

This We Believe

MEMBERS of the Central Committee of the Socialist Working Peoples' Party of Nigeria (SWPP) met recently to deliberate on the decision of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) not to register the Party. They also examined the intentions of the National University Commission in emasculating the civic rights of students and members of the academic community in this country.

The Party Central Committee which was well attended by representatives of socialist groups in the universities and by progressive working class leaders made the following policy observations:

(a) The S.W.P.P. totally rejects FEDECO's conditions for passing the Party registration test. Clearly, the conditions were very much loaded in favour of millionaire-parties—for the party of capitalists and their multi-national financiers.

According to FEDECO's rules of the game, for a political association to qualify to be a political party, it must have established well-furnished and fully staffed working offices in at least 13 states of the federation. (We all know what rents and salaries are like today in Nigeria).

In addition it must have set up mini branches (also staffed) in every local government area of each of the states. And all this was to have been accomplished within the short period of three months from September 21, 1978 when the ban on politics was lifted to December 18, 1978, the FEDECO deadline.

S W P P Declares Stand

The S.W.P.P. is convinced that the working people of this country can never attain true democracy through this money-powered parliamentary struggle in an essentially corrupt capitalist setting such as ours today.

(b) Some representatives of the FEDECO have threatened hell fire if unregistered parties did not consider themselves as illegal organisations and wind up their activities. The S.W.P.P. observes that the FEDECO men are themselves a bunch of confusionists and that their attitude to unregistered parties is a rather subjective one. Understandably, the FEDECO would want to wish all unregistered parties out of the election arena for its own operational convenience. Chairman Chief Ani speaking on this matter earlier explained that the unregistered parties had no legal rights to put themselves up as parties for the 1979 contest. He enumerated the do's and don't's for the unregistered parties.

He did not arrogate to FEDECO the almighty power to sentence political associations to eternal death.

The S.W.P.P. Central Committee has agreed to observe and to respect the do's and don't's of the FEDECO as regards the 1979 elections and to ensure that it does not in

any way embarrass the Commission with its presence at the election arena. But the S.W.P.P. refuses to commit political suicide just to please some wisecracks in FEDECO or to go into a self-inflicted coma hoping faithfully that the FEDECO will again wake it up three months to another election to start off another marathon race for registration preparations. The S.W.P.P. is not a millionaire association with money to perform organisational miracles in less than three months.

Besides, the business of registering and de-registering parties is a continual exercise, we are told. That being so, the business of organising associations into parties for future registration must also be a continual one.

For financially poorer parties, such as ours, the process cannot but be slow. For all socialist parties the world over, the process of mobilisation entails continuous organisational and ideological work among the people. Only bourgeois parties mobilise the people politically the way FEDECO demands—a three-month miracle.

The S.W.P.P. will therefore keep clear of the 1979 elections and will do nothing to contravene the FEDECO regulations. It will not campaign for votes or conduct itself as a political party seeking election in 1979. But it will continue to organise itself for future registration. It will continue its role as a Forum for propagating socialism and as a rallying point of the socialist working peoples' movements in this country.

(c) The S.W.P.P. Central Committee condemned the National Universities Commission directives to university academic staff to stay off partisan politics, as parochial and inoperative. It was noted that the directive was contrary to the constitutions of 1960, 1963 and the 1979 constitution which would come into force in October. The S.W.P.P. also rejected the arguments that academic staff of universities should be subjected to the rules and norms applicable to public servants.

It agreed that the NUC decision would emasculate the civic rights of university students and members of the academic community on the campuses.

Members of the Socialist Working Peoples' Party noted that the directive was another of the numerous schemes designed to erode the rights of the people of Nigeria as in the case of barring some known leaders of trade unions from pursuing their legitimate profession and the trade unions themselves from active involvement in politics.



Delegates at the First Congress of the Early Representatives came from all the 18 states of the federation





Comrade Wahab Goodluck
C. C. Deputy Chairman of the SWPP
addressing the Congress

Anozie said that the S.W.P.P. was not a bourgeois political party and could therefore not be expected to throw money about. Rather members of the party should feel like combat soldiers going to the war front. He stressed that the Party must be ready to fight for the overthrow of capitalism. He warned that the same bourgeois politicians who led the country to penury, ethnicity, and war were warning themselves into the people and predicted that if given power they would lead the country to fiasco again.

Comrade Anozie said capitalism could not solve Nigeria's problems. All it could do, he said, would be to strengthen imperialism. He stressed that capitalism stands for the exploitation, oppression and ruin of the people while socialism is for the emancipation of the people.

Comrade Anozie called on the working people to rally round their party—the Socialist Working Peoples' Party.

The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Dapo Fatogun called on all members of the Party to selflessly work for the organisation of the Party at grass-roots level. He said that the S.W.P.P. was a workers' party fighting the millionaire parties. But he pointed out the party was not interested in the 1979 rat-race. The Socialist Working Peoples' Party was essentially a party of the exploited masses.

The Congress was attended by delegates from all states of the federation. The delegates pledged to work hard to establish branches in each state capitals as well as in the local government areas headquarters. This was in keeping with the policy of the Party to involve the working people both in urban centres

and rural areas, and also meet FEDECO's decision to register only parties with offices in at least two-thirds of the 19 states in the federation.

Launching In State Capitals

The first two weeks of December 1978 were busy ones for Party members both at the state and national levels. Within 12 days 13 state Conventions were held to elect state officers of the party and also endorse the party's programme of work. Plans were afoot to open branch offices in the remaining states before December was out.

Speaking at the Lagos State convention, Comrade Wahab Goodluck, Deputy Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, said that in 1964 during the giant general strike conditions existed whereby workers could have taken over power but because of inexperience that opportunity slipped by. He urged all the exploited to stand firm now in the struggle against their class enemies.

He said that the bourgeois parties have nothing new to offer except economic slavery which the working people were always the victims.

At Jos, the Plateau State branch Chairman, Comrade Chwignum de Mwanasat told members of the party during the state convention of S.W.P.P. that socialism alone could save Nigeria. He pointed out that the growing contradictions of capitalist development and reformism are responsible for the growing inequalities in the society.

Also in Enugu, the State Convention was held on December 13. Addressing the convention, the Chairman of the C.C. Comrade C. Anozie analysed bourgeois manipulation in Nigeria and the types of governments they formed between 1960 and 1966. He said the monopoly-



A delegate from Plateau State,
Comrade Daniel Umoru



Comrade Assim Ita, a delegate from
Cross River State speaking at the
Congress

capitalist class define politics as a "dirty game" because they used politics to steal public funds, award themselves contracts and by deceit exploited the wealth of the country in alliance with imperialists by way of multi-national corporations—the invisible governments.

He stressed that the way out of capitalist economic morass was to adopt scientific socialism as Nigeria's ideology. Comrade Anozie dispelled the capitalist rumour that socialism is an ideology of poverty when he declared: "scientific socialism does not preach poverty, rather it stands for material and cultural enrichment of the people".

Also speaking at the convention, Comrade Ikenna Nzimiro, Chairman S.W.P.P. Research Commission, said that the bourgeois political parties are nothing other than trading companies led by same people who pushed Nigeria into the agony of the civil war.

Comrade Nzimiro said that the demise of the first republic was the handiwork of capitalists. The working people, he said, have been pushed to the wall and nothing else was left but for them to fight for their emancipation by rallying round the Socialist Working Peoples' Party.

In various press statements earlier the General Secretary of S.W.P.P., Comrade Dapo Fatogun, had pointed out that the pre-conditions for registration of political parties were designs by the FEDECO to whittle out less affluent political parties which would mean that only the millionaire parties would be registered.

He said the FEDECO should guard against the suspicion of millionaire class

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'Workers Are Suffering'

Says Bernard Obuah

The Second plenary meeting of the National Executive Council of the Civil Service Technical Workers' Union of Nigeria was held in Lagos on January 24 and 25, 1979.

The meeting was addressed by trade union leaders including the Deputy General Secretary of Nigeria Labour Congress, Comrade Bernard Obuah

Published below is excerpt of his address.

MEMBERS of the National Executive Council,

feel very much honoured to attend and address your National Executive Council Meeting.

Congress has been following closely your union's Organisational activities since the introduction of industrial unionism in our country, and it can be said that you appear to have excelled many other unions. Your union was one of the few to hold first National Executive Council Meeting. It was the first to advertise posts for paid officials and the first to appoint those officials. You have already successfully held seminar at Enugu and I cannot fail to mention that your union is one of the few which have successfully launched their state organs. Congress wishes you more successes.

Comrades, the Civil Service Technical Workers' Union of Nigeria, the Nigeria Civil Service Union and the Nigeria Union of Civil Service Typists/Stenographers and Allied Staff are the unions catering for the Civil Servants covered by the Public Service Negotiating Councils II and III. To be able to catch up with the challenges of the modern unionism in the country there seems to be a great need for a review of the constitutions of the Negotiating Councils.

Compatriots, up till today the perennial problems of bureaucracy and red-tapism in the Civil Service— (a situation which was inherited from the colonial system)— are still there. A good number of Civil Servants who have retired from Service after having attained the age of 55 years are unable to receive their gratuity and other entitlements until after nine months or a year as a case may be, from the date of retirement. There are some civil servants in some Ministries, who have put in upwards of twenty years service and are still daily-paid, non-pensionable and hence no leave allowance.

There are civil servants entitled to leave allowance, who would never receive this allowance until about nine months after they had spent the leave and resumed duty. The essence of this leave allowance is to enable the leave earner pay his transport to any part of the country where he/she wishes to spend the leave. Receiving the allowance after the leave period makes nonsense of the value attached to it.

What is more? Many Civil Servants gain promotion to higher grades. There is no need mentioning how long they served before gaining the promotion. To the greatest embarrassment of the promoted, the variation section, of the Accounts department would not release the new rates attached to the up-grading until after about 12 months or even more.

These and other related facts are not new to your union in as much as its has been waging war against those frustrating ills and demoralising conditions under which those employees work. To keep silent over these problems is to be complacent. Therefore, a clarion call is hereby made for an urgent overhaul of the system.

Comrade President and the National Executive Council members, the ban on



Comrade Bernard Obuah,
NLC Deputy General Secretary

wage-freeze is long overdue for lifting since its has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the inflationary trend in the country is not the product of increase in wages and salaries.

Since wage freeze was imposed, cost of living has been soaring higher and higher, landlords have doubled rents on their houses and as a result, low income wage-earners have been driven to the slums. With the recent increases in the prices of petroleum products transport fares have risen to more than 100%; the non-monetary benefit scheme promised the Nigerian workers by the Federal Military Government is yet to come and the inflation is biting harder. How then can there be wage freeze under such living conditions? This wage freeze was never welcomed by the working people of this country, and if it was welcomed at all by any section of the community, it has certainly over-stayed its welcome.

TRADE UNIONS**PROFILE****IROAHAM AMAECHI**

The Nigerian Workers are being economically choked to death.

Although there has been ban on wage increases, there is a mountain of negotiated agreements on non-wage benefits (mutually signed by some employers and employees) which are lying for many months unapproved in the Federal Ministry of Labour. What is worthy of note here is that the affected companies are willing to pay but their hands are tied by the wage-freeze policy.

This is why workers through their factory meetings and conferences have called for lift of ban on increase in wages.

It is high time the Federal Military Government reconsidered its stand on the policy of wage-freeze as the cost of living has risen to a point where its consequences can no longer be borne by the workers.

The Congress on its part has taken up the issue with the Government and with the conviction that we have a responsive Military Government we have no doubt that the position will soon change.

Comrades, the Nigeria Labour Congress is mustering every effort to maintain and sustain strong, fraternal relationship with all its affiliates. A good number of inter and intra-union disputes characterised by poaching of unions, jurisdictional claims and counter claims and internal organisational problems have been successfully settled. Congress has also on many occasions waded into industrial actions of some unions and has in each case effected peaceful settlement.

The Congress is of the strong view that in the private sector of our economy, there is a need for all employers of establishments engaged in the same field

IROAHAM EGEMBA AMAECHI was born in 1932 in Umuze-Afugidi, Umuahia, Imo State.

He attended Methodist Central School, in his home town, Afugidi from 1937 to 1944 where he took the first position in his final class and later attended Okirika Grammar School, Okirika near Port Harcourt in Rivers State between 1946 and 1950. Amaechi passed the Cambridge School Certificate with distinction. He also attended the Nigerian College of Technology, Enugu from 1955 to 1957.

In 1960 he was a foundation student of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and did his post-graduate studies at the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, Netherlands from 1972 to 1973 and also attended the same Institution from 1976-1977.

Amaechi holds a bachelor of science degree in economics from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. He also holds a Post-Graduate Diploma in Statistics and National Accounting and also a Masters in economics. He obtained both the masters and Post-Graduate Diploma from the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, Netherlands.

of economic activity to form employers associations for the purpose of establishing Joint Industrial Councils within their trade group. This will help to a large extent to minimise conflicts between constituent bodies of industrial unions and their individual managements.

The industrial unions should in turn organise in such a way that they will contribute morally and financially to make the programmes of Congress workable and to encourage and strengthen Congress in its commitment to the cause of Nigerian Working class.

Comrades, this meeting, I guess, will evaluate what your union has done since your last plenary National Executive Council Meeting and if the evaluation shows an encouraging result, you might tackle how to improve on your errors of omission and commission and then take another stride for the implementation of the decisions you will arrive at during this meeting.



NLC ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY i/c RESEARCH AND ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT

Amaechi did not just pass from school to school between 1944 to 1976. He worked at different places at different times. From 1951 to 1955 he served the Nigerian Railway Corporation. In 1958, he was employed by the Federal Ministry of Labour as an Assistant Labour Inspector. On graduation from the UNN, he was employed as a statistician in the National Manpower Board from 1965 to 1967.

Trapped in the rebel enclave during the civil war in 1968, Amaechi was deployed in the Directorate for Manpower Utilization. After the civil war he was re-absorbed into the public service of the former Eas. Central State as a Statistician. He later transferred to Imo State.

When Amaechi was an employee of the Nigeria Railway Corporation he was elected the general secretary of the then Railway Staff Union for the Northern District. He also represented the union in the third Whitley Council.

He has a number of publications to his credit which include the Role of Statistics in Manpower Planning in Nigeria and the Application of Statistics to Human Resources Development in Nigeria.

Amaechi joined the Nigeria Labour Congress in August, 1978.



Comrade John Akerele, Assistant General Secretary, Civil Service Technical Workers' Union

THE PROBLEMS OF PLANNING IN NIGERIA

PREPARATIONS are now well under way for Nigeria's Fourth National Development Plan, 1980 - 1985. The plan, a voluminous book, will be launched amidst a fanfare of praises for that army of civil servants who made it. There is however, by no means general agreement on the usefulness and importance of National Development Plans. At one extreme, there are those critics who see it as a state and wasteful bureaucratic exercise benefiting only the bureaucrats themselves. At the other extreme, it is regarded as an indispensable tool to lead Nigeria rapidly forward to join the ranks of the industrialised nations.

In this article, I take a look, first, at some of the weaknesses of Nigerian development planning; then at the political and economic environment surrounding Nigeria's development plans, and at some of the contradictions which have arisen as a result of that environment; and finally I suggest a new approach to planning which enables the aspirations on paper to be translated into reality.

What is planning? A tentative definition, by Griffin and Enos, talks of "the construction and authorisation of economic, social and political programmes. Construction is (a) determining the goals of the programmes (b) enumerating and forecasting the resources available for their attainment (c) consideration of alternative policies (d) checking for consistency (e) making periodic reviews to allow for unexpected events". To this I would add three prerequisites for effective planning:

- Reaching the goals that are stated in the plan.
- Forecasting reliably how much money will be available during the 5-year plan period.
- Ensuring that the stated goals and means of reaching them are known to and understood by the common man.

Reaching the goal

Since we are now nearing the end of the Third National Plan Period, we should see whether Nigeria has been able to

By



P. Heinecke
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reach the main goals contained in the Plan. These are the establishment of Nigeria as a strong and self-reliant nation and a just and egalitarian society; increase in per capita income, more even distribution of income, reduction in the unemployment, diversification of the economy, balanced development, and indigenisation of economic activity.

It is my view that not one of these goals has yet been reached. Between 1965 and 1975 the value of Nigeria's food imports (mainly milk, sugar and cereals) rose by 64 per cent while the output of Nigerian farms was stagnant or even declined. And since 1975, this situation has remained the same. That is not self-reliance. The "haves" in their cars and big houses contrast in their cars and big houses contrast with the even more sharply nowadays with the "have-nots" who can hardly find one square meal a day. A Permanent Secretary on Level 17 earns (with all his fringe benefits) in one month twice what a cleaner on Level 01 earns in one year. That is not a just and egalitarian society. No one knows what the population of Nigeria is. Therefore no one knows what Nigeria's per capita income is.

In any case, even if the population was known, per capita income could be extremely high whilst 95 per cent of the people live in abject poverty (as in the case of the Republic of Gabon). The difference in wealth between urban and rural areas has become more glaring.

That is not a more even distribution of income.

The increase in schools, colleges and universities is producing a flood of frustrated job-seekers with the wrong qualifications and skills who are unable to get jobs.

That is not reduction in unemployment.

In order to finance virtually all its major projects, Nigeria depends on the export of one single raw material which is purchased mainly by one single multinational cartel, at a give-away price.

That is a one-line economy not diversification of the economy.

More than 75 per cent of all large-scale industries are in either Lagos or Kano.

That is not balanced development.

Virtually all large private enterprises are branches of multinational corporations whose head offices are in Europe or America where these enterprises' major decisions and policies are made.

That is not indigenisation of economic activity.

Since therefore, not one of the major goals of the Third National Plan is being reached, one of the three prerequisites for effective planning is missing

Forecasting reliably

Availability of finance depends on several factors entirely beyond Nigeria's control and expectation, that is, the fluctuating value of the dollar, the state of the Euroamerican economy generally and the availability of alternative energy sources to feed the Euroamerican economy. This means that from year to year it has become almost impossible, except by guess-work, to predict, even to the nearest N100 million, what will be available for plan implementation.

Thus the second major ingredient of effective planning is also lacking.

"Virtually all large private enterprises are branches of multinational corporations whose head offices are in Europe or America where these enterprises' major decisions and policies are made.
That is not indigenisation of economic activity"

The Third National Development Plan, when it was published, was an extremely scarce document. Five months elapsed between the time I personally sent my order to the Federal Government Printer in Lagos and the time I received my copy. A document purporting to show how 80 million people's lives can be transformed for the better simply was not available for those very people to see or criticise. Indeed, it was rumoured that a very large number of copies were carried off to Western Europe by a Nigerian trade delegation, since the plan was more relevant to the needs of European businessmen than to the needs of the Nigerian masses.

Moreover, the language used in the key section "Objectives and Priorities" is not intelligible to a primary school leaver, let alone a cattle herdsman on the Mambilla Plateau. "It is fully recognised that these are not operational magnitudes against which the success of a Plan can be unambiguously measured. They do however provide a broad view of the ultimate aspirations of the society... The specific short-term objectives aimed at facilitating the ultimate realisation..." believe that this unnecessarily stilted bureaucratic or officialese English is used deliberately to mystify, and to deter the ordinary man from approaching that awesome document.

Thus we now see that the 3rd prerequisite for effective planning has also failed to be satisfied.

Causes of Plan Failures

Having shown the ineffectiveness of what is called development planning, I now want to look at the causes. How is it possible for a national plan to contain all those grand phrases without implementing them?

The reason is to be found in the political economy of Nigeria which is commercial capitalism. It is like one vast trading post. By selling one raw material, crude petroleum, Nigeria is able to buy manufactured goods, mostly from Western Europe. Planning is based on purchasing not on producing.

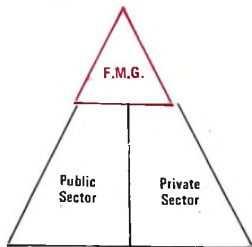
The Development Plan is like a shopping list which I carry with me when I go to the market with 3 Naira in my pocket. Let us assume that I want to cook a soup. I list what I want to buy: Meat N1, Tomatoes 50K, Salt 10K, Maggi, 10K - Vegetable 20K, Oil 50K, Peppers 20K; Onions 40K. When I reach the market, I discover that I have lost N2. With only N1 left I am quite unable to make the soup. I must scrap my plan. So it is with Nigerian Development

planning if oil revenues unexpectedly fall.

The State, in its capacity as the major buyer of imported manufactured goods, goes to the market at the centre of the World Capitalist System, with its shopping list plan in its hand. It is the multinational corporations based in the centre of the System which de facto control the Nigerian economy. They buy the petroleum: — he who pays the musician dictates the tune. Since it is really impossible to plan what we do not own or control, we can conclude that the Nigerian government does not really plan at all.

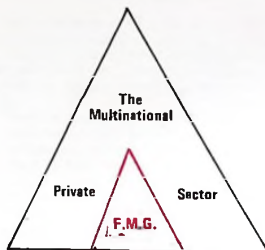
This is where the contradiction lies.

The Federal Government says it is progressively taking over control of the commanding heights of the mixed (public and private) economy. The national economy could be shown as a triangle in which the Federal Government occupies a commanding position at the top whilst the public and private sectors coexist side by side under Federal government control:



The Planners' View of the National Economy

However, in my view, this is not at all the true state of affairs because the inherited colonial structures still remain. By this I mean that control is still exerted by Europe, and increasingly also by America, and not by the Federal Government. The Nigerian political economy can be more correctly shown by a different type of triangle representing the giant multinational corporations with their branches in, say, one hundred underdeveloped countries. The small triangle inside the main one is the Nigerian government. The system is clearly dominated by the all-embracing outer triangle.



The Actual Relationship between the Public and Private Sectors

Thus, we can see that the true relationship between the two sectors is not one of equal partners (as shown in Fig. 1) working hand in hand: it is one of private domination and public subservience. As long as this unequal exchange continues, in which the terms of trade are dictated from Europe and America, any policies and plans formulated here in Nigeria will merely serve to reinforce the global plans and policies formulated in the centre of the World Capitalist System.

Solution

What is the solution to this problem? Planning from outside must be replaced by planning inside Africa. There must be mass popular involvement and means of production on a pan-African scale. Government by a "barren bourgeoisie" of commission agents and middlemen must be replaced by a revolutionary government of the masses who are determined to implement the principles of social justice in the struggle against foreign monopoly capital. Only in this way will such planning jargon as "just and egalitarian society" become a concrete reality.



Dr. Omoniyi Adewoye
Federal Commissioner for Economic
Development

THE crucial role of industrialization in building a new society is clearly evidenced by the experience of historical development of states. At present this fact is well recognized through out the world.

The UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim emphasized that industrialization is a basic goal of developing countries and an integral part of their modernization and development.

True, the most important long-term economic problems of developing states cannot be resolved without industrialization. It is the development of modern industry that can provide for technological modernization of national economy, increase productivity of labour, eliminate unemployment, and increase national income of young countries.

At the same time the emerging nations clearly realize that industrial construction as it is cannot automatically resolve all the problems of national development. Much depends upon the direction of industrialization, upon the character of social and economic transformations under which it occurs.

In recent years the multinationals have tried to put the process of industrialization of the young African states under their control, to direct it in such a way that it should meet the interests of the West. Thus the West passed from the policy artificial retardation of the industrial development of the liberated countries pursued until recently to the policy of turning these countries into their industrial appendices and sources of raw materials.

Increased investments of Western corporations in the manufacturing industries of the independent countries, Africa in particular is a significant component of the present day neo-colonial strategy. In so doing the monopolies try to impose upon the African states another form of dependence on the capitalist market, a technological one, which is conducive to intensified exploitation of the peoples of Africa. In accordance with this course the main role in the national economies of these countries is played by plants and factories belonging to or controlled by the affiliated branches of foreign companies. Their activities are to the selfish interests of the multinationals aimed at getting profits disregarding national interests of the countries where they operate.

The facts show that new states which carry out industrialisation under the auspices of the Western capital suffer



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Developing Africa Via Industrialization

BY

DR. M. AWUNOFE

great losses. They are forced to finance certain branches of industry and infrastructures which are not primary importance for their national interests to the benefit of the monopolies. An attempt to attract international companies by favourable terms of taxation results in reduced state incomes, in larger debits of the African states. As is known, at present more than 30 per cent of incomes of the African states is spent for clearing off debts to foreign countries.

This situation causes concern in many African states and they try to pursue the industrialization policy of their own as opposed to the attempts of the monopolies to keep the newly independent countries in shackles of economic dependence. Tanzania, the Congo, Angola, Nigeria as well as other African states pursue a policy of nationalizing individual enterprises and whole industries and head for constructing new

state industrial enterprises. The state finances first and foremost the construction of significant enterprises of the heavy industry thus creating the basis of national industry.

Recently the African states have practised industrial development programmes projecting the construction of enterprises by joint efforts of several states with the account of their own markets. Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), stressed that at present such enterprises should make the core of industrialization.

The build-up of advanced national industry devoid of the dominance of foreign multinationals is a condition of the successful struggle of developing African countries for their independence, for restructuring international economic relations on the basis of equality and justice.

WORLD
Problems of
MARXIST
Peace and Socialism
REVIEW



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Africa's TV and 'Brainwashing'

By Our Correspondent

STATISTICS indicate there are four television sets to every one thousands of the population in Africa today. You will agree that is a modest figure. Television is making its way to the mass African viewer against great odds.

There are many objective reasons that explain the situation. One of the main reasons is the cost of maintaining this most complex and perfect of modern means of information, a cost which greatly exceeds that of radio broadcasting. Another serious detriment is the high cost of television sets which makes them luxury items and puts them out of reach of the bulk of the African population.

Another difficulty is that drawing up local programmes is impeded by shortage of technical equipment and a serious lack of TV specialists. In contrast to radio broadcasting which is now being conducted in more than a hundred African languages telecasts are, as a rule, conducted in the European languages only. That reduces the TV audiences drastically. After all, only the wealthy and the educated layers of the African population have a command of the languages of the former parent states.

Despite these problems, African television should already be regarded as a reality and not just a potentiality, it should be viewed as a vital means of information and education in a situation where the percentage of literacy among the population is still rather low. That is why, the governments of the African states are assigning television an important role in raising national self-awareness, in propagating new methods of farming, health protection and bringing up children.

Telecracy and "Brainwashing"

Mr. Louis Merlin, Director General of the TV companies "Europe 1, Image et Son" stated: "...besides the three classical forms of power: the executive, legislative and judicial, there has appeared, without revolution or change in any constitution, a new power that dominates all

politically—that power is television."

That is how a leading French specialist defines the role of television and its influence on people in modern capitalist society. Western propagandist who have tested in practice in their own countries the psychological influence of TV and the opportunity it offers for manipulating public opinion, regard TV as one of the most effective means of ideological penetration into the developing countries. That is very well illustrated by data regarding Western export of TV films chiefly to the Third World countries. The US TV industry produces a total of 180,000 hours of TV programmes annually; British and French televisions provide 40,000 hours of telecasting time.

A chronic shortage of home-made material invariably leads to the developing countries' using Western programmes to fill the bulk of telecasting time. They even go so far as to buy films about themselves from American, British, French and West German companies who have seized 80 per cent of Africa's television market.

In order to have a market for their films the British monopolists are willing to be paid 25 pounds sterling in Africa for programmes they sell at 3,000 pounds sterling at home. That is not philanthropy but a well calculated policy of "brainwashing" with the help of TV propaganda, the means of extolling the ideas and the dubious values of Western consumers society.

Inter-African Cooperation

Despite all of the West's attempts to make information exchange uncontrolled and thereby establish its own ideological expansion, another point of view is gaining ground in international relations. Its essence is that the problem of information exchange should not be decided in favour of free and unlimited flow, but on the basis of interstate cooperation in the field and the recognition of every state's sovereign right to decide the



Mr. V. I. Meduka
NTV General Manager

questions of spreading information throughout its own territory.

The first concrete steps have already been made in that direction.

In October 1977, 32 African states established a centre for the exchange of national radio and television programmes in Nairobi. About the same time the first conference on the radio and television organizations of non-aligned countries was held in Sarajevo (Yugoslavia) in which the African countries participated. The conference resulted in the setting up of a special coordination committee and helped to broaden exchange of documentary films and TV programmes.

There is an interesting project for creating, with the help of the television of the continent, a unified and centralised system of school education. Incidentally, educational programmes have already been introduced in many African states. Once all the technical problems are solved, specialists have calculated that in 15 years 80,000,000 children and 50,000,000 adults will have an elementary education with the help of the TV school.

The efforts of the governments of the African countries directed towards developing the powerful means of influence on the masses and freeing it from the fetters of Western spiritual colonization, are indications that the present situation in television will change.

That will enable Africa's television to effectively solve the problems entrusted to it in the sphere of education, raising the cultural level of the population and disseminating information.

Continued from Page 4.

S W P P's Stand

[d] The S.W.P.P. roundly condemns the FEDECO's hypocrisy over the question of probity and said that with its money-oriented formula for registration of parties it has sold democracy wholesale only to the capitalist class.

The FEDECO boasts that it has a well compiled black-list of those sentenced by their past mis-doings to eternal banishment from any seat of political power. The FEDECO claims that it has the honesty and the efficiency to keep these fraudulent people away from taking over power. But the S.W.P.P. thinks the FEDECO is merely fooling this country. First, the FEDECO knows very well that the same discredited people have ganged up into some of the parties. One of the richest of the Parties (we learn that there are at least 21 millionaires under 40 years of age in this party) has cleverly selected untarnished but obedient disciples to contest the coming elections. The main intention of the corrupt leaders of this party is to seize power by proxy and to use their back-screen wires to manipulate that power all the same.

Surely, the FEDECO has a full list of leaders of the various parties it registered and knows that one of the lists of party-leaders on the FEDECO form is not very different from FEDECO's black list.

But because the rogues "are all together" (with apologies to the criminal-Dimka) the FEDECO lets them pass and gives their party a registration certificate. S.W.P.P. with its long list of honest citizens gets the FEDECO rebuff.

[e] On the question of legality of S.W.P.P., the General Secretary, Dapo Fatogun, told the C.C. meeting, "the state of emergency has been lifted and the Constitution now guarantees, once more, to every citizen that fundamental

human right and freedom of association—whether such an association be cultural, religious, social, economic or political". He also said that the S.W.P.P. never planned and did not intend to join the election race now going on and as such the S.W.P.P. will not trespass FEDECO's domain. "Therefore", he said, "there can be no point of impact or confrontation between us and FEDECO".

The Party pledged to avoid embarrassing the FEDECO in anyway but also said it was the duty of members to keep on organising the working people "until we fully qualify, by the yardstick of FEDECO to get our certificate of registration as a political party".

Members of the party pledged to steadfastly work for the restoration of the full rights of the working people of Nigeria.

On the manifestoes of FEDECO registered political parties, S.W.P.P. members were of the opinion that only two of them gave some indications of some programmes of benefit to the workers and to the working class movement. It was noted that none of the party said anything against the obnoxious anti labour laws such as Decrees 21 of 1976 and 15 of 1977.

The S.W.P.P. regretted that for some subjective reasons the two left-of-Centre parties (UPN and PRP) were not willing to pull together in one camp. If they could rally round a common programme the future for progressive forces in this country would be brighter than it is at present.

Members of S.W.P.P. Central Committee urged all the working people to be steadfast in their support because the socialist movement in this country must continue to grow larger and from strength to strength.



Comrade Ikenna Nzimiro, chairman, Research Commission of SWPP and Comrade Ucheagbu display the party's flag while Comrade Goodluck applauds.



Comrade Chieka Anozie, SWPP C. C. chairman speaking at the Congress

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favouritism in its judgement of what should make a good party. He asked: "Will it be the ability of individuals or groups of individuals to demonstrate private affluence in their campaign tours or the ability of the poor people to commit their future to a progressive ideology" which would make for a good political party?

Fears had earlier, been expressed from several quarters that it was too much for FEDECO to ask for physical infrastructure such as offices, equipment as well as staff for each branch office and all in a short period of five or so weeks. It was computed that the cost of hiring offices alone in 13 states at N5,000 a year with three years' rent advance would cost a party N195,000.

However, the S.W.P.P., as Comrade Fatogun noted, had through the state committees "succeeded in hiring rooms for state offices and equipping such offices through sheer individual subscriptions of one naira per member".

That was a better sign of a peoples' democracy and dedication to the cause they believe in than naked parading of naira power by the millionaire class parties FEDECO eventually gave recognition.

SWPP not Registered by FEDECO

The Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) on December 21, 1978 announced registration of five political associations as political parties for the purpose of this year's general elections. Since then many political commentators have seen this action as a re-emergence of the ruling political parties which existed before the ban of politics in 1966. They see Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Great

Nigeria Peoples' Party (GNPP), Nigeria Peoples' Party (NPP), and Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP)—all registered by FEDECO—as re-emergence of banned political parties of the 1960s.

The Socialist Working Peoples' Party intends to form a broad National Democratic front with all progressive forces so as to exert pressure for the establishment of a real peoples' democracy.

The party intends also to use this period, functioning as an association, for intense political education and propaganda among the working people of Nigeria.

For
S. W. P. P.
The
Struggle
Continues !



The document "National Question in Nigeria" is a part of the Manifesto of the Socialist Working Peoples' Party. It deals with features of ethnicity and how bourgeois politicians manipulate it for their class interest.

NIGERIA is made up of numerous ethnonationalities. A way must, therefore, be found to ensure that these various peoples live happily together in the sovereign unit without necessarily destroying the progressive elements of their specific characteristics. This is a formidable task indeed because of the history of ethnicity in Nigeria, the sensitivity of that phenomenon, its manipulation by the privileged classes and the tendency of the ultra left to ignore its impact in the political process.

It must be said from the outset that it is incorrect to think of Nigerian politics essentially in ethnic terms as is characteristic of the imperialists and the local privileged classes and their ideologues. This view of Nigerian politics was first popularized by colonial anthropologists. It has been internalized to such an extent that now many Nigerians think of the dynamics of their society as being dominated by ethnicity. It has persisted in spite of the methodological difficulties of applying the concept scientifically, and the obvious failure of analysis based on it to lead to the socioeconomic and political transformation of the society.

On the contrary most evidence so far indicate that the course of the history of a people is closely related to, if not directly determined by, changes in their production system, particularly changes in their productive forces and the relations of production which constitute the infrastructure of social life.

In Nigeria ethnic relations are not part of the infrastructure of society but an aspect of its ideological superstructure. They must then have an objective basis in the infrastructure of the society, the production process. Although a dialectical relationship exists between the superstructure and the infrastructure of society it is the latter which generally gives rise to the former. Therefore as far as the historical movement of a society is concerned the production process has a greater significance than ethnic relations. An emphasis on the ethnic element may be significant for the description of social reality. This is the highest point it can attain. It cannot be the basis for the transformation of the history of a people.

THE NATIONAL IN

On the other hand it is equally wrong to neglect the role of the purely ethnic factor and to reduce all analysis of social life to the class factor. Of course ethnicity often intrudes into Nigerian social life including politics. In view of the ethnic consciousness that has developed over several generations of the colonial and neocolonial history of Nigeria it cannot be otherwise. In fact, the ethnic community is a historical entity encompassing and penetrating all other social formations, including classes. In a sense it is a spatial framework for class relations and contradictions. The ethnic community represents the continuity of material and spiritual cultures, as well as the social and everyday forms of communication in the history of definite peoples.

When as in the urban areas, the society is multiethnic, occupationally not highly differentiated, the level of class consciousness is low, and the incidence of destructive competition for scarce valuable resources is high and inequality is institutionalized it may become the only meaningful basis for mutual trust, useful communication and mutual aid among the people. In such circumstances ethnicity tends to offer a personal solution to the generic problems of social life, including exploitation and oppression.

Hence, the underprivileged masses who are nearly equally affected by a lack of opportunities, powerlessness, exploitation and a lack of self esteem are unlikely to follow the onerous path of a class based collective act of rebellion when the possibility of individual advancement and protection still exists. Thus appeals to ethnic sentiments become credible. It becomes possible for class actions to be dressed in ethnic garb.

This means that under certain circumstances the ethnic element may be a crucial factor in social life. Therefore, every effort must be made to ensure that ethnic contradictions do not explode and become more important than is warranted by their objective role in the scheme of things. Otherwise ethnicity will divert attention and mass energy away from imperialist exploitation and oppression and the necessity for a class-



Comrade Wahab Goodluck
SWPP C. C. Deputy Chairman

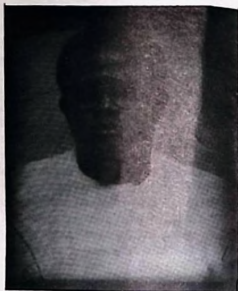
based revolutionary struggle against them.

The history of ethnicity in Nigeria shows that it has been fomented and manipulated by the colonialists and the local privileged classes for their exploitative and other interests to the detriment of the interests of the broad masses of the Nigerian people. In order to justify their racist view of the African as the object rather than the subject of rule the colonialists began to categorize all Nigerian linguistic groups as tribes and to attribute to them differences in culture and way of life.

Also they began to separate these groups from one another, particularly in residential areas of which the Sabongaris of the North were the most notorious. An extension of this colonial racism was also evident in the tendency of the coloniser to regard certain groups as superior or inferior to the others depending on the similarity of their sociopolitical organisation to that of the organiser, and the progress in the acquisition of colonial socioeconomic fortunes.

Furthermore the colonialists encouraged the emergent competitive groupings to run along linguistic and communal lines. They chose admin-stra-

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Comrade Ikenna Nzimiro
Chairman, SWPP Research Commission

tive units which coincided with the communal homelands of the various linguistic groups and which with the introduction of elective politics became political constituencies. The resultant competition among the administrative units and political constituencies was enhanced by the uneven development inherent in imperialism. Colonial socioeconomic projects were located in areas of gainful exploitation and abundant project. They were not guided by the desire for intersectoral and inter-regional balance in socioeconomic achievements. Ultimately certain linguistic and communal homelands became "better developed" socioeconomically than others deepening the antipathies among ethnic groups. A similar effect was produced by the colonialists' use of the precolonial Nigerian institutions, authority and personnel, as well as by the pervasive bureaucratic requirement that official forms should contain information about the "tribal" origins of the Nigerian population.

Finally, ethnicity served the colonialists as a mechanism to divide the colonized and, therefore, maintain domination over them.

As a political line, the colonisers

used ethnicity to curb African nationalism and maintain their power and through it their imposed and exploitative economic system.

Again the colonialists tried to check the march to independence by supporting reactionary political parties founded on an ethnic base with the colonialists manipulating the prevalent fears of ethnic domination, exploiting regional imbalances or praying on interethnic hostility and tension.

In these various ways, ethnicity in Nigeria emerged and persisted either as a mechanism for adaptation to the imperialist system or as an instrument for ensuring a facile and more effective domination and exploitation of the colonised. In both cases it served the reactionary purpose of colonialism: the degradation of the Nigerian in order to better and more easily exploit him. At best, ethnicity diverted attention away from the foreign oppression and exploitation inherent in the imported relations of production, thereby consolidating the system. At worst, it constituted an instrument for channelling aggressive impulses arising from the frustrations of the colonial situation against fellow Nigerians.

Ethnicity has persisted into the neocolonial situation because it also objectively serves the interests of the Nigerian petty bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie reared by colonialism. In their search for the crumbs from colonial production, contending regional factions of these parasitic classes emphasized the exclusion of their counterparts from the other regions.

The interest of these local privileged classes in ethnonationalism was reinforced by some objective conditions of the colonial and neocolonial economy. The economy lacked integration and balance and was, therefore, fragmented. The metropole's imposition of an international division of labour on the colony and its usurpation of a superior role in this specialization of function caused the local economy to be import-export oriented well before the home capitalist market had become regional and national.

This pattern of economic transactions hampered the economic integration of the various parts of the

country. Instead the various parts of the nation were integrated with those of the metropole and the other advanced capitalist societies. Raw materials from one part of the local economy were not used in the factories of another but in Europe. Similarly, manufactured goods sold in one part did not come from another but from Europe.

Thus the Nigerian economy has been organized around regional enclaves isolated from each other. Consequently, the petty bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie have been fragmented along regional ethnic lines, and they have tended to regard the regional enclave as exclusive reservoirs of benefits for those of them from the regional ethnic homeland. They demand exclusive of others.

Members of these classes have benefited most from the salary conditions, opportunities for contract work and business, in the progressions and various other fields of economic endeavour. They saw their path to a fuller life blocked by the racism of the colonial order and thereafter by competition from their own kind. Against racism they preached nationalism. They travelled round the country to mobilize mass support against colonialism having been dismissed by the colonial authorities as representing no one but themselves. Against competition from their own kind they employed the myth of ethnic identity along lines previously fabricated by the colonialists and mobilized mass support along these lines. Like the colonialists they had no objective interest in encouraging class identity. This would have exposed the exploitation inherent in the colonial production process and the parasitic character of the petty bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie in that process.

The privileged classes prey on the fact that ethnicity also services some interests of the underprivileged classes, albeit to a lesser extent than it does the interests of the privileged classes. The most significant all inclusive group which the individual joins is the ethnic-group-wide voluntary association. The resultant sense of identity, feeling of solidarity and increased power for socioeconomic competition provide security. It provides a buffer for new entrants into the colonial enclaves and for those who find themselves in difficulty that by ensuring mutual aid and leadership providing common welfare, security and credit, and offering a basis for links with the rural areas.

The Great Nigeria Peoples' Party's (GNPP) manifesto without much ado does not radically change from those already considered. In it the party pledges "to work towards free and high quality education at all levels and free and better health services". It also confirms its belief in capitalism, "we believe in.... public and private management of the economy". The party hopes to introduce legislation if voted to power, for employers both public and private making it compulsory for them to evolve medical insurance schemes for their employees.

The party is simply capitalist oriented and its promises are those of an overlord to his serf because it is silent on how how it would evolve these half measures. It again side tracks the issue of the obnoxious legislations which are detrimental to the working class movement.

From the foregoing it can be seen that NLC has nothing to choose from. Since the Nigeria Labour Congress seeks to improve the lot of workers, it stands to reason that the NLC should put forward its political programme for adoption by the five political parties.

The NLC should demand [1] that it be represented in Federal and State bodies dealing with economic and social policies [2] that government should take over all strategically placed industries with workers participation in their boards and government also set up machinery for trade unions (not individuals) to buy at least 25 per cent shares in all other firms [3] that workers have the right to meet, discuss and express their opinion freely on all questions without hindrance [4] that members

of trade unions freely draw up their trade union constitutions and organise the functioning and activities of the unions without interference or control by government or employers [5] workers shall have the right to take part in any action in defence of their interests whether this action be in form of strikes, boycotts, pickets or any other form of trade union struggle and that under no circumstances would such workers be subjected to dismissals, penalties, police arrests, or any harassment for taking part in such trade union struggle [6] that trade unions shall have the right to negotiate wages and all other working conditions and to conclude same with all employers [7] that trade unions shall have the right to be consulted by the government on all questions affecting workers and also the right to initiate legislation on matters affecting the



Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim
Presidential aspirant of GNPP

given insurance cover by their employers [11] that each family should be guaranteed accommodation by the constitution [12] that workers shall have the right to meet in work places, to collect dues, to read and distribute newspapers, magazines and other publications of their choice, to conduct trade union propaganda and exercise their full civil and political rights without interference [13] that the NLC shall have the right to join international trade unions of its choice without hindrance from any quarters.

These are by no means exhaustive. The NLC after carefully studying the manifestoes of the five political parties will have a more comprehensive programme. As earlier indicated it is not for the Nigeria Labour Congress to turn itself into a political party or under the present circumstances affiliate with any political party. All that the NLC should demand of the parties is that they show genuine interest in the welfare of the working people of Nigeria.

But a man pushed to the wall has one alternative—to fight back vigorously. If no party shows genuine interest in workers welfare, the alternative open is for workers themselves to decide.



Alhaji Aliyu Dangwa
NLC General Secretary

working class [8] that the trade unions shall have the right to be represented in the following bodies (a) Land Use Panels (b) Rent Control Panels, Price Control Boards [9] that all workers be provided free medicare [10] that all workers be



Alhaji Aminu Kano
leader of PRP

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Hungary Marks 60 Years Of Revolution

By Ikpe Etakudo

FOR all progressives the world over and in particular the Hungarian people, March 21 is a day of great significance.

Sixty years ago the Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed giving place to a revolutionary situation in Hungary. The situation was created by the revolutionary action of the popular masses.

As a result, on October 31, 1918 the working people of Hungary carried through victoriously the bourgeois-democratic revolution which sought and opened the way to national independence.

On November 24, 1918 a Marxist-Leninist party—the Hungarian Party of Communists was formed.

The epoch making event was that on March 21, 1919, the Hungarian Republic of councils was proclaimed and the dictatorship of the proletariat came into being. This action created a qualitatively higher level of democracy for the workers, peasantry and the intelligentsias.

But the Hungarian Republic of councils existed for only 133 days because the armed intervention of imperialism defeated the Republic of Councils. This, however, does not diminish in any way this glorious chapter in the Hungarian history because of its outstanding international significance.

The peoples' revolution culminating in the formation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils became organically linked with the revolutionary struggle

of the workers of the world. It must be pointed out that the Hungarian revolution was stimulated by the Great October Socialist Revolution of Russia in 1917.

In commemorating the three anniversaries, it should be pointed out that the activity of the Hungarian Republic of Councils carry teachings of international importance which prove the universality of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of proletariat is not a particular Russian phenomenon, but an example to be followed by the working class of other countries too, taking into account the specific and realities of national conditions.

The Hungarian situation also shows that there are different ways for waging revolution depending on given conditions. It shows that the working class can obtain power by peaceful means but for the defence of the revolutionary gains armed strength of the revolution is indispensable.

Another lesson from the Hungarian experience is that the working class can reap victory over the class enemy only with the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party united with the masses, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and ready to apply it with due account to specific realities.

The triumph and existence of the Hungarian Republic of Councils enriched

revolutionary theory with various experiences of international validity. It proved that an important step on the path of socialist transformation is the solving of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and, on the other hand, according to the laws of social development, the bourgeois-democratic revolution necessarily further develops into socialist revolution. Bringing to victory the socialist revolution and the consolidation of the new power is one of the fundamental conditions for taking the basic means of production into public ownership and winning over the peasant masses by solving the land question.

The Hungarian experience again reinforces the fact that Marxist-Leninist parties never die because after the overthrow of the workers' power the Communist Party, forced underground, kept the idea of revolutionary struggle alive. After the liberation of Hungary the Communist Party stood in the forefront of the struggle for national advancement.

Following the 1956 counter-revolution, the reorganized vanguard of the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, assured the realization of the Leninist norms of party life, on bases of principle it restored trust between the party and the people and consolidated the workers' power. Today the party rallying three generations of communists applies in a creative way the generally valid teachings of Marxism-Leninism according to the specific national relations of the country. It maps out the guidelines of the socialist construction work, rallies the workers for fulfilment of forthcoming tasks and checks the implementation of its policy. It devotes great attention to the development of socialist democracy, to the strengthening of popular-national unity. Consistent implementation of its policy of principle guarantees the equilibrium of Hungary's internal political life, and this makes possible steady, uninterrupted development.

All progressives the world over join in sending fraternal greetings to the Hungarian people and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party during celebrations to mark the anniversaries.

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Conrad Wahab Goodluck
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The interest of these local privileged classes in ethnonationalism was reinforced by some objective conditions of the colonial and neocolonial economy. The economy lacked integration and balance and was, therefore, fragmented. The metropole's imposition of an international division of labour on the colony and its usurpation of a superior role in this specialization of function caused the local economy to be import-export oriented well before the home capitalist market had become regional and national.

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Class and Class Struggle

By Our Correspondent

CLASSES are large groups of people distinguished by their position in the process of social production, their relation to the means of production, their role in the social organisation of labour and, consequently, by the methods of acquisition and size of the share of the social wealth they possess.

Class distinction is the most essential of all possible distinctions between groups of people. The question of social classes and class struggle was scientifically worked out for the first time by K. Marx and F. Engels, V.I. Lenin carried forward, crystallized and added new ideas and conclusions to the Marxist science of classes and class struggles to suit a new historical setting.

Society has not always been divided into classes. The primitive communal system had no classes because of its low level of production and the absence of private ownership of the means and implements of production. Social classes emerged, exploitation of man by man appeared and a relationship of domination and subordination shaped up with the subsequent development of the economy and the origin of private ownership and inequality between human beings, when some, through subsequent economic growth, became the owners of those basic means which are used to produce the products of labour, while others have none of such property in their possession.

The relation of men to the means of production is the major hallmark of a class. What does it mean? Under all exploitative social systems, slave-owning, feudal and capitalist, some classes have owned the means to produce the products of human labour, while others are deprived of such means, which brings them into a state of oppression by and submission to the former.

The possession of the means of production enables the dominant classes in exploitative society to appropriate the products of the labour of the oppressed classes. Such a situation where some are proprietors while others

are exploited by these proprietors is for the most part legally codified and formalised. There is, for example, a system of political power, state and law to advocate and safeguard in every way the exploiters, private property. Bourgeois constitutions declare private property to be "sacred and inviolable" thereby giving a semblance of "legality" to the plundering of the working people.

Since the interests in exploitative society are contradictory beyond reconciliation, these contradictions show themselves through class struggle. There are various forms of this struggle. For instance, workers go on strike for higher pay. This is an economic form of struggle. Now, say, any action by workers and other sections of the working people against acts of aggression or militarism, is political action. Economic and political struggles find expression in a clash of ideas between the contending classes. This is an ideological battle. The main form of class warfare is political action for this is to decide which class will win the dominant position and lead a community. It is not always, of course, that the issue of power is posed directly, since various classes can, in the course of their struggle, put forward political demands which do not affect the foundations of the political structure of a particular community.

In such struggle, each class is out to win allies and enter all kinds of coalitions. The ultimate objective is to defeat the forces of the old order as well as retain power in its own hands. Whenever the bourgeoisie uses its police to break up working people's demonstrations, to smash any particular organisations defending the interests of the working class, and to suppress strikes, it does so to assert its power. Of course, the bourgeoisie can apply not only the straightforward means of political violence, there are some other-economic, ideological and other techniques. But it is, as a rule, the means of political violence that predominate whenever class conflicts come to a head. Therefore, the oppressed classes have no option

but to resort to violence, just as well in order to seize power and take it into their own hands.

Consequently, the history of all antagonistic societies has been the history of class struggles. There is an uninterrupted struggle going on between the exploiters and the exploited, now overt, now covert, now non-violent, now armed. It embraces all areas of social life: economics, politics and ideology. In exploitative society, class struggle is the driving force of social advance, sweeping aside everything that has outlived its day and making for rising newborn things to assert themselves.

In modern times, the struggle of the working class of capitalist countries is conducted, with support from the world system of socialism, not only against individual groups of capitalists but against the entire system of imperialism. At the same time imperialism is coming under growing pressure of the national liberation movement. The struggle of the national liberation forces in many countries had begun to develop into a struggle against exploitative relations.

There are some classes under socialism, too, but their status is fundamentally different from what it is in exploitative society. There are no oppressed or oppressing classes in socialist society since the plants and factories, the land, that is, the means of production belong to the socialist state, to the entire community, and are the patrimony of the whole people, with exploiter classes abolished. Although certain distinctions between the labouring classes still exist in socialist society, these are not antagonistic, for the interests of all the working people converge in essential, predominant things: the entire people are interested in the consolidation and development of the socialist system, in the continued progress of society in economic, cultural and other respects.

Distinctions between classes will gradually disappear with the progress of socialist society. The future communist society will have no classes to divide it since economic inequality will have been finally abolished and conditions created for the all-round development of every individual. The working class is playing and will continue to play the leading role under socialism as it is the most close-knit, advanced and organised class. Now, the relationship between the classes under socialism is that of social and political unity which is one of the driving forces behind the development of socialism.

Racists On The Offensive In Southern Africa

By Our Southern Africa
Correspondent

A FEW months ago the publication of the Bingham report on the violation by the British Shell and British Petroleum companies of the embargo on oil deliveries to Rhodesia gave rise to a strong political scandal. Today however, fresh facts showing complicity with the racist regimes no longer evoke even pretended indignation in the West.

In mid-December the US State Department admitted without much ado that, in violation of UN sanctions, Bell-205 military helicopters had been supplied to Rhodesia. They are similar to those the American troops had used in Vietnam. The United Nations has published a list of firms cooperating with Salisbury, which includes, apart from Shell and BP, also Unilever, Philips and a number of other major corporations. The racist army is equipped with Mercedes lorries, Leyland cross-country vehicles, and French Mirage planes and Alouette helicopters are used in the raids against Zambezi and Mozambique. And against those who violate the sanctions do not react to these facts in any way.

More than that, a publicity voyage to the United States was organized for

Smith, and the West European Foreign Ministers received in their respective capitals his partners in the "internal settlement" deal. Five Western Powers gave the green light in Pretoria to South Africa's plan of turning Namibia into its largest bantustan, while President Carter invited hawk P. Botha, the new Premier, to repeat Smith's tour.

These events of the past few months gave rise to a stream of comments on the sudden diplomatic successes of the racists, and conjectures regarding the further development of events in the South of Africa. Incidentally, an objective analysis forces one to speak rather of a gradual return to the neocolonialist policy than of a sudden breach of the isolation by the racists. This policy had at one time been drowned in Western propaganda statements regarding support for a majority rule, fidelity to the principles of non-interference and an African solution of African problems.

In November 1977 the West even voted in the Security Council for the introduction of a compulsory embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa. Nor was there any lack of oaths of loyalty

to the UN decision on sanctions against Rhodesia.

However, realities are much more convincing than even the most elaborate words.

It looks as if the period when, following the liberation of Mozambique and Angola, the West had to think in Africa more about preserving the status quo than about new acquisitions, has ended. The re-dislocation of forces took less than two years. In an effort to disguise it the Western politicians tried in every way possible to censor racism and apartheid and assure Africa of their good will. They needed this respite so as to stock the arsenals of the racist regimes with modern arms and to supply them with money and mercenaries.

Now they are shifting from defence to offensive, with the role of the vanguard entrusted, just like in the "good old days", to the South African and Rhodesian racists. At the same time, Africa is made to understand that, if necessary, the West will not be ashamed to come to their aid. This "sudden" fraternization with Smith and Botha is much more than a mere diplomatic move.

In the same way, the growth of the war budget of South Africa by 200 per cent and that of Rhodesia by 230 per cent over the past four years speaks of much more than of the racists' maniacal passion to accumulate the latest instruments of murder. The signal for an attack is being sounded in both Pretoria and Salisbury. Its aim is not only SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, but the restoration of Western domination in Africa.



Smith

Nujoma

Voster

BEFORE the Revolution of February 1974, all most people knew about Ethiopia was that it was a country ruled by emperors.

Today, Ethiopia stands on the same Socialist pedestal as Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and other African countries fighting for real national independence, free from the vestiges of capitalism and Imperialism.

Ethiopia has had more than a fair share of baptism of fire for taking, once and for all, the path of socialist construction. First she had to contend with reactionary forces within her boundary. Time was, immediately after the successful February 1974 revolution, when the western press reported daily with glee about murders, assassinations, gun shots and all that was foul in Addis Ababa and other cities. No sooner had the government brought the handiwork of the reactionary elements under control, than Somali Republic pushed by detractors of Socialist Ethiopia, provoke a war against Socialist Ethiopia.

Drained by an aggravated drought and terrorist sabotage acts by the reactionary elements—the so-called Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), and the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) — Ethiopia found a well armed Somali "army chopping away a large area of Ethiopia to cap her mad idea of "Greater Somali". Somalis objective of annexing Ogaden—about one third of Ethiopia, the Republic of Djibouti and Northern part of Kenya was frustrated by the gallant people of Ethiopia.

China, true to type, took sides with reactionary Somalia. The Chinese leadership shipped tons of arms and ammunition to Somalia for the total destruction of revolutionary gains in Ethiopia. The Chinese ruling class took this stand because of its credo of anti Sovietism. The Soviet Union, of course, as a true socialist state, gave full military and diplomatic support to Ethiopia for a fight against aggression by Somali.

After a successful prosecution the Ogaden War, the Ethiopian government was again faced by an old problem—the Eritrean question.

The Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) of Ethiopia agreed with observers and friends both in Ethiopia and outside that the Eritrean problem could and should be solved peacefully. This led the PMAC to issue the nine-point programme of May, 1976. The Council also invited the

Case For Ethiopia's Revolution

By New Horizon
Political Correspondent

leaders of the separatist forces to a democratic dialogue with a view to amicably solving the problem.

The Provisional Military Administrative Council was aware that Ethiopia as a country encompassing numerous nationalities, suffered from nationality-oriented injustices under the discredited feudal-bourgeois order. All those who suffered these injustices struggled a lot to overcome this yoke. This was achieved by the overthrows of the old system in 1974. But with the victory of the popular Ethiopian Peoples Revolution, the anti-feudal movement in Eritrea cast aside its popular democratic content, putting on a grab of reaction.

The reactionary tendency in the Eritrean separatist forces in the concrete field of Ethiopian peoples unity for the destruction and dismantling of the old system of exploitation and domination exposes its deficiency in revolutionary struggle. Any effort made to prevent the unity of the exploited class of Ethiopia cannot be revolutionary because such attempts can only help the enemies of the exploited class.

In spite of the uncompromising attitude of the separatist forces, the PMAC has continued to believe in a negotiated settlement of the problem. However, no step has been taken by the separatist forces to respond favourably to the May, 1976 declaration. Instead the leadership of the separatist forces is bent on the dismemberment of Ethiopia. This clearly demonstrates that the secessionists have all along been bent on and are irrevocably committed to serve the interest of the imperialists, not by a genuine concern for the freedom, well being and equality of the toiling masses in Eritrea.

The Secessionists in Eritrea have been militarily contained. The PMAC is now creating favourable conditions for full integration of the toiling masses of Eritrea province in the mainstream of the Ethiopian revolution.

With all quiet on the war fronts, the



Colonel Haile Mariam Mengistu
Ethiopian Head of State

PMAC is now settling down to constructing a genuinely socialist society against the hopes and detractors of true Ethiopian independence.

With the exception of socialist countries and other democratic forces who have followed with sympathy the events in Ethiopia prior and after the February Revolution, a vast majority of the people in the capitalist and reactionary societies have viewed the events through jaundiced eyes.

The Western press, radio, and television have been feeding mis-leading coverage about the revolution of the broad masses of Ethiopia to the world in general. This has been done without portraying the reality of the political, social and economic situations prevailing in the country. All they ever wanted is to discredit the Ethiopian Revolution by raising international public opinion against her socialist stance while currying international sympathy for Somalia and the reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian Revolution in form and content, stands for the abolition of feudal-bourgeois system which has been the bane of the Ethiopian society. It has made all land in Ethiopia the property of the Ethiopian people as well as granting unrestricted democratic rights to the broad masses of Ethiopia.

The specific aim of the Revolution is "to completely abolish feudalism, imperialism, and capitalism from Ethiopia and, with the united effort of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, to build a new Ethiopia by laying a stronger foundation for the transition to socialism".

This gives light to the fact that,

Ethiopia after being in history for centuries and being ruled by kings, the last of which was Haile Selassie "elected of God" and "King of Kings", was a hunger, disease ridden impoverished country. According to Raul Valdes Vivo in his *Ethiopia, the Unknown Revolution* "the national economy was the poorest in the world, Ethiopia was more backward than Haiti, and that's saying a lot".

A country more backward than Haiti—that's saying a lot. On top of this, 98 per cent of the people were illiterate, living in conditions appalling and health figures disastrous. About one million people out of a population of 30 million were suffering from tuberculosis, 500,000 from leprosy, 7 million from malaria and more than 20 million from infectious eye diseases.

In 1974, a mere 200,000 were industrial workers in Ethiopia and millions were farmers but they owned only 5 per cent of the country's arable land. The rest was divided between the feudal lords and hierarchy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

This then explains the spontaneity of the Ethiopian Revolution. The revolution "took the world by surprise" but not those who saw the writing on the "imperial palace". The suffering masses of Ethiopia could not stand the burden any longer.

The revolution took place even though there was neither a vanguard party equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory nor a revolution movement in the army.

As Raul Valdes Vivo of the Cuban Communist Party saw it, "the Ethiopian Revolution has been spontaneous in the sense that nobody determined in advance the date on which it was to break out—and, therefore, there were no advance preparations in terms of organisation and education".

This notwithstanding the fundamental laws governing social development as discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin are fully applicable to the Ethiopian Revolution.

History is full of a good many spontaneous revolutions. Ethiopia's revolutionaries from the word, go, turned to Marxism-Leninism and this testifies to the strength and impact of revolutionary ideas in Ethiopia even though there was no organised vanguard movement prior to the revolution.

This bears Lenin out when he said, during a revolution the masses are able to grasp in a few days what in usual cir-

cumstances would take them years to understand.

The revolutionary path is never easy but the Ethiopian Revolution has come to stay.

Long Live Socialist Ethiopia. Ethiopia Tikdem •

BOOK REVIEW

The Long Years Dying

Title: *Nothing Could Be Finer*

Author: *Michael Myerson*

Publishers: *International Publishers
New York*

MICHAEL MYERSON'S *Nothing Could Be Finer* is about modern forms of racial discrimination and political repression in the USA today.

The 252 page book takes the reader breathlessly through a labyrinth of racism, segregation—indeed apartheid, murder, torture, long terms of political imprisonment against the Black people in the United States.

Myerson's book only lends weight to what the US ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young said about the existence of prisoners of conscience in the US.

With fine scholarship, Myerson captures the readers' mind and exposes the criminal neglect of the American society at large to the arduous and unsafe lives of the Black people as well as other working people.

The inhuman treatment of the Black people in the so-called home of human rights is as barbarous today as it was in the days of legal slave trade. "Here it was that Teel, his son and Stepson set upon Henry Lee Marrow, a Black Vietnam veteran, whom they accused of insulting Mr. Teel's wife. After shooting Henry Marrow just above the knee cap, the Teel men beat in Marrow's cap as he lay bleeding on the ground. Finally young Teel ended the business by blowing Marrow's head off".

From numerous other cases in *Nothing Could Be Finer*, consider the following: "In Greenville, a white youth and a young Black man were charged with raping a white woman. Both defendants denied the charges. They were given separate trials. The white boy was freed,

the Black sent to prison for life".

Police brutality against the Blacks is no less grotesque. "...An unarmed 20 year-old, (Black) Michael Riggins was shot in the back by a Greensboro policeman who claimed Riggins was running from the scene of crime". In another town, "Roy and Leroy Miller, 21 year old twins, were stopped by the police for questioning about a car theft. Roy was shot at point blank range by patrolman. J.S. Swain...Leroy was arrested and beaten at police headquarters until he pleaded guilty to 14 counts of house-breaking (not car theft) and 3 of resisting arrest". Also in the same town, Charlotte, "patrolman J.D. Ensinger killed 18 year old Frankie Dunlap after Dunlap had allegedly attacked the officer with an "Afro" comb. An absurdity.

The Chavises were hardly militant but growing up in a society where racial segregation is a way of life, where Ku Khan Klux (KKK) are masters made Ben uneasy. Then one day Ben was given a hell of a beating by a group of white men. His father made a report to the police and the assailants were identified but the police would not do a thing about it.

That set Ben Chavis.

He has organised or has been involved in the organisation of several bodies for racial equality of peoples in the US. After leaving the University of North Carolina at Charlotte (UNCC) where he was the first Black to enrol and also its first Black to head the UNCC student union. Ben became the Commissions for Racial Justice's field organiser. As an organiser segregation in schools and buses were his main problems. On several occasions Ben received calls from all over North Carolina and would rush in to offer help and advice. Soon he was having brushes with the law and its enforcers.

It culminated in the infamous Wilmington 10 trial in which Ben and nine others were given long prison terms on trumped up charges.

Nothing Could Be Finer, a catalogue of incongruous barbarity of the white people against the Blacks, tells the story of indomitable Rev. Ben Chavis.

This book is a must for every student of modern forms of repression, the sociologist and the political scientist. It is also an unequalled novel for every lover of books •