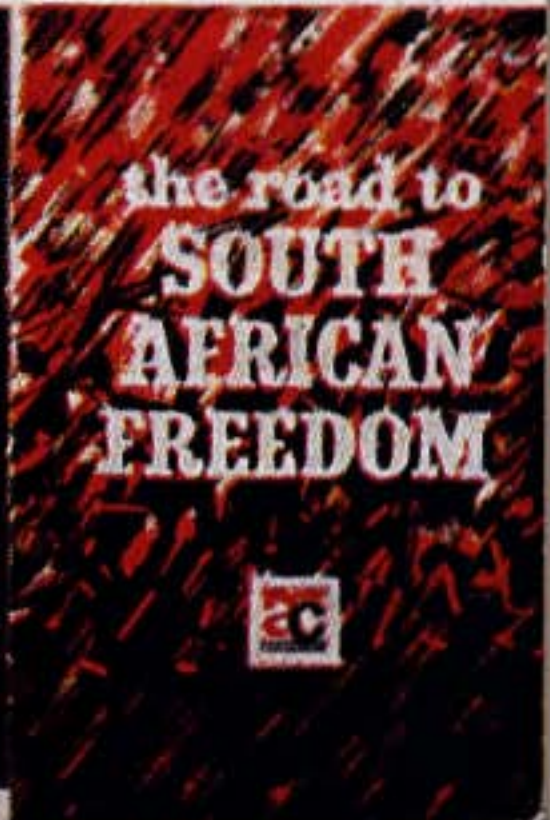
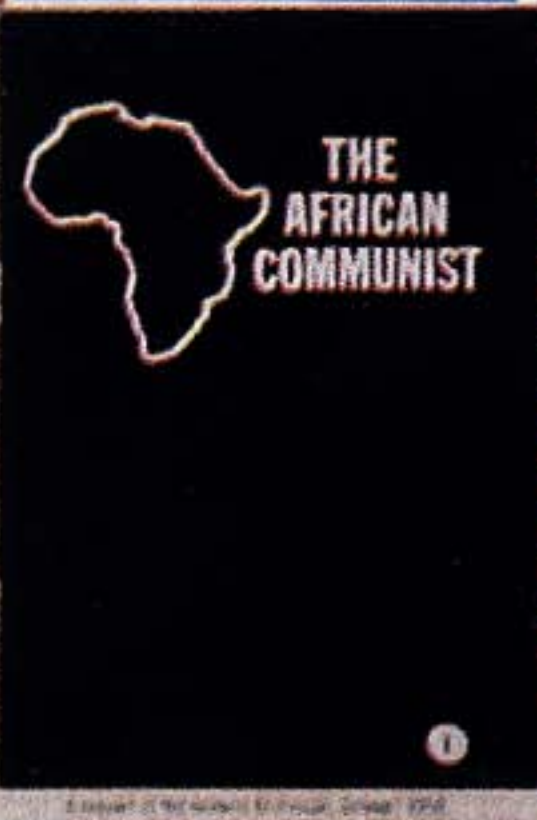
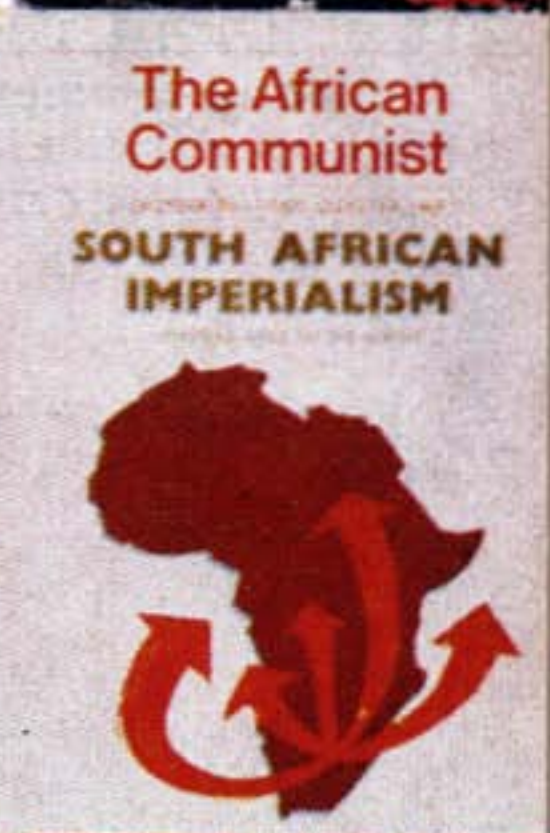
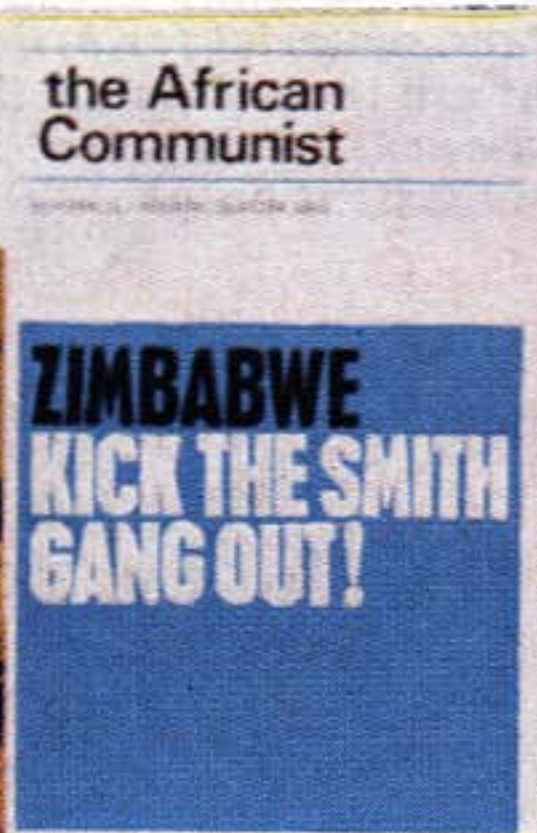
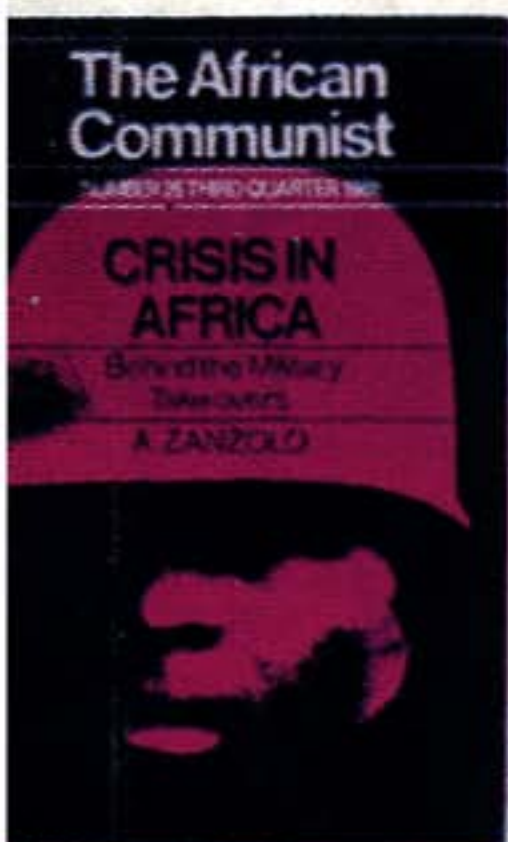


10 YEARS

1959-1969
of
The African Communist
NO 39 4TH QUARTER



PRICE PER COPY

AFRICA: 1 shilling (E. Africa), 10 cents (S. A.) or equivalent in local currency.

ELSEWHERE: 2s. 6d. (U. K.), 50 cents (U. S.) or equivalent.

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ADDRESS

All correspondence to the distributor:
Inkululeko Publications
39 Goodge Street
London, W. I, England.

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No. 39 Fourth Quarter 1969

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A Reprint from the Rand Daily Mail June 28, 1969



Editorial Notes:

OUR FIRST TEN YEARS

This magazine, The African Communist, is being produced in conditions of great difficulty and danger. Nevertheless, we mean to go on publishing it, because we know that Africa needs Communist thought as dry and thirsty soil needs rain.

— *The African Communist*, No. 1, October 1969.

It is ten years since the first issue of this journal made its appearance, a small cyclostyled brochure of 28 pages, written and produced in South Africa under conditions of illegality.

For Africa, for our own country and for the world, these have been stormy and eventful years, fraught with great and significant changes.

This has been the decade of African independence. One country after another in our continent has seen the departure of foreign administrations that had parcelled Africa out among themselves as their possessions, sent in their armies to subdue our people and force them to extract from our soil its natural wealth for exportation to Western Europe and North America, much to the profit of the capitalists of those countries. They also sent in a army of propagandists and missionaries to brainwash Africans into submissiveness and acceptance of inferiority; an army of negligent and incompetent civil servants who contributed nothing to true development either of our people or our resources but who barred the way to Africans themselves of the opportunity of obtaining experience of administration.

The great wave of national liberation that swept our continent, like the rest of the colonial world, following the defeat of the fascist powers in which the main part was played by the Socialist Soviet Union, succeeded in forcing major concessions from the major colony-owners in Africa. Britain and France had to bring home their governors-general and their district commissioners, and abandon — at least in principle — their outrageous theory that Africans are unfit to govern themselves.

All Africa rejoiced as in one area after another the Union Jack or the French Tricolour was hauled down and young African states, headed by African leaders were formally established and sent their representatives to take their seats at the United Nations. It seemed that the era of dependence and enforced inferiority was over; that all Africa would soon be free from Cape to Cairo; that our people would rapidly be enabled to advance in standards of economic development, education, health and living standards to parity with the rest of the world.

Should we now say that the rejoicing was misguided or premature? Not so; for the winning of political independence was the necessary and indispensable step, without which any further advance would have been impossible. Yet we must face the plain fact that in the euphoria of the first years of independence, many of us in Africa had overestimated the tempo at which the African Revolution could pro-

ceed to overcome the obstacles in its way and achieve the principal goals which all African patriots had and still have in common:

- * to cleanse the Continent completely of colonialism and racialism in every form, especially by the ending of Portuguese colonialism and the liberation of Southern Africa from white racialist domination;
- * to follow up political independence with economic emancipation, by restoring the mineral and other wealth and resources to their rightful owners, the African people;
- * to transform the lives of the great majority of the African people, the sons of the soil, by far-reaching agrarian revolution;
- * to achieve rapid development in industry, education, health and other social services;
- * to achieve African Unity — a common, great endeavour by the peoples of the entire Continent, to achieve all these urgent and inescapable tasks which history has placed before us.

It is true that a number of important gains have been made towards the achievement of these goals. We have seen the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity bringing together all the independent states of our continent in the common struggle to consolidate independence against imperialism and colonialism of every kind, and correctly placing the emancipation of the remaining areas of colonialism and racism at the head of their practical agenda. Nor can it be denied that substantial aid has been placed at the disposal of the fighting liberation movements — the A. N. C., FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC, SWAPO and ZAPU — even though the burden has not been equitably shared and some states should and could contribute much more.

It is also true that a number of African states have taken energetic measures, though not always consistently, to free their economies from the shackles of foreign imperialist control and ownership, to raise the political, economic and educational standards of the masses of the working people.

SETBACKS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

Yet, these and many other achievements notwithstanding, no sober balance sheet of the first decade of regained African independence can overlook quite a number of serious reverses, setbacks and disappointments. We have seen several progressive African governments, notably that of President Nkrumah of Ghana, one of the chief architects of the OAU and tireless evangelist in the cause of African unity against imperialism, overthrown by a combination of internal reactionaries and foreign imperialist pressures and intrigues. We have seen African governments like that of Banda in Malawi (about which we shall publish a detailed analysis in our next issue) succumb to the pressures of imperialism, and the white supremacy regimes of the South, and sacrifice African aspirations and dignity on the altar of self-aggrandisement; just as we have seen the gains of the heroic freedom-fighters of Kenya squandered by short-sighted seekers of foreign investments, or ambitious careerists.

Nor can it be claimed that the Organisation of African Unity has fulfilled the high hopes placed in it, or its member states remained in all cases true to the inspiring purposes they pledged themselves to at Addis Ababa in 1963. When a member state, the United Arab Republic, was subjected to a series of still-continuing acts of aggression by the Zionist leaders of Israel, sponsored by the USA and other imperialist powers, the OAU and a great many of its members stood aside as though what was happening were none of their business.

If there was one issue which one would have thought would have united all the independent states of Africa in ever closer solidarity it is the issue of eliminating the anti-African regimes, of the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal. This was, as we have said above, a prominent item on the agenda of the founding conference of the OAU, and formally remains so after six years. Yet signs are not wanting that a number of African states are treating the condemnation of apartheid as a mere formality, and losing the sense of immediacy and urgency which this issue once provoked. Some are even covertly breaking the boycott of

the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia which has long been a cornerstone of the policies of all African countries.

The very concept of *unity* which inspired Addis Ababa and Africa in 1963 and expressed the aspirations of the teeming millions of toiling people in our continent seems to have lost some of its dynamic effect as the tragic fratricidal strife drags on in Nigeria; separatist movements based on tribalist or ethnic factors and encouraged by the imperialists or even by neighbouring African states continue to cause difficulties in a number of other African countries.

These negative features serve to underline and vindicate the warning which appeared in one of the very earliest issues of this journal:

The winning of political independence is only the first phase of the African Revolution. That revolution, if its gains are to be preserved and its benefits realised for the great masses of the people, cannot stop short at this phase. It must continue to wipe out all remnants of colonialism. It must bring about large scale industrialisation. It must spread the African revolution into the countryside to transform the life of the African subsistence farmer; it must move to the elimination of backwardness, illiteracy, tribalism and feudalism.

It is precisely because the leaders of the emergent and resurgent African states have not consistently and purposefully sought these goals that we have suffered so many humiliating and discouraging setbacks.

Imperialism remains the mortal enemy of African progress and advancement. So long as our countries remained colonies subject to the stultifying domination of arrogant foreigners, we all realised this truth and fought for independence. But once independence was won some of our leaders made the wrong assumption that the anti-imperialist fight was over. They were satisfied to see dark faces replace pale ones in the governors' and the district commissioners' offices, the formal trappings of statehood, while the lives of the common people went on much as before.

This phenomenon is no accident. It is the result of the *class* attitudes, outlooks and ambitions deliberately cultivated by the colonialists, their missionaries and their administrators during the long years in which they controlled the countries of the continent and had in their hands the mould-

ing, training and selection of that tiny stratum of Africans — sons of chiefs and wealthy individuals — who were privileged to receive the benefits of an overseas education, usually in Britain, France or the United States, as teachers, professional men, civil servants or army officers, and into whose hands has fallen the task of guiding the first years of regained African independence.

It is the result of the encouragement and deliberate corruption of sections of this stratum to participate in some of the crumbs of neo-colonialism by accepting junior positions in imperialist business concerns devoted to the continued exploitation of our people and their natural resources; of flattery and intrigues and pressures, of outright bribery.

The measure of the success of the former imperialist masters of Africa in retaining their positions — though forced to retreat from formal political control — is that even today, ten years after Africa year, the year of independence, 1960, the main ideology of imperialism — anti-Communism — continues to prevail over most of the Continent. Almost everywhere in Africa the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism are discouraged or even prohibited by the independent governments, just as the former colonial rulers did before them. Marxist parties of the workers and toiling masses are stifled or prohibited; their leaders subjected to persecution.

Almost every one of the African parties which attended the recent international conference of Marxist-Leninists in Moscow is compelled to exist under conditions of illegality. Even the Moroccan Party of Liberation and Socialism, though it enjoys formal legality, has been recently subjected to repression and its eminent General Secretary, Ali Yata imprisoned. And even countries which are striving, under honest and sincere leaders, to maintain and extend their independence, countries such as the United Arab Republic, Zambia, Algeria and Tanzania, do not as yet permit the free dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the right of the working people to establish their own independent Marxist political parties.

In this lies not only a tragic irony, but also the greatest danger to the future independence, advancement, unity and

liberty of all our people. Without vision, the people perish; and without a revolutionary ideology there can be no revolutionary movement.

Over more than century of human experience, Marxism-Leninism has proved itself to be the only correct revolutionary ideology. It is valid for every part of the world, for peoples at every phase of social development. For the peoples of our continent in particular, this is no academic or abstract issue. The only alternative to revolutionary Marxist ideology and organisation is, basically, capitalist and imperialist ideology, with the inevitable accompaniment of continued imperialist control of African economies and eventually, in a more or less disguised form, return to imperialist political domination of Africa as well.

That is the harsh reality that faces all of our people; and sooner or later we shall have to come to grips with it.

Certainly, faced with the stern struggle to maintain and extend independence, impelled by their own honest patriotism and the pressure of the masses, some African leaders and governments — as we have frequently commented in the columns of this journal — have taken radical and correct steps towards the socialist path of development. The National Charter of the United Arab Republic, the Charter of Algiers, the Arusha Declaration, the Programme of the Democratic Party of Guinea, the policies of the new government of Sudan, the radical measures now being adopted in Zambia and analysed elsewhere in this issue, all contain elements which directly or indirectly owe much to Marxist thought and practice.

But all too often these programmes, or their implementation, have been half-hearted or inconsistent, based on empiricism, emerging from necessity rather than the conscious application of scientific socialism, and subject to the contending pressures of different class forces. Of course, the path of advance to socialism in Africa is bound to differ from that in far-away countries with an entirely different historical, social and economic background. We have to find our own path. Communism is a compass, not a map. Inevitably there will be a process of trial and error, an element of experimentation. We of *The African Communist* have

never claimed that we have the answer to the innumerable problems of all the various regions of Africa; those problems can only be scientifically solved by the revolutionaries of each area of Africa consciously applying to a detailed study of the precise circumstances of their own region the broad principles of revolutionary socialism — the generalised experience of the entire labour movement of the whole world, especially of the Soviet Union, pioneer builder of socialism, and of the other socialist countries, and enriched by a study of the writings of such towering geniuses of revolution as Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The application of these weapons of the struggle for human emancipation is something that has been and is being practiced in many, widely differing parts of the world — in Europe, in Asia, in Cuba. In the socialist countries, under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist workers' parties, Communism is transforming the lives of hundreds of millions of people for the better. It is equally applicable to Africa. But tragically for our continent and our people, it is something that has yet consistently to be done, anywhere on African soil.

In this connection it is unavoidable that we should refer, however briefly, to the experience of Ghana. Undoubtedly President Nkrumah has made magnificent contributions to the cause of anti-imperialist struggle and unity which Africa can never forget. That is precisely why the imperialists hated and feared him, and in the end conspired with Ghanaian reactionaries and traitors to remove him and suppress the Convention People's Party. Almost alone among African senior statesmen he had the integrity to acknowledge his indebtedness to Marxism and his adherence to many of its leading principles. Unfortunately the application of those principles was marred by eclecticism and individualism. The practice of personal idolatry which was allowed or encouraged to develop around the 'Osagefo' tended, as always, to prevent the development of a collective of trained and devoted Marxists. People who are trained or encouraged to allow others to do their thinking for them are apt to lose the habit or even the ability to think for themselves. Marxism did not become a living theory and practice in Ghana; its classics

were not freely disseminated and discussed. Instead thought was concentrated on the works of a single individual, and that — as in the case of *Consciencism* — couched in terms of such formidable obscurity as to be inaccessible to the majority even of Party members. These are among the reasons why the C. P. P. failed to mount any serious resistance to the counter-revolution.

Marxism is a complete ideology; it cannot be substituted for by borrowing this or that phrase or concept from its rich treasury of ideas. It is a uniting of theory and practice; a Communist must both participate consciously in the remaking of society as a practical revolutionary and continuously enrich his own understanding of the science of Communism. Nor can this science consist in the pious repetition of 'thoughts' of this or that leader — a practice that savours more of religious observances than of the moulding of conscious leaders and builders of a new world.

Lenin once wrote that:

Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, virtually through *suffering*, by half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice . . .

When one observes, in so many African countries, gifted, patriotic and sincere leaders, honestly grappling with the formidable problems of fortifying and extending independence and realising the vast potentialities of poverty stricken masses, and approaching in many cases ever nearer, through practical experience, many of the truths which Marxism has laid bare, one cannot avoid feeling, time and again, the overwhelming need our Continent has for Communist thinking. Africa indeed needs this 'only correct revolutionary theory' — Communist thought, creatively and collectively applied to African realities by African Communists — 'as dry and thirsty soil needs rain.'

To furthering the great task of spreading and encouraging these ideas, we of *The African Communist*, at the beginning of our second decade, solemnly rededicate ourselves.

HOMAGE TO HO CHI MINH

J. B. Marks, Chairman of the South African Communist Party. He spoke for all South African revolutionaries who had come to look upon and love 'Uncle Ho' as one of our own.

To millions of ordinary people the world over, whether or not they were Communists, the venerable and heroic figure of Ho Chi Minh stood as a symbol of all the most stirring and vital issues of our times: unyielding resistance to imperialism; national liberation and independence; socialism and Communism.

If to millions upon millions of people, not only in his own country but also to the rebellious students and militant working people of Western Europe and North America, the entire socialist world, the freedom fighters of Africa, Latin America and Asia, Comrade Ho Chi Minh's very name had become a slogan of battle, this was not because he or his comrades had encouraged or tolerated any un Marxist cult of hero-worship. On the contrary, his personal life was a model of modesty and dedication to the cause.

For him principle — the liberation and unity of his country; the advance of socialism all over the world — was the main question; that of assessment of his own role as a person was a question which he was well content to leave to the judgment of future historians.

That that judgment will be of the very highest order we have no doubt whatever. Our late Comrade Ho made an immense contribution, in many fields, towards the moulding of our times. He is one of the giants of the twentieth century — a period during which his own active life, as political theoretician and practical revolutionary covered more than half. As an outstanding Vietnamese patriot and father of his nation, he was at the same time, on an international scale, one of the foremost thinkers and strategists of the national liberation movement, of the armed struggle against colonialism, and of the world Communist movement.

We of South Africa have particular reason to mourn the loss, and to remember always the life, of President Ho Chi Minh. He was deeply identified with and committed to the struggles of our people against national oppression and white domination, and preoccupied as he naturally was with the freedom, unity and self-determination of Vietnam he nevertheless found time to follow our fight with close interest and to express his warm solidarity with it.

His last words were an inspiring call to his people to carry and intensify their heroic fight, and a reaffirmation of his conviction in the great cause of Communism.

Ho Chi Minh has departed. But his ideas and his example will never die. Vietnamese freedom and international socialism will triumph.

ZAMBIA AT THE CROSSROADS

The historic Address by President Kenneth Kaunda to the National Council of the United National Independence Party attracted a great deal of attention in the world's press. Naturally, most of that attention, particularly in imperialist countries like Britain and the Republic of South Africa, where powerful individuals and firms have been controlling and exploiting Zambia's national asset, copper, was focussed on the steps announced by the President towards returning the control of Zambia's wealth to the Zambians. This theme is also dealt with by Phineas Malinga elsewhere in this issue.

Undoubtedly the control and ownership of copper, the country's main export, is a vital matter. President Kaunda's measures fall short of socialisation. The government will take over 51 per cent of the shares, the present companies receiving compensation, and many important mineral rights revert to Zambia. These are major and far-reaching measures, which although they do not by any means constitute the final answer to the problem of restoring Zambia's copper to its rightful owners, mark a crucial stage in the continuing battle to achieve that object.

Other important measures to transform Zambia's economy were announced by the President in his August 11 speech,

which have received less attention abroad. 'Our emphasis', he said, 'is on more and better food, better clothing, better water supplies, improved health services, education, roads and more and better employment opportunities'.

Certainly the achievements announced, including the development of the state-owned INDECO into the biggest industrial group in the country within four years, are impressive. It has acquired 51 per cent or more of the shares over a wide range of industries, trading concerns, hotels and transport other than railways and airways. It will now, in association with Italian concerns, enter the fields of refining and marketing oil products and car assembly. Even more important, from the long-term point of view, are the steps towards the establishment of heavy industry in the form of iron and steel production.

In the sphere of agriculture, 'our Agrarian Revolution' as President Kaunda puts it, great stress is laid on the importance and role of co-operatives. Individual commercial farms will be permitted, but the President repeated his warning of last year:

If any individual, through hard work and devotion, builds up his small unit to a viable commercial farm we will be happy to see him emerge, but we will not spend public money to create a few agricultural capitalists.

Important measures have already been taken to nationalise the land, though areas of individual ownership remain, amounting to six per cent of the total. The President announced that 'thought must be given' to limiting the maximum size of individual holdings, and that legislation would be introduced against absentee landlordism. 'We do not want to have a class of peasants who will have no alternative but to sell their labour in order to live'.

Nevertheless there are important areas of the Zambian economy and society where private enterprise, both locally-based and foreign capitalists, continue and will continue to play a role. It may well be that these are inevitable, forced upon Zambia by her present circumstances, much as the 'New Economic Policy' of permitting a limited development of private enterprises within certain fields, notably that of

commerce, was forced upon Lenin and his comrades by the exigencies of the time. But whereas they recognised and guarded against this as a temporary, enforced retreat from socialist principle, President Kaunda tends to deal with the present stage of development as if it were a special, unique and meritorious feature of socialism as it will develop in Zambia. In the course of this treatment he puts forward some theoretical observations on socialism and the working class with which we must frankly state our disagreement.

With his customary candour, and lucidity, for which we should all be very grateful to him, President Kaunda states that UNIP's socialism is but an incidental to its fundamental philosophy of humanism. 'Humanism is our charter and socialism is only one of the rules of procedure in its implementation'.

He continues:

As a matter of fact, to be socialistic in the modern world is a matter of degree. It is no exaggeration to say that the Soviet Union is more socialistic than, say, Yugoslavia, and Yugoslavia is more socialistic than Sweden and Sweden is more socialistic than Britain. Britain in turn, is probably more socialistic than the United States.

We fully accept the complete sincerity of the President when he says 'We object to having a nation of workers on one hand and capitalist masters on the other. We further reject the establishment of a world in which Zambians will be workers for capitalist masters outside our own territory'. These are indeed laudable, noble and essential goals, not only for Zambians but for workers, peasants and socialists the world over. However their attainment does not depend on subjective desires but upon the creation of the necessary material forces to accomplish them, upon the most complete and scientific appraisal of the class and social forces at work, not only in Zambia but also throughout the world; upon an exact understanding of who are the friends and who the enemies of Zambia's complete independence and progress towards socialism.

We do not for a moment accept the thesis that 'to be socialistic' is merely 'a matter of degree'. The Soviet Union and the other countries headed by Marxist-Leninist Parties are socialist by virtue of the fact that all the principal means

of production are in the hands of a state dominated by the working class, that the exploitation of man by man is outlawed, that the working people, through their firm control of the state machinery are purposefully planning production, education and culture to ensure the speediest and most humane construction first of socialist and ultimately of communist society.

On the other hand in Britain, Sweden, the United States and all the other countries of NATO, whether they are ruled for shorter or longer periods by Labour, Social Democratic or Conservative governments, or whether — as in Spain, Portugal or Greece by fascist dictatorships — private capitalism dominates the economy and hence in reality the politics of each country as well. They are capitalist countries. That is the vital and fundamental distinction, failure to observe which can lead only to the most serious mistakes and consequences. Britain and Sweden are no more socialist than is the United States of America irrespective of the fact that they have Labour or Social Democratic Cabinets, and despite the occasional deliberately obscure references to socialism by the leaders of these Parties on the occasion of elections or Party Congresses. The period of the Wilson government in Britain has in fact seen the most pronounced growth of monopoly capitalism, declining living standards of the workers, and the most abject confession by the country's so-called rulers that its basic policies are in fact determined by foreign bankers and financiers. It is not by chance that Britain's 'Labour' government has, as President Kaunda is only too painfully aware, betrayed the people of Zimbabwe. They did so at the dictates of British monopoly capitalism, imperialism, despite their professed abhorrence of apartheid and white minority rule. They did so because they are not socialists — people determined to build a socialist commonwealth, destroy capitalism and stamp out exploitation with the fervour with which their forerunners decided to stamp out slavery. They do not believe in socialism, if they ever did; they do not dare to be socialists; their puny ambitions rise no higher than to be permitted to administer the capitalist state on behalf of its real masters.

We make no apology for dwelling upon this theme at some length, because we believe that its grasping is absolutely essential for the future of Zambia and of every other African country. Capitalism and imperialism are very much alive in the present day world; and imperialism whether American, British, Japanese or Italian has not changed its grasping, domineering and aggressive nature. Its interest in our African countries remains what it always was, to squeeze as much profit as possible out of our resources and labour. It is no doubt true that history — colonialist history — has so intertwined the immediate fate of Africa and its economy with imperialist interests that a degree of dependence on their capital remains and will for some time remain. But we must be fully conscious of what imperialism is; that its aims and purposes are fundamentally at variance with those of Africa; that our firm and constant purpose must be eventually to end this dependence completely. Flexibility of tactics is one thing, at all times necessary. Unclarity and flabbiness of purpose, of theory, is another; it can lead only to grave errors.

To obliterate the all-essential distinction between the capitalist and the socialist world has another, equally harmful consequence. If it fails clearly to define and thus to identify the enemies of African freedom it fails also to define and identify our friends — the leaders and the working people of the socialist countries who having ended capitalist domination of their own lands stand ever ready to support and unite with those in others who are determined to do likewise. And Africa stands in urgent need of allies in the world; the imperialist enemies are powerful and hydraheaded.

There is another point upon which we feel ourselves obliged to take issue with President Kaunda and that is on the attitude he expresses towards the Zambian working class. He describes the main class division in Zambian society as not as in capitalist economies, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but between the urban and the rural areas; the wage workers on the one hand and the rural masses on the other. He points to the big gap between the earnings of

the wage worker and the subsistence farmer. The former receives about eight times the income of the latter.

Since the state is now the largest single employer in the country, he points out, the workers and their trade unions cannot regard their struggle merely as one to improve their own wages. 'The state controls, even if it does not wholly own, the major means of production . . . Thus for a union to push a claim against the state is to push a claim against the people'. 'If you demand higher wages for the urban workers, the consequent inflation will inevitably hit the majority of our own relatives in the rural areas.'

Now let us say immediately that we do not necessarily disagree with the President's arguments in favour of wage restraint at the present stage of Zambia's economic development, to avoid inflation, nor with his observations that where the state owns the means of production the workers have the responsibility of raising productivity, of being, in a sense, their own employers. But we dislike the proposals for a prices and incomes policy if that means a sort of Barbara Castle-like procedure of shackling the trade unions; it has not worked in Britain and it cannot work in any country where private capital still plays a prominent role in the economy. Still less do we like the formulation that 'class consciousness (on the part of the urban workers) is one of the biggest dangers in Zambia.'

Perhaps, in the present period, there is some conflict in giving priority to the needs of the rural majority over the claims of the urban proletariat. But in the long run there is no such conflict. Certainly, in conditions such as those described by the President, priority should be given to the raising of the living and cultural standards of the rural majority, but this does not mean that the justified claims of the town workers can or should be indefinitely postponed. The distinction between town workers and their brothers in the countryside is of a totally different character from that between that between workers and capitalists. For there is no basic or lasting conflict between working people of town and country, they have no long-term differences of interest; they both aim at an independent and free Zambia, advancing towards socialism in company with their com-

rades in Africa and all over the world. The capitalist, on the other hand, is in a state of fundamental conflict with both. He wants neither socialism nor complete independence from imperialism, his class ally against the workers and peasants.

Working class consciousness is not an unpatriotic, selfish or anti-farmer phenomenon. It was the class-conscious Zambian proletariat which spearheaded the independence struggle against British imperialism; without the leading role of the organised working class there will be no building of socialism in Zambia or any other country. It is wrong to equate class-consciousness with narrow trade unionism 'pure and simple'. It was precisely because the Zambian workers rose above this sort of 'consciousness' (sedulously cultivated, incidentally by 'missionaries' from the British T.U.C.) to the level of national consciousness that they were able to play so notable a role in the fight for independence. Given the opportunity to play a leading and responsible part in every sphere of the country's policy, administration and economy, and imbued with scientific, working class, socialist ideology, they will equally lead the fight for full independence, for embarking on the road to socialism. More, there is no other class force which can play this leading role. The rural majority is as yet too limited, because of its limited experience, to head the struggle, except in alliance with and under the leadership of the workers. The businessmen are, at best, too absorbed in their own affairs. The administrators and professional groups have never in any country played an independent part. It is the workers alone, who by virtue of their experience, their capacity for organisation, and their class interests which are identical with those of the masses, are able to lead in the complex and difficult struggles which lie ahead. It is they who should and must be the stout bulwark on which the country's leaders and its future must depend.

How complex those struggles must be, and how serious the need for such a powerful bulwark, is indicated by the dramatic events which followed the President's powerful and (in its main content) correct and dynamic speech, the resignation of Vice-President Kapwepwe and the suspension by the President of the leadership and constitution of UNIP.

It is just because of our warm respect and admiration for the sterling qualities and outstanding leadership of Dr. Kaunda that we have spoken out as we have about those aspects of his remarkable Address with which we disagree. True friendship does not consist in maintaining a discreet silence and uttering only praises, as many an African leader has learnt to his cost. History and geography have combined to link the fate of independent Zambia and that of the entire Southern African Revolution inescapably together. We have a common goal and a common enemy; we must fight shoulder to shoulder.

We have more than once before in these columns paid tribute to the courage with which Zambia's government and President have stood up against the evil practices and constant provocations of that enemy: the Vorster-Smith-Caetano alliance, backed up by international imperialism. Once again in his speech he drew attention to the danger of further, intervention and provocation, when he warned that the

minority regimes and their allies may resort to actions beyond espionage in which they have engaged so far. I fear that subversion and dissension may be used as instruments for causing racial strife in this country.

It is precisely this close identity of interest that gives us, South African revolutionaries, the duty to fight to defend the precious independence of our brothers in Zambia; as precious to us as the liberation of our own motherland.

A MURDERERS' CHARTER

In our 'Documents' section this issue we reproduce in full an article from the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, entitled 'Death in Detention'. This article publishes the stark facts regarding the death of a numbers of prisoners during the course of their detention, without trial, interrogation and torture by the notorious brutes of the Special Branch, Vorster's Gestapo.

This article does not, and does not purport, to give a complete list of political prisoners who have been murdered by the police in South Africa. It does not mention a number

of similar cases which are known, such as those of Alpheus Maliba veteran Communist, and Caleb Mayekiso, outstanding trade unionist and Congressman of Port Elizabeth who died in detention at the beginning of June this year.

Yet we believe the article has great importance and historical value. Most of the brave men who were murdered by Vorster, van den Bergh (South Africa's Himmler) and their thugs were supporters of the African National Congress, the Communist Party or the Congress of Trade Unions. The *Rand Daily Mail* supports none of these revolutionary organisations; it is a capitalist newspaper controlled by big mining houses with a stake in apartheid. That makes this newspaper's publication of these facts the more valuable and courageous. Its Editor, L. Gandar, and reporter B. Poggrund, have already been sentenced for exposing prison conditions.

Moreover this article will almost certainly be the last of the sort to appear legally in South Africa. In terms of the new law establishing the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) it will be a crime to publish or disclose any matter relating to this 'Bureau' — which will take over the functions and personnel, and intensify the murderous brutality of the former Special Branch. Lavishly endowed with funds for which it has to account to no one; the allocation for the current year is R5,320,000 BOSS will be a state within a state on the scale of Hitler's S.S.

This is a murderers' charter. Under its cover, Vorster, van den Bergh, Swanepoel and their bullies believe that they will be able to torture and kill the patriotic sons and daughters of South Africa in complete secrecy.

They are deceiving themselves, Murder will out. The truth will be made known to the people. The day of reckoning will come when the dreams of our brave martyrs will be realised; their heroic struggles vindicated; their murderers and torturers punished.

THE STRATEGY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Tanzania's Second Five-Year Plan

B. Ngotyana

*We are not a company seeking profits we are a country
seeking development*

President Julius Nyerere

Tanzania's Second Five Year Plan published in Dar es Salaam recently is as much an exercise in politics as economics. In President Nyerere's introduction and in many of the following chapters political concepts jostle with economic facts in an attempt to present the Plan positively, as a stimulus to mobilisation in the various sectors of Tanzania's socio-economic structure. The Plan is offered as a 'statement of strategy' rather than as a rigid framework leaving some options open for the adjustment of targets and emphasis in accordance with the developing conditions. This was one lesson learnt from the First Five Year Plan where performance was subjected to unexpected stresses by the vagaries of the international market, by the effects of varying climatic conditions, and all the other hazards that so easily buffet about a small agricultural country trying to find its feet.

The difficulty of breaking out of the crushing economic stagnation brought about by colonialism is not minimised in Tanzania. President Nyerere discusses the problems of pov-

erty frankly, and he is also prepared to admit to weaknesses in implementation. In the introduction to the Plan, President Nyerere candidly concedes that in the First Five Year Plan, despite impressive achievements in some fields, only 75 per cent of the investment hoped for was attained. He points out that this deficiency arose partly out of unrealised expectations of foreign investment, partly from the staggering fall in the price of sisal, partly from some failures in capital intensive rural settlements, as well as from a serious shortage in manpower capable of implementing planned projects. From this experience Tanzania has concluded that it is better to be more self reliant in respect of capital and to direct scarce resources more carefully into areas where they can be most productive.

Just how scarce these resources are can be seen from the investment targets proposed for the Second Five Year Plan. A total of £404¹/₄ million will be spent over five years (compare this with South Africa's budget of some £795.4 m. for one year). Of this sum the Government's portion will be £153 million; and the East African Community about £29 million.

Of these amounts about 60 per cent will be financed from inside Tanzania while foreign assistance will be sought to contribute to the rest. This proportion is significantly different to that in the First Five Year Plan where in the case of the Central Government for example it was envisaged that 78 per cent of investment would be financed from overseas and only 22 per cent locally. In the event the foreign capital failed to materialise as expected and Tanzania had to tighten her belt accordingly. The same mistake is not being repeated.

A beneficial side effect of the failure of foreign capital is that the external annual debt servicing commitments amount at present to only 6¹/₂ per cent of Tanzania's annual foreign exchange earnings. This situation is in marked contrast with the problems now facing countries like Kenya and Ghana where the foreign debt tends to swallow all the gains made within the country, stifling national economic advance. Even more important, the foreign debt is the Achilles heel of political independence, a vital factor in a

small country like Tanzania with small resources but a great deal of independent spirit.

The sources of Tanzania's foreign aid are not without interest. Apart from the railway to Zambia being undertaken with Chinese assistance and about which figures are not available, Tanzania obtained a loan of £15 million from the World Bank, the United States and Sweden for the road to Zambia. Other loans and grants comprising some £10 million came from the Nordic countries, Italy, Canada, Holland and West Germany. China has also extended the repayment period for the Friendship Textile Mill, a radio station and an agricultural implements factory. Of all the Western countries it seems that the Scandinavians are expected to be the most likely source both of loans and technical aid.

Since the Plan urges greater self reliance on internal resources, several questions arise. Which areas of the economy are being relied upon? How are these resources to be mobilised, and for what ends? A great deal of attention is given to answering such questions in the body of the Plan.

Some overall picture of Tanzania's economy and of the criminal neglect by German and British imperialism is found in the fact that in 1960 the manufacturing sector accounted for only 4 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. Despite the shortage of capital during the First Five Year Plan there was a 10 per cent industrial growth during this period with relatively high rates of expansion in textile production, brewing, plywood, paints, cement and petroleum refining. There is yet a very long haul ahead and Tanzania will remain dependent on foreign-exchange-draining imports for a considerable time. The absence of industries and the concomitant shortage of infrastructure have clearly been decisive factors in the investment choices made in the present Plan.

SHIFT TO STATE TRADING

In the mobilisation of internal resources for greater self-reliance it is anticipated that the private sector will be proportionately less important in the future than in the past, reflecting the deliberate curbs placed on private interests

by the government in recent years. While in the First Plan period the share of private investment was about 50 per cent, the Second Plan envisages a contribution of about 25 per cent, although the absolute amount will be about equal. There will be a marked shift to state participation in trade and commerce as much of the country's trade will be taken over by the National Trading Corporation and village cooperative shops will handle the bulk of the retail trade there.

The major mobilisation effort in economic terms will be that undertaken by the parastatal sector mainly organised by the National Development Corporation. A wide range of expansion programmes are envisaged in industry, agriculture, tourism and commerce. Industry will claim the major share of investment capital, about 34 per cent of the total, agriculture 13 per cent, and tourism 10 per cent. While Government funds will be needed to finance something like 30 per cent of the parastatal investment needs during the Second Plan, it is expected that self-generating development will gradually alleviate this pressure as the industries become selfsufficient. While profitability is considered vital for each undertaking, the approach to this sector is long term, and 'cost effectiveness' is the principal yardstick to be applied.

In the introduction to the Plan the President says, 'What matters is not just the quantity of investment, but also its effectiveness in increasing wealth'. Since Tanzania seeks primarily national development and not individual profits, the most important consideration applied is how an industry or investment increases the total wealth of the country. The most fundamental area of mobilisation however is that to be undertaken by the Central Government. And here the stress is given to the mobilisation of the mass of the people themselves in the processes of production. It is the intention of the Government 'to mobilise the energies of the people of Tanzania at the local level both in efforts to expand economic activity and social facilities and in creative initiatives to fashion new cooperative forms of social and economic organisation'.

The basis for this mobilisation effort is found in what is

called 'the philosophy of the Plan' expressed in the following five principles:

1. SOCIAL EQUALITY — to spread the benefits of development widely throughout society;
2. UJAMAA — the development of forms of economic activity which encourage collective and cooperative efforts and avoid wide differences of wealth and income;
3. SELF RELIANCE — maximum development of domestic resources, particularly through mobilisation of the people;
4. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION — rapid expansion of productive capacity to create the basis for future economic and social transformation;
5. AFRICAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION — the extension of economic cooperation with other African states.

These principles indicate that there are two concurrent influences directing the overall strategy of Tanzania's development. First, an assessment of resources which places maximum emphasis on popular economic activity based in agriculture and placing the countryside above the towns, second, a democratic-egalitarian outlook called Ujamaa which is based on custom and held to be still dominant at least among the rural people the bulk of whom still live in extended family villages. The conjuncture of these two influences has given Tanzania's policies a particular character which has attracted much attention.

DIFFICULT QUESTIONS

Some difficult questions remain. Ever since President Nyerere proclaimed Tanzania's policy of Ujamaa Vijijini (Socialist Villages) in 1967, two of these have been awaiting definitive clarification. The first question relates to an implied strategy of building a socialist society based in the countryside and the specific mobilisation of the peasantry. The second is whether traditional African villages can develop that dynamic required for the transformation of the lives of a whole nation.

President Nyerere says in the Second Five Year Plan that 'we are moving towards a programme of integrated rural development which leads in the direction of the *kind of socialist society we are trying to create* (my emphasis). This

changed policy is fully reflected in the new Plan, which has socialist rural development at its very core'. This statement tends to confirm the impression created by previous policy pronouncements. The perspective is that of a specific kind of socialist society emerging in the countryside, the U jamaa Vijijini as the centres of gravity for the system culturally, ideologically and economically.

The proposition that socialism can emerge as a system by means of peasant mobilisation in traditional structures is not new in socialist theory. This issue was debated at length by the Marxists and Narodniks in Russia and it has been a subject of controversy elsewhere for a long time. The Narodniks held that the Russian village commune could become the basis for a socialist society and that the major political effort ought to be concentrated on the peasantry. Marx and Engels took up the discussion and replied in the preface to the Russian edition of *The Communist Manifesto* of January 21st, 1882.

The question is now whether the Russian village commune — a form of primitive collective communal property which has indeed already been to a large extent destroyed — can pass immediately into the highest communist form of landed property or whether, on the contrary, it must go through from the beginning the same process of disintegration as that which has determined the historical development of the West. The only answer to this question today is as follows: If the Russian revolution becomes the signal for the workers' revolution in the West, so that the one supplements the other, then the present form of land ownership in Russia may be the starting point of an historical development.

In a subsequent letter, Engels stated

no more in Russia than anywhere else would it have been possible to develop a higher social form out of primitive agrarian communism unless that higher form was already in existence in another country, so as to serve as a model.¹

The judgement of history went against the Narodniks and the protagonists of rural socialism have had the same fate ever since. Yet the matter is not so simple. For although the

¹ Letter Engels to Danielson London, October 17, 1893.

workers' revolution in the West did not come to the aid of Narodism, the Russian Revolution itself came to the rescue of other peasant countries. Thus, with the aid of the Soviet Union, Mongolia was able to leap into the modern era omitting the historical stage of capitalism. Since then the possibilities of a predominantly peasant country making substantial advances without going through capitalism have gained increasing recognition. Unfortunately this recognition often leaves out of account the qualifications made by Marx and Engels.

Certainly Marxism does not consider the commune a 'worthless' institution. Hobsbawm points out that Marx 'increasingly stressed the viability of the primitive commune ... and even ... its capacity to develop into a higher form of economy without prior destruction'.² He also maintains that Marx 'had always admired the positive social values embodied, in however backward a form, in the primitive community'.³

The relevance of these opinions and the disputes that raged in prerevolutionary Russia to the African situation lies in the fact that there is a growing recognition that the mobilisation of the peasantry is fundamental for social advance in Africa. How this is to be done is not clear, but that the village structures in Africa must be taken into account is widely accepted.

Potekhin for instance held that it was necessary in Africa to gradually transform the communal structures to make way for large scale farming, but he added that, 'The existence of the system of communal land ownership, traditions and experience of collective labour provide favourable conditions for the development of producer cooperatives in agriculture'.⁴

- In discussing Tanzania's approach to the problem of rural communes it is necessary to analyse the basis for the proposals made in the Plan, and in what context the proposed so-

² Eric Hobsbawm: *Precapitalist Economic Formations*, p. 50

³ *Ibid*

⁴ I. Potekhin *African Problems*, p. 79

lution arose. To a considerable extent the concentration of Tanzania's leaders on the agricultural sector and on the village problem is the result of sheer economic necessity. For several years, discussion of actual problems of development have led to a constant re-evaluation of what model of development was most suitable for an underdeveloped African country with socialist aspirations. The answer invariably came up that agriculture was the prime resource in the country and that planning had to reflect this fact. In the present Plan therefore we find that the main thrust is directed at the countryside with a perspective of gradual rural transformation. 'It is through a process of steady and continued mobilisation rather than through a short-term "economic miracle" that economic transformation will be achieved.' The importance of this statement lies in its rejection of impetuosity and in the implied stress on orienting the national effort towards the creation of new resources.

The reasons for the 'gradual' approach are evident enough. Tanzania broke the hold of large estate farming soon after Uhuru, and there are few feudal remnants worth attention. Exploitation of labour is small in scale since there is no developed rich 'kulak'-type class. On the other hand there is poverty everywhere, and the task of national construction is immense. The principal question before the Government, therefore, is how to bring about a significant advance in development, not just in the towns, but in the countryside, where colonial neglect was at its worst.

Concentration on the countryside followed logically from the experiences of the First Five Year Plan where there had been 'too much dependence on foreign investment — on the capitalists', so that when the hoped-for capital failed to materialise planned projects were not fulfilled. On the other hand, in the agricultural sector, where there was far less dependence on foreign capital, performance was more than satisfactory⁵. Production of cash crops like cotton, coffee,

⁵ The notable exception is the sisal industry where the price of sisal fell from 1,700 sh. per ton in 1964 to 765 sh. per ton in 1968, resulting in a fall of almost 100,000 (50 per cent) in the number of wage labourers in the industry.

sugar and cashew nuts increased impressively so that, with greater diversification of crops and an increase in productivity, the agricultural sector could be relied upon to maintain a steady growth rate.

Emphasis on agriculture was also confirmed by the paucity of resources in industry. Despite the fact that more industrial development took place in the First Plan period than in all previous Tanzanian history, by 1967 there were still only 33,000 people employed in manufacturing. Furthermore, the first plan revealed that even the meagre capital that the state could muster could not be wholly spent because of a 'shortage of skilled manpower (which) delayed programme implementation'. And this problem of self-sufficiency in managerial and technical manpower will remain a difficulty in future projects for some time to come.

AVOIDING EXPLOITATION

However, growth in agricultural production was accomplished primarily by a new drive by small-holders on the basis of increased use of hired labour. Nyerere has publicly deplored this tendency and he says in the Plan that agriculture has moved 'away from extended family production and social unity towards the development of a class system in the rural areas'. If this process were allowed to continue, Tanzania might well experience a continuing growth in agricultural production but the 'kulak' potential would steadily increase, until a new exploiting class became entrenched in the countryside.

Confirming the perspective announced in 1967, the Plan proposes as an alternative the development of Ujamaa Village structures and the expansion of other forms of cooperative productive activity.

The Ujamaa Village, to which so much attention is now given in Tanzania is based upon 'the principles of the extended family system, with its emphases on cooperation and mutual respect and responsibility... where there is no exploitation of man by man, and where all have a gradually increasing level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury'.

One is bound to ask whether the extended family with its built-in conservatism is a sound basis for socialist transformation. Some commentators object that, even though African communities share the land, they work not as production units but as individuals who assist each other in time of shortage. Then there is the additional problem of what lever is to be relied upon to generate greater effort within these conservative social structures. Old customs may be a hindrance instead of an advantage when it comes to peasant mobilisation.

Whereas these objections were formerly brushed aside, the present Plan does go some way towards meeting them. First, it firmly rejects some of the former methods of Ujamaa Village activity aiming at 'model' socialist villages 'which were capable of making movement to complete Ujamaa living over a short period of time'. Instead, the Plan favours a 'frontal or broad-based, approach . . . to mobilise the widest possible participation in socialist activity throughout the rural society'.

Second, practical attention is given to good local leadership, to markets for the disposal of surplus production, to planned programmes for the productive re-investment of the surplus produced. Above all, a wholly new emphasis is given to producer cooperatives. It is recognized that although 'the cooperative is basically a socialist institution' . . . it will become increasingly capitalist if it remains primarily a marketing organisation.

Third, the Plan stipulates an 'increased democratic participation of the membership' in the cooperatives, coupled with greater powers to the local leadership.

All this is to the good, but a large gap is left in the proposals by the omission of any guidance on how surpluses will be distributed in the new cooperatives. Experience elsewhere has shown that some form of economic incentive is essential to encourage greater production, and the Ujamaa Village is hardly likely to be an exception. A priority, therefore, is that the Government lay down certain basic principles on how surpluses are to be divided, taking into account the interests of the state, the local community and the individual farmer. This point is crucial in socialist development

since whatever cultural or ideological view is taken of a peasant commune, it cannot be forgotten that it is also an economic unit of production. Any other idea is pure romanticism.

This very aspect is brought out in the introduction to the Plan where reference is made to the failures of the settlements attempted in the early days of the first plan. These settlements were discontinued mainly because the initial idealistic enthusiasm did not last, although there were also problems from the heavy demands on scarce, trained agricultural manpower as the settlements were intended to be run on sophisticated scientific lines. The Ujamaa Villages will not be exposed to the same over-capitalisation. Instead, there will be a gradual transition to new simple tools (made in Tanzania, not imported at great cost). The policy of free hand-outs will be abandoned. Material assistance will be given in the form of seeds, implements and perhaps even labour in time of need, but the mainspring of activity will have to be self-help.

As an added stimulus, it is proposed that 'priority will be given to small-scale, low-cost projects by local communities demanding a minimum of technical and financial assistance e. g. small-holder and village irrigation schemes...' and the products of these activities are to be made available to the local people at low prices.

All these practical proposals go a long way towards removing doubts about the nature of Ujamaa Villages. Whatever the ideological basis for the creation of these villages may be, if the Government is going to apply production criteria to their functioning, nothing but good can come from these policies.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

The Plan indicates that an extensive period of political education will precede implementation, and Tanu and other organisation will be heavily committed to 'explaining the meaning and practical implications of Ujamaa to farmers and leaders at all levels'. Recognising that the success of the proposals will ultimately depend on the people's support, the Plan urges that 'the mobilisation effort must therefore en-

gage the support of the people and make the means available for... enthusiasm to be used creatively throughout the country'. Part of this programme is the intended increase from a mere 8,000 to 58,000 the number of National Servicemen to be trained in the next five years. If the past is any indication, these servicemen will be used as a task force in construction when they are not actually undergoing military training. They can in any event be expected to form the hard core of campaigning militants once they leave the Service.

The role of education has also been reevaluated in the light of the present requirements of Tanzania. Whereas the first plan aimed mainly at expanding secondary education in order to create a base for training high-level manpower, the Second Plan gives greater attention to primary education and strives to prepare school-leavers for active participation in rural development. Teachers are warned that white collar attitudes will not be tolerated in primary schools, and the Plan states that 'there is no example worse than that of a teacher who refuses to dirty his hands in the school garden, while impressing upon the children the importance and dignity of agricultural labour'.

We have given much attention to the proposals made for rural mobilisation since it is in that area that the internal politics of Tanzania will now be concentrated. What of the other side? — the urban, manufacturing, and administration sectors? Is Tanzania committed to a wholly rural perspective?

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

The answer is given in the Plan. 'In the long-run, economic development requires the creation of an industrial base'. Furthermore, 'industrial growth is itself a stimulus to rural development and the growth of internal trade'. But, in the main these objectives cannot be realised now; for the present the 'foundations of socialism must be built in the rural sector'. Nevertheless, a great deal of attention is given to non-agricultural investment, mainly in the parastatal sector controlled by the N.D.C.

Coupled with the activities of the N.D.C. are some unex-

pected proposals for urban development. The Government recently deplored the tendency for the concentration of population and resources in the capital city leading to imbalance in urban development at the expense of the countryside. This tendency has been corrected by the drastic curtailment of proposed outlays on Dar es Salaam which will no doubt help to discourage the pretensions and aspirations of the civil service hierarchy and hamper those political leaders who still try to evade the restrictions on business activity imposed on them by the Arusha Declaration.

Yet the dynamic of urban growth is not neglected. Due recognition is given in the Plan to the natural self-generating development of resources that normally accompany the emergence of towns, so that, while Dar es Salaam is restricted, the Plan provides for stimulated growth of ten selected urban centres which are to act as 'poles' in the various far-flung regions of Tanzania. These towns will provide markets for fruit and vegetables from their hinterlands, and will also contain small industrial and transport facilities. It is hoped thereby to achieve one of the prime objectives of the plan: to stimulate a rising local market throughout the country. The development of the interior will be further assisted by the proposed all-weather road linking Tanzania and Zambia, and by the even more important rail link for which a large amount of capital is being set aside.

An assessment of the effectiveness of Tanzania's Second Five Year Plan must include an evaluation of Tanu's ability to generate the necessary momentum to carry through the Ujamaa Village programme, and the role of foreign aid in the economic and political life of the country.

Tanzania has already curbed, by state decrees, the more obvious and concentrated forms of capitalist development such as foreign banks, building societies and insurance houses. But this by no means ensures that the country will take a socialist path. Nationalisation is not by itself a guarantee of socialist intentions. In many African countries nationalisation has been easily integrated into an overall capitalist economy. What is crucial in a country like Tanzania, where the socio-economic base for socialism is so uncertain, is that the party is clear in its objectives. It must

also be well organised and able to express in action a single will. Whether Tanu can measure up to these requirements is not yet certain. While its nationwide extent and popular character is undoubted, what remains to be seen is whether it can act as a vanguard, whether it has sufficient trained cadres, and whether it can make a decisive impact at grass-root level. The importance of party activity is all the greater in view of the frank disclosure by Nyerere that the public services are not responding adequately. 'I think the position has got worse rather than better in recent years' he says, and the Plan confirms that 'the deviation between planned growth in the service sector and actual performance is large'. Only an active and vigilant Tanu can bring a greater sense of responsibility into being in the civil service and expose those elitist elements who are deliberately obstructing progress.

EXTERNAL AID

Finally there is the question of foreign assistance to be considered. It has been observed often enough that neo-colonialism retains its grip by influencing the local petty bourgeoisie to cooperate in retaining in new forms the old bonds. The imperialists have found the most useful apparatus for carrying this out is by way of 'experts' and 'advisers' who press themselves upon the country even when their presence is publicly condemned. They manage to infiltrate by way of 'technical agreements' or in some philanthropic guise, but once established in some corner of influence they become the willing or unwilling tools of imperialist control. Regrettably their presence is too often tolerated by otherwise progressive governments in the pursuit of a 'non-aligned image'.

This kind of non-alignment is a high price to pay for the damage done by 'experts' who undermine the people's confidence in their ability to control their own destiny, and who seek to impress their own capitalist attitudes and style of work upon the African people, at the same time generating attitudes of dependence among the local people.

But 'dependence' should not be confused with acceptance of the disinterested fraternal aid that the socialist countries

can and do provide. An underdeveloped country cannot go it alone if it is serious in making a clean break with its colonial connections. Cuba benefits enormously from Soviet aid, and every small socialist country relies to some extent on the assistance of the larger socialist states, in many forms including that of guaranteed markets. What is evident in Africa, from the experiences of Ghana, Guinea and the other states which have attempted to break out of the imperialist stranglehold, is that in this world of conflict there can be no avoiding economic relations with the socialist countries. This experience tends to reinforce the theoretical proposition that a predominantly peasant country can only make significant social advance in the light of an existing model of socialist society and by collaborating with it.

Africa is all too aware of its poverty, of the lack of resources, know-how and capital. When the mass of the people are called upon to be self-reliant and to adopt the methods of self-help, the people may be understandably perplexed about how they are expected to raise themselves without some external impetus. Such an impetus is available in the example of the socialist countries and in their aid. Perhaps Africa has been too timid in making the necessary approaches for that solidarity which can only bring strength and confidence in the possibility of a socialist future for this continent.

THE OVERDUE FUNERAL OF MR. RHODES

PHINEAS MALINGA

In the period immediately after U.D.I. it was widely thought, even on the Left, that the liberation of Zimbabwe could be approached as a question separate from the liberation of South Africa. Partly, this idea arose from the fact that for some fifteen years — say 1948 to 1963 — the white regime in Southern Rhodesia had seemed perceptibly less reactionary than that of South Africa. If Garfield Todd had been Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, some people felt, things could not be quite so intractable as in the country in which Verwoerd spent his adult life (his childhood, of course, was spent in Rhodesia).

The second factor which gave rise to the idea of treating Zimbabwe as a separate subject was the legal and constitutional position arising from U. D. I. As a rebellious colony, Rhodesia certainly merited special treatment at the hands of Britain and her allies. For a time, it looked as if that special treatment would be forthcoming. Obviously Britain was not going to fight for total liberation, but Wilson was proclaiming his intention of striving for the downfall of the existing regime and its replacement by something of a more democratic kind.

These two factors were closely connected. If Britain's Rhodesian policy ever had any bona fide objective, that objective was to replace Smith by somebody drawn from the Todd-Whitehead era, who would attempt to return to the policies of that era. Sanctions were supposed to impress upon 'progressive businessmen' the error of their ways, and

those businessmen were supposed to do the British Government's work for it.

There was never any hope of success for this policy. The slight differences in policy between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in the 1950's never reflected any basic difference in the class forces at work. They merely reflected the fact that the Rhodesian whites, with their high proportion of post-war immigrants, toyed for a time with the possibility of imitating Britain's neo-colonialism instead of South Africa's open fascism. U. D. I. signalled the final rejection of that possibility and left the fundamental similarity of the Rhodesian and South African systems exposed for all the world to see.

Today, the failure of British policy is also exposed for all the world to see. As we approach the third anniversary of U. D. I. we must ask ourselves whether anything useful is left of the special legal and constitutional position of Rhodesia. The fact that the Rhodesian settlers had put themselves in a position of 'illegality' vis-a-vis the imperialists opened up possibilities which were not open in the case of South Africa. In the immediate post-UDI period, it was obviously right to extract the maximum advantage from these possibilities. Today however it is clear that the imperialists will not assert their 'legality' if the result of doing so is to give any advantage to the popular forces. They hate people's democracy more than they hate 'illegality', and even the most unassailable legal and moral arguments are not going to make them forget it. Therefore it would be an illusion to suppose that any decisive, practical advantage can in future be extracted from the fact that Rhodesia is theoretically a British colony.

This does not mean that the illegality of the Smith regime is something which can just be forgotten. It deprives the white settlers of Zimbabwe of even that appearance of constitutionality which their counterparts in the South can claim from Britain's formal transfer of power to them in 1910. This fortifies the Africans, embarrasses the imperialists, inhibits their desire to support the regime and, helps to win support for liberation among the ordinary people in

Britain and other Western countries. At all times, however, it must be made clear that a return to a colonial Rhodesia is not on the agenda. The whole shabby episode has finally killed any lingering illusions that British imperialism ever has done or will do anything to advance the rights of the black man in Southern Africa.

Next, what becomes of the policy of sanctions? That policy may, at first, have been seriously intended by the British Government, which may have calculated that the white Rhodesians would compromise rather than allow their trade to be disturbed. However, once it became clear that white Rhodesia was going to put up a serious resistance, it became equally clear that no discussion of sanctions was worth the hot air expended upon it unless it dealt with the position of South Africa.

MADE IN BRITAIN

Spokesmen of the British Government talked, in early 1966, as if they were sublimely unaware that South Africa had any relationship with Rhodesia. They cannot have been honest: the very intimate ties which bind the two southern African territories are peculiarly well known to Britain because they are British creations.

The first major decision that Britain ever took about the territory north of the Limpopo was in 1890. The decision was that the territory would not be colonised under direct Whitehall control, but would be left to the private enterprise colonialism of the British South Africa Company. Now the B. S. A. Company was a creation of Mr. Cecil Rhodes and it was number three, not number one, among his financial interests. Numbers one and two were the De Beers Consolidated Mines, of Kimberley and the Consolidated Goldfields Limited, of Johannesburg. So Rhodesia began life as a sideshow run by the Englishman who became South Africa's first great capitalist.

The task of exercising Imperial supervision over the B. S. A. Co. was entrusted to Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa. This office has been a very interesting one throughout the history of British imperialism in south-

ern Africa. In the nineteenth century the High Commissioner was usually also Governor of the Cape Colony. In the twentieth, he was also Britain's High Commissioner to the Union, later Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. In other words he has always been an official whose main concern was with South Africa. The fact that he was chosen to look after Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and (until 1923) Rhodesia in such time as he had to spare from the affairs of South Africa was an exact indication of the position occupied by each territory in the British imperial scheme of things.

In 1923, the white Rhodesian settlers won promotion in the imperial hierarchy. They were given internal self-government and also removed from the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner. However, the pattern set by the British Government did not disappear but was widely imitated by British private enterprise. The general rule among big British firms has always been to treat Rhodesia as a sub-department of South Africa.

Banking, for instance, is dominated in both countries by the same two British banks, — Barclays D. C. O. and the Standard Bank. These banks run their Southern African operations in a closely integrated way. Bank officials are freely transferred from South Africa to Rhodesia and vice versa. Barclays D.C.O. has its 'Head Office in South Africa' in Johannesburg. Under this office come 'Local Head Offices' in Pretoria, Durban, Bloemfontein and Cape Town. Salisbury also has a 'Local Head Office'. It is not formally subordinate to Johannesburg but Johannesburg governs 783 branches to Salisbury's 89 and London is a long way away. One does not need to be a magician to guess where the Salisbury office looks for the answers to its problems. Thus when U. D. I. came, there was no need for any new arrangement to integrate the Rhodesian banking system with the South African. The links already existed, and they were British made.

Here is another example. Mr. R. is the 'Supervisor for Africa' of a very large British company with world-wide interests. As his title implies, he is in charge of his com-

pany's operations throughout the continent of Africa. Typically, his headquarters is in Johannesburg, where his company has a subsidiary company and a factory. In Rhodesia, it has only an import agent. Before U. D. I., this agent used to order goods either from London or from Johannesburg as convenience suggested. A few days after U. D. I. Mr. R. was asked 'What effect will sanctions have on you?' 'None!' he scornfully replied. 'It is simply a matter of telling our agent in Salisbury to channel all his orders through Johannesburg. I gave the necessary instructions within the hour after the news of sanctions came through.'

There must have been many similar cases. Every so often, Labour M. P's raise a plaintive protest against the fact that British oil companies are still happily trading in Rhodesia. Whether the British Government has made any attempt to stop them, we do not know. What is not in doubt is that the same British companies also trade on a very much larger scale in South Africa. When the fact became known that Rhodesia was getting all its oil requirements from South Africa, Whitehall feigned the utmost astonishment. What was there to be astonished about? Was it seriously to be expected that Big Brother Shell in Johannesburg would leave Little Brother Shell in Salisbury to starve? As for Old Father Shell in London, he had probably been trusting Johannesburg to look after Salisbury for the last fifty years. There was not the slightest need for him to do anything rash which might lead to trouble with the Board of Trade.

Under these circumstances, the decision not to take any action against South African defiance of sanctions was equivalent to a decision that sanctions were going to fail. In the result, sanctions have been entirely beneficial to South Africa. Her economy needed new territory into which to expand; competitors obligingly withdrew from a territory right next door. The already strong South African influence over the Rhodesian economy was transformed into complete domination. As if this were not good fortune enough, South Africa was given as an additional bonus the opportunity to prove to the world that the United Nations is a paper tiger.

It is therefore apparent that any attempt to present sanc-

tions as a solution to the problems of Zimbabwe, or an alternative to the armed struggle, is sheer diversion. As a policy in themselves, sanctions have proved a complete fraud and obviously had to fail once the Republic was allowed openly to flout them with impunity.

It does not follow that the U. N. resolutions on the subject should be rescinded. To lift such sanctions as actually exist would in no way undo the harm which sanctions have done. From now until the day of liberation, Zimbabwe will, unfortunately, remain virtually a South African colony. Sanctions must now become part of the economic war (which in turn is part of the general war) against the white racist bloc as a whole. Seen from this point of view, the existing Security Council resolutions on the subject are agonisingly inadequate, but they are a little bit better than nothing. They should be used as a basis on which to build measures of economic warfare which will come nearer to meeting the needs of the situation.

Whichever way we look at it, the factor which looms largest in the situation of Zimbabwe is the intricate and intimate connection with the situation of South Africa. The liberation of Zimbabwe is as much a part of the task of defeating the racist bloc as in 1942 the liberation of Poland or Romania was a part of the task of defeating the Hitlerite bloc. To say this is not to deny the people of Zimbabwe their distinctive national destiny and right to self-determination. It is simply to recognise the only road by which, in the immediate future, that destiny and right are likely to be fulfilled.

These truths have in fact been recognised by the peoples' representatives in both countries. The ANC-ZAPU alliance has not merely been signed but also put into practical operation. It will continue until liberation has been won, and will be the foundation of peace and friendship in the sub-continent afterwards.

ZAMBIA'S STRUGGLE IS THE SAME

Meanwhile, north of the Zambesi, Zambia is struggling to rid herself of the same accursed heritage which lies behind

the Smith-Vorster alliance. The activities of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company did not stop at the Zambesi. The territory formerly called Northern Rhodesia was never, in the strict legal sense, a British colony. It was a protectorate, which meant that the British Government itself did not have the impertinence to lay claim to the actual ownership of that territory. Mr. Rhodes had no such inhibitions. By a series of the usual kind of fraudulent transactions with corrupted or intimidated chiefs, he succeeded in making his company the 'owner in perpetuity' of the mineral rights over most of the territory which is now Zambia.

The result was that when Zambia obtained independence, her government was faced by the fact that these mineral rights still 'belonged in perpetuity' to the successors in title of the B. S. A. Co. (that is, broadly speaking, to the Oppenheimer group or the Selection Trust group). Not only did these people own the existing copper mines, they also had a virtually unfettered right to open new mines or prevent new mines from being opened. It was a position of power such as no mining company has ever been allowed to occupy in South Africa itself! (Paul Kruger saw to that, before the Boer War).

What was more, a special clause (Clause 18) was inserted by Britain in the Zambian Constitution prohibiting the expropriation of these rights unless approval had first been obtained in referendum. In June of this year, the Zambian Government obtained the necessary authority by means of a referendum. On 11th August, President Kaunda announced an important set of measures to reform Zambia's laws on mining and minerals.

All perpetual private ownership of minerals is abolished, and the state becomes the owner of such minerals. In this connection, the President remarked 'Cecil Rhodes's "perpetuity" or his "ever and ever" is now buried and I hope and pray never to rise again in this part of Africa.'

Those mineral rights which are at present being worked will be converted into twenty-five year leases. Those which have never been worked will be available to be granted as twenty-five year leases to new applicants. Further, the

20 Years of the German Democratic Republic

Y. Ngomezulu

On October 7, 1969, the people of Germany will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic, the socialist state of the German nation. It is the first state of peace, humanity, democracy and social security in the history of Germany. The socialist society created by the formation of the German Democratic Republic has overcome exploitation and oppression, inhumanity and aggression which characterised past societies in Germany and still characterises the present State in West Germany.

To us South African Communists, this gigantic advance is of special significance. Many features that existed in the Germany of Hitler are today being aped by the fascist Vorster regime now in power in our country. We face the many and varied problems which our German Marxist comrades faced under the iron heel of the Nazis. Therefore we South Africans make a special point of celebrating this great occasion together with our brothers in the G. D. R. and with all communists and democrats.

At what stage do the two German states find themselves 20 years after their foundation? The German Kaiser Reich went down rattling its sabres in an attempt to redivide the world. The Weimar Republic existed for only 14 years. The so-called Thousand-Year Reich of the nazi murderers collapsed after 12 years. The West German state has used the

20 years of its existence to restore all the reactionary traditions of German history.

The seeds for the setting up of a working class state were sown through innumerable struggles led by the Communist Party of Germany long before the last war began. During the war thousands upon thousands of Communists, Social Democrats, Christians and bourgeois patriots — the anti-fascist resistance fighters — went to prisons, concentration camps and to their deaths in the firm belief that the peoples of Germany would ultimately end the national catastrophe which had been forced on them by German imperialism. Others were subjected to most inhuman tortures and endured the hardships of exile, never losing faith in the ultimate victory of the German working class. Their sacrifices and suffering have not been in vain. Today the G. D. R. is firmly established and is an integral part of the community of socialist nations.

Perhaps the most significant steps taken in the hard road of struggle for the establishment of the German Democratic Republic were those taken in the dying days of the last world war. Under the leadership of the working class, consistently implementing the appeal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany of June 11, 1945 and the July 14 declaration on the establishment of a Bloc of Anti-Fascist Democratic Parties, the working people launched an anti-fascist democratic revolution. The united action of the anti-fascist and democratic forces of the people, the Communist Party of Germany believed, would lead to the political unity of the working class. The Communist Party of Germany, assessing the international and national situation at the time, came to the conclusion that only on the basis of such unity could the Bloc of Democratic Parties develop successfully and attain the successes leading to the establishment of a socialist society. Their efforts were rewarded. In April, 1946, with the historically significant merger of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party resulting in the emergence of the Socialist Unity Party in the Soviet occupation zone of Germany, the stage had been set for a great leap forward in the battles of the

German working class to create a state of peace and social democracy, human dignity and brotherhood.

In the struggles that followed, the anti-fascist democratic forces joined in creating new state organs from top to bottom. Democratic agrarian reforms were effected for the final emancipation of the peasantry. War criminals were punished and their land and wealth expropriated, thus destroying the base of power of the monopolies and junkers and ending seventy years of imperialist rule which led to two catastrophic world wars.

A public sector in industry was established, thereby laying the firm foundation of the anti-fascist democratic order. Democratic, educational and legal reforms were carried out and for the first time in their history the German people were granted those basic rights which had for many decades been the objective of those who struggled, suffering imprisonment, torture and even death.

These fundamental changes created the conditions for the realisation of the objectives of the struggle of the German revolutionary labour movement proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto* 120 years ago by Marx and Engels, two of Germany's greatest sons.

The dreams of Goethe and Bach, of Heinrich and Thomas Mann, and the dream of Thomas Muntzer and his peasant detachments who went into battle during the Great Peasant War in Germany late in the 18th Century, were becoming a reality.

In the meantime the imperialist occupation powers — the United States, Britain and France — acting jointly with West German monopoly capitalists, pursued an active and reactionary policy of restoring imperialism and militarism in their zones. They wanted once again to establish a base in Europe for attacks against the democratic movement and the European socialist states.

Aided by the Right-wing Social Democrats, and guided by their self-seeking class interests, the West German imperialists detached the western zones and West Berlin from the German national union. In September 1949, they set up the West German Federal Republic in which all the principal

reactionary trends of German history — militant anti-Communism and neo-fascism — were again manifested. Once again there reappeared a seed-bed of war in Europe.

Realising the danger presented by the establishment of the West German Federal Republic, and still reiterating its desire of the building of a united, democratic Germany, the Socialist Unity Party, its allies and the patriotic forces of the German people replied to the enforced split of Germany by founding the German Democratic Republic on October 7, 1949. The new German state, legitimised by history, openly proclaimed that this historic decision was an essential prerequisite for the halting of German imperialism once and for all.

The establishment of the German Democratic Republic opened up new and exciting vistas for the German people. It was a turning point in the history of Germany: indeed it was a turning point in the history of Europe. German imperialism had been dealt one of its severest blows following the defeat of Nazi Germany.

THE G.D.R. TODAY

That for which the German working class had fought and died under the leadership of internationally recognised Marxists as August Bebel, Wilhelm and Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thaelmann had become a reality. For the first time in history the dynamic world-changing ideas of socialism are triumphing in the homeland of Marx and Engels.

Hundreds of large socialist enterprises have been built in the past 20 years. Enterprises such as the Carl Zeiss Works in Jena which had long been world-renowned for the quality of its work, became new, nationally-owned, efficient centres of production. Cities devastated during the war have been restored or completely rebuilt. Everywhere new suburbs, new gigantic housing estates are springing up. Corresponding to the demands of the new epoch — the socialist epoch — modern schools, kindergartens, creches, houses of culture, polyclinics and sports grounds are being built, adding to the hundreds that have already been established in the last 20 years.

Agriculture is developing at a rapid rate. Increasing use is being made of modern methods of cultivation and harvesting. Step by step farm production is going over to industrial organisation and management. The democratic land reform initiated during the period immediately following the end of the war broke up capitalist and feudal Junker estates and the land was given to those who tilled it. The old capitalist village, divided into rich and poor, master and servant, has been replaced by efficiently run cooperatives. The result: from 1950 to 1968 market production of cattle for slaughter multiplied by 4.3 times; milk by 3.7 times; and eggs by 9.7 times.

Since 1950, the national income has grown by 3.5 times, reaching the record peak of 100,000 million marks. Real wages have increased 3.5 times since 1950. A sum of 24,000 million marks has been allocated by the State for education, vocational training, sport, health and social services, science, the arts and culture. This is 50 per cent more than that allocated 12 years previously. Working time has been reduced and a five-day working week introduced.

Despite the political, ideological and economic subversion by West German imperialists aided and abetted by U. S. imperialism, and made easy for many years by the open border between the two German states; despite the large losses arising out of the open borders, the G. D. R.'s economy has developed steadily up to its present position.

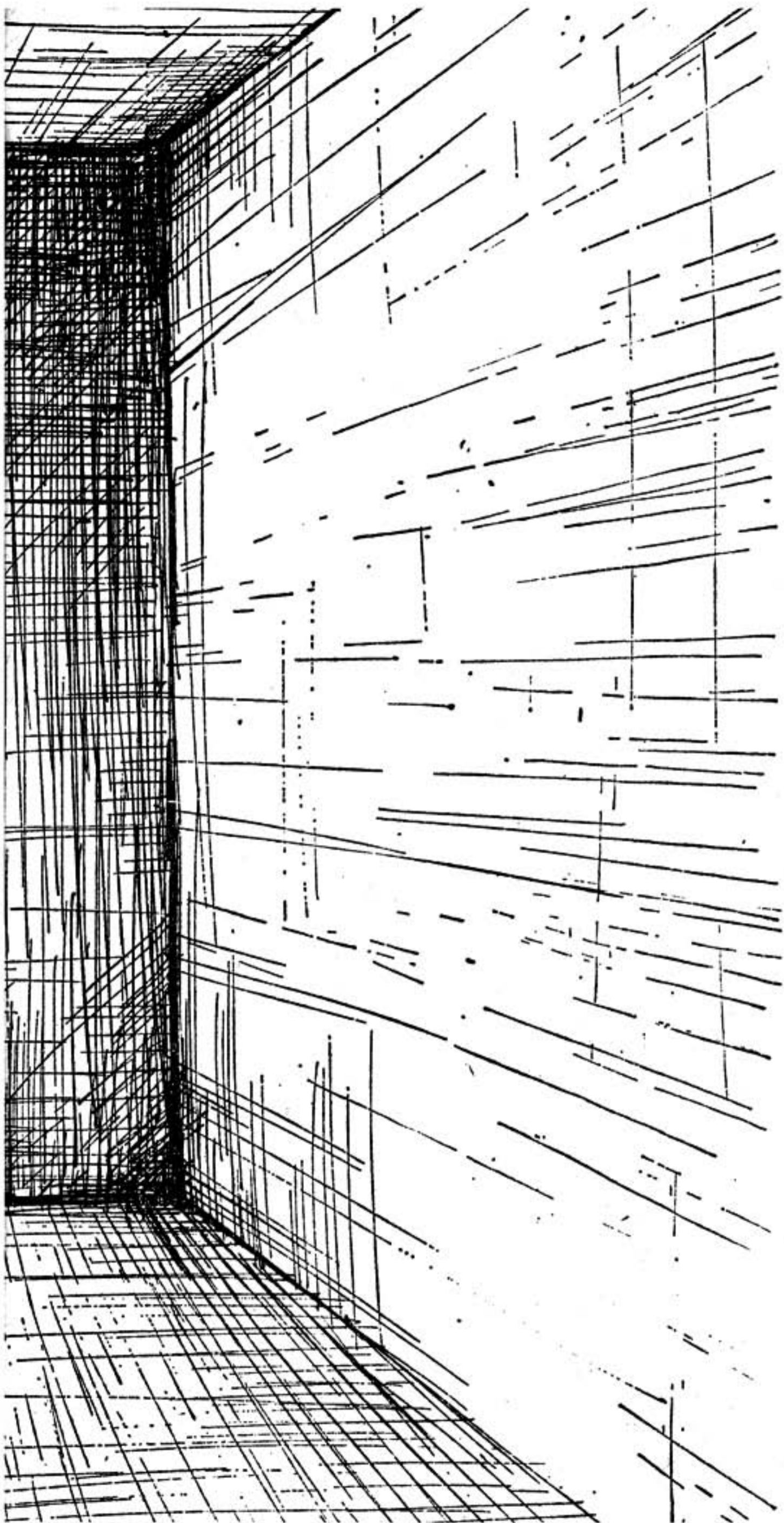
An effective and crushing answer to the West German prophets of doom who predicted the imminent collapse of the economy of the G. D. R. is the present economic situation obtaining in the Republic.

In 1969, a sum 8 times larger than that available in 1950 will be spent for investment. The population of the G. D. R. is only 0.5 per cent of the world population but it produces 1.7 per cent of the national income of all countries. Today, in 10 months, industry in the G. D. R. produces as much as was produced in the whole of Germany in 1936.

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This striking drawing illustrated the article 'Deaths in Detenti' which is reproduced in our 'Documents' section on page 89 this issue.



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The courage, determination and dedication of the government and peoples of the G. D. R. to consolidate their gains and move forward at a greater pace is epitomised by the following statement:

The 'secret' of our successes is the fact that we are proceeding along our road consistently and in the company of reliable friends — at the side of the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in alliance with all fraternal socialist peoples and the progressive forces of all countries. The balance is: we are an epoch ahead of the old society, the society of the unholy alliance of the banks, supervisory councils and general staff. But we do not forget how much there is still left to be done. Nothing has fallen into our laps. Today we also look back on a period of difficult struggles, many sacrifices and complicated discussions and in the future, too, we must not shrink from any effort. We have already marked out the goal to be reached in the coming decades and we now concentrate on the tasks which must be tackled in the coming months and years.

— From a declaration by the Preparatory Committee for the Twentieth Anniversary of the G. D. R., comprising representatives of the Socialist Unity Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Democratic Farmers' Party and the National Democratic Party.

THE NATIONAL FRONT

Developments in the G. D. R. are living proof that the basic principles of socialist construction as formulated by Marxism-Leninism, are valid for highly industrialised countries. Despite various peculiarities, despite the many different forms of the transition to socialism, the basic laws of development are the same and they are valid for the socialist revolution in every country. The 20 year history of the G. D. R. has proved that under certain circumstances it is possible to effect the change to socialism by peaceful and democratic means.

The principled and at the same time flexible policy, first of the Communist Party of Germany and later of the Socialist Unity Party resulted in firm steps now being taken in the construction of socialism in the G. D. R.

The Socialist Unity Party (S. E. D.) proceeded from the common interests of all progressive forces in Germany. The

cornerstone of its strategy and tactics in solving the complicated problems of transition from capitalism to socialism and in the struggle against imperialism was the exemplary path taken by the S. E. D. in its alliance policy. People of different origins, experience, and world outlooks — workers and peasants, intellectuals and members of the former middle class, Marxists and Christians — have all found their political and intellectual home in the G. D. R. They jointly shape the new socialist order. Most have overcome deep-rooted prejudices, a whole world of capitalist ideas and emotions. In the course of shaping the developed system of socialism differences between the various classes and sections will undoubtedly diminish even more.

The vanguard role of the working class is paramount in this process. It is precisely because of this leading role of the Socialist Unity Party in the national front of the G. D. R., comprising the S. E. D., the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union, the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany and the National Democratic Party of Germany, that such giant strides have been made towards a peaceful transition to socialism.

It is precisely because of this that it is possible for the national front, representing as it does the broadest possible spectrum of the peoples of the Germany Democratic Republic, to say in the course of a thesis on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the G. D. R.:

Our social development teaches us:

Freedom for the people is incompatible with freedom for the enemies of the people.

Freedom for the people is only possible where the rule of capitalism has been broken and the exploitation of man by man with its social insecurity has been eliminated. Freedom for the people only exists where state power is firmly in the hands of the working class and all working people and is used for their benefit.

Freedom for the people means all possibilities to develop an all-round personality and take a responsible part in political, economic, intellectual and cultural life.

These, our freedoms and our socialist sense of civic responsibility are proving themselves in the activities of the national front in the town residential areas and in the villages, in the

development of intellectual and cultural life, in the emulation to 'help make our towns and villages more beautiful'. Values worth thousands of millions of marks are being created in the voluntary work of people from all sections of the population. Here, one sees that our citizens are growing into a truly socialist community.

THE G.D.R. AND SOUTH AFRICA

The G. D. R. has been, and continues to be, a firm friend of all peoples struggling against oppression, colonialism and imperialism. The government and peoples of the G. D. R. have unstintingly, unselfishly and often at great sacrifice given practical aid to the national liberation movements engaged in struggle for freedom and against imperialism and oppression, fulfilling its internationalist duty in the true communist spirit.

From Vietnam to Southern Africa, where the people are actively engaging the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese regimes in mortal combat, from the Middle East to the fighting peoples in Latin America, there is nothing but praise and love for the peoples of the G. D. R. Their invaluable assistance and understanding of the struggling peoples' need for firm, committed support have left an undying impression in the minds of all true revolutionaries.

We South Africans are particularly grateful for the support and solidarity shown by the G. D. R. for our struggle against the racist, fascist Vorster regime. The German Democratic Republic is a firm pillar of support for our liberation struggle. In accordance with the high principles of socialism the G. D. R. proves to be a true and inevitable ally of the oppressed peoples of South Africa in their life and death struggle for peace, freedom and democracy.

This support of the socialist sector of Germany stands in sharp contrast to the reactionary role of the government of the Federal West German Republic who blatantly support apartheid.

Afrikaner economic power developed rapidly mainly with the help of West German capital after the Nationalist Party became the government of South Africa in 1948. In some cases funds belonging to the Gestapo were transferred to

South Africa when the defeat of Hitler became certain. These funds were used to build up some well-known firms in South Africa whose sudden appearance after the second world war has always been a mystery. The West Germans are heavily involved in giant state monopoly enterprises such as Iscor, Escom and Sasol who, apart from receiving technical aid from the West Germans, also have West German personnel in leading positions.

The combination of West German capital, Afrikaner private capital, state enterprises and Afrikaner political control constitute a most powerful force in South Africa.

The alliance of Bonn and Pretoria is not only a menace to the oppressed peoples of South Africa. With its so-called outward looking policy and by a judicious combination of economic inducements and military threats, the South African regime seeks not only to halt the march of the African revolution southwards but to recolonise parts of Africa for its own benefit. These efforts by Vorster must be seen as part of a West German-supported plan of expansion into Africa. In Mozambique, Angola, Malawi, Rhodesia and other states West German monopoly capitalists are extremely busy and they act in close collaboration with the South African fascists.

The irony of all this is that while Africa unanimously condemns apartheid and does much to isolate and undermine the South African racialists internationally, the G. D. R., one of Africa's staunchest friends in the anti-imperialist struggle is not recognised, while South Africa's partners in crime, the West Germans, are accorded, in most instances, full recognition.

In this 20th year of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic, during which the G. D. R. has made such gigantic strides, should not Africa re-appraise its policy towards the two Germanys?

In a much wider context than Africa this alliance between Bonn and Pretoria presents a serious threat to world peace. South Africa itself is not capable of any ambitions towards world conquest. But in partnership with West Germany and possibly an aroused Japanese imperialism which is also spreading

its economic tentacles to Africa, not least in South Africa, there is no doubt that a grave danger does exist for the welfare and peace of mankind.

This belief is strengthened by the close cooperation that exists between West Germany and South Africa in the development of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Unable, in terms of the Potsdam Agreement, openly to develop these weapons itself, the West German government is using South Africa as a base for the production of such weapons. The German Democratic Republic is the front line of defence, not only of its own socialist gains, but also of Africa and even the world, threatened as it is by dreams of these madmen of the thermo-nuclear age.

Not only the socialist countries but all newly independent states, not only communists but all democrats and all those who value peace, have a stake in protecting and supporting the G. D. R. which, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, is the bastion against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Let us on this 20th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic pledge to work for the international recognition of the G. D. R. No greater compliment could be paid this powerful ally of all anti-imperialist forces the world over.

Our message to the Socialist Unity Party, the leader of the socialist revolution in Germany, and its allies, and to all the peoples of the G. D. R. on this occasion is 'Forward comrades. Your successes are our successes. We admire your great advances in the past 20 years and look forward to greater advances in the coming years. We greet you on this auspicious occasion with the battle cry of our South African fighting forces:

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MAATLA KE ARONA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

MORE ON THE COLOURED PEOPLE

A Reply to W. A. Malgas

by P. MTHIKRAKRA AND S. DLONDLAYO

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, No. 34, published an article by W. A. Malgas entitled 'The Coloured People of South Africa'. Certain points in this article are at best debatable, and demand further discussion.

It is obvious from W. A. Malgas' article that the nature of these problems, and their correct solutions are, at least among certain sections, not properly and even incorrectly understood.

Malgas put forward the startling idea that there is 'no basis' for the programmatic demand put forward both in the Freedom Charter and in the 'immediate proposals' of the South African Communist Party Programme that:

(the national democratic state must) uphold the rights, dignity, culture and self-respect of all national groups inhabiting our country. (*The Road to South African Freedom*, p. 51).

Further, the Programme, (as well as the Freedom Charter) leave no doubt as to who the national groups are:

While regarding as its main task in the sphere of national rights, as being to correct the injustice and crime perpetrated against the African majority, the state must also safeguard and guarantee the rights of minority groups, whether of European, Coloured, Indian, Chinese or any other descent. (*ibid*: p. 52).

ERRORS OF THEORY AND HISTORICAL FACT

Malgas says that the Coloureds as a national group cannot be distinguished from the whites. He writes of a 'Leninist definition' of a 'nation', thus trying to give a *theoretical basis* to his contention that, since the Coloureds share the same language, culture and territory as the whites, they belong to the same national group as the latter.

W. A. Malgas ought to have checked Marxist-Leninist writings on the national question. Here is the accepted *and tested* definition of a nation from the scientific point of view.

A nation is a *historically constituted* (our emphasis), stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up, manifested in a common culture.

(J. Stalin: *Marxism and the National Question* p. 307. Works. Vol. 2. Moscow 1953).

W. A. Malgas made a mistake in the *theoretical* understanding of the question. The character of the mistake undoubtedly is anti-historicism. In his argument Malgas freezes life into certain moments. Certain characteristics of the phenomenon being observed today are therefore absolutised; motion, governed by time and condition, change, change and constant change is denied. What are these two *frozen moments*?

1. The original historico-biological formation of the Coloured people.
2. The historico-political moment particularly significant since the demise of the A.P.O.

As James Jackson has pointed out in his interesting article 'Separatism — A Bourgeois Nationalist Trap' (*Political Affairs*, March 1969) Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question rules that 'the concept nation is not an ethnographic or racial (or, we would add, a biological) category'.

This is nowhere proved so clearly as in the emergence of the Coloured national group. Malgas sets out to prove that the Coloured 'community' to use his term, was formed from sexual unions of black women and white men.

That however was the *initial moment*. Nobody, including Malgas, will be able to understand the history of the Coloured people (and other people) of South Africa if he stops there — if he mistakes the *moment*, for the tendency, the *trend*. The historico-biological origin of the Coloured people is somewhat different from that which Malgas puts forward. Roux has given a more correct reflection of historical truth. (We apologise for the length of the quotation, but stress its relevance).

Many strains have blended in forming the Coloured people of today: Negro slave, Malay, English and Dutch, Bushmen and Hottentot. The Griquas form a special group of the Coloured people. They are descended from Dutch men and the women of a tribe of Hottentots living near Piquetburg in the Western Province... J. S. Marais says: 'The marriage in 1664 of the Hottentot woman Eva to van Meerhof, the explorer, which was celebrated by a bridal feast at the Government House of the day, is a well known incident in South African history. But Eva had few successors, since it soon came to be considered a disgrace for Christians (i. e. Europeans) to marry people of colour, even if they were free. Marriage between whites and slaves of full colour was prohibited by law in 1685. (Our emphasis). Irregular unions however continued'. (J. S. Marais: *The Cape Coloured People*: 1939). Of the four major elements which went to make the Coloured people, Marais considers that the two most important were the slave and the Hottentot, with the slave predominant. Not all the descendants of the slaves and Hottentots are today recognised as Coloured people. Considerable numbers of them have been able to cross the colour line and escape into the white population. George Findlay (Findlay: *Miscegenation*), has pointed out that the Coloured population acts as a bridge between white and black and across this bridge intermingling of the races goes on, in spite of the fact that there are very few direct unions between white and black. Findlay estimates that about one-third of the nominally white population has Coloured blood in its veins and that it includes some of the most well-known South African families. Probably this is an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt of the general truth of his thesis.

(Edward Roux: *Time Longer than Rope*: p. 23. University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

From the point of view of the historico-biological formation of the Coloured people the moment of sexual union be-

tween the white government official, sailor, etc. and the black slave woman, giving birth to the Coloured national group, does not represent the only or the main component aspect of the emergence of the 'Coloured community'.

That the Coloured population today stands at over 2 million, cannot be ascribed to union between black and white only, but to three sources of growth and multiplication:

1. sporadic (legal or illegal) union between black and white
2. inter-marriage between people who were already 'mulatto' or 'Coloured'
3. inter-marriage between the Khoi people ('Hottentots') and slaves. (In this category should also be included the participation of the indigenous African population).

At the early stages, the third type of union played the dominant part. Later, the second type of union played the dominant part and continues to do so today.

No doubt the popular explanation of the emergence of the Coloured people is that they were born of sexual union between black and white. But this is not a basis on which serious theory can be constructed, or on which we can build paths of struggle. It is nevertheless exactly on this basis that W. A. Malgas seeks to build tactics of struggle. Here is what he says:

1. colour discrimination (Note — not national oppression), against the Coloured people in favour of the white bourgeoisie gives rise to 'community self-consciousness and demands which cannot be considered "national" in the strict sense of the word'.
2. the Coloured group has a 'cultural and historical base in the white group'.
3. there exists the subconscious fear that this unity (with the African liberation movement) would result in a total alienation from the (white) base. (Our emphasis).
4. organisation of the Coloured people on the basis of the community, while essential in the light of colour discrimination, will continue to be hampered by this *blockage*... (Our emphasis).
5. the first consideration of the Coloured people is a return to their base to become integrated with their English and Afrikaans counterparts.
6. But the blockage can be *by-passed*... (Our emphasis). The

difficulties experienced in creating sustained organisation, in creating political unity with the African people, can be overcome by a greater consideration of the Coloured people's *class* (Malgas's emphasis) position and the relationship of that position to its community position.

7. It is in the field of class struggle where what we claim is a psychological blockage the fear of alienation as a community, has been overcome.

8. On the class basis their (i. e. Coloureds) demand is 'that there should be no privileges (for whites only) however slight'. (Earlier in the article Malgas argues that 'their demand is equal rights').

9. By this alliance of the class interest with the community interest can the Coloured people win the equality they desire and take their place within a common community...

That is the tenor and substance of Malgas's argument. Its substance is reactionary.

Point 1 seeks to establish the premise; the next four are based on this premise. It is precisely in the attitude so clearly expressed in point 5 (the 'psychological blockage' of point 7) that W. A. Malgas exposes his error. There is nothing spontaneous in the attitude of large sections of the Coloured population towards the whites. The following quotations give all the necessary clues to the correct understanding of the political response of the Coloured people which W. A. Malgas seeks to explain by reference to biological, psychological, cultural etc. sources.

The White ruling group extended various concessions — such as a qualified franchise, trade union rights, property rights — *in order to prevent the emergence of a Coloured national consciousness* and the formation of a united front of oppressed non-white peoples for equality and the ending of white colonialism. *This policy was not without success.* (Our emphasis). (*The Road to South African Freedom*, p. 34).

And further:

The pioneer Coloured political movement, the African People's Organisation, conducted militant campaigns and pursued a radical united front policy, but this tradition was not maintained. For many years, *leadership of the Coloured people's organisations and trade unions was dominated by middle class elements, who either collaborated openly* (Our emphasis) in the maintenance of White supremacy, or — under the cover of wordy denunciations of 'Herrenvolkism' — preached a policy

of abstention from political activity and hostility to the African national liberation movement. In recent years the Nationalist government's attacks on their long-standing rights have led to a revival of militancy among the Coloured people. The masses of Coloured working people and radical youth are turning increasingly towards the Coloured People's Congress, an ally of the African National Congress. (ibid: p. 37).

In fact biological, psychological etc. sources have never stopped the Coloured people from struggling for their liberation against white domination and slavery. They have a long and rich tradition of such struggle, which should be a source of pride to all South African democrats, and in particular to the Coloured people themselves.

In the war of 1850–52 against the Xhosa people (the so-called 'Eighth Kaffir War' described by Theal as 'the longest and most costly in blood and treasure that the Cape Colony ever engaged in the 'Hottentot soldiers' (i. e. Coloured troops conscripted to fight the Xhosa) 'mutinied and joined the Bantu' (Roux: op. cit. p. 35).

This Coloured national consciousness, reflecting itself in rejection of White supremacy and identification with the African masses, is far truer to the historical traditions of the people than the hankering after integration into the ranks of the oppressors (ever to be rejected!) which marks the thinking merely of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the intellectuals. During the thirties, writes Roux (p. 233) Coloured farm labourers 'flocked into the A.N.C.' and adapted the 'Mayibuye' song into Afrikaans in which they proudly described themselves as '*Ons bruinmense, seuns van slawe*' (We brown people, sons of slaves).

Many other facts regarding the great traditions of struggle of the Coloured people against oppression and exploitation should be well known.

The truth lies in the passages from the Programme of the SACP quoted above. Of the non-white national groups, the ruling class has sought to elevate the Coloureds into a kind of 'labour aristocracy'. For a very long period (possibly 1930 to 1960), the Coloured people came under the leadership of petit-bourgeois elements that were opportunist from the left (N.E.U.M.) and from the right (Golding etc.). Both groups

led the Coloured people, themselves tempted by the concessions offered, into the positions which Malgas today seeks to explain in terms of a psychological blockage, in terms of a 'natural' source.

The history of the world revolutionary movement is replete with examples which conclusively demonstrate the unstable nature of the petit-bourgeoisie. Without doubt — and it is no secret — the enemy managed to hit us very hard, especially in the period since 1960. Those organisation that were in various respects weak (such as the CPC was) of course could not very successfully withstand the battering. The marvellous awakening of the Coloured people, expressed in their organising and participating in the Coloured Convention of 1961 (whose significance W. A. Malgas misses altogether), as well as in their participation in the May strike of the same year (both workers and students), was 'interrupted' by the vicious reaction of a terrified enemy. To organise became doubly difficult. In those conditions it was inevitable that many militants, activists, would begin to waver. The class roots of the Malgas errors lie in the petit-bourgeois inability to withstand an onslaught so brutal, to be patient, to learn to build slowly, not to seek short-cuts, not to seek to 'by-pass this blockage'. *It cannot be by-passed.*

Malgas over-emphasises the importance of such factors as the community of language and culture between the Whites (especially the Afrikaners) and the Coloured people. (Even here he makes at least one mis-statement when he claims that the Dutch Reformed Church has 'the largest percentage (almost 40 per cent) among Coloured Christians, the rest being divided among other churches.' Muriel Horrel (*Introduction to South Africa*, p. 4) gives the 1960 figures as follows:

1. The three Dutch Reformed Churches: 435,982
2. Other Christian (incl. Catholic): 926,591
3. Moslems: 93,256
4. Other, and 'heathens': 35,429.

Far more vital to a Marxist analysis is a study of the economic life of a nation.

Comrade Malgas on the other hand, relies on such intangibles as popular prejudices and 'a return to their base'. Why?

Because he abandoned class analysis and led himself into the abyss of the 'base-in-the-air', 'the general national culture' of the Afrikaners, the base of the most reactionary bourgeois nationalism in South Africa. This bourgeoisie, the upholders of 'colonialism of a special type', seeks to 'prevent the emergence of a Coloured national consciousness'. In South African conditions the national movements have put on the order of the day not 'equality' but the victory of a revolutionary democracy, paving the way for advance to socialism. That is what the Programme of the SACP says. The demands put forward in the Freedom Charter are altogether superior to W. A. Malga's 'return to a base'.

Thus does Malgas lead straight into the positions of the bourgeois nationalist, while claiming Leninist inspiration. The most brilliant coup that Malgas has achieved is getting *The African Communist* to print an article which denies the stirring struggles of the Coloured national group; which indicates that Golding, and others of his stamp, were, after all, representing the true feelings of the Coloured people in leading them into positions of an appendage of the oppressor nation — its own as well as the international bourgeoisie. It must have given comfort to Vorster to discover that, even in *The African Communist*, the contradiction between the oppressor and the oppressed has been talked away on the basis of a 'Leninist' definition!

Another miraculous effect — not only is the contradiction liquidated, but also — necessary consequence — political struggle is also liquidated, on the basis of an appeal to 'a greater consideration of the Coloured people's class position . . .'. But what in fact does this 'class position' mean? Nothing but trade unionism, pure and simple.

From the point of view of the revolutionary working class movement, there is only one approach regarding forms of struggle. This approach was worked out by the founders of the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of theory and of the great class struggles in Europe in the last century. They further developed the approach in the actual course of struggle; the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 in Russia was the brilliant objective proof of its correctness.

Malgas writes:

'On this class (by which he means trade union) basis they are far better organised than on the "Coloured", and experience has shown that it has been on this basis that they have reacted during periods of militant struggle against community oppression'.

But why have the Coloured workers turned rather to trade union than to political action? Lenin can help us to answer this question:

the 'first available means of struggle' will always be, in modern society, the trade union means of struggle, and the 'first available' ideology, the bourgeois (trade union) ideology. (Lenin: *What is to be Done?* p. 160. Selected Works, Vol. 1. Moscow, 1960.)

Further:

The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i. e. the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation etc. (Ibid. p. 149).

These remarks by Lenin provide the first part of the answer to the question Malgas never asked. The second part is in the Programme of the SACP. It is in the first two paragraphs we have already quoted – namely concessions granted by the oppressor and the active leadership of a petit-bourgeois opportunist hue. These are the very conditions which contributed so deeply to the relative non-militancy of the Coloured people over the last few decades.

To change this, what must we do? Malgas says we must pay greater attention to the trade unions; that it is only in this sphere that the 'psychological blockage' has been overcome. In other words, the Coloured workers have demonstrated what is the decisive path to follow in order to organise and galvanise the revolutionary potential of the Coloured 'community'. Malgas therefore says, brothers, we have tailed behind the workers instead of leading them. Let us stand up and go to the trade unions, the class organisations.

Having made this urgent call, Malgas should then have posed himself the question, what is the difference between trade union politics and revolutionary democratic politics,

and hence what are the limitations of the former in terms of the latter?

Let us even grant that 'it has been on this basis (i. e. by strikes) that they (Coloureds) have reacted during periods of militant struggle...' Does this however mean that we must confine ourselves only or mainly to developing this particular means of struggle? What about armed detachments? Secondly, let us grant that Malgas is correct in saying that on the class basis their demand is 'that there should be no privileges (for whites only) however slight'. In other words, equal pay for equal work — as normal and basic a trade union demand as any. But is this the demand of the revolutionary movement? No. These are bourgeois, and undoubtedly democratic, tactics and demands. The revolutionary movement on the other hand says, openly, we will use all available means of struggle for the revolutionary transformation of South African society.

When other people were saying that 'The virility of the working-class movement' (i. e. 'overcoming the psychological blockage') 'is due to the fact that the workers themselves are at last taking their fate into their own hands, and out of the hands of the leaders...' (ibid. p. 153), Lenin replied

Instead of sounding the call to go forward towards the consolidation of the revolutionary organisation and the expansion of political activity, the call was issued for a retreat to the purely trade union struggle. (ibid. p. 153).

Further:

Social-Democracy leads the struggle of the working class not only for better terms for the sale of labour-power, but for the abolition of the social system that compels the propertyless to sell themselves to the rich... Hence, it follows that not only must Social-Democrats not confine themselves exclusively to the economic struggle, but that they must not allow the organisation of economic exposures to become the predominant part of their activities. (ibid. p. 171).

Malgas proposes a retreat. He, at best, wants to raise the 'practical-economic (resistance to the capitalists)' to a predominant position. He deviates from the principle of pursuing the struggle in its 'three sides', in harmony and in their interconnections and in a systematic way. He chooses the path of least resistance and in so doing, he in fact argues

for the liquidation of all-sided struggle, the only form of struggle through which the revolutionary slogan — POWER TO THE PEOPLE — can be realised!

Malgas might say that we distort the sense of his article in order to afford ourselves an opportunity of arguing with him. He will say that he only called for greater attention to be paid to work in the trade unions, that he specifically called for an 'alliance of the class interest with the community interest' etc.

In fact Malgas blunts the sharp contradiction that exists between the oppressed Coloured people and the oppressors; the objective effect could only be to drive the Coloured people into the hands of the enemy, and

He seeks to raise trade union organisation and trade union politics to a predominant position; the effect of which would objectively be to weaken the revolutionary organisations and to abolish revolutionary political struggle.

In an article dealing with the 'Coloured people of South Africa', we ask, how can it be that certain immediate questions are not discussed from the revolutionary point of view, from the point of view of 'the consolidation of the revolutionary organisation and the expansion of political activity'? Some of these questions are:

What, as communists and non-communists alike, united in the organisations of the front for national liberation — can we do about the mass removals of the Coloured people from District Six?

What about the infamous Coloured Cadet Act? Does not this attempt by the fascists to conscript Coloured youth into the reactionary army (as a peripheral appendage, at least at this stage), and to militarise Coloured labour, not pose us new tasks and new possibilities?

What should the masses do about the Coloured Representation Council?

Is not Coloured education in general in a state of crisis, brought particularly to the surface by the resignation of significant numbers of teachers? What can we do?

Ought we to pay greater attention to the organisation of the rural Coloured population?

Should we not keep stressing the fundamental importance of the truth that no revolutionary struggle can be successful without a revolutionary organisation — that given all the difficulties, the Coloured people must strengthen their organisation, the C.P.C.?

These are only some of the questions that Malgas should have but did not raise, because his line, his thesis, his direction, are ill-founded. In the end, he subtracts instead of adding to our understanding, because he has tried to deal with a single theme in isolation from the broader problems which affect both ourselves and Marxist-Leninists in the rest of the African continent. Let us raise these broader issues.

The South African revolutionary movement is now fighting in a period of extreme reaction and the sharpening of contradictions between fascism and its creators, 'the most racialistic and imperialistic sections of the capitalist class', on the one hand, and the vast majority of the people, on the other.

Fascism has tried its damndest to destroy the CP and the revolutionary democratic organisations and to break their ties with the masses of the people. The tasks of consolidation of the revolutionary and people's organisations and the deepening of their roots among the people have become most urgent.

Fascism has gone all out to attack the economic and other interests of the working and oppressed masses. We have to work hardest in the fight for the defence, preservation and advancement of these interests.

The fascists have bent this way and that way to invent theories which, coupled with force if you choose not to believe them, are intended to sow confusion, disunity etc. in the ranks of the struggling masses. We have to maintain and develop the only correct, indispensable revolutionary theory e. g. against the chauvinism and anti-communism of the P.A.C. and, latterly, its Maoism.

Reaction has shouted loudest and worked most thoroughly through hangings, jailings etc. to postpone its inevitable revolutionary demise, thus further deepening and sharpening contradictions. The questions of revolutionary seizure of

power (represented dramatically in the creation of the popular revolutionary army, Umkhonto we Sizwe), has become most urgent. In these circumstances it is vital that the struggle be pursued along all its three sides; that we adopt and develop new tactics.

We must continue to extend our combination of legal and illegal methods of work. The brilliant successes of the mass distribution of leaflets etc. in the recent past (including the leaflet issued by the C.P.C.) indicate the degree to which we are mastering illegal organisation.

Malgas is undoubtedly correct to point out the great need not only to work in trade unions that exist, but also to build new ones, to agitate against the brutalities of one and all employers, to fight attempts to reduce the standard of living of the people, etc., further to extend the participation of the workers in the revolutionary struggle. (This work cannot be declared peculiar to the Coloureds, but embraces also the African and Indian workers!).

Our enemy is very powerful and very skilled. We must be superior to him in our theory, in our organisation, in our discipline, in our practice. For this, shoulder-to-shoulder proximity to all sections of the population in South Africa is necessary. Moreover, we need to be creative and imaginative in our practice. We must beat the enemy.

The suffering masses of our country call for this; the jailed patriots on Robben Island, Groenpunt etc; the armed militants who have died in the battlefield; the peoples of Southern Africa around whom the fascists are slowly spreading their tentacles; the peoples of Africa and the world who are fighting for the triumph of national liberation, democracy, peace and socialism; they all say we must beat the racist, the imperialist, the fascist enemy.

This cannot be done through 'by-passing blockages' and opting for paths of least resistance! No, Comrade Malgas is wrong; he is travelling backwards though he started out with honest revolutionary intentions!

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LION AND THE GNAT.

Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism: Selected and edited by William J. Pomeroy, London Lawrence & Wishart, 60s.

William J. Pomeroy, himself a veteran of the Filipino 'Huk' movement, has — not surprisingly — chosen these excerpts with the insight of a revolutionary and the skill of a practitioner. The result is one of the most admirable collections of texts on guerrilla warfare yet published, together with a thoughtful introduction.

The book is divided into two parts. The first concentrates on the historical background and draws on the most important writings on the subject of armed struggle by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The second deals with contemporary theory and practice and incorporates texts by revolutionary leaders and writers whose experiences range from the Soviet Union, Western Europe, China and South East Asia to Africa and Latin America. In the end, the reader is impressed with the essential unity of Marxist thought which far from being diminished, is enriched by its diverse application in different historical periods and different countries.

Fifty or so countries have experienced facets of peoples' armed struggle since the end of World War 2. Not all these struggles were initiated by groups consciously guided by the theories of Marxism-Leninism. But as Pomeroy says "The

most outstanding of these episodes have been guided by Marxist concepts of popular armed struggle'. In some countries the revolutionary initiative was allowed to pass to groups which were outside the existing vanguard organisation. Why? Was this not because of a mechanical adherence to texts which were intended as a guide to conditions which no longer obtained? I shall return to this.

Guerrilla struggle had its best known debut in modern times in Spain in the early part of the nineteenth century. Indeed the word guerrilla is Spanish for 'little war'. After the defeat of the Spanish standing army by Napoleon, the Spanish people resorted to the militarily unorthodox technique of guerrilla resistance. The Austrian Military Journal quoted by Karl Marx (page 54) said 'These guerrillas carried their bases in themselves, as it were, and every operation against them terminated in the disappearance of its object'. Marx points to the dilemma which faced the French occupation forces 'Thousands of enemies were on the spot though not one could be discovered. No courier could be despatched without being taken; no supplies could be sent out without being intercepted; in short no movement could be effected without being observed by a hundred eyes...' The French were obliged to be constantly armed against an enemy who, continually flying, always reappeared, and was everywhere, without being actually seen, the mountains serving as so many curtains'. 'It was', says the Abbe de Pradt 'neither battles nor engagements which exhausted the French forces, but the incessant molestations of an invisible enemy, who if pursued, became lost amongst the people out of which he reappeared immediately afterwards with renewed strength. The lion in the fable tormented to death by a gnat gives the true picture of the French army'. (Page 55).

1870 saw the use of the tactic of irregular warfare against the Prussians by the French after their armies had been defeated in the Franco-Prussian war. This resistance against not only the Prussian enemy but also French collaborators, culminated in one of the most heroic episodes in the history of the class struggle of modern times — the uprising by the Parisian workers to establish the short-lived Paris Com-

mune. Marx with his extraordinary sense of history and a passion for those like the Parisian workers who take the initiative and who dare to 'storm Heaven' wrote in one of the quoted letters to his friend Dr. L. Kugelman '... world history would indeed be very easy to make if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances' (page 62).

On the other hand Marx and Engels went out of their way to emphasise that insurrection is an art subject to its own rules and will 'produce ruin to the party neglecting them ... Never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Once you start then the fundamental rule is (here Marx quotes Danton) audacity, audacity and more audacity'.

Marxism as a continually developed instrument of revolutionary struggle and one which must unfailingly learn from history — from the real world — is well illustrated by the extracts quoted by Frederick Engels's introduction to Marx's *The Class Struggles in France 1848—50*. After analysing the special reasons for the relative success up to 1848 of the street fight and the barricade tactic as insurrectionary weapons Engels says that the bourgeoisie was more and more veering away from its historically progressive role and making common cause with authority.

The spell of the barricade was broken; the soldier no longer saw behind it 'the people' but rebels, agitators, plunderers, levellers, the scum of society. If the conditions have changed in the case of war between nations, this is no less true in the case of class struggle. The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities, at the head of the unconscious mass, is past. Where it is a question of the complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for with body and soul. (Page 72).

Engels draws attention to the profound need for revolutionary tactics to adapt to the nature of the enemy — its calibre, its strength, and especially the enemy's capacity to devise new techniques which it itself learns in the process of the struggle. He describes how after 1848 the counter-

insurgency forces became versed in the tactical form of street fighting: how they no longer marched straight ahead and without cover against the barricades but went round them through gardens, yards and houses. The counter-revolution continuously learns from the revolution, and this must never be forgotten.

LENIN'S APPROACH

Of special interest to readers from our own country are the extracts from Lenin's brilliant writings on the subject. In *Lessons of the Moscow Uprising* Lenin refers to the limitations which changing conditions had placed on the general strike as an insurrectionary method.

A peaceful strike and demonstrations immediately ceased to satisfy the workers; they asked: What is to be done next? ... The proletariat sensed sooner than its leaders the change in the objective conditions of the struggle and the need for a transition from the strike to an uprising. As is always the case practice marched ahead of theory.

In the face of a defeat (The 1905 December Uprising) Lenin proclaimed

And now we must at last openly and publicly admit that political strikes are inadequate; we must carry on the widest agitation amongst the masses in favour of an armed uprising and make no attempt to obscure the question by talk about 'preliminary stages' or to befog it in any way'. (Page 79).

He exhorts revolutionaries to remember that the great mass struggle which is approaching will be an armed uprising and that the masses must know that they are entering upon an armed, bloody and desperate struggle. 'Contempt for death must become widespread amongst them and will ensure victory'. In regard to techniques of military struggle and organisation Lenin called for new tactics — the tactic of guerrilla warfare. He further pointed out that the organisation required for such tactics is that of mobile and exceedingly small units, units of 10, 3 or even 2 persons.

And to the pedants and those whom he described as petty-minded Philistines who pointed to the indisputable fact that guerrilla warfare disorganises the movement, Lenin said

Every new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices inevitably 'disorganises' organisations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle. Our old propagandist circles were disorganised by recourse to methods of agitation. Our committees were subsequently disorganised by recourse to demonstrations. Every military action in any war to a certain extent disorganises the ranks of the fighters. But this does not mean that one must not fight. It means that one must learn to fight. That is all. (Page 91).

He goes on to point out that in the period in question what disorganises the movement more than organised guerrilla warfare is the absence of resistance. (Page 89).

Lenin was impatient of theoreticians like Plekhanov who, after the event, opened up an 'ocean of renegade comment' by the cry that the workers in 1905 should not have taken to arms. He characterised the unsuccessful 1905 uprising as the most legitimate, the greatest proletarian movement since the Paris Commune.

The change of tactics which was forced on South Africa's national liberation movement in the early sixties also doubtless 'disorganised' the movement. We are still smarting from the Rivonia trial and its aftermath. Our revolutionary movement has more than once drawn attention to some of the serious tactical errors of the movement which made the enemy's counterblows more effective. But in assessing the general change in the direction of our struggle we must guard against the simplistic and unhistorical view that is unable to unscramble the deficiencies in planning from the strategic demands made upon the revolutionary movement. The former certainly disorganised a movement inexperienced and unpracticed in the new ways of struggle. However, had the movement not met the challenge of our changing situation it would have placed its very survival in doubt.

In his essay on the Irish Rebellion of 1916 Lenin was contemptuous of those pedants who dismissed the ill-fated heroes of Dublin as participants in an attempted 'putsch'. 'The term putsch in its scientific sense may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing

but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs and has aroused no sympathy amongst the masses'. Referring to the history of the centuries-old Irish national movement he says 'Whoever calls *such* an uprising a 'putsch' is either a hardened reactionary or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon'.

In a period when too many attempts have been made to claim for a few national experiences rigid and universal validity, it is worth recalling Lenin's elasticity and his continual emphasis on the importance of relating method to situation. Addressing a congress of Communist Organisations of Peoples of the East in 1919 Lenin once again rejects the lifeless dogma which some would make of Marxism and stresses that the general theory and practice of Communism must be adapted to specific conditions such as did not exist in European countries. The solution to these problems 'You will not find in any Communist book . . . You will have to tackle that problem and solve it through your own independent experience.' (Page 118).

The texts chosen by Pomeroy from the classic writers were never intended by their authors, nor indeed are they presented by him, as universal and eternally true formulae for armed revolutionary struggle. Indeed Marx, Engels and Lenin were always at pains to relate their comments to the concrete reality of time, space and circumstance especially when their analysis related to the complex problem of techniques of revolutionary struggle. But as Pomeroy says in his introductions there are principles of analysis and approach which have been well-established in Marxist-Leninist thinking, as tested against actual experience. How these principles have been applied by various revolutionary movements which subscribe to Marxism in the period since the First World War is the subject matter of the second and longest part of his book. Here, Pomeroy has arranged the selections by regions and countries. Each main section of the text is preceded by a useful note from the editor explaining the basis of the selections and setting out briefly the most relevant general features of the situation in which they were written.

It is impossible in the course of a review to do justice to all the texts chosen. Almost all of them are worthy of study and combined they form an impressive panorama of serious revolutionary thought on the problem of popular armed struggle.

THE CHINESE EXPERIENCE

The Chinese experience is obviously of capital importance, and here Pomeroy has made his selection with the intention of illustrating the stages in the development of the Chinese guerrilla struggle and the strong emphasis placed on the political education of the revolutionary armed forces.

Mao Tse-Tung in a report to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1928 gives a valuable clue to the reason why soldiers in a peoples' army can survive inordinate hardship. It is because the purely military viewpoint was rejected and the peoples' army regarded as an armed force for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. This implied amongst other things certain basic principles which governed the treatment of each Red Army man.

All alike share the same hardship; everybody from the army commander down to the cook lives on a daily fare worth five cents ... Thus the soldiers harbour no resentments against anyone ... Apart from the role played by the Party the reason the Red Army can sustain itself without collapse, in spite of such a poor standard of material life and incessant engagements, is its practice of democracy ... Officers and men receive equal treatment, soldiers enjoy freedom of assembly and speech; cumbersome formalities and ceremonies are done away with, and the account books are open to the inspection of all. (Page 170)

In the introduction Pomeroy takes issue with aspects of the text by Lin Piao particularly the generalised approach which claims for too many of China's experiences a universal validity. He refers especially to the claim that the world-wide struggle against imperialism can be depicted as duplicating on an international scale the guerrilla concept of the

surrounding of the cities by the countryside. He asserts that Lin Piao dismisses the alliance of the Socialist countries and of the working class and revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries with the national liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Lin Piao's formulation as it stands in this extract does not appear to dismiss the alliance of the socialist countries with the national liberation movements. The quoted text in fact refers to the need for the socialist countries to support these revolutionary struggles. When he talks of the 'cities' in the international sense he seems to refer to the advanced imperialist powers. He is, however, silent on the working class and revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries and on this score Pomeroy's inference is more clearly substantiated by the text.

In general it is a pity that on these extremely important questions the editor did not have more space in his relatively short introduction to develop his propositions. As it is, more argumentation and possibly other texts would be necessary to convincingly substantiate this interpretation of Lin Piao's remarks.

Pomeroy may have had in mind the passive role which is attributed to the socialist world in Lin Piao's remarks. The socialist world is referred to as owing a duty of support to the national liberation movement and not as part and parcel of the struggle against imperialism and indeed its leading force and one of the most over-riding factors which both stimulates and ensures its success. Lin Piao's treatment encourages the dubious concept that in the global conflict against imperialism, the colonial and semi-colonial world occupies a self-contained position as *the* vanguard.

The Chinese experience has without doubt enormously enriched the storehouse of revolutionary theory and practice particularly as applied to the colonial and semi-colonial countries. But over-zealous universalising based on the special experience can lead to a new kind of dogmatism. For example, Lin Piao says 'Comrade Mao Tse-Tung has formulated a *complete* (my emphasis) theory of new-democratic revolution. And amongst the tenets of this theory is the pro-

position that ... the revolution embraces in its ranks not only the workers, peasants, and urban petit-bourgeoisie, but also the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and anti-imperialist elements'. (Page 199). This formulation as applied to the national bourgeoisie is today being increasingly questioned by Marxist-inspired revolutionary movements in Latin America and has little if any application to Africa.

EMBATTLED VIETNAM

From embattled Vietnam comes some of the most impressive and instructive texts. Ho Chi Minh describes the tasks of the *Vietnam Propaganda Unit for National Liberation* which was set up on 27 December 1944 with some rudimentary weapons. It consisted of 37 of the most advanced cadres from the guerrilla units already operating in some of the provinces. It '... is the first-born unit. It is hoped that other units will soon come into being. At first its size is small; however its prospect is brilliant. It is the embryo liberation army and can move from north to south throughout Vietnam'. (Page 204). Special attention is drawn to the name of the unit which emphasises the greater importance which should be attached in the initial period to the political side. The nature of the struggle is characterised as a national resistance by the whole people which in the first place implies a mobilisation and arming of the whole people.

Its first commander Vo Nguyen Giap describes the various stages in the development of the Vietnamese insurrection. He points to the fact that the shifting from political struggle to armed struggle was a great change which required a long period of preparation.

If insurrection is said to be an art, the main content of this art is to know how to give to the struggle forms appropriate to the political situation at each stage, how to maintain the correct relation between forms of political struggle and those of armed struggle in each period. At the beginning the political struggle is the main task, the armed struggle a secondary

one. Gradually both the political struggle and the armed struggle become equally important. Later we went forward to the stage when the armed struggle occupied the key role. But even in this period we had to define clearly when it occupied the key role within only a certain region and when throughout the nation'. (Page 205).

Giap continually emphasises the Leninist principle of reliance not upon conspiracy but upon mobilisation of the masses and points to the proposition that the most essential and important task in sound preparations for armed insurrection is to spread propaganda amongst the masses and to organise them. 'The most important guiding principle for activities was armed propaganda, *political activities were more important than propaganda*'. (Emphasis in original).

An extremely interesting contribution by Wilfred G. Burchett deals with the concept of 'self-defence' centres which he claims is one of the many original contributions of the Vietnamese people. He deals pointedly with Regis Debray's dismissal of the concept of 'self defence' as a viable contemporary technique of popular armed struggle. He stresses that the examples quoted by Debray refer to zones which were set up in places like Columbia and Bolivia, which 'were set up not only in geographical isolation from the politico-military situation inside these two countries, but in isolation from the revolutionary forces as a whole and the situation as a whole'. (Page 225). These experiences are therefore insufficient to support Debray's generalised conclusions.

THE LESSONS OF DEFEAT

Pomeroy also takes issue, in his introduction and his selection of texts, with those so mesmerised by armed struggle that they advance it as the panacea for all situations under all conditions. Glorious victories there have been. But some of the more tragic defeats merit the closest analysis, for they cast considerable doubt on the attempt to use the formula of armed resistance as an all-purpose patent towards

peoples' power. Referring to several of the major defeats Pomeroy makes the point 'that broad and universal generalisations about the efficacy of armed struggle or guerrilla tactics cannot safely be made'. (Page 31).

In support of this he includes, amongst other texts, a statement by a group in Indonesia engaged in rebuilding the Communist Party of Indonesia. The statement stresses that the 'subjective opinion that revolution can be victorious solely by force of arms had a hypnotising effect upon us and drastically changed the course of our revolution, pushing it on to the wrong path'. (Page 243).

The text by Enrique Lister, a Spanish Communist and a General of the Spanish Republican Army during the Civil war, gives an interesting outline of the Spanish experience in both peaceful and non-peaceful revolutionary action. It stresses that their own failure taught the Spanish Communists that in organising guerrilla movements one should never confuse popular sympathy with popular support; these are two different things. 'In Spain the guerrillas enjoyed the sympathy of the people ... (but) it never became active and massive support for the guerilla operations ... on which the guerrillas had counted'. He makes the point that whilst guerrilla warfare may serve as a catalyst to help create a revolutionary situation it can do so only in definitely favourable conditions, if it is part of other forms of struggle involving the mass of the people.

But it should be stressed (more firmly than Pomeroy does) that a few vanguard parties have also paid dearly because of their underestimation of the prospects of armed struggle and their mechanical adherence to propositions which had application to different conditions and a different era. Other groups wrested the revolutionary initiative from them and they saw their role diminished both in the struggle and during its aftermath.

Algeria is one such example. In the text by Bashir Hadj Ali the frank admission is made that armed struggle took the Algerian Communist Party by surprise. The Party underestimated its significance and its potential. Amongst the reasons for this was

a superficial approach in appraising the development of a revolutionary situation. The Communist Party believed that if anything the launching of a national liberation war in November 1954 was premature because the conditions for an armed uprising, as formulated by Lenin, did not exist. But we forgot on the one hand that the conditions of which Lenin spoke applied to the capitalist countries and on the other *that military operations and a general uprising are two different things.* (Page 259) (My emphasis).

Of profound significance in the section on Africa are a penetrating analysis by Amilcar Cabral of the PAIGC, of the specific conditions within Guinea-Bissau prior to the beginning of the armed struggle; and also 'South Africa: the Revolutionary Way Out' a statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party in 1963, which charts the path of the South African revolution. (*African Communist* No. 13).

A large section is devoted to Latin America. Texts by Debray, Guevara, and various leaders of Latin America's Communist Parties provide some stimulating contrasts in the approach to armed struggle both in its continental and local setting. Understandably enough the Cuban experience dominates much of the discussion for Cuba was, in a sense, Latin America's 'October'. We have previously drawn attention to the theoretical ferment which the Cuban revolution helped to produce, and it is for this reason alone that more space is not devoted, in this review, to some of the extremely valuable texts from Latin America. (see the *African Communist* Nos. 33 and 38).

If there is any reservation to be expressed about Pomeroy's thoughtful introduction it is that he does not give sufficient emphasis to the importance of the subjective factor in the critical initial period of armed struggle. 'A few people taking to arms do not equal a revolution unless decisive masses of people *are already in motion towards revolutionary objectives and the armed action is related to it.*' (Page 10 my emphasis).

This is too baldly stated and not altogether borne out by many experiences. In the strict sense it would be difficult,

if not altogether impossible, to find in places like Algeria in 1954, Cyprus in 1954 and Cuba in 1958 a traditional revolutionary upsurge to which the armed action could immediately relate. In each of these countries forces outside the organised vanguard both initiated and pursued successful armed action at a time when the traditional revolutionary situation was not present. Armed activity undoubtedly played the major role in helping to bring about the mass revolutionary upsurge and eventual victory. The isolation of vanguard organisations and, in some cases, their temporary eclipse, in the revolutionary struggle can be related to an incorrect adherence to generalised formulations about what constitutes a revolutionary situation. Perhaps here, as elsewhere, Pomeroy has not observed his self-imposed limitation, namely that his collection is not intended as a vehicle to put forward firm principles concerning the conduct of guerrilla warfare. In his short introduction he does stray (possibly unavoidably) into generalised propositions on extremely controversial questions and from the point of view of balance, and argumentation, his treatment is not altogether satisfactory.

But overall this first compilation reflecting Marxist theory on armed struggle is an emphatic success. It will be a most useful companion for revolutionaries.

JOE SLOVO

HISTORY OF AFRICA

The African Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has followed up its *History of Africa in the 19th and Early 20th Century* with *A History of Africa, 1918–1967*, an English translation of whose 2nd edition has just been published in Moscow.

Within the scope of some 540 pages, a number of foremost Soviet specialists have combined to give a Marxist interpretation of African history in the period indicated in the title.

The editorial board modestly disclaims any finality for its work by stating in the preface:

Only detailed, painstaking investigations, in which African researchers themselves are to play a major part, will provide the groundwork for recreating a panorama of Africa's past. Many of the propositions, which today seem self-evident and true, will most likely be amplified, supplemented and interpreted in a new way.

Despite the many limitations imposed on them both by the paucity of previous studies and by their own desire for brevity, the editorial board performed an invaluable pioneering task in presenting a considered Marxist interpretation of the events of modern African history. In some cases the history is so recent that to recount it is tantamount to dabbling in politics, and we have little doubt that they will be accused of this sin by some of their bourgeois critics. To some extent the book does suffer because the editors have attempted to cram too much into too small a compass. Five hundred pages have been devoted to a country-by-country survey of the history of half a century, while the general problems of African development during this period have been compressed into an introduction of only 30 pages. Inevitably there is much in the way of generalisation and omission, for which the editorial board, in its preface, asks the reader's indulgence.

Nevertheless, the great merit of this book is that it provides, in its totality, a perspective of development in Africa which is too often missing from the work of bourgeois historians. The process by which present-day Africa has emerged from the past is analysed, so that one not only understands the nature the contending forces of the moment, but is also able to trace, however vaguely, the outlines of the future.

Not that the authors are either dogmatic or unrealistic in their forecasts. 'On the whole', states the introduction, 'the colonial system in Africa has collapsed, and its complete abolition is not far distant.'

In itself, however, this does not yet spell the end of colonialism. Political independence has not led to immediate transformation of the continent's economy. The proclamation of independence did not cut the innumerable economic threads in which the foreign monopolies enmeshed the African countries

during the years of colonial rule. The economic backwardness of the newly-free countries, the agrarian and raw-material nature of their economy, dependence on the world capitalist market formed in the course of many decades — all this is utilised by imperialism to continue the colonial pillage of peoples that have won political independence.

The imperialists are naturally modifying the forms and methods of their domination and adapting them to the new situation. The classical coloniser, wearing a helmet and carrying a lash in his hand, is disappearing. The old methods are being replaced by the new, more flexible and camouflaged but no less pernicious methods of neo-colonialism.

In addition to the objective difficulties, there are also the subjective weaknesses.

Building a new life in the young African countries actually proved much more complicated than many people in Africa and elsewhere had expected.

At the time of independence in most African countries there were too few technical and administrative specialists, the working class was infinitesimal and inexperienced, the bureaucratic stratum often indulged in nepotism and corruption, there were ethnical and tribal conflicts.

Titanic efforts are required to do away with age-old backwardness and poverty. Africa's finest minds are exploring the most effective means.

The choice of the future road — capitalist or non-capitalist development — is the key issue in present-day Africa.

Armed with their world view of history, the authors are not pessimistic about the future of Africa, because they realise that it is linked with the future of all progressive mankind. In their struggle for a better life, the peoples of Africa support and are supported by the peoples of the whole third world, the socialist camp and the progressive forces inside the imperialist countries themselves.

Analysing the trends which came to light in African states in the mid-1960's, many observers are inclined to picture the future of the continent in sombre colours, even to speak of regress of the African revolution. One should bear in mind, however, that the road from bondage under direct colonial rule

to genuine independence covers an entire era of history, in which tremendous difficulties, both external and internal, have to be surmounted. In future, too, most likely there will be recessions and retreats. But all this cannot overshadow the fact that most African countries have crossed a major divide in their history — they have discarded the colonial yoke and embarked on the path of independent development; some of them have already effected deep-going socio-economic and political changes of a revolutionary nature. The big, unavoidable obstacles on the new, involved road Africa has to traverse should not detract from the significance of what has already been achieved by the peoples of this continent.

In the country-to-country survey, more than 30 scholars have made their contributions, and it is inevitable that there are differences of style and quality, imbalances in the evaluation of the significance of events in one country as compared to another.

In the South African section, which we are more competent to judge, there is also the occasional inaccuracy. It was ESCOM which was formed in 1922, not ISCOR, which did not appear on the scene until 1928 (p. 467). In 1946 the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were charged with sedition, not treason, following the African mineworkers' strike (p. 478). The Public Safety Act of 1953 has been confused with the Criminal Law Amendment Act of the same year. The 156 members of the Congress movement arrested in December 1956 were charged under neither Act, but with the common law offence of treason (p. 484).

Possibly there are similar minor errors elsewhere in the book. One mentions them, not to discredit the work of the editors and contributors, but merely in the hope that they will be eliminated in future editions, so that the value of this pioneering work may be savoured to the full. In this book African history is presented in a new light. All scholars, as well as the general reader, will benefit by its perusal, and we look forward to further, and more intensive studies, of the problems of African history from the Institute.

B. B.

A NEW SOVIET BOOK ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKING CLASS

The South African Working Class in the Struggle Against Reaction and Racialism by V. P. Gorodov, Moscow, 1969.

Parallel with the upsurge of the national liberation struggle in South Africa, interest is growing among wide circles of progressive world opinion in the main driving force of this struggle: the South African working class. An illustration of this is the recent publication of this book in the Soviet Union. In this research work, the author, who proceeds from Marxist positions, discusses the process of the formation of the working class, the historical background of its development, the specific features of its composition and situation, and its role in the struggle for national and social emancipation.

The starting point of the research is an analysis of the present South African state, in a country with a high level of capitalist development, with acute and irreconcilable class contradictions, densely interwoven with inhuman racist oppression under a terrorist dictatorship. The severest capitalist exploitation co-exists on the same territory with the cruellest colonialist oppression, this combination constituting a colonialism of a special type. Such a unique system, permeated with the policy of the colour bar, converts South Africa into a warren of racialism and a bulwark of fascism and colonialism, not only on the continent but also on a world scale.

The book shows the growth of direct imperialist tendencies in the policy of the monopolies, the ruling circles of the Republic of South Africa who, having unlawfully occupied Namibia, are now in alliance with the Rhodesian racials and are stretching out their tentacles to the North — to Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia and even further.

Rather interesting is the characterisation in this book of the various national groups and social classes of the South African population, and their growing opposition to the dictatorship of the privileged White minority.

The resistance of the wide masses of the people to the modern barbarism embodied in apartheid, provides fertile soil for the establishment of broad class alliances of the proletariat with the peasantry, the poor people of the towns and the petty bourgeoisie. The active and consistent struggle of the oldest and biggest liberation organisation — the African National Congress — provides a foundation for the building of a united, non-racial people's front.

Especial significance is attached to the role of the South African Communist Party in the spheres of organisation of the workers' movement and leadership of the liberation struggle. In the forefront of the Party's activity is placed the strengthening of the united front for national liberation, the reinforcement of the unity of Communists and non-Communists in the fight against imperialism and white domination.

The S.A.C.P. and the A.N.C. adopt as the cornerstone of their policy the interests of the toiling people, irrespective of the colour of their skins, in building a multiracial, democratic and just society. Their policy has nothing in common with the inverted racialism of the Pan-Africanist Congress which merely assists the notorious imperialist policy of 'divide and rule.'

The book shows, from positions of true historicism, how the forms of struggle of the working class and all the working people have changed in accordance with the circumstances. From petitions and demonstrations the movement has moved to mass actions and general strikes. Today the heroic road of working class struggle is approaching its culmination with the opening of a determined armed struggle for the overthrow of the monstrous regime. The author shows that this hard and responsible decision was an enforced measure, dictated by the uncompromising reactionary position of the racist hangmen who rule South Africa.

The vivid and interesting scientific arguments of this book reveal to its readers the political maturity, the vanguard role in the liberation struggle, and the wide historical perspectives of the South African working class.

YURI ARKADAKSKY

Some facts about these deaths — and many unanswered questions about Security Police methods — have become part of public record and knowledge only because they were raised in inquest courts.

Under BOSS, it may be impossible for such questions to be raised again.

But that they need to be raised and resolved is clear from the records of at least some of these cases . . .

LENKOE

James Lenkoe, a 35 year old Lesotho national, lived in Naledi Township, Soweto, and had worked as a railway barrier attendant for 19 years before his arrest on the night of March 5, 1969.

His widow, Mrs. Julia Lenkoe, told the Pretoria inquest court that, at 11.30 p.m. that night, they were awakened by policemen knocking on the windows and doors of their home.

Her husband, she said, was asked 'Are you Mofokeng?' but did not have an opportunity to answer. He was taken away in a TPA (Transvaal Provincial Administration) car.

Five days later, Mr. Lenkoe was dead.

Policemen and warders gave evidence of his having been found hanging by a belt from the window of a cell in the Pretoria Local Prison.

Mrs. Lenkoe identified a passport handed in to court as her husband's. She said there was no reference in it to the name 'Mofokeng'.

Mrs. Lenkoe said her husband had not been wearing a belt when he was taken from their home. She could not identify the belt with which her husband was found hanging.

He had left the only belt he owned at home, she said.

Lieutenant G. J. Richter, a security officer, told the court that when Mr. Lenkoe was arrested he was wearing the belt from which he was later found hanging.

He and Major T. J. Swanepoel — who interrogated Mr. Lenkoe on the day of his death — thought it unlikely that Mr. Lenkoe had burned himself in any way or received an

electric shock at Compol security buildings, Pretoria, before he was taken back to the prison.

Major Swanepoel -- who described Mr. Lenkoe as a 'hired assassin' being held under the Terrorism Act -- denied emphatically that detainees were even given electric shock treatment.

He knew of the allegations, he said, but this was a communist plot to blacken the name of the Security Police and South Africa.

Dr. Hieronymus van Praag Koch, the State pathologist who performed the first post-mortem -- a second one was conducted after an urgent application brought on Mrs. Lenkoe's behalf -- told the inquest magistrate, Mr. J. J. H. Tucker, that his findings were consistent with death due to hanging.

Examined by Mr. D. Soggot, counsel representing Mrs. Lenkoe, he said a mark on Mr. Lenkoe's toe had been pointed out to him at the second post-mortem performed by Dr. J. Gluckman.

Although it looked to him like an abrasion, he could not exclude the possibility that it might have been caused by an electric burn.

He agreed there were certain tests which could establish whether or not a mark was a burn and that if any metal of an instrument was found to have been discharged into the skin in this area, this would establish beyond doubt that it was caused by an electrical instrument.

He agreed that, if it was proved that the mark was a burn this -- with the other features -- could be consistent with electrocution.

Mr. Soggot led evidence that tests on sections of Mr. Lenkoe's toe by an atomic spectograph -- one of the most accurate scientific instruments in the world -- showed abnormal traces of copper.

He called three top pathologists to testify on this question.

Prof. Hillel Shapiro, a leading South African pathologist and forensic medicine scientist, said the post-mortem findings were consistent with both hanging and death by electric shock.

Abnormal traces of copper in a wound in the toe, he said, could have been driven there by an electrode attached to the body.

Dr. Alan Richards Moritz — a world-renowned American pathologist and authority on burns, brought to South Africa to give evidence — said he was satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the lesion on Mr. Lenkoe's toe was an electrical burn mark.

The injury, he said, could have been caused more than two minutes and less than 12 hours before death.

He believed that in the present case the copper deposited in the skin was a result of an electric burn.

Nothing put to him by the prosecutor, Mr. C. G. Jordaan, suggested anything else, he said.

Dr. J. Gluckman, who performed the second post-mortem, said the wound indicated a thermal injury because of the presence of copper in the damaged tissue.

He agreed with Dr. Moritz's conclusion that Mr. Lenkoe had received a thermal electric burn.

This conclusion was based, he said, on the special microscopic appearances of the toe— the result of the spectrographic analysis and the peculiar arrangements of the changes in skin found only in electrical burns.

He was satisfied beyond reasonable doubt — in the absence of any evidence to the contrary — that Mr. Lenkoe's injury was a thermal electric one.

Like Dr. Moritz, he was prepared to 'leave the door open' but believed the burn was electrically caused.

Before Dr. Gluckman was called, there was a strong objection from Mr. Soggot to the magistrate's instruction that Mr. Jordaan should lead Dr. Gluckman's evidence.

The magistrate overruled him. Mr. Soggot considered a Supreme Court application on the issue, but agreed to go ahead as time was of the essence.

A surprise witness called by the State — Prof. Bernard Meyer, of the University of Pretoria, the author of seven publications on copper in the human body — contested the importance of the copper found in Mr. Lenkoe's toe.

The amount of copper in the body varied from organ to organ and, even in organs themselves, from spot to spot, he said. The same applied to the skin.

More copper could be found at the source of a wound because of the blood supply to the wound.

Hundreds of factors could influence the presence or concentration of copper in the body.

The spectographic tests on Mr. Lenkoe's toe, he said, had proved only that copper was present. There was no quantitative basis to the test.

On June 21, Mr. Soggot sought to call former detainees, now on Robben Island, to testify that they had been given electric shock torture by the Security Police.

The magistrate, Mr. Tukker, had twice announced the end of the hearing when Mr. Soggot insisted: 'If your worship will allow me to address you...'

Mr. Tukker: There is nothing on which to address the court.

Mr. Soggot: I want to make an application for witnesses to be called.

Mr. Tukker: That is being refused.

Mr. Soggot: Well, your worship hasn't heard me.

Mr. Tukker: I don't want you to address this Court.

Mr. Soggot: I want to make an application, which is my right.

Mr. Tukker: Yes, and that is refused.

Mr. Soggot: Before your worship will hear what my application is? Before refusing it? I can't understand how your worship can refuse an application before understanding its contents. May I proceed with my application, please?

Mr. Tukker: Yes, go on.

Mr. Soggot then argued that the evidence these witnesses could give — 'that a certain team under the direction of Major Swanepoel have as one of their methods, as part of a regular practice, a system of infliction of electric shock' — was highly material.

The allegations might be untrue or frivolous, he said, but one did not know.

In the light of medical evidence, the court was faced with a serious and not frivolous — a cogent and not nebulous — case to the effect that Mr. Lenkoe had sustained an electric shock.

Mr. Jordaan, who objected to the application, said the court had earlier indicated that it would not call these witnesses.

It was 'an infamous lie' for Mr. Soggot to suggest that the court had said it would decide on this issue later.

He also argued that this evidence was totally irrelevant to the inquest.

Mr. Tukker ruled that he had already specifically refused to hear this evidence.

The court had heard all the evidence that could be given at the hearing and did not consider it necessary to hear the Robben Island witnesses.

Mr. Tukker also refused Mr. Soggot permission to address the court on the evidence.

He adjourned the court, returning shortly afterwards to give his finding:

The cause or apparent cause of death was suicide by hanging, he said. No blame was attached to any person.

The allegation that an electric shock or shocks contributed to Mr. Lenkoe's death had not been proved, Mr. Tukker found.

The inquest was characterised by extraordinary and sometimes bitter exchanges.

At one stage an eminent Q. C., Mr. W. Oshry, who had taken over from Mr. Soggot temporarily, was warned by Mr. Tukker to 'count your words' when he said there seemed to be a 'bulldozing attempt' to rush the proceedings.

LOOKSMART

'Looksmart' Solwandle Ngudle, a 35-year-old Cape Town man who was detained for alleged African National Congress activities, was found hanging from the cord of pyjama trousers and a jersey, in the Pretoria North police cells on September 5, 1963.

The first official statement about his death was issued by General J. M. Keevy, then Commissioner of Police on September 24.

In October, when the inquest started before Mr. R. T. A. Muller, the advocate representing Mrs. Beauty Ngudle, Dr. George Lowen Q.C. protested against the 'mysterious' acts of officials.

Information of the death was only given to his widow 10 days after the date on which he was said to have died.

Mr. Ngudle was buried without any members of his family being present. The authorities, said Dr. Lowen, said he was buried at the request of the widow. The widow denied this.

When Mrs. Ngudle's lawyer sought an urgent inquest, he was told it could not be held before October 23, then October 31. But on October 17, the lawyer was told that on the instructions of unidentified 'higher authority' the inquest would be held either the following day or three days later.

Dr. Lowen then referred to a report, drawn up by another advocate, in which allegations of severe torture of detainees were made by an awaiting-trial prisoner.

This prisoner, he said, had been quite definite that Mr. Ngudle had died as a result of torture and not of suicidal hanging.

'We have every reason to think that he died of something else' said Mr. Lowen.

Mr. V. Marinus, the State prosecutor, said Dr. Lowen had thrown suspicion on the activities of the police, who had nothing to hide or fear.

Mr. Ngudle would have been charged with sabotage and had incriminated former comrades in statements. He had found himself facing death by judicial hanging or retribution from his former comrades. Suicide had been the only way out.

In the 10 days between this hearing and the next one, Mr. Ngudle became the first dead person to be banned.

Dr. Lowen withdrew from the proceedings, saying that the posthumous banning order made it impossible to publish any statement made by Mr. Ngudle during his life. Witnesses he wanted to call were also banned.

After his withdrawal, a district surgeon, Dr. C. J. N. Laubser, said in evidence that he was absolutely satisfied that Mr. Ngudle had hanged himself. He found no other injuries.

At the third hearing — after the Department of Justice had authorised the use of statements by banned persons at the inquest — Mrs. Ngudle was represented by another Q.C., Mr. Vernon Berrange.

Mr. Berrange, questioning a Security Policeman, who denied that Ngudle had been tortured to make him speak, said he would bring 20 witnesses who would say they had been subjected to gross brutalities.

He called one former detainee, Isaac Tlale, who said he had been given electric shock treatment and that he had seen Ngudle at the Central police station.

Ngudle was sweating, the veins on his neck were 'green' and he could see that Ngudle had suffered severe pain.

Mr. Berrange said he would call another witness to testify that he 'went off his head' and had to be restrained in a strait jacket after electric shock torture.

At a later hearing, when Mr. Ngudle's legal representative sought to lead further evidence on this issue, the magistrate questioned its relevancy.

'I want to make it quite clear that this is not an investigation into the detention of 90-day detainees', he said.

Mr. Berrange argued that it was necessary, in the interest of justice to call certain witnesses whose evidence, if true, would establish a 'system, a technique of torture, used by certain members of the Security Branch, to extract information ...'

When the magistrate ruled this irrelevant, Mr. Berrange in turn withdrew from the hearing.

The purpose of the evidence would have been to show that the only inference to which the court could come was that Ngudle had taken his life as a result of the treatment to which he was subjected, said Mr. Berrange.

After this second withdrawal, a Pretoria magistrate, Mr. J. J. Marais, who had visited Ngudle three times, told the court that on the third occasion Ngudle complained of having been assaulted and of having coughed up blood. He

did not specify the nature of the assault, said Mr. Marais. He did not see any marks on Ngudle. He had reported the complaint to the police and the next morning heard of Ngudle's death.

The finding: That Ngudle had hanged himself; that his death was not the result of any act or omission amounting to an offence on the part of any person.

KGOATHE

Nicodimus Kgoathe, a 57-year-old furniture factory worker who was being held under the Terrorism Act at the Silverton police cells, was taken to hospital on January 21, 1969, and died 14 days later.

A hospital report, the Pretoria inquest was told earlier this month, said that he died as result of excessive lung infection and kidney failure.

The post-mortem report gave the cause of death as bronchial pneumonia.

Dr. P. J. E. Joubert arranged for Mr. Kgoathe to be admitted to hospital after visiting him in the police cell and finding that he moved 'with utmost difficulty'.

'It is my opinion that he was suffering from the after-effect of concussion and needed to be treated by a specialist', he told the court.

Mr. Kgoathe had said he had fallen in a shower room. He (Dr. Joubert) could not accept this explanation, and told him so.

Then Mr. Kgoathe had told him he had been assaulted. 'It is my opinion that Kgoathe's injuries were the result of an assault'.

He listed the injuries: Linear marks on the shoulders which could have been caused by a sjambok. U-formed wounds which could have been the result of an assault with the buckle of a belt. A wound on the left eye.

Sgt. A. B. Gildenhuis, of the Silverton police station, said that on June 18 Kgoathe had complained of body pains and had said he had been assaulted by the Security Police during interrogation.

A Pretoria magistrate, Mr. C. G. Jordaan, who visited Kgoathe on January 20, said he had asked for a doctor to be called.

Warrant-Officer F. A. Smit, of the Security Police, said that during interrogation on January 16, Kgoathe had asked permission to have a shower.

Since it was a hot day and the facilities were available, he gave permission, but instructed an African policeman to go along.

When he saw Kgoathe the next day, he noticed a mark on his left eye and asked him about it.

Mr. Kgoathe had explained that he had slipped and fallen against the wall of the shower room the previous day.

Bantu Constable Frederick Dikabe, said that while waiting outside the shower room, he had heard something falling. He found Kgoathe lying on his left side with his head against the wall.

'He told me that he had slipped. We helped him up and he continued with his shower'.

Other police witnesses also testified of having been told by Kgoathe that he had fallen.

Mrs. Monica Kgoathe, the widow, said her husband worked in a furniture factory in Johannesburg and only came to their Hebron home at weekends.

On November 3, 1968, when she last saw him, he was in good health.

Ten days later, when she heard nothing from him, she phoned his employer in Johannesburg and was told of his arrest.

On February 5 — the day after he died — the police had informed her that he had been taken to hospital and had died there, she said.

Mr. G. J. Strijdom found that on the evidence before him, he was not in a position to conclude that any person was to blame for Kgoathe's death.

On June 20 the Minister of Police, Dr. S. L. Muller, told Parliament that the death of Kgoathe — and another detainee, Solomon Modipane, who was said by police spokesmen to have sustained injuries after slipping on a piece of

soap — would not result in any criminal proceedings or departmental inquiries.

In the case of Mr. Modipane, he said, the magistrate had endorsed the post-mortem report that death was due to natural causes and that no inquest was necessary.

SALOOJEE

Suliman Saloojee, a 32-year-old Indian attorney's clerk, fell 60 ft. to his death from a seventh floor office at The Grays, then the Security Police headquarters in Johannesburg, where he was being interrogated on September 9, 1964.

Mr. Saloojee had been detained under the 90 day clause for about two months at the time of his death. His widow, Mrs. Rookie Saloojee, said at the inquest that he had been a very happy man who had disapproved of suicide.

When she had seen him about two weeks before his death he had seemed normal and unworried, she said.

Captain Theunis Jacobus Swanepoel, a senior officer of the Security Police interrogation section at The Grays told the inquest hearing that he had questioned Mr. Saloojee on September 9 but was out of the room at the time of the death fall.

Captain Swanepoel was involved in some heated exchanges with Dr. George Lowen Q.C., who appeared for Mrs. Saloojee.

When questioned on the possible effects of 90-day detention on the mind of a person, he suddenly burst out: 'I am not prepared to stand here and allow you or anyone else to make propaganda'.

Dr. Lowen replied sharply: 'I am not here to make propaganda. We are here to find out why a man who was apparently normal should jump from a seventh-floor window. It is not an everyday occurrence'.

Captain Swanepoel denied that any violence was used in the interrogation of detainees. He did not think the interrogation methods used by the Security Police had any detrimental effects on a person.

Dr. Lowen: 'You know of many bitter complaints of people being made to stand as much as 40 hours without

being able to move one inch? — I know of such allegations. I say it is impossible. I would say it is just a conspiracy against the Security Branch.

Later Dr. Lowen asked: 'You were once involved in complaints of ill-treatment when a man's arm was broken? — I was exonerated by the judge in the case.'

Captain Swanepoel said he did not at any time assault Saloojee. Mr. Saloojee had already made a statement when he was detained. The aim of the questioning was to obtain more information.

A number of Dr. Lowen's questions Captain Swanepoel refused to answer. He would not reveal how long Saloojee had been interrogated before his death, or the methods used to extract information from 90-day detainees.

Another policeman, Detective Sergeant Johannes van Zyl said that while being questioned at The Grays, on September 9, Saloojee had suddenly sprung to the office window and said: 'Goodbye Sir'.

He tried to hold Mr. Saloojee, Sergeant Van Zyl said, but failed because Saloojee kicked against the wall and fell to a concrete parapet above the ground floor.

Sergeant Van Zyl said no unlawful methods had been used in the interrogation. He thought Saloojee might have believed he could escape, possibly by climbing down the building.

Lieutenant Gert Janse van Rensburg told the court he had heard another officer ask the dying Mr. Saloojee 'You fool, why did you do it?' After the fall, Saloojee had twice repeated 'foolish, tried to escape' in English and then said more in a foreign language.

The magistrate, Mr. A. J. Kotze, found that Saloojee died from multiple injuries suffered in a fall while he was being interrogated.

Mr. Kotze was not prepared to make a finding as to whether Saloojee had committed suicide or was trying to escape. Nothing in the evidence, he said, suggested that Saloojee had been assaulted or that the methods of interrogating him were in any way irregular.

No one was to blame for the death.

AH YAN

Ah Yan, a 63-year-old Chinese general dealer detained under the 180-day clause, died on January 5, 1967.

The evidence presented to the Pretoria inquest magistrate, Mr. G. J. Strijdom, was that he had been found hanging from the water pipe of a shower cubicle in a Silverton police cell.

The court was told that he was one of four Chinese detainees in the cell.

A police sergeant said that at 5 a.m. on January 5, when he and a constable went to the cells. Mr. Yan was the only one of the four awake.

Yan, he said, had complained of the cell being stuffy and asked that the door to the shower room be opened. He said he wanted to have a shower.

Later, after a loud noise and banging came from the cell, Yan was found hanging by socks from the water pipe in the shower cubicle.

An affidavit handed in to court from an unidentified cell-mate, said Yan had complained of backache two days before his death, but the day before had seemed quite normal.

Dr. H. van P. Koch, the district surgeon who conducted the post-mortem on Yan, said that another doctor had been present at the post-mortem at the request of the family and agreed whole-heartedly with his findings.

Mr. A. N. Coetzee, an attorney representing the family, said that on the available evidence the court could probably determine the cause of death, but would be unable to form any opinion as to the circumstances of the death.

Some evidence should be heard as to what happened in the cell before the hanging, he submitted.

The other detainees in the cell with Mr. Yan were material witnesses who might throw light on why this man had taken his own life, Mr. Coetzee argued.

He asked the court to postpone the hearing to a time when the other 180-day detainees would be available to give evidence.

The prosecutor, Mr. C. G. Jordaan, opposed this suggestion.

He said the State had done all in its power to meet the family and the Chinese Consul-General and that the evidence of the detainees — whom the court did not have jurisdiction to call — would not take the any further.

The magistrate rejected the suggestion of postponement.

The finding: That Mr. Yan had died as a result of hanging and that nobody was to blame.

STATE PAID

Allegations of Security Police torture of detainees have come up not only in inquests, but in a number of applications for relief and in civil claims for damages.

Among the most noticeable of these have been the cases of Gabriel Mbindi and Stephanie Kemp.

In December 1967, an urgent application for a court order to protect Mr. Mbindi from assaults by the police was supported by affidavits in which Ovambo detainees alleged 'cruel and brutal' assaults — including electric shock torture by members of the Security Police.

A month before oral evidence was to have been heard, an agreement was reached between the parties in terms of which the State paid R3,000 towards the costs of the application — without prejudice and without admitting to the truth of any of the allegations.

Mr. Mbindi was released about two months after the application was brought.

In 1966, Miss Stephanie Kemp — a former detainee convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act — sued the Minister of Justice and a Security Police detective for R2,000 for alleged assault.

This matter was settled out of court. It was reported that the settlement provided for the withdrawal of the claim and the payment of R1,000 by the State to Miss Kemp.

ON THE DEATH OF HO CHI MINH

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY

Please convey to the Party, the Government and the people, the profound sympathy of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party on the death of the revered leader and great revolutionary, President Ho Chi Minh. The loss is not only yours but ours as well. It is a loss to the international Communist movement and working class, to all oppressed people and upholders of Vietnam's great fight against imperialism, for independence, unity and socialism.

J. B. Marks

*Chairman, South African
Communist Party.*

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Dear Comrades

We are deeply moved by the cordial and comradely condolences expressed by the South African Communist Party on the passing away of our venerated President Ho Chi Minh.

On behalf of the Vietnam Workers Party and the working class and the people of Vietnam, we sincerely thank you.

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