Basic problems of the Indonesian revolution

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ONE of the subjects to be taught in the Political and Social Sciences Course at our People's University is the "Indonesian Independence Movement". This is a *political* subject aimed in the first place at clarifying all the basic and important problems of the Revolution, that is, the basic strategic problems and the tactical problems of the Indonesian Revolution in accordance with the standpoint, outlook and method of Marxism-Leninism, according to the teachings of Lenin concerning the Revolution in colonial countries.

As an introduction to this political subject, I think that it is necessary to begin with a general outline.

Why do we have the People's University as well as other forms of education which, to a lesser or greater extent, have the same objective as the People's University? Why do you, both Communists and non-Communists, want to study at the People's University? And yet, the People's University provides no guarantee that you will obtain better employment or earnings as a result of completing studies here. What is this all for, then? I think that I am not making a mistake if I say that we are doing all this because we are all firmly resolved to serve the Indonesian Revolution better. There is no more glorious aim in study, whatever it may be that is being studied, than to improve our services to the revolution.

In the People's University, the students will study the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the standpoint, outlook and method of Marxism-Leninism under the subjects of Marxist Political Economics and the Indonesian Independence Movement. To make the course complete, students following the social and political sciences course will also study Indonesian history and world history as well as Indonesia's social and economic structure, Indonesian and world geography, law and so on. The aim of all this is to serve the Indonesian Revolution better. This means that the target of our study is the Indonesian Revolution.

This, Comrades, is what I want to stress on this occasion; study with a target, that target being the Indonesian Revolution. If we study and work well, or in other words, if we master Marxism-Leninism and are able in practice to apply the standpoint, outlook and method of Marxism-Leninism, we shall certainly achieve our target and the Indonesian Revolution will be victorious in the not too distant future.

You are all certainly aware of the fact that Marxism came to Indonesia for the first time in 1914, that is with the establishment of the I.S.D.V. (the Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereniging). From that time, Marxism began to be welded together with the revolutionary activities of the masses of the working people; it was studied by a small number of Indonesian intellectuals and Dutch intellectuals who took part in the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people.

With the establishment of the C.P.I. in 1920 under the strong influence of the victory of the Russian October Revolution in 1917, the process of welding Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Indonesian Revolution, with the revolutionary activities of the masses of the Indonesian people, entered a new, decisive phase. Ever since then, Marxism-Leninism has become inseparable from the mass movement of the Indonesian people. Counter-revolutionary colonial and national hurricanes were quite unable to separate Marxism-Leninism from the mass movement of the Indonesian people.

If we, today, recall the period of the 1920's, and even if we recall the entire period up to 1951, we will realise just how shallow the Communists' knowledge of Marxism-Leninism was at that time. This is why we should not be surprised if, during the period prior to 1951, the welding of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Indonesian Revolution did not proceed well and rapidly, and some serious mistakes were committed in leading the Indonesian Revolution.

But it was due to the fact that Marxism-Leninism has entered into the Indonesian Independence Movement, that these serious mistakes and failures did not weaken and certainly did not

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destroy the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Marxism-Leninism helps the working class to analyse and draw the conclusions from mistakes and failures, and in this way raise the struggle of the Indonesian people to a higher level.

It is thanks to the struggle and sacrifices of the best of Indonesia's sons and daughters in an effort to seek the truth in this twentieth century so as to save our Motherland and people, that conditions are different today from what they were in the 1920's. Our knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is quite considerable, quite deep and is beginning to involve many different aspects. The general line of the C.P.I. is already correct and is no longer a problem. The membership of the C.P.I. is already about 1,500,000 and almost all of them play an active part in, or occupy positions of leadership in, the people's movement. The C.P.I.'s work in preserving national independence, defending democracy and world peace has achieved certain successes, too. All these are favourable phenomena and should be welcomed by all revolutionaries. Thus, what has to be done now to improve revolutionary work so that the Indonesian Revolution can more speedily achieve victory?

In my opinion, there are still serious weaknesses which must be overcome by the C.P.I. and by all persons who genuinely want the Indonesian Revolution to achieve its objective in the not too distant future. What I am referring to here is that the Communists and their sympathisers must change their method of studying.

Communists must Study

There is no question any more about the fact that Communists must study. Ever since the C.P.I. was formed, its leaders have studied diligently and many courses have been run for C.P.I. cadres and members. During the 1945-48 People's Revolution, the Central Committee of the C.P.I. succeeded in setting up a *Marx House,* and lower Committees organised many courses. No one can deny that the C.P.I. is a Party whose cadres and members study hard. This ability to study hard has in general been possessed by C.P.I. members up to the present time. This is a good phenomenon.

But there have been bad things in the past, and they still exist today among certain C.P.I. members, and that is carrying out study that is in contradiction with Marxism-Leninism because the study of theory is separated from revolutionary practice. Students in the past were not educated to weigh up the practice of the Indonesian Revolution from the point of view of theory. Revolutionary theory and practice at that time were like two wheels of a bicycle rotating in different directions. It is, of course, impossible to make any progress like that, is it not? At that time, teachers did not strive to link up the study of theory with the practice of the revolution. They talked about "linking up" theory with practice; they said that "theory without practice is powerless" but they did not act in accordance with their statements about "linking up" theory and practice. The teachers at that time were merely translators of books and the students were educated to become the echoes of the teachers. The teachers did not strive to present problems and their solution from the Marxist-Leninist point of view. Thus the students were not educated to solve concrete problems. At that time, and it still happens today, Marxism-Leninism was studied by a method directly in conflict with Marxism-Leninism, in violation of a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, the principle of the *unity* of theory and practice. Unconsciously, the opposite principle was being applied, namely the *separation* of theory and practice.

In the past, Schools and Courses which were run also taught political economy but not with the purpose of helping the students to understand the conditions of Indonesia's economy with its various peculiarities. Teachers who taught political science spoke about the experiences of various revolutions in foreign countries but did not speak about the strategy and tactics of the Indonesian Revolution itself. Philosophy was also taught in the Party Schools and Courses in the time before 1951, but only in order to know a little something about it, and the teachers did not get the students to study the logics of the Indonesian Revolution. The result was that the situation did not undergo any change; those who completed courses at Party Schools did not become any cleverer and in fact not a few of them became more stupid and more arrogant, because during the time they had been at the Party School they had been separated from revolutionary practice, whereas within the Party School, they had had dead formulas stuffed into them, and those who completed courses considered that they had become theoreticians. And yet, they were far from that, they were no more than like persons who had read one or two novels and yet had the audacity to call themselves writers. A person who has only read Marxist books cannot possibly be called a Marxist theoretician, just as a person who has read literary books cannot be called a writer.

In the past, the term "theoretician" was interpreted as meaning a person who has learnt a few revolutionary formulas by heart but who could not solve practical problems. The "theoretician" felt that his authority as a "theoretician" was raised even further, the more he was unable to

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solve practical problems. Practical revolutionary teachings were frequently considered as being work for people who do not use their brains so much in the course of work. In brief, it was considered as being "coarse" work. We have in the past called such theoreticians "Marxist kiyais",* that is people whose work it is to "sell" Marxist postulates, regardless of whether these formulas are appropriate or not, regardless of whether they are useful or dangerous to any particular stage of the revolutionary struggle.

Since 1951, that is following the defeat of the 1926 Revolt, following the defeat of the People's Revolution of 1945-48, and following the bloody Madiun Provocation in 1948, the Communists made a review of what had happened, analysed the mistakes made in the past, drew conclusions about the past period and for future work. The leaders of the C.P.I. made a greater study of theory, they took part in revolutionary work and genuinely tried to solve the practical problems being faced by the Indonesian people. Efforts made within the leadership to master the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism were carried out earnestly, and the leadership began seriously to apply the standpoint, outlook and method of Marxism-Leninism in facing the Indonesian Revolution. Since that time a serious effort has been made to work on the basis of conditions in Indonesia itself. Gradually, economic, political, social and cultural conditions in Indonesia have been studied and on the basis of this knowledge of Indonesian society it has been determined what the basic problems of the Indonesian Revolution are, such as the question of the targets and tasks of the Indonesian Revolution, the driving force of the Indonesian Revolution, the nature and perspectives of the Indonesian Revolution.

Aims of the Indonesian Revolution

Today everyone right from the highest official, members of the Legislative Assemblies down to school children, speaks about the "national revolution" and about "completing the August 1945 Revolution". But how many of these people who speak about the Indonesian Revolution have made an investigation of Indonesian society in which this revolution is taking place, so as to be able to decide what are the *targets*, the *tasks*, the *driving force*, the *nature* and the *perspectives* of the Indonesian Revolution? Or, how many of those who want to "complete the Indonesian Revolution" know what has to be completed?

Many people like to talk about "completing the Indonesian Revolution", but it is not clear what has to be completed, or, each person has his own interpretation. For some people "the Revolution is completed" when they own a commercial enterprise and earn big profits. For others it is when they become minister or ambassador or a high government official or a general, and so on. The conscious working class and working people naturally have a different understanding of what is meant by completing the Indonesian Revolution. This is why it is very urgent to achieve a unified understanding among the Indonesian people about what is meant by "completing the August 1945 Revolution". Only in this way shall we be able to take revolutionary steps that are correct and more resolute.

It is an indispensable condition if we are to decide upon the basic problems of the Indonesian Revolution, to have a thorough and exact knowledge of Indonesian society today. This of course does not apply to people who indeed deliberately oppose the Indonesian Revolution. But for all Indonesian sons and daughters inspired with feelings of good will towards the people, a knowledge of Indonesian society is indispensable if they are more consciously to go on taking part in the Indonesian Revolution.

We often say that Indonesia is already independent. If we don't include West Irian, this is indeed true. No one can say that Indonesia is still a colonised country. But how far does our independence go? Is our independence at the same stage as, for example, the independence of Malaya, India, the U.S.A., Britain, the Soviet Union, People's China, and so on. Are we politically really independent? Are we economically independent? How about our national culture in present-day independent Indonesia? Are we indeed free to build our national culture? Are we completely free to decide upon everything in accordance with our own wishes? There may possibly be some people who say: why make the question of independence an academic problem, why make a question of what is the stage of our independence?

To raise the question of how far our independence goes today is in no sense making an academic question of it; this is a very practical question, a question of everyday need to determine the practical steps to be taken in our revolutionary work. From the answers to the above questions we shall be able to decide what the basic problems of our revolution are, the question of the basic strategy and tactics of the revolution.

Thus, it is a task of the political teachers at the "People's University" to deal with the situation of Indonesian society today, to deal with the question of whether Indonesia is today a country

* a 'kiyai' is a person whose duty it is to learn the Koran off by heart for repetition at religious ceremonies.

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that is completely independent or whether it is still a semi-colonial country. Of whether Indonesian society is capitalist or semi-capitalist. Of whether feudalism is still fully in force in Indonesia or whether it is only the survivals that remain, and whether these survivals are heavy or light. All this must be taken up by the political teachers at the People's University. They must also take up the question of the influence of imperialism and feudalism on Indonesian politics and culture today.

Only by investigating well the conditions of Indonesian society today will the political teachers be able to present their thoughts about the Indonesian Revolution well. The Indonesian Revolution is not something which has fallen from the skies or grown out of the ground; it has been born out of the womb of Indonesian society itself. This is why it is not possible for someone to talk about the Indonesian Revolution if he does not first undertake an investigation into Indonesian society today.

In the cause of the greatness of the Indonesian Revolution, we may and must study revolutions in other countries. This is why the students at the People's University must also study world history, with the emphasis upon studying the important revolutions of the world, such as the American Revolution, the French Revolution, etc. And especially, it is very important to study the revolutions of the twentieth century such as the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the Chinese Revolution, etc. But studying all this does not free us from the need to study the Indonesian Revolution itself. Or, it would be more correct to say that we study the revolutions in other countries with the aim of understanding our own revolution better, and in order to discover the path that is most appropriate for our revolution.

An Indonesian cannot possibly become a conscious revolutionary if he, for example, does not understand the essence of the national awakening that started in 1908, the essence of the "Islam Union" established in 1912, the essence of the C.P.I. founded in 1920, the essence of the 1926-7 Revolt, the essence of the P.N.I. established in 1927, the essence of the "Youth Pledge" of 1928 and the essence of the August 1945 Revolution.

In order to become an Indonesian revolutionary, a person may and indeed must read books written by people of other countries, but he cannot possibly become a conscious revolutionary in present-day conditions without studying and understanding the writing of the leading personalities of the Indonesian Revolution, such as, for example, Ing. Sukarno's (today, the President of the Republic of Indonesia) books *Achieving an Independent Indonesia* and *Indonesia Accuses*.

The material gathered together by the C.C. of the C.P.I. on the economic history of Indonesia, on its political history and its cultural history, together with the material on the economic, political and cultural conditions in Indonesia today, will greatly assist the political teachers at the "People's University" to call upon the students to study actual conditions in Indonesian society today. It is only with the knowledge obtained from the results of the investigations and study of Indonesian society that we shall be able to decide what we must do to push the Indonesian Revolution forward, and further, to "complete the Indonesian Revolution".

From the study of Indonesian society today, the students will know that in our country today, there is a double form of oppression, the oppression of imperialism and of feudalism which has resulted in the broad masses of the Indonesian people, and in particular the peasants, becoming more and more destitute, and in many of them becoming bankrupt, living in circumstances of starvation and half naked. The double oppression of imperialism and feudalism has resulted in the development of national industry and national culture being under a very great strain.

Imperialism and Feudalism

In studying the conditions of Indonesian society, the students will know that in modern Indonesian society today, the contradiction between imperialism and the Indonesian nation, and the contradiction between feudalism and the vast masses of the people, and in the first place the peasants, are basic contradictions. Of these two basic contradictions, the contradiction between imperialism and the Indonesian nation is the most basic, the one which has to be settled first.

Thus if we know that there is the double oppression of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesian society today, and that the basic contradictions in Indonesian society today are the contradictions between imperialism and the Indonesian nation and the contradiction between feudalism and the masses of the people, in the first place the peasants, then it will be clear for us that the *basic targets* or *basic enemies* of the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage are imperialism and feudalism. Thus, it is a big mistake if there are, for example. Communists who regard the Nationalists or the national bourgeoisie as the target of the Indonesian Revolution, just as it is a mistake, too, if there are Nationalists or patriotic religious leaders who regard the Communists and the working class as the enemy of the Indonesian Revolution.

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Once the basic targets of the Indonesian Revolution are clear, and so long as the people's leaders, Communist and non-Communist alike, hold firmly to this, it will be possible to avoid unnecessary contradictions among the people, national unity will become stronger, and the blows aimed at the real enemies will be much heavier. This means speeding up, achieving "the completion of the Indonesian Revolution".

According to the experiences of the revolutionary movement from the beginning of the present century up to the present day, much revolutionary energy has been wasted as a result of the sharpening of conflicts between the people which were in actual fact not necessary at all, and this has greatly obstructed the progress of the Indonesian Revolution. Revolutionary leaders with a feeling of great responsibility towards the Motherland and people always strive to settle the minor contradictions among the people in the best possible way, and to prevent them from becoming major contradictions which would mean relieving to a lesser or greater extent the enemies of the people, imperialism and feudalism, of the blows of the revolutionary movement. To increase the contradictions between the people, whether directly or indirectly, means helping the enemies of the people. The people will not like anyone who splits the unity of the people because such actions are the habit of the imperialists.

After we know that there are two basic forms of oppression in Indonesian society today, that is, imperialism and feudalism, it will become clear that the most important tasks of the Indonesian Revolution are to carry out the national revolution, to throw out imperialism, the enemy from without, and to carry out the democratic revolution for the elimination of feudal landlords. The peasants can only be aroused to oppose imperialism if they are also helped in their struggle against feudalism.

Thus it is a very great mistake for people to think that the task of the Indonesian Revolution today is to liquidate or prevent the development of national industrialists and businessmen, or to put an end to land ownership by middle peasants and rich peasants. It is also a great mistake for people to think that the task of the Indonesian Revolution is to hold back the workers' movement, to hold back the peasants' movement and to hold back the Communist movement. All such things, if they happened, would obstruct the advance of the Indonesian Revolution, would delay the liquidation of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesia; these things would not only mean going against the tide now flowing in Indonesian society, but would also mean helping the enemies of the Indonesian Revolution. Holding back the Indonesian workers' movement and the Indonesian peasants' movement means holding back the Indonesian Communist movement, and holding back the Indonesian Communist movement means holding back the Indonesian workers' movement and the Indonesian peasants' movement. Such things are the same as what the reactionaries do; they remind the Indonesian people of the practices of the Dutch colonialists, the Japanese militarists and the domestic reactionaries.

Unity of the Revolutionary Forces

After we know that the targets of the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage are imperialism and feudalism, and that the tasks of the Indonesian Revolution are to throw imperialism out and eliminate the feudal landlords, then we must gather together the forces in society that are consistently anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, or in other words gather together the *driving forces* or the moving forces of the Indonesian Revolution. These driving forces include the working class, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and other democratic elements that are harmed by imperialism and that consistently oppose imperialism. The driving forces of the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage are what we call the progressive forces, that is the forces that objectively are on the side of the revolution and whose consistency in this has already been proven. The progressive forces not only agree to the liquidation of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesia, but also agree to and are struggling for a socialist society.

But our duty is not only to draw in the progressive forces that are the driving forces of the revolution, but also we must strive to draw in the middle-of-the-road forces, that is to draw in the national bourgeoisie, who, even though vacillating by nature, are also anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. They are vacillating because, besides having contradictions with the imperialists and landlords, they also have contradictions with the workers and other working people.

In order to achieve the objective of the Indonesian Revolution which is national and democratic in character, the most important tactic is to unite the progressive forces with the middle-of-the-road forces, and this means uniting the entire forces of the Indonesian people. The work of uniting the entire people, that is the workers, and peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie; this is what we call building the national front. Since the majority of the Indonesian people consists of the peasants and the workers, it is not possible to have a strong national front if it is not based on an alliance

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of the working class and the peasants, and if it is not led by the most advanced and most consistent of the oppressed classes, that is, the working class.

Nature of Indonesia's Revolution

After we know that there is the double oppression of imperialism and feudalism in Indonesian society, and after we know that the targets of the Indonesian Revolution are imperialism and feudalism, that the tasks of the Indonesian Revolution are to overthrow imperialism and feudalism, and that it is our duty not only to build the progressive forces but also to draw in the national bourgeoisie, we can then come to a decision that the *nature* of our revolution at the present stage is not a socialist proletarian revolution but a national-democratic or a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Persons who do not know Indonesian society, and who therefore cannot possibly know the Indonesian Revolution, are fond of proclaiming demagogically that we must carry out a socialist revolution right away, that we must liquidate national capitalism right away. These may indeed be well intentioned people who want the Indonesian Revolution to proceed rapidly, but there is no doubt that they are pursuing a policy that is not based on actual conditions in Indonesian society, they are thinking and acting subjectively, following their own whims without taking into account the conditions of society. But apart from this, there are also people who proclaim the need for a "socialist revolution now", whose deliberate aim it is to disrupt the revolution, who want to make the revolution proceed haltingly so as to delay it in attaining its objective. Such demagogy is very dangerous and can have very bad consequences for the revolutionary movement. The consequence is, among other things, the emergence of fear among the national bourgeoisie with the result that they become hostile to the revolution, or become more hostile than they were previously. As a result of such criminal demagogy, the reactionaries endeavour to divert the blows aimed by the revolution so as not to hit imperialism and the landlords. With their "socialist revolution now" demagogy, the reactionaries are giving rise to splits within the forces of the people, they are weakening the national front and are striving to save the imperialists and the landlords. This cannot mean anything other than strengthening the enemy. With these "left" slogans, these demagogues are striking against the genuine left-wingers.

Bearing in mind the fact that Indonesia's economy is still backward, that is, a semi-feudal agrarian economy that is greatly dependent upon the foreign market, the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage cannot possibly be proletarian-socialist in nature. It is not only that the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage does not have the task of liquidating individual ownership of those means of production that are in the hands of the Indonesian people; it must, moreover, preserve and provide means of production in the form of land free of charge to millions of peasants in an agrarian revolution. This makes clear the bourgeois character of the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage. The bourgeois character becomes even clearer from the fact that the Indonesian Revolution must help the patriotic national industrialists and businessmen. What the Indonesian Revolution must do at the present stage is to confiscate and nationalise the means of production that are in the hands of the big foreign capitalists. This makes clear the national character of the Indonesian Revolution.

In keeping with the nature of the Indonesian Revolution, which is not proletarian-socialist but national-democratic or bourgeois-democratic, the government which must be established in accordance with the demands of the Indonesian Revolution is not a government of the dictatorship of the proletariat but a government of the dictatorship of the people, or a People's Democratic Government. This government acts dictatorially towards the enemies of the people, that is the imperialists, the feudal landlords and other reactionaries, but it carries out the most democratic form of democracy among the people.

If we talk about the bourgeois-democratic nature of the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage, it is certainly not our intention to state that it is the same in nature as, for example, the French bourgeois revolution in 1789. The French Revolution in the eighteenth century took place in a world situation in which capitalism as a world system was in a period of growth. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, the world has begun to move from capitalism to socialism, the world system of capitalism is in a state of general crisis. Ever since then, every revolution wherever it may take place, is certain to be harmful to the international capitalists, and objectively to strengthen socialism. Today, socialism is not only a system which is in power in one country but it has become a world system, about whose superiority over capitalism there is no longer any doubt. Thus, the Indonesian Revolution, too, viewed from the international struggle between capitalism and socialism, is detrimental to international capitalism and favourable to the

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world proletarian revolution. This is why the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage is not a democratic-bourgeois revolution of the old type but a bourgeois-democratic revolution of the new type.

The Socialist Future

Above, I have dealt briefly with the targets, the tasks, the driving force and the nature of the Indonesian Revolution as a result of investigations which have been guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and based upon the concrete circumstances in Indonesian society itself. From the above outline, it also becomes clear that the strategy of the Indonesian Revolution at the present stage is to complete the national and democratic revolution, or in popular language it can be expressed in the slogan, *"To complete the August* 1945 *Revolution in its entirety"*.

And now, the question will certainly arise; what are the perspectives or the future of the Indonesian Revolution, capitalism or socialism? Since the Indonesian Revolution, as has been stated above, is taking place in the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, in the era of the general crisis of capitalism, and even more so in an era in which socialism has become a world system, added to which is the fact that the Indonesian people themselves already have a large Communist Party and revolutionary mass organisations, there can be no doubt about it that the future of the Indonesian Revolution is socialism and communism. There may be some people who do not like such a future, but this matter does not depend on persons who are dissolute and diehard. This is the law of the development of society, and the development to socialism and communism, supported by the working people of the entire world, not excluding the working people of Indonesia.

The times are with us in winning victory for the August 1945 Revolution completely, and in advancing towards socialism and communism. Become children of the time, faithful to its objective, socialism and communism.

The development of nations in South Africa

Lionel Forman

"SOUTH AFRICA belongs to all who live in it, black and white," the Freedom Charter declares. "Our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities."

Only when this has been achieved will it be possible for a South African nation to develop. And before it does, the likelihood is that a number of different nations will come into being in our country, and that they will flower and prosper before they merge into one.

A single *African* nation in South Africa is likely to develop before a single *South African* nation does. And similarly it seems likely that *Zulu*, *Basotho* and other nations will develop before they merge into a single African nation in South Africa.*

* There may, of course, be substantial changes to the present state boundaries, which were drawn arbitrarily by the imperialist powers. The "South Africa" of the future may be a smaller or a larger place. This does not affect the argument. The peoples who today live together in our country are likely one day to merge into a single nation.

The Africans will constitute the main element in the future South African nation and we therefore begin with a study of the origins of African nationalism.

They are comparatively recent. The development of a single *African* political consciousness in South Africa only really begins in the 1880's. Until the nineteenth century the economic basis did not exist for the amalgamation of the numerous African tribes into states. They were cattle-grazers and small-scale farmers, and as they required large areas of pasture and lived at subsistence level the tendency was towards dispersal rather than concentration of population. Even when, with the accumulation of wealth, a ruling class and a state developed, it was capable of exercising its authority only over a limited area, and when conflicts of interest arose it was powerless to prevent dissident tribal groups within the tribe from moving off to pastures new.

As new techniques were acquired, making possible a greater division of labour and the development of a standing army, groups of African tribes

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