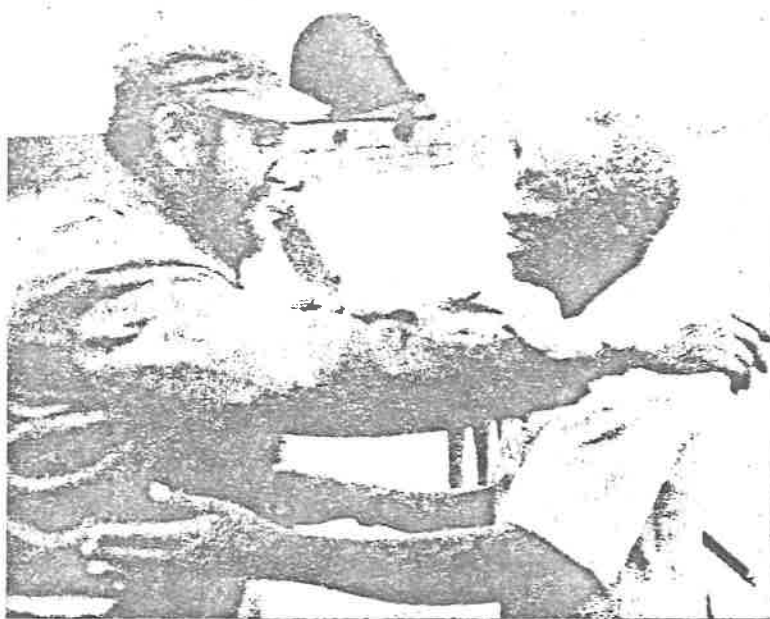
Listen to Jazz radio station WBEE, 15.70 on your AM dial when you are in Chicago. On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at 3:15 pm Harold Rogers, editor of the African Agenda gives his short political commentary on daily developments in Africa. Stay informed, listen to "Africa Report" on WBEE.

Castro's African Tour a Success

Castro's popularity among African peoples is no secret. The Cubans have demonstrated an important lesson to the third world. Castro successfully led the Cuban people through a revolution and since Cuba has survived as a free and independent nation ninety miles off the coast of the United States. For this reason alone the Cuban people have the respect of the world.

nority governments of southern Africa. He pointed out that Cuba was a poor country and unable to launch a massive foreign aid program but, that Cuba would continue to demonstrate concrete acts of solidarity with Africa wherever possible. While in Angola, Castro commented on the situation in Zaire:

"In Zaire certain political conflicts have sprung up. It seems that at present they



On arrival in Tanzania, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro was welcomed by President Julius Nyerere. They are shown at the IL-18 plane which brought the Cuban leader to Dar es Salaam.

In addition to the victories won on their island Castro has consistently spoken out in support of all peoples struggling for freedom and independence whether they are in Asia, Africa or Latin America. He has not been intimidated by CIA assassination plots, military invasions or blockades.

The Cuban people lent what technical assistance they could to the liberation movements fighting Portuguese colonialism. When U.S. imperialism in the disguise of South African troops and the puppet forces of UNITA and FNLA attempted to seize from the Angolan people their newly won independence the Cubans promptly and courageously responded to Neto's request for help.

The peoples of Africa understand that the Cuban troops came to Angola to show their solidarity with the Angolan people. Historical, racial and ideological ties closely bind the peoples of Cuba and Africa. When Castro visited the republics of Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola this past spring the people showed their understanding of an appreciation for him by giving an enthusiastic welcome.

Fidel restated the commitment of the Cuban people to ending the racist mi-

are certain forms of civil war in Zaire. The neo-colonialist and reactionary government of Zaire says that the Katangans are led by Cuban officers. That is a lying and hypocritical accusation. . . . We all remember how in early 1976 white mercenaries at the service of imperialism attacked Angola from the north. Those mercenaries met in the Zaire capital, crossed the Zaire frontier with that government's support and attacked Angola. . . . Any struggle by the people of Black Africa helps defeat imperialism, for the main enemy, from our point of view is imperialism, the South African racists, the racists that occupy Namibia, and the racists that oppress Zimbabwe and the South African people. That is the main enemy, the fundamental enemy. Therefore the policy of our Revolution can never be one of promoting conflicts among the peoples of Black Africa. Our country is not concerned with the internal problems of Zaire. We take this opportunity to declare categorically that there is not one Cuban soldier or officer with the Katangans, that our country has not furnished any weapons or training to the Katangans, that our government did not even have any notions about the developments that were to take place there."

A People's Democracy in Mozambique

In the past several years eleven or more African countries have opted for the socialist path of development. This type of development has meant that African states see that the quickest way to reach economic and social progress is through the socialist system as opposed to capitalism. The basic problem most of these African countries have is the process of completing the national democratic revolution of their development before they can reach a true socialist society. In this stage of laying the material bases for socialism, the state structure and the role of the political party plays a very important role in the national democratic revolution. Nationalization of land and private industries, the converting of the old capitalist industries that had served the imperialist into industries that serve the people is a difficult and important task.

The political party and the role it plays in mobilizing the people is key in the national democratic stage in building a socialist society. This is why some of the African countries have announced that their Party will be guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These parties have taken on the role of being a mass vanguard party, and act as the leading force in completing the national democratic phase of their revolution and the building of socialism. In Africa the following countries have formed Marxist-Leninist parties or are in the process of doing so: Tanzania, Benin, Somalia, Ethiopia, Algeria, Angola, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Libya, Congo, and Mozambique. In all these countries the process of completing the national democratic revolution is not the same and there are many contradictions. But the process has started because these and other countries know that socialism is the only answer in solving the problems of their societies.

Mozambique is the latest African country to proclaim its political party as a Marxist-Leninist Party. Printed below in an abridged form from their sixty page document are the main guide lines for the recreation of FRELIMO, the Marxist-Leninist party that will guide the country in this phase of the national democratic revolution. The full document states the aims of the government in all sectors of the society and how the party will be restructured. We are only printing a short portion of the document that was passed at the Third Congress of FRELIMO held in the capital city of Maputo, between Feb. 3-7 of this year.

INTRODUCTION

Fifteen years have passed since the foundation of FRELIMO. Fifteen years of struggle, sacrifice and blood.

Fifteen years in which the history of our organisation and our people have been so intimately linked that to speak of FRELIMO is to speak of the struggle of the Mozambican People.

With the foundation of FRELIMO on 25 June 1962, and its 1st Congress in September of the same year, the Mozambican People had, for the first time in their History, a vanguard organisation to struggle united against Portuguese colonialism and against imperialism. Thus began the final phase of the centuries-long resistance by our people against foreign domination.

Just two years were necessary for FRELIMO to create conditions for the beginning of the general armed insurrection, on 25 September 1964, thus making operative the unity achieved with the foundation of FRELIMO.

With the development of the armed national liberation struggle the popular content of our political line was deepened, our unity was reinforced and our objectives were clarified.

The enemy, incapable of containing the development of the armed people's struggle led by FRELIMO, began to beat a retreat. In the zones from which the colonialists were being expelled, our people began to forge new social relations, began to build the New Society. Thus the liberated areas arose, where the whole life of the masses was oriented by FRELIMO.

The 2nd FRELIMO Congress, held in July 1968, in a particularly complex phase of our struggle, traced decisive guidelines for the success of the armed struggle and for materialising the aims of the National Democratic Revolution.

The 2nd Congress created the conditions for the correct resolution of the antagonistic contradictions between the defenders of the interests of the board labouring masses, and those who merely sought to expel Portuguese colonialism in order to substitute it as an exploiting force.

The 2nd Congress constituted a powerful lever for the victorious advance of the broad masses who, under the leadership of FRELIMO, in the liberated areas began the process of the abolition of all forms of exploitation of man by man; thus transforming the armed struggle into Revolutionary people's war.

It was this transformation of the content of the struggle that enabled the revolutionary forces, increasingly rooting themselves in the popular masses to achieve an incontestable victory over Portuguese colonialism, putting an end to centuries of foreign political domination over our country.

The central objectives defined by the 1st and 2nd FRELIMO Congresses were completely achieved:

— Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the Mozambican People gained total and complete victory over Portuguese colonialism. Our Country won political independence, the structures of oppression and feudal structures were annihilated and democratic freedoms were extended throughout the whole Country. THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE, the first Democratic State, sovereign and independent, of our working People, was born—the result of the heroic struggle of the Mozambican People under the leadership of FRELIMO.

The 25th of June 1975, the day of the

proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, became the day of triumph of FRELIMO militants and all the Mozambican People.

The victory of our People in the National Liberation struggle, under the leadership of FRELIMO, is in the first place the result of the correctness and clarity of the political line, the existence of correct leadership, the collectivisation of the leadership and the democratisation of methods of work, the popularisation of FRELIMO's political line. This led to unity, a solid and workable unity because it was based on the common engagement in the defence of the People's interests. The courage and the determination of the fighters and all the People international solidarity, and close collaboration with anti-colonialist African countries, with our natural allies the socialist countries, and with the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist organisations, including those of the capitalist world, also contributed decisively.

The Mozambican Revolution is part of the World Revolutionary Movement. The victory of the Mozambican People constituted an important contribution for the total liberation of Africa and for the struggle of the People for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress, against colonialism, racism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

THE NEW SITUATION AND FRELIMO, OUR VANGUARD PARTY

With the formation of the People's Republic of Mozambique the essential objectives of the Democratic National Revolution were materialised: the conquest of political independence, thus putting an end to foreign domination over our country, the destruction of the feudal and colonial fascist structures of oppression, and the extension of democratic freedoms to the whole country.

All the conditions have been created—both internally and externally—for the passage to the next stage of the Mozambican Revolution—THE STAGE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION.

Internally, the working class and the peasantry, which today hold political power in our Country, are determined to break with the heritage of dependence and misery, are convinced that the true liberation of the masses has only just begun. They want to pursue the fight for the constant elevation of their standard of living, the fight for the growing satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs. The workers have long understood that this fight is inseparable from the fight against the system of exploitation of man by man, against capitalism, against imperialism.

(continued on page 7)

In the socialist countries, where the system of exploitation of man by man already has been destroyed, the working masses in power are building the New Society under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist Parties, and constitute the liberated zone of our planet, the great strategic rearguard of our fight. The progress of the socialist countries, both internally and externally, and their consequent policy of peace, today create obstacles to imperialism's developing activities based on force to block the realisation of the People's aspirations to progress and freedom.

The existence of the powerful world socialist system constituted the decisive objective external factor for the true advance and consequent triumph of our Revolution.

In Africa the last bulwarks of colonialism and racism are crumbling. In numerous African countries progressive forces are gaining ground and the ideas of socialism are being increasingly implanted among the broad masses, as an objective to be reached.

In the capitalist countries, the working class and the other labouring classes, led by their vanguard organisations are increasingly imposing their will and contributing to the weakening of the international capitalist system.

Throughout the world the correlation of forces is becoming more favourable to the forces of Progress, Peace and Democracy.

During the first year of our Independence, the process of laying the base for the construction of the Democratic and People's State was begun.

The working class, the leading class of our society, and its fundamental ally, the peasantry, united in an indestructible alliance, under the guidance of FRELIMO, and today constitute the political base of People's Democratic Power.

It was also during this period that the foundations of state property and cooperative property were laid, so that they became the economic base of the new Power.

The installation of the new democratic people's order led to a sharpening of the class struggle at the national level and provoked the intensification of imperialist aggression against our People's Republic. For this reason it becomes necessary to arm ideologically and organisationally the social classes engaged in the development of the revolutionary process so that these classes can crush the class enemy, thus leading the Revolution to its triumph.

The hard class battles demand that the working class, closely allied with the peasantry, its fundamental ally and with the progressive elements of the other labouring classes, organise itself in a VANGUARD PARTY, guided by the

scientific ideology of the proletariat—Marxism-Leninism.

This new Vanguard Party is FRELIMO. FRELIMO is the vanguard party of the worker-peasant alliance. Under the leadership of the working class, FRELIMO brings together, in a voluntary and militant alliance, based on scientific socialism, the workers, peasantry, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and other workers forged and tempered in the struggle against the exploitation of man by man, for the victory of the people's interests.

PARTY OBJECTIVES IN THE STAGE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

FRELIMO, our vanguard Party, has as its supreme objective the construction in Mozambique of a society completely free from the exploitation of man by man, where the material living conditions of the People are constantly improving and where their social needs are increasingly satisfied.

The path leading to such an objective includes various stages. The stage that in essence, was successfully concluded after the conquest of National Independence, is the stage of the National Democratic Revolution. Only after the construction of Peoples Democracy will it be possible for the Mozambican labouring classes led by their vanguard Party, to pass to the following stage, that of the Socialist Revolution.

In the stage of the construction of People's Democracy, the Party implements the following tasks:

A. In the Political and Ideological sphere

1. The priority task in the development of the People's Republic of Mozambique on the road to socialism is the creation of Party organisations in the factories, cooperatives, firms, in the military and para-military organs, in schools, the organs of the State Apparatus, in the communal villages and urban wards, and in all other places of work and residence.
2. The influence of the Party and its leading role in all spheres of society will be developed and reinforced.
3. The development of the new popular-democratic order in the People's Republic of Mozambique, demands the definition of the role of each of the classes of Mozambican society, as well as the mutual relations between the different classes.

In order to achieve its proposed objectives, FRELIMO, the Vanguard Party of the Mozambican People, is based essentially on the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and seeks to gain all social forces which, by their class position, are open to the ideas of the Socialist Revolution in Mozambique.

- a) The working class is the leading class of History. It alone is capable of embracing the whole process of trans-

formation of Nature and Society and of promoting and guiding this process. This demands the consequential development and the growing continuation of this class's political responsibilities, as well as its increasingly conscious and active engagement in tasks at the level of the whole society.

The Party exerts all its efforts for the ever-growing reinforcement of the political, economic and social role of the working class and of the tightening of its alliance, in the first place with the peasantry, and also with the revolutionary intellectuals, with the entire working masses and all other patriotic forces of Mozambican Society, namely the artisans and the small agricultural, commercial and industrial proprietors.

- b) The peasantry is the most numerous stratum of the population—THE PRINCIPAL FORCE—of our country. It constitutes, in alliance with the working class—THE LEADING FORCE—the political basis of People's Democratic Power.

The Mozambican peasantry has already presented great proof of its engagement in the revolutionary transformation of our society. During the National Liberation Struggle the peasantry constituted FRELIMO's principal force. In the present stage of our Revolution, a decisive contribution for the construction of the new society is made by the peasantry which through its work in the cooperatives, in the large agricultural farms and in individual farms, ensures supplies for the entire People and for industry.

Although the number of peasants engaged in collective work is constantly on the increase, the greater part of these persist in subsistence production. It is the task of the Party and the State to free these peasants from the narrowness of traditional production and encourage them to engage voluntarily in higher forms of production and collective life. It is also a Party and State task to stimulate and support them, giving priority to peasants who participate in collective production.

The small and medium agricultural proprietors receive support from the Party and State to the extent that they contribute properly to supplying the population. The Party supports the participation of these peasants in collective forms of production.

- c) Intellectuals from the most varied sectors of science technology and art are concentrated in towns of the People's Republic of Mozambique. Close collaboration with progressive intellectuals corresponds fully to Party objectives, aimed at the development of an intellectual sector free from the spirit of elitism and entirely dedicated to the service of the People.

8
Recommended Books

1. *Class, Race and Black Liberation*, by Henry Winston, International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. South N.Y.C. 10016. Price \$2.75. Winston's book is another excellent contribution in pointing out certain dangers in the Black Liberation Movement. The book is a further elaboration from his *Strategy for a Black Agenda* and should be required reading for everyone concerned about the nature of U.S. capitalism at home.

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A Special Book Offer Moses Kotane

Few books have been written that so clearly show the struggle of a people and of an individual as does the book by Brian Bunting, *Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary*. This political biography provides rare insight into the revolutionary life of one of the leaders of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress. It also offers a unique history of these two political parties. Bunting's book is not just a simple biography of the life history of Kotane, but gives a full picture of how the Communist Party and the African National Congress function and struggle against the most racist and fascist society of present day South Africa.

The eighteen chapters in the book carry the reader from the early years of Kotane's life through his relationship with the 1946 miner's strike, the war years, the building of the Communist Party and the African National Congress, his escape from South Africa to Tanzania in 1963 and the spending of his final years in the Soviet Union after suffering a stroke.

Kotane joined the Communist Party at the time when it was still groping for an indigenous application of the truths of Marxism-Leninism. Although mostly self-educated, within a short period of time he was on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa. The importance of Kotane's contribution was his ability to translate Marxism-Leninism into the language of the oppressed South Africans. His work with the African National Congress was especially important because of his fight against reactionary nationalism, chauvinism and opportunism. Black South Africans in the 1930's and 1940's were caught up in the tendencies that grow out of undisciplined and unscientific ideas. Kotane understood how deep the scars of racism were in South Africa and his life is an example of his understanding as a Marxist and his struggle against racism.

Brian Bunting does an excellent study on the man he knew as a friend and comrade in the struggle. His book is a



must for all who are interested in one of the most important Communist Parties on the African continent. The *African Agenda* is proud to offer you this book at cost for \$8.00. If you accept our offer you will receive a free years subscription to the new Soviet publication, *Asia and African Today*, plus a years subscription to the *African Agenda*. The Soviet publication is design to keep people informed on developments in Africa and Asia. The timely articles of this bi-monthly publication cover such subjects as: book reviews; travel commentaries; problems of development; the liberation movements; major speeches by world leaders; reports on major conferences; and other articles of noteworthy importance. The publication will keep you informed and provide you with the information that you need to understand what is happening in Africa and Asia.

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