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17.3.87

Comrade O R Tambo,
President,
A.N.C.
P.O.Box 31791,
Lusaka,
Zambia.

Dear O.R.,

Knowing that you are very interested in such matters, I am sending you a copy of the paper I would have presented to the March 17 th seminar if I had been invited. As you will see, the thrust of the paper is that state ownership of the means of production is problematic, if we are to go by the experience of the rest of Africa, and that our movement will have to move in that direction with the greatest prior consideration and planning. I would appreciate your thoughts on this matter.

I also enclose a letter from the UK R.P.C. It has taken almost a year of stubborn fighting to squeeze this letter from them. If I may offer a thought to you, your frequent exhortations to 'close ranks' may not have the desired effect in this region unless the actual weight of the Presidency is brought to bear behind such exhortations. I have lived in independent Africa for many years, and have noted that exhortations to 'work hard', 'be committed' etc etc have little effect unless there are other influences and mechanisms which ensure that they are taken seriously.

My warmest greetings, as always,

Fraternally, AMANDLA !

Ben Turok.