

GUEST COMMENTARY**AFRICA AND THE CHALLENGE OF IMPERIALISM***(Part 2 of a 4 part series)**By Thomas Cacho*

We have seen how the majority of African countries, beginning with Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah in 1957, attained independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s. We have seen further how this turned out to be nothing more than a sham independence since the economic systems of most of the newly "independent" African states continue to be controlled by and remain subordinated to the interests and dictates of foreign capital.

This is accomplished by Western imperialism's maintenance and economic and military support of native reactionary ruling cliques in many African countries, who in return are expected to keep the local economy open to foreign investment and wealth (resource) extraction by the imperialist powers. Thus begins imperialism in its neocolonial phase.

The political and economic dynamics behind the transformation of imperialism in Africa from its colonial to its neocolonial phase are described by the eminent Zairean political scientist Nzongola-Ntalaja in this way: "In post-colonial Africa, the leadership group is made up for the most part of petty bourgeois nationalists who, on the whole, were more interested in replacing Europeans in the leading positions of power and privilege than in effecting a radical transformation of the state and

the society around it. Thus when the new rulers came face to face with their historical dilemma, either to betray the revolution or to side with their people's aspirations, they chose the easy way out.

"They opted for their own enrichment in alliance with imperialist capital instead of the difficult road to a better life for all through a radical transformation of the colonially-inherited structures of the economy and the society. They failed the crucial test for post-colonial development," he said.

One of the most insightful analyses on the theory of national

liberation and the nature and objectives of the struggle was presented by Amilcar Cabral (1924-1973), who led the successful liberation struggles in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands in the early 1960s. Cabral's brilliant theoretical analysis is found in two classic works, "The Weapon of Theory" (1975) and "Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral" (1979), both published after his death.

Cabral saw national liberation as both a revolutionary and a historical process, where genuine liberation means not only the regaining of one's

historical personality as a free people, but also a return to a people making their own history.

In the modern world, imperialism negates this historical process of the dominated people by *subjugating the people's productive forces* (the ability to produce and reproduce social existence). For Cabral therefore, national liberation is a rich concept that goes well beyond mere political independence, and one that involves the complete overthrow of imperialist domination in both its colonial and neocolonial forms.

It consists of two phases, a

national revolution (a people's struggle against foreign rule), and a *social revolution* (destruction of the capitalist structure on which the exploitation of workers and peasants is built), leading to the establishment of a socialist economy and society. It is this latter phase that is crucial to the ultimate success of the national liberation struggle and, sadly, where the majority of Africa's national liberation movements were betrayed by petty bourgeois nationalists.

Following will be a review of past attempts at unity for the purpose of defending against

Western imperialism and the protection, extraction and development of Africa's vast natural resources for the benefit of her people.

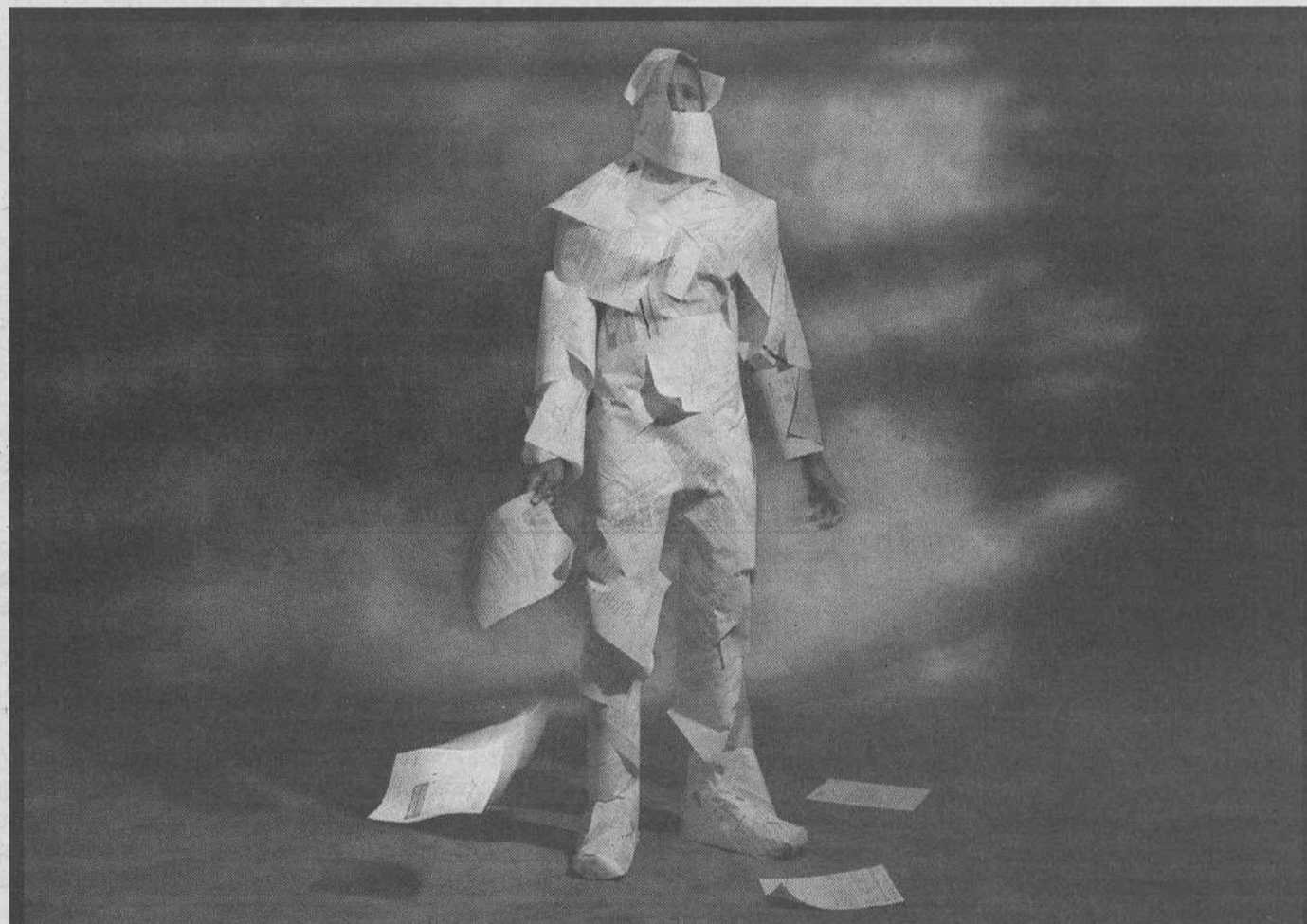
Particular attention will be paid to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's attempts at establishment of a federation of African states — a "United States of Africa." Additionally, further discussion of the nature of the continent's post-colonial states will be undertaken.

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BETWEEN THE LINES*(Continued from Page 12)*

Ward Connellys, the Larry Elders, the Errol Smiths and the Armstrong Williams', all constant mouthpieces for a politic that wants to see the return of yesterday that comprised our people's dignity and humanity. And they can get all the press and airwaves they want. But I would not trust them to come to our aid. Not as far as I could throw them.

I bet blackfaces think they're gonna' get away after their rhetoric creates a very unsociable environment for those outside the counter-culture frame of thought. They'll probably go first. When horses get tired of running with a zebra, they run him off. They know he's not a horse, and the zebra (who thinks he's a horse) knows he's not a horse. But in hoping they can find some zebras to play with, maybe these zebras will find each other — because they are of no use (trust) to us. Not the way they run off at the bit.

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