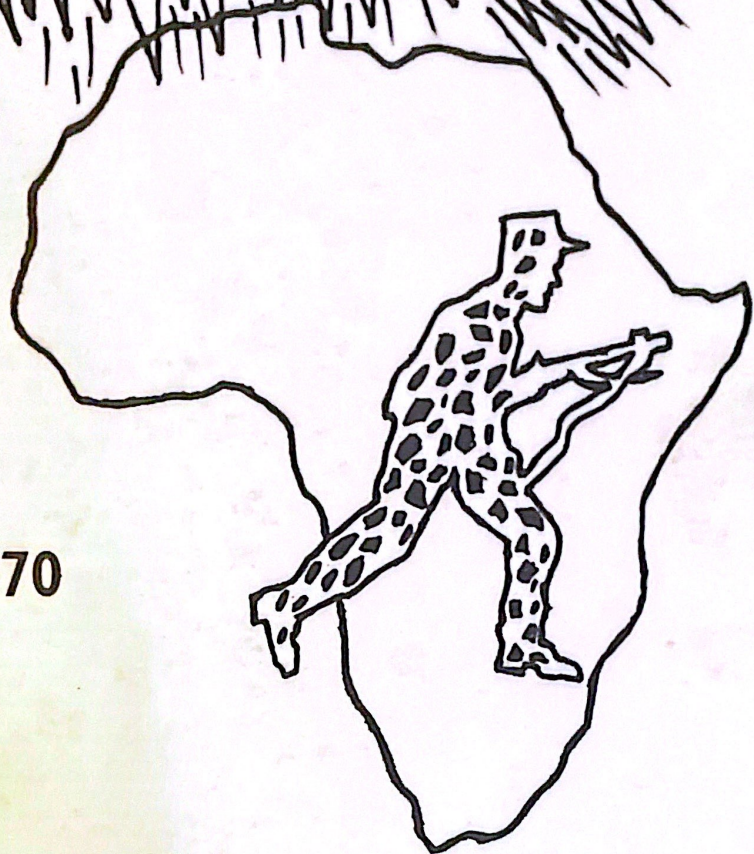


NO. 3

OCTOBER 1970



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TYL & USARF

THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM



"C H E C H E"

September 1970

Issue No. 3

Joint Organ of the  
University Students  
African Revolutionary Front  
And TANU Youth League,  
UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM  
P.O. Box 35054, D'Salaam  
T A N Z A N I A

Editorial Board:

Karim Hirji  
Henry Mapolu  
Zakia Hamdani (Miss)

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OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD, UNITE!  
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS!  
YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN!

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

The prime characteristics of an intellectual are the ability to reason and penetrative perception of reality. And the principal quality of a revolutionary intellectual is his determination to apply these in the service of man. The revolutionary intellectual addresses himself to the acute social problems of the time, analyses and debates upon them, works out a strategy for combating them, and dedicates himself to that task. In so far as historically the oppressed classes in society invariably recruit <sup>their</sup> leadership and vanguard from the intelligentsia, the commitment of at least a minority of the intellect workers to socialism is an important factor for emancipation from imperialist domination, both economic and political.

However, the paucity of debate, especially among the students, following the "CHECHE" special publication "Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle" by I.G. Shivji rather alarmingly indicates the prevalent intellectual apathy amongst ourselves. The immediate response has not been of the calibre one would expect from people at the country's highest institution of learning. If a critical study of national economic policy pursued by the "nationalized" enterprises fails to stimulate discussion one wonders why "mini-skirts" or "wigs" generate vigorous response. Theoretical formulation about socio-economic realities is not an exercise within the purview of bourgeois education. And this, given the contemporary situation, is one of the main reasons for the poor response so far. Lack of political audacity could be a factor involved too.

Nevertheless, we are proud to announce that the subsequent issue of "CHECHE" (No. 4) will contain informed comments/discussions of the publication. We invite our readers to contribute to it.

## BON VOYAGE

With this issue we take leave of the T.Y.L. and U.S.A.R.F. committees at the University which have just completed their respective terms of office; and we welcome the newly-elected committees. The outgoing committees must be credited with the success in the launching of "CHECHE". We look forward to the cooperation of the new committees in fostering the work of "CHECHE".



## IN MEMORIAM

Just after we had finished putting the final touches to the "CHECHE" special publication, we heard the sad news of the untimely death of Hamisi Omari. Comrade Omari, to whose dedication and diligence we hereby pay our respectful tribute, was one of the founder-members of a radical T.Y.L. University Branch, and hence one of those people who laid the foundations for the launching of "CHECHE". He was killed in a traffic accident.

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### THE NEW TTL & USARF COMMITTEES

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BOURGEOIS ECONOMICSORPOLITICAL ECONOMY?

by Glyn Hughes

Those Form Six students who were privileged to sit for the Cambridge examination in Economics and Public Affairs in 1968 may remember being faced with the question: "How may an entrepreneur try to minimise the unit costs of production of his firm?" One obvious answer to this question would be: Sack the shop stewards, lock out the workers and force down wages. Such an answer may even have occurred to a few of the more independent-minded candidates. But they probably had the sense to realise that this was not the answer expected of them, and if they wanted to satisfy the examiner they had better regurgitate all that stuff from the textbook about marginal costs.

This simple example illustrates the dilemma facing all those who learn and teach "economics" in Tanzania. Since the time of political independence, "economics" has become a subject widely taught at school and university level. Rightly so, since it is questionable whether any training in history, sociology, political science or law is complete without at least a basic understanding of economic principles. However, it is also questionable whether the obscurantist nonsense which is at present being taught under the title of economics is of the slightest value to our future historians, sociologists, political scientists and lawyers. In fact its effect is more certainly the negative one of distorting the real economic issues facing us at this stage.

It should not surprise us that the period of colonial domination should have left us with an education system deeply ingrained with bourgeois ideology. This was natural. What is alarming is the tenacity with which this ideology maintains its grip. The examination system, as in the example above, is a powerful force in perpetuating capitalist economic dogma. Expatriate economists who know nothing else - worthy products of London or Princeton - instil it into the minds of the new generation of Tanzanian teachers, who in turn go back to the schools armed with the gospel according to Samuelson, eager to pass on the truth. The capitalist publishing houses leap onto the bandwagon. "Write us a textbook", they say to the



expatriate economists, "which will be relevant to East Africa." (Not just Tanzania - the market isn't big enough). The book is written. "Maize" and "millet" replace "wheat" and "oats", and perhaps there is a chapter near the end on the Problems of Foreign Aid. The book is enormously successful, of course, since it still fulfills the requirements of the examination boards while giving the illusion of relevance to local conditions.

When the apologists for bourgeois economics are challenged, they are apt to reply that since the economies of East Africa are still largely dominated by capitalist property relations, the study of capitalist economics is both necessary and proper. What is the point of studying socialist planning when we live in a system where the price mechanism operates? This argument is all the more dangerous for its plausibility. We are not, however, faced with a simple choice between "planning" and "free enterprise", representing alternative "roads to development", as bourgeois economists would have us believe. The choice is presented to us as if it were a question of scientific measurement, assessment and decision. The goal, "development", is assumed as given, something which does not have to be defined, or at least only in a very causal manner. Since the end is fixed, we are merely concerned with establishing the most efficient means to that end. A good example of this fallacious approach to economics is one of the more recent and popular aids to learning, Mrs. Seidman's Economics Textbook for Africa. Here we are presented with the "socialist road to development" and the "capitalist road" set out neatly side by side. Mrs. Seidman apparently, prefers the former, but that is irrelevant. In reality, of course, there is not one but many forms of development: capitalist development, socialist development, Stone Age development, and so on. But it is important to realise that each is attained only by its own particular path. A capitalist economic system produces capitalist development, a socialist system produces socialist development, and a Stone Age economic system produces Stone Age development. Further, each type differs in important aspects, both in its manifest characteristics and in its underlying prescriptive assumptions.



To illustrate this we can take an example from another popular fountain of wisdom, Livingstone and Ord's Introduction to Economics for East Africa. On page 477 the authors blandly tell us "...we can say that broadly speaking, from the purely economic point of view, the best tax system is the one which gives the government the revenue it has decided to raise with the least possible disturbance to the allocation and supply of resources which would exist in the absence of taxes." This is a fairly straightforward statement of the orthodox capitalist belief that taxation is an unfortunate necessity and should be regarded only as a deviation from the ideal of pure laissez-faire. If this kind of policy is implemented it will encourage a type of development exhibiting characteristics common to capitalism, such as, for instance, an uneven distribution of wealth. This would be one of the "manifest characteristics" of capitalist development. But perhaps even more important, and less commonly acknowledged, is the prescriptive assumption underlying this kind of statement. The authors refer to such a system of taxation as "the best system". In what sense "the best"? The answer comes in the next sentence: "If the supply and allocation are disturbed, it is likely to be for the worse, if the original allocation of good (sic) was geared to the proportion of dictated by consumer tastes." Here we have, in fact, one of the basic assumptions of capitalist economics: that the function of an economy should be to produce goods and services to satisfy effective demand ("consumer tastes"), that is to say, what those with purchasing power want. Now this is not a statement which one can prove or disprove. It is not a statement of fact at all; it is a statement of opinion. You can accept it, or you can reject it. And socialists, of course, would reject it. Socialists have their own, different prescriptive assumptions about the function of the economy.

I do not suggest for a moment that Messrs Livingstone and Ord are serious advocates of laissez-faire economics. But in order to remain consistent with the prescriptive assumptions of bourgeois economics which they accept, they are forced, in this instance, to regard government intervention as a kind of aberration from the norm, and to posit a conflict between the equity effects of taxation (of which they approve) and its distortionary effects on a



theoretical "ideal" allocation of resources through the price mechanism. That is to say, the aim of achieving a more even distribution of income and the aim of as nearly as possible satisfying the people's demand appear to be antagonistic! This conflict, which causes as much confusion to the readers of the book as it does to the authors, exists only in the minds of bourgeois economists blinkered by the unfortunate assumptions of their own discipline. Once we discard the assumption that the "best" allocation of resources is that which most closely satisfies effective demand, the conflict disappears. But this is precisely what the bourgeois economist cannot do, for without this assumption his whole house of cards would collapse.

This brings us back to our own situation. "The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state": thus reads the first sentence of the Arusha Declaration. Socialist states, as TANU fully realises, are not built simply by publishing declarations, but by the peasants and workers taking the means of production and the organs of the state into their own hands. To expect the peasants and workers to pay for their sons and daughters to continue to be trained in bourgeois economics (on the grounds that capitalist property relations still exist in the country), so that they can then more effectively aid in the socialisation of the economy, is to exhibit a degree of double-think of which perhaps only bourgeois intellectuals would be capable.

The primary objection to the continued teaching of bourgeois economics, then, is that it can only be effective as a means of perpetuating a capitalist system of production, not destroying it.

A secondary objection is that, even if Tanzania was intent on developing a capitalist economy, bourgeois economics obscures rather than clarifies the real issues. From its origins in 18th century European rationalism and 19th century utilitarianism, bourgeois economics has consistently failed to explain the nature of capitalist development, and the more advanced the development, the more glaring is the failure. The gap between theory and reality is now so blatant, and the assumptions necessary to the theory so patently ridiculous, that certain basic concepts (such as "perfect competition") are no longer given even the pretence of credibility, but are presented



to the initiate as a kind of catechism to be learned, chanted a few times, and promptly ignored. The failure of bourgeois economists to understand the nature of capitalism becomes increasingly evident; for example in the more and more exclusive pre-occupation with micro-economic problems, or in the apparent bewilderment in Washington when rapid inflation is accompanied by rising unemployment. But it is the exploitative and ultimately self-destructive nature of capitalism which bourgeois economics is most clearly incapable of exposing. This may be a serious handicap for the economist in an advanced capitalist country, but it is nothing less than disastrous for the economist in an underdeveloped country if he fails to understand the impact of the forces of monopoly capitalism on his own economy.

Which of the texts commonly used in our schools and university explains why the annual outflow from developing countries in terms-of-trade losses is greater than the inflow of "aid" and investment from the developed countries? Which even mentions the fact? Where do we find an attempt to analyse the implications of the fact that the inflow of foreign investment earnings to the U.S.A. exceeds the capital outflow? Who seems interested in discovering why impoverished African countries, with their agriculture-based economies, spend a billion dollars each year buying food and drink from developed capitalist countries? These are the sort of uncomfortable questions which bourgeois economics assiduously ignores, simply because they are outside its terms of reference. "From the purely economic point of view" as Messrs Livingstone and Ord might say, there is no answer. Only in the framework of socialist political economy can the search for answers begin.

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"...for being a man is the continuing battle of one's life, and one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe..."



## V A C A T I O N S

by AGEty

Ever had the unique opportunity of perusing through one of these highly decorated magazines we find in our ill-stocked bookshops which carries seductive vacation advertisements? Ever been attracted by such catchy headlines as "Enjoy Your Vac With a Grass Skirt!", or "Visit Greece - a Paradise for Vacationers!" (not for democratically minded Greeks), or "Visit the Mystic East!", or "See Virgin Africa!", and so on and so forth?

Going a bit further, ever been successfully seduced into taking one of these "all inclusive" vacations? I suppose that depends.

However, I have been reliably told that these captivating advertisements cost a little fortune and I often wondered what motivated these "Tour Brokers" to lavishly spend such small fortunes in order to seduce people to take a vacation. Simple curiosity prompted me to make elementary investigations.

After some elementary investigations I discovered, not to my surprise, that "Vacation Vendors" put forward overt and covert reasons. The overt reasons were compassionate in nature, full of goodwill, desire to promote international understanding, desire to share national cultures and of course to promote brotherhood. In other words they would like people to visit each other, see each other's countries, enjoy each other's delicacies, visit each other's historic places and in our case be able to photograph our beloved animals - in some cases our nationals - and of course photograph our national defence posts. However, behind all these overt platitudes lies the real covert reason - the economic base!

Covertly, "Tour Vendors" argue that TOURISM is a good "foreign exchange earner" and that "our developing countries need foreign exchange" for development. It is indeed ironic, when we consider that our beloved Continent was totally colonised for the specific purpose of robbing our wealth and natural resources. Now when we claim we



are free, we cannot utilise these natural resources to development but must depend on tourists!!! No wonder the former colonial countries advance the theory that "colonies were a financial burden" and therefore out of economic generosity "granted" us freedom. However, these imperialists conveniently close their eye to the fact that \$4.5 million leave Africa, Asia and Latin America every hour of the day! The tragedy is that our "Tour Vendors" believe the theory advanced by the former colonial master and are totally ignorant of the wholesale exploitation that takes place.

According to U.N. statistics, and I am told they are usually reliable unless they deliberately want to distort, more than 90% of the people of the world are either workers or peasants and, therefore, economically speaking, unable to undertake tours. By employing the universally accepted "elimination theory" we can safely deduce that "tourists" come from the remaining 10% of society as presently constituted. Now this raises an important question - with whom do we want to promote friendship, share cultures, promote international understanding and brotherhood? With the 90% of the toiling masses of the world or with the dubious 10%? If we can truthfully answer this question we would be substantially contributing in solving the major contradiction facing our epoch!

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"More than any other mode of production,  
(Capitalism) squanders human lives  
or living labour,  
and not only blood and flesh, but also  
nerve and brain.

Indeed it is only through the most  
enormous waste of the individual development,  
that the development of mankind is at all  
preserved and maintained in the epoch  
of history  
immediately preceding the conscious  
reorganisation of society."

- Karl Marx



THE CIA, BLACK POWER AND AFRICA

(Abridged from an "Africa Research Group" study titled 'The CIA is an Equal Opportunity Employer' by Schechter, Ansara, and Kolodney)

"Black Power" has come a long way since that night in 1966 when Stokely Carmichael made it the battle cry of the Mississippi March Against Fear. For a time it was a slogan that struck dead into the heart of white America - an indication that the ante of the black man's demands had been raised to a point where the whole society would have to be reoriented if they were to be met. But Black Power hardly seems a revolutionary slogan today. It has been refined and domesticated, awarded a prominent niche in the American Dream. And Carmichael's statement of a few years ago, that the President of the United States might say "We shall overcome" over national television but would never call for Black Power, has also been disproven - by Richard Nixon, seemingly the most unlikely of men. The country needs "more black ownership," Nixon said during his campaign, "for from this can flow the rest: black pride, black jobs, and, yes, Black Power."

It is obvious that the Nixon Administration has made some crucial decisions concerning the possibilities of Black Power during its short time in office. With great fanfare it unveiled an elaborate program of black capitalism. And while it failed to lure Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins or others in the moderate civil rights establishment into cabinet posts, it did find a man with even better credentials as a militant - James Farmer, former national director of CORE. The President has indicated since assuming office that he sees nothing dangerous in the upsurge of a black militancy, provided that it seeks a traditional kind of economic mobility as its end, even if it wears Afro costumes and preaches a fiery race pride while it sets up businesses and replaces white capitalists as our society's most visible contact with the ghetto. Of course, other black militants, the thrust of whose political programs cannot be absorbed by black capitalism or by a mere cultural renaissance, who do not look to the ruling powers of society for assistance in their revolution, will continue to be denounced, imprisoned, hunted and destroyed. For them there is the method of the stick. But in other cases the use of the carrot is preferred as a more potent, and less predictable, as Mr. Nixon has well demonstrated.

He has made a surprising alliance with certain forces of black militancy. This may seem audacious, even dangerous, like playing with the fires of a revolutionary black consciousness. But it is actually a time-tested technique. The Nixon Administration's encouragement of cultural nationalism and its paternal interest in black capitalism are little more than an updating and transposition into a domestic setting of a pattern established years ago by U.S. power abroad. Although the State Department, the U.S. Information Agency, the Ford Foundation and hosts of other organizations were involved, it was primarily the Central Intelligence Agency which discovered the way to deal with militant blackness. It found that the U.S. could



maintain a foothold in the newly independent African states by creating and subsidizing an American elite of Afro-oriented black leaders (James Farmer himself was only one of them) whose positions in the civil rights movement were an invaluable, if often unconscious, cover for the Agency's primary aim - to emasculate black radicalism in Africa, and eventually at home.

## 2. AMSAC'S AFROS

It was the spring of 1963, and at first glance it looked like a revolutionary round table in Havana. The list of participants in the conference read like a Who's Who of the Southern African independence movement: Oliver Tambo, acting president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Eduardo Mondlane (recently assassinated), leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front; Jariretundu Kozonguisi, president of the Southwest African National Union; leaders from virtually every other political faction of these countries as well as Zimbabwe, Angola, and Zambia. They were all wanted men at home, engaged in directing armed struggles against hated colonial regimes. But the meeting hadn't been convened by Fidel Castro. In fact, it took place at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

The architects of a Southern Africa liberation movement had agreed to come to Washington because the convening organization was a black group meeting at the nation's leading black university. The American Society for African Culture (AMSAC), composed of important black American scholars, writers, artists and professionals, was the most prestigious and articulate of all black groups interested in advancing African culture and building bonds between U.S. blacks and their African brothers. This conference was AMSAC's fourth international meeting in as many years. It looked like the beginnings of a black revolutionary's dream-come-true, the linking up of African and Afro-American freedom struggles. But what most participants didn't know was that the whole affair had been sponsored by the CIA.

The Howard University meeting provided an ideal opportunity for the CIA to look over the top African revolutionaries while providing an illusion of U.S. concern for their cause. AMSAC itself had begun as a way of keeping an eye on the resurgent African independence movement. It was organized in the aftermath of the first International Conference of Negro Writers and Artists, held in Paris in late 1955. This conference had been convened by a group of African exiles and European intellectuals organized into the Societe Africaine de Culture (SAC), which published the journal Presence Africaine, featuring men like Camus, Sartre, Leopold Sedar Senghor and Aime Cesaire. But giving impetus to an organization like AMSAC was by no means on SAC's agenda.

## 3. BLACK CIA AGENT

One of the most interesting case studies of AMSAC's use of its Afros centres on the man who was the organization's assistant executive director from its early days through 1961 - a tall, frequently goateed, black CIA agent names James T. ("Ted") Harris.

Born in Philadelphia in 1924, Harris won a DAR medal for good scholarship at La Salle College. After service during the war, he returned to La Salle where he built a reputation as a concerned and outspoken liberal. Visible,



articulate black collegians were a rarity in those days, and Harris' reputation grew nationally when he became involved in student politics. In 1948, when the newly formed National Student Association elected him president, he quickly won admission to the inner circle, the CIA's "old boy network" which came to dominate NSA activities for almost 20 years.

Harris was active in AMSAC through 1961. In that year, while the U.S. was desperately trying to stabilize a friendly national government in the Congo, Harris went back to the Ford Foundation, which made him secretary-general of a Ford-funded National School for Law and Administration in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa). Harris spent two years there, shaping an educational program which, as he was later to tell AMSAC's Howard University conference on Southern Africa, provided a way to instruct the Congolese in Western administrative techniques. Congolese sources strongly suspected that the school also served as a conduit for CIA money which was pumped into the pockets of selected Congolese politicians. As soon as a dependable Congolese was groomed to take over the school, Harris returned to New York to help the Ford Foundation shape its overseas development programs for Africa and the Middle East. In 1964, he left Ford to direct education and training for the Corning Glass Workd in New York, working under Amory Houghton, the man who had headed the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA), the CIA's principal agency for funding its international student programs. In 1966, while remaining a consultant to Houghton, Harris moved on to join yet another CIA creation, the African-American Institute. At the AAI, he directed field programs, traveling frequently to Africa.

By January 1969, when Harris left AAI and international work, he had compiled an impressive record. He had traveled to all of Western Europe and to the Middle East, to India, Pakistan and 23 countries in northern, eastern, western and central Africa (as well as 49 states of the U.S.), often on speaking tours. His languages included Arabic, French, Italian and Spanish. He was a member of the powerful and prestigious Council on Foreign Relations and the NAACP, and a director of an offshoot of CORE, the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality.

The CIA backed AMSAC and supported people like Harris because its strategists had a sophisticated understanding of how a certain brand of African cultural nationalism could be dangerous to America's international objectives. They realized that cultural radicalism often stimulated political radicalism and that cultural issues, especially in the emerging African states, were often latent with explosive political implications. Maintaining an effective political presence in resurgent Africa thus required an active cultural dimension, and the CIA took an early interest in attempting to control the emerging cultural-political elites and, as much as possible, making sure that their concerns stayed at arm's length from revolution. The Agency saw cultural nationalism and new notions of "negritude" as alternatives to the type of revolutionary culture called for by such radicals as Frantz Fanon, who once said, "It is around the people's struggles that African



Negro culture takes on substance and not around songs, poems, and folklore."

This was the scope of the enterprise in which American blacks became indispensably involved, through AMSAC and other vehicles. But to appreciate the effect of this misalliance on African development and to see what the alternative of cultural nationalism meant in its social and political context in Africa (and could mean in the United States, if the Nixon Administration is successful), one must also view the operation from the receiving end. A particular vivid example of America's ideological manipulation of African society in transition is seen in the role played by the CIA in shaping the nationalist movement in Kenya.

#### 4. A CIA JET SET

The CIA's program in Kenya could be summed up as one of selective liberation. The chief beneficiary was Tom Mboya, who in 1953 became general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor. During the "Emergency", when all other African political organizations were banned, the KFL was the leading vehicle for the independence movement. It was harassed, its offices were ransacked, and many of its leaders were detained. But it survived and Mboya became a hero. Both a credible nationalist and an economic conservative, Mboya was ideal for the CIA's purposes - the main nationalist hero and eventual chief of state, Jomo Kenyatta, not being considered sufficiently safe. Mboya even propounded a brand of African socialism which favored "free" (i.e. anticommunist) trade unions and encouraged foreign investment, foreign banking, and foreign land ownership. African socialism, he said, meant "those proven codes of conduct in the African societies which have over the ages conferred dignity on our people and afforded them security regardless of their station in life. I refer to universal charity, which characterizes our societies, and I refer to the African thought processes and cosmological ideas, which regard men not as a social means, but as an end and entity in society."

Like America's black capitalism today, this prescription hardly struck the strategists of white America as a threat. Mboya's cultural socialism was seen as something which could inoculate against the actual disease of revolution; it clearly deserved support. Mboya soon joined the CIA jet set, traveling the world from Oxford to Calcutta on funds from such conduits as the Africa Bureau and from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (ICFTU, which played a key role in Kenya, is an aggregation of international trade union secretariats set up in 1949 to counter an upsurge of left-wing trade unionism outside the communist bloc. Its extensive international operations in Africa and elsewhere were funded and manipulated by the CIA through various of its U.S.-based affiliated secretariats. Recently, however, there has been a split with U.S. labor organizations.)

Mboya later became ICFTU representative in the region. His articles were published by other CIA recipients, including the International Union of Socialist Youth, the International Student Conference, and the World Assembly



of Youth. Meanwhile the American press was touting him as a future leader of East Africa. Even the Wall Street Journal's article on Mboya was headed: "Businessmen Favorably Impressed."

##### 5. PEACE WITH FREEDOM

Underwriting Mboya and his Labor Federation was a natural strategy for the U.S. in Kenya during the '50s and early '60s. It advanced responsible nationalism; and it was painless, because the employers faced with higher wage demands were British, not American. By 1964, however, American investments, which would reach \$100 million by 1967 were becoming significant, and some of the Kenyan union demands began to lose their charm. But even more important, 1964 also brought dangers of "political instability" serious enough to make radio communications with the Nairobi Embassy eighth highest on the State Department roster for the year. Zanzibar revolted and Tanzania's Nyerere was nearly overthrown. Rebellion was spreading through the Northeast Congo, and Kenya lay astride the natural supply route. The CIA decided that a new approach was in order.

Mboya had long been supported as a force to the right of Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, but an accommodation with Kenyatta was now necessary, particularly to insure that he did not support the Congolese rebels, and more generally to get him to close ranks against the agitating Kenyan left. It was a strategy which has since become familiar enough: utilize the credibility of the appropriate flexible militants to crush the rest.

In June 1964, U.S. Ambassador to Kenya William Attwood met with Kenyatta and agreed that Western labor groups would stop subsidizing Mboya and the KFL; for balance, Kenyatta assured him that Russian and Chinese aid to the leftist leader, Vice President Odinga, would also end. Simultaneously, the CIA was making appropriate shifts in its operations, throwing its resources into a new kind of vehicle which would embrace the whole Kenyan political mainstream, while isolating the left and setting it up for destruction by Kenyatta. To this end the CIA shifted its emphasis to an organization by the name of "Peace with Freedom."

Incorporated in 1960 as International Features Service, a press agency bringing the thoughts of Hubert Humphrey to the people of the Third World, Peace With Freedom went nonprofit and reorganized in 1962 under the direction of Murray Baron, vice president of New York's Liberal Party. To insure a credible operation, Baron brought in NAACP head Roy Wilkins, who in turn convinced the United Auto Workers' Walter Reuther to come aboard. The CIA, of course, came up with the cash to help bring the combined forces of American civil rights and liberalism to Africa.

By 1965, the original press agency operation had grown by leaps and bounds; it maintained 24 representatives around the world and published in 22 languages. Among the most popular writers, along with Humphrey, were Tom Mboya and Roy Wilkins.

Mboya had not been forgotten in the shift to PWF. The new organization contributed \$40,000 to the KFL for publication of its weekly newspaper, *Mfanyi Kasi* (Worker Solidarity), in



English and Swahili. But this support now figured in a far broader context than it had in the past. PWF created and financed a whole string of East African organizations including the East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, the East African Publishing House (now reorganised as Afro-Press), the Jomo Kenyatta Educational Institute, the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation and the Milton Obote Foundation in Uganda.

It was an entire prefabricated cultural and intellectual infrastructure, reaching from the elite academic setting to the mass media of radio and pamphleteering. It aimed, in the favored phrase, at "nation building," shaping a social infrastructure, an elite and an ideological base. In Kenya, Peace With Freedom's operation was practically all-encompassing.

When Ambassador Attwood departed from Kenya in 1966, he expressed satisfaction with what had been accomplished there: "White fears of blacks in power in Kenya had proved to be unfounded; a white Kenyan was still minister of agriculture and 1700 Englishmen still worked in various branches of the Kenyan government....Odinga and the demagogues were out of office. The men moving up...were unemotional, hardworking and practical minded. When they talked about Kenya's agricultural revolution they sounded like Walt Rostow; they spoke of available credit, fair prices, technical assistance and the cash purchase of tools and consumer goods." U.S. exports had grown from \$13.5 million in 1963 to \$31.6 million three years later when Attwood left. It was quite a record for Attwood. But then, as he himself had modestly observed: "...an Ambassador who treats his CIA chief as an integral member of his Country Team will generally find him a useful and cooperative associate. I know I did."

#### 6. IN THE SHADOW OF MALCOLM X

Farmer's most significant service was done in the course of two CIA-sponsored trips to Africa, the first of which took place in 1958. Farmer had already passed into the Agency's orbit from '50 to '54, when he served as national secretary of the youth affiliate of the nominally socialist and fiercely (if not exclusively) anticommunist League for Industrial Democracy. The Student League (SLID) was an associate member of the CIA financed International Union of Socialist Youth; SLID itself received funds to maintain its international contacts from the Agency's prime conduit on the student front, the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs. Here Farmer picked up the orientation and the contacts which made it inevitable that the CIA would cross his path.

After leaving SLID, Farmer went to work for the New York based State, County and Municipal Employees Union, gaining the post of international representative. Farmer caught the attention of the union's ex-president, Arnold Zander, who was himself deeply and knowledgeably involved in the CIA's international labor program. Zander selected Farmer for the Africa tour; he was to represent their own public employees union on a five-member delegation of the Public Services International, which as part of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was earlier seen to be a mainstay of CIA operations in Kenya and Africa generally during this period. The 15-nation PSI tour was part of the overall "clean union" program being conducted by the Agency in Africa.

Whatever personal intentions paved Farmer's path to Africa, the CIA got its money's worth out of it: Farmer was given red-carpet treatment. With enviable mobility he was able to meet with the heads of state of all but one of the countries he visited, meeting also with representatives of the Southern



African Liberation movements and - according to an AMSAC report - "he also talked to the U.S. ambassadors to the countries he visited and to other members of U.S. embassies there."

## 7. GOOD AND BAD BLACK POWER

Of course, Black Power, like African nationalism, could be conceived and directed in a number of ways, some of them not at all threatening to the status quo. And the current administration has already seen its job as winnowing away the Good Black Power from the Bad. Such an approach to America's racial crisis has been in the offing for some time. The media have joined in promoting it to the white public. Time magazine announced over a year and a half ago: "What has clearly developed ... is a Black Power movement on a more respectable base.... The most intelligent spokesmen for the new attitude think of it in terms of Black Consciousness - or more completely, of Black Pride."

This interpretation of the black revolution - sanctioning and encouraging those aspects which are the least revolutionary - is, of course, a reminder of the international strategy the CIA developed around AMSAC, the subsidies it gave to select leaders in Africa, and its sponsorship of Tom Mboya's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. And again, as in those cases, the current emphasis is on a variety of Black Power which is a psycho-cultural redemption, not one that offers to reevaluate the social and economic power of its new backers. Common ground is staked out and emphasized between white capitalism and black militance, but it is always safely within the boundaries of the status quo. And those who say that the status quo is simply not plastic enough to contain all the contradictions of racism in America are isolated as Bad Black Powerites. Just as in Africa those following the Frantz Fanons were pushed beyond the pale of respectability and those following the Mboyas rewarded, so today those militant blacks who accept black capitalism are heavily subsidized while those who support social revolution are hunted down.

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"We are not presenting the world  
with a new principle,  
saying in a doctrinaire fashion:

'Here is the truth -  
fall on your knees before it!'  
We are deriving new principles  
for the world,  
and deriving them from principles  
already inherent in the world.

We are showing the world  
what it is in fact fighting for;  
and consciousness is something  
the world must acquire,  
even if it does not want to."

- Karl Marx.



# HERE AND ABOUT .....

## (a) Meet John Hannah:

The STANDARD (Tanzania), September 29, 1970:

The administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development Dr. John A. Hannah, arrives in Dar es Salaam this evening from Morogoro after touring the northern region where he saw wildlife and development projects assisted by the U.S.A.I.D.

During his stay, he will hold discussions with officials of the Government and the University of Dar es Salaam. He will also be due to meet the Dean of the university's Faculty of Agriculture at Morogoro, Mr. Mongi.

His Dar es Salaam programme includes meetings with the Minister for Agriculture, Food and Co-operatives, Mr. Bryce, the Minister for Finance, Mr. Jamal, and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam, Mr. Msekwa.

He is scheduled to fly to Nairobi tomorrow.

The Committee of Returned Volunteers (U.S.A.):

It is indicative of nothing good that the 1970 International Development Conference is opening with a keynote address by John A. Hannah. Hannah, currently head of AID, was the president of Michigan State University from 1941 until 1969 and during that time succeeded in turning that institution into a very efficient machine for the extension of Americanism abroad. The list of countries that MSU has had projects in is long, and noticeably lopsided with undemocratic and anti-democratic military dictatorships.

MSU's Vietnam Project, for example, was the largest single project ever undertaken by an American University abroad, a project that consumed over 25 million in American taxpayer's dollars on a "technical assistance" contract with the now infamous Ngo Dinh Diem. Under this contract - which indicates a lot about Hannah's approach to "development" - MSU agreed to do everything for Diem from training his security forces to writing his constitution, and even agreed that no member of the project would use materials gathered on the job "against the security or interests of Vietnam," thereby officially censoring would-be critics of the Diem regime.

Training Diem's security forces entailed the rebuilding of the entire Vietnam police apparatus, from traffic cop to "interrogation expert", as a loyal arm of the Diem government - and because that government lacked any real popular base the Vietnamese police and security network was of necessity an extensive one. To do the job right, Hannah recruited a wide variety of police experts from such non-academic sources as the FBI, the Detroit and New York Police Forces, the Department of Defense, and even secretly from the CIA. Of the 33 police advisors involved in the project only four had roots at the Michigan campus; the others were quite literally university-hired mercenaries. In the early years of the project (1955, '56) the university was engaged in the questionable business of buying and requisitioning millions of dollars of military supplies for Diem's MSU-trained security forces, who in turn were using them to ensure that public criticism of the dictatorship did not become too critical.



The largest section of MSU's police administration division - which was the most important division in the project - was the "Vietnamese Bureau of Investigation Internal Security Section." Returned project professors have testified that this section was comprised predominantly of CIA agents who were hired by the University Board of Trustees and whose instructions were to engage in counter-espionage and counter-intelligence for the United States Government. When several of these were promoted to faculty status, they became the first persons in the spy business to gain academic recognition (they were expelled from the project in 1959 when their widely known presence became a public embarrassment).

The MSU Vietnam Project was terminated in 1962. But during its seven year tenure it played a significant role in the creation of those political structures and governmental institutions that sparked a revolution. And it is in an effort to perpetuate what MSU was instrumental in beginning that the United States Government today spends over \$30 billion a year in combatting that revolution. Perhaps this is why in MSU's colorful brochure on its international programs, the Vietnam Project is glossed over in one sentence - despite the fact that this was the largest single project ever to be undertaken by an American university abroad.

The point of all this should be obvious: if this is the use John Hannah makes of the University he heads, what can he be expected to do with AID? And what does this indicate about the function of AID that in 1969 it acquired John Hannah as its chief administrator?

Colorful brochures made for public consumption, whether about MSU, AID, or International Development Conferences, never tell the seamy side of the story. Our objection is not just that John Hannah is speaking...., but rather that this year's International Development Conference seems to be characterized by the John Hannahs, as is this country's entire international development effort. Those who are interested in the expansion of the American empire can profit from this year's conference; those who are sincerely interested in the very real problems of Third World peoples had best go elsewhere.

(b) Cabora Bassa:

The Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (London):

It is well known that the ZAMCO Consortium (amalgam of Western Companies building the Cabora Bassa Dam in Mozambique to entrench imperialism in Southern Africa) includes Europe's largest electrical and engineering monopolies. But the tentacles of the Cabora Bassa scheme reach out further, to include hundreds of other firms which are supplying specialised goods and services. Some of these are firmly established in independent Africa.

The British United Transport Company Limited, for example, has set up a subsidiary in Tete province of Mozambique, specifically to transport equipment to the Cabora Bassa site. United Transport is based in Britain, but has wide international interests, including companies in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, France and Switzerland.



As well as 13 subsidiaries in Rhodesia and 22 in South Africa, United Transport has 28 subsidiaries in independent Africa:

Kenya:

Kenya Bus Services Ltd.  
East African Road Services Ltd.  
Kenya Bus Services (Mombasa) Ltd.  
Bulwark Transport (East Africa) Ltd.  
United Touring Co. Ltd.  
Nairobi Travel Services Ltd.  
World Travel Bureau Ltd.  
Wildlife Lodges Ltd.  
Wilkenair Ltd.  
Wilkenair (Mombasa) Ltd.  
Kenya Hotels Ltd.

Tanzania:

United Touring Co. Ltd.  
Wildlife Lodges Ltd.

Uganda:

Uganda Transport Co. Ltd.  
Uganda Touring Co. Ltd.  
World Travel Bureau Ltd.

Ethiopia:

United Touring Share Company

Zambia:

Central African Road Services Ltd.  
Bulwark Transport (Zambia) Ltd.  
Thorntons' Transportation (Zambia) Ltd.  
Barotse Transport Ltd.  
Gwebe Valley Transport Co. Ltd.

Malawi:

United Transport (Malawi) Ltd.  
Bulwark Transport (Malawi) Ltd.

Swaziland:

Chepstow Investments (Swaziland) (Pty.) Ltd.  
Swaziland United Transport Ltd.  
United Tanker Services Swaziland (Pty.) Ltd.

(c) ON THE CIA

Africa Research Group:

Among the organizations disclosed as CIA-connected by various newspapers and magazines have been the following: STUDENT: National Student Association, International Student Conference, World Assembly of Youth, Institute of International Education, Africa Scholarship Program of American Universities. TEACHER: W.I.G.T.O.P. TRADE UNION: African-American Labor Centre, various secretariats connected with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. CULTURAL: Congress of Cultural Freedom, American Society of African Culture, East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs. GENERAL: African-American Institute, Peace with Freedom Inc., Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, Milton Obote Foundation, Kenneth Kaunda Foundation. The US remains involved in channelling money to various factions within southern African liberation movements hoping of course to mould them in pro-Western directions.



THE APOLITICAL INTELLECTUALSby Otto Rene Castillo

One day  
the apolitical  
intellectuals  
of my country  
will be interrogated  
by the simplest  
of our people

They will be asked  
what they did  
when their nation died out  
slowly  
like a sweet fire  
small and alone

No one will ask them  
about their dress  
their long siestas  
after lunch  
no one will want to know  
about their sterile combats  
with 'the idea  
of the nothing'  
No one will care about  
their higher financial learning  
They won't be questioned  
on Greek mythology  
or regarding their self-disgust  
when someone within them  
begins to die  
the coward's death

They'll be asked nothing  
about their absurd  
justifications  
born in the shadow  
of the total lie

On that day  
the simple men will come  
those who had no place  
in the books and poems  
of the apolitical intellectuals  
but daily delivered  
their bread and milk  
their tortillas and eggs  
those who mended their clothes  
those who drove their cars  
those who cared for their dogs and gardens  
and worked for them

and they'll ask:

"What did you do when the poor  
suffered, when tenderness

and life  
burned out in them?"

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DOES NATIONALIZATION HELP  
TO STAMP OUT  
EXPLOITATION?

by A.S. Mamama

It is needless to state that the wave-tide of nationalizations which has already swept across a considerable part of Africa is prompted by the desire to stamp out exploitation of the resources of the countries concerned by monopoly capital.

That in almost all cases, the activity of foreign capital once established takes a short term policy is clear proof of how make-profit-quick motivated foreign capital is. The purpose is to make maximum profit within the shortest possible time. The foreign investor demands a high rate of return on his capital and goes all out in the bargain to effect a penetration of his capital which ensures greater profit than if he were to exploit local resources which would demand a longer period of waiting before returns can begin to be seen.

Regional Breakdown of  
JERSEY STANDARD (USA) PROFITS  
And ASSETS

REGION	% ASSETS	% PROFITS
U.S.A. & Canada	67	34
Latin America	20	39
Eastern Hemisphere	<u>13</u>	<u>27</u>
TOTAL	100	100

SOURCE: Baran & Sweezy, Monopoly Capital.

Nevertheless, foreign sources of capital profit are supplemented by local sources which offer relatively low interest rates but even then the foreign financier will not undertake any projects which do not ensure considerable amount of profits.



Hence the over-all activity of foreign capital leads to a tremendous outflow of resources from the recipient country through a whole variety of ways, some legal and some illegal. The outstanding example is the over-invoicing technique employed by parent monopolies in the metropolitan countries which are as a matter of fact high command centres for the imperialist countries' struggle for economic exploitation of the poor countries.

Such practice can only help to expose so well the myth of the so-called "aid given to us generously", by the imperialist countries. Once their private capital is in full operation, the victim country not only becomes a monopoly market for the machinery, spare parts, and other industrial products, but a most ruthless and shameless target ground for dumping a whole series of goods of the imperialist countries involved. They not only deliberately raise the prices of the needed machinery or spare parts, but most unabashedly dictate prices of the primary products which the poor country can offer on their market. It is easy to imagine the position which the so-called underdeveloped countries find themselves in, in the face of their struggle not to be exploited by the imperialist countries.

One form of struggle that the underdeveloped countries have employed is "nationalization" of imperialist-owned and controlled economic interests in their own countries. No doubt genuine attempts to restructure their economies for rapid and healthy development as opposed to slow growth under imperialist domination ensue, but the struggle goes on. Because genuine economic development is impossible without stamping out exploitation conducted by imperialist countries it follows that such a move is a threat to the imperialist monopolies which would like to use Africa as an appendage of their industrial products for as long a time as they are able to do so. Therefore, dialectically opposed to nationalization moves the imperialist countries utilise all the resources at their disposal to carry on the exploitation as before.

To this end an overt act of aggression against the countries which have nationalized their interests could be one of their worst weapons in this struggle, for this could serve as an excellent condition for mobilizing and uniting nationalist forces to fight the foreign exploiters and in the face of it the exploiters would surely lose the



struggle. In this dilemma, the imperialists employ their enemies in an apparently amicable way in order to fight them more effectively. After all they have achieved a measure of success in their own home-areas by this method. At home they have covertly converted militant workers and organizations from agencies of revolution to agencies of reform - which is tantamount to saying that trade unions and other organizations have been converted into weapons of the bourgeoisie for exploiting the workers. So is the case with the nationalized enterprises in the countries concerned.

Firstly, the government concerned finds itself in partnership with the same foreigner who owned and controlled the now nationalized industry and this as a matter of fact has been the case in all the African countries which have recently been involved in nationalization measures: Tanzania, Zambia, Uganda, Somali, Sudan, and Libya.

Thus the country concerned recognises the need for technical and managerial skills supplied by the firms and takes account of this in the nationalization terms. Strictly speaking, I can even argue that there is no true nationalization at all involved in the take-overs. Compulsory buying, wholly or in part, of the foreign interests would be better understood than nationalization because no true nationalization would compensate an exploiter even a single penny or even carry on business in partnership with him. From the immediate financial point of view the compensation terms have been reasonable and therefore profitable to the imperialist investor. Even a simple marginal comparative calculation will show that it is in the interest of the foreign investor to remain albeit with minority holding.

Secondly, guarantees against future exchange control restrictions, discriminatory taxation, etc accompany the so-called nationalization for the greater benefit of the foreign exploiter.

Thirdly, there are countless advantages of association with government enterprises, easier access to government departments, for example, easier work permits, etc etc.

Fourthly, government involvement may assist labour management. The government may no longer feel morally obliged to support wage-push movements against the previous foreign enterprises.



Lastly, let us dispel the myth of 51% ownership which means an ability to impose one's will on a minority 49%. Such partnership especially when the 49% provides the necessary skills and manpower allows the foreign exploiter to make use of the mutual understanding, trust and consensus that he must of necessity share with the government concerned in the face of therefore common problems. And this could do nothing but good for the exploiter partner. It is for these advantages that for example SHELL BP voluntarily offered 51% of their operations in Zambia and Tanzania to the respective governments.

In an article which appeared on the 2nd of June, 1970 in the Financial Times, James Potter who was once a senior economist in the Ministry of Development and Finance in Zambia discussing the opportunities for foreign interests created by nationalization concluded thus: "It is thus the larger projects with which we are concerned, those requiring foreign capital (given reasonable terms) technical skills and management. Since these projects form an important part of the national economy and are often in a monopoly position it is now to the advantage of both government and private investor to enter into partnership".

In the same article he discourages foreign investors from engaging in small enterprise operations because these are likely to demand local initiative, resources and skills and hence may not be profitable to the foreign investor. This confession by a no doubt once valued and perhaps trusted export adviser in Zambia is a typical case of the many technocrats posing as hardworking and interested in our development problems while indeed their expertise helps their foreign monopolies more than they help us. Well, one might ask: is there a solution to these problems of imperialist dealings, which seem so inevitable? I would only say that it is an obviously big problem but its solution can hardly be found in collaboration with the imperialists, but in a most radical departure and disengagement from them. This can be done and Africa needs to do it and achieve genuine economic and political independence or perish indefinitely under the mercy of imperialist domination.



SALIENT IMPLICATIONS  
OF THE SILENT CLASS-STRUGGLE

by Karim Hirji

(a) Some Theoretical Reflections:

Social theories emanate from specific social conditions and vary according to the changes in the latter. Their role in implanting seeds of change is, however, by no means insignificant. Thus it was no accident that economic theories during the era of mercantilism in Europe laid stress on the central role of trade in contributing to national wealth but later these theories were superseded by the political economy of Adam Smith and his successors with the advent of the Industrial Revolution.

Generally these changes are due to the fact that laws of social dynamics alter with changes in the mode of production and its corresponding superstructure. Here it must be noted that in so far as successive social formations are not complete negations of the preceding ones, but tend to assimilate their various aspects, inherit their material and intellectual wealth, a similar situation prevails in the realm of ideas. The trend is one of successive correction rather than of total replacement, meaning that elements of continuity are always present.

To the above Marxism is no exception. Marxism was not just a product of someone's fertile imagination but a child of capitalism. It was born from a convergence of Hegelian philosophy, French socialist thought and classical political economy; brilliantly and originally synthesized by Marx and Engels. In its incisive analysis of capitalism, it has no comparable competitor, and while its militancy has instilled mortal fear in the minds of the bourgeoisie, it has raised a beacon of hope in the heart of the oppressed all over the globe.

But then it is indisputable that the conditions of today are significantly different from the conditions of the mid-nineteenth century. From the time when trade unions were outlawed, an apparently 'welfare' capitalism rules today. Socialism is no longer a utopian's dream but a reality for one-third of mankind. Other changes are too obvious or too many to be enumerated here. Is it not then a possibility, nay a probability, that with the stupendous changes in social reality and tremendous expansion of man's intellectual wealth, Marxist theory too has changed or been modified?

There are people who regard Marxism as a doctrine endowed with divine virtues, who consider it as a once-and-for-all panacea for all theoretical problems, who would be horrified at such an utterance and promptly brand it as some sort of 'revisionism'. This is just a manifestation of intellectual laziness on their part. The founders never considered it sacrosanct and are probably turning in their graves at the dogmatic behaviour of their so-called disciples. But for those who regard it as a science, the task is to constantly check it with available evidence, and, in the words of Marx,



"...to carry on rational inquiry to whatever it may lead, to undertake ruthless criticism of everything that exists, ruthless in the sense that the criticism will not shrink either from its own conclusion or from conflict with the powers that be."

As a first step, it must be mentioned that the methodology and general principles of Marxian theory have been amply confirmed and reinforced by the march of history and widening of human knowledge. Dialectics and the theory of historical materialism today rest on firmer foundations with the progress of social and natural sciences.<sup>1</sup> In fact many of the bourgeois disciplines have either assimilated or independently evolved tools of analysis similar to the marxian ones. Sociologists have realized the utility of concepts of class and class-structure in comprehending the behaviour of various societies.<sup>2</sup> To the historian, the statement that "class-struggle is the motive force of history" is now a view to be seriously considered. The value of an interdisciplinary approach, of analysing social structure as a whole, and of considering society as a dynamic rather than a static organism are slowly being apprehended. Therefore it is imperative here to make the distinction between the methodology of analysis, generally verified, and its substance and conclusion, which we proceed to examine now.

Many of the conclusions of Marx have been rubber-stamped by the events of the past century. For example, few economists would deny the existence of periodic crises of overproduction - for Marx, a basic characteristic of the capitalist system. The inevitability of socialism, whatever the theories of the "managerial revolution" may want us to believe, is now a statement not to be dismissed lightly.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it is true that proletarian revolutions did not first come in the economically advanced countries as anticipated by Marx.<sup>4</sup> But then Marx would have had to be an astrologer and not a social scientist to predict accurately the on-coming of imperialism and its far-reaching consequences. However, this lack of foresight was a result, we believe, of also the fact that Marx did not lay due emphasis on the international

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<sup>1</sup>cf. Lindsay, Marxism and Contemporary Science.

To take one instance, dialectics asserts the existence of contradictions in all phenomena, and it was discovered by physicists in the 1950s that for every fundamental particle of matter, there exists an anti-particle.

<sup>2</sup>For a brief survey of the impact of Marxism on modern sociology consult the chapter on "The Influence of Marx's Sociological Thought" in Bottomore and Rubel's edition of Marx's Selected Writings.

<sup>3</sup>At least the CIA takes it seriously, for everywhere it is involved in intrigues to forestall social revolutions!

<sup>4</sup>History has not cast its final verdict on these countries though. In fact the trends of today lead us to believe that they are heading towards critical conditions for socialist transformations. The eruptions in France in 1968 were just a rehearsal of the drama to come.



characteristic of the capitalist system. He was, of course, aware of the importance of international economic relations, and indeed realized that capitalism by establishing commerce between nations had laid foundations for a real community of nations, and this was embodied in the slogan "Working Men of all countries, Unite!" The role of foreign ventures for the "primitive accumulation of capital" is also emphasized as the following quotation indicates:

"Without slavery, you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their values, it is the colonies which create world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large scale-industry."<sup>5</sup>

But it is our contention that orthodox Marxists tend to look at classes and class-struggle within the confines of national boundaries. Many apply the Marxist formula of "Primitive Communism - Slavery - Feudalism - Capitalism - Socialism" to all societies. Hence they expect classical bourgeois revolutions to occur in the underdeveloped world prior to the advent of socialism! Even after Lenin, overlooked is the fact that capitalism was born, grew and matured essentially as an international mode of production and hence the class-divisions overflow national boundaries. It is true that nationalism is still a powerful ideology and revolutionary struggles too are waged on a national basis. But as we shall briefly try to show, with the maturation of the system even the objective basis<sup>6</sup> for national-class analysis is disappearing as nations have become enmeshed in the international structure.

It has been the hallmark of bourgeois economics to isolate nations and analyse them as separate entities. Foreign trade and investments are no doubt considered, but they enter the picture in a secondary manner. By this neglect not only is the unequal exchange between the metropolitan and satellite economies hidden but also implied is that the external economies are in no manner absolutely essential to the very survival of the dominant capitalist nations as capitalist nations. This latter point is often neglected by socialist writers. But it is gratifying to note that this outlook is changing.

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<sup>5</sup>Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, (Moscow), p.107

<sup>6</sup>Perhaps it was Che who subjectively symbolized, by his internationalist outlook, the objective reality, /which is a fully-fledged/system of exploitation. /intern

<sup>7</sup>It is rare to find as frank a declaration as the declaration issued by the Bankers Trust Company of New York as early as 1917:

"Our prosperity will be permanent only when a market can be found for all the goods we can produce.... In order to keep invested capital at the point of most economical production by finding a market for all it can produce, our manufacturers are compelled to seek constantly greater outlets in foreign trade...."



It was Lenin who laid the foundation, and recent works carry his thesis to its logical conclusion.<sup>8</sup>

In brief, the emerging outlook is as follows: Capitalism has always consisted of a dichotomy - the metropolis and the satellite. From the mediaval times when trade thrived in Venice and Florence, to the days of Dutch and then British supremacy uptil today with the U.S.A. assuming the leadership of the capitalist world, capitalism has always needed underdeveloped regions for providing the metropolis with raw materials and acting as a market for manufactured goods. Within this heirarchy of nations there have been class-divisions but linkages have always been present. The present century witnessed the maturation of the system and at the same time the breaking of the weakest links. The maturation of the system was accompanied by concentration of ownership of capital in the metropolis and subsequent establishment of economic and political control over the whole globe.<sup>9</sup> Today the world economy, excluding the socialist bloc, is dominated by giant multi-national corporations. And the rivalry between European nations for markets and spheres of influence which was the outstanding feature of the late nineteenth century is now replaced by contest between monopolies for investment opportunities, natural resources and markets for their manufactures. According to Magdoff, contemporary imperialism has several new features:

- "(i) the shift of the main emphasis from rivalry in carving up the world to the struggle against the contraction of the imperialist system;
- (ii) the new role of the United States as organiser and leader of the world imperialist system; and
- (iii) the rise of a technology which is international in character."<sup>10</sup>

In reply to the critics who still play down the role of foreign ventures, Magdoff considers the U.S. economy and makes "...a conservative estimate that the size of the foreign market (for domestic and United States owned foreign firms) is equal to approximately two-fifths the domestic output of farms, factories and mines."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>cf. Baran, The Political Economy of Growth, (MRP 1957)  
Cox, Capitalism as a System, (MRP 1964)

Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, (MRP 1968), and "The Development of Underdevelopment" in Monthly Review, September, 1966.

Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, (MRP 1968)

<sup>9</sup>One need not be an 'economic determinist' to say:

"It seems clear to me that so long as we shut our eyes to the undoubted fact that, in the East at least, from Stamboul to Tokyo, politics, finance and trade go hand in hand, and that neither the profits can be fully reaped nor our influence and prestige be adequately upheld without incurring the responsibilities incident to political and financial activity, we must be content to play a modest effaced role in the Far East, unworthy, in my opinion of our great country and its vast interests in the pacific."

W.W. Rockhill, U.S. Minister to China in the 1910s; quoted in Freeman & Nearing, Dollar Diplomacy, (MRP)p.48.

<sup>10</sup>Magdoff, op. cit., p. 40

<sup>11</sup>ibid., p. 178.



Moreover, this estimate does not take into account the qualitative indicators of the dependence of the U.S. economy on the satellite economies, mainly in securing strategic raw material for key industries.

The obvious corollary to the domination of giant corporations is the economic strangulation of the satellite nations. Caught in the web of specialized production imposed on them, they are readily susceptible to financial, political and/or military control. The different varieties of neo-colonial formations are well described in Shivji's special "CHECHE" contribution: "Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle" and need not be elaborated here.

This outlook effectively counteracts the claims that contemporary Africa is classless<sup>12</sup> and hence a class analysis cannot be undertaken with regard to it. Especially in the countries where some nationalization measures have been announced, the existence of antagonistic classes has been repudiated. For it is claimed that an administrative bureaucracy, together with working and peasant classes exist in all socialist countries. The problem of solving class contradictions thus appears to be centred around fighting "rural capitalism" and stopping the emergence of a "kulak" class. These moves have fostered deceptive hopes that the age of socialism is here, and perhaps a change of heart has occurred in the imperialists for they, after initial verbal outbursts, now appear to be quite enthusiastic about joint ventures with countries 'on the road to socialism'.<sup>13</sup> But in the light of the international perspective outlined above these hopes are exposed as mere illusions. Once capitalism is recognised as an international mode of production, and its class-structure too is seen on an international plane, the myth of classlessness is readily exposed. The neo-colonial bureaucracy is in fact seen to be having a social base in the international bourgeoisie, whose interests it objectively serves. A bureaucracy is not a class. But in the neo-colonial framework it is an outgrowth of and dependent on the class owning and controlling production facilities of the capitalist world.<sup>14</sup> The bureaucracy is a key element in this class's strivings to capture the world market and resources. These propositions we shall try to establish below.

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<sup>12</sup>cf. Kenya's "Sessional Paper No. 10 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya".

<sup>13</sup>"A. H. Ball, the Chairman of Lonrho Ltd., told his company's annual meeting, 'We welcome government participation in these businesses for, in our view, the very fact that the government will be a substantial shareholder will assist in their future stability and expansion'." Quoted in "Nationalizations and Management in Zambia", by Paul Semonin (cyclostyled).

<sup>14</sup>This point is well illustrated by C. Meillassoux in his "A Class Analysis of the Bureaucratic Process in Mali", Journal of Development Studies, January 1970.



(b) Socialism Through Cooperation with Capitalists?

With modern technology at its disposal, and commanding vast resources and the means by which to defend and perpetuate itself, capitalism today is on the offensive to "contain" all forces striving for socialism, i.e. striving to end private property in the means of production. Its military machine is larger and better equipped, with bases all over the globe and in action wherever cleavages appear in the system. Its strategy towards the socialist world appears to be one of conquest by absorption and assimilation. It is beyond the scope of this essay to explore this further, and moreover our main concern is with the strategy of the monopolies towards the satellite nations - the so-called Third World. This can be summarized as follows:

- (i) Maintenance of an open-door policy for foreign capital; either by allowing direct investments or through partnerships.
- (ii) Guaranteed supply of key raw materials.
- (iii) Secure and expanding markets for articles manufactured in the industrial centres.
- (iv) Maintaining them in the capitalist system by financial, political and military control. With the rise of the dollar as the international basis for exchange, and increasing role of the U.S. as the world's banker, the financial control of weaker nations has become tighter. Foreign "aid" to "solve" balance of payments difficulties or to balance the budget also helps in this process.
- (v) Militarization of strategic areas to prevent contraction of the system. Hence a large part of the foreign assistance programme is devoted to providing arms to conservative regimes.

And it is our task to find the relationship between these aims and the recent wave of nationalizations over Africa. Are the 'nationalizations' in harmony with the interests of the monopolistic concerns or do they come into conflict with them? To determine this we shall embark on a few case studies.

SIERRA LEONE:

Towards the end of 1967, Prime Minister Siaka Stevens announced the acquisition of 51% shareholding by the government of the four big mining companies operating in the country. "Full and Fair" compensation was promised. The management of the "nationalized" enterprises was to remain in the hands of foreign firms. It was also reported that United Africa Company and other established merchant firms were unlikely to close down their operations because of the new measures. In the "nationalized" enterprises the government policy was one of imposing a wages restraint in general. Prior to the take-overs, the workers had been clamouring for higher wages. It was also reported that,

"He (the Prime Minister) also claims that his present plan, by ending Sierra Leone fears of 'foreign' domination' ends too the danger of outright take-over of the mines.... So Mr. Stevens may not be taking any serious risk by his takeovers, provided that the existing mining companies are ready to continue as managers - particularly important to DELCO, which recently concluded a long term contract with Japan



for its ore, which, by present world standards is not of the highest quality."<sup>15</sup>

Of course, the mining firms are ready to act as managers when the risks involved are less and fees are high.

#### MAURETANIA:

Under the presidency of Moukhtar Ould Daddah, Mauretania is reputed to have a 'socialist' type of regime. Militant left wing pronouncements regarding foreign affairs and patriotic sentiments are not uncommon. There is a one-party system, together with a rubber-stamp parliament. As an indicator of its solidarity with the socialist countries, the government invited 400 Chinese rice experts and technical assistance personnel to help with various development projects. Generally there is some revolutionary fervour amongst students and politicians. Beneath the surface, however, the situation is one of "peaceful co-existence". Great care has been taken not to antagonise any U.S. interests. In May last year, Global Marine, an exploration subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana, started working on the first oil well in the country. Some French companies have been awarded rights to mine "rare earth metals". A mixed government and private mining company, MIFERMA, has been established to exploit the ferrous deposits. 44.6% of the interests in this company are South African, and the exports of iron ore in 1969 amounted to eight million tons. Some Spanish enterprises have entered into partnership with the government to set up a major fishing industry. West Germany assisted in the construction of a government printing plant. The army is being trained by France. It is also reported that urban unemployment is soaring as a result of mass influx of the people to the cities. In 1960 the city population was only 6,000 but in 1969 it had risen to 35,000 and was still increasing.

#### CONGO (KINSHASA):

The 'Congolization' of Union Miniere by General Mobutu came as a surprise to many, both leftist and rightist alike. Initially it aroused a lot of Belgian hostility but the dispute was settled amicably by both parties. The compensation terms were as follows: Union Miniere would get 6% of the total value of copper, cobalt and other minerals produced by GEMICON, the newly set up body, for the next 15 years and a 25 year agreement for technical cooperation was signed as well.

"This will mean that Societe Generale des Minerales will now have a direct interest in developing Katanga's copper (which has been stagnating for some time) while subsidiaries of Societe Generale, Belgium's giant holding company will be involved in the excavation, refining, insuring, shipping and selling of Congo's most valuable export."<sup>16</sup>

What else could be more preferable? Mobutu's iron rule has brought 'stability' to the nation after years of turmoil. Any opposition has been terrorized and even students have been brutally murdered. In this atmosphere of 'law and order' American business interests have slowly crept in. And imports, mainly from Western Europe and the U.S.A. have rocketed up from \$64 million in 1967 to \$115 million in 1968.

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<sup>15</sup> Africa Confidential, 19.12.1969

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 21.11.1969.



### LIBYA:

The army coup d'etat that overthrew the arch-reactionary regime of King Idris was long overdue. The government exhibited its militancy by taking a firm stand on the middle-east crisis and by ordering the U.S. to evacuate the Wheelus air base. On the economic front, although the new regime has threatened to raise prices of crude oil, the situation is not very different. Libya depends on crude oil for 99% of her export earnings. Foreign involvement in oil and mining is quite extensive with ESSO being one of the most prominent companies operating in Libya. The government in 1969 set up Lipetco, a joint company, in partnership with SHELL B.P., Ashlands (U.S.) and ENI (Italy). SHELL has been awarded a £15 million contract to build an oil refinery. Negotiations were being carried on with some German firms for mineral prospecting rights and also for setting up a joint petrochemical industry. It was also reported that some Japanese firms were seeking oil concessions. The government has also placed an order of some 100 mirage jets from France.

### ZAMBIA:

Zambia has been in the news recently with its 'nationalizations', said to be in accordance with the philosophy of HUMANISM prevalent there. The initial pronouncements were made at Mulungushi, in which wholesale and retail trade was partially taken over by the government. Some five major companies, with extensive shop networks were involved. This was followed up by the government's acquisition of 51% of shareholdings of two major mining companies operating in the country, the Anglo-American Corporation and the Roan Selection Trust. There was to be no change in the management and compensation was to be paid from future dividends. Paul Semonin has made an interesting study of this and we shall quote at length from him:<sup>17</sup>

"At the heart of the Zambian economy are two corporate giants, Roan Selection Trust and the Anglo-American Corporation, whose taxes have annually contributed over half of all government revenue. RST is 85% American owned with American Metal Climax having a 44% share. Anglo-American, despite its name is a British and South African firm connected with the vast financial empire of Harry Oppenheimer...(After the announcement of government participation) with the additional income from their fee for management services plus 49% shareholdings, the companies will probably be able to increase the amount of dividends repatriated since their profits will now be exempted from the 50% - 30% formula. Ian MacGregor, President of American Metal Climax, recently told an audience of security analysts that the near-term earnings of his company wouldn't suffer "much of a dent" from the Zambian takeover. Spokesmen for SHELL B.P., whose marketing organization controls about one half of Zambia's market for petroleum products, claim that the initiative for the government's newly announced 51% participation in their operation came from the company and "was a good business deal."

One of the trading companies affected was Campbell, Booker & Carter. It was merged with the Zambian National Wholesale Corporation of Zambia, Ltd. Regarding it, Semonin says:

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<sup>17</sup>Paul Semonin, op. cit.



"The parent firm of C.B.C., Booker McConnell, Ltd., has a long colonial record of having originated in the sugar plantations of the Caribbean in the early 19th century. However Jack Campbell, the retiring chief executive of Booker McConnell, has the kind of social conscience which has become the popular cry of the American corporate community recently. 'Profits', he says, 'should not be the sole motivation of businessmen'. He has been largely responsible for the policy of accommodation to national interests which led to his company's successful agreement with the Zambians. The company's policy of allying itself with the government has actually solidified its grip on the Zambian market in the process of sharing ownership. That the operation was not entirely altruistic is demonstrated by the fact that the company's annual turnover had doubled by the end of 1968."

In the copperbelt a sigh of relief was breathed by the mining companies for the government participation increased the hopes of putting down industrial unrest, which had been a constant feature of the past and disciplining the area's volatile labour force. In the past the strikes were seen as against alien domination, but now the state was involved in the enterprise.

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From the sketchy evidence presented here it can be discerned that the so-called takeovers are not only not inimical to the international capitalist interests but in fact beneficial to them. They fit in their long-term strategy of survival and expansion in an unstable world. The monopolies are ready to sacrifice short-term losses (e.g. stoppage outflow of profits as a result of state intervention), to secure this goal. These types of 'nationalization' by creating an atmosphere of political stability and diluting class-consciousness, create the ideal environment in which imperialism can operate. Bigger and secure markets are the fruits and guaranteed supplies of raw materials and minerals the reward.

Exorbitant management and patent right fees, awarding of contracts to make feasibility studies and other devices secure for them more of the surplus produced in the satellite economies. They decide the investment policies of the joint-enterprises, thereby destroying any dreams of 'economic independence'.<sup>18</sup> The question of creating a nationally integrated and self-reliant economy of course never arises in the meetings of the board of directors. The economy remains essentially an export oriented and a trading economy. The emphasis remains on infrastructural development and primary production. The only industrial "development" that occurs is in the field of processing, assembly plants, luxurious consumer goods, etc. A foreign exchange mania grips the national policy makers. Tourism is promoted at break-neck speed. But most of whatever foreign exchange is earned is readily eaten up by the conspicuous consumption of the bureaucrats and the privileged strata. The widening town-country gap, which the new measures are supposed to alleviate, in fact gathers unprecedented

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<sup>18</sup>"Most successful projects have been achieved without hard and fast requirements for certain rigid percentages of stock-ownership. The important element is that there be a meeting of minds at the beginning as to who does what..., who manages and controls. Under these circumstances, a minority shareholder can in fact functionally not only manage, but control the enterprise."

W.H. Beatty, Vice President, Chase Manhattan Bank, quoted in Semonin, op.cit.



momentum. The paraphernalia of sumptuous offices and residential quarters are part of the same trend.

This increasing economic dependency can, in the long run, only lead to political enslavement. The immediate effects of bureaucratic capitalism are ideological confusion and general anti-intellectualism. The masses are mystified by idealist phrase-mongering whilst corruption and pseudo-militancy co-exist and thrive in the political circles. The more the reality becomes apparent, the more insistence there is that the nation is on the right direction to the envisaged utopia of 'human equality and dignity'.

(c) "MAPINDUZI SIYO LELEMAMA"<sup>19</sup>

According to a learned gentleman from Cambridge University,<sup>20</sup> it is essential for the underdeveloped countries to cooperate with the already developed nations - Western, of course, if they want to conquer poverty. The fact that their very underdevelopment is a result of forcible cooperation with the industrial centres of capitalism, he chose to ignore. However, it is our assertion that a break with imperialism is a precondition for socialism and economic advancement. This break involves a shifting of control of state power from the hands of the neo-colonial bureaucracy to a revolutionary vanguard party. The armed power of the state is effectively transferred to the hands of the working and peasant classes. This creates the framework within which new economic policies can be put into operation, monetary links with international financial centres be severed and energies of the nation can be mobilized for reconstruction and defense. Solidarity with socialist countries is a key step towards success. With socialization of the means of production, surplus outflow is effectively curbed and centralized planning ensures the rational allocation of resources in key sectors of the economy. Heavy industries, agriculture, and manufacture of consumer necessities receive top priority for rapid development.

It is often said that the above mentioned measures are either utopian or not economic. Various real or imaginary constraints are pointed out. It is pointed out that the underdeveloped nations do not possess the 'know how' for industrial take-off. Forgotten is the fact that no country started off equipped with the required skilled manpower and that a tremendous brain drain exists in the satellite countries in favour of the industrial centres. The constraints pointed out by the pragmatic economists exist within the present socio-economic structure and their solutions cannot be envisaged under the same structure. It is only when a radical reorganisation, a possibility never considered by these /occurs, pragmatists, that the theories can be turned to realities.

As regards the success achieved by the U.S.S.R. and People's China, these are considered to be exceptional cases due to size, available resources, etc. But bourgeois

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<sup>19</sup>"Revolution is not like dancing" - Nyerere.

<sup>20</sup>Prime Minister Li Kuan Yew of Singapore, speaking at the University of Dar es Salaam towards the end of the first term of this academic year.



economists have maintained almost total silence about the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. In its size, population, resources and historical background it resembles many under-developed nations. Its population is 13 million, slightly above that of Tanzania. Its history is one of colonial oppression and the legacy it inherited from colonial rule was one of poverty, squalor and misery. Yet in a period of twenty five years, following generally the strategy indicated above it has been transformed to an industrialized and rich country. Let us illustrate by some facts and figures.<sup>21</sup>

The three year (1950 - 1953) war saw the economy on the verge of collapse, the damage running up to 4201 million won (Korean monetary unit). With generous aid from socialist countries, the gigantic task of reconstruction began. Today all the debts have been repaid. The structural transformation of the economy is shown by the following table:

CONTRIBUTION TO G.N.P.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Agriculture &amp; Fishing</u>	<u>Industries</u>
	%	%
1946	72	28
1970	24	76

The Republic is now 95% self-sufficient in machinery. Things like electric locomotives, tractors, bull-dozers, buses etc are self-manufactured. Today as much industrial goods are manufactured in two weeks as all of Korea produced in a year before the revolution. It even exports manufactured goods, and heavy equipment. The real income of people has gone up more than 2.5 times in the last 25 years and the national income has risen ten times since 1953. Even though 80% of the land is not suitable for agriculture, North Korea is self-sufficient in food products. Since liberation the grain crop has almost trebled with more than 25000 tractors operating in the fields. Agriculture is mainly organized in huge state farms and cooperatives although there is a small private sector in the countryside.

The Koreans attribute their advancement to the Juche principle - "reliance on own forces" and to Kim Il Sung's interpretation of Lenin's dictum: "Communism is Soviet Power plus Electrification".

"It means no less than the dictatorship of the proletariat. It therefore means that the state of the working class should continue the class struggle and carry out ideological and cultural revolution to remould the consciousness of the people and enhance their technical and cultural level, and accomplish the task of working-classizing

<sup>21</sup> The statistics cited here are taken from:  
 (i) North Korea: A Case of Real Development by E. Brun in Monthly Review, June 1970.  
 (ii) Moscow News, 15.8.1970



and revolutionizing the whole society. By electrification is meant that technology should be developed to such a high level as to be able to make all the production process automatic and the material production basis of society be greatly consolidated."<sup>22</sup>

Towards this end, the Korean people have rapidly advanced. The population is generally well-fed and well-clothed. More than 35 million square metres of housing has been built since the war. 93% of the total households have electricity supply and so have 95% of the villages in the countryside. Housing in rural areas is free and taxes-in-kind have been abolished. Most of the villages have health centres,<sup>23</sup> and cultural and political centres. In education too, huge strides have been accomplished. There is nine years compulsory education for all. Every fourth citizen in the country is studying. Today North Korea has some 10,000 educational establishments, including about 100 institutions of higher learning. Visitors to North Korea are surprised at the general absence of bureaucratic excesses and the robust physical and mental health of the people.

(d) C O N C L U S I O N :

It would be tantamount to complete lack of confidence in our people, if we assume that what others have done we cannot do. Then we shall have abdicated all the rights to be called socialists. But then it would be extremely naive to think that this can be done in isolation. Economic independence does not mean autarky. We have to utilize all the scientific wealth of mankind for our task. We need to have scientific ideological conceptions and cooperate with fellow socialists.

ad But it is our submission that it would be the height of naivety to think that we can build socialism and develop economically in harmony with/the cooperation of our exploiters.<sup>24</sup> Capitalism and socialism are mutually exclusive. And the multinational corporations are today the masters of the capitalist world.

It has been wisely said that "Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it!" Let us learn and struggle.

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<sup>22</sup>Kim Il Sung, On Some Theoretical Problems of Socialist Economy (Pyongyang: 1969).

<sup>23</sup> Number of Doctors per 10,000 people

<u>Year</u>	<u>N. Korea</u>	<u>U.S.S.R.</u>	<u>Europe &amp; N.America</u>
1949	2	-	-
1966	-	25	15 - 18
1970	12	-	-

<sup>24</sup>The N.D.C. annual report for 1969 has the following to say on the question of cooperation with capitalist monopolies: "From the performance of our many companies, it is clear that this international cooperation is proving to be mutually beneficial. The corporation looks forward to a continuation of this trend in the years ahead."



ON THE SILENT CLASS STRUGGLE

by Y. M. Museveni

I have read through comrade Shivji's special contribution to "CHECHE" with much interest and relief. I have read it with interest because it is obviously very interesting. I think even the petty bourgeoisie ought to concede that much,

It is the relief with which I read it that is more important. I am relieved because "CHECHE" and the special publication are a manifestation of the fact that the TYL-USARF revolutionary tradition has become a permanent feature of College and, indeed, Tanzanian politics. The petty bourgeois wishful-thinkers, at the College and outside it, audibly and visibly pinned their hopes on the fact that the revolutionary activities at the University, which had assumed a definite, solid, ideological colouring from 1967 on, were a passing phenomenon. They consoled themselves in the hope that with the departure from the College of certain "lunatics" and "fanatics" the conscious anti-imperialist struggles would wind up and cease.

A scientific analysis of history will reveal that where there is oppression, as of the type that the African peoples are subjected to by imperialism to-day, there will always be resistance of various forms and this will be always be articulated by spokesmen of one type or another. Until the conditions which force people into struggling are eliminated - i.e. until in our case imperialism is strangled - there will always be struggles and there will always be spokesmen of such struggles.

The "CHECHE" special publication by Issa Shivji has confirmed this truism. What the founders of USARF and later on the leaders of the radicalised TYL University Branch were saying and doing was not given form and content by the eccentricity of the individuals concerned; it emanated from the situation in which the African to-day finds himself. And talking about this sad reality, the ruthless exploitation of the Blackman for four centuries, cannot be a passing phenomenon. The quality of discussion in the special publication, the revolutionary activities the Students have engaged in since the last academic year and the general qualitative change in the student anti-imperialist struggle all go a long way to confirm this truth. Theory is the basis of practice.

"CHECHE's" contribution to the overall struggle against bourgeois confusionism is most admirable. The enemy's best weapon now is the lack of consciousness on the part of the masses and all oppressed strata. As long as the enemy continues to convince us of our impotence in terms of potential to shake off oppression, convince us that the best way to "develop" is to squander our foreign exchange through "Karadha" and influx of foreign manufactured luxury goods to cater for the self-indulgence of the petty-bourgeoisie, rely on attracting foreign investment whose result is to bleed the resources of the country through the repatriation of profits, consultancy and management fees, etc. the chances of our emancipation will remain dim. But once we are



convinced of our inherent ability to shake off colonialism through determined struggle, of our capacity to conquer poverty, ignorance and disease through the liquidation of the imperialist hold over our resources and, generally, our productive forces, and of our ability to develop through socialism, we shall certainly overcome our outstanding problems. Since the main stumbling block is perception, ideological consciousness, "CHECHE's" contribution is inestimable in value. The enemy's ascendance over us survives only as long as we are not aware of why and how we should liquidate him. Hence like rats which bite your feet and simultaneously soothe you so that you do not feel the effect, bourgeois scholars do everything to lull us into sleep while the pillage of our resources intensifies and assumes more sophisticated forms. That is why a contribution like that of Shivji is of great value. Once a "native" who has been sleeping in his mud and thatch hut wakes up, the rats which have been chopping at his feet scuttle in all directions. Let us not be induced into ideological slumber any more.

I should like to reiterate the point that nationalization by itself does not mean much as far as the fight against poverty, disease, and ignorance of our people is concerned. Nationalization, unless it is an integral part of the general onslaught against the imperialist strangle-hold over our resources, usually means more security and facilities for imperialist plunder of the concerned nation's resources since the local ruling social stratum becomes an interested partner in the whole exercise. Hence, we might get a situation where the para-military police of a nation are ranged against striking workers, who may be demanding their legitimate rights, under the banner of "not allowing disruptive elements" to "hold at ransom" the masses of the people who "hold 60% or 50%" interests in an imperialist initiated concern. The reactionary vested interests would use such government participation to - for example - strangle workers' interests. All exploitation would then be carried out in the name of the people.

Nationalization has, usually, got two obvious advantages: reclaiming the decision-making power so as to be in a position to direct the national economy to the betterment of the lot of one's people and particularly and as an immediate consequence, the stopping of the outflow of foreign exchange through the repatriation of profits, interests, etc "earned" by foreign investment. When one commits oneself to the paying of compensation to the enemy for the supposed confiscation of the latter's concerns, which compensation must be in foreign exchange and not in local currency, then obviously one is nullifying one's declared aim of stopping the outflow of foreign exchange because foreign exchange continues to flow out. Similarly, when one gets involved in agreements with imperialist agencies to manage or be consultants of one's supposedly socialist institutions, it should be fairly obvious that the imperialists will manage those institutions in only one direction: towards the perpetuation of international domination of one's economy. I personally find much difficulty in coming round to believe that capitalists can benevolently advise one as to the best ways of building socialism which primarily means the extrication of our economies from the international capitalist system.

It is clear that the imperialists today hope to go on exploiting Africa through partnerships with either the state or local capitalists, and reaping the fruits, as Shivji has



efficiently demonstrated, in the form of management and technical consultancy fees, minority share-holdings, etc. All these have got the same tactical value, as far as imperialism is concerned, as the supposed "abolition" of slavery and the supposed granting of "independence" to former colonies had. It was all appearances while the essence remained unaltered; and our leaders must be careful of this. The acid test of all the measures taken in Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, etc. is whether they fundamentally alter our dependence on imperialist economies in all aspects: e.g. for markets, technology and management techniques, production of the essentials of life, etc. This is another way of saying that to be meaningful, nationalizations in our countries must help us to sever all adverse relations with foreign economies and help us to evolve healthy, integrated economies with self-sustained economic growth. This, for instance, inevitably means that these measures must lead to industrialization (both heavy and light industry) to be meaningful whenever we are talking of anti-imperialism. Of course the strategic aim of this industrialization and efforts for all-round development is the emancipation of our national resources from imperialist strangulation and, above all, the emancipation of our people from poverty, ignorance and disease. Our strategic aim whenever we talk of socialism, industrialization, etc is man. Being in partnership with imperialism, unless it is for tactical reasons in the short run, - and even then it ought to be accompanied by certain other factors (strict control of expenditure on luxury goods among them) almost immediately, is simply playing in the hands of the enemy.

Finally, I would like to make a small point regarding the possibilities of independent political action by some of the progressive leaders who have "betrayed" their petty bourgeois class. Shivji mentions Mwalimu Nyerere's show-down with the Germans and the British as instance of such independent political action. While such instances (and I am not in conflict with Shivji - I only wish to stress the point) must be applauded, it must also be pointed out that usually such leaders fail to create a social base to defend such revolutionary actions. Nkhrumah, Keita, Sihanouk (although because of the general situation in Indo-China resistance has sprung up in the latter's case) and their unfortunate cases show that a revolutionary foreign policy is not all people need. It must be based on definite dynamics within the relevant society. Plainly, the workers and peasants must be educated and must be given a stake into the system so that they are induced to defend it and fight imperialism at the appropriate time. It is in this context that I personally applaud Tanzania's moves in abolishing personal tax as far as the peasants and workers are concerned, cattle dip fees, secondary school fees, etc. and the inauguration of the recent programmes of mass education, workers' participation in management, not to mention the formation of people's militia in the South. Not least in importance is of course the construction of the Uhuru Railway to Zambia.

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I should most encouraged even more if Tanzania further lengthened this list of benefits to the masses by including free and compulsory primary education, housing for workers in towns and superior facilities for peasants in ujamaa villages, etc. The bureaucrats and the reactionaries will throw up their arms and declare that such programmes are unrealistic. They are realistic! All we need is to severely cut down the huge amounts of foreign exchange (e.g. shs. 57 million that leaves Tanzania annually to educate some four thousand children of



the petty bourgeoisie outside Tanzania) that are leaving Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, etc to satisfy the self-indulgence of the national petty bourgeoisie and their fat wives. These huge amounts would be diverted into the relevant industries that would enable us to thus improve the lives of our people. Every peasant, every worker, would rise up and defend such a revolutionary leadership against imperialism. Peasants and workers, not being philosophers but men of water and ugali, are not very much impressed by what Mazrui called "documentary radicalism" - i.e. documents of a revolutionary character. They tend to be impressed by revolutionary practice.

and he would be the first to

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SECRET  
do not quote back to  
any source of

T U P A M A R O S

1949-1950 年  
1951-1952 年

Consciousness bursting the  
barfacades of reaction.

Convergence on

the citadel -

the city flooded with  
cocktails of repression.

prison-cells littered

with tortured comrades.

London: 1841.

The rattling that is  
the consciousness.

the consciousness.

the fiery arrowhead

The fiery arrowhead,  
the polished Mau Mau.

10/10/10 10/10/10 10/10/10

Here take this other

cocktail, of molotov.

1945

Throw it!

1940-1941

1942-43

**Mauri Yambo**

1960-1961

87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94.



NEW DAY  
=====

(A Poem by Mauri Yambo)

We are  
The fresh waves of the sea -  
We are the newness which before  
The old ones lost their grips  
Merging with the horizon,  
Gained a solid foothold  
In this latter epoch  
(Ours is the grip of sea-depths) -  
And we owe much to the gone waves.

For we face subtler  
Adversaries than ever they bargained for  
And are on missions  
They did not envisage  
We dare harbour no  
                vagueness  
And we dare approach  
                no coral reef  
Nor any islet  
In the old formations:  
    Regard the diarrhoeic leakages  
                from oil-tankers  
    Regard the rife pollution!

We are the fresh waves  
Embracing the African coast  
Guarding too and scrubbing  
We are the waves  
Which feed the Monsoons  
And the Trade Winds  
Which quench the subduing thirst  
Of Mother and bring  
Her cool and respite  
We are the waves  
Which rush to the shredded lips  
Of the Nile and the Niger  
And the Congo and the Zambezi  
Eager to finally put  
An end to the much-too-much  
Outflow.

For we are  
The fresh ones of the sea  
And the old tactics  
Fit us not  
And we struggle in hope  
For the new day -  
When the people shall discard  
the last

Of their shackles  
And, way South, drive Vorster  
To the sea -  
We dare not advance on any foe  
(Even those we think we know)  
Like troops with eyes closed  
And heads turned sideways -  
No matter with what militancy  
Or what courage.

[illegible]



By John S. Saul

"NYERERE ON SOCIALISM"

by Julius K. Nyerere, (O.U.P. 1969).

This small volume reprints the introductions to the President's two previously published collections of speeches with the deliberate intention, as noted in the author's brief preface, of stimulating further general discussion of socialist principles and practice in Tanzania. The volume is, in fact, explicitly directed to "the residents of our towns, the students of the University and other higher education institutions, and even our secondary school pupils" for whom considerations of theory are stated to be of more pressing interest than for "our people in the villages". In effect, as the preface and indeed the title itself make clear, the intention is to epitomize the President's own theoretical position in comparison with certain main currents of socialist discussion. Significantly, when reread in this light and when underscored by the very nature of such a volume, several points about the President's position suggest themselves more forcibly than might otherwise be the case.

As usual the President writes with considerable strength and vigour. In particular, the quality of the moral commitment which underpins Nyerere's activities is clearly and forcefully articulated. There is nothing new in his attempt to place "Man" at the centre of socialist concern, but his discussion impresses one as being powerful and deeply felt. Furthermore, this emphasis serves to ground a concern for democracy under socialism which is important, and to stimulate a discussion of violence which, even if not completely convincing to every reader, has the considerable virtue of seeing both its positive and negative features and some of the ambiguities which must always attach to the use of force in politics.

It is when the President turns to more theoretical concerns, however, that socialists may wish to debate with him more strenuously. One possible point of issue might involve the President's use of the concept of "African Socialism" and in connection with this, his discussion of Tanzania's present inheritance from the traditional social practices which have characterized her various peoples. The President is clearly correct in emphasizing the irreducible specificity of African socialist experiments; no one, of whatever theoretical persuasion, would deny that the particular circumstances of the continent will affect the character of such experiments in distinctive ways. What is never sufficiently clear is just how far the President wishes to take such an argument.

He suggests that the norms of "mutual respect, sharing and work" characteristic of "the traditional African family" are at the core of his own conception of "African socialism", yet he recognizes clearly that colonialism has eaten away much of that legacy, and that, in any event, the vastly enlarged scale upon which contemporary socialist societies must operate has introduced many novel considerations and pressures. Is traditional "Ujamaa" (to the extent that it ever existed in some reasonably undefined form) to be considered, on the one hand, as being primarily an instructive analogy or even, perhaps, a factor which reinforces the moral imperative of equality by giving it a powerful historical legitimacy? Or, on the other hand, is it a more active principle - a cultural residue which even now underlies people's motivations in the broader society in which they live and only remains to



be activated by favourable circumstances in order to guarantee the success of contemporary socialist experiments?

This is no mere academic concern: the further one feels contemporary African societies have moved from a living tradition of ujamaa, for example, the more centrality one is likely to give to the imperatives of class struggle as the key to further advance. Phrased too broadly "African socialism" can become a means of papering over the growing contradictions of Africa, as has so often been the case elsewhere on the continent. While it would be unfair to indict the President too severely on this score, as he has done more than any other African leader to identify the growing differentiations in African societies, nonetheless one remains uneasy about a certain lack of analytical precision with reference to this subject.

Another (perhaps related) aspect of the President's position, which emerges with some clarity from the introduction to his second book, is his apparent hostility to Marxism. In a world in which most successful socialist experiences have heretofore found their theoretical sustenance and guide to practice in the Marxist tradition this is in itself worthy of note. Unfortunately, it must also be noted that in his legitimate desire to distance himself from the parodic "Marxism-Leninism" of too many European "socialist" experiments (and in this way, perhaps, to further dramatize in quasi-theoretical terms his political "non-alignment")<sup>1</sup> Nyerere tends himself to caricature that tradition. The fact that political leaders as admirable as Mao, Ho Chi-Minh, Gramsci, Castro, intellectuals as sensitive as Sartre, Hobsbawm, Sweezy, Deutscher (not to mention a growing number of African militants) would identify themselves as Marxists suggests that the intellectual framework which underlies their practice should be taken more seriously than Nyerere has done here; clearly, Marxism is no mere museum-piece from the last century to be lightly compared with, say, the thought of Robert Owen. (It might also be observed, parenthetically, that neither Mao, Ho nor Castro has felt that using a Marxist framework of analysis dictated their slavishly building capitalism in their homelands before embarking on the task of socialist construction, as the President might seem to imply!)

In brief: then, the claims of Marxism as a method and an evolving framework of analysis with some right of precedence over alternative "scientific" approaches in the structuring of inquiry are never canvassed. Moreover, the President's own methodological injunction to "apply scientific methods of study in working out appropriate policies" and his observation that "a scientist works on the basis of the knowledge which has been accumulated empirically..." may not take us far beyond a dangerously oversimplified positivism which leaves significant methodological realms uncharted. In fact, when one considers the various remarks by the President carefully it may even be suggested that our point has been phrased too narrowly. For in some sense the President seems suspicious not merely of Marxism, but of any theory, conscious of the danger that a "sociology", broadly conceived, can degenerate into dogmatism. But perhaps he over-reacts to that danger;

- (1) Moreover, the President may be addressing himself to certain Tanzanian activists who have sought, upon occasion, to cloak opportunistic aspirations in the hackneyed jargon of pseudo-Marxist dogma; it has been tempting, perhaps, to over-react to the danger from those who either blind themselves or confuse others in this way.



the alternative, after all, can be an even more dangerous excess of pragmatism, a pragmatism which is founded upon unconscious and unexamined premises and which can become, in practice, contradictory and self-defeating. Such a comment should indicate that this is no more "academic" a consideration than our discussion of "African socialism". Moreover, it is also clear that some analytical frameworks are better adapted than others to illuminating the realities of contemporary imperialism and the specific character of domestic socio-economic and political structures; the merits of Marxism will have to be evaluated, eventually, not in the abstract, but in terms of its ability to perform that task. At best, therefore, a number of theoretical questions are left open in this sphere.

As the preceding paragraph suggests, theory - analytical frameworks - in turn guides practice. Giving order to complex reality, it structures people's perceptions of the problems which face them and helps define the range of alternative strategies which they are prepared to contemplate. Unfortunately this brief review is not the place to inquire into the impact of certain characteristic features of the President's thinking upon his, and Tanzania's, practice, although such an undertaking would be most illuminating.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it must be noted that much of the observation of substantive trends and developments in Tanzania, and more generally in Africa, remains an impressive testimony to the sensitivity of Nyerere's seemingly intuitive insight. One thinks particularly, in this regard, of the final section of this book, "The Problem of Building Socialism in an Ex-Colonial Country". Here one finds what is, in many of its particulars, a richly suggestive discourse on crucial questions concerning the ambiguities of the nationalist experience, the possible costs inherent in merely Africanizing existing structures, and (in effect) the realities of false decolonization; Tanzanian historians, when tempted to settle for simple-minded nationalist shibboleths in describing the transitional period from colonial rule, will do well to ponder this message.

Finally, it is precisely the situation so described which Nyerere sees as providing the context for his dramatic concluding challenge: "...we are NOT a socialist country. Our work has only just begun." Insofar as this work includes the drive for further intellectual clarification of the ends and means of Tanzania's socialism (as the Preface suggests to be the case) it is enough that the book under review provides a vital starting-point. For the President's very desire to stimulate the discussion necessary to such clarification must be considered one of the more promising portents for socialism in Tanzania.

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<sup>2</sup> An attempt to explore this subject further can be found in the present author's forthcoming paper "African Socialism in One Country: Tanzania".



FROM OUR READERS.....

Comrades,

I was rather alarmed at reading comrade Y. Museveni's otherwise very good article entitled "My Three Years in Tanzania" (Issue No. 2 of "CHECHE"). After befittingly stating that while in Uganda he looked at Tanzania and President Nyerere's leadership as sources of inspiration to all the struggling people of Africa, he then suddenly states: "I looked on Tanzania as Africa's Prussia and President Nyerere as our Bismarck."

What an anti-climax! From some bourgeois intellectual a comparison of present Tanzania with Prussia and President Nyerere with Bismarck would perhaps be pardonable but from somebody who claims to be a co-founder of the Socialist Club and latter of the USARF this is tantamount to intellectual criminality.

What was the essence and character of the Prussian state and who was Bismarck?

Marx states categorically that the Prussian March Revolution must not be confused with the English Revolution of 1648 or the French Revolution of 1789 which were progressive in character. The Prussian bourgeoisie was not, as the French of 1789, the class which represented the whole of the then modern society as against the representatives of the old society, the monarchy and the nobility.

Beginning from 1850 there was a definite recession into the background of small states which only served as levers of Prussian intrigues.

Bismarck who lived from 1815-1898 saw to the unification of Germany under Prussian leadership. He was a champion of the interests of the Prussian landowners and bourgeoisie and a sworn enemy of the workers and peasants. He was highly contemptuous of parliamentary institutions and constitutional methods. In 1862 he openly declared in the Prussian Landtag (Parliament): "The unification of Germany shall not be attained through parliamentary speeches and debates - but blood and iron". He suppressed the revolutionary and democratic movements that existed ever since 1849.

After the French-Prussian war, Prussia assumed leadership in the German Empire. A new potential source of reaction and aggression appeared in Europe, greater and dangerous than the Prussian kingdom. Following the same militaristic traditions of Prussia they later unleashed two World Wars without precedent in the history of mankind.

In the face of these facts, is it not criminal to compare President Nyerere with the militarist bourgeoisie and landowner representative Bismarck? In calling Tanzania a Prussia of Africa does the author imply that Tanzania has some imperialistic ambitions in Africa?

Revolutionary greetings,

Box 680, Morogoro,  
TANZANIA.

Mokhole Malie  
(South African)

P.T.O.



Comrade Museveni writes back:

I am certainly impressed with Comrade Malie's revolutionary vigilance in questions of revolutionary theory; and certainly his analysis of Bismarck is largely correct. Whether one is impressed by Bismarck's achievement in liquidating the old feudal, German principalities and knocking them together into a modern capitalist state, one thing one cannot certainly say is that Bismarck was a socialist or that he was not a shameless imperialist. Bismarck certainly despised Parliamentary and peaceful struggles although, from a different angle, we must not be oblivious of their limitations either. It should be clear that all the oppressive systems are maintained by the policy of "blood and iron" and that only "blood and iron" will liquidate them.

But this cannot make us confuse reactionary violence - of the Bismarck type - and revolutionary violence; although initially when Bismarck was fighting to destroy the outmoded German principalities, whose balkanised form and feudal structure fettered the advancement of the level of productive forces, his violence had a revolutionary character. Once we accept that capitalism is an advancement from feudalism, that the bourgeoisie are more modern a class than the feudalists, then we can see Bismarck as a revolutionary force for a limited duration. It is when Bismarck turns on the working class movement and on the socialists and suppresses struggles for democratic freedom, that his violence comes out as a most reactionary force.

It is true, of course, that all bourgeois revolutions are potentially reactionary as far as the interests of workers and socialism are concerned - unless they are led or taken over by socialists - as in China and Russia. The English revolution of 1648 - which my brother seems to praise - can of course be praised only in as far as it represented the ascendance of capitalism, a modern force, over a more backward social formation. But what did it mean to, say, the Africans, Red Indians, the Maoris? It meant slavery and extermination by the millions, uprootment of our finest youth from the continent, retardation and disruption of our harmonious social development, etc. The mere fact that my brother is living in exile in Morogoro is indirectly connected with that English Revolution of 1648.

Maybe Marx sees the difference between the English and Prussian revolutions because he was talking about European societies and their struggles for democratic freedoms. But I, as a "negro", find it very difficult to see the difference because British, French and German capitalisms have meant the same to me. That is why Fanon's exhortation that in colonial questions it is necessary to "stretch Marxism" a little is very apt. I suggest that with regard to Marx's "categorical" ability to see difference between German, British, and French capitalisms, we better so creatively apply Marxism - as a colonised people - that we do not see that difference because there is none.

I wish some militaristic African could knock together Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Ruanda, Burundi, etc. to form one state. But our bourgeoisie is incapable of even aspiring, unlike the German, Italian (etc) bourgeoisie to build capitalism. Comprador capitalism is all they are capable of.



Comrades,

I must say that I have been impressed by the "CHECHE" special publication on "Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle". But one point has struck me as a very serious deviation from the road to the triumph of socialism in Tanzania. Rural resettlement is a very important strategy in the achievement of socialism.

It is impossible to start a collective village in a populous area unless and until we know the forces that are for and against such a move. Hence it is in line to recognise that there is rural stratification in certain areas. If this is a "...mistaken over-emphasis especially on the part of those who come with fixed ideas about classes and appear to see classes everywhere..." perhaps the author of the article can suggest reasons why so far TANU has been biting round the problem of rural resettlement!

There are problems confronting us. Let us look down on them and not gaze at the moon. It would be naive to suggest that in a given village (under capitalist settlement) a landowner (rich peasant) will gladly join hands with a very poor peasant to form an ujamaa village. The rich peasant's reluctance constitutes a problem of some magnitude.

Unlike the author, I look at rural resettlement as a bulwark against the international capitalist system. It is necessary to disengage ourselves from the system, but our industrialisation and the development of infrastructure must be financed by our agricultural produce. We cannot do this unless agriculture is made more efficient and productive - through a socialist transformation and resettlement.

I suspect that the author's lack of understanding of the rural stratification problem has led him to dismiss it as "misleading". This in itself is subjectivism - a disease he himself abhors. But I must admit that our difference is one of outlook and emphasis.

Revolutionary greetings,

C.I. Shivachi

University of Dar es Salaam.

Comrades,

May I comment on the "Nairobi Diary" by Iconoclast which appeared in "CHECHE" No. 2. I intend first to point out some inaccuracies made by Iconoclast, and second to attempt an assessment of the position of revolutionaries at the University of Nairobi and in Kenya as a whole.

The comment on the "paucity and low quality" of the reading materials in the library of the University of



Nairobi is inaccurate especially when compared with the library of the University of Dar es Salaam. At Nairobi they have books by Baran, Sweezy, Fanon, Du Bois, and many other revolutionaries. Besides they also have books by Nkrumah, Dumont, Greene, and a host of other progressive literature. The emphasis is of course on bourgeois philosophy and economics, with Keynes, Samuelson, Galbraith and others of the kind dominating. But certainly the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin are also to be found.

I do not think that the library of the University of Dar es Salaam goes any further. The problem however is that there are not many students who care to read anything apart from what is strictly prescribed by the syllabus - which holds true for students in Dar es Salaam also - and if the syllabus lays emphasis on Samuelson's economics, then the economists will be the type of people who an American or British corporation would engage and not those an underdeveloped country would require.

Although the economics syllabus at Nairobi includes such concepts as surplus value and the labour theory of value, it is true that it is far behind the syllabus used in Dar es Salaam which tries to cover political economy, though of course it cannot be said that it covers everything.

The "hippy" phenomenon is more common in Nairobi than in Dar es Salaam mainly because of the greater grip of the West in Kenya than in Tanzania. The "hippies" however form a tiny proportion of the student population in Nairobi and might be comparable to the situation in Dar es Salaam. The Diary should have compared, for example, the beating of the street girl in Nairobi which it narrated with the beating of hall wardens and janitors at the University of Dar es Salaam. Such comparison would tend to suggest that nearly all students are a mentally-deranged or "hippy" phenomenon.

Such an assessment I think would be wrong. In fact the very name "hippy" is a common insulting word among the ordinary African students, showing their revolt against "hippy" obscenity. The small hippy group at Nairobi University is composed of mainly Asian youths and is quite often ridiculed by other students, progressive as well as reactionary.

Progressive challenge on neo-colonial and confused ideas at Nairobi often come up from some students, as during that barbarous 'celebration' - the rag day. Immediately before and after this year's fiasco, there were letters in the press written by some progressive students condemning the whole idea. (I cannot at this time quote any of the letters since the papers in the library of the Dar es Salaam University are mixed-up in the Africana Section). And of course there is often challenge on the government for its neglect of the peasants and workers.

In a word, then, there is serious concern on the path being followed by the Kenyan regime. This concern may not be articulated in perceptive form, but there certainly is no indifference and complacency as one got the impression from reading the Diary.

As to the position of revolutionary thought and revolutionaries at Nairobi and in Kenya as a whole, my own experience has brought me face to face with many students



who are well-read in Marxism. It must be said, however, that any revolutionary movement in Kenya today must be underground because of the suppressive reactionary regime presently in power. From the time the government refused the registration of a Socialist Party in 1968, it is not easy to speculate what is happening. It is possible the socialists are simply organizing themselves. It is very difficult to discover them, since the dangers of being apprehended by agents is so great.

To think that the people who tried to start this party (who were mainly ex-students of Socialist countries as well as other progressive people) and whose manifesto was the liquidation of exploitation of man by man in Kenya have just given up the struggle would be to overlook the fact that the situation in Kenya has been most unfavourable to revolutionaries.

Let me say in conclusion that it should be our great endeavour to 'discover' our comrades in Kenya so that we can wage the struggle together.

Revolutionary greetings,

T.M.M.

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(from page 44)

Therefore, when I made that reference on Mwalimu and Bismarck, I did not mean to say that Mwalimu was "an imperialist", an "anti-socialist" etc like Bismarck was. It was only in connection with the unification of East Africa. And as far as I am concerned, if somebody wishes to remain a big fish in a small pond, and thereby militate against the advancement of our people, the East African patriots would be justified in working against him to see to the unification of the region.

Y.M. - Uganda.

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