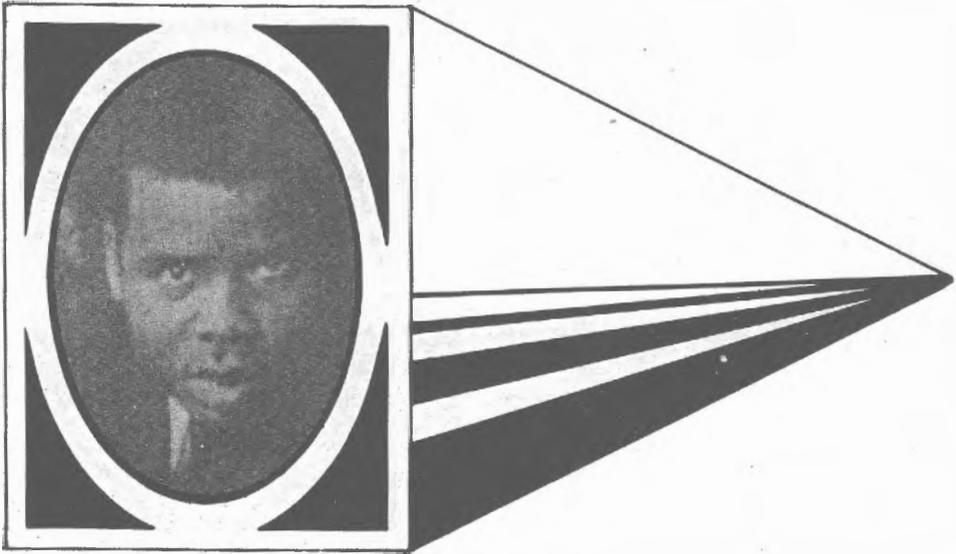




starting
points

Revolution and Class Struggle in the Congo (B)

Marien N'Gouabi



Ever since August 1963, when the people of the Congo-Brazzaville freed themselves of the spurious regime of l'Abbé Fulbert Youlou, their progress toward real liberation has been anything but easy. Standing like an isolated revolutionary island in a zone in central-western Africa closely linked to the former colonial powers and US imperialism, with an economy greatly dependent on the supplies furnished by the former French metropolis and surrounded by powerful enemies, the Congo-Brazzaville has been subjected to pressures which, however, rather than weakening the revolutionary spirit of the Congolese people, have served to strengthen it.

In September 1968 Massemba-Debat, who had climbed to power in Brazzaville following the overthrow of Fulbert Youlou, resigned after having "failed to attain the national unity" so essential in a country made up of numerous ethnic groups and regional divisions which the colonialists, in their long stay, had done their very best to encourage and make even more marked. Since then, the revolution, this time under the aegis of President Marien N'Gouabi, became radicalized and took its first, determined steps along the path of socialism, chosen as the political and economic road that would lead the country out of the underdevelopment into which colonialization had submerged it for so many centuries.

The radicalization of the revolutionary process led, inevitably, to a multiplication of economic pressures and an increase in reactionary schemes. The imperialist plot against the Congo-Brazzaville — in which the intervention of Kinshasa was the outstanding event — reached its crowning point, following overt threats of invasion, with the abortive coup d'état of March 23, 1970.

The frustrated coup, headed by former Lieutenant Kiganga — who lived in exile in Kinshasa — served to spur the formalizing of measures which had long been under study and contributed to increase the solidarity of the people with their Government. Two days later, the Government resolved to call a special congress of the Congolese Labor Party (PCT). The congress was preceded and was to be followed, as well, by nationalization measures.

Given the importance of the statements formulated in the special congress, **Tricontinental** publishes the speech delivered by Major Marien N'Gouabi in that historic meeting together with a complementary speech delivered on May 1 this year renewing and consolidating the revolutionary stand adopted by the People's Republic of the Congo.

COMRADE MILITANTS'

Once more the enemies of our people, the lackeys of imperialism, have miserably failed and perished.

Those poor sleepwalkers who dream of detaining the implacable course of our revolution; those who, deprecating the luminous reality of our dear country which has resolutely begun the construction of socialism, still cherished the demented hope of dragging the People's Republic of the Congo along the ignominious path of submission to capitalism and international imperialism, will find themselves deceived.

In fact as everyone knows the revolution has once more won a spectacular victory over its most cruel enemy, exploitative imperialism which, in the face of our valiant determination to march forward, desperately uses certain confused Congolese — traitors to the nation and real marionettes — whose evil mission it is to come to our homes and plant sorrow, desolation, and discord.

If the enemy attacks us in the interior, we will annihilate him; if he harrasses us along our frontiers, we will repel him — and without delay — with the same impulsiveness that characterizes

our people's forces in combat.

When the tempest starts and the sea unleashes its fury is when we recognize the authority, assurance, and know-how of the helmsman. The same occurs with those who lead nations and people. Thus it is with political parties, whose audience and whose capabilities are always measured by the magnitude of the tests and the obstacles they have overcome and dominated. Our party, the Congolese Labor Party [PCT], is young, very young. But it is already manifesting an unsuspected vigor.

It is of primary importance, however, to examine briefly the universe in which our struggle is developing, to revitalize and further invigorate our Congolese Labor Party in order to bring new blood into our valiant Party.

The international situation is marked by a desperate offensive on the part of the imperialists, particularly the United States.

In Asia, the United States is encountering a growing resistance in the Philippines where even the Yankee-serving government is raising the question of the removal of US bases. In Thailand, the puppet Thanon received 20 000 supplementary M-16 rifles from his US bosses at the beginning of this year, to fight the patriotic forces and the invincible people's war.

In New Zealand, in Australia, Yankee imperialism is finding great difficulties. In South Korea and in Japan, the masses increasingly corral the Yankee sell-out forces with their powerful anti-US demonstrations. In Laos the Pathet Lao forces are inflicting severe losses on the Yankee imperialists; more than a thousand US planes have been shot down by Neo Lao Haksat forces.

In Viet Nam the escalation against the North failed. The "Vietnamization" of the South is ending disastrously.

The repeated failures have caused the United States to move from Asia to Africa. But they have had to offer a combat of honor in their vain attempt to hold onto Asia: the coup in Cambodia.

In Africa, our people's republic is the principal target. Our revolution's courageous example is a stimulus to all African people who wish to carry the national liberation revolution to its successful conclusion.

By their own statements, the imperialists want to nip our revolution in the bud. They do not want a second Cuba. They will increase provocations, subversive maneuvers, attempts to divide the revolutionary leadership and they will even use aggression.

But the revolution will survive all these blows if we organize ourselves, if we strengthen and consolidate the PCT according to political, ideological, and national plans; if we oppose the unjust war of imperialist and reactionary aggression with the people's war, the war of the masses who are conscious of the justice of their battle.

To do this we must persevere along the socialist path, since as Ho Chi Minh said, "Only socialism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the workers of the world from slavery."

But what have we heard, even from some "progressives?"

"The foundation of the people's republic is an adventure because a small country such as our Congo, with a million inhabitants, cannot construct socialism." As if Marx and Engels had established the laws of Marxism only for big countries. Twenty

years ago, Albania had just slightly more than a million inhabitants. "The foundation of the people's republic would be an adventure because our working class is numerically weak and has been created only recently." If it is true that our working class is embryonic, it is no less certain that it was this class that led the three great campaigns of August 1963, that overthrew Youlou Fulbert — that is to say that, although it is embryonic, our working class, because of its concentration in the cities, has a greater national impact than the more numerous peasantry. Moreover, the contact with modern techniques impels our working class to break with feudalism, its myths, its superstitions, and its mystique. In a country where the bourgeoisie is weak, in a neocolonial country, and especially one which is a market for the manufactured products of the industrialized nations, to wait for the working class to develop in order to make the revolution, is to capitulate in the face of its historic mission to liberate work from the domination of capital.

But this does not mean being voluntarists in any way; we struggle with the concrete conditions of our society. From that arises the need for a powerful theoretical effort at the Party level in order to unite the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of our revolution.

"The foundation of the people's republic would be an adventure: until now, Africa has not had an authentic proletarian revolution and the little Congo, with its million inhabitants and its scarcely developed working class, could only be defeated immediately." Nevertheless, in 1963 after three years of pseudo-independence, all the African countries of the French colonial empire were in an objectively explosive situation. But the flash that lighted the mystified sky of Africa resounded in Brazzaville . . .

Some say that the foundation of the people's republic and the creation of the Congolese Labor Party are adventures. But what is the reality?

We, the Congolese revolutionaries, believe the role of the forces of progress in Africa is that of completing, of realizing the independence conceded by the colonizer. Actually, the struggle for independence awakened Africa in the fifties. The Africans wanted their part of that liberty they had helped the colonizer to reconquer. The colonizer, in order not to be dispossessed overnight, had to concede independence to our territories, retaining important positions in them.

But we know that imperialism, which presided over the colonial expeditions and occupation of our countries, is developed capitalism which has left its national boundaries. From that point, imperialism cannot tolerate the development of a national capitalism which is not its appendix, its extension, its shield, its front.

It is, therefore, impossible and illusory to carry out a national liberation revolution following the capitalist road.

"Only socialism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the workers from slavery," President Ho Chi Minh affirmed. "Only the socialist road can free the Congolese masses from imperialist and feudal domination," affirm the Congolese revolutionaries and the PCT, their fighting arm.

For the PCT and the authentic Congolese progressives, the es-



sential question is to know where lies the weight of forces for the battle of today and what reserves exist.

The working class, the youth, the soldiers and the revolutionary intellectuals are the weight of the revolutionary forces right now.

Of course, the youth is not a social class. But in our country youth feels the exploitation and supports the revolutionary uprising because of the fact that it suffers a double exploitation.

Exploited as wage earners, youth also suffers the feudal exploitation of the tribal leaders. This double feudal and capitalist exploitation makes Congolese youth determined fighters in the national democratic revolution whose two essential tasks are to end imperialist domination and sweep out the vestiges of feudalism.

We, the Congolese revolutionaries, must rely solidly on the weight of the revolutionary forces to permit the basic masses (workers and peasants) to play their historic role through mobilization and education.

We are conscious that, to place the peasants beside the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals, to develop the great revolutionary capacities of the peasant at a high level, to achieve the construction of the worker-peasant alliance, constitutes the basic condition by which we can insure the success of the revolutionary movement. A strategic principle of Marxism-Leninism, a universal necessity valid for all proletarian revolutions, the problem of this alliance assumes great importance for a country such as ours. The working class, although numerically weak, has been able to struggle effectively against the colonial regime because it had such a natural and trustworthy ally: the entire rear guard of the country, which is the peasant.

This alliance is the base but it does not prevent other alliances. The PCT is prepared to accept into the ranks of the revolution, those elements of the bourgeoisie maltreated by imperialism who are stimulated and awakened by the revolutionary agitation of the workers and peasants, and are becoming increasingly committed to the anti-imperialist struggle.

We must strengthen the unity of the people to carry out the national democratic revolution, but on the base of this fundamental alliance — that is, recognizing and defining the present stage of the revolution without losing sight of the final objective which is the construction of a socialist society. In fact it would be dangerous to forget the essential, the strategic objective.

If we define the stage of the national democratic revolution losing sight of its objectives — its maximum program — we run the risk not only of making a compromise but of making a compromise with the national bourgeoisie which is anticommunist.

Is it not in the name of an alleged authentic "African" nationalism that a certain country fights us and claims to be the bastion of the struggle against the red banner of socialism?

Is it by chance that Nixon, in his African policy, has stressed nationalism?

Nationalism can be reactionary or progressive. Progressive if we appropriately match tactic and strategy. That is, if we construct an independent national economy, a road which will surely carry us toward socialism.

The movement of the 31 of July, 1968, had as its objective

exactly that of readjusting the socialist revolution of the 13, 14, and 15 of August, 1963. The CNR [National Revolutionary Council], which grew out of this movement had been assigned the task of providing the country with definitive and healthy institutions on the basis of revolutionary principles.

On the political, social, and economic level, it was appropriate to organize and help in the development of the masses with a view toward the fulfillment of their historic mission.

With this in mind, during the course of the year 1969, various congresses were held. We recall particularly those of the CSC [Congolese Trade Union Federation], the UJSC [Congolese Socialist Youth Union], and the URFC [Congolese Women's Revolutionary Union], during which these organizations were restructured and assigned modest work programs that they are now beginning to achieve. As a prime example we cite the organization of the trade union bureau for enterprise which, with broader powers, replaces the former institution, inspired by capitalism, with an individual delegate. That institution became confused with the industrial trade union section which, under the socialist regime, is in charge of the political education of workers and of defending their just rights before a temporarily powerful and organized administration during the phase of transition from a capitalist to socialist economy.

Continuing the efforts already begun, the CNR, instituted after the movement of July 31, had to give way to the PCT in December of 1969 during the sessions of the historic congress that marks a turn in the evolution of our country; this historic congress reaffirmed from that moment on the popular character of our regime, by conferring on the country the national institutions so long awaited by the working masses. This constituted congress gave our proletarian party, above all, an indispensable instrument of work. It is actually from this congress that the statutes that now govern the life of our Party emanated.

In the course of these same sessions, the country was given a Constitution that answers to our socialist ideals.

In this same revolutionary impulse, the national flag, living symbol of the revolution, was also adopted and, as you will remember, was warmly acclaimed amidst popular rejoicing. It is certainly an important stage in our irreversible march forward. Thus, happily, the work of transforming our mental and physical structure has now begun. In this spirit, responding to the call contained in our year-end message, the majority of the State's Party leaders must roll up their sleeves to become closer to the masses and the peasants, to better understand the problems of our countryside, to better understand our peasants in order to help them in a better way.

Within the framework of this program of direct contact with the peasants, we had to visit successively the regions of Bouenza, Lékoumou and Miari. The State is searching for the means that will allow it to again take effective control of our economy.

On the economic level, in our year-end speech the recuperation of the key sectors of our national economy was recommended. From now on certain vital sectors of the economy, as is logical, will be directed by our State. Through the creation of ATC, which

was established by joining our road, river, and rail communications; the recuperation of all highways, ports, private airports, and gasoline stations for supplying fuel for airplanes in the airports and the creation of a General Secretariat of Civil Aviation, following the denunciation of a private contract concluded between our country and France, which expired some years ago.

With a view to improving our economy, all ministerial departments with state enterprises under their jurisdiction were requested to make studies for the restructuring of these enterprises — which are a curse to the State's budget and roadblock in its action to expand our economy — for the creation of small industrial units which are indispensable to begin real economic development in our country. But the State Council has not made any effort to develop technical and economic cooperations between ourselves and other friendly countries to initiate, expand, and consolidate the state sector. In other words, the State Council is searching for the means that will permit effective control of our economy by the State and the construction of a material base necessary for our socialist revolution.

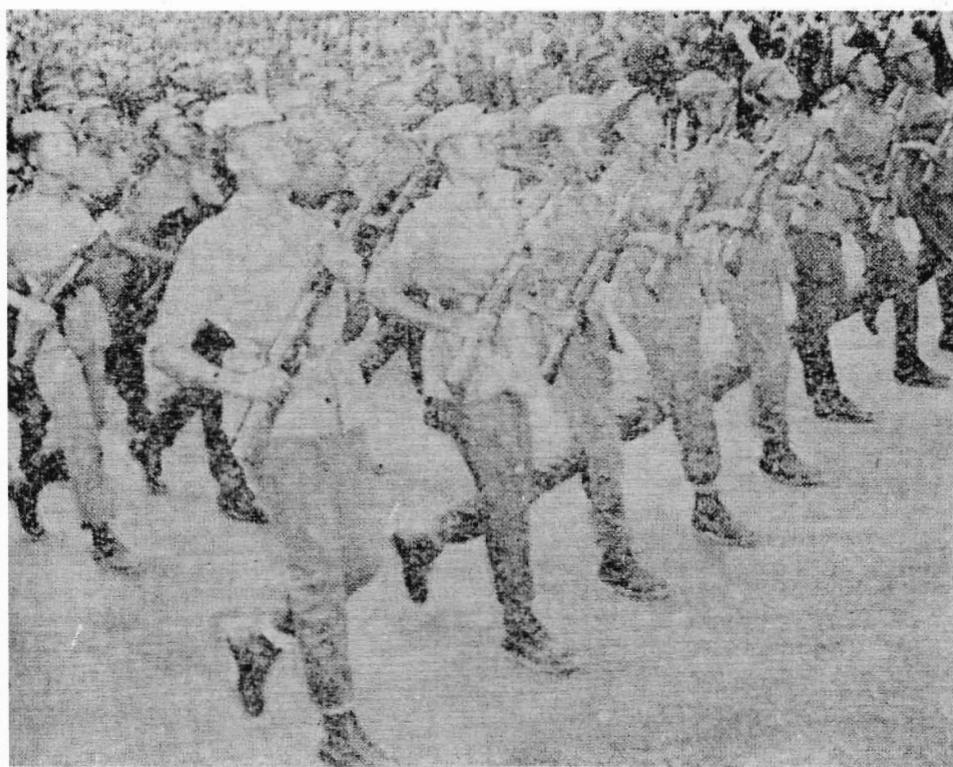
The work carried out since then by our Party is an important step in the forward march of our country. We would have been able to take an even greater step if certain obstacles could have been eliminated, and it is concerning them that I should like to speak.

In the majority of cases, these obstacles are the fruit of methods of work at the level of both the political and administrative directors. For this reason, at the end of this congress, the responsibility of the Congolese Labor Party must be to seek the way in which we can effectively improve our work methods.

First, to improve the work methods of our ministries and of our administration.

Because of a total lack of knowledge of the problems of their respective departments, the majority of those responsible to the State could not develop a program that visualized the solution of the problems projected. This is why the majority of those responsible solicit, for social reasons, equalizing subsidies to the general budget without on the other hand being concerned with whether or not a program has been established rectifying the situation of the respective enterprises. Paradoxically, the general costs of these enterprises continue to grow to the detriment of their operating funds, giving them, thus, the character of being works of charity. That is why instructions have been given to the ministers concerned to plan for the restructuring of all our enterprises. In the same spirit we would like to believe that these comrade directors will particularly know how to propose the measures that will tend to involve the workers, in an intrinsic manner, through their syndicates or base sections, in the preparation of decisions in the state enterprises. To do this, every militant responsible for a ministerial department must know how to inspire himself by the methods that have permitted certain underdeveloped countries, in particular the People's Republic of China, to reach a high level of development in record time, thanks to a freely accepted discipline.

Comrade militants, it must be remembered that revolutionary



discipline is distinguished from bourgeois discipline which demands blind obedience, profitable only to the exploiting class. That is why we will not cease to insist, in particular, on the need for involving the workers in the preparation of the decisions and the very problems of their enterprises — that is to say, in the instrument of collective production, which must be the object of particular attention for the workers as well as the directors. This necessitates, as well as a trade union, the existence or presence of the Party, particularly of the Revolutionary Committees [CR], in the heart of these production units.

One of the reproaches we can make at the end of these few months of effective direction of state life, is insufficient preparation by the ministers of the decisions of State. In this regard, we can say that the action of the administrators does not reflect sufficiently the political orientation of the Party. We can then ask ourselves what is the precise role of the directors of these ministerial departments, which should consist in orienting administrative action in order to accomplish the objectives of the Party.

The Constitution of December 31, 1969 recognized in this second phase of the revolution, the right for a private sector to exist. Unfortunately, and despite the line of demarcation made by the Constitution between the public sector and the private sector, all the directors of the latter sector and particularly those in commerce, have failed to observe the guarantees granted them, and have contrived to limit and even reduce the existing merchandize with the intention of creating obstacles to try to discredit the revolution and threaten our national sovereignty. Because of the liberal rules that govern the activities of this sector and the lack of diligence on the part of our political and administrative directors in modifying them from the ground up, the private sector exercises pressures on the State designed to provoke unjustifiable tensions.

We solemnly reaffirm, as we have always maintained that to the degree that the companies located in our country operate according to the methods desired by the Party and the State, their rights will be safeguarded; to the degree that they oppose our sovereign right to run our country and to opt — as we have done — for a noncapitalist road of economic development, the Congolese Labor Party will carry out its responsibilities.

Second, to better the work methods of the Party for a more effective organization of our masses.

After the creation of the PCT, we have evidenced a partial demobilization of the militants who normally should have been in our mass organizations and Revolutionary Committees, whose structure we have not yet been able to determine concretely.

Thus on March 23, when by general surprise, Kiganga occupied the Voice of the Revolution, the militants, in a revolutionary upsurge and carrying the red flag at their head, manifested their defiance during the Revolutionary Days.¹

We firmly hope that in the future, the defense of the achievements of the revolution will come from the CR and the federation centers, which should receive the orientation of the Party in order to better coordinate the actions.

¹ The three days of the 13, 14, and 15 of August, 1963, revolution. (Ed. note)

What has just been said about the Revolutionary Committees is also valid for our mass organizations. A general observation, that has come up following the different congresses held since 1969 is that our mass organizations exist in a kind of self-sufficiency, an almost total independence which at times gives them the character of opposition parties or pressure groups such as might be conceived under a liberal regime. It should be noted that the mass organizations are closely dependent on the Party, as extensions of it, and that the mission they fulfill with respect to the masses is that which the Party has given them. Consequently they must give a periodic accounting of their activities to the Party. Nevertheless, we must deplore the fact that, since its creation and with the exception of the political contacts we have with the workers, the Party has been unable to control these organizations in order to insure their real influence over the masses. We would like to believe that out of the meeting of the Central Committee of the PCT resulting from this congress, new resolutions will be passed to strengthen the ranks of the revolution, with organic ties among their different organizations, for an action that is always effective and beneficial for all our people. This requires that the limits of the actions of the Party, the State, and the mass organizations be decided — without any ambiguity — in order to avoid duplication and confusion prejudicial to the harmonious functioning of our institutions.

In matters of foreign policy, one of the major preoccupations of our country since the revolution of August 1963, is and continues to be the application of the principles of national sovereignty, and the territorial integrity of each state, and noninterference in the affairs of other states, as defined by the Charter of the United Nations Organization and the Organization of African Unity.

Our sincere desire has always been to maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with all states, whatever the color of their regimes, on terms of scrupulous respect for our independence.

Our adherence to these noble principles is translated into deeds by the constant search for a policy based on peace, cooperation, and respect for the sovereignty of other states.

Our country has resolutely risen up against every form of imperialism and colonialism, and has not hesitated to proffer its active support to the liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. All the world knows, to cite just one example, of the unreserved support the People's Republic of the Congo has given and still gives to the MPLA whose headquarters was located in our country, here in Brazzaville itself, where we accept as our own, the risk of reprisals from the Portuguese colonialists.

Concerning relations with its neighbors of Central Africa, the People's Republic of the Congo — since the revolution of August 13, 14, and 15, 1963, strengthened by the insurrectional movement of July 31, 1968 — has spared no effort to better them. True to its policy of good neighborliness, Congolese diplomacy has directed its efforts toward bettering relations between our country and its neighbors.

Since the advent of the July 31 movement, and especially since

the revolution resolutely made the commitment to firmly install the structures of a truly independent economy, capital and exploitation, desperate, filled with panic, have decided to sink their claws in and redouble their criminal violence and aggression against our country.

In this vast plot directed against the People's Republic of the Congo, all means have been used. Of course the press in the service of the trust and monopolies has received the order to raise the sword against the People's Republic of the Congo to better prepare the psychological conditions for the realization of the reactionary coup of March 23.

You remember, comrade militants, the hysterical and absurd campaign in certain segments of the western press, particularly reactionary dailies in France and West Germany, directed not only against our popular institutions but also crowning hysteria against the private life, the intimate family of the President of the Congolese Labor Party, and Chief of State, whom they crudely attempted to make ridiculous.

The ultrarightists and reactionary press closed ranks to insure a better defense of their tottering monopoly in Africa and the Third World. It is not surprising that our revolutionary vigor, our serious determination to construct a truly independent Congo in an Africa totally free from imperialist domination has naturally designated our country as the ideal sacrificial goat of the reactionary and retrogressive forces.

The people of France and West Germany, who were not aware of our consistent will to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with them have been cynically deceived by certain unscrupulous publications that have placed themselves servilely under the banner of capitalism, enemy of the interests of the working masses of France and West Germany.

The would-be witch-doctors, traitors to their country, spread through Western or proimperialist capitals are not, in our eyes, anything more than paper tigers, humiliated, and rejected by the Congolese people.

Certain foreigners who have followed the political evolution of our country must know objectively that the People's Republic of the Congo has opted for a noncapitalist road of development. Contrary to Western morality, our Party and our institutions are governed by a revolutionary discipline.

The Congolese people have just proven that beyond doubt, on the occasion of the shameless attack by the mercenaries of imperialism, when as one man, they united around the President of the Congolese Labor Party.

Deeply tied to the laws of Congolese hospitality, our government has always granted foreign journalists the reception they merit, without any discrimination, because the revolution in the Congo has nothing to hide. We live by our own means and the talent of our people. But some of these journalists, whom we welcomed as respectable and honest friends, once in Europe prostituted the truth without losing any time. But the revolution, guided by its ethic, will continue its forward march without faltering.

With its dollars, the capitalist media are in the habit of trying

to buy the conscience of the patriots. That is why, in addition to the action of the press, a parallel work of contamination of customs, disintegration of the unity in our ranks, corruption of backward elements that have deliberately placed themselves outside our institutions, and therefore of our socialist option, has been feverishly undertaken in our country.

If some sectors have been won over, easy victims of imperialism, the people as a whole, conscious of the methods of monopoly capitalism, have known how to remain immune to this campaign.

On the other hand this action only reaches certain Congolese who live easily, the partisans of little effort who navigate between two waters. And since the principles of Marxism-Leninism do not allow us to hide defeats, we have not hesitated to state precisely what actually happened in our country on March 23, 1970: the colonial banner hoisted again, the picture of the President torn down, satisfaction among the Youlist tribalists. But we must not hide the victories of the people either: in two hours all the magnates of monopoly capital annihilated or neutralized, the state police and agents, imperialist satellites, arrested in every corner of the People's Republic of the Congo, and transported in vehicles to Brazzaville, with the people's army integrating with the people, identifying itself with the disinherited segments, with the Congolese proletariat, which further justifies the forward march of our country toward socialism, beginning of course with the anti-imperialist struggle — that is to say, the struggle against man's exploitation of man. When we know that in less than two hours the red banner waved in the streets of the capital, Brazzaville, and that very soon the exposed reactionaries, deceived, and totally defeated were dying of shame and insanity, the PCT did not believe it should sing victory, since our victory will become effective when the last traces of imperialism have been totally erased from the national fatherland. Here our option forces us to film our dead, to expose to the press the true damage: NATO arms, to make the people see more clearly that it is a question of an armed, blood-thirsty enemy, and to better demonstrate to this same people that the only African country that aids subversion in the Congo is that country that has Belgian arms, since all these arms are actually of Belgian make.

The international press is also taking up the campaign against our regime and our leaders. This is understandable: the interests of the capitalists are menaced by our working class which is beginning the process of the national liberation struggle.

Congressional comrades, this Extraordinary Congress must permit us to break the effects of internal differences to make way for the unity of all exploited workers, in order to fight imperialism more effectively and punish without pity the obstinate reactionaries. This congress must give the Central Committee the possibility of resolving all the contradictions inherent in the struggle of all national liberation movements, contradictions that oppose us to imperialism, contradictions among the people themselves.

Comrade militants of the Congolese Labor Party, we shall not leave until, through our seriousness, our consciousness, our continuous and methodical work, we have given our people the as

urance that we are mature and that we are determined to resolve their problems.

Let those who shout about the bureaucratic-military-fascist dictatorship — pardon the nonpseudorevolutionary term which we have borrowed on this occasion from the AEC [Congolesse Students Association] — know that our patience, our spirit of tolerance, must not be interpreted as a type of abandon or a totalitarian liberalism, or absolute egalitarianism. Let them understand that the communist parties that prepare the victory of the international proletariat in China, in Cuba, in the USSR, in Albania, etc., are largely composed of intellectuals and war leaders, as long as all serve the cause of the oppressed peoples.

The revolution has no uniform, nor tribe, nor region, nor territory. Karl Marx, Lenin, these are intellectuals; the latter was a military genius. Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Castro, and many others are valiant soldiers who have fought with arms in their hands.

The people are waiting; let us put our hands to work; let us attack the evil at its root; there is no time to lose. Long live the vibrant, courageous, and revolutionary Congolesse people!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live the liberation movements!

Long live the Congolesse Labor Party!

All for the people, and only for the people!

COMRADE WORKERS,
Congolesse people,

At a time when our country has just lived through moments which could have dangerously shaken national unity, peace, and the security of all Congolesse — rescued thanks to the insurrectional movement of July 31, 1968 — we celebrate the first of May, Labor Day, with all the workers of the entire world, happy, vigorous, revitalized, filled with the victory over the reactionary and criminal forces of March 23, 1970.

A curious fact that we wish to recall is that May 1, 1969 happened to coincide with the end of the work of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the Congolesse Confederation of Trade Unions [CSC].

Is it by chance or even a mere coincidence that we celebrate May 1, 1970 following the birth of the Congolesse Labor Party [PCT], the creation of a People's Republic, and the official presentation to all Congolesse workers and the entire world, whether in Brazzaville or not, of the flaming red banner, emblem of the workers and peasants who struggle at the price of their own blood to wrest real political, economic, and cultural independence?

Workers and peasants, Congolesse workers, our red flag which enrages imperialists and capitalists, which shakes up the exploiters — those who live on the fruit of their fellow creatures' labors — is the symbol of our firm determination to free the Congolesse people from colonial domination. "With the red flag and the 'International' as a hymn [say the bourgeois], investments are at an end in the Congo, and moreover, capital is fleeing." This is the essence of bourgeois philosophy — that is to say, a timid appreciation of historic facts and the denial of dialectic materialism,

which is clearly the refusal to recognize the disintegration of the worldwide capitalist system, while the workers of the entire world struggle against the exploitation of man by man. As far as the Congolese People's Republic is concerned, our balance, the balance of our victories, our successes and our defeats, all this will be appreciated by the workers themselves. Our country maintains relations with all countries that respect its sovereignty, and we are very happy to record the presence on our soil of missions from friendly countries that have come to help us resolve all the problems of the harmonious development of our economy according to the principles of our option, the noncapitalist road of development. Without enumerating projected plans, those under way and on the study boards, offer the possibility of providing employment for all — that is to say, of making our masses workers and not parasites limited to idleness and open to the corruption of the dollar investors.

We can congratulate ourselves that everything the antipeople bureaucrats filed away — that is, the agreements signed with the socialist countries — are now no longer a myth but a reality, which marks the evidence of our determination to work to improve the conditions of our people. The Bouenza dam, the development of iron in Zanaga and Lékoumou Mountain, the mining of copper, of zinc; oil prospecting, state farms like that of Kombe which will be inaugurated during this month of May, the construction of our river ports, the readjustment of our railroad lines, the fisheries of Pointe-Noir, the drinking water on the plateaus, the control of lines of communication, the expansion of the transportation potential, etc. . . . all this characterizes our firm will to struggle against foreign domination. In a word, the workers will see the materialization within a reasonable period of time, of everything that up until now had been demagoguery, the pompous promises of electoral campaigns.

In clear language, what it means for us is that experts from the friendly countries are already here and are working, others will arrive within a few days to help us put into effect the Party's 1970-1974 five-year plan, to the great disgust of the birds of ill omen that, since December 31, 1969, have taken refuge in the economic miniblockade for the destruction of the reserve of products of primary necessity.

We denounce these imperialist maneuvers and we can say simply to these expropriators that the Congolese people, highly vigilant, would quickly find out how to elude the difficulty if they do not pull back in their undermining and corrupting maneuvers, unless they are prepared to suffer consequences that they cannot even imagine, and God would thunder in vain to prevent the apostles of peace from inundating the Congo with crocodile tears, because the capitalists have more to lose than to gain in this struggle against time.

Comrade workers, all this is no more than a parenthesis; our struggle is hard and arduous because it is just. If our cause were not just, it would not produce the imperialist aggressions, the subversive intrigues of the bourgeois press, the mockery over the reactionary radio and the counterrevolutionary plots prepared in the headquarters of mercenary generals. Imperialism can survive

only when the countries under its colonial domination or those that enjoy a pseudoindependence surrender raw materials at very low prices which are resold to the so-called underdeveloped countries at exorbitant prices, as manufactured products. or still better, when these riches favor the scandalous industrialization by this all powerful country with feet of clay, to the detriment of the disinherited masses. The struggle of the workers must be a united struggle because the interests of the working masses of the world are identical. But imperialism will sometimes use anti-communism, other times, tribal or regional hegemony with the intention of dividing in order to rule.

In the Congolese People's Republic, on the level of our internal struggle, we will be guided according to the principle of placing the unity of the workers above that of the tribe and making it the reference value. On the international plane, we will act according to the requirements of the unity of action of all revolutionary workers in all the world. That is why, when we salute the delegates of the friendly countries who have come here on the occasion of May first to show their solidarity with our workers, we say to them that the worker of the United States of America, of France, of England, of Germany, or of Belgium, exploited by the boss, and the most disinherited segment of our people have as comrades the proletariat of all the countries of the world who struggle zealously against the last vestiges of international imperialism.

Comrade delegates of the workers of the friendly countries, despite all the bourgeois speculations concerning our trade union struggle, we affirm by the testimony of the dazzling demonstration of this May first, that our general aspiration is to combat servitude. From now on we are determined to live only within the harsh movement of a constant struggle for total liberation.

On this first of May we seek not only rejoicing, which we deserve, especially after the smashing defeats suffered by the lackeys teledirected by the imperialists and oriented around a tribal base; we refuse to believe that the celebration has anything to do with abandon. Our legitimate happiness does not mean forgetting our sacred missions. This first of May is a day of meditation for workers. Each revolutionary worker is a realistic man. He knows that every regime, in a given moment of its evolution, in a generalized form, is the reflection of the real economic state and represents existing interests. The noncapitalist road of development does not mean jumping over stages. But we will not fall into the trap of the opportunists and the reactionaries of all types who support the thesis that, since the proletariat of our continent is numerically weak in comparison to the peasant, no socialist democratic revolution is capable of triumphing, and that it is moreover necessary that the African states pass through a prior capitalist stage with the pretense of the birth of a class consciousness and the quantitative expansion of the working class.

Our revolution envisions the total liquidation of colonialism, and the elimination of the economic roots of imperialist and neo-colonialist influence. The independence of our states or the suppression of the colonial regimes does not signify the liquidation of colonialism or the end of the anti-imperialist struggle; this is one stage. Our revolution has as its objective not only the political

liberation of our people but also their economic liberation since the two are intimately linked.

The question proposed, which must be for this first of May a broad question for the meditation of the workers, is the characteristic of the stage of the Congolese revolution in the three following aspects: the class struggle, the struggle for production, the struggle to promote science.

This problem is a vast one; we could not develop this thesis in the course of a speech commemorating an international celebration, but for the interest in the education of the workers, let us at least look into the problem of the class struggle.

There cannot be a socialist revolution nor a democratic nationalist stage without the class struggle.

The class struggle is a fundamental and generating act of the revolution. A class in power — that is, the capitalists and the bourgeoisie — exploits another.

The exploited class organizes and overthrows the governing class, thereby installs itself in power and creates a new order. It is the class struggle that explains the national liberation movements; without it there would be no socialist revolution.

In order for our workers to understand correctly the problems of our revolution, the Congolese Labor Party must lead them along a correct path, starting with a correct analysis of the classes in our society. This will permit us to show the workers precisely who are the real friends of the revolution, their allies, and who are their worst enemies. After this correct analysis, the workers will know how to fight their enemies. To put it succinctly, in Congolese society a class is a group of men distinguished from others by the following essential criteria: the position they occupy within the semicolonial system and the role they play in the organization of work.

Our present revolution, it is necessary to repeat, is a national revolution because it seeks the overthrow of imperialist domination which weighs over our entire nation. It is democratic because it is proceeding to do away with the domination of the immense majority by the capitalist and bourgeois minority. It is a people's revolution because it seeks to establish the economic, social, and spiritual bases of the socialist system.

From that follows our line, comrade workers. To organize, to group, to unite the Congolese proletariat under the direction of the Congolese Labor Party, on the basis of the alliance of workers and peasants, national petite bourgeoisie and the clear and patriotic elements, to resolutely combat imperialism, feudalism, and the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie.

We will not be satisfied with this stage of national democracy because the Congo has fully grasped the meaning of the dialectics of economic development in the modern world and has laid the bases for its objective of opting for scientific socialism, a thesis confirmed and revitalized with the birth of the Congolese Labor Party and the decisions emanating from the constituent congress which has given our people new and clearly defined institutions.

We must consider with care certain of our nation's structures, even if our action proposes their destruction. We cannot, at this stage, cease the search for national unity. But this national unity

will be around all the revolutionary segments of the Congolese People's Republic. This unity around the Party must be accomplished with a program that reflects the popular and profound aspirations of the masses and their daily needs. The Congolese Labor Party works ceaselessly educating itself along with the peasant and worker masses, living among their activists and organizers in order to better understand their immediate problems, in order to carry out this program which cannot be established by a parlor discussion or by issuing a pseudorevolutionary program based on book knowledge alone — and badly directed, forgetting the causes, the problems of groups and social units, and their behavior as isolated factors and in relation to the Congolese society in general.

That is why, in the struggle of our workers, it is very necessary to define the system of the alliance that corresponds to the present stage of the anti-imperialist and antineocolonialist struggle: alliances of workers and peasants, alliances of workers and honest and revolutionary patriots from the bureaucracy (bureaucratic petite bourgeoisie and soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals).

But it is necessary to follow the development of alliances with practical revolutionary action, without ambiguity or pretense, because in a given stage, class allies can betray these alliances.

Comrade workers, we believe this is the opportune moment, following the birth of the Congolese Labor Party, to direct the proletariat class struggle of the Congolese Labor Party, to direct the proletariat class struggle of the Congolese people and to organize this struggle against the capitalist class with a view to destroying that class and creating a new democratic and socialist society. Our action implies instructing ourselves in socialist ideology and in a propaganda activity aimed at making known the doctrine of scientific socialism; our role consists in disseminating among the workers a correct understanding of the present economic regime, with its capitalist predominance, in showing them the different classes in our society and their relationships, in nurturing in the minds of the workers the true understanding of class struggle, of clarifying the role of the working class in this struggle and enlightening this class as to what attitude to take toward the decadent classes and toward those that are developing.

Our work is to organize the Congolese proletariat: the creation of true revolutionary organizations in factories and enterprises, in the countryside, cooperatives; the regrouping of villages and the modernization of the means of production. The workers must establish the closest possible relations with artisans, the rural population, the agricultural workers and the poor peasants who earn barely enough to keep them from dying of hunger.

The Congolese Labor Party will support the progressive elements in the society against the reactionary classes, will join with other sectors of society against colonial and neocolonial exploitation. This alliance requires no compromise with the antisocialist programs and principles; it is an alliance which for the Congolese means support of an ally against a given enemy, an enemy of all the people of the country. This alliance must accelerate the national liberation struggle, the downfall of the contradiction be-

tween imperialism and the Congolese people.

It is clear that the struggle at the present stage, the stage of democratic nationalism, must not be undertaken by conspirators, scholastic and other intellectuals, tribalists and egotistical and cunning opportunists, but by a revolutionary party that bases itself on the proletariat. The struggle by the people, or the support of the people in this struggle, does not consist of sending motions from Paris to an individual because his name is N'Gouabi. This is the case with the so-called "anti-imperialist French" students, scholarship students favored by the regime of Youlou or Debat, who fight the Congolese Labor Party, basing themselves on correspondence emanating from Brazzaville from those who are eternally bitter and dissatisfied, unmasked and almost impotent, who ally themselves with the "socialists" of Togo, Dahomey, and Upper Volta in order to denounce the present Congolese regime.

The people's struggle does not consist in proclamations of anti-imperialist notions, in the struggle against individuals, in disregard for principles; what it means is applying, because of the necessity of the tribal and opportunistic cause, what we fought yesterday in the name of Marxism-Leninism. This anti-imperialist struggle does not consist in supporting doctoral theses whose subjects are tribal hegemony, nor in the integration of the Congolese masses in Pigalle or in Montparnasse or, better, Strasbourg Saint-Denis, and better still on the bank of the Seine, in order to combat imperialism more effectively. The Congolese working class which defends all workers, could not be tricked by a certain intellectual clique installed for years in the bourgeois capitals and benefiting from scholarships paid for by the very peasants and workers they pretend to defend, while engaged in the vain search for a mountain of diplomas in advanced studies in order to qualify for high public offices or, better, to serve in a private European clinic, as a good proletariat.

And so we believe that our working class will discover who are the friends and who are the enemies of the people in the course of ideological education. The ideological education of the workers will be a revealing force for them, and the working class will surely lose the natural tendency to limit its struggle simply to the trade union struggle. Our struggle envisions the construction of scientific socialism.

The idea of socialism must not degenerate into adventures of robot theoreticians incapable of applying their theory economically or organizationally, nor into the adventure of anarchy that imposes anything at all in the name of the people. If the masses are not for it, the teachers of Marxist-Leninist theory have taught badly. Certainly no one learns without an effort, but for a country such as ours, underdeveloped, lacking a corps of specialists and where everything must be created, revolutionary theory must necessarily be tied to practice.

Workers, comrade workers, in order to understand the necessity for an organization, a strong and dynamic party, let us orient the Congolese working class toward the class struggle, without which the contradictory State-revolution will never be resolved.

First it is necessary to unite the forces susceptible to unity. In fact, the most powerful weapon of the proletariat in the social-

ist revolutionary struggle is unity. The isolated worker is impotent and defenseless in the face of the bourgeoisie. Whatever the cost he must search for a way of striking back at the exploiter in order to defend his right to exist. He finds this through unity. When he unites with his comrades, the worker transforms himself into a force capable of struggling against imperialism and its lackeys. It is in unity and through common action by all workers that their isolated uprisings become a struggle of the whole working class.

Congolese workers, recognize that you are allied among yourselves by a common interest: do not allow yourselves to be destroyed by capitalism or any other form of exploitation of man; defend your right to the existence of a truly human life. In unity you will act together as a class and will aid the Party in its weighty task of transforming the State apparatus so that it responds to the aspirations of the broad popular masses. Thus your struggle will be undertaken in the name of all Congolese workers against all classes that live from the work of others. Thus you will commit all Congolese workers, especially those who lag, to develop a national consciousness, and will oblige them to ask themselves the questions: "To what class do I belong? What should I do?"

Congolese workers, you who have no work tools, you who give your work force to those who take the lion's share and pay you only the bare necessity for your sustenance, just enough so you do not die of hunger, you have only one way to end the exploitation of your work. That is the unity of all Congolese workers and peasants in the construction of a noncapitalist economic system.

In any case the Congolese worker must go beyond the stage of confused hate for capitalism; it is possible for him to begin to understand the antagonism of the interests that oppose his class to the bourgeoisie. The Congolese worker must be capable of placing a limit on capitalism with his vigilance and his capacity for a just struggle.

On the other hand, in our nation, which is insufficiently endowed with qualified workers at all levels, it is important to determine the role of each active collective.

The manual and the intellectual workers constitute the motor element of development. First they must feel themselves individually mobilized as citizens, for the construction of the nation, before being mobilized collectively; this is civic duty.

The peasants and artisans represent an important section of the active population; they are a majority and constitute one of the cornerstones of national economic construction. Before playing an effective role, for the defense of their own interests as well as in the development of the country, they must be organized, incorporated, and endowed with the same liberties as other active collectives.

The transformation of society in a progressive sense presupposes a social conscience and, consequently, a knowledge of economic and political problems which clearly go far beyond a sentiment of injustice, capable in some cases, of causing spectacular explosions.

On the other hand the working class has a natural tendency to

limit its struggle to the trade union struggle only. The "syndicalist" tendency it is called. That does not make the revolution. The revolution is a broader unity, more global, in which syndicalism is just one direction of activity among many others to which it must be strongly linked. The battle of the workers for strictly economic interests remains on a determined level; it is not necessarily always revolutionary. The broader battle envisioning the transformation of all structures of national life — that is to say, the total revolution — reaches a higher level: it conditions everything. That is why the revolutionary struggle takes precedence over the purely syndical struggle.

The new leadership of the CSC will have to be concerned at all times to regulate purely syndical practice on the basis of global revolutionary practice.

In a country that has opted for scientific socialism, trade union activity must be considered a part of the revolutionary action which it supports and from which it takes its orientation.

Here we still need ideological education which, raising the consciousness of the workers, will also raise the level of their struggle which will leave behind the purely syndicalist obsession in order to reach a political level on which the man who acts can consider himself a militant — that is, when he is sincere — a creator and defender of the revolution.

Thus socialist education of the working class, without overlooking the peasants, without overlooking the petite bourgeoisie and the intellectuals who are capable of transforming themselves, becomes a vital act.

This vital act, this preparation for combat — we can say — can only be achieved by a vanguard totally experienced with proletarian ideas and organized with a discipline capable of insuring its hegemony. You are aware what we have come to, our main thought at present, and more than a thought, a preoccupation: the Congolese Labor Party.

The reasons that have compelled the birth of this party are well known. For the moment our duty as a leader forces us to repeat endlessly that the Congolese Labor Party will be the brain, the high command, the supreme force for organization.

This holiday, we said at the beginning, must be considered by the Congolese workers first of all as a day of profound meditation. Serious meditation is a prelude to important action. And clearly, at this very moment, we are going to make a call to the militant reflection of all workers and all revolutionaries at their highest level as fighters. Because it is necessary for us to face our sad memories and to cut through the problems whose solutions it would be wrong to leave to the whim of time. We are the defendants of this revolution and we know the level of its vigor. We must have no fear of accepting our responsibilities with firmness.

Long live the first of May, Labor Day!

Long live the unity of all workers for world liberty, justice, peace!

Long live the Congolese people and the Congolese Labor Party!

The Congolese proletariat will win, because our struggle is just!

All for the people and only for the people, in work, democracy, and peace!