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AFRICAN AGENDA

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Non-Capitalist Path of Development In Africa

In the pages of the *African Agenda*, we have repeatedly alluded to the concept of the non-capitalist road of development as being the road of development of the majority of the world's people. What, then, is the non-capitalist path of development?

V. I. Lenin first outlined this concept in the 1920's when he said: "if the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them (Peoples of the East, *ed.*) and the Soviet government comes to their aid with all the means at their disposal ... in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the ... (Peoples of the East, *ed.*) must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development."

The non-capitalist path of development was attempted by Kwame Nkrumah before he was overthrown by neo-colonialist elements who pursued the capitalist path of development. Presently, the non-capitalist road of development is being undertaken by Egypt, Burma, North Vietnam, North Korea, Central Asian Republics, Republic of Guinea, Algeria, People's Republic of the Congo-Brazzaville, Tanzania, Chile, Cuba and others. In some countries the non-capitalist path of development is being taken under the leadership of a working class party as in Cuba; progressive military leaders as in Burma; and a mass based democratic par-

ties in Egypt and Tanzania.

In all instances the non-capitalist road of development has been attacked by both the capitalist and their allies, the pseudo-revolutionaries. L. Trotsky attacked it as a betrayal of the Great October Revolution when he opposed Lenin's New Economic Policy (N.E.P.). Trotsky supported the immediate institution of communalism. Lenin reject-

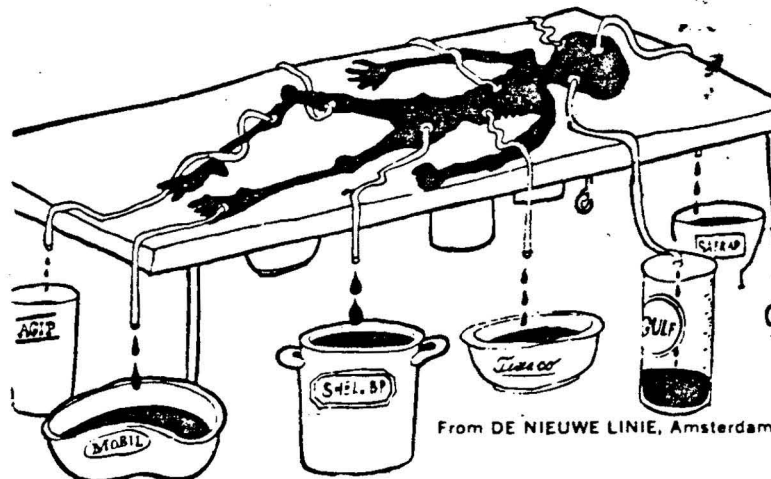
state capitalism — to ensure its transformation into socialism in the near future".

The method of directing the development of capitalism raises the question of what class or classes have state power and what economic policy will they pursue? The non-capitalist path of development is not the same as socialist construction and is not a separate mode of economic and

tionality group(s). Hence, it is necessary to undertake national reconstruction before one can move into socialist construction.

Due to the pervasive colonial and neo-colonial experience of the "Third World", two-thirds of the world's peoples are left with this path of development or to stagnate in neo-colonialism. The non-capitalist path of development cannot be taken by the working peoples of Japan, Western Europe, and the U.S. which includes Afro-Americans, Spanish-speaking Americans, Indians, Asians, and other oppressed nationalities. This path of development cannot be taken by Afro-Americans and other oppressed minorities in the U.S. because the U.S. is not a multi-form socio-economic system of pre-capitalist relations but an advanced capitalist society in which minorities are oppressed in total because of color, nationality, and lack of skills. The transitional social stages are not necessary in the capitalist countries since state monopoly capitalism is already the complete material preparation for socialism and needs no intermediate stages. What is needed by the people in the capitalist countries and especially for the oppressed minorities, is the spiritual, ideological, and political weapons to ensure that the

THE CAPITALIST PATH OF "DEVELOPMENT"



From DE NIEUWE LINIE, Amsterdam

ed the notion of a "great leap backward" feeling that one cannot jump stages in the course of social development. Again, to quote Lenin's famous theory of state capitalism: "The whole problem ... in theoretical and practical terms ... is to find the correct methods of directing the development of capitalism (which is to some extent and for some times inevitable) into the channels of

social development. Rather, it is a series of transitional measures that have to be undertaken if one lives in an Africa country with a multi-form socio-economic system which has precapitalist relations of production, such as communes, patriarchal clans, feudatories, and petty capitalist farmers. In such territories there is no national economy, centralized nation state, and homogeneous na-

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Boycott Gulf: Help Angola Win Independence

The Gulf Boycott Coalition, an international coalition, is mounting a concerted effort to influence Gulf Oil Corporation to change its policy in Angola. Presently, Gulf pays oil royalties to Portugal for Angolan oil. It is estimated that in 1972, the payment will be 30 to 50 million dollars. It is these oil royalties that enable Portugal to maintain the military budget necessary to suppress the Angolan fight for independence.

Angola has been a colony of Portugal for nearly 500 years. Since 1961, the Angolans have been waging a war of independence. The present estimate of Angolan refugees is 150,000 to 200,000 people. Portugal, facing economic difficulties at home, is determined to retain control of its African colonies and is immigrating Portuguese citizens to its colonies to bolster their control.

In order to help Angola win freedom and justice, the coalition has spurred an effort to bring economic pressure to bear upon Gulf Oil. An international boycott of Gulf products is urged. Without Gulf money, Portugal cannot maintain its military advantages over the Angolan freedom fighters.

In addition, on August 21st the Coalition is sponsoring a Liberation Convention in the non-delegate area at Miami Beach. At the same time Gulf Oil Corporation will be sponsoring the Republican Convention on NBC. The Coalition will raise at the convention Nixon's unconstitutional Azores treaty with the Portuguese and other issues. The Gulf Boycott Coalition welcomes support for the boycott and will supply further information upon request. Write to: Gulf Boycott Coalition, P.O.B. 123, D.V. Station, Dayton, Ohio 45406.

★ ★ ★

International Campaign Against Racism In Sport



It is now clear that the Organizing Committee of the Munich Olympic Games, the Government of the German Federal Republic are not prepared to take action against racism. They are permitting a team drawn from the racist Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) regime to take part in the Olympics, starting this month.

They are doing so in spite of numerous protests, including those from the socialist countries, the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, and the British Government.

We call on all sportsmen who are opposed to racism

★ ★ ★

Non-Capitalist Development in Egypt

The Arab Republic of Egypt (A.R.E.) with its population of 33 million, is one of the many former colonies taking the non-capitalist road of development. Whereas it took the developed Western capitalist countries 400 years to reach their present level of productive capacity, non-capitalist development allows former colonial countries to rapidly lay an industrial, scientific and technical base necessary for becoming modern industrial nations in only a few decades. Examples of the success of the non-capitalist road are Central Asia and Mongolia.

In Egypt, the state structure now regulates capital investment and controls capital transfer in the banks, insurance companies, import

and facism, and especially Black and Asian sportsmen, to refuse to participate in events in which those drawn from the Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) racist regime are entered. It is ironic that the German Government is allowing a racist country to participate where during the Berlin, 1936 Olympics Nazi Germany was the heart of world racism.

For information on the boycott against Rhodesia please write to: International Campaign Against Racism in Sport, 619 Library Pl., Evanston, Ill. 60201.

export firms and in nearly all of the manufacturing industries. These regulations have succeeded in raising the Gross National Product (G.N.P.) from 1,679 million Egyptian pounds (1 Egyptian pound equals about \$2.40) in 1962/63 to 2,495 million pounds in 1967/68.

The aid of socialist countries, especially the USSR, has allowed Egypt and other countries which have been socially and nationally oppressed by centuries of colonialism and capitalist exploitation to literally "leap through the centuries." With socialist assistance, Egypt has already instituted 34 of the 106 planned development projects. The Aswan High Dam project has increased land cultivation by

1.3 and gives Egypt 10 billion kilowatts of cheap electric power. The Helwan iron and steel project gives an annual output of 1.5 million tons and has a working force of 20,000, thus having created needed jobs. The Egyptian-Soviet built shipyard in Alexandria launched its first 18,000 ton ship in 1971. Aluminum and other industrial projects are also operating in the country. The socialist countries have helped Egypt set up 36 vocational centers which have trained more than 50,000 workers. The Aswan Dam project alone employs 32,000 Egyptians, most of whom are now skilled laborers.

In the agricultural sector, the Aswan Dam has so far irrigated 1.5 million feddans (1.38 acres equals one feddan) of land which will, according to experts, yield the biggest harvest of rice, wheat and cotton in the world.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

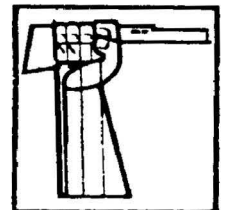
Dear Editor:

I just got through reading the July issue of the **African Agenda** and the whole issue was most informative and impressive. The article on Israel brings to light an area that I've never seen developed in this way. And the article about the struggle taking place in Guinea and Cape Verde is truly amazing.

I like the feature **RECOMMENDED BOOKS**. As a matter of fact, the format is excellent and the writing concise, to the point.

It seems to me that you are picking up the banner of Dr. Du Bois.

Ida Wilson
Chicago



The Staff of the **African Agenda** welcomes your comments and any article that is less than 400 words

NEWS BRIEFS

KHARTOUM — A Chrysler Corp. subsidiary, Chrysler Overseas Trading Co., recently said it has agreed to supply the equivalent of \$7.4 million of British made Commer and Hillman vehicles and spare parts to the Sudan. The Sudan is quickly becoming a new market for U.S. goods and investments.

DAR-ES-SALAAM — The All-African Women's Conference closed its session in the Tanzanian capital at the end of July. The conference called for the complete liberation of Africa from foreign domination, colonialism and racism, and for the consolidation of the political and economic independence of the free African states.

The conference which opened on July 24 was attended by delegations from 28 independent African countries. The main topic of the conference focused on the role of African women in the liberation movements, and in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The conference decided to establish a special aid fund for support of the liberation movements.

CAIRO — On August 3 Egyptian Defense Minister Gen. Mohammed Ahmed Sadeq gave a reception for Soviet military advisers leaving Egypt after completing their assignments. Chief Soviet military adviser, Colonel-General V. V. Okunev and high-ranking Soviet and Egyptian officers were present.

Gen. Sadeq thanked the Soviet military advisers for their tremendous work in improving the combat readiness of Egypt's armed forces.

PARIS — The French monthly *Le Monde* recently stated that in the future a group of influential Portuguese businessmen and army officers intend unilaterally to declare Mozambique independent. The plotters plan to install a token African President but maintain power in the hands of the Portuguese colonialist.

This plan originated with George Jadim, director of the South African Bank of Lisbon and closely approximates the Rhodesian model. They also plan to set up a "bantustan" in Northern Mozambique as "a buffer state between Black and White Africans".

Employment in Uganda 1954-1968
(thousands)

	Total	Public Services	Manufacturing	Private Construction
1954	235.6	98.0	24.4	45.4
1955	237.4	92.2	26.3	40.5
1956	237.0	95.8	24.9	37.1
1957	240.6	94.6	25.0	35.2
1958	243.0	97.2	25.2	36.6
1959	239.5	97.9	24.3	31.8
1960	244.5	95.6	24.6	29.2
1961	236.1	95.4	25.7	28.6
1962	230.8*	90.6	24.7	28.6
1963	221.6	85.4	24.6	25.8
1964	224.9	91.6	25.9	24.1
1965	241.7	92.2	26.8	31.6
1966	246.0	88.7	29.5	28.3
1967	256.8	91.8	32.3	31.4
1968	281.8	n/a	n/a	n/a

Neo colonialism is retarding the economy of Uganda and is preventing the development of a working class. The above figures indicate that only in the manufacturing sector of the economy which is controlled by the capitalist countries can Africans find work

SWAPO DAY

On August 26th, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) will commemorate six years of armed struggle against the South African racists who rule Namibia (South West Africa) illegally. This day is set aside to honor the Namibian people who have resolutely struggled against South African colonialism and world imperialism for the liberation of their land. The African American Solidarity Committee and all progressive Americans support the just struggles of SWAPO and the Namibian people and acknowledge the significance of this occasion.

Recently our correspondent was given an exclusive interview with Mr. Moses Garolb, SWAPO's Administrative Secretary, in their Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania office concerning the aims and activities of SWAPO. Part of that interview is given below.

Would you give a brief history of SWAPO and the reasons for its formation?

SWAPO was actually founded in 1958 as a nationalist organization with the objective of uniting all the ethnic groups in Namibia, and various other people of different origins to fight for the freedom and independence of our country.

Would you discuss when SWAPO decided upon armed struggle?

It was decided upon in 1962. Prior to that time we believed that we could achieve our objectives of freedom and independence through peaceful means. These peaceful means were in the forms of peaceful demonstrations and non-cooperation with the government. These actions were adopted from Kwame Nkrumah's philosophy of non-cooperation based on non-violence which finally brought Ghana to independence. In 1962 we decided our situation was very different, and that something other than non-violence had to be adopted, and

it was at that point that we started to train our freedom fighters.

How successful have you been in obtaining your goals in the past years, and what are some of the problems that have emerged?

Firstly, before we launched armed struggle we had to canvass for support in the rural areas. We had to go and explain to the people why we had to change our policy. At the same time, we had to educate the people politically so that they would be able to understand the political issues involved as well as be militarily prepared. The armed struggle was not launched until August 1966. It was from that time onward that we have had different clashes with the enemy throughout the northern part of Namibia, in the areas of Ovamboland, Okavango, and the Caprivi State.

Do you view your struggle as a long range struggle?

I believe it is difficult to answer how long this struggle will take, since we are not only fighting South Africa and its racist policies, but the big international monopolies are also involved. The United States along with the French and the West Germans have huge interests in Namibia. The economic interests of all these countries actually are the backbone of the assistance that is suppressing the forces of liberation. Given these facts, we feel it is going to be a long, protracted struggle and we are determined to continue until we are free.

In the areas that you are fighting do you provide schools for the people?

I must point out to you that we do not have liberated areas in the sense of a formal administrative area. What we have is operationally controlled zones in which we can move around these zones without being disturbed. We can challenge the enemy

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Recommended Books

1. **APARTHEID: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism.** ed. by Alex La Guma. The case against Apartheid presented by South Africans who have themselves experienced the brutalities and indignities of this cruel racist system. Paperback \$1.65.
2. **GHANA: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF KWAME NKRUMAH.** The late great African leader's own story of his life of struggle for liberation, for African unity and for socialism. Cloth \$7.50; Paperback \$3.25.
3. **COME BACK AFRICA!** ed. by Herbert L. Shore and Megchelina Shore-Bos. A panorama of the South African way of life as seen through 14 stories by South African authors, including Alex La Guma, Ezekiel Mphahlele and Alan Paton. Paperback \$1.50.
4. **THE WORLD AND AFRICA: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa Has Played in World History.** W.E.B. Du Bois. A new enlarged edition of this classic work with essays written after 1955 on the new African nations. Paperback \$2.95.
5. **WE CHARGE GENOCIDE: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People.** William L. Patterson. The full text of the historic petition placed before the U.N. in 1951, with a new introduction by William L. Patterson and a preface by Ossie Davis. Cloth \$5.95; Paperback \$1.95.

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SWAPO DAY

continued

and the enemy dare not attack these zones. People who live in these zones are our supporters and we derive our means of support from them. We have not set up schools or any social services other than what we can provide when we are in the villages. We also have local committees in the villages that are responsible for the local affairs of SWAPO.

Could you discuss the present composition of the African working class in your country?

The bulk of the African population is employed in the mines and in the rural areas where whites own thousands and thousands of acres of farm land where the African works under slave conditions. In the urban areas, they work in the mines as contract laborers where they are not allowed to discuss the contract which they sign at a fixed rate of time and payment. In addition, we have what you would call in the West white collar workers who are African teachers and nurses, etc.

How can Afro-Americans and progressive Americans help your struggle?

I think you should make known our struggle to the American people through the newspaper and organizations, etc. It would also be helpful if you could apply pressure on the U.S. corporations that have investments in our country to leave Namibia. You are fighting the same enemy as we are, which is U.S. imperialism and people in the U.S. should look at the struggle in Namibia as part of their struggle against U.S. imperialism. We also need material and moral support.

Non-Capitalist

continued

advanced material base of capitalism does not destroy these nations and peoples of the "Third World."

The non-capitalist path of development will not be traveled via spontaneous actions of diverse peoples and classes as was the case with the capitalist path of development. It will require the pursuance of a conscious policy by the African countries with working class substance in the national democratic parties to avoid a dead end, such as neo-colonialism. In this regard the party reforms of Presidents Sadat of Egypt, Sekou Toure of Guinea and Nyerere of Tanzania are important reforms that will bring the working class into the countries' national party and help to ensure the path of non-capitalist development.

While supporting the idea of a mixed economy versus the pseudo-revolutionary notion of trying to nationalize everything at once without regards to the character of the political party in power, it is important to support a state policy which would facilitate the more rapid growth of the state sector (as opposed to the private sector). The non-capitalist path of development allows for the African countries to reform their agrarian programs and to socialize the countryside, nationalize the large banks, industrial enterprises, and means of communications as a start for real national reconstruction and industrialization.

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