

132

OFFICIAL OPENING ADDRESS BY
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DEPARTMENTS OF

ECONOMICS

LAW

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

132.

Official Opening Address

by

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INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR SERIES

SEMINAR ON

SOUTHERN AFRICAN

RESPONSES TO IMPERIALISM

HARARE

22-24 APRIL 1987

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR SERIES

DISCUSSION PAPERS

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DR THE HON CDE H.S.M. USHEWOKUNZE, MP, MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:
OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON SOUTHERN
AFRICAN RESPONSES TO IMPERIALISM : MANDEL TRAINING CENTRE,
MARLBOROUGH : WEDNESDAY, 22ND APRIL 1987 : 9.30 A.M.

HONOURABLE CHAIRPERSON,
ORGANISERS OF THE SEMINAR,
DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS,
COMRADES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

I WISH TO EXPRESS MY MOST SINCERE THANKS AND PLEASURE FOR HAVING BEEN INVITED TO THIS GATHERING OF INTELLECTUAL GIANTS. MY PLEASURE DERIVES FROM THE FACT THAT I CONSIDER THAT YOU ARE ALL ASSEMBLED HERE AS A UNIT OF WARRIORS READY TO ENGAGE IMPERIALISM IN BATTLE, ALBEIT IN THE ARENA OF IDEAS.

FURTHER, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE ORGANISERS OF THIS SEMINAR FOR THEIR INVITATION, GIVEN THAT I AM NEITHER A SCHOLAR NOR A RESEARCHER IN ANY OF THE THREE DISCIPLINES UNDER CONSIDERATION. IT IS, THEREFORE, MY PLEASURE TO COME THIS MORNING AND SHARE SOME THOUGHTS WITH YOU ON HOW OUR REGION IS LIKELY TO DEVELOP IN THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

AS A GRASSROOTS BASED POLITICIAN, I AM ALSO PROUD THAT MY CONSTITUENTS, THE UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE COMMUNITY, HAVE ORGANISED THIS HISTORIC SEMINAR.

BEFORE I DELVE INTO THE MAIN THEME OF THIS OPENING ADDRESS, I WISH ON BEHALF OF ALL ZIMBABWEAN MASSES; THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RULING PARTY, ZANU (PF), TO EXTEND A WARM WELCOME TO PARTICIPANTS FROM OUTSIDE ZIMBABWE. I HAVE NOTICED THAT PARTICIPANTS HAVE COME FROM AS FAR AS ZAMBIA, TURKEY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TANZANIA, KENYA, LESOTHO, BOTSWANA AND SWAZILAND. I HOPE THAT THE SEMINAR WILL HELP ALL OF YOU TO FORGE FIRM, PURPOSEFUL AND LONG LASTING CO-OPERATION AMONG YOURSELVES WHICH WILL ENABLE YOU TO FORM A STRONG, UNITED, DEMOCRATIC FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS DEFORMED BUT FAVOURED CHILD, THE APARTHEID REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I AM . . .

I AM INFORMED, AND I HAVE CHECKED AND CONFIRMED THIS TO BE TRUE, THAT THIS INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR UNDER THE THEME "SOUTHERN AFRICAN RESPONSES TO IMPERIALISM" IS THE SECOND OF A THREE-STAGE SEMINAR SERIES UNDER THE GENERAL UMBRELLA THEME OF "IMPERIALISM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA". THE FIRST SEMINAR WAS ON "STRATEGIES FOR TEACHING AND RESEARCH". AGAIN, FROM ENQUIRIES, THIS SECOND SEMINAR PROMISES TO BE A GREAT IMPROVEMENT ON THE FIRST ONE SINCE, FROM THE LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND PRESENTERS OF PAPERS, I SEE A GOOD CONTINGENT OF REVOLUTIONARY SCHOLARS WHO HAVE MADE THE CHOICE TO JOIN FORCES WITH THE WORKING MASSES IN THEIR PROTRACTED STRUGGLE AGAINST FORCES OF EXPLOITATING REACTIONARY AND IMPERIALIST HEGEMONISM.

IT IS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF LAW, ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE TO USE THESE SERIES OF SEMINARS TO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR THE SETTING UP OF AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PROGRAMME. THIS IS A LAUDABLE DEVELOPMENT. THE UNIVERSITY MUST SPEARHEAD A NEW PHILOSOPHY IN EDUCATION WHICH VIEWS KNOWLEDGE AS DIALECTICALLY INTERLINKED. PROFESSIONAL DISCIPLINES MUST BE SEEN ONLY AS COMPONENT PARTS OF THE LARGER UNITY IN KNOWLEDGE. THE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PROGRAMME WILL, THEREFORE, BROADEN AND DEEPEN TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE UNIVERSITY. IF THIS BE TRUE, THEN LET IT BE.

THE TOPIC OF THIS SEMINAR, "SOUTHERN AFRICAN RESPONSES TO IMPERIALISM", GIVES ONE A LOT OF SCOPE OVER WHAT TO SAY. BUT, IN THE INTERESTS OF TIME - I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO KEEP MY REMARKS SHORT - LET ME ONLY CONSIDER THOSE ISSUES WHICH YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED AS BEING OF MAJOR CONCERN. IN THIS, I SHALL ATTEMPT TO PLACE THEM IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

FROM THE PROGRAMME, I GATHER THAT YOU WILL BE DISCUSSING, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE QUESTION OF DESTABILISATION IN THE REGION BY IMPERIALIST FORCES ACTING THROUGH THE AGENCY OF THE FASCIST APARTHEID REGIME; YOU WILL ALSO DEAL WITH THE NOW URGENT QUESTION OF SANCTIONS AND COUNTER-SANCTIONS; FURTHER STILL, YOU WILL COVER ISSUES RELATING TO REGIONAL CO-OPERATION, SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT ASPECTS, INCLUDING THE ROLE OF WOMEN, MEDICINE AND THE FOOD QUESTION; AND, LASTLY BUT NOT LEAST, YOU WILL TACKLE THE THORNY QUESTION OF THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS OF IMPERIALIST FINANCE CAPITAL, THE

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND MULTILATERAL AGENCIES.

THESE ARE WIDE RANGING AREAS WHICH ARE CENTRAL TO THE HISTORIC JUST WAR THAT WE IN AFRICA, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR, MUST WAGE AGAINST FORCES OF IMPERIALISM IF WE ARE TO WIN OUR TRUE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTIES AND SELF-DETERMINATION. THEY ARE CENTRAL TO OUR STRUGGLE TO DISLODGE THE APARTHEID OCCUPATION FORCES FROM NAMIBIA AND TO DISMANTLE FASCISM, RACISM AND IMPERIALIST DOMINATION INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA.

DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS ON SANCTIONS, COUNTER-SANCTIONS, MEDICINE, TECHNOLOGY, TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, WOMEN AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES ONLY ARISE IN OUR SITUATION BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE WAGING WAR AGAINST APARTHEID. IN THIS WAR, WE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT - AND IN FACT ALL OVER THE WORLD - CANNOT BE BY-STANDERS. WE TAKE SIDES IN THIS WAR, AN ACT WHICH HAS CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR NATIONS.

IN THE FRONTLINE STATES, THESE REPERCUSSIONS OF OUR ACTIONS COME IN DIFFERENT FORMS. AS SOME OF OUR PEOPLE DO NOT SEE THAT THE WAR AGAINST APARTHEID IS JUST, THEY WORK FROM VERY SHORT-TERM CONSIDERATIONS AND THUS FIND THEMSELVES FIGHTING ON THE SAME SIDE WITH INJUSTICE. THE ACTIONS OF UNITA, MNR, SUPER-ZAPU AND THE MANY OTHER SURROGATE ARMIES OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE A LIVING TESTIMONY TO THIS RATHER SHORT-TERM VIEW TAKEN BY SOME OF OUR PEOPLE OVER THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID. BUT, THIS IS NOT CONFINED TO THOSE LIVING IN THE FRONTLINE STATES. THERE ARE MANY OTHERS IN AFRICA WHO FIND THEMSELVES ON THE SAME SIDE WITH APARTHEID PURELY FROM CONSIDERATIONS OF POWER AND ECONOMICS. THE SEARCH FOR POWER AND THE DESIRE FOR CERTAIN CHEAP IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL AS THE MANY OTHER BENEFITS DERIVED FROM LINKS WITH APARTHEID ALL EXPLAIN THIS SITUATION.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, TO SPEAK OF SANCTIONS AND COUNTER-SANCTIONS IS TO DISCUSS THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY IN THE FRONTLINE STATES.

SIMILARLY, TO DISCUSS MEDICINE IS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF WAR INJURIES SUSTAINED BY THOSE LIVING UNDER APARTHEID AND THOSE LIVING NEXT DOOR TO IT. IT IS TO RAISE THE QUESTIONS OF MALNUTRITION AND POVERTY ASSOCIATED WITH UNEQUAL LAND DISTRIBUTION DICTATED TO BY THE NEEDS OF CAPITALISTS WORKING UNDER COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES - BOTH

UNDER COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES - BOTH TODAY AND IN THE PAST.

TO SPEAK OF TRANSNATIONALS AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE IS TO RAISE THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIAL AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES, MANY OF WHOM ARE DEPENDENT ON RAW MATERIALS FROM AFRICA, AND ESPECIALLY SOUTH AFRICA.

TO SPEAK ABOUT WOMEN IS TO RAISE THE NATURE OF AFRICAN SOCIETIES IN THE CONTEXT OF A MIGRANT LABOUR SYSTEM - DEMANDED BY THE NEEDS OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA. IT IS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF PROSTITUTION IN CITIES PREDOMINANTLY INHABITED BY MEN AND BUILT UP BY CAPITALISM AS IT DEMANDED THE LABOUR OF MEN WITHOUT CARING ABOUT THE SOCIAL NEEDS OF FAMILIES.

FURTHERMORE, TO DISCUSS THE NATURE OF FUTURE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT IS TO EXPLORE THE BALANCE OF FORCES BETWEEN THOSE SEEKING JUSTICE AND THOSE WISHING TO MAINTAIN AN UNJUST SYSTEM JUST BECAUSE IT BENEFITS THEM. IT IS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM IN AFRICA. HERE, THE RULERS OF APARTHEID ARE, IN A WAY, CORRECT WHEN THEY ASSERT THAT THEY ARE A BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM. MANY OF THOSE WHO OVERTHREW COLONIALISM IN AFRICA DURING THE 1960S ONLY AWOKE TO NEO-COLONIALISM AS THE GROSSLY UNEQUAL SOCIETIES WERE CONSOLIDATED UNDER INDEPENDENCE. IN MANY AN AFRICAN COUNTRY, THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM AND JUSTICE SEEKS TO OPEN UP WARS WHERE PEACE HAD BEEN ATTAINED AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

IN ALL THESE COUNTRIES, THOSE PROTECTING PRIVILEGES FIND SUPPORT FROM THE WESTERN COUNTRIES WHO IDENTIFY THEIR SURVIVAL WITH THE MAINTENANCE OF SOCIAL INEQUALITIES. APARTHEID SEEKS TO MAINTAIN THE MOST GROSS SOCIAL INEQUALITIES UNDER THE BANNER OF COLOUR, AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES OBJECT (ALBEIT FEEBLY) TO THE COLOUR ELEMENT, BUT NOT TO THE SOCIAL INEQUALITY BIT. THUS, IMPERIALISM - THAT SYSTEM OF MAINTAINING HIGH LIVING STANDARDS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES AT OUR EXPENSE - BECOMES THE GREATEST DEFENDER OF APARTHEID.

FRIENDS AND COMRADES, THESE ARE ALL QUESTIONS YOU ARE GOING TO RAISE AND DISCUSS AT THIS SEMINAR, AND I CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE LIKED TO STAY ON AND GO INTO DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU OVER SOME OF THESE ISSUES. IT IS, NEVERTHELESS, THE NATURE OF OUR TIMES THAT WE TAKE ON MORE THAN WE . . .

THAN WE CAN REASONABLY ACCOMPLISH IN THE TIME AVAILABLE IN A DAY. WITH THE MANY ENGAGEMENTS ONE HAS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SPEND MUCH TIME WITH YOU DURING THE NEXT THREE DAYS. THAT WILL BE MY LOSS.

NEVERTHELESS, LET ME VENTURE TO PEEP INTO SOME OF THE DISCUSSIONS YOU WILL HOLD AT THIS SEMINAR AND SOUND A WARNING. MANY A DISCUSSION LIKE THIS OFTEN BECOMES A FORUM FOR BLAMING ALL OUR ILLS ON EVERYONE EXCEPT OURSELVES. TRUE, WE ARE HISTORICALLY AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE, WITH THE MAIN VEHICLE FOR OUR OPPRESSION BEING IMPERIALISM. AT THE SAME TIME, WILLING ASSISTANTS HAVE BEEN FOUND AMONGST US AND THESE ASSISTANTS ARE JUST AS GUILTY AS THE IMPERIAL POWERS WHO HAVE ARRIVED IN AFRICA OVER THE LAST COUPLE OF HUNDRED YEARS.

AT THIS SEMINAR, LET US BE HONEST WITH OURSELVES AND LOOK INTO HOW WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE OPPRESSION OF OUR PEOPLE. LET US TRUTHFULLY ANALYSE THE INTERNAL FORCES WHICH ACT AGAINST THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. AT THIS SEMINAR, LET US GO BEYOND THE CLICHES OF IMPERIALISM AND FILL THESE UP WITH THE CONTENT, ARTICULATING CLEARLY WHERE WE SHARE RESPONSIBILITY WITH OUR OPPRESSORS.

MANY OF US WHO ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE PRACTICE OF POLITICS MIGHT OFTEN FIND OURSELVES PRESSED FOR TIME, AND THUS FAIL TO ANALYSE THE FORCES AT WORK IN OUR MIDST IN ANY DETAIL. IT IS IN A SEMINAR LIKE THIS THAT THOSE OF YOU WHO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY AND ANALYSE ISSUES CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE TO OUR SOCIETIES. THE IDEA OF POLICY STUDIES IN AFRICA IS STILL IN ITS INFANCY, MOST OF WHAT IS DONE IN ITS NAME BEING NO MORE THAN EXTENDED GRADUATE ESSAYS. AT THIS SEMINAR, I AM SURE MANY OF YOU HAVE SPENT MANY HOURS PONDERING THE QUESTION: WHAT NOW IN SOUTHERN AFRICA? LET US SEE WHAT YOU HAVE COME UP WITH, SHARE IT WITH OTHERS AND DO NOT SHY AWAY FROM CRITICISMS OR DEBATE.

LET ME SAY THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CAN BE COMPARED TO A HOUSE ON FIRE, WHILE WE THE OCCUPANTS ARE STILL INSIDE. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY FOOLISH FOR US TO CONTINUE DEBATING INSIDE THE SAME BURNING HOUSE AND IGNORING THE NEED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT - BE IT TO RUN OR PUT OUT THE FIRE. IN THIS INSTANCE, MOST OF US CANNOT GET OUT.

WE CAN . . .

WE CAN ONLY STAY INSIDE AND PERISH, OR GET UP AND PUT OUT THE FIRE. ONE QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED IS: WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

FROM MY READING OF THE SCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE OF MARXISM-LENINISM, I AM FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IS THE ERA OF THE RETREAT OF IMPERIALISM AND THAT OF THE ADVANCING FORCES OF SOCIALISM AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC, PROGRESSIVE FORCES.

IMPERIALISM, HOWEVER, DOES NOT WITHDRAW FROM THE HISTORICAL SCENE THE WAY A FRIGHTENED WILD RABBIT OR HARE DARTS INTO THE BUSH AT THE SIGHT OF HUNTING DOGS. IMPERIALISM IS LIKE A ROTTEN PART OF THE TOTAL BODY OF HUMANITY THAT MUST BE AMPUTATED OR EXCISED THROUGH EXPERT SURGERY; FOR WHICH YOU ARE ASSEMBLED HERE SO THAT YOU PERFECT YOUR ART OF REVOLUTIONARY SURGERY. IMPERIALISM MUST BE FORCIBLY DESTROYED OR IT WILL DESTROY HUMANITY.

IN OUR REGION IMPERIALISM, SPEARHEADED BY THE RULING CLASS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BRITAIN, WEST GERMANY, FRANCE, JAPAN AND OTHER DEVELOPED CAPITALIST SOCIETIES, IS COMMITTING UNTOLD ACTS OF ATROCITIES ON THE PEOPLE THROUGH ARMED BANDITRY IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE, THROUGH DIRECT OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND PARTS OF ANGOLA, THROUGH GENOCIDE AND MASSACRE OF THE BLACK PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, IT ATTACKS BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA AND LESOTHO. ALL THESE ARE SOMETIMES EXPLAINED AS INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF THE BOERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. NO, THE BOERS ARE AND SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD TO BE THE EXTENSION AND FAVOURITE CHILDREN OF IMPERIALISM. APARTHEID IS NOTHING BUT A SPECIAL MANIFESTATION OF IMPERIALISM IN OUR REGION, JUST AS HITLER'S NAZISM WAS AND ISRAEL'S ZIONISM IS IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST, RESPECTIVELY.

GIVEN THIS REALITY, WHAT THEN IS THE ROLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL? I AM QUITE AWARE THAT IMPERIALIST COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM HAS CREATED AN INTELLECTUAL CADRESHIP THAT IS REACTIONARY TO THE MARROW. TOTALLY DIVORCED FROM THE MASSES, AN EXPERT IN SOPHISTRY, AN INVENTOR OF THEORIES TO JUSTIFY THE CONTINUATION OF CAPITALISM AND SO-CALLED "REFORMED" APARTHEID, AND NUMEROUS INDIGNITIES. THE TASK THEN IS TO EVOLVE A NEW TYPE OF INTELLECTUAL, ONE WITH OPEN EYES TO REALITY AND WITH SPINE HARDENED ENOUGH TO ENGAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. THIS NEW INTELLECTUAL MUST BE ABLE . . .

BE ABLE TO ENGAGE ITS REACTIONARY COUNTERPART IN THE BATTLE OF IDEAS, TO WIN THE MASSES AND TO LEAD ITS INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION TO LIBERATION STRUGGLES. THE NEW INTELLECTUAL MUST FIGHT AGAINST MISINFORMATION BY IMPERIALIST "THINK TANKS". TO DO THIS, THE NEW TYPE OF INTELLECTUAL MUST FIRST RECOGNISE THE FORCES AT PLAY AND CORRECTLY IDENTIFY THAT IT MUST TAKE A PARTISAN STAND IN CLASS STRUGGLES IN GENERAL ON THE SIDE OF THE TOILING MASSES. THIS MEANS THAT HE OR SHE MUST DECLARE IMPERIALISM AS ITS NUMBER ONE ENEMY.

WE WHO ARE FULL-TIME POLITICIANS NEED SUCH REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS TO EVALUATE THE SITUATIONS, TO INFORM US OBJECTIVELY ON THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF OUR ACTIONS. WE DEPEND ON SUCH INTELLECTUALS TO CONVINCING THOSE OF US WHO ARE NOT CLEAR IN PERCEPTION THAT IMPERIALISM IS THE EVIL THAT IT IS THROUGH FACTS. WE DEPEND ON YOU TO EVALUATE OUR EFFORTS AS THE FRONTLINE STATES, AS THE N.A.M. COLLECTIVE, AS SADCC, AS P.T.A. AND IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS SO THAT WE KNOW HOW FAR AND HOW EFFECTIVE WE ARE IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM IN GENERAL AND APARTHEID IN PARTICULAR. YOU MUST ANALYSE AND INFORM US OF THE DANGERS OF ACTIONS BY SOME OF OUR SISTER STATES WHO ALLOW IMPERIALISM MILITARY BASES AND FACILITIES IN THEIR TERRITORIES, AS WE KNOW IS THE CASE WITH TWO OR THREE OF OUR SISTER STATES.

WHEN I SAY THAT WE NEED TO USE AND DEPEND ON OUR REVOLUTIONARY INTELLIGENTSIA, I DO NOT MEAN THAT WE ABSOLVE OURSELVES FROM OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS POLITICAL LEADERS TO ENQUIRE AND KNOW THE TRUTH. ALL I AM SAYING IS THAT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR, YOU HAVE - OR SHOULD HAVE - THE CENTRAL ROLE IN GENERATING LIBERATORY INFORMATION BECAUSE THE WORKING PEOPLE PAY YOUR WAGES OR SALARIES FOR THAT PURPOSE. OUR ROLES MUST BE DIALECTICAL, MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE AND COMPLEMENTARY.

TO CONCLUDE, I WISH ONCE AGAIN TO THANK THE ORGANISERS OF THIS SEMINAR AND ALL THE PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE CHOSEN TO COME TOGETHER AND PUT THEIR HEADS TOGETHER IN THE EFFORT TO KNOW IMPERIALISM BETTER AND, IN THE PROCESS, TO MAKE A COMMITMENT TO FIGHT IT.

IT IS MY HOPE THAT NOT ONLY WILL YOU MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS WIDELY PUBLISHED IN PERMANENT FORM BUT THAT YOU WILL, IN ADDITION, MAKE EFFORTS TO ENSURE THAT THE TOILING MASSES UNDERSTAND YOU, FOR THEY ARE THE BASE UPON WHICH ANY MEANINGFUL SOCIAL CHANGES CAN AND WILL BE MADE.

COMRADES AND FRIENDS, IT HAS BEEN MY PLEASURE TO SPEND SOME TIME PONDERING OVER THE ISSUES YOU PLAN TO DISCUSS DURING THIS SEMINAR. HERE, I HAVE TRIED TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH CAME TO MIND IN THE PROCESS, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO READING YOUR DELIBERATIONS IN SEARCH OF ANSWERS TO SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS. DO NOT BE DISHEARTENED IF YOU ONLY SCRATCH THE SURFACE, BUT DO NOT BE TOO GRATIFIED WITH WHAT YOU DO EITHER. THE STRUGGLE IS LONG, AND IT WILL PROGRESSIVELY BECOME BOTH BITTER AND DEMANDING. MORE ANALYSES WILL BE CALLED FORTH AND WE SHALL BE CHALLENGED TO TRANSLATE OUR THEORETICAL POSITIONS INTO PRACTICE. LET US NOT BE FOUND WANTING.

LET THE EVIL AND DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF APARTHEID TREMBLE AND DISINTEGRATE!

LET THE FORCES OF SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION SHAKE IMPERIALISM TO ITS ROOTS!

MAKE YOURSELVES INTELLECTUAL ENEMIES OF IMPERIALISM!

JOIN FORCES WITH THE MASSES AND FIGHT!

HELP SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA TO WIN FREEDOM!

A LUTA CONTINUA!!

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO DECLARE THIS SEMINAR WELL AND TRULY OPENED.

I THANK YOU.