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EDITORIAL NOTE

The race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics, and to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous. But to neglect the racial factor as merely incidental is an error only less grave than to make it fundamental.

- C. L. R. James

In our choice of articles for a particular issue of *UFAHAMU*, even within the broad spectrum of our inter-disciplinary base, we try to bear in mind the need for consistency in both approach and expected impact. We do this, partly in keeping with our basic editorial principles, and partly in recognition of the danger that an inter-disciplinary journal could well end up as a mere anthology of unrelated reflections on diverse topics.

Whether it is in history, international relations or literature, we look for what is demonstrably new, different, urgent, or downright provocative - something which will excite serious discussion and debate, and hopefully, inspire governments and people to positive action. We believe that there is the need for a constant evaluation of old concepts, attitudes and methodologies. Only in such a continuously dynamic atmosphere can there be a creative

and meaningful approach to the study of Africa-related disciplines.

We are pleased to carry in this issue articles that ask some of the basic questions and pose old problems with fresh vigor. There is an analysis of the problems of Third World development by a well-known historian; and the works of the theoretician of the African Revolution, Frantz Fanon, are discussed by a major African critic. There are also revealing analyses of the different facets of imperialist economic involvement in Africa, either in the form of a "population assistance program" of dubious value in a country like Ghana, or as a prop to racist regimes in Southern Africa.

Speaking of oppressive racist regimes and the back-up role of imperialist countries, one fundamental question which is always being whispered about (and one on which, we hope, one of our readers will make a reasoned presentation) is why it is that 35 million Africans can be held in bondage by only 4 million whites in Southern Africa. The truth about that question is that the figures tend to oversimplify the problem and disguise the insidious nature of the relationship between the oppressors and the oppressed. Ultimately, the strength of a side can be determined not only by numbers but by other paraphernalia of power like political, military and economic factors.

To give just one example: In the summer of 1971, Amilcar Cabral of P.A.I.G.C. reported progress towards Guinea-Bissau's liberation from Portugal:

"To make worthwhile the victories achieved by our people, and successes so far this year, and to live up to our responsibilities, we must make 1971 one of the most decisive periods in our long but rewarding struggle."

On November 30 of the same year, Gil Fernandez (a PAIGC representative) in an address to the United Nations said, *inter alia*:

"After almost nine years of armed struggle, we have succeeded in liberating two-thirds of our national territory....We are no longer asking the colonial Government for the right of self-determination. We have reached self-determination during these nine years of armed struggle, with all the sacrifices that it necessarily implies....To have the right to be an African, to have the right to till his land for food for his family, he (a Guinea-Bissau peasant) gets as a reward a shower of napalm....The question that arises is who is giving this napalm to Portugal? Who is giving those jet planes to Portugal?"

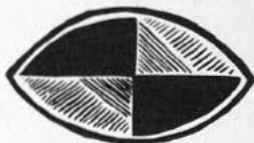
.... I bring to your attention the fact that the colonists are feverishly preparing to spread toxic chemical products in order to destroy our crops before the next harvest. The goal is clearly to stop our struggle by famine. We face dismal prospects resulting from these preparations, especially if the world at large remains indifferent."

On December 9, 1971 (barely one month after these portentous remarks) President Nixon, by unilateral executive action (implying a sense of urgency) agreed to advance Portugal the sum of \$436,000,000 in loans, gifts and credits. It is to be borne in mind that Portugal's annual defense budget is some \$400 million, most of which goes to support her colonial wars.

We would submit that the sequence of these events is not coincidental. It simply shows how the massive economic assets of imperialist countries deliberately manipulate the course of events in Africa - a theme that runs through most of the articles in this issue of *UFAHAMU*.

In the final analysis, therefore, who is indeed outnumbered?

Once more we urge our readers to respond to this and other issues of *UFAHAMU*. After all, this is your journal, and only in an atmosphere of vigorous exchange can the truth be told.



- The Editors