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JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN ACTIVIST ASSOCIATION

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UFAHAMU accepts contributions from anyone interested in Africa and related subject areas. Contributions may include scholarly articles, political-economic analysis, commentaries, review articles, film and book reviews and poetry. Manuscripts must be between 20-30 pages, clearly typed, double spaced, with footnotes on separate page(s). Contributors should keep copies of their manuscripts. The Editorial Board reserves the right to edit any manuscript to meet the objectives of the journal. Authors must submit two copies of their manuscripts and a brief biographical note, including position, academic affiliation and recent significant publications, etc. All correspondence - manuscripts, subscriptions, books for review, inquiries, etc. - should be addressed to the Editor - in- Chief at the above address.

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Contents

Contributors

Issues

Editorial

African Liberation Day Commemorated.....3

Interview

President Sam Nujoma On the Struggle for Namibian Liberation. . . .21
African Activist Association

ARTICLES

Kiswahili Resistance Publishing at the Kenya Coast
Shiraz Durrani. 26

Continuity and Change in Traditional Nigerian Theater Among the Igbo
in the Era of Colonial Politics. 35
James N. Amankulor and Chinyere G. Okafor

Book Reviews..... 51

Anthills of the Savannah by Chinua Achebe
Chidi Ikonne

Scraps of Life by Marjorie Agosin
Cheryl Dandridge-Perry

Women in African Literature Today, Eldred D. Jones,
et. al.(eds)
Joyce Boss

Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival

by Jannik Boeson, et. al.(eds)

Hilarie Kelly

Southern Africa: An American Enigma by Sheikh R. Ali

Judith Robb

Besieged Bedfellows: Israel and the Land of Apartheid

by Benjamin M. Joseph

Greg Larkin

Poetry

Apartheid in South Africa

George Brooks. 70

The Second Season of Rape

Hassan A. Keynan. 71

The Third Season of Rape

Ali Jimale Ahmed. 72

On the Death of God

Yohannes Admassu. 73

Come to My Rescue, First World

Hassan A. Keynan. 74

CONTRIBUTORS

Yohannes Admassu: Now deceased, was one of the most prominent Ethiopian Poets. At the time of his death, Admassu was an Assistant Professor in the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literatures at the Haile Selassie I University.

James N. Amankulor: A former Editor-in-Chief of *Ufahamu*, Prof. Amankulor is now a visiting Senior Fulbright Scholar at Theatre Arts [UCLA]. He has been published widely in International Journals.

Joyce Boss: Graduate student in Comparative Literature, UCLA.

Paul M. Bouteba: A former Director of the Information Department of the Organization of African Unity, Dr. Bouteba was a keynote speaker at the Africa Liberation Day organized by the African Activist Association [UCLA], May 25. Bouteba is currently a UCLA student.

George Brooks: A twenty-seven year old budding poet, he is currently incarcerated in Oxford, WI.

Shiraz Durrani: Lives in Exile in London where he has started his own publishing facilities.

Cheryl Dandridge-Perry: M.A. in African Area Studies, she is currently studying Third-World Cinema.

Mark Eckert: M.A. in African Area Studies.

Chidi Ikonne: Visiting Senior African Fulbright Research Fellow, Howard University, Prof. Ikonne is the chairman of the Dept. Of Literature at the University of Calabar, Nigeria.

Hilarie Kelly: PhD. candidate in Anthropology (UCLA).

Hassan A. Keynan: A lecturer of English and Education and a former head of the English Dept. of the Faculty of Education, Somali National University, Keynan has been until recently the executive secretary of the Somali National Commission for Unesco. Presently, he is a doctoral student in social and policy studies in Education at the University of Sidney, Australia.

Greg Larkin: A doctoral student in Political Science, UCLA.

Chinyere G. Okafor: Teaches English Language and Literature at the University of Benin, Nigeria.

Judith Robb: Graduate student in African Area Studies, UCLA.

ISSUES

HOW AFRICAN IS THE AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION:

An Evaluation of the ASA on its 30th Conference

The 1987 annual Denver Conference raised important concerns about the ASA's current direction in providing an arena for discussion and exploration of pertinent African issues. As members of U.C.L.A.'s African Activist Association, those of us attending the conference found the majority of panels inadequate in their focus on problems facing African countries.

A highlight of the conference was the Women's Caucus Breakfast guest speaker, Professor Christine Obbo. She turned the Women's Caucus theme, "Reluctant Unmasking: The Struggle To Understand The Other", into a critical discussion on the insufficient perspective of some so-called African experts. In her view a "six day tour of Africa", does not make one an expert. Additionally she criticized the narrow approach of those "experts" who study small groups of Africans, as not a progressive way to address the larger issues African countries encounter in their struggle to survive. As she spoke many people left the room appearing to be uncomfortable with her views.

Her criticisms reflect our own disappointment with the panels we attended and bring to mind the conflict in 1968 during the eleventh annual convention of the ASA in Los Angeles, when a group of Africans and Afro-Americans called for a "black caucus". A part of the statement they issued, found in the summer/fall 1976, publication, Issue, in an article by John Henrik Clarke, reads,

"The African Studies Association is called upon by the Black Caucus to immediately direct its energies toward rendering itself more relevant and competent to deal with the challenging times and conditions of Black people in Africa, in the United States and in the whole Black World..."

Most of our members attended the conference hoping to gain further insight of current issues facing African countries. Although the titles of the panels suggested a wide range of topics, often the presenters did not penetrate the titled subject. In one instance, according to one of our members, the panel on "Political Change in Africa" was dominated by the chair who presented a lengthy biographical paper on Thomas Sankara. The paper offered a detailed account of Sankara's life, but did not speak to the current political arena of Burkina Faso. In fairness to the presenter, he had prepared the paper before Sankara's untimely death; nevertheless, a biographical paper on one African leader in a

panel entitled "Political Change in Africa", without approaching the deeper political issues of the leader's country, provides a limited approach to the larger issue of political change in Africa.

In the panel "Built Form, Space and Social Relationship", another one of our members complained similarly. He had attended the panel hoping to relate the topic to current architectural issues facing African communities. The panelists, all of them anthropologists, presented descriptive papers on the "Fulani" and "Bushman". Although an anthropological view gives one way to look at built forms, etc., an added perspective of an architect and/or a sociologist would have offered other ways to look at the subject, thus affording the audience a wider selection of approaches.

Additionally, as we reflect on our experiences at the conference, we all noted the limited number of African Africanist presenters. In the panels we attended, most of the panelists were non-African. We strongly urge the ASA to encourage and invite more African Africanists.

An exception to our disappointments with the panels were the selection of films, such as "Faces of Women", "Camera D'Afrique", and videos such as "Destructive Engagement". These films and videos addressed important aspects of Africa's political, cultural and intellectual concerns. The films also provided one an opportunity to see films made by Africans about Africa. We suggest that the planners of future conferences use the selection of the films as an example in finding suitable presenters and themes.

As students, we appreciate the opportunity to attend the ASA conferences; however, we urge the ASA to review the demands of the 1968 Black Caucus, as those demands have not been addressed successfully and to consider our criticisms to ensure an annual event that addresses the complexities of African issues. We encourage the ASA to look toward more student involvement in panels, in that students are often willing to take academic and political risks their counterpart professors are not.

EDITORIAL

The speeches and articles in this issue are connected together by a loose thematic thread which, at the risk of being naive, can be summarized as 'a return to African traditions'. Such a campaign has had its share of polemics and it is not our intention here to join the fray. No two social thinkers, however, can represent the opposing views of this controversy better than Wole Soyinka, last year's Nobel Laureate for Literature, and Amilcar Cabral, the slain leader of the PAIGC in Guinea Bissau.

We agree with Soyinka when he advocates "an urgent release from the fascination of the past". We also agree with him that such a fascination can be used by some as stratagem for 'escapist indulgence'. A romanticization of the past does not only breed a prisoner to a remote past one can not rehabilitate in total, but it also blurs one's vision of the present and future. Thus, by ruminating on a wistful past, one loses twice. At the time of birth, a child's umbilical cord is severed from its mother, not to cut all links with her, but to let the newborn grow and develop a life of its own. The severing of the cord symbolizes a go ahead for the baby. The past in the concrete presence of the navel has its mark on the baby.

We agree with Soyinka that we should not fritter away our precious time on brooding over a golden era that perhaps never was. Change has always been part of life and no change has ever occurred without contradictions and conflicts of one form or another. But Soyinka has his own brand of going back to the source. It is here where we part with Soyinka. For his nostalgic voice "that bids us return to our own sources" is nothing more than "a fleshpot for escapist indulgence". His return to 'our own sources' does not take the dialectical nature of reality into consideration. His use of Yoruba mythology, for instance, suggests that he believes that change is as elusive for the Yoruba society as ever. It is his prerogative to believe in whatever he likes, but the tragedy lies in his efforts to win converts - with one goal in mind: teach his audience the futility of attempting to change their fate. He argues in his theoretical work that a break with tradition brings about a negative change in nature. Thus, like in ancient Greek society which was made to believe that a change in social order caused a change in world order, Soyinka preaches a doctrine of resignation and helplessness in which failure is inherently human. Yet, contrary to such pernicious teaching, *African Literature* is replete with cosmic optimism which does not gloss over the community's weaknesses. Soyinka's reverse criticism of the fascination of the past, therefore,

shows the dilemma of an intellectual caught up in the web of his own contradictions.

The late Amilcar Cabral offers us a different analysis of 'a return to the source'. His analysis is based on a simple fact: nothing comes out of nothing. To understand our present we should be able to critically study our past. Armed with a sober analysis of the past and present will afford us the means to foretell the future. A return to the source in the Cabralian sense implies a need for those who strayed from the source to come back to it. The returnees must not be negritudinists who feel obliged to 'explain' the ways of the other to whoever their pleas may be directed. Nor should the return to the source function as a temporary therapeutic relief for an individual straddling two horses. Those who are alienated must feel re-incorporated with the community.

But, as is true of African rites of passage, the re-incorporated have also contributions to make. Their contributions could perhaps be used to bring about certain changes in the consciousness of the people. Such a change in consciousness is important, for we still live in a world where false consciousness in various manifestations reigns supreme. The speeches in this issue reiterate that importance.

The amalgam of the popular and the intellectual introduces a meaningful praxis which is badly needed at this juncture of African history. The articles in this issue, it is hoped, compliment Cabral's assessment of the return to the source.

To conclude, we are reminded of the relevance of Brecht's poem "Address to Danish Working-Class Actors" to our present intellectual malaise. He wrote:

Therefore

We ask you, the actors [i.e. The Interpreters]

Of our time--a time of changes and boundless mastery

Of all nature, even man's own - at last

To change yourselves and show us mankind's world

As it really is: made by men and open to their improvements.

The pertinence of the above lines once again confirm to us that the globe is indeed round.

Ali Jimale Ahmed

As we conclude Vol.16, with this issue, the Editorial Board of Ufahamu once again extends their heart-felt gratitude to **Donna Jones** of the African Studies Center whose expertise in production has been of immense help to this journal.

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY COMMEMORATED

[On The 25th of May, the African Activist Association (UCLA) organized a commemoration for African Liberation Day. Ufahamu publishes the opening remarks by Quinta Seward, the Vice-Chair of the AAA, the speeches and excerpts from the discussion which followed the keynote speech-Ed].

QUINTA SEWARD'S OPENING REMARKS:

I WOULD LIKE TO WELCOME ALL OF YOU OF THE AFRICAN RACE TODAY. OUR THEME FOR THIS EVENT IS "THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION", OUR KEYNOTE SPEAKER IS PAUL M. BOUTEBA. HE IS A FORMER SUPPORTER OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF ALGERIA, AND DIRECTOR OF THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. DR. BOUTEBA'S SPEECH WILL BE PRECEDED BY A BRIEF INTRODUCTORY SPEECH BY ALI JIMALE AHMED, THE EDITOR OF UFAHAMU.

LIBERATION DAY

Ali Jimale Ahmed

Freeing yourself [is] one thing; claiming
ownership of that freed self [is] another

Toni Morrison, *Beloved*

Liberation is not limited to any one particular day. It is an on-going process. It does not start or end with a particular day. The day is only the symbol of a struggle which began with the advent of colonialism. As a symbol, therefore, the day becomes a rallying point. A day to assess our achievements and shortcomings of the past year. A day to ask ourselves: How far have we gone? What have we done to further the cause of liberation in Africa and the rest of the world. How, what from and why did we liberate ourselves? What was the continent like before the traumatic impact of colonialism? Was colonialism only an interlude? Lest we become complacent, we must remember that colonialism is also a process, assuming different faces in its attempt for "survival". This is the dialectical nature of what we are up against. Today the ideology of neo-colonialism is best expressed by the Punjabi proverb "When halter and heel-ropes are cut, don't give chase with sticks but with grain."

The day also stands for unity--when the African people took up arms to extricate themselves from the colonial yoke. It is a reminder to anyone who doubts the strength and power of the African masses. That power is still alive, though latent in some places. The day is a living testimony to a reality missed by many. As Paulo Freire states in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, "docility is not an essential character of a people's behavior." Rather, it is the outcome of a historical and sociological situation. What we see of Africa, of a limping giant, of a continent in a limbo is not the real picture of Africa. Yet, what we see is a reality. Independent Africa is not yet free. That's the epitome of the paradox. A rich continent which "cannot" feed its people, yet a continent in struggle. Agostinho Neto has expressed this paradox in a poem:

It shrills and shrills
 he who has strived has not lost
 but has not yet won
 Slow absurd and cruel
 the African train.....

To break out of this vicious circle many things are important, but I'll specify two: education and cultural revolution. Education which addresses our needs. Education which bolsters our culture and which leaves room for a qualitative leap. We need an education which changes people's consciousness--granted, it can't be overnight. The two go hand in hand. It is only a committed and competent leadership with broad participation of the people which can implement programs.

Let us also remember that the struggle was started by heroes in the African sense of the word. It is important that a day such as this should invoke the memory of those who died for our liberation:

We were born in the blood of those who died
 because the blood
 is earth where freedom grows

Let us remember that "the dead do not die/ until their death is forgotten." By remembering the dead, let us also remember that freedom fighters in Azania, Namibia, Western Sahara are shedding their blood this minute for freedom, sweet freedom.

Many others in the so-called independent countries of the continent are also fighting against those larvae left behind by the locusts. Africa, no doubt, shall be free. Just remember, in 1884 European Imperialists met in Berlin to divide Africa amongst themselves. Berlin, today, is itself a divided city. The struggle goes on. Thank you.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

Paul Bouteba

It is really an honor for me to be invited by you; it is also a great pleasure for me to see young freedom fighters being created here as African dancers. More important, we live in a world today where probably the greatest struggle for freedom is the acculturation of our children; for culture is a great weapon; if we have that, colonialists are not going to get very far in Africa. I must confess that I spent many years of my life as a political activist. After my experiences with the OAU, after my bitter experiences in Africa, I realized that our first line of defense is culture. People cannot fight without the heart, motivation, and intelligence of the culture of their ancestral values, without that identity, because we are not pieces of wood, we are human. With this feeling I keep looking at our little world here, particularly today, because President Reagan is about to go and sign an agreement with the Russians partitioning the world, as in 1884, when Europeans partitioned the world and carved Africa amongst themselves. I am happy to be here today; I notice there are many freedom fighters in different parts of the world and the US, because the battle today is world-wide; the world is no longer separated in different parts; any separation today is between those who have power or wealth and those who don't. Those who exploit and those who are exploited; and this is everywhere. There is no part of the world that escapes, including our beloved Africa. At the same time, there's great strength in the fact that you're here; in any case there is motivation, there is heart and intelligence to fight for freedom for everybody and every ethnic group. But today I think we should focus on Africa and the children of Africa wherever they are because of what I am going to talk about. I hope it will shake you out of your boots. Because we live in a period of history where, within the next 50 years, possibly Africa will be reconquered; and the only way that we can prevent that kind of future is for us to think seriously about this problem of liberation, and, as I said, to understand the importance of culture and ethnic identity in the struggle for total liberation of Africa.

I remember when I was a kid in Algeria, I had a grandfather who was a Muslim priest; I'd see him scribbling on pieces of paper Koran verses, he would dump them into a glass of water and give the poor people the water to drink. But my grandfather was a victim; he was a tool of colonialism; so I grew up within that kind of condition. Then I had an uncle, he was a barber; he was the youngest, the rebel in the family. I had two rebels in my family, my mother and this uncle. My mother left and went to Latin America, at that time Algiers was still a colony. I was left with my grandfather, and I don't think I would be

here today without that uncle. He was a barber, but he was a member of a revolutionary brotherhood; he started training us at three, four and five. Just like the young freedom fighter-dancers we see here today. The first and most important thing I learned is ethnic identity.

We Africans put a great price, tremendous cultural, family and social activity on identity so that it is very difficult for the colonial master to make us forget who we are. African ethnic groups go to a great extent to define, establish, maintain and reinforce ethnic identity. If we don't let the western value system tell us how we should develop our identity, we should even honor all those Africans who have used external signs of identity because identity is both external and internal. So, fortunately for me my uncle was a member of a revolutionary brotherhood: they would take us out every Friday; we would leave the town around 4 o'clock: we would walk and walk and walk up to about 9 pm then we would get to a secret farm where the brothers were holding a secret meeting, then we would go through music, dancing, and cultural events and then we'd walk back for hours and hours, till we got to the town early the following day. Later on, I realized they were conditioning us to be guerilla fighters for the liberation of Algeria. Guerilla fighting is primarily training in walking and walking... You have to know your terrain ; second you must be inclined to think in terms of brotherhood, dedicated to the liberation of your people... So that I would not think like my grandfather in terms of class, or like my uncle the tailor who didn't want to have anything to do with us because we were inferior in his mind. I had to learn first who I am, and second to separate myself from my grandfather's ignorant idea of status and superiority to the mass of our people, and to the sick mentality of my uncle the tailor, who saw only himself and the money he could make.

We would walk back from these revolutionary meetings, they were of course secret and held in a different part at different times; as we walked back my uncle would tell me folk tales: I'll particularly never forget one of them, he would say that a white turtle would suddenly talk to me and say "kill me, kill me"; I'd look around and suddenly I'd see a white turtle, an old, one and I would say, "why should I kill you?"; and he'd say: "so that you can put my shell on your head, and you become invisible; then you can go into the jails, and free the brothers; you go to banks, and steal money for the cause". I was being trained to be a guerilla fighter without knowing it. As mother made some money in Venezuela, she came back and took me with her; now all of this was during the period when Algeria was still a colony. In Venezuela years passed by; then there was no hope that Algeria would ever be free. My mother wanted me to get a good education; so education became my primary focus. Next to this, I developed what you might say the mentality of a marginal person - a person that belonged nowhere, and to no one. So I became a member of cosmopolitan groups; I trained

myself to be an information officer for the UN, but in vain; no one wanted an Algerian for the UN information Dept...When the Algerians started the Revolution, there was nothing that could hold me...Nothing. The child in me knew who he was. I gave up everything and joined the FLN office in New York. It is very important to fashion the mentality and the culture of the children. Now I talk about this because later I will try and explain why this is of crucial value. By that time I had a masters in journalism; I was thinking primarily to work in fashionable areas, where you make money and are independent. Then I took that skill and I decided to use it for our liberation movements at the UN. The Algerian delegation was the first one; I also publicized the Angolan and the Mozambican liberation movement. When the OAU was formed, fortunately my African friends I knew at the UN persuaded Diallo Telli, the top man at the OAU then, to hire me...He wired me: come at once, I have a job for you. In less than 4 days, I was in Addis Ababa, the Headquarters of the OAU, working my head off as Director of the Information Department. I felt I was helping making our African dreams come true.

We should do more thinking of ourselves as Africans, reflecting the character of our minds and hearts, acquiring and improving our cultural heritages, and working for our peoples. The OAU at that time articulated our dreams, as Africans: first and foremost, the total liberation of Africa, and the destruction of the racist regime in South Africa. In this battle, the OAU was using two weapons: its Liberation Committee, headed by African ministers of state, and the Defense Committee, headed by a committee of top Africa Military officials. I was fortunate, as information officer, I went wherever the OAU and its Committees went and participated in their work. The OAU was welcomed warmly everywhere in Africa. We had the fantastic satisfaction of seeing African dreams come true. We worked up to 12 to 14 hours a day, often late in the night, with African generals from different countries deciding together on African survival issues. They also supervised their smaller sub-committees on the defense of Africa. At that time, one objective was to invade South Africa and destroy the racist regime. At that time South Africa did not have the military might the U.S. has helped them build since; at that time the Africans could have invaded South Africa and destroyed the racist regime.

As I said, the OAU had three basic strategies: one was the total liberation of our continent; the second was the unification of Africa's major regions, especially regional economic development; economic programs to gradually build the unity and development of the African continent; the third strategy of the OAU was to set up a university institute in Addis Ababa, then multiply it in different African states where young Africans would be trained in the cultures of Africa and the problems of unifying and developing our continent. That was another

dream that was keeping us going; most of us dreamed that we would be teaching part-time there. That dream was, and still is necessary to train the "cadres" that would unify Africa. Human beings do not get where they want to go in one step, even using giant steps. The theory is that we move two or three steps ahead and go one step backwards...where we are right now.

Let me explain why we are where we are now and why we are not farther ahead than we would have been without the problems created for us by neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is the worst kind of cultural and political sickness there is, because it isn't only the enemy outside, but it is what the enemy creates inside our societies, inside our minds. First, there is the problem of psychological confusion, whether we know any more that we are Africans. We have African government ministers who say, "I am French..." and hold foreign passports. I don't have to tell you that also goes for our brothers and sisters in the diaspora. So we have that internal enemy today.

The enemy within is not only cultural and psychological, it is also economic and political. Big powers do not conquer other nations because of their love of the people, but for the love of land and profits. They conquered us in order to do at least two things: first to reduce us to cheap labor; second to usurp the fruits of our labor. This creates our permanent economic slavery because they are building their industrial power and superior weapons -- thus reducing us to depend on their world market and prices, whether we are selling raw materials or buying their processed products; furthermore, this also reduces us to inferiority in military weapons and force us to buy their weapons. This makes it impossible for us to develop and free ourselves from this modern form of slavery: an entire continent's population working as cheap labor to extract its own raw materials to export to feed the western industries, and buying processed goods at 200 times the sales price -- with them controlling both the prices of raw materials and of processed products whether chocolate bars, gasoline or airplanes.

To this way of thinking, cash cropping is our worst internal economic enemy. Think of the African boy or girl whose parents toil to raise cacao trees: instead of processing cocoa into chocolate ourselves, they are shipped to Switzerland, Paris or London; that child goes to his neighborhood stores and buys a chocolate bar for 33 times the price of the cocoa cash-cropped to feed the Western chocolate industry. That child is not going to ever be free. For colonialism built in our societies an economic system geared to enrich western industries; political independence, under neo-colonialism cannot free our societies from this form of exploitation.

The threat is tremendous to an African state that western states are not going to buy its cash crops; we can imagine their fears: how are they going to keep their bureaucracy going; how can they pay for the

super-costly airplanes they need for national defense; how they are going to keep their families driving their Cadillacs... This often forces African states to sell their cash-crops for lower prices than necessary.

Now that we have so-called political independence in most African states -- we are, nevertheless economically and militarily dominated and exploited. When their armies were kicked out of African territories by bloodshed through Mau Mau in Kenya, guerrilla warfare in Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the western powers reasoned: why not give the African political independence as long as we keep them under western economic and military domination. They also keep us under their western psychological control: most Africans today listen to the BBC, Radio Paris or the Voice of America rather than their own national or other African news sources. They read their magazines, literature and advertising, and view their films.

When I was in Addis Ababa, the Headquarters of the OAU, I went to the movies; what do you think I saw? Yes, "ZULU," the most anti-African propaganda you'll ever see Chaka is pictured as a blood-thirsty villain... Similar propaganda is also seen over film and TV screens in other African countries instead of African films, made by African writers, directors and cinematographers.

But the worst thing that has happened to Africa since the 1960's is the apparent agreement between the U.S. and Russia to militarize the African states; unfortunately most of us are not sufficiently informed about this tragic sequence of events. Both Russia and the U.S. contributed to this strategy to paralyze the African revolutionary forces and sentiments. What does it mean?

First, it means the creation of a powerful military class in each of our societies which had been drained of their economic productivity during colonialism; do not have competent political class and a domestic productions class strong enough to compete with the western and Russian backed military classes.

The second consequence of militarization is that the high cost of modern arms and its tremendous drain on our limited economic resources keep our countries hooked to western banks and exchange market, and it perpetuates western stranglehold on the poverty of our masses with the inevitable pressure to produce for export (rather than domestic consumption) to get the necessary dollars or rubles to pay for the costly weapons of defense, which we do not produce ourselves; thus they keep us dependent on them for our own national security... the day they decide to cut off our arms supplies, we'll become defenseless again as after the Berlin Conference partitioning of Africa.

The Russians -- who had the image of being revolutionary -- have never seriously contributed to developing and supporting a revolutionary class in any African country. They only support the military armies that take power in African countries. I studied the

Russians when I was helping the Algerian and other African delegations at the UN in New York and when I was in Africa. They never helped us develop a competent revolutionary party to make a successful political revolution in any African state. They tend either to reinforce the military class that invite them or, like the Americans, to sell them their last-year weapons. In Egypt where I stayed two years, aside from helping with the construction of the Aswan dam, the Russians didn't help in any way in the development of a competent political class of any kind. They didn't even advise Nasser on how to do it; instead they just kept selling arms to Egypt without even training the soldiers in the proper use of the weapons, so that when the Israelis defeated the Egyptian army in the six day war, they found tremendous quantities of arms unused.

Now, the western-oriented Egyptian ruling class has managed to invite the U.S. military in, and have linked the defense of Egypt, an African strategic territory, to the military strategy of the U.S. than they ever were tied to the Russians; the Russians never had a base in Egypt; the Russians never held military maneuvers with the Egyptian forces. This alliance with the U.S. military forces is affected while the U.S. government is helping Israel develop its own super-weapons, while only selling last-year arms to Egypt or any other African country.

All this is going on while the military classes in the African countries are completely indifferent to the future of Africa, to its populations, and to its continental unity.

Egypt today has become a staging base for western forces in a strategic area of the African continent. With North and South Africa so consolidated under western powers the first phase of the African re-conquest is clearly well advanced, given the neo-colonialist controls within each African country. This explains why they are holding so tenaciously to South Africa. My gut feeling is that -- like Algeria -- South Africa is not going to be liberated with words and demonstrations. We cannot forget that it is also a settlement colony. We lost nearly a million young Algerians, just to get the French settlers out. The French neo-colonialists are just as numerous today as the French settlers were before.

The neo-colonial strategy of today consists of controlling South and Northern Africa first...before occupying the Eastern and Western regions of Africa themselves much more vulnerable once South and North African territories are occupied. You can ask yourself why am I fighting so hard for African unity? Who is going to be hit first in the next phase of the European re-conquest of Africa?

Next to South Africa, the Algerians will be the first African victims. To help build a youth movement throughout our continent that

will unify Africa is our first strategy and our first sacred mission if we have any sense of identity with our ancestors, if we have any loyalty to the welfare of the masses of our peoples; if we have any love of our cultural heritages and our rich and beautiful lands. The OAU is our means of guiding the development of African unity; producing our own arms is the only means left us to protect and insure the freedom of our peoples, our countries and our continent in the near future --given the scenario that both South and North Africa are under the military controls of western powers, and all African states are unable to produce their own arms.

Do not be too impatient with the OAU; basically, it is a most wonderful agency: at least it maintains the dream of African unity alive. In itself, the OAU is not a power organization like the UN; it is an agency that serves the decisions of the African governments. It cannot impose itself on the African governments: they control it; they finance it; they dictate to it. The OAU can accomplish only what the African governments want it to accomplish.

The only way the OAU can fulfill the "Dream of African Unity" is through the development of a generation of young Africans sharing common ideology, determined and skilled to unify their countries, and force their governments to use the OAU to bring about effective programs that will inevitably unite Africa.

Today even if the military in an African country wants to make a cultural and political revolution, they cannot do it because there is no solid revolutionary movement in their country to ally themselves with -- so African military classes today are mainly concerned with consolidating their power. Since our military classes depend for arms on the West or the Russians, it means that the prevention of the development of competent young revolutionary movements in Africa was agreed upon by the Americans and the Russians so that there would be no successful political and economic revolutions in Africa. Worse, the militarization of Africa was intended to destroy the revolutionary governments in Africa and replace them by their own military allies.

I will never forget the tragedy that hit the OAU when Nkrumah was overthrown by his own military generals trained in British military schools. After that time, the African unity movement guided by the OAU -- which had been directed by the liberal governments in Africa -- was no longer possible. Nkrumah, Modibo Keita, Ben Bella... and others...those African governments who really understood the importance of African unity for the destiny of our peoples and wanted it to work were eliminated. One by one these progressive governments were taken over by their own generals assisted by the western secret services and the KGB. This consolidated the military classes in Africa, and automatically changed -- not the OAU -- but the policies directing the OAU, as defined by the new military regimes, since the OAU

policies are controlled and defined by the African heads of state and their appointed ministers.

After this debacle happened, I spent two years at the OAU crying inside my heart and wondering whether I should give up because the African ship had been taken over by the military regimes who changed its course. In the absence of competent political and production classes in Africa -- caused by colonialism -- I realized that these military regimes would dominate most of the African continent for quite some time, under one military clique or another.

Unfortunately military classes, concerned with consolidating their own power, had no honest, intelligent understanding of the problems of Africa -- given the unification of Europe and their industrial ambitions, given the ultimate partitioning of the world into western and communist spheres of influence and arms control, given the devastation of African human and material resources by colonialism...Even if the military regimes wanted to really revolutionize our African peoples, they do not know how to do it. for it is not in their authoritarian mentality or competence.

When I say revolution, I don't mean just guns. The most important thing I learned from my studying world revolutionary movements -- whether you take China, Vietnam, Russia, Japan or the Jewish people -- is that effective political activism does not succeed unless it is preceded by an appropriate period of cultural and educational revolution of a people.

Today to survive as a free and prosperous population, a nation must have 5 classes of competent professionals: a cultural class, a political class, a production class, an information class, and a military class. Seemingly the first 3 or 4 classes must share the same ideology and common interests to prevent a military takeover. It would be highly instructive to study the U.S., Japan, Germany, Russia, China and Israel from this perspective and compare them to our African states...

To make a lasting and effective revolution -- for our African masses of people to overcome the destructive effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism -- it is necessary for us at least to study how modern revolutions have been made. For instance, the Russian revolution among others had several revolutionary parties; but only the Bolshevik party came out victorious. Why?... Lenin, who led the party, insisted on educating his disciples into highly knowledgeable and competent cadres who then would educate and organize the workers as political activists; he set up "cadre" schools in Switzerland and elsewhere to form them; to give them a common ideology, scientific knowledge of the realities of their people, not just in theory but in actual daily work with their people.

The Chinese communists almost lost in the early phase of their national war, because of three major errors: (1) they had based their

revolution on the Russian model of the workers instead of farmers, who made up the great majority of the Chinese people; (2) their cadres had not been recruited mainly from the peasantry...with loyalty to them, and trained to work with them, educated, organized to direct them in their revolutionary struggles; and (3) the Chinese communists included in the education of their cadres the cultural revolution of the entire Chinese people as the ultimate goal of their revolutionary struggle. They continued the cultural revolution long after they took over power -- to revolutionize the mentality and skills of their entire population to restructure their societies on a modern basis, yet preserving the best of their cultural heritage. Because of the peasant based recruitment and training of their cadres and the emphasis on the cultural revolution of their entire population -- only 3% of the people were needed to accomplish victory of the communist movement. This is the major reason why today China can shift to the mass production -distribution of consumer goods without major ethnic, cultural or economic inequalities -- which the Russians ignored when they based their communist party mainly on workers and Russians of European and Jewish ancestry.

This should be a major lesson for us Africans. About 95% or more of our peoples are farmers and rural, even when they go to the cities; and we have a much wider ethnic and cultural diversity -- with the great cultural richness and problems this entails.

In the U.S., the managerial class and cadres are trained in their common business ideology and strategies in the business schools in American universities, Ivy League colleges, and through television and films. Throughout the U.S. every year the best high school and college graduates are recruited and offered promising jobs by corporation scouts. Now the communist countries are being forced to create a production management class, separate from their political party managers.

These business managers and cadres constitute the major reason WHY the U.S. system has the highest productivity in the world: it enables the U.S. to carry on massive military ventures while still having surpluses in food and entertainment to keep their masses content with the system and striving for more of that dollar. It is this massive productivity that has forced the Russian communist party leaders -- facing intensifying internal pressures for consumer goods to seek an accord with the Americans on spheres of influence and arms control; openly the Russian leaders have declared that they are no longer the protectors of the Third World. We are back, historically, at the 1884 Berlin Conference when Africa was partitioned.

For these reasons, many progressive critics maintain that the U.S. does not need a political or an economic revolution. It would be stupid to ignore that the American masses are willing to die to maintain their system, or to destroy the highest standard of living on earth and its

many freedoms -- when only a cultural revolution is needed, especially of the managerial class.

Unfortunately, the pursuit of the dollar-god has tended to distort the human side of the American character. Look around...Beside the many social ills -- most high school and college students are bent mostly on getting the skills for a job and making money. They ignore developing the creative and spiritual dimensions of their personal life as well as training themselves to be effective participants in their community and national affairs. Adding to this dislocation of motives and talents is the constant television pressures to buy... buy... buy... this or that product. Between these school and TV pressures, one feels there are only two sides to the American way of life: to participate in the production-distribution assembly-line to get the most dollars, or to spend and spend that dollar as constant consumers...

In most of Africa today -- with the military regimes armed and helped to consolidate their power by both western and communist states -- I believe true revolutionary governments and African unity are immediately impossible. Supporting one coup after another by military and political activists would only transform Africa into another Latin America with its endless cycle of coups...

On the other hand, the stability of consolidated military regimes can only lead to stagnation, the destruction of the creative energies of the people as well as their cultural heritage...examples, Egypt and Turkey. This is the inevitable result, because military regimes are by nature authoritarian and ally themselves with other authoritarian elements in society such as the clergy whether Muslim, Christian or Animist. Just think of Egypt and the extension of the Nasser regime since 1956, and compare it to Japan or Israel.

Today Egypt is still ruled by an alliance between the military and the Muslim clergy; there is no competent political class; there is no competent production class; there is no competent cultural class. The masses of the Egyptian people are still ill-fed and ill-clothed. The Egyptian economy has to depend on the U.S.; Egypt is opening the treasures of its ancestral tombs to western tourists for a price -- accepting the destructive effects this will have on their national treasures.

Today 50 million Egyptians -- controlled by a vast military class -- cannot cope in any way with 3 million Israeli, because of the stagnating and destructive effects of their authoritarian regime. Today Egypt has become a vast staging base for U.S. military maneuvers encircling a most strategic area of Africa. While America is financing the Israeli development of super missiles (beside the atom bomb), the Egyptian military are content with buying from the U.S. arms that are far inferior to those produced by the Israeli themselves.

For Africa to escape from the dilemma created by neocolonialism and our military regimes -- we have to depend on and educate our future generations to unify our countries and to unite our continent... It takes an entire generation -- committed to the same ideology and organized to accomplish the goals of a revolutionary mass movement -- to unify Africa, just as it did for our national liberation mass movements. To accomplish such goals, we have to dedicate ourselves to rebuilding the revolutionary will of our African peoples, especially our youth. To accomplish such goals, we have to train ourselves to understand the techniques of how modern revolutions have been made, and acquire the necessary skills to apply them successfully.

Given the non-revolutionary situation in most African countries - if we are to succeed, we must accomplish a true cultural revolution, not just replace one military regime by another or one incompetent clique of political activists by another. In the light of the successful revolutions throughout the world, a dominant strategy can be learned from them: we must first concentrate on developing and organizing a vast cultural revolution and unification of our diverse African populations. As this movement builds up, we should, from its members, develop competent political, production-distribution, information and military classes, with dedicated loyalty to the masses of our African populations and the goals of the African cultural revolution.

It is to young people like you -- the university generation -- that the future leadership and survival of dignified Africa belongs. You have to assume the responsibility and the revolutionary role inherited from our common colonial experience and national liberation movements, to revitalize African cultures, unify and unite our African continent. This is a sacred mission... an urgent mission.

The new superpowers are now holding top conferences to partition the world into spheres of influence, reduction of atomic weapons, and the distribution of arms to the Third World. The European nations are working toward a continental "United States" of Europe... a high certainty within 40-60 years. We Africans must face this eventuality: where are the Europeans going to get raw materials necessary for their industries to maintain parity with the superpowers?... Africa is again facing the historic dangers of being reconquered by Europe to exploit our material wealth and cheap labor to feed its industries, and also for the settlement space...

The western determination to hold on to South Africa and help it develop its own superweapons, the presence of France in certain African states, the stronghold of the U.S. on Egypt and Saudi Arabia extend western control to another strategic African region. With South and North Africa so controlled, what can prevent the western powers from re-conquering Africa? Are the African military regimes, African youths, professionals and businessmen so ignorant of African History

or so blind not to see the pattern of western military encirclement of Africa? Without making our own arms, and without the numbers of people and organization of African unity -- our divided peoples are defenseless...

Are we so lured by communist and capitalist promises to think that our purchased arms can function as a deterrent against a future European reconquest of Africa?... After the Berlin Conference of 1884 to partition Africa -- obtaining adequate arms became the weakest link in the defense of our splintered African territories...

Western and communist powers already have agreements on the quantity and quality of arms they distribute to Third World states -- to keep them in "their place." Once the East-West accord on mutual spheres of influence and control is signed, it will become impossible for African states to get adequate arms anywhere -- just like after the Berlin Conference.

At this moment, there is not a single African country that makes its own arms to prevent its re-conquest... Not even our most powerful nation, Nigeria, the most populated, most economically developed, with the largest professional-educated class, and with a creative potential as great as or greater than Japan - given its richer land resources...

With South and North Africa under western control, and neo-colonialism everywhere, the re-conquest scenario will follow an easier version of the colonial conquest: first, Europeans will make getting adequate arms extremely difficult if not impossible, too expensive far beyond our means; then, they will manipulate our divided African states one against another; pretending to "protect" one state, arm it against others; finally, conquer our territories one after another until our entire continent is reoccupied for a third time: first by the Romans, then by industrial Europe, and now by a united Europe.

Sometimes, I wonder: what does it take for us Africans to learn from our common continental history? We learn so well our local ethnic heritage and rightfully fight to protect it. But we don't seem to understand that the welfare of our personal ethnic group is inseparable from that of our common continent; we seem to ignore the critical situation in which all our ethnic and national groups are --that unless we unite our continent and start producing our own arms, we may find ourselves with NO deterrent of any kind to prevent the highly possible re-conquest of Africa.

In order to become totally committed to the unity, liberation, and production of our own arms to defend the African continent, we have to understand clearly and confront at least four dominant facts of our situation in the modern world: (1) today the powerful states are continent-size such as the U.S., Russia, China, and uniting Europe; they possess a modern continental production-distribution market which enables them to provide high standards of living to the masses of their

people and to build the arms to guarantee them a strong deterrent: France, England and Germany became satellites of the U.S. after World War II; (2) no single part of Africa can prosper and survive neocolonial domination and possible re-conquest -- if any other part of Africa is controlled or re-conquered by European powers; (3) no single African state can hope to attain equal bargaining status for its raw materials in the world market: instead of processing our own raw materials, they end up only increasing the industrial powers of the western world thus making us prisoners of western markets and their international banks; our experience since the 1960s should be sufficient to persuade us of this reality; and (4) to create an African continental production-distribution system -- to process our own raw materials and compete freely in the world market -- we have to go through at least these revolutionary phases:

- a) recognize that each of our ethnic groups is part and parcel of our African continent, irrevocably linked to its international destiny;
- b) unify our different countries, and integrate them into some form of united states of Africa as the Europeans are doing to secure the interests of their different ethnic groups;
- c) fuse the motivations of our ethnic loyalties into national, and African unity identity; and
- d) embark on appropriate continental programs of our own through OAU planning -- to implement its goals for the prosperity and survival of all our peoples, and the exploitation by ourselves of the rich resources of our lands.

Such all-Africa revolutionary ideology and programs must be achieved through adult education, especially of mothers; effective home socialization of our children into our revitalized cultural heritages; through schools and all the media to properly motivate and orient our African youths.

To rebuild the revolutionary will of Africa may take us 20 to 30 years... but it must be done. If we are to live with dignity in our own personal lives -- we must participate in the struggle to assure the masses of our peoples the cultural revival and economic prosperity promised them by our liberation movements. To survive as free human beings and to prevent the possible re-conquest by European powers -- our peoples need all our dedication, understanding and skills.

We should also train ourselves to dedicate our lives to work for the African cultural revolution whether in the diaspora or in Africa. As children of Africa, we have such a responsibility ... and such honor.

This reminds me of a special event in my life. When we were fighting in different ways to free Algeria from colonialism -- and its most vicious weapon, the settlers -- I met in New York a French army deserter. When I thanked him for helping us and asked him WHY he deserted, his answer was: I did not desert for you Algerians; I deserted because the war was not my image of France. He had a different vision of France, that did not include colonialism in Africa.

This became an important secret for me: since then, I examine attentively all western events to see IF they contain clues of colonialism in one form or another, or racism in one form of another.

For instance, the image of America is too often associated with the dream of humanity and human rights. This is a great and beautiful dream. Unfortunately, the realities of American society do not practice what they preach: The U.S. does not deal with the Third World on the basis of humanity, human unity, or human values: it only talks about it. This is why the whole movement of the so called human rights is a failure, only a smokescreen to hide U.S. strategies in South Africa and the Egyptian region of Africa.

Even inside the U.S., the teachers and social workers who spend time repairing the damage done minority children find that for everyone they help, the system is damaging 10 others... The civil rights realities are smokescreened with the propaganda of human rights. So one has to reform the very U.S. cultural mentality, not just repair the damage its racism and money worship causes poor and ethnic minorities.

I thank you again for inviting me to share in your celebration of the OAU anniversary and Africa Liberation Day. I sincerely hope you will continue your gallant efforts, and also start a special celebration to honor the spirit of the children of Africa who died resisting colonialism, who died since the Mau Mau uprising in guerilla-fighting to free every part of our African continent from foreign exploitation and occupation.

I can clearly hear that wonderful song popular throughout Africa, calling the spirit of some of our revolutionary hero ancestors: "Chaka will rise again...Sundiata will rise again, Dedan Kimathi and Patrice Lumumba will rise again...Fanon and Steve Biko will rise again...Nkrumah will rise again...

In this spirit, I salute you all for celebrating the OAU, its ideology, and its great work. If you have other questions, I'll be glad to answer them. Again thank you.

FROM THE DISCUSSION

Q: My question has to do with African identity: how does it involve self-esteem, something that has to occur in the mind and heart of every man?

A: Your question is of critical importance: it makes us focus again on our problem of cultural identity. Self-esteem is the reflection of the cultural identity and state of mind of an ethnic group.

Because of the colonial and neo-colonial brainwashing we have been subjected to -- today most Africans cannot define culturally their country and their loyalty to it; in fact some of us cannot even define clearly the cultural heritage of our ethnic group nor behave according to it -- though we may show strong loyalty to it. Our peoples are confused about who we are; about the realities of our ethnic group, of our country, and of our African continent; about the important values involved in the cultural, economic and political options available to us -- in a world of superpowers exploiting our raw materials and cheap labor to maintain their industrial superiority, and encircling our continent with their superweapons.

In psychological warfare, such cultural confusion of entire peoples is the result of a well-known strategy of "misinformation." One of our own revolutionary psychologists and guerrilla fighters, Franz Fanon, explains realistically the consequences on most of us of the colonial brainwashing in his book, *Black Skin White Masks*.

Consequently, only a revolutionary movement can bring about the cultural revitalization of every African country, and unification of our continent. Only then can Africans, on the continent and in the diaspora, be able to define clearly their cultural heritage; only then can we clearly see the basis of our cultural identity, feel proud of it, and develop a positive self-esteem; only then can we feel motivated and confident to participate effectively in our liberation and African unification struggles.

As part of their political revolution, the Chinese communists especially trained cadres to re-educate the masses of their people who had been brutalized by centuries of feudalism and western imperialism in order to revitalize their cultural heritage and improve their individual self-esteem; then this motivated them to participate in their revolutionary struggles. This is why only 3% of the Chinese people needed to attain their military victory and the cultural revolution of the great masses of their huge population.

Q: Is there something fundamental about the 1960s, when people talk about the African revolution?

A: The 1960s saw most African countries get independence. This made it an important transition from colonialism to African independent states -- Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, Tanzania, Egypt, and others carried on active movements for the African revolution and unity. These movements died when the military regimes took over in most African states.

However, any generation can carry on the African revolution; it is its responsibility to do so. In fact, any one of us can contribute to the cultural revolution of our peoples. Let me give you a specific example.

In Houston, Texas, I worked closely with some teachers and students at TSU (Texas Southern University), a black institution. There are many African students there. But most students, as in other American universities, are only concerned with getting a degree to go out and make a million dollars; they have little concern for their cultural heritage or ethnic identity, except when a shocking racist event takes place.

However, at TSU, one professor, Dr. John Biggers, has managed quietly to make an African cultural revolution in the Arts department: before they graduate, students undergo deep studies in African and African-American cultural heritage and art traditions.

As a young art student, Biggers decided that he was going to set up an art department where black students would be trained in their cultural heritage, art traditions and techniques. First he trained himself to be a top creative African artist and scholar; he traveled broadly to study the art traditions of different peoples, and studied especially the African cultural heritage and art traditions. Today he is America's greatest mural painter, dealing mainly with the African-American experience and cultural heritage.

Thirty-eight years ago Dr. Biggers came to start the art department at TSU, when Houston was a cultural desert even for the whites. He built the department to become one of the best in the U.S. He developed special ways of teaching African heritage and Art techniques to involve his students to identify with the African and African-American people, and to reflect their experience and values in their creative works.

Over the years, the TSU art department has graduated over 250 artists trained in the African cultural heritage, and producing creative works reflecting their heritage and art traditions. Today Dr. Biggers' disciples are out there teaching African art traditions, working in museums as curators of "primitive" Third World arts, or working in advertising, TV, or publishing art graphics.

Just imagine the cultural revolution that would result if 1,000 students decided to train themselves to go out and make mini revolutions -- like Dr. Biggers -- in strategic cultural, economic, political, information, and military fields in Africa!

President Sam Nujoma speaks on the struggle for independence

by
Mark Eckert

In early May, the Hon. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, visited Los Angeles as part of a North American tour to garner support for the independence struggle in Namibia. During his visit, President Nujoma spoke to a gathering of U.C.L.A. students, faculty and staff. Following is an edited version of a conversation he had with several student representatives of the African Activist Association.*

It is particularly important in this election year that citizens of the United States become more aware of the situation in Namibia and southern Africa. Recent visits to this country by Jonas Savimbi, head of UNITA, during which he was awarded the Medgar Evers medal for humanitarian services by a black mayor in a southern state, indicates that the large scale publicity campaign undertaken by South African supporters has met with unfortunate success. Many progressive Black leaders condemned the award but it is still incumbent on all of us to work as best we can to counter the misleading propaganda being purported by Pretoria.

Recent reports in the western press regarding talks on Namibian independence have once again stirred up hope for a lasting settlement to the problems of the region. However, we note with much dismay, the fact that Namibia was not party to the negotiations and that there was no mention at all of a radical change in South Africa. Until SWAPO is allowed to participate in the negotiation process and pressure is applied to bring about progressive change in South Africa, it is doubtful the current talks will lead to fruition.

Comrade Sam Nujoma:

I want to talk about the struggle for the liberation of Namibia which SWAPO is spearheading. SWAPO has been leading the struggle for the last 28 years. The South African racist regime has recently increased its repression against the Namibian population with the clear purpose of suppressing the political aspirations of the Namibian people for self-determination and national independence. Right now, the

* The interview was conducted by Aliyu Umar, former chair of the AAA, Cheryl-Dandridge-Perry and Sulciman Rabadi-Ed.

border regime has reduced Namibia to a huge military garrison. It has over 100,000 troops there, plus mercenaries from all over western Europe and Latin America. The regime has extended the South African Defense Act to Namibia under which Namibians are swept into the war machinery for the apartheid regime. This has happened because the South African white soldiers are now demoralized and they fear to go to battle, so they send these Namibian puppet troops, the so-called South West Africa Territorial Force and the other special units like Koevoet.....

[As in South Africa, there are] restrictions on newspaper correspondents and TV crews. Even those locally from Namibia cannot move safely without a written permit form. This is to prevent journalists and any other people who are sympathetic to the cause of the Namibian people from seeing the atrocities that are daily being carried out by the racist South African regime. They have gone to the extent of creating military bases around schools and in villages. They use villages to save their own skins because they know that SWAPO would not attack them in villages because this would result in injuries to the civilian population.....

Today, throughout Namibia, one can see that since SWAPO was launched 28 years ago, the people have matured politically and we are confident in ourselves as self-liberators. The enemy is not dead, of course, nor are his repressive laws. South Africa has tried many maneuvers, many different tactics, creating false regimes one after the other. They have given them all sorts of names [the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and Transitional Government] and all sorts of so-called ministers, but all these institutions have collapsed as a result of the intensification of the armed struggle by SWAPO.....

Due to the pressure applied by the people led by SWAPO, the oppressors have started to make minor changes in the apartheid system. They cancelled the outright apartheid of the "two-doors" in the post office and other public places. Now there is only one door for all the people. Certainly, this is not what we are demanding. What SWAPO demands is the complete overthrow of all colonial institutions which are to be replaced with peoples' institutions. We are demanding free, fair and democratic elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations....In the absence of a genuine, negotiated settlement we have no choice but to continue to intensify the resistance, our nationalist resistance, with arms and hands, in order to insure the liquidation of the South African colonial regime and the oppression of the Namibian people.....

The fact that Namibia's independence has been delayed because of the negative attitude of the Reagan administration supported by the Thatcher government in Britain and Kohl in West Germany, which have insisted that Namibia's decolonization process be linked to withdrawal

of Cuban internationalist forces from the People's Republic of Angola. As far as the Namibian people are concerned, Namibia is a colony. Angola, on the other hand, is a sovereign state and it has the right to enter into an agreement, politically, diplomatically, culturally, or militarily, with any other state that is an ally. In this case, Angola, which is daily being attacked by South Africa, reached an agreement with Cuba to help defend the territorial integrity of Angola as well as the lives of its people. We support Angola's position to maintain its territorial integrity with the assistance of whoever is ready to assist it. Surely, nobody can expect the Angolan people to commit suicide by allowing the South Africans and their UNITA bandits to lodge such massive military attacks.....

We have come to the United States at this particular moment to appeal to the citizens of the U.S. to work through their legislatures, Congressmen, and Senators to insure that the outgoing Reagan administration and incoming administration -- whether it is Jesse Jackson, Governor Dukakis or Vice-President Bush -- to cease support of racist South Africa and to support the efforts of the international community, particularly the U.N. Secretary General, in implementing Resolution 435. We would also ask for the U.S. to tighten economic sanctions against Pretoria because this is the only way we believe it can bring about genuine Namibian independence.....

We feel the people of the United States who believe in the equality of men, human rights and democracy, whose forefathers fought to liberate the U.S. from British colonialism, should understand our just demands for freedom and independence. Yet, the Reagan administration has caused a lot of damage. In fact, it has helped prevent Namibia's independence by insisting on linkage. We know that the Reagan Administration has been giving political, and diplomatic support as well as weapons, especially Stinger missiles, to the UNITA bandits. South Africans are training the UNITA forces on Namibian soil. So far, we have not experienced any U.S. troops inside Namibia but we have heard from the media about the renovation of bases in Zaire, and that U.S. aircraft are delivering weapons to UNITA to carry out their destabilization of the Angola government.....

SWAPO, as a movement, is ready to negotiate with the Pretoria racist regime, as well as to participate in democratic elections supervised by the U.N. And we are quite confident that the Namibian people, who are today laying down their lives in the many battles inside Namibia, will certainly vote SWAPO into office. They are confident that SWAPO is the only movement that is fighting for their rights, for self determination and national independence.....

Our national policy will be based on utilizing Namibia's resources for the benefit of the Namibian people, irrespective of color or race, and to create a people's government, a government that will protect

the interests of all Namibians. We know it is going to be difficult but certainly, Namibia has a small population compared to other countries, and it has vast resources -- uranium, diamonds, copper, lead, gold and also fish and fish products, and beef products. If these resources are utilized for the benefit of the Namibian people there will be no children suffering from malnutrition as is the case today. There will be no children not attending school. There will be no Namibian citizen without adequate medical care. This will be our national policy. As far as foreign policy is concerned, it will be based on the policy of non-alignment.....

SWAPO is a national liberation movement whose membership is open to all Namibian citizens and we are proud to say that today SWAPO has branches throughout the country and its members are from all sections of our population including whites. I assure you, no one will be denied their legitimate right to exercise their vote through elections.....

Finally, I would call on the African students in the United States to continue to mobilize to get American public opinion to support the cause of the oppressed, struggling Namibian people as well as the people of South Africa, I particularly address my appeal to citizens of the United States to strongly urge whoever is going to be in the White House, not to follow the negative attitudes of the Reagan administration but to support the Namibian people, in particular, the implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435. Thank You.

