

3

Present problems of national revolution in Africa and Asia

Report of the UNFP delegation to the III Conference of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples in Moshi, Tanganyika, February 4-11, 1963.

During this brief speech I propose to make some commentaries on the immediate and long-range tasks facing our Organization of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples.

After having made a balance of our past activities —individually, as members, and collectively, in the different organizations related to our movement; after having analyzed the political situation in which our activities take place, the role of our Conference consists in tracing the lines of these activities and defining precise objectives derived from analysis.

Our role cannot be limited to a reaffirmation of the general principles which figure at the head of our constitution and which definitively affirm the common determination of our peoples to wage anti-imperialist struggle until the disappearance of all forms of foreign domination and the building in our country of a just, prosperous and superior society.

a. A DANGEROUS REGRESSION

After proclaiming these principles, the decided action of our masses has opened their eyes to reality because of the brilliant victories won against the colonial system and because many sister countries have obtained a national existence and participation in international life.

Nevertheless, our revolutionary optimism and complete confidence in the final results of the anti-imperialist struggle should not prevent us from noticing and clearly analyzing a dangerous regression of the revolutionary movement in certain fronts. If unchecked, this regression will threaten to delay the annihilation of the colonial system, will strengthen neocolonialism in all its forms and obstruct the progress of our genuine liberation struggle as well as the economic and social development of our peoples.

It is of no use to lament the tragic death of our comrade Lumumba or the disintegration of his Party, nor is it enough to denounce the corruption of this or that political or trade union leader, this king or that minister who after having participated in the national struggle have betrayed the ideals they once represented in order to serve as instruments of imperialist maneuvers or who have sacrificed the vital interests of their peoples in favor of momentary advantages, real or imagined.

The basic thing is to uncover and stop this phenomenon of regression which is manifested in transient failures or problems.

Experience can perhaps help us find the cause of this regression in the gulf that exists between the revolutionary aspirations and potentialities of our popular masses, on one hand, and the subjective conditions of action offered them by the present organizations with their slogans and programs, often incapable of raising the masses to the level of their historic tasks.

The role of an organization like ours, which already constitutes a factor of mobilization, formation of consciousness and acceleration of the national liberation movement, is precisely that of allowing a confrontation capable of defining the most effective way to reduce the dangers of this regression or to prevent the abortion of our revolution.

b. WE SHOULD DEFINE OUR STRATEGY AND TACTICS

We must leave behind us the period of spontaneity and improvisation which has characterized the majority of national liberation movements.

The problems being posed at present and those that will arise in the future are growing more complex and cannot be solved except by serious and profound study. These problems are present in different spheres, as related to:

- the direction of the national liberation struggle against traditional colonial systems;
- the changing of methods to use against neocolonialism;
- the organization of the struggle for economic development and social revolution in the newly independent states.

In each one of these spheres we must put forth an authentically revolutionary strategy and tactics which will steer us clear of past errors and destroy the maneuvers of imperialism and its internal allies, in short, a strategy and tactics which will allow us to overcome the difficulties and contradictions generated by independence.

We cannot do this if our work is not based on precise and concrete information, a scientific analysis which will not lead us to over or underestimate our enemy's strength.

At present the enemy is changing his tactics. It has become more difficult to discover and isolate the enemy especially since behind local or international disguises, he is re-establishing or strengthening himself in the countries of Asia and Africa that have attained independence. The enemy frequently benefits from the problems that necessarily arise from the transformation of colonial and semifeudal economic, administrative and social structures.

The definition of this strategy and tactics constitutes one of the basic tasks of our Conference, as well as of the regular or extraordinary sessions of our Executive Committee. This plan of action will define the sphere of activities of our permanent Secretariat and guide the struggle of our national organizations.

Therefore, our militants and cadres will be better armed ideologically to confront the enemy and his allies, even

in the most subtle forms of his activities. Our militants can thus establish a clear and precise dividing line between the partisans of independence and national sovereignty and progress for the people, and the partisans of domination, exploitation and regression. They will be able to stop mystifications, to delineate the slogans of effective action for liberation and national development, and to deflate the false ideologies of neoliberalism, pseudosocialism and other artificially created "ism's" that abound and multiply in the present confused situation.

c. FALSE INDEPENDENCE
AND THE "LATIN AMERICA" OF EUROPE

Speaking of these matters, we have observed with particular satisfaction the sincere and frank language of the political report pointing out that "the independence attained by certain countries is merely a nominal one."

This is the basic characteristic of neocolonialism, whose deep meaning and mechanisms we should analyze to better counteract its maneuvers.

The understanding of neocolonial reality, the study of the methods neocolonialism uses, the discovery of the elements that support it in our countries, require constant investigation and labor.

The III Conference of the African Peoples, held in Cairo on March 31, 1961, has the distinction of having proceeded to make such a study and present its conclusions in an already celebrated resolution.

However, because of the actual situation, created by the European Common Market, and because of the role that some recently independent African states have been called upon to play in it, it is important to expose the economic bases of the neocolonial phenomenon, the originator of fictitious independence.

The truth is that independence "granted" by the colonizers is no novelty in colonial history (Egypt in 1922, Iraq in 1932). However, this phenomenon which was infrequent between the two world wars has today been converted into a clear, systematically-applied policy.

This new line of the traditional colonial system is no more than the expression of a profound change in western

capitalist structures. It is not by chance that "liberalism" has appeared in the colonial policies of the European countries and that this liberalism increases as European capitalism becomes more modernized and "Americanized."

Since the end of World War II, Western Europe has been discarding (because of the Marshall Plan and an increasing interpenetration with the US economy) 19th century structures in order to adapt itself to US capitalism. It was then inevitable that it should similarly adopt US modes of relations with the New World, in other words, that it create its own "Latin America."

This is the real meaning behind General de Gaulle's policy in regard to France's former African possessions which are today grouped in the UAM.

In brief, this policy has consisted in "generously" granting political independence, creating fictitious states if necessary, proposing a cooperation whose aim is a so-called prosperity but one whose objective causes are located outside of Africa.

Is this a new phenomenon? Is this not essentially a definition of imperialism?

What is new in regard to Africa's relations with the European colonial powers is the trend shown toward direct domination and exploitation and colonization by settlement.

For this reason we should judge the proposals of the European powers differently from those of the political leaders of the newly created states.

The time when independence was something progressive has passed. Today only the political and economic content of that independence has progressive meaning.

What is being posed now is the problem of the nature of power in these new states: to determine if those in power represent the national will or if they represent colonial interests.

d. THE PROBLEM OF POWER

Undoubtedly, the colonizer wants the transformation of the political power which he holds to take place in a hereditary fashion (person or group of interests) capable of guaranteeing the controlled direction of the affairs of state and especially the continuity of economic power to the benefit of the metropolis.

However, the problem, is not always solved according to the wants of the colonizer, especially when the popular will of the country in question is expressed through a national liberation movement, which proposes different solutions derived from present experience.

We know the extreme cases of the Popular Republic of China, Viet Nam and Cuba, for example, where the struggle begun at the national liberation level, developed into an economic and social revolution thanks to the taking of power by the popular army after the total victory over colonial or reactionary forces.

On the opposite pole, we find strictly neocolonial solutions.

Between these two extremes, the problem of power finds intermediate solutions, that is, negotiations which end in compromises that depend on the relation of forces existing between both contenders. However, experience shows that the same road that leads to independence can also lead to different solutions to the problem of power.

In the case of Algeria, for example, the compromise made at Evian was a revolutionary one, that is, it permitted certain benefits, namely, the recognition of Algerian independence, and did not close off any prospects for the revolution, since the instrument of this revolution was preserved—the armed forces of the NLF, the vanguard of the combative Algerian people. Nevertheless, for months we have seen how neocolonial maneuvers have developed with one object in mind: to falsify the solution of the problem of power from the beginning and make the Evian compromise damaging to the basic interests of Algeria's popular revolution.

In Guinea, even when the operation was realized without bloodshed, it was no less true that power was recovered for the people thanks to the action and vigilance of Guinea's Democratic Party.

In Morocco, the power in the hands of the French, Spanish and international protectorates has been transferred—under pressure from the liberation movement—not to the king alone (even though he theoretically is the sovereign) but to a coalition of popular forces. More than six years went by before the heirs that had the approval of the colonial powers managed to seize power and install themselves, in December 1962, by means of a prefabricated cons-

titution, without stopping at any method, from corruption and fraud to violence and repression.

The pseudoconstitutional method has been used by neocolonialism to consolidate the fascist regime of South Korea. In Kenya also it has made stubborn attempts to impose a prefabricated coalition to pave the way for subsequent transfer of power to the so-called sole heir to British authority.

What conclusions should we draw from all this?

That the basic question in our liberation movement is that of political power: we must be alert so that independence be immediately turned into an effective and complete transfer of power to the authentic representatives of national revolution in the countries in questions, even if this should lead to a renewal of the armed struggle.

The first duty of a national revolution is to seize the machinery of the colonial state and put it at the service of the people.

The prerequisite to prevent independence from becoming a neocolonial status is naturally the existence of a popular organization whose leadership is absolutely convinced that independence without political and economic power is an illusion. Once power is taken, this organization and leadership should be alert against the dangers of corruption, the maneuvers of imperialism and its domestic allies and should be ready to reply to the aggressor, when and wherever it may be necessary, and whoever the aggressor may be.

e. WE MUST NOT BECOME DUPES FOR OTHER PEOPLE

Now then, what should be the attitude of the Solidarity Movement of the Afro-Asian Peoples before this great diversity of situations created by the different solutions given to the problem of power?

This question is a delicate one because it could lead to intromission in the internal affairs of the new independent states, something which we will never permit, since the people in every country have the exclusive right to choose their own government.

Nevertheless, as President Julius K. Nyerere said in his speech opening our Conference, we should not "become

dupes for other people." The question that was brought up in his speech is still valid: "Who is going to control Africa?"

This question is no more than the corollary of the solution given to the problem of power in each state.

On the answer given to this question will depend the maintenance or disappearance in each country of colonial and feudal structures and military bases, whether the choice of a route to economic and social development will benefit a caste or benefit the people, and in general, the orientation of domestic and foreign policies.

On the answer given to this question will depend—as far as the African continent is concerned—the meaning to be given to African unity, on the level of states whose leaders will be meeting in Addis Ababa within a few months.

Without any complexes about neocolonialism, we can affirm—without danger of being contradicted—that neocolonialism will spare no effort to turn any solution to its own favor and against the vital interests and rights of our peoples, since we know that the final word will always belong to the people.

f. VIGILANCE AND SOLIDARITY

Nevertheless, what has already been achieved, even if it is only a conceded independence, always constitutes the point of departure to obtain new advances on the road to total liberation and progress.

Our duty is to speak openly and frankly to our masses in order to keep them from the disappointments resulting from a false sense of tranquility. It is important to promote and develop in the people the need for vigilance to maintain them always alert against the maneuvers of imperialism, without closing their eyes to our own weaknesses and errors.

In each of our countries, we must, as a movement of solidarity with the Afro-Asian peoples, give particular attention to the daily struggles being carried on there; we must contribute to even partial improvements in the living standards of the working masses; we must educate and organize the people, raise their consciousness and accumu-

late in them a revolutionary potential in order to take power when the moment arrives. We must not let our solidarity decline, but aid the people to confront any foreign or counterrevolutionary intervention.

On the inter-African, inter-Asian, and Afro-Asian levels, we must similarly hold as positive all attempts at *rapprochement*, regrouping or unity, provided that these are authentic national expressions, even when there are momentary divergences or contradictions of interests. The principles on which these attempts are based should continue to be those of complete equal rights, mutual cooperation and the independence of each participant.

The success of these undertakings on the national and international levels resides in the feeling of fraternity and innate solidarity of all peoples and in their increasingly deeper awareness of our common destiny.

It is in the common struggle of our popular organizations against all forms of colonial, capitalist and feudal exploitation and through our successes in this struggle that we will develop this common awareness and the international relations of a new type, at the service of man, will be established.

The historic role of our Conference will be that of having drawn up this line of action and of having given the African and Asian peoples the light which will illuminate their struggle for national liberation, democracy, progress and world peace.