



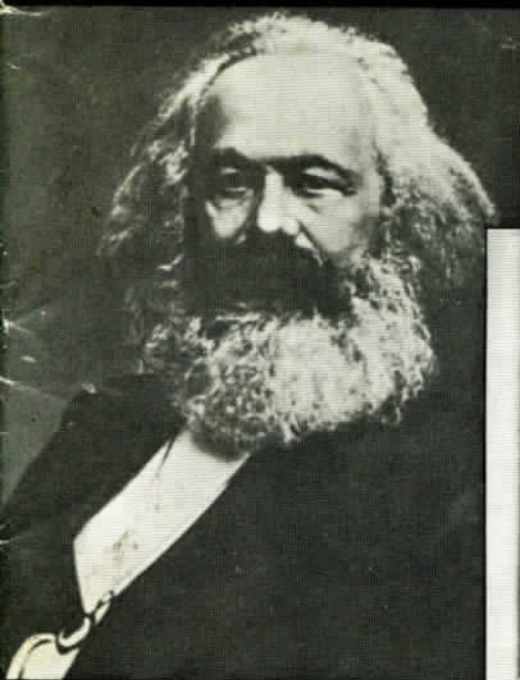
Zimbabwe News

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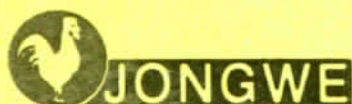
**WORKERS OF
THE WORLD
UNITE**



HE WHO DOES NOT WORK NEITHER SHALL HE EAT

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EDITORIAL

During the armed struggle for Zimbabwe's liberation ZANU (PF) espoused Scientific Socialism based upon Marxist-Leninist principles as the guiding philosophy for prosecuting the struggle and, as the scientific framework within which a new independent Zimbabwe would be constructed. In embracing scientific socialism as a political belief and in aspiring to establish a socialist society, the party was conscious and convinced of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. The party is convinced of the correctness of its decision and is committed to the creation of a socialist society, a society free of exploitation of one person by another. It is the only society in which the fullest human potential can be realised.

In the struggle for socialism the working class has an obligation, nay a duty to be the champions of the revolution. To be in the forefront of that struggle, to defend, protect and consolidate the gains of the revolution and further advance it, the working class must be politically conscious. To be the custodians and promoters of the process of socialist transformation, workers must be vigilant and dedicated.

As we celebrate May Day, therefore, all workers are enjoined to rededicate themselves to the continuing struggle for justice and peace. Everywhere — in the mines, factories, farms and plantations — the workers are exhorted to renew their dedication to the transformation and development of our society. For May Day is the workers' day when workers throughout the world join in common solidarity to reflect upon the workers' and indeed humanity's epic struggle for a world free of exploitation, for justice

and peace. The Zimbabwean workers', too, join that celebration and look back to the seven years of our independence with pride.

In so doing, however, we must not be complacent. Like during our liberation struggle, we must continue to relentlessly resist imperialism for imperialism is the greatest obstacle to our independent socio-economic development. Similarly, we must be constantly vigilant and ever prepared in the face of the acts of destabilisation of the South African apartheid regime. We must solidly and uncompromisingly show common solidarity with our struggling brothers and sisters in South Africa, Namibia, Palestine and everywhere. On May Day we must also renew our fraternal solidarity with the Mozambican and Angolan people in their courageous resistance to South African aggression. As workers we must also stand firm in our solidarity with other Frontline states notably Botswana and Zambia, victims of acts of terrorism by the apartheid regime of South Africa.

In these difficult times resulting from imperialist beligerence, South African destabilisation, the unfavourable global economic climate, impending imposition of sanctions against South Africa and drought, the workers must strive for unity and commitment. For without unity, commitment and dedication, our enemies can easily infiltrate us.

It is to be hoped that the workers will consistently and continuously assess their role in society so that they can assume their rightful place and be the backbone of the struggle. The challenge before us on May Day is to strenuously strive to be true revolutionaries and consequently to struggle for and achieve our cherished goal of socialism.



1987

A Letter to the Editor

May Day, 1987 is here too. Let us go out in our millions and celebrate this great day of the working class worldwide. On this day our workers should look back and look forward and say 1986 we achieved this and failed there, what about 1987?

Comrade Editor, I have seen May celebrations in Harare since 1981. I must say I am not fully satisfied with them. To me they have turned out to be advertising gimmicks for private companies. We see workers parading and raising the banners of the private sector, particularly the transnationals.

Workers' Day should be workers day. We should hear more of workers' successes and plans to solve workers' problems and to move against transnationals exploitation.

I would suggest that the streets of our towns must see workers' processions singing revolutionary songs about their struggles and shouting slogans of patriotism, socialism and against exploitation, with working class banners raised high. The processions must lead to chosen stadiums where each union will deliver its speech and tell the country about its grievances and plans. Trade Union speeches would be topped up by a ZCTU speech. At the end of the ZCTU speeches we would then have speech by politicians on workers'

struggles and the future, as a way of replying to the workers' speeches. Then we could have music and drama about the workers' struggles and successes.

Let us stop this business of having workers using their day as an extra day where private companies advise freely to their would be customers, many times hungry children and mothers fighting over 'gifts' from the private sector.

Yours in struggle,
N.C.G. MATHEMA

The Worker Seven Years After Independence

*By Comrade F.M.M. Shava ZANU (PF)
Deputy Secretary for Administration and
Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning
and Social Welfare*

The Party ZANU (PF) and consequently the government has espoused Scientific Socialism based upon Marxist-Leninist principles as its guiding philosophy. In consequence, the Party through the machinery of government, is committed to the establishment of socialism as a long term goal. Similarly, the government is committed to democracy as an essential ingredient of its ultimate objectives. The Party is equally conscious that it is necessary for the workers to assume their historical role in the quest for a democratic socialist society. This is quite natural because the workers as the producers

of wealth, are the most politically advanced elements in society and should be the backbone of the Socialist Revolution.

This article seeks to examine the status of the worker seven years after independence. To understand the efforts that have been made by government to lift the Socio-economic status of the worker, it is important to very briefly state the conditions of the worker before independence. It is now a truism to say that one of the principal causes of the rise of Nationalism and, ultimately the waging of our armed struggle was because of super-exploitation of workers and their semi-slave labour conditions under settler colonialist capitalism. The condition of the worker before independence was characterised by absolute deprivation of rights and



Comrade F.M.M. Shava, Deputy Secretary for Administration and Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare

lack of security of employment and indeed of any fundamental human rights.

There was institutionalisation of exploitation and slave like conditions buttressed by racist ideology, legislation and the operation of a brutal police state. Among some of the important pieces of legislation existing before independence were the *Master and Servant Ordinance Act*, the *Industrial Dispute Ordinance Act* and the *Native Juvenile Employment Act* to mention only a few. All these pieces of legislation taken in conjunction with the *Industrial Conciliation Act* bear ample testimony of the viciousness of the colonial social system. Taken in their totality these

laws ensured that the African worker had no recourse to any form of justice and was thus in consequence enslaved in his own country. It took a protracted armed liberation struggle by all patriotic forces, including the working class to dislodge the repressive, racist colonial regime. On the ruins of the unpopular regime, therefore, would systematically be constructed a popular, progressive and just society. If our struggle for independence was just, our struggle for a new society is equally just. The struggle for socialism is thus but a continuation and extension of the armed struggle. It calls for equal vigour and greater determination.

1980 Onwards

It was in the context of the above that the people's government under the leadership of ZANU (PF) sought to dismantle and transform that system, and create propitious conditions for the construction of Socialism. Committed to improving the material and social conditions of the workers, introduce democracy and general welfare of all people, the government in 1980 swiftly and unreservedly introduced transitional legislation and repealed the obnoxious *Master and Servant Act*, the *Native Juvenile Act* and the *African Recruitment Act*. At the same time the government also introduced amendments to the *Industrial Conciliation Act* thus laying the minimum conditions of employment, and introduced industrial holidays for all categories of workers without loss of wages. For the first time too, vacation leave and unpaid maternity leave became a right for all employees. The *Minimum Wage Act* of 1980 for the first time provided for statutory minimum wages without discrimination on the basis of race, sex or age.

These measures by government went a long way in enhancing the conditions of the worker and ensuring security of employment and a reasonable wage. Conscious, however, that there was need of overhauling the entire legislation relating to labour, in its determined push towards Socialism the government introduced the *Labour Relations Act* in 1985 thus providing a comprehensive framework for defining the rights and responsibilities of the workers and employers. Among the important areas in the Act are paid maternity leave for all employees, statutory minimum wages, Workers Committees, Trade Unions etc.

Pursuant to its policy of

The Minimum wages Act of 1980, for the first time provided for statutory minimum wages without discrimination on the basis of race, sex or age. Above Comrade Sarah Mashiri, the first Woman miner of Jena Mine, Midlands Province



democratisation of the work place and the decision making process the government introduced the concept of Workers Committees and involvement in Management Committees. Equally important, the government strongly promoted and adheres to the belief in the importance of a strong and viable Industrial Democracy. Consequently the concept of self-management in industry and commerce was introduced, as well as the encouragement of the formation of cooperatives. Aware that the workers were historically disadvantaged *vis-a-vis* the employers the government strenuously in 1980 encouraged the formation of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions as an umbrella organisation for all trade unions.

The government, was aware that unless trade unions and the workers were solidly united for them to champion, protect and defend the interests of the workers, they would not be able to assume their historic role as frontliners in the struggle for socialism. Minor problems, notwithstanding, the formation of the ZCTU has gone a long way in strengthening the role of the worker. Further efforts will of course be required to ensure that the ZCTU and its sister continuously perfect their methods of work and raise their ideological

consciousness.

The other area which has received serious government attention since independence is in the area of training. Because the racist colonial regime denied Africans technical training and also aware of the importance of human resources development for self reliance and socialist development the government has embarked on a vigorous training programme. Existing technical training institutions at Harare and Bulawayo were expanded while new ones were established at Gweru, Kwekwe, Marondera, Mutare and Masvingo charged with the responsibility of training workers and future workers in a variety of technical and vocational areas. Similarly, the National Vocational Training Centre at Belvedere and the proposed Vocational Training Centres throughout the country, will go a long way in imparting vocational skills to our young people and rectifying existing manpower gaps. At the same time an ambitious programme to upgrade workers has been embarked upon as a way of redressing the inequalities of the colonial regime which denied opportunities to black workers for acquiring skills in industry. To this end trade testing centres will be established so that these are ac-



Technical training institutions are being expanded to meet the ever increasing demand for skilled manpower in the country

cessible to people throughout the country. The Management Training Bureau was established to coordinate management training in the private sector, thus ensuring harmonisation and rationalisation of training within the country.

In the area of education and social services in general the government scored significant victories and accomplished the following:

- (a) Introduction of universal primary and secondary education convinced as it is that no Zimbabwean should be denied the opportunity to read or write. The phenomenal expansion of education at all levels including teacher and university education is loud testimony to that commitment.
- (b) Provision of health facilities to all with emphasis on primary health care and preventive medicine. Particular attention has been paid to the provision of medical facilities to rural and backward areas throughout Zimbabwe.
- (c) Through the Occupational Safety and Health campaigns accident rates have been greatly reduced at work places and compensation has been awarded to all qualifying workers.
- (d) Adult literacy classes and worker education is priority of government. This is because government believes that all Zimbabweans must be able to read and write and that workers must continuously be exposed to new ideas and skills so that they can become effective participants in the Socio-economic development of our country. Indeed a

literate and knowledgeable workforce is an essential prerequisite for our social development.

- (e) Public assistance and drought relief have been democratised and are accessible to all qualifying persons irrespective of colour unlike during the colonial period. Similarly, old people's homes and child welfare and protection are now open to all qualifying people.

- (f) Introduction of nurseries, creches, and day care centres to enable women to fully participate in our socio-economic development.

Conclusion

The government is seriously committed to the alleviation of the socio-economic status of the Zimbabwean worker and indeed all its people. Similarly, government believes that it is the worker with the alliance of the peasants, progressive intellectuals and other patriotic and progressive sections of our society who should champion the Socialist Revolution. The Party will therefore continuously mobilise the working class so that it can assume its historic role. More measures will be taken to ensure that our society firmly progresses towards the attainment of Socialism and in the process the worker is expected to play an unwavering role. To play that role the worker must be conscious, dedicated, disciplined and vigilant. Equally, unity of purpose, action, and organisation as well as single-minded determination to accomplish socialism are paramount. For in socialism the worker has nothing to lose but exploitation.

Accidents at work have been greatly reduced through occupational safety, health campaigns and preventive measures



ZCTU Exposition of the Zimbabwe Worker.

By Cde. J.S. Mutandare President General — ZCTU

At independence, Zimbabwe inherited a legacy of gross inequalities in the distribution of its resources. It has been estimated that only 4 percent of the population owns 90% of the country's wealth (Comrade Chidzero in Sunday Mail, 22nd September, 1985). This aptly illustrates the inherent imbalances in the allocation of Zimbabwe's scarce resources. Only a small *privileged* minority owns and controls the distribution of the country's wealth.

Race became an important distributional mechanism as the table below shows:-

Group	Proportion of total population	% share in wages/salaries
Africans	97,6	60%
Europeans	2,0	37%
Coloureds	0,3	2%
Asians	0,2	1%

Source: National Manpower Survey Volume 1 (1981)

N.B. Proportion of total population based on a ten percent sample of the 1982 population census.

The racial prejudices in income distribution enabled a minority of 2% to rip off to itself 37% of total wages and salaries, while the majority (Africans) of 97,59% received a disproportionate share of 60%. As the colonial state visibly represented the interests of capital, labour was subjected to excessive exploitation, with a remuneration package that was far below subsistence. For the black employee, his wage was crudely determined using, in most cases, what has become known as the "migrant-worker" concept. The encouragement of a dual home ownership system entailed paying a wage that discounted the subsistence of a wage-earner's family.

Independence gave Zimbabwe the opportunity to redress the injustices perpetrated against the black worker. It was, therefore, necessary for a post-independence black government to turn its biases in favour of the working class. After assuming political power at independence, the Government undertook

measures aimed at reconstructing the black working class on the economic map. The policy of "Growth with Equity" enshrines that urgency to transform our economy and to rectify the gross inequalities in income distribution.

It was under such circumstances of "private affluence" and "public squalor" that the Government legislated for minimum wages in 1980. Six years after independence, it is pertinent that we review the achievements and shortcomings of the minimum wage determination in Zimbabwe.

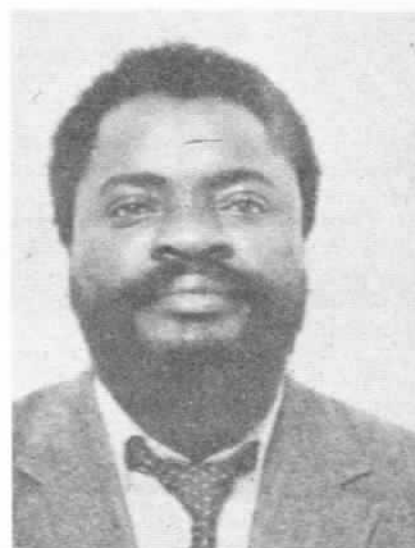
Review of minimum wages since Independence

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions contends that the present system of determining minimum wages has serious anomalies.

(a) There has hardly been any incomes policy to judge short-run wage adjustments. Wage increments have been largely fixed on ad hoc basis without addressing the problem of alleviating poverty and narrowing the income gap.

(b) Minimum wages have become a constraint on further wage adjustments for the *minimum* has become the *maximum*.

If minimum wages as presently constituted have had the unfortunate tendency of circumscrib-



Comrade J.S. Mutandare — President General of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

ing the role of collective bargaining. It is almost impossible for trade unions to bargain for a wage above the minimum.

(c) The present wage system does not correctly reflect the conditions of transition to socialism. In other words, it is important to spell out how wages provide a basis for furthering the transition.

— A pertinent aspect of transitory wages is to balance the distribution of incomes, in this case from the affluent to the poor. An adequate wage becomes a *must* so as to alleviate the conditions of abject poverty that still co-exist with affluence. Growth with equity should form the basis for wage increases. Hitherto, wage increases based on a narrow sliding scale have hardly narrowed the wage-gap, if anything, the gap has widened.

(d) Problem of different minimum wages.

— The notion of a minimum wage is to provide a living wage for all workers regardless of occupation or industry. The present industry — specific minimum wages are incompatible with the essence of having a minimum wage. A needs approach to wage determination does not have to distinguish between workers in the domestic industry, in the commerce and industry or agriculture for their needs are in no way different. They are subjected to the same inflationary pressures.

(e) A minimum wage policy is not necessarily an income policy. An income policy for Zimbabwe is now long overdue. Annual increases in wages do not tackle the skewed distribution of resources. Our minimum wage policy should be part

and parcel of an overall incomes policy. Thus the redistribution of income and equitable growth should not be based on distribution of returns on labour alone.

- (f) The present minimum wage system does not recognise the entwined relationship between the "formal" and "informal" sectors of our economy. Transfer payments between the urban and peasant sectors have a significant bearing on wage determination. Wage determination cannot ignore the strong ties between the "formal" employment and "informal" employment sectors. Addressing itself towards the target income for the peasant sector, the Riddell Commission (1981) writes:-

"In the absence of national data for income targets in the peasant sector, the Commission believes that the approximate figure of \$400 a year net income above subsistence needs specified in the ZIMCORD document for settlement schemes provides an initial benchmark for target incomes." (Report of the Riddell Commission, page 88).

Updating the target income of \$400, we get an income of \$852,70, at November 1986 retail prices. Hardly any communal family attains an income of that magnitude per year. This shows that since communal incomes are far from the subsistence level, they depend largely on supplementary employment. A brief analysis of the political economy of land in Zimbabwe hardly suggests such a target income can be reached without a significant land reform policy. The table below illustrates the overcrowding experienced in communal areas and these are compared with the spacious white commercial areas.

Rural Population Densities, 1969 and 1976

Land Category	Population Densities 1969	Acres per person 1976
African Land: Communal	14,3	9,9
European Farming Land	40,2	34,4

Source: Roger Riddell: *The Land Question*, page 8

Through the Land Tenure Act of 1969, the country's land was divided by half — 45m acres were allocated for "Africans", 45m for Europeans and considering that

"Africans" accounted for 95% of the total population while Europeans accounted for only 5% of the total, this underlines the source of the land problem. Riddell, in "The Land Question" argues that at the end of 1976, "on average every European had access to one hundred times as much land as every African", (page 7). European settlement areas were sited on high quality land while blacks were relegated to the poorer soils. He goes on to note:-

"If each African cultivator is to have enough grazing and arable land to support his family then the TTLs, as presently constituted, are able to carry approximately 275 000 cultivators. But in 1977 there were already 675 000 cultivators in the Tribal Areas, nearly three times the maximum number that can be safely carried." (page 9).

The recent revelations by the Provincial Administrator of Matabeleland South Comrade P. Bhede that 290 000 out of a provincial total of 483 000 (Herald, April 11, 1986) and by the Member of Parliament for Chiredzi, Comrade H. Pote (Herald, January 21, 1987) that about 60 000 people in the area are in need of drought relief is a clear manifestation of the inability of most rural sectors to be self-reliant, particularly during trying times.

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions contends that as long as the land issue remains unresolved, the dependency of the subsistence sector on the urban wage-earner will remain.

Given that 50% of the population (1982) is below 15 years of age and that approximately 3% is above 65 years, the burden on wage earners becomes unbearable.

In the short-run, any increase in minimum wages tends to benefit those in

wage-earner and that of his family.

All in all, far from redressing the problems of poverty and enhancing socialist transformation, the ad hoc wage determination has hitherto maintained the structural relationships adopted at independence, it has further serviced the capitalist relations of production.

Minimum Wages and Economic Development Strategy

The overall economic development strategy impacts on wage adjustments.

The ZCTU believes that an overall strategy of economic development that leans heavily on export promotion becomes inimical to the objectives of enhancing the standard of living of the poor. The emphasis on resolving payments and receipts to ease the balance of payments problems further entrenches the vulnerability of the national economy as it becomes more and more subjected to the crisis of the world economy. Such an approach leads to a policy of wage freezes which negates the need for a living wage.

The emphasis should be on internal growth and it is only with such a strategy that the short-term objectives of easing the balance of payments problems and the long-term goal of socialist transformation are harmonized.

It is therefore important that Government handles foreign exchange policies in a way that accommodates wage increases by placing emphasis on *internal* growth rather than resorting to a balance of payments tailored development strategy.

The Unemployment Problem

Unemployment, estimated at about 20–25% of the labour force, has become a major problem. While the school system's annual turnover is around 90 000 a year, the economy has created very few jobs as the creation of only 7 000 jobs in 1985 shows.

The question then is the correlation between wage increments and job creation. A brief look at employment levels shows a decline in the share of the material production sector.

The contribution to employment of the material production sector declined significantly from 71,0% (1980) to 68,8% (1981); 67,5% (1982), 66,2% (1983) and 65,6% (1984). The services sector has expanded by 1,4% annually in the same period. The public, through tax payments, has had to shoulder the burden of employment creation as the share of the material production sector declined persistently.

the rural sector, those in the dependency age group 0–14 and the unemployed: and therefore the pressure is on achieving a just wage that considers the subsistence of the

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Material Production	71,0	68,8	67,5	66,2	65,6
Non-material Production	29,0	31,2	32,5	33,8	34,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Percentage distribution of material and non-material production sectors in employment.

Source: *Annual Review of Manpower*, 1984 page 3

The burden of job creation has been pushed from the material to the non-material, production sector. Given the age structure of the majority of the unemployed (90 000 school leavers annually), the problem of finding for these unemployed largely lies with those in employment, who have to provide for the needs of their kith and kin. In times of crisis, it is the workers who largely shoulder the burden and hence the need of cushion them off through adequate wage increases.

ZCTU contends that wages cannot be argued to be counter-employment creation, at least from our recent experiences, but they constitute a cushioning device for the unemployed (who are dependent on their employed relatives).

Inflation, wages and purchasing power: Consumer Price Index (CPI) Analysis

No amount of persuasion is required to show that whatever workers have gained in wage increases, has been taken away through inflation. The table below shows the recent developments in inflation for the higher and lower urban families.

Consumer Price Index for the Higher and Lower Income Urban Group: All items net of sales tax and excise duty (1980 = 100)

Period	Higher Income Group	Lower Income Group
	CPI	CPI
1986	Percentage Change over past year	Percentage Change over past year
January	205,7	14,1
February	210,6	16,3
March	213,0	15,6
April	213,2	13,9
May	214,2	13,8
June	215,9	14,0
July	218,7	15,3
August	220,4	15,0
September	224,1	13,7
October	225,8	13,3
November	226,4	13,1

The dividing line between higher and lower income urban groups was established at \$250 (1979 prices) which is approximate-

ly \$635,14 at current November 1986 prices.

The rate of inflation for the higher urban group, which recorded its highest level of 16,3% in February 1986 declined to 13,1% in November of the same year. On the other hand, inflation for the lower income group, which at November 1986 was 17% registered its highest rate of 17,6% for the 11 months in September. A development of noteworthy in the inflationary spiral is the fact that until May 1986, the rate of price increase for the higher income group was higher than that for the lower income group. Thereafter, the rate of inflation for the lower income urban family rose sharply while that for the higher has on average declined.

This has had the negative effect of redistributing income in favour of the higher income group and the widening of the wage-gap between the two groups.

The table below depicts the inflationary trends for individual items.

The rate of inflation for rent, fuel and light has increased sharply from 4,4% in January to 28,6% in November. This figure is actually an underestimation as

Inflation attributable to transport facilities also experienced high levels with a rate of 24% in October. Foodstuffs have recorded also high price increases with a rate of 16,1% in October 1986.

The ZCTU would like to emphasize that government information on inflation underestimates the actual level as the calculations are based on data collected from city centre shops, neglecting the shops in the high density areas where prices are much higher.

There is need then for Government to determine rates of inflation in rural areas as well and also base its calculations on prices in the high density areas where the low income families live.

Since July 1985 wage review, price movements were as follows:

Most of the price increases severely affected the lower income group, especially with regard to the removal of subsidies on basic requirements such as milk, mealie-meal and the rise in prices of low grade meat (offals).

Pressure is on wage increases to match with the burden of increased prices for basic commodities.

Wages and inflation

Inflation has remained persistently strong over the recent years. While on the one hand the inflationary spiral persisted, wage increases have been restrained to a large extent. A situation of high levels of inflation alongside a wage rate that does not tally with the inflationary development has maintained. Wages have fallen far behind the rate of inflation. The table below shows the real trends in wage dynamics.

Notwithstanding the institution of statutory minimum wage increases by Government, the nominal wage gains have been eroded by an ever-rising price inflation. Wages in real terms increased from 1980 and reached its present peak in 1982, and thereafter experienced a decline with a slight upturn in 1985.

ZCTU contends that there is strong need to restore purchasing power.

The Tax Burden

The tax burden has risen significantly during the past decade. A disquieting feature of the tax system has been the rise in revenue from indirect taxes as shown below:-

conventional date fails to capture the uncontrolled rental charges for lodgings as the accommodation crisis deepens.

Consumer price inflation for individual Items (Lower Income Group): 1980 = 100%

Period 1986	Foodstuff	Drink & Tobacco	Clothing Footwear	Rent, Fuel & light	Household Stores	Transport	Miscellaneous
January	8,6	11,3	9,7	4,4	13,2	19,7	22,5
February	9,4	11,3	11,4	15,2	12,5	26,5	14,7
March	10,0	11,4	11,1	16,1	11,5	26,5	10,7
April	11,0	11,4	11,2	15,8	11,1	23,0	12,0
May	9,4	11,4	11,4	13,4	10,0	23,0	26,9
June	15,1	15,9	13,1	26,1	12,3	22,9	10,4
July	16,0	15,8	13,7	26,2	12,1	22,9	11,1
August	14,3	15,8	11,7	23,7	7,5	23,1	9,6
September	15,9	11,2	10,8	28,7	8,9	24,0	11,5
October	16,1	11,2	10,7	28,4	8,8	—	12,1

Month	Commodity	% Increase
August 1985	Soft drinks	19
	Maize Meal	26 (average)
	Fertilizer	24 (average)
September, 1985	Cigarettes	11
	Spirits	7,75
	Bus Fares	35 (average)
October	Electricity charges	15,25 (Harare)
		44,84 (Bulawayo)
		23,17 (Gweru)
		7,4 (Mutare)
	Coal	60
November	Cement	26
	Matches	33
December	Beer	13 (lowest)
	Bread	13-16
January 1986	Petrol	22
	Diesel	28
	Newsprint	30
February 1986	Milk	8,3 (average)
May	Beer	12,5 (average)
	Cooking Oil, Margarine	15
June	Milk, (Lacto & Pasteurised)	3,5 (average)
	Newspaper	16,7-28,6
August	Mealie-meal	14
	Beef	10-17
	Milk (fresh)	8
	Beer	3,3
	Cigarettes	2,8

Source: Ministry of Labour, Manpower, Planning and Social Welfare:-
"A Monograph on Wage Determination in Zimbabwe", pages 49-50

Nominal and Real Wages: 1980-1986 (1980 = 100)

Year	Agriculture		Domestic		Commerce and Industry	
	Nominal	Real	Nominal	Real	Nominal	Real
1980	30	30	30	30	70	70
1981	30	26,5	30	26,5	85	75,2
1982	50	39,9	50	39,9	105	83,9
1983	50	32,5	55	35,7	115	74,6
1984	50	27,0	65	35,0	125	67,5
1985	75	37,3	75	37,3	143	71,2
Nov. 1986	85	35,0	85	35,0	158	65,5

* Calculations of real wages based on lower income Consumer Price Index (CPI) — All Items.



In recognition of the contribution of the worker to society, a yearly best worker award is presented

Fiscal Year	Direct Taxes	Indirect Taxes
1979 — 80	46,7	35,2
1980 — 81	46,0	34,5
1981 — 82	48,7	40,8
1982 — 83	44,3	43,0
1983 — 84	42,3	47,6
1984 — 85	42,3	45,3
1985 — 86	42,4	45,2

Until the fiscal year 1983 — 84, the share of direct taxes in total revenue surpassed that of indirect taxes, but thereafter, indirect taxes accounted for a greater share of revenue.

This shift in the composition of total revenue is disturbing as it directly affects the standard of living of the ordinary workers. The tax base was expanded in the budget for 1983/84 through the introduction of a two percent charge on all incomes of \$100 a month. Given the narrowness of the income brackets, increases in wages have pushed workers into higher

tax brackets and introduced lowly paid workers into the tax system.

The burden of taxation on women should also be addressed to.

ZCTU would like to see the implementation of a progressive tax system, that does not penalise the low income group, but one that considers wage movements in real terms. The returns on capital and rent need to be taxed at a much higher rate than at present.

We hope the tax commission will help ease the tax burden and that Government will seriously consider its recommendations.

The Policy of Growth with Equity

Far from being reduced, the wage-gap between the highly and lowly paid has widened. The average wage paid in the highest paying sector, finance, insurance

and real estate, has increased far ahead of that paid in the lowest paid sectors, private, domestic and agriculture. The gap, which was \$289 in 1975 and widened to \$311 (1976); \$314 (1977); \$334 (1978) \$368 (1979); \$431 (1980); \$484 (1981); \$520 (1982); and \$581 (1983). The narrow sliding scale wage percentage changes in wages do not help narrow the gap as those in highly paid jobs maintain far higher absolute wage rises than those in the low income group. As education fees have risen, coupled with bureaucratic problems in implementing free medical treatment for the lowly paid workers, the plight of the poorly paid has not been resolved at all. It is becoming increasingly difficult to make ends meet.

The Inadequacy of the Current Minimum Wage

Although the Central Statistical Offices expenditure pattern for the lower income group does not correctly reflect the spending habits of those in low paid jobs, it can still reflect the inadequacy of the present minimum wages.

Breakdown by expenditure item for Commerce and Industry (minimum wage = \$158,13 p/m)

	%	\$
Foodstuffs	54,9	86,81
Rent, Fuel & light	18,4	29,10
Transport	4,7	7,43
Drink & tobacco	5,4	8,54
Clothing & footwear	6,6	10,44
Household stores	4,6	7,27
Miscellaneous	5,4	8,54

A close look at the consumption pattern illustrated above shows that the \$86,81 per month for foodstuffs is unrealistic. A family cannot survive on \$86,81 for foodstuffs, \$29,10 for rent, fuel and light, \$7,43 for transport, \$10,44 for clothing and footwear and \$8,54 for school fees, such an allocation is unrealistic.

Recommendations

PRICE CONTROL

Price controls are an important way of protecting consumers against inflationary movements. The broadening of the range of commodities subjected to price control through the control of goods (price control) order of 1982 was a necessary step towards the protection of consumers.

ZCTU is concerned about the implementation of price controls as prices have gone up unmonitored in most areas. The fact that there are at least 22 inspectors charged with policing the price control measures adopted is a cause for serious concern.

With the present severely handicapped inspectorate, overcharging becomes lucrative as the chances of inspection are remote. Even when a retailer is fined for overcharging, by the time the inspector leaves, he does not waste time in recouping the charges meted. This has given the inspectorate a defensive position, whereby they rely heavily on reported excesses.

ZCTU feels that the present price control mechanism is ineffective in dealing with cases of overcharging. These are some of the ways of making the price controls effective:

Revamping the Inspectorate Department

Why not relocate resources wherever they are underutilized to replenish the Inspectorate with manpower and financial assistance. There is need to identify areas from which resources can be relocated without disturbing the balance in manpower and resource planning.

The Consumer Council

The Consumer Council can take an increasingly leading role in protecting consumers. The present distribution and representation of consumers clearly indicates against the lowly paid workers. Having to pay a subscription of \$5 as a prerequisite for right information is irrational as lowly paid workers cannot afford that luxury. Since the Council now receives a substantial amount of financing from Government, it is important that it represents the interests of the low income group as well. There should be a purposeful decentralisation for information flow to all areas, so that consumers become aware of their basic rights and what the correct prices are. Seminars on basic consumer rights can be arranged through the Provincial Governors' Offices.

Consumer Co-operatives

These can help provide consumer necessities at reasonable prices and can be effective rallying points for organised consumer resistance.

Decentralising Wholesale Centres

The problem of overcharging in rural areas is widespread given the transport problems encountered. The Government can help establish wholesale centres at Growth Points so as to remove transport margins that are often cited as a justification for excessive prices.

The ZCTU itself should be consulted such that it can also function as part of the inspectorate. The ZCTU and the Consumer Council should work hand in hand as they represent the same worker. A co-ordinated approach is essential.

Provision of Information

The Government should provide for a statutory instrument ensuring the provision of information on company performance, profit levels and production trends from management.

Need for Comprehensive Land Reform

— A land reform will facilitate stability within the workforce and will ensure self-reliance within the communal areas, which are presently overcrowded and in most cases overgrazed. Such a land reform will enable communal areas to achieve an income close to the \$852,70 per annum suggested as reasonable income to meet some basic needs.

A Needs Based Approach to Wage Determination

ZCTU contends that it is only through a needs based approach that a living wage can be established. The Poverty Datum Line, PDL, should be used as a measurement of this living wage. Addressing the Commercial Farmers Union in July, 1980, the Prime Minister said: "The Government's new minimum wage policy is designed to assist that very large group of our population who have been living below a subsistence level, especially in the

agricultural sector." (Quoted in the Riddell Commission Report (1981 page 80). The Prime Minister's words were complemented when Comrade Kangai, then Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, is quoted by the Herald as saying: "the minimum wages in the country had not reached the Poverty Datum Line and it was the intention of the Government to see that this level was reached." (The Herald, September 12, 1983). The ruling party, ZANU (PF) also echoed these sentiments when, through resolutions 4.3 and 4.4 of its August 1984 Congress adopted that: "Government must ensure the existence of a decent wage for the workers which is above the Poverty Datum Line" (Zimbabwe News Volume 16, Number 1, January 1985).

If then the target is the PDL there is need for a programmed approach to reach it.

The Riddell Commission had suggested that the PDL be reached by mid 1984, but two years later, we are still far from it. The table below shows the PDL for families of different sizes and composition from 1979 to 1986.

Using an average family of six, comprising a father, mother and four children, the PDL as at June 1986 prices is \$277,29.

It is important that a programmed approach to the PDL is adopted and a target period be established when wages reach this level. Where do we start?

When we attained the highest minimum wage in real terms since independence, the minimum was \$105. What is it worthy today?

It is worth $\$105 \times 241,1 = \$202,20$
\$125,2

Therefore, for us to maintain purchasing power as at 1982 prices, we need a minimum wage of \$202,20.

The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions strongly believes that a minimum wage of \$277,29 be established in 1987.

No. in Family	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
2	60,17	63,87	70,49	77,71	92,97	109,06	119,24	143,76
3	65,43	69,48	78,86	84,79	101,56	119,32	130,43	160,36
4	77,91	82,55	91,29	100,68	101,11	143,04	156,28	191,19
4	85,08	89,94	99,24	109,45	132,01	156,42	170,85	207,78
5	90,80	96,02	106,14	117,10	141,35	167,63	183,05	223,26
5	100,66	106,08	116,88	128,92	156,16	195,91	202,91	245,54
6	107,68	113,41	124,89	137,77	166,87	198,74	216,99	263,16
6	113,45	119,48	131,66	145,22	176,17	210,13	229,35	277,29
7	120,62	126,94	139,82	154,26	187,19	223,41	243,84	295,38
7	127,06	133,70	147,37	162,57	197,60	236,20	257,68	311,17
8	136,12	143,23	158,03	174,36	212,15	253,85	276,84	334,48
8	143,22	150,34	168,28	182,31	221,94	265,84	290,05	349,26

ZCTU will not accept any wage below \$277,29. Thereafter, wages should be adjusted so as to maintain purchasing power.

Establishment of a PDL Monitoring Unit

A PDL monitoring unit should be established, as per the recommendations of the Riddell Commission of 1981. This unit will be tasked with calculating and updating PDL levels and monitoring the inflationary tendencies.

The ZCTU would like to emphasise the need for wages to be above the rate of inflation. A national salary survey by the

PE Consulting Group revealed that the salaries — prices gap widened. It reports that "Zimbabwean workers experienced the worst gap between their salaries and the consumer price index (CPI) in three years — despite an overall 8,7% increase in basic salary levels". (Quoting the Financial Gazette, Friday, January 30, 1987, page 3). The report, as quoted in the Financial Gazette states that the whole CPI increased by 17,1% between August 1, 1985 and July 31 1986, salaries lagged behind by 8,4%. This is the worst gap since 1983, when salaries lagged behind the CPI by 12,6%" the report stated.

The fact that "there are indications that the ratio of fringe benefits to total cash

salary is rising" shows that while the executives have found ways to circumvent salary freezes, the working class has found no cushioning device. This then strengthens ZCTU's contention that wages should rise to an initial figure of \$277,29 so that purchasing power is restored to at least the PDL level. Thereafter, wage levels and inflationary movements be monitored and adjusted by the PDL Monitoring Unit.

Summary

The ZCTU maintains its position of 1986, that the minimum be as near as possible to a living wage. The ZCTU also recommends that wages be reviewed every six months.

Adapt Science and Technology to Fit Local Conditions — President

The First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe recently opened Kushinga Phikelela in Marondera as a Technical College.

The College which started as a school of stenography to compliment agricultural oriented training activities of the country provides manpower for rural councils, government ministries in secretarial fields and other rural entities. Comrade R.G. Mugabe called for the development of appropriate technology. We publish below the full text of the speech delivered at the opening ceremony on April 9, 1987:-

Adapt Science and Technology to Fit Local Conditions — President

I feel delighted to have been invited to participate in the opening of Kushinga Phikelela as a Technical College. It is only a few years ago that this institution started its operations as a narrowly defined school of stenography. In this role it complemented the agriculturally oriented training activities of the other section of Kushinga Phikelela and provided manpower for rural councils, government ministries in secretarial fields and other rural-oriented entities.

The physical development of this institution is phenomenal and its course repertoire will shortly address a wider population target in its new role as a technical college. The Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare informs me that the courses will include business and secretarial subjects,

cooperatives and cooperative management, small-scale enterprise courses and so on. There will also be appropriate technology courses offered here.

The development of Zimbabwe both economically and socially is a synthesis of a variety of inputs. One of these imperative inputs is that of appropriately qualified local manpower to develop our abundant material resources and to make life beneficial for all segments of our society. Greater dependence on our own manpower skills can only have the effect of lessening our dependence on expatriate expertise.

As you know, since the attainment of our independence, Zimbabwe has had to place too great a reliance on expatriates in a number of fields requiring a high level of skills. The technical and professional skills requirements cover a whole spectrum.



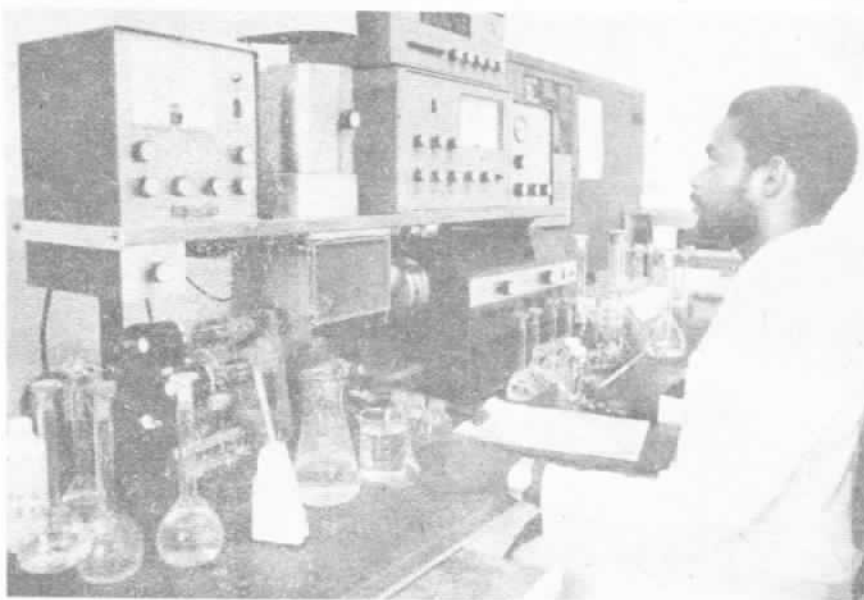
The First Secretary and President of ZANU(PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe

It will be appreciated that the majority of the country's developmental initiatives rely on technology, be they in agriculture, manufacturing, distribution and service industries. The fact is that a range of technology options actually exists from which Zimbabwe can make choices. However, the degree to which Zimbabwe can exercise such choices and their actual outcome depend on the availability of appropriately trained manpower to effect them. In many developing countries, because of

their colonial history, there is little choice in the technology they can acquire and such states continue to depend upon their former colonial metropolises where the technology likely to be imported is highly-capital intensive and geared to large-scale operations capable of producing at low cost products more suitable for the industrialized countries.

On balance, Zimbabwe has a wide range of alternative technologies to choose from, most of which require modification to suit our own environment. However, as I mentioned earlier, such modifications and the application of local ingenuity and management techniques require appropriate training. There should be wariness on our part about the contributions that science and technology from advanced countries can make towards solving the economic development problems of our country. The greatest beneficial results are likely to accrue from adaptation of science and technology to fit local conditions.

Here at Kushinga Phikelela, we have an infrastructure for training that has expanded admirably since independence. Such expansion as witnessed here, phenomenal though it has been, has nevertheless lagged behind the demand for training places because of the massive expansion in the school leaver output since independence. Our limited training infrastructure is one of the most serious obstacles to the supply of appropriate technology options. We also need an infrastructure that



Zimbabwe has a wide range of technologies to choose from

must have the capacity to produce new information and definite forms of assistance in effective technology adaptations.

We cannot talk of expanding production operations and diversity in agro-based industries, nor of expanding the manufacturing base and improving our export capacity if, to achieve all this, the country must rely inordinately on expatriate expertise. We cannot talk of providing employment options to a technologically illiterate youth unless our skills base has been broadened through training programmes.

Government is therefore specifically re-examining the human resources development sector with a view to re-invigorating it. Where the readjustment of previous policy approaches is necessary, this will be done. And where the restructuring of our educational institutions is necessary, and it is indeed necessary, such restructuring will be proceeded with as quickly as possible. The Bachelor of Technology programme that started at Harare Polytechnic last year and at Bulawayo Technical College this year, the start of direct intake institutional training at the colleges, the introduction of technical subjects in secondary schools to facilitate the students' later progress at tertiary training institutions, the introduction of new development-oriented courses at the University, are all welcome developments that Government places a high priority on. It is the right of every Zimbabwean to be provided with functional skills in the direction of their aptitudes. A vigorous expansion of our own training facilities and making them more relevant to our needs is a most prudent posture, even though we shall continue to complement such efforts by sending some of our students abroad so they can have the benefit of new skills not readily available in our own system.

It is my hope that Commerce and Industry will cooperate with Government in this important exercise of human resource development. I understand that part of this facility was constructed through funds collected from Industry and Commerce.



Every Zimbabwean has a right to a skill in the direction of his or her aptitude

I wish to thank them for this salutary input as I, at the same time, urge them to continue to do more. There is now need for contributions of equipment. I hope the necessary contributions will be generously made.

Our institutions should also play their part by demonstrating a greater innovative approach to training and the sustenance of their essential ser-

vices. Kushinga Phikelela seems to be a good example in this respect, for its inmates grow their own vegetables, produce their own eggs, chickens, rabbits and pigs. In other words, they can feed themselves. I expect other institutions to follow suit and to use their products in reducing the cost of their own maintenance and sustenance.

Finally, I cannot but marvel at the work that has gone into the construction of this complex. At slightly more than a million and three quarter dollars, the complex is no doubt good value for the money. The work done is indeed a tribute to our Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing. I trust that the facilities created here will be put to good use.

Consumer Protection Legislation *By Kindness Paradza*

More Comprehensive consumer protection laws are urgently needed in Zimbabwe if the general public is to get a fair deal. This is because the existing legislation falls far short of exerting proper control on the market.

For several years now, in this country, the service industry has been protecting itself with disclaimer clauses which exempt sellers and suppliers from liability or for bad workmanship.

By and large however, our national consumer body, the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe, in its day to day activities, finds the unfortunate consumer "tied up" into a corner by Commercial and Industrial moguls protecting themselves by sheltering behind what amounts to almost totally unfair and one-sided terms of contract and conditions.

In most cases, these terms and conditions appear on credit sale agreements, quotations for work to be done, dry cleaning shops, public transport tickets and any other document which forms the basis of an agreement between a company and its customers.

This state of affairs, has caused many a consumers to question whether it is reasonable for corporate power to deny consumers their common law rights.

But although the criminal and civil laws are meant to protect the consumer, the criminal law normally involves police prosecution followed by a fine or imprisonment. On the other hand, the civil law is a personal matter between the aggrieved consumer and the businessman in which the consumer would be seeking compensation rather than punishment. For example, a manufacturer who falsely labels his goods or who doesn't label at all, commits a crime

under the Trade Measures Act or Merchandise Marks Act, for which he can be prosecuted and fined, but a retailer who simply sells you shoddy goods which are not up to standard will normally not be criminally liable but will have to compensate you for loss.

Research has shown that among the many areas where more consumer protection is needed in Zimbabwe, is in regard to agreements and contracts. The current situation shows that the law of contract is of limited protection to the consumer. Normally there will be no contract between a consumer and manufacturer because the consumer's only direct link is with the retailer.

Agreement and Contract

These are found wherever there is a direct relationship between a consumer and a businessman, which in law results in a contract between them, with obligations on both parties.

So for example, if you take your clothes to a dry-cleaner a contract will be created, under which you promise to pay the agreed price and the dry-cleaner promises (impliedly) to clean the clothes, to take reasonable care in the process and to return them to you. If either party breaks his promise, the other can claim compensation.

As indicated at the beginning, it has been found out that in this coun-

try a businessman can deprive a consumer of all his rights by incorporating a disclaimer (exemption or exclusion) clause into the contract.

Clauses such as "All cars parked at owner's risk", "Clothes cleaned at owner's risk", and "Not responsible for loss or damage by fire, theft or any cause whatsoever", pervade the service industry.

In other words, exclusion clauses provide a favourite way of protecting a company's interests and leaving the customer out in the cold.

Go to a garage and you are greeted with a notice stating that items for repairs are accepted at owner's risk. Not only garages have these disclaimer clauses, supermarkets and shops also usually protect themselves by writing "Customers luggage or parcels left at owner's risk". But the funny thing is that people will not be allowed to go in with their parcels, and yet if they leave them behind, it will be a risk. The most notorious of all clause is that "No refund and no returns or exchange for goods sold in this shop".

However, legal experts say whether or not the notice is displayed, the dealer has three obligations all the same — to keep your goods in his custody, to keep them safe, and to deliver them to you. If lost while in his custody, the dealer cannot escape liability. He should therefore compensate you unless he proves that the loss occurred despite reasonable care he had taken in the particular circumstances.

It seems everyone who is engaged in business in one way or the other, always looks for ways and means of protecting his or her interests but at the same time depriving the consumer of his rights. Go the Mbare

Bus Terminus today and you will find that 99 percent of the long distance bus tickets are carefully printed in shona, "Chengetai nhumbi dzenyu, dzikarasika hatiripe". But how many people travel long distances without luggage or parcels? Such clauses have discouraged many people from claiming their lost property from the bus operators. In other words, such clauses nullify the common law rights of consumers leaving them with little protection against bad workmanship or negligence and the damage or loss they may suffer as a result. All in all, disclaimer clauses are actually designed to give maximum protection to the company and little, if any, to the customer.

It has however become a common business practice to include disclaimer clauses in standard contracts and the present situation is a quagmire for the unwary or uninformed. Many consumers are even unaware that these disclaimer clauses are part of their contracts, because the clauses on these forms are generally to be found in microscopic print at the bottom or back of an invoice or receipt. They are actually designed to give maximum protection to the company and little, if any, to the customer. The fact that, by law, these terms and conditions should be printed clearly and legible, seems to be ignored by a great many firms.

In Zimbabwe today, if a consumer protests or asks for an amendment or a deletion, he will be told blankly to take his customer elsewhere because every company knows too well that in this country, it's very much a seller's market. This is also

worsened if a particular company may well be the only source of supply of a particular commodity or service. In this case a consumer has no choice, he either signs or does without.

However one of the greatest problems facing Zimbabwean consumers is that they often have no option but to accept these clauses. This is because when a customer is unhappy with the conditions at one garage, he is likely to find a similar situation at every other garage he tries.

Consumers all over the world see the allowance of disclaimer clauses as one of the greatest loopholes in consumer protection programmes, and for this reason, the Consumer Council has continually called for the enactment of more comprehensive legislation to ensure adequate protection to ordinary consumers.

This is because much of the current legislation relating to consumer activities has been enacted years ago, such that change in time has actually antiquated most of them.

Though conscious of the fact that the enactment of legislation is a time-consuming process this has often been used as an excuse by the policy makers for dragging their feet in drafting and passing such legislation.

In some cases, the enforcement of some consumer protection laws, where they exist, is often lax.

Therefore, because of this laxity in actively enforcing the current legislation, Zimbabwe consumers are suffering and will continue to suffer if nothing urgent is done.

For some years now, the Consumer Council has been calling upon the Government to establish small claims courts but to date no positive action has been taken.

For this reason, the Council keeps advising the public that awareness of one's rights as a consumer is of crucial importance in achieving consumer protection. A consumer cannot be protected in a glass cage, but the best protection a consumer has is himself.

The enactment of more comprehensive legislation, as well as more vigorous enforcement of such legislation, is called for in order that the Zimbabwean consumer may have thorough protection.

And where consumers suffer damage, their only recourse may be to go to court, where the judges sympathise with them, but litigation can be costly and complicated.

However, prevention is better than cure and consumers should be careful to study what surport to be receipts or invoices. They should watch out for notices displaying disclaimer clauses and where possible, avoid contracting under these terms.

What is needed in Zimbabwe is legislation which either gives the courts the right to arbitrate on contracts which interfere with the consumer's basic right of freedom to contract or legislation to prevent companies from drawing up contracts which prevent the customer from protecting himself, especially where monopolies are concerned.

The Philosophy of the Working Class

We continue our discussion on the dialectics of the working class.

What is the meaning of dialectics? Dialectics means that nothing is at a standstill. Things keep on moving and developing and changing, old ones dying and new

ones taking over. The world we live in is like that. Tools change, cultures change, political systems change. Rivers change, rocks change, trees change. Even people

change. Dialectics also means that things in the world are connected. For example, cows eat grass, then people eat the cows or milk the cows. The grass grows because there is water from the clouds, and because there is sunshine that makes sea water evaporate and become clouds that come down as rain. Also, the grass needs sunshine, it cannot grow in the dark. Dialectics also says that the source of development, of change is within each thing (object), it is the fight of different forces within the object that bring about change.

Dialectics is very important therefore for people to understand and remake the world. It is an important method for the working class and its revolutionary leaders and its party, the Marxist-Leninist party. It provides a key to understanding not only separate spheres of the real world, but all fields of nature, society and

thought. Dialectics is the key to the understanding of the world as a whole. Dialectics sees the world as it really is. This makes dialectics the only scientific method of dealing with the world.

(ii) Dialectical Materialism

We have seen what dialectics is, and what materialism is. If we combine the two we come out with what is called dialectical materialism. This is the philosophy of the working class. It is materialist because it says matter comes first before consciousness. It says the world is knowable. It is dialectical because it says the material world is in constant motion, change and moving from the lowest to the highest levels whether anybody likes it or not.

(iii) Marxist Philosophy

The philosophy of the working class is also called Marxist Philosophy. It is named after Karl Marx who, together with his comrade and friend Frederick Engels (the two of them were Germans), became the leaders and philosophers of the working class and the communist movements. They thoroughly studied nature and society and came out with dialectical materialism. They used dialectical materialism to study society too. The Marxist theory on the development of society is called historical materialism. Historical materialism says society changes and develops whether anybody likes it or not (more on historical materialism in the next chapter). Marx and Engels clearly showed why socialism and communism were not avoidable eventually. But they will come about only when the working class takes over political power from the capitalist class. The teachings of Marx are called Marxism.

When Marx and Engels died, V.I. Lenin, the leader of the working class and communist movements in Russia and the most outstanding of their students and followers, defended and developed their ideology and philosophy and actually led the first socialist revolution in the world in Russia in 1917. Lenin and his comrades in Russia implemented what Marx and Engels had discovered, elaborated and taught. Because of what Lenin did, the working class ideology is now called Marxism-Leninism, and the working class philosophy is now called the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Leninism is Marxism today, the days of socialist revolutions and the construction of socialism.

(iv) The basic laws of materialist dialectics

Materialist dialectics has three basic laws. These are: the law of the unity and struggle of opposites; the law of the transformation of quantitative in-

to qualitative change; and the law of the negation of negation.

The law of the unity and struggle of opposites

This law reveals the real causes of change, of development of the material world.

What does it mean then? What it means is that things exist because they are made up of things which are opposite to each other. These opposites cannot exist independently of the other. If they do, the object they make up dies. This is what is called the unity of opposites.

Let us look at examples. A magnet has a south pole and a north pole. Without these poles there is no magnet. People eat, yet they have to go to the toilet again. Eating and going to the toilet keep a person alive. If one of them is stopped, the person will die. Capitalist society has capitalists and workers. These two classes can never agree on their differences. The capitalist class wants more and more from the working class. The working class too wants more and more from the capitalist class. The two of them depend on each other, and the existence of capitalist society depends on the two living side by side. When the working class overthrows the capitalist class, capitalist society comes to an end.

It is the struggle of opposites that is the main source of development. Without this struggle there is no development.

In society we have what are called antagonistic and non-antagonistic differences (contradictions). Antagonistic contradictions are those between classes whose interests can never be the same. These contradictions exist between workers and capitalists, between slaves and slave owners, and between serfs and feudalists. The only way to solve these contradictions is the overthrow of one class by another, of the ruling exploiting class by the exploited class. In capitalism the solution is the overthrow of capitalist by workers.

Non-antagonistic contradictions are contradictions between classes and other social groups whose fundamental interests are the same. These are exemplified by contradictions between workers and peasants in both capitalist and socialist society.

We also have internal and external

contradictions. Internal contradictions are made up of the struggle of opposite sides within a given object. The external ones are made up of relations between an object and its external environment.

We also have what are called basic and non-basic contradictions. Basic contradictions are the ones that play the leading part and affect all other contradictions. In capitalist society the basic contradiction is that between the forces of socialism and the forces of capitalism. The non-basic contradictions are those that do not play a leading part in society, for example the contradictions between capitalist farmers and capitalist industrialists.

It is important to remember that there are no hard and fast boundaries between internal and external, antagonistic and non-antagonistic, basic and non-basic contradictions. In real life they are interlinked and change from one into the other.

The law of the transformation of quantitative into qualitative change

This law shows how and in what direction developments take place and what methods bring this about.

What this law means is that increasing quantity of an object can end up completely changing this object to become a totally different thing altogether. For example millions of drops of water make a pool. But more millions of drops of water into the pool end up turning the pool into a lake. And many more millions of drops of water into the lake end up turning the lake into a sea or an ocean.

If we put a pot of water on fire and keep on increasing the heat, the temperature of the water will increase until the water boils and turns into steam. Increased temperature of water changes the water into a new substance altogether, steam. On the other hand, if we continue decreasing the temperature of water, the water will become ice. Again a new substance altogether.

Another example. The increasing exploitation by the capitalists organises the working class into trade unions. Increased trade union activity makes workers form their own political party. Increased activity of the workers' party leads the workers into overthrowing the capitalist class. So the working class

is turned into a powerful revolutionary force as its understanding of capitalist society increases. Increased colonial oppression and exploitation forced the people of Zimbabwe to form welfare organisations, trade unions and powerful anti-colonialist political organisations that brought about the downfall of colonialism in Zimbabwe.

The Law of the Negation of Negation

This law shows the general development of the material world. Everywhere the old dies and its place is taken by the new. Replacement of the old by the new is called negation. This can be seen in the natural world where changing climate and weather can be so drastic that plants and animals will die unless new species better-adapted for the new weather conditions come up too replacing the old plants and animals. In society negation can be seen in that primitive communism is replaced by slave society; slave society by feudalism; feudalism by capitalism; capitalism by socialism. It can also be seen in old tools being replaced by new ones. Each new thing does not remain new for ever. Each new thing creates conditions for it to be replaced or further developed. Therefore what negates one thing is also negated by a new and better thing. This is the negation of negation.

(iv) The Theory of Knowledge of the Working Class

We have said materialists say the world is knowable. People are capable of penetrating the secrets of the world they live in and use these secrets to create a better world for themselves.

But what is knowledge? Knowledge is the image, it is the reflection of the world in our minds. But it is not just an image, a simple reflection. It is an active reflection whose purpose is that of changing the world we live in so that it becomes better.

There is no other source of knowledge than the material

world. On the other hand, idealists say knowledge comes from ideas and emotions of individual people, or from a force above nature. All this means that people are not capable of really understanding the material world, and therefore are not capable of changing it. The working class theory of knowledge says people can really understand the world, and, because of this understanding, can change it for the better.

The working class theory of knowledge goes on to say that the understanding of the world is based on practice, it is based on the production activity of people themselves. There is no other way of knowing the world than to actively work on it. Practice is both the starting point and the only judge of the truth of knowledge.

Knowledge belongs to all because no one person works alone. On the other hand reactionary classes, like the capitalist class, try their best to hide certain knowledge from the oppressed working people for fear that the working people will use it against them. That is why the colonialists and racists in Zimbabwe during colonialism did their best to give the oppressed people of this country as little knowledge as possible about the world. The racists distorted knowledge, and told all sorts of lies about the anti-colonialist armed struggle in Zimbabwe and everywhere in the world. However, these lies worked only up to a point because the truth is difficult to hide. Everyday conditions of existence are the true teachers of what the world is really like.

Practice is also the aim of knowledge. The reason people study their world is to use the knowledge gained in order to change and develop this world. It is important therefore that people bring together practice and knowledge, or theory and practice. None of these should go alone without the other.

Knowledge, like everything else, develops, it does not stand still. From knowledge about what we directly see or feel, people move on to knowledge that enables them to understand things deeper than what

they see at first sight, it makes them more imaginative.

Dialectical materialism says something about truth too. What is true? Only that which correctly reflects an object is true. Truth therefore is objective, it exists independently of what our wishes may be, it too is based on the real world. Those who said armed struggle against colonialism was necessary in Zimbabwe were later proved to be correct because independence came to Zimbabwe only after the armed struggle.

(v) The philosophy of the working class, a weapon of the working class
Only the philosophy of the working class, the philosophy of Marxism, gives a truly correct explanation and picture of nature and society. Because of this, it is a powerful weapon for the revolutionary remaking of nature and society. The only class interested in the true understanding and revolutionary remaking of the world is the working class and its political party. That is why dialectical materialism arose and developed as the theoretical, ideological weapon of the working class in its fight against capitalism. The philosophy of the working class is revolutionary, it says different social systems can be changed, capitalism can be removed, it should be overthrown by the working class.

It is important therefore that the working class masters this philosophy. Without it, it will be difficult for the working class to understand the very complicated conditions in which it operates. The capitalist class is clear about what it wants. That is why it is lying so much about life, about capitalism, about the working class, about socialism and communism. The only way for the working class is to fight and fight until it abolishes capitalism. On the ruins of capitalism the working class then builds socialism as was the case in Russia, in Hungary, in Vietnam, in Poland, in Cuba, in the German Democratic Republic, in China, in Mongolia and in other socialist countries.

How Society Develops

(i) Society develops whether anybody likes it or not

It was Marx and Engels who actually showed how society develops. These founders of scientific socialism clearly showed that the development of society too is dialectical materialist. Their theory on social development is called historical materialism, which is part of the

philosophy of Marxism, the philosophy of the working class.

Marx and Engels showed that in society too there are objective laws which are knowable too. There are of course differences between the laws of nature and the laws of society. For example, the laws of society involve people who think and have emotions. The laws of nature operate blindly on their own.

The capitalist class, however, does its best to go against the laws of social development. The reason being that these laws clearly show that capitalism must be done away with. Whether anybody likes it or not, society develops from the lowest to the highest levels.

Society developed from primitive communism (the example of this society is the life of the San people in Botswana) to slave society (examples of this society are ancient Egypt, Rome and Greece); to feudalism (the example of this is Zimbabwe before it was colonised); to capitalism (the examples of this include Zimbabwe today, Britain, the United States of America, racist South Africa, France, Japan and West Germany); to socialism (the example of this include the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam and Czechoslovakia).

It is the contradictions in each social system that bring about social change and development. Above all, it is the class struggle that brings about change in societies that are divided into classes.

The development of tools, machines, and the people who use them determines the development of society. In capitalism methods of production and the instruments of production develop all the time. But as they develop, the workers develop too and the class struggle develops too. Almost all new inventions in capitalist production are a result of the class struggle. The capitalist class invents new machines and production methods in order to try and fight workers who want less working hours and higher wages. But these inventions lead to more and better organisation of the workers into trade unions and political activity.

It is also true that competition among capitalists brings about new machines and new methods of production. But these too do not make the workers' life better. In fact when new and more efficient machines are invented, workers lose jobs because capitalists do their best to reduce the cost of wages. Therefore capitalist

competition too heightens the class struggle and heightens the consciousness and organisations of the working class.

Socialism too develops, and it develops because of its own internal contradictions. But these are not antagonistic contradictions. Socialism develops into communism. These are the two phases of one and the same social system, communist society. Communism is a classless society of highly educated and trained working people. Communism too will develop because of contradictions within itself. However, there is no other social system above communism.

Each of the five social systems depends on a definite mode (method) of production. This mode of production includes the ownership of the means of production, the distribution of wealth, the people and the instruments of production. Primitive communism is based on communal ownership of the tools and whatever is produced. There is equal sharing of whatever is held. There is no exploitation here, and there is very little understanding of the world people live in. That is why it is called primitive. The slave society is based on private ownership of the means of production and of the slaves by the slave owner. In slave society what is produced is owned by the slave owner. Feudalism is based on private ownership of the means of production by the feudal lord who uses serfs to produce for him or her. In feudalism what is produced by serfs is owned by the feudal lord. Capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of production by the capitalist who employs wage workers to work for him or her. In capitalism what is produced by the workers is owned by the capitalist. In socialism private ownership of the means of production is abolished. All means of production end up belonging to the state and cooperatives. In socialism what is produced by the working people belongs to the working people.

In each society there is a definite way in which people relate to the means of production and to each other when engaged in production. People relate to the means of production and to each other either as owners of means of production, or as those who own no means of production. This relationship in production is called the basis. It is the basis because society is based on it. However, the basis does not exist alone. It exists with political, legal,

philosophical, moral and religious views. In addition there are things like the army, government, courts, parties, trade unions, cooperatives, etc. These views and the organisations and the institutions mentioned make up what is called the superstructure, what is built on top of the basis. The superstructure defends the basis in society. So we have the primitive communism, the slave society, the feudal society, the capitalist society and the socialist basis and superstructure.

The State

What is the State?

The state is exemplified by the army, the police, the courts, parliament, government, and jails. The state is an instrument of maintaining the rule of one class over another. The state is not neutral therefore. But the capitalists (like the Rhodesian racists) want the working class and the peasants to believe that the state is neutral, it works for supports all classes in society. This is not true.

Once we say that the state is a class political instrument, we are also saying that the state has not always been in existence. Why? Because we have already said that there was a time when there were no classes in society. This was during the primitive communal days. In those days there was no army, no police force, no jails and no law. Indeed, this is the case among the San people in Botswana. The state only came with classes. The state only came into being when one group of people became richer than others, and took away from the others the means of production. For the rich group to defend its property against those who had nothing, it had to have an instrument, a machine against those with no property. And to force those who had no means of production to work for it, the rich group had to use a machine — the State.

In slave society the state belongs to the slave owners. In feudal society it belongs to the feudal lords. In capitalism it belongs to the capitalist class. In socialism it belongs to the working class.

The state in slave society, in feudalism and in capitalism is designed to keep control over the working people, it is the state of exploiters, the state of looters, the state of plunderers.

It is designed to force the working people to submit to the small group, the rich and exploiting class.

In socialism the state is designed to suppress the capitalist class and those others who do not want socialism. In socialism the state belongs to the working class. In socialism the working class owns and controls the means of production through its own state. The working class defends its ownership and control over the economy against the capitalist class by using the state. But as socialism develops into communism, the state goes away, it slowly becomes no longer necessary, it withers away. The reason for this is that as socialism develops into communism, class divisions in society die out too. In communism there are no classes. Therefore there is no need for the state in communism.

All states are dictatorships of the ruling class. Each one of them is a machine of suppressing one class or another. Yet each state is democratic for its own class.

The capitalist state is vicious, repressive and cruel against workers and peasants (we all remember the Rhodesian state). This gets worse during the imperialist stage of capitalism. Imperialism is what capitalism is today. It is characterised by big companies that control the economy and the state. Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. That is why the capitalist state has become more vicious and more repressive than ever before. It has run out of ways to justify capitalism and the plunder of other countries. Only military savagery and poisonous propaganda remain to maintain the capitalist system. The imperialist state will engage in world wars and local wars just to maintain capitalism against the will of the people. Imperialism is dangerous to world peace, humanity and social development.

The main functions of the dictatorship of workers (the dictatorship of the proletariat) include the suppression of the exploiting classes; directing the building of socialist economy; and the education and training of working people to equip them for the building of socialism and communism. It nationalises the main means of production and helps

the working people form and run cooperatives.

But the socialist state is guided by the working class party, the Marxist-Leninist Party. The Marxist-Leninist Party is the best, the most conscious section of the working class. Only communists are members of this party. Only those who have proved beyond any doubt that they are the best, the most fearless sons and daughters of workers become members. Only those who are guided by the philosophy of the working class can be members. In any field of activity, only the best in that field must lead. So it is in the struggle for and in the construction of socialism. Anything less than this will not bring about socialism.

(ii) The state in Zimbabwe

The state in Zimbabwe before colonialism was that of feudal lords. It protected them against the peasants and serfs. It was an exploiting state. It had no mercy for those who did not do things according to the wishes and interests of the feudal chiefs and kings.

The state in Zimbabwe during the colonial days was that of colonial capitalism. This was a cruel, repressive, sadistic, racist state against the people of Zimbabwe. It served the interests of the settler capitalist farmers, settler capitalist factory owners, settler capitalist shop owners and the big British, South African, American, Netherlands, West Germany, French and Belgian companies, the multinational companies. This state killed, tortured, detained and restricted thousands of the people of Zimbabwe. The racist and colonial state made sure that the whole black population of Zimbabwe lived in fear all the time. Yet the racists used to say that their state stood for the interests of all.

The state of independent Zimbabwe is a democratic one, it is a state with the support of the majority of workers, peasants, capitalists, the petty bourgeoisie and all our races

and nationalities. But the state is not in control of the economy, Zimbabweans are not in control of the economy. Over 80 per cent of the economy is owned by the same multinationals that made millions of dollars during the colonial days. Zimbabwe therefore is a neo-colony. It is a country that has gained political independence, but has no economic independence.

However, the government of Zimbabwe has made it clear that it wants to change this state of affairs so that we end up being economically independent too. Not only that. The ruling party, ZANU (PF), has declared many times that it wants to lead the people of Zimbabwe towards socialism. ZANU(PF) has Marxism-Leninism as its official ideology, though some of its members are anti-socialist, they are exploiters, or mean to be exploiters. There is no doubt that the majority of ZANU (PF) members (that is workers and peasants) want to see a better system for themselves, that system can only be socialism of the working class for they already know that capitalism has nothing for them, they have lived in it for tens of years and it has brought nothing to them but unending suffering.

The government of Zimbabwe has made it very clear that only socialism of the working class is the correct road for the people of Zimbabwe to follow. This calls for more education of the party members, particularly the working class members. It calls for more education of the class and the peasantry along the path of socialist transformation. The working class has to emerge as the leading force in ZANU (PF), in the state and in the economy. Otherwise socialism will remain a dream. Our trade unions and cooperatives have to be more active, they have to master socialism, they have to be very strong organisationally. For it is only when the working class is clear that our steps towards socialism will be meaningful and will be better defended. Our peasants too have to strengthen their organisations, cooperatives and clubs and direct them towards socialist transformation of agriculture.



Capitalism is Undesirable

Education for national development should probably be the programme for most if not all African and third world universities. The logic of the statement need not escape any disinterested observer, much less the wary. There are presently problems that appear insurmountable, problems of development. For example this little story can help us understand what sort of dilemma we in Africa are facing.

At a press conference a key figure, in the United States administration Casper Weinberger advised African Governments on economic development.

"The only way for African economies to develop is to cut down imports and increase exports."

When asked how this could be when the west was practising trade protectionism, he replied, "It is not for us to make specific policy recommendations for them." However anyone can see that this is a two-faced hypocritical stance, typical of a well fed official of an exploiting western state. However the question that remains or perhaps arises is what steps can be taken in order to correctly identify and act upon the situation that besets us at the moment where our manufacturing industries are domestically orientated and even if they were not, there is nowhere, to export our own finished goods, and yet our own markets are flooded with goods of an American and European brand.

Comrade Robert Mugabe, the First Secretary and President of the Party, attributes the bleak economic situation to a multiplicity of factors. The colonial history, the present economic order, the structures of the African economies, and political upheavals. By and large this is the root of our seemingly "insurmountable" problems. The President went on to say that "floods, drought and desertification are contributory factors to the



present situation of hunger and starvation, while the albatross of economic stagnation continues to weigh heavily on our necks". Comrade Mugabe was addressing the Third Joint Conference of the Association of African Universities and the Economic Commission for Africa. The nature of capitalism should perhaps be seen in its own environment, where the fight for hegemony in its own territory stretches back to the 1800s and even before.

In the manufacture of linen, when the industry was still in its infancy, British industrialists sought and obtained protection for their "infant" industries. At the time it was competing with that of the East. The same stance was taken by German industries, as Friedrich who argued in the 1840s, for the protection of the German industries against competition from established British industries, says "England therefore prohibited the articles competing with those of her own factories, the silk and cotton goods of the East . . ." The implication of this statement is that African and Third World industries are in a no-win position.

Once the British had established their industry they started arguing about the virtues of Free Trade. It is the same case today, nearly two hundred years later where through trade protectionism the West will continue

praising the virtues, if any, of the Free Market system of economic management, where free trade means they are in the driver's seat. Today the Third World is fighting a crisis of underdevelopment whose apparent immediate solution is the accumulation of foreign exchange, which under the present unequal trade relations is difficult for our tied economies. The question of the colonial system is an imperialist one. Cecil Rhodes, writing in 1896 saw the importance of imperialism in the sense of providing a solution to the unemployment problem in Britain as well as a market for British manufactured goods, "The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question."

And Palme Dutt wrote in his book "The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire in the 1950s", The imperialist economy of Britain is a parasitic economy. It is increasingly dependent on the world tribute for its maintenance. By the eve of the first world war close on two fifths of British imports were no longer paid for by exports of goods; and this proportion had risen still higher by the eve of the second world war . . . By 1951 (the imports surplus) had soared to a total of £779 million."

The Rhodes and Dutt statements give an apt description of what colonialism and imperialism are, at no point was there any actual intent on

the part of the colonialists to develop a particular third world country but the intention to plunder, has always been paramount. In 1957 senator Hubert Humphrey, later Vice President of the United States had this to say on modern day imperialism, "I have heard that people may become dependent on you, in terms of their co-operation with you, it seems to me that food dependence would be terrific."

There is no doubt therefore that the Third World is in a very difficult position where some now have to strengthen their bargaining power or alternatively concentrate and increase south-south cooperation in order to get out of the quagmire of imperialist exploitation.

However one cannot go from one point of departure to another without looking at the present social situation of intellectual treachery. There is rising unemployment, without any considerable job creation. Most of the African intellectuals have disappeared into the western metropolis where they use their skills to aid the western governments to continue with their obnoxious policies because capitalism has stripped them of their conscience and they no longer regard themselves as having a role to play in the development sphere of the motherland. The drain that has so far been witnessed is considerable. Most of our brothers and sisters can be found in the public relations departments of transnational corporations, in the marketing side or in the research field where they come back in the employ of these capitalist enterprises to convince their African governments to purchase this or that product which can be produced in Africa.

One way, out of dependence, perhaps the only one which lies open to the African and third world countries is industrialisation which is the role for our intellectuals. The World Bank report quoted in the *Far*

Eastern Economic Review noted: To get the industrial sector going on a sound basis with as little protection as possible and with considerable export orientation is now perhaps the single most important overall policy requirement. "Our intellectuals have studied the functions of western economic policy making and the effects of this on the internal economy of these capitalist states and therefore must also play a role in unseating capitalism in our environment unless they have joined the comprador class on a permanent basis. But of course our policy makers must give them direction on how to proceed. At the same time, while the Brandt Report criticised the western trade protectionist policy it still merely criticised just the policy and in very mild terms, at that in the interests of the capitalist establishment.

"Protectionism certainly leads to the wrong direction for it helps maintain — at considerable cost — structures that are becoming obsolete. It stops people from adapting to new forms of the international division of labour and postpones essential decisions."

Decisions by whom and in whose favour? Who makes them, but the people who practise the protectionism. In essence what the Brandt report did was to recommend the African and third world economies to act by reaction and there is no telling whether or not we would ever get out of the situation where we are not masters of our own destiny, and therefore we say no to capitalism, no to imperialism and advocate for the workers to wrestle national wealth from the capitalists.

Forward with socialism!
The struggle continues.

Ul Haq in an article entitled *Inequities of the old Economic Order* said the honors was now on the universities, our research institutions, our intellectual forums in the Third World to grapple and find solutions to this situation, "It is for them to work out carefully concrete instances of systematic discrimination built into the existing economic order — whether the inadequate return from raw material exports, or inequitable sharing of gains from multinationals, or unequal distribution of world liquidity."

He also added that "in future negotiations, what is at stake here is not a few marginal adjustments in the international system but its complete overhaul". As such when the situation is put for analysis and observation the efforts being put by the African Universities cannot be called enough. It is commendable that they are involved in developmental work on a practical level but this is only working within an existing context, where there is a low level of income as a result of low productivity, which therefore must be counteracted by effective planning and research in order to increase productivity and therefore levels of income and standard of living.

Universities in Africa and the Third World have to help create employment through the consciousness that these regions suffer unequal trade relations, and that their economies are rigidly constructed as they have been designed to serve colonial metropolis and as such it is high time when there was a shift from serving the needs of the colonialists but those of the masses in the Third World and these higher institutions of learning can go a long way to help achieve this.

Forward ever, backwards never.
Let the workers make socialism a reality.



Researchers Fighting Malaria

Researchers fighting Malaria



Zimbabwe is winning the battle against malaria but the chances of eradicating the disease soon are still remote, researchers here say.

"Our major thrust in malaria research is two fold. We are concerned with how we can control malaria and how we can eradicate the disease," the Government Chief Epidemiologist, Richard Munochiveyi told IPS.

Munochiveyi said a concerted regional effort was needed to combat malaria, adding that because of this, it was still too early to talk about eradicating the disease in Zimbabwe.

With the exception of the high altitude central areas of the country, most of the low-lying parts of Zimbabwe are infested with the malaria carrying anopheles female mosquitoes.

And in June and July last year, there was an outbreak of cerebral malaria in the low-lying Gokwe District in north-west Zimbabwe which killed 32 people, half of them children of school going age, Munochiveyi disclosed.

The *plamodium falciparum* is the commonest malaria parasite and the most dangerous of the four found in the country, accounting for some 95 percent of all malaria cases, he said.

Children and pregnant women are the most vulnerable to the disease which "can cause abortion in the second and third stages of pregnancy" the epidemiologist said.

According to Paul Taylor at the Blair Research Station here, malaria can cause anaemia in pregnant women and the risk is higher in those prone to hypertension.

Taylor said that in children, malaria could kill as in most cases they have

not developed resistance and immunity to the disease.

Malaria carrying mosquitoes and parasites are developing a rest resistance to drugs, Brian Dando, a World Health Organisation (WHO) epidemiologist based here, said.

"Malaria is a changing disease and drugs which were used before are no longer effective," Dando told IPS.

"The parasites become resistant to drugs. Insecticides do not always work as they used to as the mosquitoes also become resistant and this is causing a problem", he said.

Another problem, Munochiveyi said, was that most people did not take the full dose of treatment when they contracted malaria so that although they felt cured, the parasite was still dormant in the body.

He attributed this partially to the pharmaceutical companies which pack malaria tablets in two's and four's instead of the full course of 10 tablets.

munochiveyi said one way of controlling malaria was through community participation.

Zimbabwe's Health Ministry, with the help of Village Health Workers, schools and clinics in affected areas is educating people on malaria prevention and what to do when a person is infected.

Besides the participation of the community, the ministry is training its staff on the use of DDT to spray affected areas. But some people refuse to use it in their homes because of the obnoxious smell of

the residual chemical, Munochiveyi said.

"Environmentalists are also against the use of DDT which they say kills birds and other small animals," he added.

A national spraying programme to kill mosquitoes is carried out every year from August to December. This reduced the number of malaria from some 6 000 cases before the programme started in 1982 to 978 in 1985.

The Health Ministry is recommending the "habitat management" strategy which involves draining stagnant water and clearing up breeding sites for mosquitoes.

Munochiveyi said there was also the possibility of using biological control which entails breeding types of fish which eat the mosquito larvae.

Another possibility Zimbabwean researchers were looking into, Munochiveyi said, was genetic control where only male mosquitoes — which do not carry malaria parasites — will be bred.

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Artists and the Challenge of Socialism

The question of the Arts and what art is, should be viewed and defined according to the traditional role of art.

African art has always been functional. In symbol communication, and in appreciation, so in spite of the western conception of art as being philosophical, art has never been a preserve of a particular segment of society in our African environment. It is precisely for this reason that art should transform itself in the modern Zimbabwe society and take its functional characteristic as has always been its role. Others may say that most of what we, as Africans call art was actually craft, therefore different from the modern fine arts. But the distinction would be very minute indeed. In Zimbabwe what then is the role of the artist? In regard to the new social order which we are creating it is natural to conclude that the arts serve socialism by being part and parcel of this transformation.

In many revolutions of the world where the masses have chosen the revolutionary path art has also transformed to play its role in national development. This means that art was no longer an aspect of the rich few, but indeed became identified with national aspirations. In Cuba, in the DPRK, in Mozambique. This is not to say such societies are devoid of artists who create according to their whims, those who still sail the old order, who are victims of their own bourgeois upbringing, who still cling to the old values, but important also the state has not made the artist abandon his own way of creativity but has brought the artists into the revolutionary fold, therefore leaving him to identify with the new order.

When art is referred to, it encompasses the theatre, painting, sculpture, literature, and other modes of artistic self expression. In order for the complete transformation of art to take place, the adoption of the new age in artistic expression, the youth have to be taught not only the skills to express what they think, what they imagine as well as be able to read what is imagery, there is in a picture by another artist, but according to Moses Gutti, a sculptor, "Children have to be given direction,



it is a luxury to leave a child to his own whims without showing them the proper direction in developmental expression." Art and craft, in the olden days of our society used to be passed from generation to generation in a particular family. The same is true for oral history, it was passed down in generations, but by particular members of society who became carriers of history. In the same way children should undergo the same kind of artistic orientation. The present generation is undergoing a bombardment of foreign culture most of which is not keeping with the societal goal and therefore this negates to the point of defeating the aims and aspirations of recreating

culture and making it serve the needs of the people as well as those of the revolution towards development. *Zimbabwe News* had a discussion with Dorothy Sibanda the Education Officer at the National Gallery, who is in touch with young artists.

She believes, "the artist does not have direction at the moment" but at the same time she also thinks that "no detailed plan or framework for the role of the artist" has yet been drafted. Comrade Sibanda concluded that artists have a very big role to play in the development of a national culture, because if you don't have your own people who can design or create, and write about their own peo-

ple a country will forever rely on the foreign culture".

Zimbabwe has a rich heritage which has not been recorded by the people themselves either through paintings or literature, though symbolical (artifacts) culture such as beadwork, embroidery, woodcarving, have been preserved.

Though it is true that colonialists stole a great deal of our cultural symbols to store in their own museums and private collections, many of our people who have remained unspoiled by westernisation still have recollections of the organisation of life in their own environment and therefore it should be the task of our painters, writers, to initiate dialogue with these "old people" so as to give visual impact to our culture.

What most African countries have relied on for the interpretation of their history are books by the colonialists themselves who have established large libraries in western capitals such that today if you want to carry out research into African culture you have to go to London, Washington, Bonn, New York and such capitals.

Zimbabwe's armed struggle also sought guidance from spirit mediums who are believed to have helped keep the fighters together apart from their ideological guidance. It means therefore that for our revolution to strengthen, the cultural front cannot be left to the whims of a capitalist oriented runaway culture. This is probably the challenge that our artists face. The realisation that culture is a dynamic entity of the struggle against capitalist encroachments, because if during the armed struggle culture played a significant role how is it that the artists can afford to minimise cultural expression and relegate it to the level of the abstract. One might argue that the relation between culture as a system of ways rules, beliefs of the people has no relation with the arts as tools of cultural expression but this would be a bourgeois argument used to deny African culture its recognition as dynamic, and force the acceptance of the western concept of culture. This is called natural imperialism.

The concept of the cultural revolution being spearheaded by the artists themselves, rather than policy makers but with the support of the various government bodies can only be unique since as was true of the ZANU (PF) slogan during the armed struggle that "we are own liberators" the same concept should be

understood by our artists in order for the cultural revolution to become African and enrich our society.

According to Comrade Sibanda, "there is need for deliberate attempts to indoctrinate our youth into cultural arts" perhaps through awareness programmes.

On an artistic level, Comrade Sibanda thinks that the challenge to the artists is for them to look for inspiration into historical and traditional background, as well as into fellow Zimbabweans in all walks of life and to give dignity to all fellow

a new cultural identity devoid of the express of capitalism, in keeping with a dynamic society.

It is not only what the Japanese are doing to western art-hoarding it — it is also what the westerners are doing to African art — also hoarding it.

It is indeed a paradoxical situation at which African artists find themselves in.

One, they need to create and preserve the cultures of their African ancestry as well as to give a sense of being to their own people, that they

WEALTH JAPANESE ARE CASHING IN ON ART

WEALTHY Japanese art collectors are exploiting the soaring value of the yen to buy up major Western art works at a rate that may now outpace nearly every other nation.

Some works are displayed in public museums, art experts say, but many remain in private hands, never to be seen by art lovers.

Collectors are often so secretive that even Tokyo curators do not know where many of Japan's major imported works are kept.

The reasons, curators and collectors say, include a desire not to flaunt wealth, worries about attracting the tax collector's attention and a greater interest in investment than art for art's sake.

Ms. Hibiyu added, "private companies are buying some fine paintings, too, we think. But we don't know."

What isn't a secret is how much Japanese have been buying in recent months in New York and London.

The yen has risen 60 percent against the US dollar since late 1985. It cost 242 yen to buy one dollar then, and only 153 now.

With dollars cheaper, the Japanese have become, by some estimates, the second most important presence in the international art world, behind American buyers.

Last year at Christie's auction in New York, Japanese buyers bought almost 15 percent of mostly French Impressionist works that sold for nearly US\$30 million. At another auction in November, a record-breaking US\$5 million was reportedly paid by a Japanese gallery for Piet Mondrian's "Composition in Red, Blue and Yellow".

At a recent Christie's auction, Japanese bought 40 percent of the US\$6 million worth of Impressionist paintings sold. One Tokyo collector estimated that 70 percent of Japanese collections consist of Impressionist-era works.

workers since in essence artists are workers.

Therefore our thrust for socialist equality should also be matched with hard honest work in the recreation of

have a culture of their own, that there still is something about them — perhaps the most important — that was left uncontaminated by colonialism — their culture. Our artists must get international recognition,



resultantly this opens scholarships into our past, so that we can enrich what is there at the moment as well as for posterity.

Most of our national monuments today lie in foreign museums as well as foreign private homes. There is a record that Zimbabwe has many of its artifacts in Britain, the United States and Australia but they have refused to return them. Britain especially, since it was a colonial power and managed to loot Zimbabwe's cultural heritage in the form of spears, pots, ornaments and other artifacts. UNESCO has passed a law requiring all cultural artifacts in foreign lands to be returned to their lawful origin. The mechanics of the matter would be on an exchange basis. Britain refused saying it would be the looser.

The Executive Director of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Dr. Francis Matipano told Zimbabwe News that a law would soon be enacted to protect movable cultural heritage.

Asked how soon this legislation would be, he said it would take a while. But he gave the example of a UNESCO document on Tanzania, which is a collection of legislative texts concerning the protection of movable cultural property. Comrade Matipano said that nobody was prepared to observe the UNESCO legislation but he said successful legislation might be within the Commonwealth. "We will try to work within the Commonwealth in order to recover our artifacts." He said that the way to recover the artifacts would probably be through exchange of such cultural belongings as in the case of the Zimbabwe Birds taken by South Africa during colonialism. "We gave them a collection of rare mosquitoes, and they gave us back our Zimbabwe Birds." Six Zimbabwe Birds were in South Africa and only one remaining in the country. "It was not fair to have the Zimbabwe Bird flying high on the national flag and yet we didn't have any of them left in the country.

However he said that there would have to be devised some means of getting back Zimbabwean cultural artifacts from Britain, the United States and from Australia other than an exchange programme, "because we do not have any of their cultural artifacts, we never colonised them and we didn't loot their artifacts".

The Tanzanian document which is part of the Antiquities Act enacted in 1964, but carries amendments to the original document empowers the minister responsible for antiquities, among other things, to declare any place, site or structure of historical interest to be a monument, as well as acquire such a relic as long as it was "formed or built by human agency before the year 1863." The act also re-

quires the minister to protect objects of national significance and requires any person to report the presence of a relic or monument wherever it is existing. The document also restricts who is granted licence for purposes of scientific excavation and restricts the exportation of relics.

It is such a law that is presently required for the control of national circulation of our relics and monuments.

Dr. Matipano said he didn't see any reason why collectors of such artifacts cannot go and purchase what they want from culture houses and the market place like Mbare. "It is because of the monetary value attached to the age old artifacts."

Well, if such a law is not enacted soon, how far can the police stop the international theft of our relics, many of which are not recorded, even if there is cooperation with Interpol, the International Police.

On a more recent note, there was recognition of Zimbabwe's unique art in the form of sculpture when a book by the Italian Ambassador Ferdinand Mor was launched recently. The reviews of the book have been carried in the daily press. The book is called "Shona Sculpture."

Professor Walter Kamba speaking on the launching ceremony described the work as "genuine and authentic expression of Zimbabweans' deeply held beliefs interacting with the changing social and cultural environment."

Indeed the comment should be made that it is through such recognition that our artists can continue their work with the dignity that enables them to restore the dignity of the nation's workers, peasants and their own culture.

National culture in the Transition from capitalism to socialism

by Davison Kanokanga

The topic in question is undeniably wide. At the same time, its centrality within the transition from capitalism to socialism is of cardinal importance. A people's culture has a fundamental bearing on the revolution's tempo, it can either accelerate or decelerate it.

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tempo, it can either accelerate or decelerate it.

In attempting to analyse this topic,



I will as of necessity, adopt a materialist perception of history. In other words, resort will be made to a Marxist-Leninist methodology and scholarship. I will seek to define the concept 'culture', analyse how it manifests itself within a colonial setting and then proceed to analyse how culture should manifest itself within the socialist transformation.

What is Culture

A plethora of definitions have been coined to try and bring out what goes into making a people's culture. I do not consider it a worth while exercise for us to explore and delve into the immense variegation of definitions available. Suffice it to say that I agree with Frantz Fanon who defines national culture as,

"the expression of a nation, the expression of its preferences, of its taboos and of its patterns".

It is, he elaborates,

"the result of internal and external extensions exerted over society as a whole and also at every level of that society".

In a nutshell, culture is a summation of a people's values, a people's preferences, a people's perception of history and humanity. To that extent, it is a reflection and expression of the level of development of a people's consciousness. It is a superstructural configuration whose tenor is determined and influenced by the level of economic development.

Thus there subsists a dialectical relationship between the economic base and a people's culture.

National Culture Under Colonialism

A brief survey of the brand of culture that prevailed in Zimbabwe during colonialism is, I think, vital to a comprehensive and enlightened understanding of what needs to be done during the transitional period. I will in this connection attempt to define the concept 'Colonialism' and proceed to explore the culture that existed during colonialism.

From a materialist viewpoint, colonialism is foreign domination imposed on a nation and its ruling class by the ruling class of another nation with the lucid intention of subjugating, oppressing and exploiting the vanquished nation thereby converting their territory into a satellite of the metropole. In other words, colonialism is a direct product of moribund or decadent capitalism (imperialism) which, through the wholesale exportation of finance capital, compartmentalises the world and sets up a multiplicity of colonies as part and parcel of extending and reproducing capitalist relations on a grand scale thereby beefing up capitalism as a system and the capitalists as a class.

In analysing national culture under colonialism, I can do no better than directly quote Frantz Fanon who writes,

"... colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perversed logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts,

disfigures and destroys it".

Thus colonialism systematically mutilated and devalued our culture. It purposefully and consciously imposed on us an alien culture and instilled into the indigeneous population an inferiority complex through a deliberate bastardisation and villification of their past. Through ideological manipulations the vanquished were forced to perceive and regard the colonisers as a redemptive, civilised, impeccable and virtuous nation. We were made to shun our indigeneous culture, to consider ourselves uncouth, barbaric and in urgent need of salvation. Frantz Fanon says: "When we consider the efforts made to carry out the cultural estrangement so characteristic of the colonial epoch, we realise that nothing has been left to chance and that the total result looked for by colonial domination was indeed to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their darkness. The effect consciously sought by colonialism was to drive into the natives' heads the idea that if the settlers were to leave, they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality."

The Wretched of the Earth

This, I think, is an accurate and succinct exposition of the stratagems employed by the colonialists vis-a-vis culture. Through these schemes, the colonial machinery gave and continues, within the context of neo-colonialism, to give birth to some obnoxious and revolting sub-culture; a culture of thoroughly confused personalities who, in reality, epitomise the triumph of colonial machinations.

National culture in the Socialist Transformation.

Socialist transformation entails Socio-economic and political upheavals. It entails the creation of a new society imbued with a radically different and progressive ideology and world outlook.

By threading the road to socialism, our leadership realises and acknowledges the inhumanity and crudity of capitalism and the need to substitute it with a qualitatively superior socio-economic formation. This, I think, is a revolutionary and noble mission.

The pertinent question however is, where do we place culture in this transformation? What's its role?

Culture is intricately linked with the tempo of a revolution. It is both a reflection and an expression of, not only the level of development of a people's consciousness, but also the development of a people's revolution.

Our culture is currently grossly and lamentably contaminated with western values and ideals. This cultural imperialism derives from the prevailing mode of production as well as the nature of the ownership of the means of production. Because of capitalist control, our culture currently quivers with revolting impurities which have the catastrophic effect of decelerating socialist transformation. They are anathema to socialist construction and serve to produce

capitalist cadres notably in the form of the obnoxious 'nose — brigade' subculture who consciously or subconsciously perpetuate capitalism.

I wish to submit that, in order to dismantle the obsolete socio-economic formation and engender a new one, there is an overriding need to have ideologically lucid, conscious and articulate cadres to mobilise and conscientise the masses on the essence of socialism, its practicability and the need to implement it. This will catalyse socialist construction.

I do not consider it necessary to emphasize the fact that the notions supra cannot be implemented by culturally hazy and confused per-

sonalities; personalities who in themselves epitomize the triumph of bourgeois machinations.

Our culture must as of necessity, undergo a thorough reconstruction under the auspices of socialist transformation.

There must come into existence, an African culture with an African identity. A culture which accurately sums up our values, societal perceptions and convictions.

It is my submission that this cultural revolution will fundamentally assist in the creation of a new man imbued with the envisioned humanity and socialist morality.

Racist Elections

Uneasy Lies The Head That Wears The Dallas Crown

On May 6th this year racist South Africa held yet another whites only elections. These racist elections were held at a time when that country is facing a very hard political and economic situation ever.

Sooner or later the racist regime will be sanctioned by the international community as agreed by the United Nations General Assembly. The question the peace loving people may want to ask is "Who do these elections serve?" And how many such referendums or elections will this regime hold before the people of South Africa win their freedom.

History will take its course and the white minority racist regime will be no more. In 1977 when the racist regime was pressured by the international community to grant the people of Namibia their independence, the South African regime led by Voster held a referendum to win the support of the English speaking population of South Africa when the west had initiated dialogue and detente. The United States of America, taking a leading role on this detente and dialogue policy sent the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to shuttle in Africa and Southern Africa in particular to sell the position of the West on Southern Africa and South Africa's apartheid system in particular to convince the African leaders, the OAU, the United Nations and the International Community that change was eminent if South Africa was given a chance to reform.

The referendum served the apartheid regime's programme of delaying the liberation of South Africa and Namibia,



More strongly, it was meant to suffocate the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, and draw the day of liberation to a latter date. This was not possible and Zimbabwe is today one of the Frontline States whose commitment to the liberation of South Africa and Namibia is not questionable.

Though the detente and dialogue exercise did delay the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, it did not stop the revolution taking its course. But South Africa and apartheid is still with the people of Namibia and South Africa and continues to destabilise Southern Africa.

In 1983, when the detente and dialogue exercise had failed, the racist regime wanted to gain support from the Nationalist Afrikaner for the tri-cameral Parliament as a polish-up of the apartheid system. This called for increased division of people on racial lines and the deportation of the Black population of South

Africa to the "homelands", denying them their right to be citizens of South Africa. Black South Africans were banished to the "homelands" to consolidate Afrikaner power and the system of apartheid. By so doing the racist Nationalist Party raised the consciousness of the people and the struggle for freedom spread the breadth and length of South Africa. It also increased the International community's pressure on South Africa resulting in the imposition of an arms embargo against Pretoria by the United Nations.

Instead of scrapping apartheid, the Botha regime started the arms embargo busting exercise with the support of the Zionist state of Israel, West Germany, France and the United States of America. Military and intelligence personnel and information exchanges were increased to thwart the complete dismantling of the crime against humanity. The nationalist Party in fact con-

solidated its position and has since become one of the major arms exporters (rated fifth according to an RSA Radio commentary of the 6th April this year).

The west has not learnt from its previous mistakes as President Reagan and his Foreign Affairs Committee confessed in 1985 when the matter was debated at the United Nations. The west now seeks to half-heartedly accept the Frontline States, the OAU, the United Nations and the International Community's call for total sanctions against racist South Africa. This is not without difficulty as the west is committed to the white racist state of South Africa and apartheid.

The west has at all times taken sides with the racist regime in its efforts to save apartheid and racialism as practiced. South Africa being of strategic importance to the west, the Botha regime sees the west as its ally and the West sees racist South Africa as its ally too in the so-called fight against socialist oriented liberation movements as well as the Frontline States and socialism.

The May 6th whites-only elections in South Africa serve the same interest to the west as well as the Nationalist Party of Botha. In holding the May elections, Botha is now saying to the Nationalist Party, "apartheid" has failed, and that he has gone to the extreme of the west's demand for reforms. The white electorate will be answering the question of what next in their votes. The only thing white voters will say is we fight to the finish or give in to power sharing, which is being demanded by the liberals and the South African based representatives of international capitalism. For the first time in the history of the USA imperialism, the Reagan Administration and that of Whitehall recently agreed to meet leaders of liberation movement — the ANC and the PAC. Internally contacts have been maintained with organisations like the Inkatha and others. In this exercise, the west is trying to convince the UN, OAU, the NAM and the Commonwealth that apartheid will be reformed. Chester Croker, like his predecessor, Kissinger, has been to South Africa and to Southern Africa with proposals for

a peaceful solution to the Southern African issue and apartheid.

The May 6 elections will only determine the position of the extreme right-wing of the Nationalist Party, or the liberals with people like Warrall (South Africa's resigned Ambassador to Britain) and Nationalist Party candidate for the Transvaal Province, Malan. The fact that the 375 South African academics have now joined hands with the liberals and have resigned from the Nationalist Party right wing remains to be seen whether peaceful change or reforms come to South Africa as advocated by the west. If the Nationalist Party wins the elections, it means Botha will have to say to hell with the west's plan for that country. The recent military exercises which took place in South Africa on the 6th of April are a pointer to the Nationalist intentions to wage a war against the people of that country and neighbours in defence of apartheid.

The fact that the military weaponry displayed by the SDF were claimed to have been manufactured in South Africa under licence, means that the racist regime does not care much about the imposition of sanctions against it. The west will continue to support apartheid like it did even after the arms embargo imposed on it by the international community. The west will support the racist South African sanctions busting methods and carry on trading with the racist regime in Pretoria. The West and racist South Africa did it with Rhodesia, they have all the experience.

The west's desire to see the apartheid regime as ready for reforms was thwarted by the recent "Indaba" held in Natal with apartheid stooges like Gatsha Buthelezi and his clique, who in the eyes of Africans are stooges of capitalism and imperialism. These "homeland" leaders are not acceptable to the people of South Africa. The west has realised that the Natal "Indaba" did not serve any purpose, just as the dialogue and detent exer-

cise before 1977 did not. The whites only referendum of 1983 did not serve its purpose as planned by Botha and his clique but in fact hardened the liberation movements' resolve to fight vigorously to defeat racism and apartheid. The May 6th elections will decide between racist South Africa towing the west line to weaken the revolutionary process and the Nationalist Party confronting to the finish the fighting people of Namibia and South Africa.

The west is not only watching with interest but observing the situation more closely in an anticipation of civil war among whites hence the presence of USA forces of aggression in surrogate Zaire's Shaba Province. Added to this situation, the French have agreed in principle to use spy-satellite to monitor movements of Frontline States forces for racist South Africa. The USA is known to predict a civil war among the whites similar to that of 1899 when the Afrikaners and the British fought for the possession of the Black people of South Africa's land.

Imperialists and capitalists are known for misjudgement, the struggle for South Africa will be waged by the Black population of that country without the assistance of any liberal forces within the Nationalist Party.

The western propaganda machinery of divide and rule will not change the revolutionary process to liberalism by claims of certain personalities being leaders in their own right of the South African revolution.

The people of South Africa (or Azania) and Namibia will continue to fight for their freedom, sanctions are only a supplementary method which should not lure them into moderation, but should make them struggle harder when the racists themselves are divided.

The west must not be allowed to distract the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia from prosecuting the armed struggle.

A LUTA CONTINUA
AMANDLA/MATHLA



Apartheid in Perspective

The current political situation in South Africa is grim. The insanity, barbarity and savagery of the flagrantly racist and fascist regime there have assumed dangerous and catastrophic dimensions. Indiscriminate killings, cold-blooded murder, systematic and ruthless arrests licensed by totalitarian and despotic laws are not only operational but a daily reality.

Since the inception of the African National Congress in 1912 and despite countless non-violent and constitutional attempts by the blacks to win their freedom, the minority regime remains unrepentant and arrogant. It remains shockingly impervious to the South African blacks' quest for freedom and human dignity. The regime refuses to acknowledge and honour as precedent, fundamental historical facts which prove beyond doubt, the myopia and falsity of the preposterous principle of white supremacy: a principle severely unscientific, a principle whose hollowness is testified to by most, if not all independent African states.

White hegemony in South Africa is socially and politically reprehensible. It is a deliberate play and political perversion designed to relegate blacks to perpetual servitude and debilitating poverty. It is a superstructural feature deriving from the unwarranted whites' control and ownership of the major means of production and consequently the need to protect and maintain their material interests. This protection is effected through *inter alia*, such mischievous pieces of legislation as the notorious *Pass laws*, the *Suppression of Communism Act*, the *Group Areas Act* and the *Emergency Powers Regulations*.

The violence and armed struggle in South Africa today, if I may submit, are direct and inevitable products of the racist regime's intransigence and ignoble mission of perpetually keeping the blacks away from the corridors of political power by means of economic castration.

As amply stated by comrade Nelson Mandela during the 1963 *Rivonia Trial*, "... without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their

struggle against the principle of white supremacy," "because all non-violent and lawful modes of expressing opposition have proved sterile.

*** Extract from comrade Nelson Mandela's speech during the 1963 Rivonia Trial.**

The armed struggle in South Africa gives authenticity to Paulo Freire's assertion that the oppressed have never and can never be the initiators of violence. Their violence is a mere response to the violence and brutality by the oppressors who forcibly expropriated them from their major means of livelihood and stripped them of their humanity.

*** Paraphrase from Paulo Freire's assertion on the Pedagogy of the oppressed**

The white response to the armed struggle is simply, "let us beat them down with guns and batons and trample them under our feet. We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if there is the slight chance of preserving white supremacy."***

*** Nelson Mandela — No Easy Walk to Freedom** pg27. One finds it difficult to argue otherwise than that the struggle in South Africa is to all intents and purposes, an acute class struggle. Yes, the blacks in South Africa have "Freedom in their own land," as "the pinnacle of their ambitions"***

*** Nelson Mandela — No Easy Walk to Freedom** pg 159. But it surely would be gross political gullibility to stop there. As embodied in the *Freedom Charter*, the armed struggle is poised at the inauguration of a South Africa which belongs to blacks and whites alike. A South Africa devoid of injustice, oppression and exploitation. A humane South Africa where the principles of justice, liberty and civil rights prevail with societal blessing and sanction.

The blacks in South Africa are thus waging a class struggle designed to dismantle the capitalist socio-economic formation from which their miseries derive. Lest I be accused of racism, let me hasten to submit that there are indeed some progressive and revolutionary cadres amongst the whites who identify positively with the armed struggle. This

however does not seriously affect the class nature and analysis of the struggle. It is basically a struggle by the propertiless classes against the propertied classes, and blacks happen to be both numerically and materially, the most deprived. Yes, Apartheid is a crime against and a negation of humanity. But, much more than that, one has to realise that Apartheid is a superstructural configuration dialectically linked to the economic base. It is a reflection and expression of, not only the extent to which the racists have lost their sanity and humanity, but also the moral and political rectitude of the armed struggle.

The ferocity with which the Botha regime and Imperialism are defending their material interests and seeking to entrench capitalism and its affiliates, is nothing bizarre. It serves as a political barometer, indicating the intensity of the armed struggle. All sorts of stratagems are being employed to realise the interests of the minority regime. There is for instance, the concept of Bantu education which to all intents and purposes is an expression of an untenable, uncouth and unscientific racist philosophy that Africans are inherently inferior to Europeans and should thus receive such education as perpetually keeps them hewers of wood and drawers of water for their white masters.

There is also the notorious concept of Bantustans which finds legal expression in the *Group Areas Act*. As unashamedly summed up by the then Secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr. W.W.M. Eiselen, the rationale behind Bantustans and Pass laws is that,

"All the Bantu have their permanent homes in the Reserve and their entry into the urban areas is merely of a temporary nature and for economic reasons"

Extract from an article in Optima (March 1959) The crudity of the above assertion is apparent. The Botha regime is unleashing ruthless violence both within and without its borders. Thousands of civilians are daily agonizing and languishing in South African prisons. Thousands

have been severed from their families. Children and adults alike are being subjected to a merciless and heartless reign of terror. What moral atrophy!

We in Zimbabwe have as a nation, witnessed and been subjected to the racist regime's destabilisation activities merely because we sanely and soberly condemn the Boer regime and its racist policies. The frontline states in particular have been earmarked as desirable cannon fodder by the berserk regime. The tragic and untimely death of Comrade Samora Machel is a constant reminder of the magnitude of the regime's brutality and the threat to which the frontline states are exposed.

Comrades, political laxity and

passivity are luxuries we cannot afford in this era. We cannot afford to marginalise our concern for the South African struggle. Not only should we continue to relentlessly assist the armed struggle diplomatically and materially but also purposefully and accurately mobilise the national and international community to follow suit.

Vigilance at home has to be intensified so as to enable us to readily identify all perpetrators and saboteurs.

We must continue to identify ourselves with the suffering masses in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia. Let there subsist Impeccable solidarity amongst us. We must boldly make extinct imperialism, Capitalism, Apartheid and Zionism. These must be relegated to the dustbins of history.

As prophetically and scientifically enunciated by comrade Nelson Mandela, the demise of Apartheid is inevitable. In his own words, he stated, "In its efforts to keep the African people in a position of perpetual subordination South Africa must and will fail"***

Extract from comrade Mandela's speech during the 1963 Rivonia Trial. The revolution lives on.

Amandla Ngawethu!

References:

1. No Easy Walk To Freedom by Nelson Mandela
2. The Pedagogy of the Oppressed by Paulo Freire
3. I write what I like by Steve Biko

Nicaragua — Together in the Struggle

The Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Comrade Father Miguek d'Escoto Brockman recently paid a solidarity visit to Zimbabwe. He praised Zimbabwe's support in his country's struggle against the Contras (counter-revolutionaries) and the Non-aligned Movement's stand against the American policy which supports these bandits. Below is a speech by the Deputy Secretary of External Affairs and Minister of Foreign Affairs Comrade Witness Mangwende.

It is a great pleasure and an honour to welcome you, Comrade Minister d'Escoto, and your delegation to our country. I would wish to express to you my sincere personal appreciation, and indeed that of the Government and people of Zimbabwe, for your visit here, particularly at this time when Nicaragua is facing a most dire threat to its very existence. We in Zimbabwe value your visit immensely as it not only affords us an opportunity to exchange views on issues of mutual concern to our two nations, but also it will enable you to

Comrade W. Mangwende
Minister of
Foreign Affairs



see and assess, at first hand, the equally ominous state of affairs in our own region. In any event, I am hopeful that your visit to Zimbabwe will be both fruitful and enjoyable.

Comrade Minister, let me at the outset express my delight and ap-

preciation at the fact that the relations which exist between our two countries, even at this trying moment, have never been stronger. You do recall that these bonds of brotherhood and solidarity have their roots in the long arduous struggles of our respective liberation

movements, the Sadinist National Liberation Front and ZANU (PF), the glorious fruition of which we celebrated together in July, 1979 and April, 1980.

Comrade Minister, there could have been no greater manifestation of the friendship and solidarity between our two countries than when Nicaragua awarded the prestigious Order of Augustino Cesar Sandino to our Prime Minister Comrade Robert Mugabe, when he visited your magnificent country in October of 1985. In equal measure, we were greatly honoured when His Excellency Comrade President Daniel Ortega Saavedra, among other world leaders, came to participate in the eighth Summit of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries last year.

Comrade Minister, it gratifies me to note that on many an issue our two Governments share similar and often identical views. Our common opposition and aversion to imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid, militarism, Zionism and the nuclear arms race has been consistent over the years. Our two nations, small as they are have also maintained their firm adherence to the principles of the equality, absolute sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.

Given these well-meaning and noble principles, which we have assiduously observed, it is with a sense of abject dismay that we note the veritable threat to our respective revolutions posed by the two mighty and malevolent countries which dominate our respective regions of the world.

We in Zimbabwe, having prevailed and triumphed over the evil forces of imperialism and settler colonialism, took upon ourselves the onerous, but inevitable, task of rebuilding, repairing and rehabilitating the economic infrastructures and the very fabric of our society which had been virtually destroyed during the war of liberation. For it was only in congenial conditions of peace and tranquility that we could hope to succeed in our endeavours; and thus espousal of the policy of reconciliation and forgiveness, to which we proudly attribute the degree of national unity and co-operation which presently exists in our country.

But it is with utter dismay that we note that our racist neighbour, South Africa, which, as you are aware, has a notorious history of interference in the internal affairs of other independent states, has worked

ceaselessly to try and thwart all our efforts for the betterment of the lives of our people. To this end, it is the apartheid regime which is training, arming, financing and infiltrating into our country political thugs who are bent on wreaking despondency and terror among our people.

The Pretoria regime has directed its vicious and militaristic destabilization campaign not only against Zimbabwe, but against all genuinely independent states, without exception, in the region. That regime today unashamedly gives direct military assistance to the bandit forces of the so-called Mozambique National Resistance in Mozambique. In like manner, its troops have made direct incursions into Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Swaziland and Lesotho, thus causing untold economic, political and social woes in those peace-loving states. All in all, Comrade Minister, the Botha regime is the sole aggressor which has principally contributed to the tension and uncertainty prevailing today in this region.

As if its wanton regional destabilization was not enough, the regime in Pretoria has continued to maintain its colonial stranglehold over Namibia and its brutalization of the majority within its own borders with the wretched hope of perpetuating its detestable white supremacist policies.

In naked defiance of international law and the demands of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and

other international fora, the apartheid regime continues to unlawfully occupy the territory of Namibia. It has adopted a variety of cunning and, eventually discredited tactics in order to circumvent the internationally accepted UN Plan for the independence of Namibia. By linking the independence process of Namibia with the extraneous issue of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola, the South Africans are seeking to prevent the inevitable and in so doing are continuing to subject the masses of Namibia to untold misery and suffering.

Comrade Minister, as the impasse on Namibia continues, our support for SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, must neither wane nor dissipate. Moral, material and diplomatic support for those struggling people must continue to be provided until, as we did here and as you did in Nicaragua, they triumph in final victory.

In South Africa itself, Comrade Minister, not only must we continue to hold in the most vehement contempt the merciless massacres, repression and detention of political opponents in that unhappy country; we must also match our contempt with concrete support to the ANC and PAC in their struggle to eradicate the abomination that is apartheid, and to establish in South Africa a democratic, harmonious, non-racial and just society.

Comrade Minister, as I have already pointed out our two coun-



The Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Comrade R.G. Mugabe with Comrade Daniel Ortega, President of the Sandanista National Liberation Front during Comrade Mugabe's tour of Latin American countries in 1986

tries, in their respective circumstances, share a common experience in that we are both threatened, on a daily basis by much large powers determined to support and maintain despotic reactionary forces, hostile to social justice and freedom. Even as we wage our multi-faceted struggle here in Zimbabwe, we draw great inspiration from the people of Nicaragua who not only triumphed over the imperialist-supported and autocratic rule of the Somoza family, but also continue today to defy attempts by counter-revolutionary elements to destroy the sovereignty and territorial integrity of your nation. We know only too well of the profound adversities that the Nicaraguan people are facing at the hands of the American-supported contra bandits.

Comrade Minister, we in Zimbabwe strongly believe that the people of Nicaragua, of Central America and elsewhere in the world have an inalienable right to life and self-determination. In this regard, one cannot help but recall that you yourself, Comrade Miguel, put this

point across most vividly when you embarked upon your famous fast-for-peace in July, 1985. Let me assure you, Comrade Minister that Nicaragua's admirable quest for peace within its own borders as well as in its troubled region as a whole has Zimbabwe's solid and unwavering support. We will also continue to support the peace efforts of the Contadora Group which have so far fallen on the deaf and disdainful ears of the United States and certain of its surrogate allies within the region.

Comrade Minister, even as we wage our respective struggles to maintain our hard-won independence, to better the lives of our people and to promote the emancipation of other oppressed people, we witness an inexorable increase in the production of arms of mass destruction by the so-called super-powers. While all of mankind should be addressing the all-important issues of hunger, disease and ignorance, some nations are engaged in a pursuit which could well see the total destruction of mankind.

To this sordid picture, Comrade Minister, is added the ever-widening gap between the rich, developed North and the poor, debt-ridden developing South.

Let me express my satisfaction that on these issues, as well as on many others, our two countries share identical views. Although we are only two, small, developing and, in the eyes of others, seemingly inconsequential nations, we know that we can work together effectively for progress at home, and justice, peace and security in the world. I am confident that your visit to Zimbabwe will once again give us an opportunity to reaffirm the commitment of our two non-aligned countries to the cause of peace and to the resolution of the numerous problems that continue to give rise to tensions and turmoil in the world today.

Comrade Miguel, I once again want to ask you and your delegation to feel welcome and at home here, and let me express the hope that this visit will be but the first of many to come in the future.

President Addresses May Day Mass Rally

By Our Labour Correspondent

The President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe has at all times stressed the need for workers to be united and denounced the exploitation of man by man in support of the worker. In his International Labour Day Speech at Rufaro Stadium in 1985, Comrade Mugabe said, "the government will continue to take positive action against the exploitation of the workers." He pointed out that the Party and Government's duty was to fight against the repugnant practice of exploitation of workers by multinational corporations as well as capitalists. In this direction the government has introduced price control in order to check the exploitation of workers and peasants.

In Comrade Mugabe's message to workers at Rufaro Stadium, this year he said, "For us in Zimbabwe, we are committed to the establishment of a socialist society based upon Marxist-Leninist principles and government recognises the historic role of workers and trade unions

in the struggle for social justice not only in Zimbabwe, but throughout the world." The President and First Secretary of the Party reiterated the fervent belief that scientific socialism was right as amplified by the 2nd People's Congress of August, 1984. In embracing socialism as a philosophy and way of life, the Party and government were acutely conscious that the benefits and fruits of socialism must be earned through struggle and hard work.

On worker peasant alliance in the Party, Comrade R.G. Mugabe said, "the socialist society can only come about as a direct result of the struggle of workers, peasants, exploited classes and their allies among intellectuals against their national and international exploiters". The struggle for socialism is a struggle against exploitation and because exploiters place obstacles of various kinds in our way, our line of advance must be creatively developed. What is paramount under these circumstances is to be clear about

our goals and hold fast to every socialist gain that we make." Clearly this is a gigantic task which demands the highest development of the forces of production and equally important, a technically equipped and politically conscious workforce that assumes a decisive role in the transition to socialism, Comrade Mugabe said.

The impact of drought will call on workers to make sacrifices and help relatives in the communal lands who have not had a good harvest. He called on all workers to help relations in the drought-stricken areas of Zimbabwe by sending them mealie meal and even money for their daily necessities until the next season. Comrade Mugabe reminded the workers of the difficult economic situation the country was going through now that it is compounded by drought. Speaking on the continental economic situation Comrade Mugabe said, "Throughout Africa, dependent economies have experienced very serious distortions in development programmes, and in the case of Zimbabwe, this has retarded our pace of socialist development." In addition, dependent economies are faced with serious debt problems which result in more borrowing to pay high interest to existing debts."

The Zimbabwe economic problems are further aggravated by our geo-political environment, our proximity to the South African apartheid regime which is bent on the course of naked destabilisation of all the black sovereign countries in the region. In consequences of these heinous acts, massive human and financial resources had to be channelled into countering this destabilisation instead of going into our development projects and programmes", Comrade Mugabe explained.

The First Secretary and President of the Party pledged a minimum wage rise, which would reach a satisfactory level within a reasonable period in time. Over the past years wages have been eroded by a combination of price increases and inflation. Comrade Mugabe said that the government will continue to guard the interest of the workers by enacting laws for the transformation of the role of workers to give them greater security, authority and satisfaction.

The President and first Secretary of the Party, Comrade R.G. Mugabe expressed our solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia. He assured them of Zimbabwe's commitment to the liberation of all peoples fighting for their freedom, justice and independence. "We are indeed, comrades in-arms and as Zimbabwe we are ready to play our part in ensuring that no part of the world remains in chains and unfree".

Speaking on Workers Day at Rufaro

Stadium, the President of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union, Comrade Joffrey Mutandare assured the Party leadership and government that the labour movement will give its unwavering support in the Party's and government tasks of transforming Zimbabwe into a socialist state. "As the socialisation of production intensifies, our unity as labour movement has to take not only a national outlook, or just a regional one, but an international perspective", Comrade Mutandare said.

The President of the ZCTU said, "with political independence a reality, our energies should concentrate on wresting the economy of the country from the grip of foreign capital. "Our very economy was so structured to service the needs of capitalists at the expense of labour." The ZANU(PF) government has at all times looked at the economic situation as far short of the aspirations of the workers and peasants. The labour relations act has to some extent revolutionised the position of the worker by giving him power and protection of his interests and the provision of price control system which has checked the exploitative nature of capitalism. Comrade Mutandare said, "The labour movement in Zimbabwe unequivocally support the call by the progressive world for comprehensive sanctions against apartheid and support the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia being fought by the working class in Zimbabwe in order to attain un-

precedented levels of class consciousness and unity of purpose, thus enabling the masses, realisation that the peasants and workers strength lies in unity.

Comrade Mutandare however called on the government to give workers a social wage that would enable them meet their basic human needs. The ZCTU has recommended a minimum wage of 277 Zimbabwe dollars. He also commended the government for having set up the Riddell Commission of inquiry into incomes, prices and conditions of service for workers. He called for a follow up of the recommendations that he described as objective and realistic. He commended the Party and government's transformation process to correct the anomalies inherited, from the colonial past and the thrust to put the means of production into the hands of the producers of wealth the workers and peasants.

This year's international Labour Day was a great success as gatherings of workers in all the provinces reviewed the past and programmed the labour movements commitment to the transformation of the means of production. In Bulawayo on the same day, the 2nd Secretary and Vice President of the Party, Comrade Simon Muzenda urged workers to work tirelessly to ensure the success of the Five Year National Development Plan because it is the instrument through which a firm foundation for the constructing of a socialist state will be laid.

IMF Throttling Workers in Africa

"The IMF (International Monetary Fund) is like a bad doctor", Nigeria's Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon said recently, "who administers the same treatment to all patients, no matter what their ailments." Brigadier Idiagbon was commenting on the IMF's inflexible lending policies in Africa which are making difficult conditions in many countries on the continent even worse for workers.

The IMF has come under heavy criticism in its relationships with Third World Countries generally and in particular African countries. The focus of the criticism centres on the limited impact of the Fund's programmes, inability to adapt to changed circumstances, conditionality in its lending policies, and obedience to the political interests of neo-colonialists.

Founded with its twin sister, the World Bank, at the Bretton Woods

Conference in 1944, the IMF is not a development agency, as is generally assumed. The Fund works alongside the World Bank on the principles of division of labour. Long-term "development" lending is the function of the World Bank while the IMF limits itself to short-term financing of balance of payments shortfalls among member states. Currently the fund has around 146 members.

The voting strength of member states is determined by the propor-

tion of financial contributions, called "quotas". Developed countries, mostly in Western Europe, North America and Japan, command 70 percent of the votes. Third World countries command the other 30 percent. The United States alone commands 19 percent.

The significance of voting strength is that Third World countries which face acute balance of payments problems, do not have the strength to change policy directions adopted by the IMF's board of directors.

According to the IMF managing director, Jacques de Larosiere, the organisation has the following functions:-

1. Surveillance of the economic and financial policies of member states.
2. Provision of medium-term balance of payments financing in support of forceful, well-conceived adjustment programmes.
3. Acting as a catalyst by facilitating financial flows during uncertain times through an arrangement of unlocking additional

financing from other sources such as private commercial banks and donor governments.

In practice, these broad functions narrow down to what the Fund's economists call "demand management". By demand management the IMF requires that a member state faced with balance of payments problems takes steps to boost its exports by devaluing its currency, cut down on public expenditure programmes, and so on.

Third World countries find that the benefits of currency devaluation are short-lived and at the end of the day the same problems recur.

The reason for this is that when a country devalues its currency the effect is to make exports cheaper and therefore competitive; but vital imported inputs from developed countries become more expensive for Third World countries.

The following selected countries in Sub-Saharan Africa show how interest payments on external public debts as a percentage of exports rose for each country over a number of years.

Country	Year 1976	Year 1982	% Inc
Cameroon	5,4	15,6	10,2
Ivory Coast	8,9	36,9	28,0
Kenya	5,8	24,2	18,4
Malawi	8,5	22,8	14,8
Zambia	10,9	23,2	12,3
Zimbabwe (1979)	1,2	9,2	8,0

As these statistics show these African countries found, after a few years, that they were required to pay more in export earnings to service debts owed to financiers. These are the problems which the IMF is supposed to ease by short-term cash advances.

But when the IMF asks these countries to devalue their currency, the value of their exports is further lowered. Thus, their problems become even greater year after year.

This makes the countries poorer and poorer in relation to exporting countries.

African Public Debt

According to a 1982 survey by the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), all African countries had a combined public debt amounting to US\$84 352 million. Interest on this debt amounted to US\$12 382 million.

More recently the public debt of all African countries came to US\$50 billion and interest payments jumped to US\$15 billion. In 1985 the total foreign borrowing by African countries was by far below interest payments. This means that African countries are getting deeper into debt with no immediate hope of getting out.

Diminishing Foreign Earnings

African foreign earnings come from exports whose value is constantly diminishing. The effect of this is to worsen terms of trade with developing countries with the result that whether they like it or not, they have to go to the IMF for financing. Since the IMF is sticking to its rigid lending policies, one African country after another is having problems with the Fund.

Recent examples of IMF machinations can be found next door in Zambia, as well as in Nigeria. In Zambia the IMF put great pressure on the Government of President Kenneth Kaunda to raise domestic prices of basic commodities, especially mealie-meal by large percentages. As if that was not enough, further pressure was put on the Government to auction the Zambia Kwacha on the open market. The result of the public auction was a dramatic drop in the value of the Kwacha to the dollar. One British pound at one point fetched 35 Kwacha (and even 55 on the black market).

The Government of Zambia has now wisely decided to stop negotiating with an international organisation whose policies are inimical to the people. Dr Kaunda recently announced that Zambia will only pay 10 percent of its total earnings towards its debts, and that the value of the Kwacha would be fixed. Those measures should have been taken two years ago, but it is never too late to make amends and reverse a dangerous trend.

The IMF solutions to Africa's economic problems are anti-people and especially anti-workers. Removing subsidies so that prices of basic commodities go up, devaluing currencies so that workers buy less and less with their money, and mass dismissals from employment are made policies.

Lessons for Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe government should eat with a very long spoon in the frequent discussions that take place with IMF delegations that visit Munhumutapa Building from time to time. When our country is strong they say little and demand nothing. Once our economy is weakened by, say, natural hazards such as droughts or any other factors, the IMF will be the first to embrace us while finding the space between our shoulders, and then strike with a sharp economic knife on our very statehood and sovereignty. As usual, the major sufferers under an IMF austerity programme will be the million workers of Zimbabwe.

The position of workers is already difficult. Prices of basic foodstuffs have risen sharply over the last year; and they are still rising. Prices of property have rocketed (house rents, rates and so on). Wages and salaries of workers have been eroded by the price increases. The devaluation and depreciation of the Zimbabwe dollar has taken its toll in the national economy. There is therefore a need to step up efforts to protect the earnings of workers by keeping the cost of living down.



Workers Should also Fight Against Corruption

By Our Correspondent

The question maybe asked, what is corruption? Many definitions come into focus. The generally understood one being the one involving the misappropriation of funds, be they government funds or company funds. The abuse of authority is also corruption. Many heads of department, company directors, managers are not innocent of this form of corruption which yields nepotism, favouritism and other corrupt acts which result in a dissatisfied working force.

In a way the definition of corruption also answers what corruption is but only partially since workers are not immune from corruptible acts.

Those in authority, and with responsibility are mostly the ones guilty of corruption. But because corruption is like an outbreak a clear perception of why war on corruption should be fought by every member of the society mostly workers as they are near to where corruption takes place is imperative.

Zimbabwe has chosen the socialist path as its road to national development, where through the labour of the people we are able to create a more equal society where every worker gains their dignity out of honest labour. At a time when wealth is still concentrated in the hands of the few, and a stage of our revolution when only the workers can fuel change through higher productivity it is therefore a national duty for the working class to fight and expose any tendencies and practices of corruption at the work place.

Throughout the history of colonialism and imperialism, workers are regarded merely as tools of production. They are the down trodden in the capitalist structure of profiteering. They can be fired at any time. And in capitalist countries they enjoy the dubious freedom to be employed or unemployed. Whereas in a socialist structure they have a right to employment. They are, by right, the owners of wealth. As such where company or government property is stolen they should care as this is their property and report such managers to the relevant authorities.

This therefore calls for vigilance against corruption. It means that instead of workers being in the eyes of the management on their performances, on their punctuality, the workers are being asked

to be mature in themselves, and over and above their duty consciousness they are duty-bound to defend the socialist path from unscrupulous get-rich-fast managers, who in this instance cannot be differentiated from capitalists. In fact a comparison with sabourts is not far-fetched as from the example of Zimbabwe's parastatals which fell into disrepute only recently.

According to tabled parliamentary reports on Air Zimbabwe and ZISCO, mismanagement was rife. Appointments of personnel was haphazard and based on nepotism and favouritism. There was misuses of company property including vehicles and fuel.

Were workers not aware of this? Did they feel unable to do anything about it? Or they thought they had no voice at all against such acts of corruption in the form of abuse of authority? Was their conscience not pricked at all?

At the moment many managers, officials, employers are promoting illicit gain, including jobs and practices intended to secure this in work places creates inefficiency and ultimately it is the economy and the revolution that suffer. The President, Comrade Mugabe during May Day celebration emphasises the importance of ideological education. "Workers should aim to raise their ideological and political consciousness so that they can be promoters and custodians of our socialist values."

Trade unionists have this duty therefore to start these political education programs which in fact will help the workers fight the system of capitalism through higher production levels as well as through the awareness of forces controlling our economy presently.

The workers themselves are not immune to corrupt tendencies and indeed many workers committees are being crippled by corrupt elements which tend to retard progress.

Zimbabwe is committed to establishing a society based upon Marxist-Leninist principles. "Our fervent belief in that scientific socialism is both right and just" Comrade Robert Mugabe told the workers at the May Day celebrations.

The end result of corrupt workers is that they start oppressing others. Apart

from this a corrupt management also uses corrupt workers for its own ends. One worker who is both a chairman of a workers committee and a member of the company's works Council told Zimbabwe News about corrupted workers.

In companies which have not democratised their institutions some workers are selected and given monies in the form of increased salaries or fatter bonus.

They are used to spread rumours about the unreasonableness of certain workers demands or doubt about the successes of these demands. Such members would be elected members of the workers committees and they also make themselves feared by the rest of the workforce by being the "ear" of the management. At times workers have to have certain information in order to put effective demands and need information about the structure of the company or whatever institution and these workers "sell out" to the management about impending demands, thus rendering ineffective such demands.

Other such workers are given managerial positions not on merit but for their "services" to the management and therefore receive salaries which they do not complain about as they are aware that they do not deserve the promotions. This way they block genuine hard working workers from promotion on merit, thus causing the salary structure to remain low for workers.

Workers should fight such corruption at all cost and bring to an end this retrogressive development.

Class consciousness and ideological awareness on the part of the workers could help put a stop to this type of corruption, such corrupt individuals are found in Workers Committees, Workers Councils, employers, managers, Government officials, Board members and other such bodies. It is therefore the prerogative of workers themselves to purge any form of corruption in these bodies. Without this vigilance workers on their part are neglecting the gains of our triumphant revolution. However the role of the workers in national development cannot be overemphasised.

We cannot talk of national development without mentioning workers,

neither can there be national development without an increase in production levels. At the 101st celebrations of May Day in Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions emphasised discipline among workers. The ZCTU officials deplored negativism among workers. Workers were urged to shun drinking, smoking dagga, laziness, absenteeism and other such retrogressive factors. It is not important to point out the reasons why the labour leaders denounced these

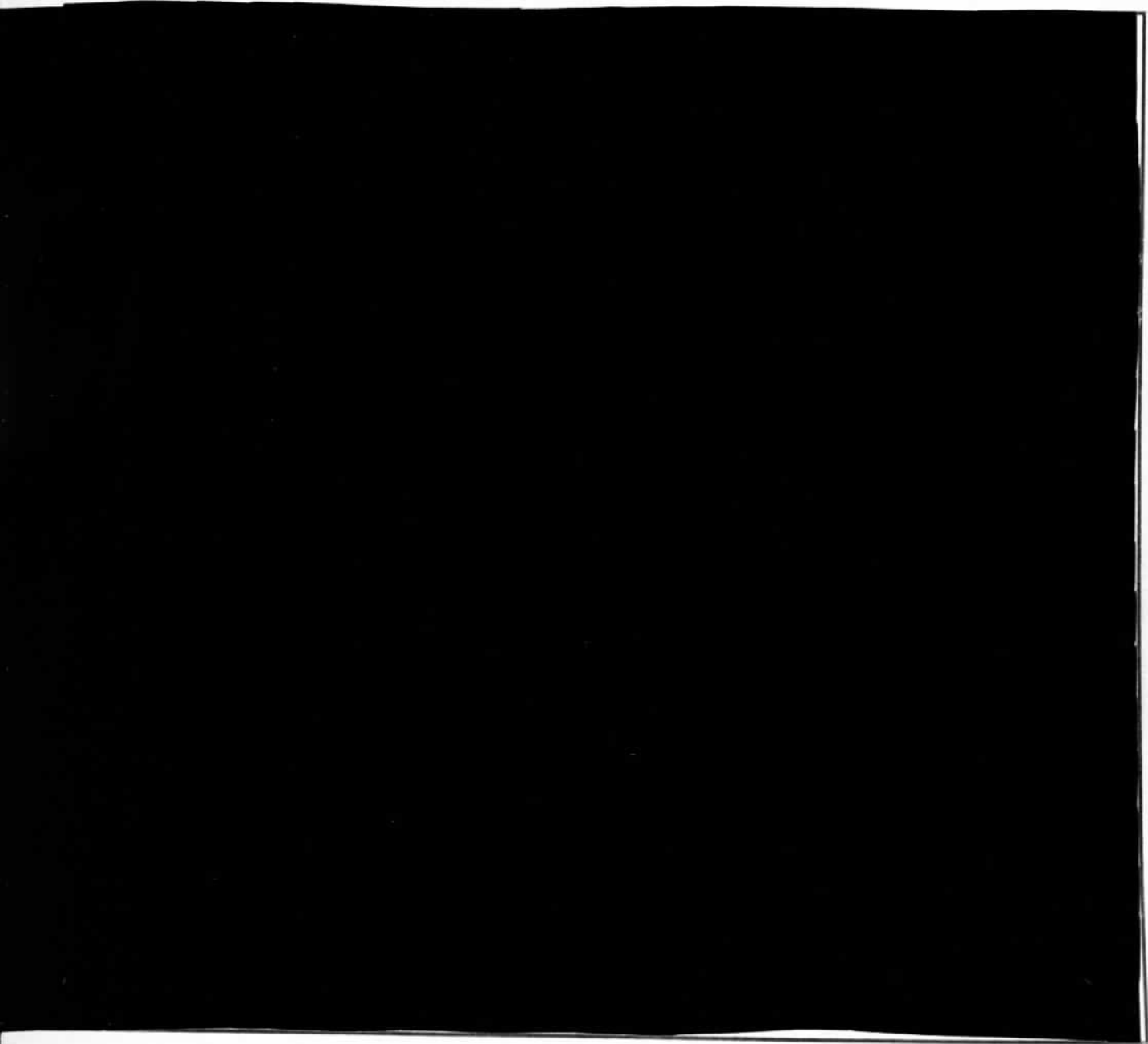
destroy the social network. Workers should become responsible, work hard, be reliable and be punctual at work. This helps towards increasing productivity.

With an increase in productivity there will be national prosperity and hence a rise in the standard of living.

Lenin spoke on this in one of his essays: "He who does not work neither shall he eat."

harder. Union officials, themselves being leaders elected to these posts by the workers themselves should therefore be saying what is good for the worker and the nation. Workers have therefore to listen to what their leaders say in the quest for development, their own, that of the institution they work for and finally that of the nation.

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