



SOCIAL CHANGE and development

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AIDS: NEW BOOK ACCUSES U.S.A.

- THE LAND QUESTION
- TREE MANAGEMENT
- AGRICULTURAL AID



- WOMEN AND FOOD PRODUCTION



food & farming

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FUTURE FOCUS

The Focus for next two issues will be:

- Industry and Technology
- The Non-Aligned Movement.

We welcome contributions for these issues.

The Journal on Social Change and Development is a collective publication which aims to promote discussion on current issues of importance to our readers. We welcome comments and contributions

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This issue of our Journal focusses on Food and Farming, a pertinent area given the dire food situations that Africa finds itself in, most times, in the present times.

Without making the editorial a chronicle of the contributions contained in this issue, our first consideration is on the land question, that burning issue which fuelled the struggle for decolonisation not only in our own country, but in practically most of the formerly colonised countries. The land issue is a burning issue because land is the seat, the basis of the community. All the means of material human existence are derived from it, so that denial of people's right to productive land is denial of people's right to exist! Forward with the struggle for abolition of feudal and capitalist private property in land! We continue the discussion of the land question in our next issue.

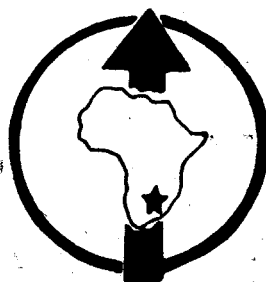
In these times, when most of Africa, exploited mercilessly by the capitalist monopoly system, depends to a large extent on the food aid from the same exploiters, it is only in order that we examine the political economy of food and the general problems of inadequate food production in Africa. One of the reasons for Africa's poverty lies in the inappropriate export-orientated economic strategies which, in Agriculture means, the change from production of food for internal consumption to production of cash crops mainly for the external market, a market whose conditions Africa does not control. These policies have in the main, led Africa to depend on food imports and politically conditioned "food aid." To break out of this humiliating quagmire, Africa needs to make structural changes in its production systems, to orientate its Agriculture to the production of food required by its people first and foremost and not to rapidly crave for the so-called foreign exchange which in the main benefits the masses very little!

We also take a critical view to the philosophy that to end poverty in the countryside, there must be emphasis not on structural transformation of land-ownership patterns,



editorial

Arnold Sibanda
Joyce Kazembe
Tafi Chigudu
Issue Editors



but on improving peasant farming methods. This technicist approach serves to evade the issue of land reform and is supportive of maintenance of the unjust status quo.

Our issue also considers the struggles in the Third World, the struggling Fishermen of Mauritius to better their living conditions, the struggling National Resistance Movement now in power in Uganda and whose Government inspires new hope for the people of Uganda and of progressive Africa in general and the continuing struggle against apartheid colonialism.

We hope our readers will enjoy this issue and be inspired with new hope in the struggle for democracy, economic development and social progress.

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THE LAND QUESTION:

THE STRUGGLE FROM REVOLUTIONARY

DEMOCRACY TO SOCIALISM

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

PART ONE

By Shadrack B.O. Gutto

1. What is Land?

Before we can pose and answer what the land question is, it is absolutely imperative that we be clear in our minds of what we understand by land. To ask what we understand by the concept land may seem simple and irrelevant. But, in reality it is not. In explaining what land is, I will, in the tradition of Marxist-Leninist scholarship, start from what we already know. What we already know and what many societies have known for a few centuries during the feudal and capitalist historical epochs is that land is not just soil alone. Primitive materialism,

"He who owns the land owns everything extending to the heavens and to the depth of the earth"

starting many centuries before dialectical and historical materialism of Marx and Engels provides us with a pretty good idea of what land is. Such primitive materialism is reflected and expressed in legal

doctrines and maxims found among practically all feudal societies. I will use the Roman legal doctrines and maxims to illustrate. The Roman (Latin) legal saying:

cuius est solum eius est usque ad coelum et at inferos

which, translated means that "he who owns the land owns everything extending to the very heavens and to the depths of the earth" is such particularly informative expression of low primitive materialism conceived of land. Now, such conceptualisation was and remains to-day very true. They saw and we see to-day that land is not simply the soil alone but includes air, heat, rains, crawling and flying creatures, trees, animals, roads, etc. which are on the earth and which extend right to the "heavens" above! This is a profound concept. Such thinking clearly, albeit unconscious to those who coined it, demonstrates the unity in the material world. The unity that exists between the surface of the earth and the other forms of matter which cover it and lay beneath it.

The Romans, like all others elsewhere, did not stop there. They proceeded to add yet another legal

****The text of the contribution made on the Panel Discussion of the theme, "From Revolutionary Democracy to Socialism: Problems and Prospects" on 24th May, 1986 at the National Gallery (Harare) during the Africa in Struggle Week organised by "Africa in Struggle" to commemorate Africa Day 1986.**

maxim in explaining what land is. Their saying:

quicquid plattatur solo, solo cedit which translated, means "whatever is attached to the ground becomes a part of it" was and remains to-day a very useful observation of man's conception of the reality of the material world and its expression in law. Following their materialist viewpoint, we see then why early men classified all material things, natural and/or man-made, such as houses, minerals, factories, roads, rivers, lakes, etc as forming part of land.

They were right in their concepts and we can only add to-day that since labour gives value to all aspects and forms of nature and its transformation by labour, we are entitled to include the measure of such value, money, in our definition of land!

"Whatever is attached to the ground becomes a part of it"

Nature and forms of accumulated past labour, capital, are part of the land. We can, therefore, not afford to pontificate over fancy definitions of what land means if we avoid the materialist interpretation which leaves us with no alternative but to concede and accept that land is the natural world from the bottom of the earth to the "heavens" as far as our scientific and technological achievements can permit us to comprehend and utilise as well, capital and other productive forces and useful services based on land.

From the above we can confidently say that to the materialist world outlook, the land question is a far more serious and fundamental problem than is posed and answered by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois such as we find in Roger Riddell's pamphlet, The

Land Question of 1978. In that pamphlet, which we must admit has influenced a lot of petty-bourgeois reformism in Zimbabwe, Roger Riddell not only provides an inadequate definition of land, he goes further and avoids the class question in attempting to give alternative "answers" to the land question in Zimbabwe.

Given the scientific meaning which we have attached to land, I will argue that the land question, is a question touching on the entire national wealth of every country. Who owns, controls and benefits from it? Who creates that wealth?

These are some of the basic questions which arise from the land question and which the struggle for national democratic revolution and particularly socialism are all about.

2. Imperialist Colonialism, Land and the Land Question According to Imperialists

The basis for posing and answering the land question, let us go back a little into the history of imperialist colonialism in Africa. It is from this real history that we can understand what the problem of land is all about in the various phases of our anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles.



The export of finance capital, as Comrade Lenin correctly pointed out in 1916 in his seminal work, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, is one of the main features of monopoly capitalism; But capitalists did not export finance capital for idle reasons but precisely to ensure that the exported capital was going to reproduce itself and that the expatriation of surplus to the imperialist nations was the primary motive. However, the world was not ready made for imperialism to carry out its historic mission. The imperialist had to change the world.

In changing the world the imperialists needed an organised social force which they readily found in their states. They demanded that their states should not only provide legal authorizations for the plunders but, more importantly, also to provide the necessary military backing to compel the world to the interests of big capital. To use the example of British imperialist colonization of Africa we see not only the granting of charters to monopoly capitalist organizations such as the British East African Company or the British South Africa Company, both responsible for the colonisation of Kenya and Zimbabwe among others, respectively, but also the formation and use of armed contingents. In Zimbabwe we all know or ought to know of the band of robbers formed by Cecil Rhodes and the High Commissioner at the Cape. The Imperialists named these armed robbers drawn from the reserve army of the unemployed in Britain and South Africa, the Pioneer Column!

It was by armed and other forms of coercive force that imperialism colonised Africa. It was through violence and not free negotiation and consent of the masses that imperialism imposed its rule on the people of Africa. In fact the imperialist laws and judicial organs developed a clear legal jurisprudence that reflected these realities. For example, in a leading case on the colonisation of Zimbabwe the imperialist "Law Lords" said very unambiguously that "conquest by

It is foolish to view imperialism purely from the economical view point and to leave out its ... political and military attributes

Company arms, then by well settled constitutional practice..... was on behalf of the crown" (In Re: S. Rhodesia (1919) A.C. 211 at 221). Here we see why monopoly capital, that is imperialism, is state monopoly capital. We also see why it is foolish to view imperialism purely from the economic point of view and to leave out its necessary political and military attributes.

We can go on and on revealing the dynamics of ~~imperialist~~ colonialism in Africa. But I think the point is made. What we need to ~~explain~~ is the historical significance of imperialist conquest and how imperialism "solved" the land question in its interest.

What imperialism did was to cut short the movement of societies in Africa from pre-capitalist, mainly feudal, to the capitalist socio-economic social formation. Imperialism committed a historical act by



pushing African societies to the capitalist mode of production. Historically this was progressive because it brought Africa closer to socialism! In doing this, however, imperialism violated the existing property, property relations and the entire social formation. Both the superstructure, representing forms of state and government, culture etc. as well as the economic basis of societies were transformed.

You may be reminded how the imperialists transformed the then pre-existing superstructures by what actually happened in Zimbabwe. King Lobengula, when he organised armed resistance to imperialist destruction of his feudalist empire, was chased by armed pursuit to a point where even to-day Zimbabwean historians are not agreed on where, when and how he actually disappeared! That was how imperialism dealt with those who opposed it.

At the economic level, which developed on the control of land as we have defined it, Cecil Rhodes did formulate the land policy which remains essentially intact to-day in Zimbabwe. On December 19, 1893 Rhodes addressed his robber band, the Pioneer Column, and told them:

It is agreed that the High Commissioner and myself should discuss the whole of the future mode of settlement to be hereafter decided upon. There will be what I might call public land, so that you will be the first entitled to select land There will be thus native reserves, free grants to yourselves, and the balance of crown land, not to be sold under 3s. per morgen.....

Yes, imperialism expropriated the African masses by force and gave select land, prime land, to those who were later to become the capitalist or commercial or European farmers. And the rest of the prime land was vested in the colonial state. These prime lands to-day are farmed by the same capitalist class called "commercial farmers" - 5 000 to 6,000 in number including large estate under the control of

mostly foreign transnational corporations. In these prime land areas it is the African masses who provide the labour that has turned and continues to turn such land into capital for the enjoyment of the robbers. The African masses also provided the labour for the colonial state lands which enabled the state to have sufficient material power to oppress and supervise the exploitation of the African masses throughout the colonial period.



But this was not all. The imperialists in expropriating the Africans attempted to lessen the mass resistance, that was inevitable by creating a new concept in the colonies, particularly in settler colonies such as colonial Zimbabwe and Kenya, called native reserves. I want deliberately to stress the point that the native reserves, the concentration camp type of zones created in ecologically poor areas of the countries concerned, were a colonial creation.

From having the whole country on their own, although class divisions obviously prevented equal control, the African masses now had only certain parts of their country designated by foreigners as the home for the Africans. So strong was the colonial propagating the idea that only

the reserves belonged to the natives that to-day you still find millions of even the so-called educated Africans talking about visiting "their homes" on weekends or on holidays or when they take their leave from work! The imperialist ideology pervades our societies. How can any right-minded African talk about having a home where the colonialist selected for the African? Is accepting the native reserves, tribal trust lands or communal lands not tantamount to accepting imperialist arrangements? Why are the commercial farms, mines, factories, banks and all the other wealth created from and on the land in the whole country as rightfully belonging to the African masses?

We fail in our class duty as the progressive intelligentsia who must ally with the oppressed masses if we do not tell the masses to reject considering that only the former reserves, and now communal lands, are their homes. The masses must be politically awakened to know that the commercial farms are also rightfully theirs so that they may demand their restoration to those who were expropriated by imperialism. This forces me to digress a little here to share with you a painful experience I went through about two years ago when I was discussing with some educated African nationalists on the television programme: The Road to Socialism. One of the participants who at the time was a lecturer in medicine at the University of Zimbabwe, a private medical practitioner in Harare and a director of several statutory bodies and major transnational companies had the audacity to say to the nation that he is "a peasant" because he has a right to land in his communal land!

The land question is inseparably linked to the labour question.

Now, the history of imperialism and the manner in which it treated land and the masses which I have sketched out briefly leads us to the clear conclusion that to the imperialist, land was necessary and it was expropriated freely by the colonialists. To the imperialist the land had to be worked and, therefore, the land question was immediately and inseparably linked to the labour question. If this is how imperialism saw and dealt with the land question, we to-day must also be reasonable to see the land question in its totality. The land question is necessarily, therefore, also the labour question. The marginalisation of the peasants, the creation of wage labourers, rents, unemployment are all products of the imperialist solution to the land question.

Let us not forget what Marx said in his Economic and Political Manuscripts of 1884 (at page 49): ".....Capital presupposes land and labour. And labour presupposes at least land, and usually also capital..... capital is nothing. Without labour, without movement". This is precisely why the land question is also the labour question. The capitalist know this very well. But remember Marx also observed in Capital, Vol 1 (page 669) that "the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire...." Yes, blood and fire expropriated the African masses. And blood and fire organised the same African masses to produce wealth for the expropriators.



PART TWO will appear in the next issue

SOCIALISM IN TREE MANAGEMENT

By E.M. Govere

It is high time we looked at our resources seriously and make wise use of them for the benefit of the nation.

As a professional forester, I am more interested in finding out how best trees could be utilized to fulfil not only the needs but also the wishes of the people of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

With the dawn of Zimbabwe our efforts and our minds should be geared towards the fulfilment of the majority's needs and wishes. We should be people oriented in other words. To be laconic, our target group should be the povo (the masses). Any goal, objective or intention which falls short of the masses being the beneficiary is capitalistic, exploitive and selfish. And of course does not belong to this new Zimbabwean era. If discovered, such goals, objectives or intentions should be remolded to suit the present socialist ideology or should be terminated if not remoldable.

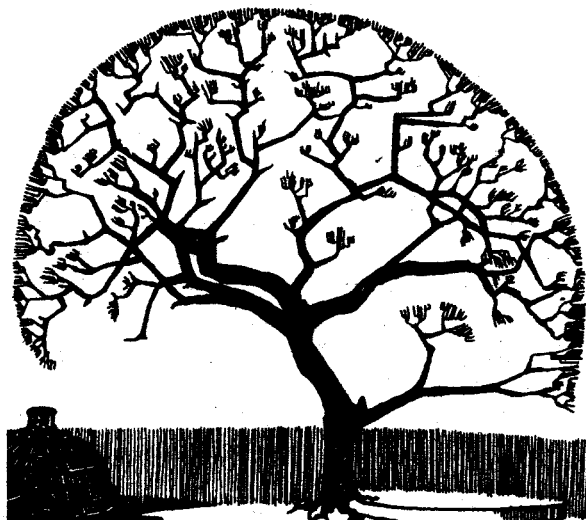
Hence, I have chosen today an Indigenous Tree Management Programme which will benefit the masses. Indigenous Tree Management Programme in Rhodesia and even up to today completely concentrated on the timber value for both internal use and export and totally ignored the multiple-use benefits which could be tapped from our indigenous trees. Worse still, the indigenous Tree Management has been purely confined to the Matabeleland area.

I would not be exaggerating to say that our Indigenous Trees produce multiple products more than the exotic trees we found ourselves tied up with. For example, one can get mukoko (bee hive) from Mupfura, mapfura juice, shomho, ropes, fuelwood, and goats and sheep feed on the leaves and on the fruit of Mupfura. The deer and other wild animals feed on Mupfura leaves and mapfura. The same benefits could be tapped from Muchakata including tooth-brushes which can be made from

Muchakata. Muchakata produces a lot of flowers and bees could brew a lot of honey. Also Muchakata flowers smell good.

Let me point out that shomhu could be used to make butter and cooking oil as well as a fresh smelling body lotion. Mapfura juice too is a good body lotion and excellent juice for drinking or mixing with other drinks. It is also very easy to make sour milk or sour cream using the mapfura juice. Also I should mention that the Mapfura and chakata could be easily dried and stored for shomhu.

There are so many indigenous trees which are of multiple benefit to the nation. The mitamba. A lot of juice and the seeds and leaves of this tree, mutamba, are a delicacy to sheep, goats, deer, etc. The mitohwee minyii, the mitavita, the nengeni, the mishuma, the mizhanje, the mihubvu, tsembatsi and mikute etc.



The other trees are excellent for their ropes. The mupfuti, miuzhe, miuyu, mitondo etc. It should be noted that the mipfuti ropes are so sweet that chewing gums or even sugar could be produced from these. The great ecological usefulness of the indigenous trees is of course unquestionable and incomparable with the

exotic trees we are now introducing in the rural areas. Sometimes ecologically, I consider the over emphasis of exotic trees especially gum trees an ecological highjacking. Gum trees have their place but I do not think they should be a national anthem of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Just like the Zimbabwean Society, the Whites, the Indians or any other minority have their part to play towards the development and building of Zimbabwe but of course the majority rules and determine the course of action. So as with trees. They are fighting their liberation wars too. Who is going to win, the gum tree (the colonialist) or the indigenous tree? I think the gum trees should be looked at and introduced as an aid towards the re-establishment of indigenous trees. That is while one is planting a gum tree for quick gain in fuel and poles, one should establish indigenous trees for their products multiply. But at the present moment the establishment of indigenous trees has been totally ignored. To the nation's detriment I believe.

There are some people who will be quick to point out that the establishment of indigenous trees is an expensive exercise, after all, they will argue, indigenous trees grow very slowly. I know that the indigenous trees are the easiest to grow and one can directly plant the seed where one wants the tree to grow without going into the pain of nursery establishment.

People do not have to buy the seed, the seed is still available in bulk (but if we delay, some trees are getting extinct). There are endangered trees already. Some are just as rare as the Chinese Panda. Also, indigenous trees become useful to people, animals and the environment at a much earlier age. The tending to an indigenous tree is almost nil whereas the gum tree requires a lot of operations to ensure a successful establishment. The gum tree has no natural regeneration ability in Zimbabwe, nurseries will always remain a costly operation. We cannot afford to carry that burden for ever on a country wide (large scale) scale. The tolerance and natural regeneration ability as well as dispersal ability of our indigenous trees is second to none.

Therefore, why are we totally excluding

the cheapest alternative? It is a result of a highjacked way of thinking, the same highjacked way of thinking which made African women think that bottle or Nestlé baby feeding is more advanced, more developed and more beneficial to the baby than breast-feeding. A rotten thought. We all accept it today that breast feeding is best and that bottle feeding should play a supplementary role, wherever possible, bottle feeding should be avoided.

"So Cde. Govere," one would ask, "what should be the social change and Development as far as Tree growing is concerned in Zimbabwe."

That is a question I have long waited for. When people were fighting against Rhodesia, they were not only fighting for the change of name from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. The war was for Social Change and Development. In a nutshell, the struggle was aimed to bring to Zimbabwe scientific socialism. One of the concepts in the word socialism is that the fastest is a reactionary and the slowest is a reactionary. In scientific socialism, the masses acquire scientific means and ways of developing themselves at their own pace. "The-cook-and-eat-there-and-then-while-Tapiwa-is-still-asleep" attitude is a greedy, selfish attitude which belongs to the past. Lets cook together and eat together. TOGETHER.

I am not answering the original question: What should be the social change and development as far as tree growing in socialist Zimbabwe is concerned?

First of all, the people should continuously be made aware of the need to grow trees. At every school, pub, hospital, political rally, show etc. the message should be passed on. And should be passed on comradely. Never force anybody.

How can this be done? Easy. Through talking and literature. I also would like to see many books written on trees. I have made it a point since 1984 to write one book about trees every year. Nobody else is going to build Zimbabwe for us. We should build ourselves. We are stable that way. I urge other people in other professions to let their

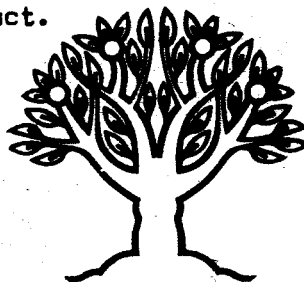
useful knowledge be known by others.

But of course we cannot wait to plant trees until everybody has been convinced of the need to plant trees. No. I am glad we have already started but now we have started on gum trees and we have excluded indigenous trees. We want a 'Balanced Tree Product' in Zimbabwe.

The social set up of our society, has made tree planting even much easier. "Indigenous Tree Gardens" "Peoples' Orchards" and Exotic (Woodlots) Plantations should be established by every village, ward, district and province. By establishing these, Zimbabwe will definitely produce a "Balanced Tree Product" nation. The benefit to the people from these tree planting programmes will be numerous.

I would like to point out that people in the cities must also participate. Prisoners should also be used in such programmes. Even some of the ornamental trees in Zimbabwe cities should be indigenous. Imagine a Mutamba with its green and yellow round matamba, welcoming pedestrians on First Street Harare or Main Street Mutare. That is beautiful. There are many choices of indigenous trees which could be used to beautify our cities and homes. Don't bring in tree diseases by importing

useless sickly trees from outside. We are rich in trees already. Of course the pine tree and gum tree are welcome for commercial value. No doubt about that. What I dislike is a total refusal to make our indigenous trees a priority. The environmental quality is over 80% dependent on the indigenous trees and the grasses. Like our parliament, the country can be functional without the twenty white seats, so it is true that the country can be functional without the 20% foreign trees and grasses. But never without the 80% black members of the parliament nor without 80% of the indigenous trees and grasses. Yes, it might be possible with the 20% but for a limited time like the Smith Government. Therefore, let us start now to prepare for the establishment of the Peoples' Orchards. Exotic Plantations have already kicked off the ground and all that is left is a reinforcement. In every village, ward, district and province, possible areas for the establishment of the three programmes should be located. On National Tree Planting Day, we should try to produce a Balanced Tree Planting so that Zimbabwe harvests a Balanced Tree Product.



FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL AID

By V.S. Baskin

In recent years, the food problem in many developing countries, especially in Africa, has been aggravated to an extreme. The tragedy of the Sahel region in Africa, the unprecedented drought, which lasted almost without abatement from 1966 to 1975, led to the death of hundreds of thousands of people and millions of head of cattle. It revealed the adverse tendencies in the development of agriculture in the

newly independent states, which had for a long time virtually escaped the notice of world opinion.

One of the reasons behind the slow development of agriculture in the DCs is that their national plans did not devote enough attention to expanding food production. The Tanzanian economist Pontian B. Rweyemamu writes: "In many African countries, the policy

is to give production for sale precedence over production for consumption. That is a carry-over from the colonial era, when the emphasis was on agricultural production which met the needs of the metropolis."



Over the past few years, increases in procurement prices, fiscal measures, supply of fertilisers and the necessary implements have stimulated, for instance, in many African countries the production of major export crops like sisal, coffee, cacao-beans, tea, pyrethrum, cotton and tobacco to the detriment of maize, legumes, wheat and other crops for local consumption. Such a policy has been encouraged by the ruling circles of the developed capitalist countries, for it is in line with their notions about the development of the international division of labour, which confines the developing countries to the role of agrarian and raw-material appendages of the capitalist economy, producers of tropical crops. That is why the emphasis in aid to the developing countries has been on means of production for expanding large export-oriented plantations. As for the local food shortages, the industrial capitalist countries suggest that these should be made good primarily through commercial imports and partly aid. Western food

aid has always been fairly small, and in recent years it has amounted to no more than 8 per cent of total bilateral aid to the developing countries and about 15 per cent of aid by international lending institutions and UN agencies.

That policy of the developed capitalist states, exacerbated by the complicated problems facing the DCs in their socio-economic development, has resulted not only in a constant threat of hunger, but also in various adverse social consequences; a growing gap between urban and rural incomes and living standards, no hope for improvement in rural areas, rapid urbanisation, deepening of social problems in the cities, and so on.

Most developed capitalist states have followed a policy of vigorous agrarian protectionism, spending large funds to keep up the prices of their farm produce. Meanwhile, a part of that could be produced in the DCs at a lower cost. This also applies to the manufacture of agricultural producer goods: farm machinery and fertilisers. The outlays on research into the problems of agricultural development in the DCs are insignificant.

The food problem in some countries has taken a particularly sharp turn in view of a marked increase in local demand. Demand in general depends on two main factors: population growth and an increase in cash income. From 1971 to 1980, the total population of the DCs increased on average by 2.2 per cent a year, which is twice as fast as before the Second World War.

Demand is also affected by the income level in various social groups. In the least developed countries, the "income elasticity" of demand for food can be as high as 0.5-0.7, i.e. a 1 per cent rise in per head incomes leads to a 0.5-0.7 per cent rise in per head demand for food. In analysing the tendencies in the demand for food, one should pay particular attention to changes in the social structure, notably, the growth of the urban population, whose rate in almost all the DCs has been much higher than the growth rate of the whole population.

In many DCs, especially in Africa, a large percentage of those who move to the cities cannot find employment and live from hand to mouth, doing odd jobs or being supported by more lucky relatives or fellow-tribesmen. Their food consumption in absolute terms can be lower than it used to be in the countryside, but, having escaped from the natural economy, every new urban dweller increases the demand for food and, most important of all for marketable farm produce.

A section of the new urban-dwellers find regular employment and their incomes (primarily cash incomes) are to some extent higher than those of rural inhabitants. As their incomes increase, they gradually go over from traditional foods to cereals, to higher-quality and more expensive foods and, most significantly, to imported foods.

Hence the considerable shortage of the main food crops (wheat above all), which the DCs have been obliged to import from abroad. Thus, from 1960 to 1980, cereal imports by African countries increased from 3.7 million tons to 21.0 million tons, or 5.6 times. But owing to the increase in cereal prices, especially in the 1970s, their outlays on cereal imports multiplied 16.6 times.

If these adverse tendencies in the production and consumption of food crops in African countries will continue throughout the 1980s, then, according to available estimates, by 1990 their import requirements will have shown a further threefold increase.

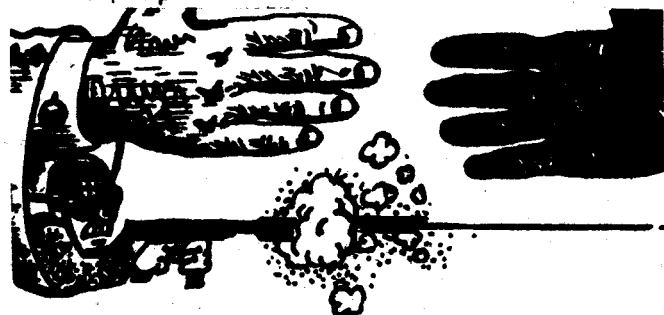
In view of the adverse tendencies in agricultural production and the grave food situation in most African DCs, they attach considerable importance to foreign aid in developing the productive forces in agriculture. That is why the aid they receive for these purposes should be assessed

primarily from the standpoint of its influence on the productive forces in agriculture, which determine both the food situation in the country and the living standards of the masses.

Over the past 25 years, the aid given by the industrialised capitalist states to improve food supplies in the DCs has been extended in two forms: first, food deliveries (usually in kind) mostly for supplying the urban population and also some categories of the rural population, and second, investment credits for the development of both agricultural production as such and allied branches, and also technical assistance. The balance between these two forms of aid has been changing over the years. On the otherhand, it is influenced by the state of agricultural production and the food situation in the DCs at each particular moment. On the other, it is influenced by the internal situation in the developed capitalist countries themselves, primarily by the state of the agrarian crisis in the USA, the leading food supplier to the developing countries. Changes in the demand for food in other capitalist food-importing countries also have an effect.

The OECD Observer wrote: "It should... be borne in mind that the market mechanism-in which the developing countries are residual-exposes them to the side-effects of action of more powerful countries or groups of countries. It has been seen in the last few years - and again quite recently - how the industrialised countries' grain purchases can cause very big rises in short- and medium-term prices, and can place the developing countries in a very difficult position." When cereals on the world market were in short supply and prices went up, as in 1972-1975, the industrial capitalist states sharply reduced their food aid to the developing countries.

But a more typical state for the capitalist economy is a protracted agrarian crisis of overproduction, when the cereal-producing countries (the USA above all) seek to maintain domestic prices at a sufficiently high level and to sell their grain "surpluses" on the external market. Such was the situation in the developed capitalist countries throughout the period from 1954 to 1972, and in the past few years.



Food aid is increasingly being used as a major instrument of Western Policy.

At the same time, as the food requirements of many developing countries have been steadily growing, food aid is increasingly being used as a major instrument of Western Policy. That tendency is particularly pronounced in the USA, which seeks to use its food aid in particular as a counter-weight to the OPEC countries' growing influence in the DCs. Here is an indicative statement by the US Magazine Business Week: "... In a world of hunger and overpopulation, the US can apply its tremendous agricultural capacity as a lever on foreign countries to adopt policies beneficial to this nation."

The USA launched its food-aid programme in 1954, when the need to get rid of the grain "surpluses" became particularly insistent, for the agrarian crisis in the USA had again taken a sharp turn and the rapid stock-piling of unmarketable grain could lead to a drop in prices on the world market. This was when the USA adopted its Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, widely known as Public Law 480, so formalising its deliveries of a substantial part of the food "surpluses" to countries with food shortages.

For a few years, the USA was virtually the sole supplier of foodstuffs to the developing countries. In the mid-1960s, it was joined by Canada, and since the late 1960s, by some West European countries as well (like France and the FRG) and international agencies. The USA's share has declined accordingly.

The policy of capitalist countries in extending food aid is determined by several contradictory circumstances. On the one hand, it depends on food-crop yields and carry-over stocks in the producer countries, on their striving to maintain domestic prices at a fairly high level. Hence the urge to market the "surpluses" outside

the country. On the other hand, food aid should not compete with commercial sales or substitute for the recipient countries' usual imports. That is why each donor country seeks to confine its concessional food deliveries to the necessary minimum. The political aspect is also very important. Food supplies, especially in an emergency, can not only meet the requirements of those who need it most (like refugees), but can also help to stabilise the recipient country's regime in accordance with the interests of the capitalist donor country. For that reason, capitalist countries which themselves import food, like Britain or Japan, may also extend food aid to the DCs.

The poorest DCs are in a particularly grave situation. Their requirements for imported cereals in 1981 were estimated at 42 million tons. Only 20 per cent of these requirements were covered by food aid, while the rest they had to buy on market terms, in spite of their extremely grave financial situation.¹

Massive food deliveries on credit, emergency relief deliveries and goal (or project) deliveries are the main types of food aid. The first type is most widespread. Up to 1972, the terms of US food aid enabled the recipients to pay for the deliveries in local currency, which led to an accumulation on US accounts of so-called equivalent funds. A part of these could be used for the recipient country's development, and the rest went to meet US expenses in that country. Since 1972, US credits for food aid are repayable only in dollars or some other hard currency over a period of 20-40 years and at 3 per cent per annum.

Emergency relief supplies are usually free. Bearing in mind the political importance of this type of aid, the USA, for instance, has been extending about half of its free food aid in such a form. It also accounts for more than one-half of the EEC countries' food aid commitments.

Project food aid, in contrast to massive shipments, has a definite purpose. In some instances, it can be used to finance the local currency share of the outlays on a definite project. Sometimes, food is used as payment (in part or in full) for the labour of workers employed on

mass and labour-intensive projects (road-building, development of new soil, afforestation, and so on). It can also take the form of assistance to definite groups of people who need additional food: pregnant women, young mothers, school-children, the sick, the aged or the disabled, the poorest categories of the urban or rural population.

The most direct and obvious impact of food aid is that it increases the volume of use values in the country and so makes it possible to increase consumption for a definite category of the population. Food aid is particularly important where a country is hit by some natural disaster: drought, flood, earthquake, and so on, and also in case of social upheavals like wars and border conflicts, as a result of which thousands of people are left without food or shelter. In such instances, the importance of food aid depends not only on its volume, but largely on its speedy delivery to the affected areas and its rational distribution. Such aid is more or less short-term and is no longer necessary once the consequences of the natural disaster are eliminated.

But only a relatively small percentage of the "capitalist countries" food deliveries is meant for these purposes. Thus, such aid made up only about 16 per cent of total US deliveries under Public Law 480 in the period from 1954 to 1975: \$5,400 million out of \$33,100 million.

Food supplies exert a diverse and contradictory influence on the economy of the recipient countries. Their impact goes well beyond a simple increase in the supply of foodstuffs used for personal consumption, but is connected with the recipient country's economic development as a whole, with the problems of local agriculture, the social processes in town and country, finances and money circulation, foreign trade and accumulation.



Foodstuffs received as aid are usually sold on the domestic market rather than distributed among the population free of charge

One should bear in mind that most of the food aid is far from free for the people who need it. Foodstuffs received as aid are usually sold on the domestic market rather than distributed among the population free of charge. Given a certain level of domestic prices in the recipient country, food consumption depends on the purchasing capacity of each group of the population.

One essential question is how food aid influences the development of the recipient country's productive forces. Do the food shipments help to solve the food problem over the long term or merely postpone the threat of hunger for some time? Do they promote economic development which will enable the country to forego such aid or make the country dependent on it for a long time to come? Public opinion in the DCs is naturally concerned over such questions.

Regular receipts of food aid could induce the recipient country to cut back its investments in the development of its own agriculture and redistribute its national resources in favour of other branches of the economy. That is a dangerous road. The Indian researchers N. Rath and V.S. Patvardhan point out that since US wheat has been easily available under Public Law 480, the Indian authorities have not followed a vigorous enough policy on wheat production. That way tends to increase the country's dependence on foreign deliveries of such important commodities as foodstuffs.

If food aid could substitute for the recipient country's usual commercial imports, this could help to develop the productive forces, for the foreign exchange so saved could be used to

import, say, capital equipment and so help to increase investments in the country. But in practice this hardly ever happens. US legislation, for instance, specially stipulates that a developing country has the right to receive food aid only once it has imported a fixed minimum of foodstuffs on conventional market terms.

The DCs are badly in need of stability in food prices on the world market. But under the capitalist economic system such stability is impossible. Projection of food deliveries for a few years ahead could to some extent guarantee the recipients against losses resulting

from price fluctuations. It was proposed that the donor countries should project, at least approximately, the volume of their food aid for three years ahead. But that proposal was accepted only by Canada, the EEC countries and Sweden. The Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly proposed the formation of a standing cereal fund (0.5 million tons) on the basis of voluntary contributions by its member countries in cash or kind. The fund was set up in 1976, but since the leading cereal suppliers were slow to make their contributions, it was only in 1981 that the fund began full-scale operations.

The Journal of Social Change and Development is grateful for the article reproduced from V.S. Baskin's book "Western Aid; Myth and Reality"

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POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FOOD IN AFRICA

By T. Maya

When colonialism came to Africa following the Berlin Conference of 1884, it came primarily to tap our natural resources and raw materials for industries in Europe. Nearly all colonial activity consisted of mining and agricultural production of crops such as tobacco, cotton, and sugar for which the best lands were used. Food production occupied a very small part of colonial activity.

Research and credit institutions were set up to facilitate the production of these crops. But food production for the local population and the necessary research and credit related to it, was largely ignored. Except in very few countries (such as Kenya and Zimbabwe, where the settler population engaged in food production), the policy generally was to leave the peasantry to produce food for themselves and for the rest of the population as best they could.

Zambia is a stark example of a country which was so much given to the production of mainly copper that over a period of three generations the population has practically lost their pre-colonial culture of food production.

Remarkably, however, there was in normal years always enough food. Two significant facts must nonetheless be mentioned as arising out of the colonial food policy or lack of it. One was that the nutritional content of food consumed by the bulk of the peasants generally deteriorated over time. As the richer lands were taken away from the peasants, and as population in peasant areas exceeded their carrying capacity, the peasants had to concentrate on primarily one food crop, usually maize, to sustain themselves. Furthermore, because of increasing demands of cash for paying taxes and buying basic commodities the peasants were forced to reserve a piece

of their land to produce "cash crops". Therefore less land was available for food. The result was that many traditional foods with higher nutritional content simply disappeared.

Even the urbanised Africans, and those who worked for white commercial farms in countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe, suffered deterioration in the quality of their food intake. In fact, studies in Zimbabwe have shown that the health of farm workers on commercial farms had declined more seriously than that of people in communal areas.

The settlers ensured that the prices of food crops were generally lower than those of industrial crops so that the urban population and the rising bureaucracy could be supplied with cheap food. In most parts of Africa the workers usually had no choice but to leave behind their families in the communal areas where they were expected somehow to fend for themselves. The low wages paid to workers by industrial and commercial employers were thus made possible at the cost of an already impoverished peasantry.

Another reason for cheap food policy was the colonialists' demand for industrial raw materials. High food prices would have diverted peasant labour and land to food, and away from the much needed raw materials. Thus food was always discriminated against in terms of price.

It is important, especially in the context of Zimbabwe and Kenya, to mention one particular consequence of this discriminatory treatment of commercial food producers as against the communal food producers. A colonial myth has emerged that commercial farmers are more efficient producers of food as compared to the traditional native producers.

First, historically speaking, it is the peasant food producers who have fed the vast numbers of the population in Africa. Commercially produced food crops have either served a limited home market or been exported. Secondly, given the conditions of production in the traditional communal areas, the native producers have been much more productive per unit of capital input than the commercial farmers. And thirdly, because the commercial farmers use high-cost capital equipment and farm inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides, the foreign exchange cost of their production is much higher than that of communal producers.

The experience of Kenya since independence provides some interesting insights and exciting possibilities to think about in Zimbabwe. After the fertile white highlands were purchased by the state through a British loan after independence, the government decided to preserve the size and commercial character of the large farms, and offered these for sale to the people. Unable individually to raise enough capital to buy these farms, a number of peasants pooled their resources and formed co-operatives to purchase these farms.

Having done so, however, they promptly divided up the farms into the traditional small holdings, sold off the excess capital equipment on the farms, and resorted to the traditional ways of farming and cropping. As small holders, however, they were now no longer eligible for agricultural credit from the state, since the title deeds were still held in the name of the initial co-operative buyers. Deprived of this, and deprived furthermore of adequate extension services, the small farmers tried their best to survive. The result was astonishing. The small holders



were able to produce food, as well as the necessary cash crops, as efficiently as their commercial white predecessors, and at a much lower foreign exchange cost. Excepting for recent drought years, Kenya has been generally self-sufficient in food.

The Kenyan experience thus explodes the myth that the most efficient food producers in Africa are the white commercial farmers. To the extent that support for commercial farming in Zimbabwe

forms part of the larger agricultural strategy, the reason behind it, as well as behind the existing land tenure system, is more likely to do with the Lancaster House Agreement rather than with any inherent technical competence of commercial farmers. We know from Zimbabwe's own experience that the communal food producers, in spite of their inferior soil and minimal capital inputs, were able to produce more food grains during the 1983-84 season than what was forecast.

THE FISHERMEN OF MAURITIUS

Mauritius being a small island in the middle of a large ocean, you might expect that its people would make a good living from fishing, but this is not so. Their fishermen are among the poorest people on the island. One of their problems is that tropical cyclones destroy much of the fishermen's equipment, but this is not the whole story. However, it was one cyclone which helped them to look at their other problems.

Cyclone Gervaise devastated Mauritius on the night of 6th February 1975. A local NGO, the Institute for Development and Progress (IDP) was asked to find assistance to replace fishing boats and equipment that had been destroyed. When they began asking for funds, this proved difficult, because many fishermen had obtained loans to replace equipment after two cyclones had passed over the island since 1960, but they had only been able to repay 10% of the money they had borrowed then. IDP began to ask why this was. They discovered that the fishermen earned very little from fishing. Their equipment was poor: many only fished with lines from rowing boats close inshore, but IDP also found that different fishermen were being paid very differently for the same kinds of fish. Some got as little as one Mauritius rupée (Z 10c) per kilogram, while others got 4 rupées/kg. This was because many depended on middlemen who provided equipment and controlled the sale of fish. How much they were paid varied according to how much they depended on the middleman. Fishermen who owned their equipment could

get R4.00/kg for fish that sold for R5.00/kg in the market; those who did not own any equipment earned least. The fishermen themselves did not seem to be aware of this, so IDP began discussions with them, using posters which illustrated this.

When the fishermen had realised how they were being exploited, they decided that they needed help, not just to replace equipment that had been destroyed, but to become truly independent, owners of all their equipment. IDP was able to get aid to set up a revolving loan fund for this purpose.

This was not the only problem the fishermen faced, and IDP, having started to help them, became committed to taking their assistance further.

The next stage was to help the fishermen to set up their own marketing co-operatives, so as to cut out the middlemen altogether. In this way, far more fishermen became fully independent owning all their equipment and controlling the marketing of their produce.

Having reached this stage, many fishermen saw that they could go further. Learning to work co-operatively was difficult for ill-educated and independent-minded fishermen, but they had come to see its advantages. Now they could see that those who had sailing boats and nets could catch more fish and earn more money. Those who owned motor boats were able to go further

DEPENDANT



*It all belongs
to the
middleman!*

out to sea, get even bigger catches, and bring them faster to market before they began to rot. So the question was, could more fishermen get motor boats? None of them could afford to buy motor boats as individuals, but groups working as co-operatives could.

IDP was able to find donors who accepted this idea, and enlarged their loan funds, now there are a number of co-operatives, each owning a motor boat, some with outboard motors, and some with larger boats equipped with inboard diesel engines. Everyone profitted; the fishermen get larger catches, and a larger share of the income from their catches; customers get more and fresher fish, at prices they can afford. The whole island gained from this, because Mauritius, an island about the size of greater Harare with a population of a million people, grows very little of its own food. What agricultural land they have is given over almost entirely to growing sugar cane, an export crop on which the whole economy of the island depends very heavily. There is little room for live-stock, so meat is scarce. Fish, more readily available without spending foreign currency, can improve the diet and the health of all the island's people, especially the poor.

SEMI-INDEPENDANT

*I now own
some of the
equipment!*



Of course, there are many problems remaining. For example, another reason that Mauritius fishermen get small catches is that foreign fishing fleets, with more advanced equipment and refrigerated factory ships, have depleted the fish stocks in the ocean around the island. But at least Mauritius's own fishermen, and the island people who have found fresh fish becoming a bit more easily available, have learned to analyse their situation and partly master it. They are no longer tied to the drudgery of catching what little they can inshore trying to make a few rupees to keep them from starvation without hope of ever improving their lot. They have seen that it can be improved. The next step will be more difficult, but now that the people are aware of what the problem is, they can plan how they might tackle it.

INDEPENDANT



*I now own
most
of the
equipment!*



So, how about it, Kariba fishermen?

Summarised from: Les pecheurs à l'isle Maurice: une expérience de liberation
by Robert Fleurot, IDP, Port Louis, Mauritius.

FOOD AS A POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL WEAPON

By B.L. Moyo

Historically food has produced enormous social upheavals and injustices. In Africa the pre-revolution Ethiopia, where human action compounded drought, a natural phenomenon to starve the people is a case in point.

Food can be used to nourish your body or to punish it; it can be given and received in love or used as a weapon for the furtherance of base financial and political aims.

Food, a need common to many people is not recognized as a basic human right, although it is regarded by all as a basic human necessity.

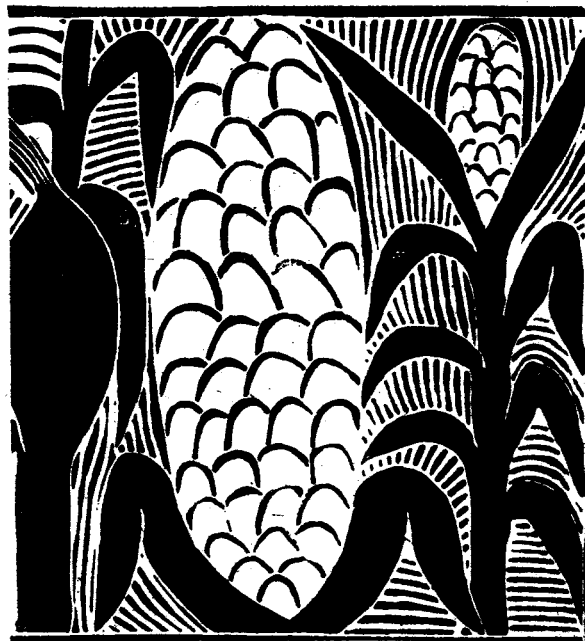
It is common knowledge how the multi-national companies working hand in glove with their various respective metropolitan governments reunite to determine what their working classes and the people of the Third World eat - often at the greater expense of the latter.

A recent report by the Sunday Mail (11.11.84) indicates how heavy subsidies by the EEC on farm products have led to a saturated food industry in Western Europe. In their unscrupulous quest for profit, using their now too-well-known aggressive sales technique the multi-nationals are rapidly trying to foist their "surplus" foods onto the Third World traditional dumping ground for anything unfit for the West.

Who does not know of the scandalous way by which artificial baby foods are marketed? Given the socio-economic conditions of third world countries baby bottle feeding can have serious if not lethal repercussions. By drawing heavily on the family's income it may force the family to "water" the formula too much. The chances of a baby then developing some of the now notorious malnutrition and related diseases are

legion given the inadequacy or absence of sterilization facilities and contaminated free water supplies.

The aggressive advertizing techniques (reports WHO 1975 - 77 study) hoodwink the women (specific targets for advertisers) into believing in the omnipotence of the "whiteman's milk powder". The milk companies may by now have moderated their propaganda and curbed their conspicuously aggressive sales tactics, but it would be naive to think that the profit motive has been removed from their continued operations in the Third World.



Living in "absolute countries" the peoples of the Third World are time and again hit by "God-given" acts, natural disasters, droughts and floods leading to crop failures and subsequent starvation. The west has largely seen this as the hand of an angry God punishing these people for opting for "Godless communism" and inadequate planning and lack of initiative on the people themselves. To placate their consciences and appease their

own working class the ruling class in the metropolis had to respond with some form of food aid. Again progressive mankind everywhere has not failed to see the food aid programme as an integral adjunct of the west's neo-colonial strategy. An aid programme that fails to challenge the power dynamics and structures, the recipient country's unequal income distribution patterns the consumption habits of the country's citizen in short a programme that fails to call for the often echoed for shift in development strategies and priorities will fall by the way side for it treating the symptoms of the disease. I subscribe to the school of thought that holds that by failing to tackle the underlying causes and accommodating novel and revolutionary changes the recipient and donor countries of food aid - are engaged in a mutual beneficial policy aimed at controlling-hunger related action like a revolution. It was because imperialism could not feed the people that the Ethiopian workers were forced to oust their feudal masters!

All in all one is forced to the conclusion that is hypercritical

liberalism to concern yourself with the hungry without complimentary and natural concern for his social situation, since the poor run the risk of being ill-housed, ill-paid, ill-cared for and illiterate. Such people tended to be apathetic about their own state.

The list of iniquities that monopoly capital has committed against its own working class and the Third World people is endless. We in the Third World must join hands with the workers of Euro-America and Japan and their various organizations (trade unions, Green movement parties etc.) and build a strong front to redress the imbalance of power, combat the exploitation of the weak by the strong for financial and political gain.

Third World countries must bring pressure to bear on their governments to reject the neo-colonialists strategies of development of their ears while ruleless support action aimed at monitoring and checking the activities of the multi-nationals.

★★★

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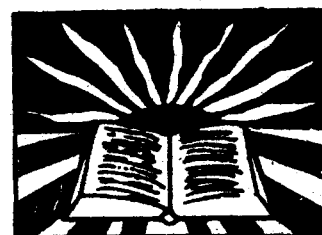
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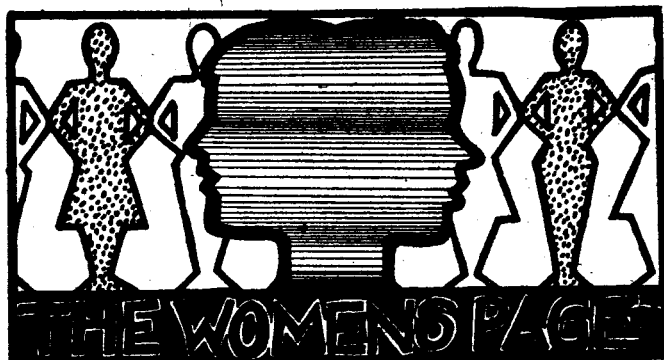
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WOMEN AND FOOD PRODUCTION

By Grace Tangwena

The following are the words of Communal Land farmers in Zimbabwe spoken since Independence. They are the majority of farmers. The future of food production, our future, lies in their hands. They form the basis of the Government's plans for a socialist agricultural system, yet they are among the most oppressed and powerless in our society. They are women and they are farmers.

"Many men are at work in town, very few have local jobs. Men spend a lot of time in townships drinking beer. They send us women to agricultural group meetings. If we followed what men do the children might starve, so we women are keen on farmer groups in order to feed the children".

"As a woman, I think I am the person who does most of the work at home. I look after the family as well as the fields, and vegetable garden and the chickens and cattle."

"In our days, it's very hard to use the extended family system. We are no longer all together. So we women have to do the work ourselves".

"No, we don't have control over land. The land is controlled by men. I say so because we are given 2½ acres to plough, but our husbands do not allow us to plant anything else except maize. So where shall we plant groundnuts, beans and fruit that are good for our families?"

"The man makes the plan for growing food and cash crops. Our dispute is over the fact that women do all the work, but cannot make the plan. We also disagree over the man's choice of crops. He always wants to grow maize, and we want to grow groundnuts too."

The words of these farmers raise many of the issues and problems faced by those who are struggling to achieve the goal of national food security and improved living standards for all, especially rural households. President Banana once said that with help, peasant farms could become, "a veritable granary of Zimbabwe." (Herald 30.9.84) He could be right.

Government has made various important reforms to make this possible. It has done away with the discriminatory pricing policies that existed in colonial times. It has improved producer prices and brought some of the traditional grain crops like the millets mhunga and rapoko under the Grain Marketing Board. It has assisted in extending small-scale credit facilities to Communal Land farmers. Marketing infrastructures and roads are in the process of being improved and the Minister of Agriculture has promised to help speed up the payments for crops sold through the official marketing boards. The Government's extension service, Agritex, (through which agricultural advice is "extended" to all farmers) is concentrating its efforts on the Communal

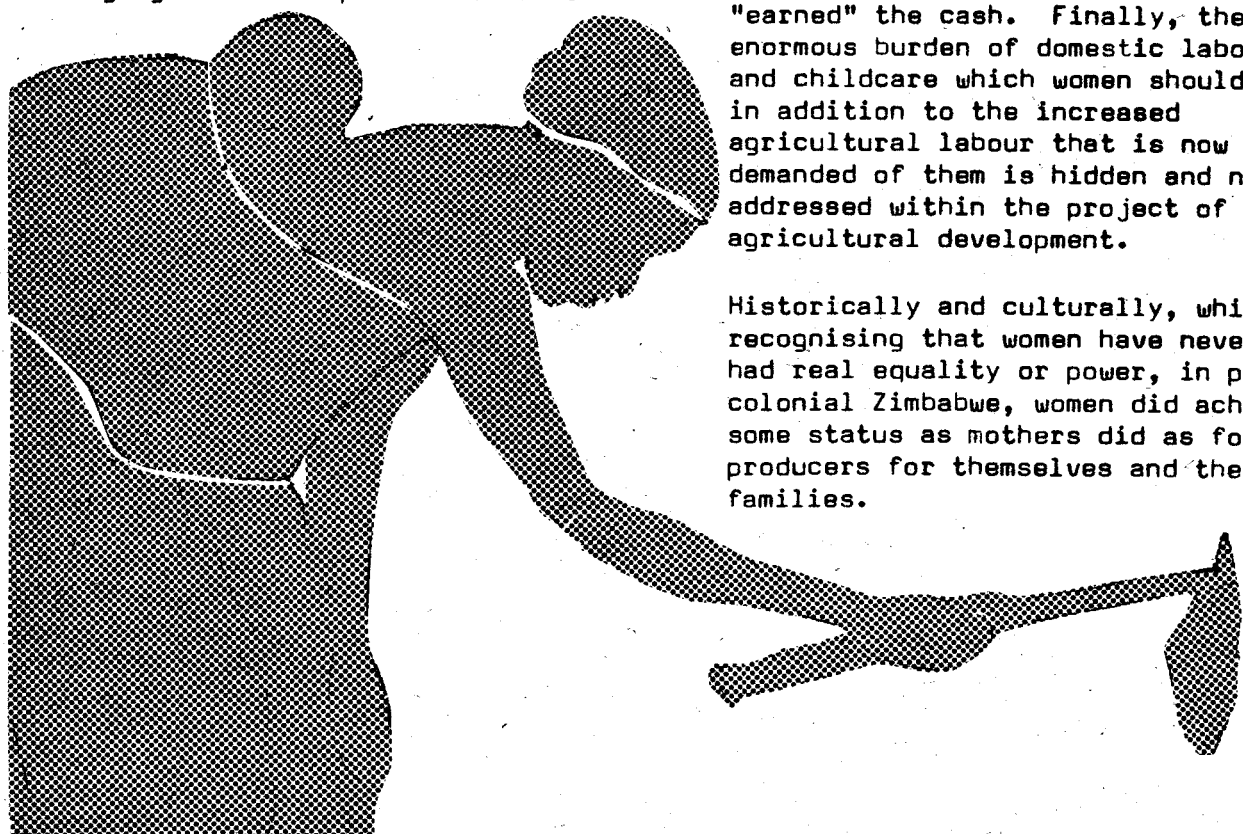
Lands and promoting the formation of farmer groups and, with the Department of Co-operatives, is promoting various co-ops and collectives. Agricultural training colleges have been expanded with women now forming 25% of the students. The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs has also actively promoted various agricultural projects, while also assisting in the advancement of women in general.

But despite these important achievements 2 major stumbling blocks to real agricultural development remain. The first which this article will not deal with in detail is the issue of fundamental land reform. For agricultural development to be meaningful, we believe that it must mean development towards socialism, and that the government must decisively pursue one of the main aims of the liberation struggle, that is of bringing all land under state control, to seize back the people's heritage stolen by the imperialists. We recognise that this involves a process of transition. This process of transition must include a process by which the mass of small subsistence farmers become organised in various collective ways, gaining skills in agriculture and co-operative organization in preparation for their taking control of all the land and running agricultural production on a

socialist basis. We will not deal with this issue further here, but our second and main point relates fundamentally to this process of transition, and that is that women must be consciously involved as farmers in their own right in the mainstream of agricultural development which can lay the basis of a socialist agricultural system.

Women are the majority of farmers in the Communal Lands. Although clearly, men and women join together for many agricultural tasks, research since Independence (see Notes) has shown that women undertake at least 50% (and often much more) of all agricultural labour and often form the majority in the various farmer groups and agriculturally based "income-generating" projects. Yet, despite their prominence, women are severely disadvantaged. They do not have access to, or control over land in their own right, except in some exceptional circumstances. They are not seen as the equal decision-makers in household agricultural production. They are seriously disadvantaged in access to important agricultural skills, inputs and infrastructure (extension advice, credit, GMB cards etc). They are not seen as the "rightful" cash earners, even though they might have performed all the labour which has "earned" the cash. Finally, the enormous burden of domestic labour and childcare which women shoulder in addition to the increased agricultural labour that is now demanded of them is hidden and not addressed within the project of agricultural development.

Historically and culturally, while recognising that women have never had real equality or power, in pre-colonial Zimbabwe, women did achieve some status as mothers did as food-producers for themselves and their families.





Kate Truscott.

"Men were the hunters, women were responsible for producing the food to make sadza. They also went searching for wild vegetables."

To a large extent, the traditional role of women as food producers was seriously undermined by colonialism. People were deliberately impoverished by the colonists and taxes were imposed to ensure a steady stream of cheap, black labour to work in the mines, on the commercial farms and later in the capitalist industries. Women, children and old people were left to survive in the reserves as best they could, trying to maintain a subsistence way of life without any of the traditional supports of a wider family labour force, and deprived of a shifting pattern of cultivation (which had prevented soil erosion), denied of all the inputs, extension advice and markets of the white farmers.

However, with so many male heads of households away, women took over more and more responsibility for farming in general, performing many of the tasks including care of cattle, ploughing and clearing of land that had hitherto been strictly "male" tasks, as well as their own agricultural jobs. And during the liberation struggle itself, it was mainly women who grew crops and vegetables, often secretly, and smuggled food to the freedom fighters, often risking their lives.

At Independence, it was natural then that many women in the rural areas saw their opportunity to participate in the major agricultural programmes being developed by the Government they had helped to bring to power. Since then, women have remained enthusiastic supporters of agricultural development, though frequently their contribution is ignored or marginalised.

For example, the president of the Zimbabwe National Farmers Union, Cde. Gary Magadzire once remarked "The response from farmers is very encouraging, their acceptance of the responsibility to feed the nation has been fuelled by the new pre-planting producer price for maize. But groundnut seed shortages have been compounded by the fact that housewives in the communal sector had their seed bank depoted by

drought." Clearly, for Cde. Magadzire, the farmer is a man producing maize and other major crops and the woman is a "housewife" who is only interested in groundnuts!

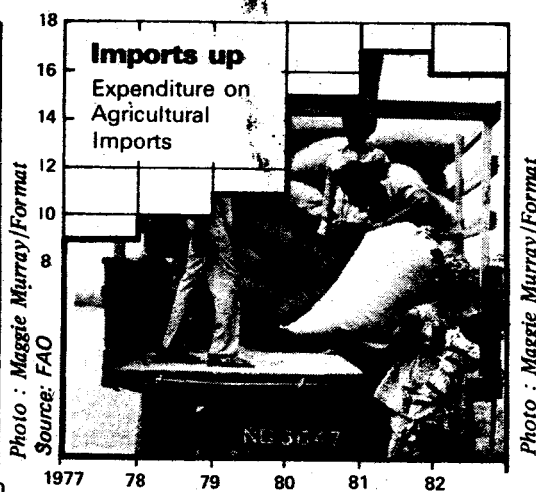
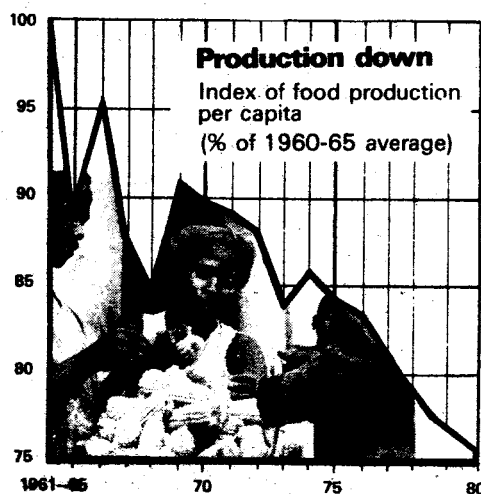
A more dangerous tendency found in the "good intentions" of some international donor organisations, well-paid consultants, and even some people in government ministries who should know better is to emphasise the need to encourage communal farmers to increase production of major crops like maize, cotton and tobacco or raise export-quality livestock. Meanwhile, they encourage "farmers' wives" to be involved in small "income-generating"

projects like vegetable-growing, uniform-making and the like. While we recognise the importance of these projects in providing women with much needed extra cash, there is a danger that women may become marginalised from the mainstream of agricultural production of the major crops used for both food and cash, and also from potentially lucrative livestock production programmes.

This does not mean that we are suggesting that men be excluded. But when we speak of a farmer, we must mean just that, a woman or a man who cultivates and/or tends animals as a means of earning a living.

The Food Gap

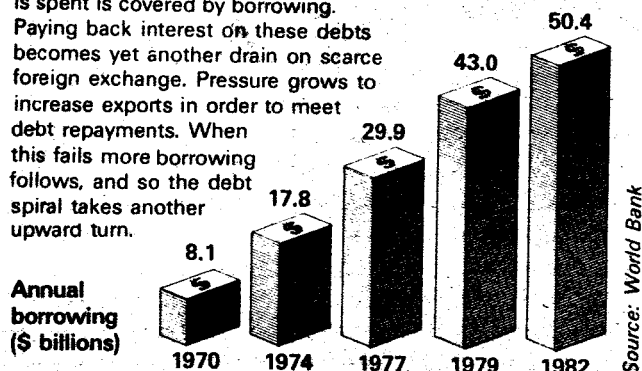
Sub-Saharan Africa's population of 362 million is expected to double in the next 25 years. Meanwhile agricultural production is in decline and expensive food imports are on the increase. The result, predicted by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), is that Africa will provide for only half its food needs by the year 2020



BORROWING IT

The Debt Trap

The gap between what is earned and what is spent is covered by borrowing. Paying back interest on these debts becomes yet another drain on scarce foreign exchange. Pressure grows to increase exports in order to meet debt repayments. When this fails more borrowing follows, and so the debt spiral takes another upward turn.



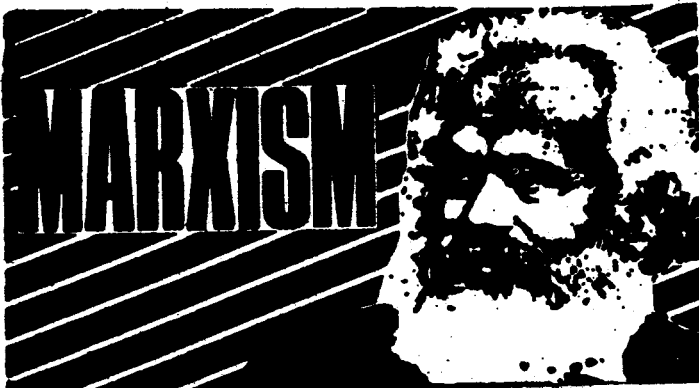
SPENDING IT

Imports	
Food	16.9%
Agriculture materials	2.2%
Ores and metals	6.3%
Fuels	9.5%
Manufactured goods	64.3%

Bare Necessities

The manufactured goods that Africa buys with its foreign exchange rise steadily in price. A large proportion are luxuries for the wealthy or expensive weapons for the military. The basic needs of the majority of Africans are frequently ignored.





THE POOR PEASANTS

In the majority; if not all of the "developing countries" the major government programmes are targeted towards the rural people. It is often argued that the peasantry had always been neglected by former colonial regimes and as a result they are poor. Ministries and department for Rural Development are often set up with the sole aim of uplifting the poor peasants. In most countries the success of these development programmes has been negligible in spite of both internal and external "aid" that is channelled into these areas. The developed capitalist countries massively export food to this section of the population almost unabated. The plight of the peasantry like that of the workers in these countries continues to deteriorate.

We need to get to the bottom of this matter in order to know what is the real cause of the poverty of the peasants and how it can be rid of. To know this, we should understand the cause of poverty in both the town and countryside.

THE BOURGEOIS APPROACH

The issue of poverty and its solution interest all sections of the population. The prescriptions often provided are highly reflective of the class interests of their proponents.

The bourgeois approach emphasizes that the solution of the poverty of the peasantry lies in improving its farming methods. Farming methods are seen as central to the problem of poverty. The poor peasants are told that improved farming methods will help them to escape from poverty and get to their feet. This can be done without interfering whatsoever with the properties of the rich. This approach seeks to unite all peasant farmers with the object of improving farming methods. It does not relate the plight of the peasants to that of the workers, rather it sees

the need of the peasant as agricultural inputs, formation of marketing co-operatives etc. While all these are necessary and important ingredients in farming, they are not in themselves a precondition to the well being of a peasant. The question of ownership and availability of land is vital in determining the ultimate well being of those who live by tilling the soil.

This factor is deliberately ignored and denigrated by the propertied class who at all cost will strive to maintain the status quo. Lenin summarised aptly the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the poor peasants when he said of them. "How praiseworthy of the middle and small peasants to be so industrious, so diligent, to live such simple lives, and not waste their time on nonsense, not to think of socialism, but only of their farms, not to strive towards the workers who organise strikes against the bourgeoisie, but towards the rich and try to join the ranks of respectable folk. If only all were so industrious and so diligent and lived frugally and did not drink and saved more money, and spent less on calico, and had fewer children - all would be happy and there would be no poverty and no want! This statement by Lenin shows how the bourgeoisie throws dust in the eyes of the peasants and diverts them from real causes of their poverty and real struggles for their emancipation.

THE MARXIST APPROACH

A few things need to be highlighted. Firstly it should be understood very well that the peasants will never get rid of their poverty if the bulk of the land remains in private hands. Indeed a few peasants may get rich in some circumstances but that does not mean anything as far as the peasant class is concerned. Secondly, it should be also known that the poverty of the peasants can never be rid of "when money has

become the ruling power, when everything can be bought for money - factories and land, and even men and women can be bought to serve as wage workers, wage slaves. When no one can live or run a farm without money. When the small farmer, the peasant worker, has to wage a struggle against the big farmers to get money".

Today we witness mass starvation of the peasantry in many of our developing countries. The reasons given for this are often drought, floods, poor farming methods etc. Symptoms are often confused for causes. Rich capitalist countries out of "charity", ship food to these poor countries and individuals backed by monopoly capital go on fundraising campaigns. This situation has lived with us for decades if not centuries now.

At the heart of this matter, if we must come up with a genuine solution, is the issue and place of the peasantry in the production process. The peasantry's position can never be separated from that of the workers. They cannot be freed

without the workers being freed. The landlord has an alliance with the bourgeoisie. Any programme for the emancipation of the peasantry from its drudgery should have as its principle and indispensable task the strengthening of the alliance of the peasantry and urban workers. When this alliance is established it becomes easy to expose the deceit of the bourgeoisie and move towards genuine emancipation which will avail the peasantry with the means of a rich life.

Whatever the peasantry can achieve in the way of their emancipation, it cannot be done outside the class struggle. In the past, peasant uprisings have been crushed because they were uprisings of an ignorant and politically unconscious mass without clear and definite political demands. Lenin emphasizes that "we need only to remind the peasants of this lesson more often, and they will easily understand why it is necessary to change the political order and why we need political liberty".

NRA'S ASSUMPTION TO POWER IN UGANDA—

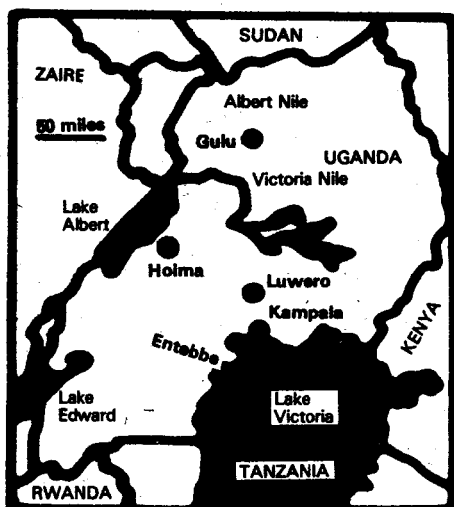


AN INSPIRATION TO REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

When the National Resistance Army (NRA) (and its political wing NRM) took power in Kampala in January 1986, few people bothered to analyse the implications of this tremendous success, since propaganda against the NRA particularly by the western media had been to a large extent significant. But why did the western media prior to that stifle the news about the success of the NRA? In this short analysis of the emergence and eventual assumption

of power by the NRA, clear parallels can be drawn between the neo-colonial system that NRA fought and others existing elsewhere in Africa. For a change the NRA sought to overthrow a neo-colonial system not by means of the usual military coup, but by total revolutionary methods, and this must in itself have been alarming to some quarters in the world.

Like other African countries, when



Uganda got independence in 1962, the economy was well entrapped to the imperialist economy with production geared towards exportation and the home industries virtually existent or established to satisfy petty consumer needs. Unlike some African countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe, the colonialists had emphasised peasant production of cash crops for export rather than large scale production since fewer whites opted to settle in Uganda.

Independence in Uganda ushered in a change of leadership from the former white colonialists to a new black elite supported by a well established bureaucratic civil service. At the same time there remained no change in the fundamental control of the economy appendaged to finance capital. The imperialists were already deeply rooted in the key sectors of the economy, and continued to promote their interests.

Worse still, the post-independence neo-colonial system ensured that the new petty-bourgeois leadership continued to play into the hands of imperialism. Obote's first government (1962-1971) promoted the same economic policies handed down by the colonial masters and re-inforced with an Independence five-year-economic programme prepared by the World Bank "experts".

Inevitably the shortsightedness of the new petty-bourgeois leaders meant no change in the status of the people. Instead as foreign capital continued to strangle the economy - the people were direct victims while the new black elite concentrated on self-

aggraidisement, promoted tribal division and even frustrated efforts by progressive elements to promote debate on the correct paths for development. Hence, Obote found by 1964 that there was increasing discontent and criticism and his response was to expel all individuals with "leftist" tendencies in his party.

The very nature of this neo-colonial structure meant also that these new leaders became more alienated from the people they ruled as they remained in their citadels. Despite the initial figures reflecting so-called "development" of the economy, in real terms, the economy worsened. Development was only geared towards developing the metropole's and improving the conditions of the petty-bourgeoisie dependent entirely on the so-called import-substitution and export promotion.

On the other hand conditions of the workers and peasants worsened. While the peasants produced the bulk of the produce exported and consumed in the metropolises, their living conditions worsened, their methods of production remained primitive. Up to date over 90 per cent of agricultural produce in Uganda is extracted by use of the hoe by peasants!!! And up to date less than 1 per cent of the workers in Uganda have got decent housing with the majority leaving in slums or shanties!!

Poor planning of the Obote and Amin regimes was reflected in real decline in production.

The worsening of the conditions of the real producers (workers and peasants) continued with poor planning of the Obote and Amin regimes was reflected in real decline in production. By the end of Obote's first reign in 1971, the petty-bourgeoisie were already concerned about the worsening of their living conditions. These contradictions among the petty-bourgeoisie also led to connivance with the external imperialist

powers. Obote up to then having failed to establish any linkage with the real power base of workers and peasants, had relied heavily on the imperialist powers from whom he had inherited power. Sensing his continued instability and rising petty-bourgeois anti-feelings towards Obote, the imperialists moved fast and found it easy to replace him with another stooge Idi Amin in 1971.

Amin had been responsible for the massacre of over 300,000 people

Having inherited and modified the oppressive colonial state machinery, by 1971 Obote had become more repressive as indicated in the massacre of the people in Kampala (Nakulabye) in 1964, the forced overthrow of the feudalists using Amin in 1966 and the detention of hundreds of politicians by 1971. Suffice it to say, Obote had modified the oppressive security system in co-operation with certain imperialist powers to sustain himself in power and ironically, this same system led by Amin, which had become accustomed to going unpunished for criminal acts against the people, was responsible for Obote's overthrow.

Amin, being part of the security forces, was well aware of this, and with the added assumption of power with the backing of the imperialist forces, went to extreme lengths of perpetuating the same crimes his predecessor Obote had taught him. Though it is now well known that by the time of his removal in 1979 Amin had been responsible for the massacre of over 300,000 people, these murders had gone unreported during his brief honeymoon with the imperialist powers in his first period of power up to 1975.

When Obote re-assumed power in 1980 through a fraudulent election, he was determined to play to the tune of the imperialists so as to entrench himself in power. Obote had well in advance concluded an agreement with the I.M.F. And the subsequent sweeping agreement between Obote and the I.M.F. was the

first example of a country accepting the I.M.F. "austerity" measures wholesale! The words of one former African leader that "only a totally corrupt government can accept the IMF measures wholesale" could not have been more applicable to Uganda.

The consequences of the I.M.F. programme from 1981 - 1985 were disastrous. Obote exemplified this true leadership of the compradors in Uganda by destroying all local industries totally and denying the people any semblance of living. By the time Obote's government collapsed all local industries were working at under 5 per cent capacity and the living conditions were so low for all workers and peasants that theft and corruption were accepted as a way of life!! Meanwhile the I.M.F. controlled the Central Bank from 1981 to January 1986 and manning the economy from all the strategic heights.

The productive forces had worsened so much with inflation running at 1,000 per cent and the conditions of the workers and peasants who continued to produce the bulk of the neo-colonial economy's exports had reverted, to say the least, were only comparable to medieval times. The Obote regime, finding itself challenged, continued to massacre the people, which massacres were not exposed to the outside world since he was pursuing the "desired" economic policy.

But internally the NRA founded in 1981 by Museveni with only 27 volunteers. after realising that only total overthrow of the alliance of the compradors and imperialist powers could re-direct the pleas of the people towards change, started a guerrilla war based on a





protracted struggle. Fighting a popular peoples war, and basing its support initially on the peasants and agricultural workers in the rural areas the NRA grew from strength to strength using correct organizational methods.

Through open 'peoples' Committees' in the liberated areas and 'secret Committees' in the rest of Uganda, the NRA politicised the people and at the same time ensured them hope and security. Further the NRA introduced open politicised programmes for its personnel producing for the first time soldiers who were responsible to the people rather than the reverse, hence the emergence of a highly conscious and disciplined force. The NRA remained totally dependent on local resources, benefitting only from weapons captured from Obote's bandit, unpopular and indisciplined army. Despite the severe propaganda machinery of Obote and his imperialist backers, the NRA remained totally national so as to avoid internationalising the war.

By the time Obote's Government collapsed in 1985, they had launched over 16 major offensives against the NRA and lost over 4000 men. Prior to that, on realizing the strength of the NRA in 1984, the Americans (see report by U.S Assistant Secretary of State E. Abrams) were the first to admit that Obotes

The oppressive neo-colonial leaders can be overthrown by determined, disciplined and well organised popular movements.

troops had been responsible for massacring over 300,000 people from 1981 to 1984. But even at this juncture the British Government remained adamant that this was "grossly untrue".

The successes of the NRA eventually led to the crumbling of Obote's regime in July 1985, only to be succeeded by his own indisciplined army. What remained after this was for the NRA to deliver a final blow and uproot the fascists once and for all.

The lessons from the emergence and successes of the NRA from the formation of a small core of patriotic volunteers sacrificing their erstwhile careers to build a local guerrilla force without external assistance nor a rear base are loud and clear. Firstly, that the oppressive neo-colonial petty-bourgeois leaders can be overthrown not by means of military camps which usher in a new breed of elite, but by a determined, disciplined and well-organized popular movement.

Secondly, that the powers that strangle African people can be challenged despite their propaganda machinery, by the emergence of national revolutionary movements which do not bargain their destinies at any time in the struggle.

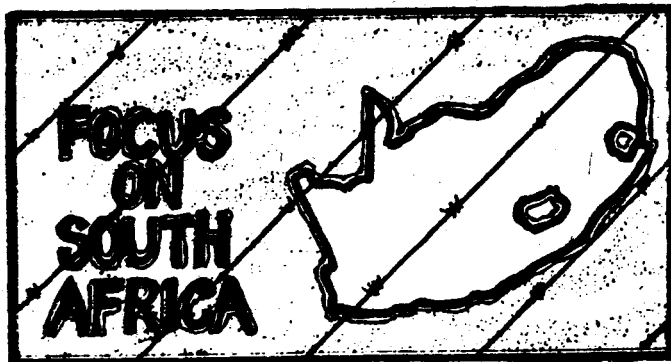
Thirdly, that the hitherto over-orchestrated division of the people in Africa is a farce and a utility only for the imperialist exploitation of the people.

Finally, that a total revolutionary situation can be achieved in Africa using an indigenous fully-fledged guerrilla movement.

In conclusion, despite the apparent destruction of the economy in Uganda which requires careful rehabilitation and reconstruction, it is important that to be successful, the new NRM government transforms the nation using the same revolutionary methods that brought it to power so as to set the nation on a progressive path. In other words the struggle continues and the enemies are likely to remain the same.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

By Laloo Chiba



I have been asked to speak about the origins of the Freedom Charter, and its historical significance.

As we all know, that Charter was adopted at the historic Congress of the People, held at Kliptown on 26th June 1955. But the origins of the Charter must be viewed within the context of the people's struggle for freedom in this country over many generations. However this is not the time, nor is it my function, to deal with all the developments over the so many years. Suffice it to say, however, that with the establishment of organisations like the African National Congress in 1912, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1894 and 1902 respectively, and of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921, the struggle for liberation was to gather momentum and achieve a greater measure of organisation and co-ordination than before. This, in turn, paved the way for the dynamic political developments during the decade or so prior to the adoption of the Charter.

It is therefore necessary to briefly deal with these developments before making an assessment of the Charter's historical significance.


Up to 1945 the leadership of the South African Indian Congress had been a moderate one. It had failed to realise that the Indian people of this country were an integral part of the struggle for freedom in this country. Consequently it accepted a status of permanent inferiority for Indians in South Africa, and were extremely reluctant

to take the cudgels on behalf of the Indian people in a manner that would offend the Whites and antagonize the Government of the day.

But this moderate policy was thrown overboard in 1945 when the Indian Congress came under the dynamic leadership of men like Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naicker, Roy Naidoo, Nana Sita and others. When the Smuts government tabled legislation in Parliament, in terms which Indians were to be granted dummy representation, the new leadership treated this new dispensation for Indians with the contempt that it truly deserved.

Instead, it mobilised the Indian people throughout the country under the banner of the Indian Congress, and launched the now-famous Passive Resistance Campaign, during the course of which more than 2 000 Indians were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.





On the one hand, the Passive Resistance Campaign achieved a large measure of success in uniting the Indian people. On the other hand it re-inforced Congress's earlier conviction that the salvation and political co-operation and in joint political struggles with the other oppressed people - in particular with the African people under the leadership of the African National Congress. This conviction resulted in the new leadership exploring ways and means of achieving the desired co-operation with the ANC - upon which the disciplined and dedicated manner in which the Passive Resistance Campaign had been conducted, made a profound impression.

These two factors - the convictions on the part of the one, and the impressions upon the other - paved the way for the signing in March 1947 of the Joint Declaration of Co-operation between the ANC and the SAIC.

This Declaration is more popularly known as the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact, for the signatories to the Pact were the presidents of the TIC, ANC and the NIC. Not only did the Pact pave the way for efficiency planning the practical basis of co-operation between these organisations of the oppressed people, but it firmly laid the foundation for the dynamic political developments of the Fifties and the early Sixties.

Coupled with this historic event was another - the ANC's adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949. The salient feature of the Programme of Action was the shift in the strategy of the ANC. Whereas hitherto the ANC had to a large extent

relied on the tactics of deputations and petitions as means of advancing the struggle the Programme of Action laid emphasis on strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and civil disobedience as important political weapons to advance the struggle even further. It must be mentioned that it was also in 1949 that Dr. James Moroka assumed the presidency of the ANC, and that the dynamic Walter Sisulu became its Secretary-General.

But between the signing of the Pact and the adoption of the Programme lay 1948 - the year which witnessed the coming of the Nationalist Party into power. And with the advent of the Nats, a plethora of laws, which adversely affected the lives of the oppressed people even further, found their way on to the Statute Book.

Amongst its early actions was the attempt by the Nats to muzzle the outspoken opponents of Apartheid. Banning orders, which were served on men like Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks and Dr. Dadoo, were viewed by the liberty movement as a grave intrusion into the freedom of speech. Consequently, under the sponsorship of the ANC in the Transvaal, the JHB District Committee of the CPSA, the Transvaal Indian Congress and African People's Organisation, the Defend-Free-Speech Convention was held in March 1950.

The Convention resolved to stage a political strike in the Transvaal on the 1st May 1950 - as a demand for an improvement in the conditions and wages of the workers.

The May Day Strike was a huge success. But it was marked by the tragic intervention of the police against the strikers - which led to 19 strikers being killed and 30 injured. With characteristic insensitivity to these tragic events, the Nats tabled two more oppression Bills in Parliament - the Group Areas Bill, dubbed the "Ghetto Bill" by the people, and the Unlawful Organisation Bill, dubbed the Gestapo Bill."

Article continues

in next issue....

POETRY CORNER

BEHIND THE CUDGEL!

By M.C. Halimana
January, 1986.

Mine is not a heroic role,
I can't point to a single feat
Of Heroism and beat my chest,
Like most who got the most,
'Been - tos' and 'experts',
I was studying for the morrow!

But one thing I know
Is that I was never, ever
A belly-crawler,
A creep,
Always waiting for the right moment
To say what appealed most
To those waiting to hear
If all was not lost!
If the situation could still be saved!
If 'reason' could be brought to prevail!
If the monster could be 'white-washed'!
If it could be given a 'glossy-coat'!

To those who wanted moderation
Co'here the snake had raised
Its head ready to strike,
Saying "it's only a pet snake!"
Nor to say "it's only smoke"
Where there was an inferno!
To fear "extremism"
Lest I be left out
When Maggie went in search for "moderates".

I feared none of this,
"Kill the snake" I joined in the chant!
"Let the monster burn to charcoal"
We cried out!

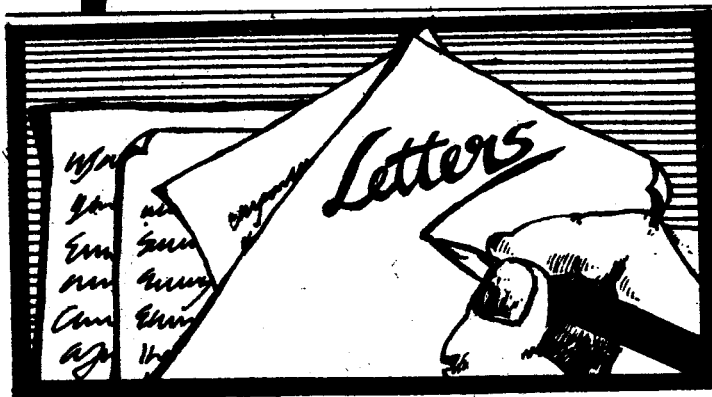
And for this,
I shan't pretend that
I held the club
That struck and killed the snake,
Nor that I stood next
To the Burning Fire,
I shan't claim heroism
Which I never lived,
Create valour
I never displayed,
Demand to be garlanded!

For that particular Honour,
Which beats all Honours
From Cambridge, Harvard, Oxford,
Belongs to those who wielded
The Cudgel,
And none other.

If you are hiding
Your opportunism my 'friend',
Hiding that 'moderation' you were noted for
When both of us were students
(For you were never anything else
Until the ceasefire - Chiefie! Chiefie!!)
That sensibleness' that kept
The monster and its mentors hopeful,
Don't do it behind the Cudgel!
Get away from behind the Cudgel!
Don't stand behind the Cudgel!
For noone believes your fables of heroism,
How you wiped out
A whole enemy platoon single-handed,
How the 'fire' would have
Died out without
Your singular effort.

Look! Look!
As you speak
The Cudgel frowns
And fumes in disgust,
It finds you nauseating,
Look! It's vomiting!

The Cudgel thinks you stink,
Mmpuu!!!



Sir,

I have recently read your edition "focus on women", and enjoyed it, particularly the poem on p. 30.

There are two things however I would like to mention. The 1st is a criticism. On p. 32, there are some facts and figures, and amongst these is one which reads, "21 million people in industrialised

capitalised countries:- members of the EEC - are illiterate". I would point out that this is meaningless unless one has found out how many of these are
(a) mentally retarded or educationally sub-normal.
(b) foreigners who came in as refugees etc. from countries who did not care about educating them (eg. Turks in Germany). The relevant question here is "are their children illiterate?"

Secondly, your editorial board may find the following of interest and worth investigating.

- (1) From Harare Hospitals medical clinics some 12 - 15 patients are admitted every day. From the medical wards, 3-4 are discharged every day (sometimes none are). The discrepancy is coped with in the following way:-

Patients who are "not so sick" are asked to get out of bed and sit on a bench in

the ward corridor. Their beds are remade and the new patients put in them. The displaced patients sit on their bench all day; they eat there and are treated there. Unless someone dies, they are still there at night-fall. So the ward sister gets on the phone and asks other wards to "lodge" them. They go down/up to the other wards where they sleep the night. The following day they return to their ward of origin and go back to the bench. Some stay on a bench for as long as a week; some get fed up and go home; some don't get better very fast. Both nurses and doctors are very distressed about this situation, but the only apparent alternative is not to admit patients, which is untenable, for only seriously ill patients are admitted anyhow. Many are from rural areas.

- At Parirenyatwa hospital, there are 4 - 6 wards which were built, completed, furnished, equipped, and then locked up. The reason was that, allegedly, there was no staff for them. They comprise 12- - 180 beds. There is a rumour going around, which alleges that the Government has been recruiting "special staff" and plans to open these wards for the non-aligned conference (NAC).

Our socialist Government permitted the building of the Avenue Clinic - There is the Catholic Hospital of "St. Annes". In both these places, as well as several private clinics (eg. Gelfand, Montagu, St. Clements'), those who can afford to pay for privacy can have it. Why then are government hospitals permitting the povho to suffer a lack of medical and nursing excellence in their care, so that foreigners and the rich can be catered for at their expense? If the Government can find staff for the NAC, it can find and pay staff for their own people. Even if that rumour is not true, why permit the building of private hospitals who soak up available staff, when the promises made at independence and election time are not being fulfilled re "health for all".

RWAIVI

Dear Editors,

The article on the elderly by J. Hampson in your magazine provides delicious food for thought. The gist of Hampson's articles seems to highlight the plight of the aged in our society today. Whilst most societies

have programmes for their aged, we seem to be neglecting them. I am not saying we do not have any single program but the programmes that we have are just not adequate.

The argument may be advanced that why waste our funds on these who are about to die anyway, but we must remember, that at one time or another all of us will end up there. One might hasten to ask then - So we expect to be treated that way when we get old. This of course is more of an emotional argument.

An intellectual argument would be that advanced by Joe Hampson when he quotes the saying - "When an elder dies a library is in flames". Most of our cultural values and beliefs have not been fully documented. Thus most of these cultural artifacts have been lost, perhaps forever. And hence the need to take corrective measures. The only way to curb this dangerous and unfortunate trend of events is to look after our "Mobile libraries" - the aged. It is our duty to protect these fragile custodians of our Cultural heritage.

Therefore programmes directed towards them would be a way of thanking them. Developmental programmes that include them and make them part of the community would go a long way in recognizing their invaluable contribution.

From the above, and in support of Joe's suggestion, I would say a special day set aside for the elderly would be a most welcome idea. How about having rallies and cultural activities on that day. Imagine half the local stadium full of the aged, busy talking about their days gone by. Besides this would also promote community awareness of their presence and needs. After all the fruits of development should be enjoyed by all, so why not include everyone in the process itself. The slogan should be - Development by all and for all. Pamberi nevakura, Forward with the aged, Pambili lasebekulili.

Francis Sagomba,



BOOK REVIEW

"AIDS: USA — Home Made Evil; Not Imported From Africa"

by Prof. Jakob Segal (D. Sc.) — Licence in Toulouse (France), graduated at the Sorbonne (Paris) in 1940.

and Dr Lilli Segal — Licence in Toulouse, graduated at the Humboldt University (Berlin) in 1959.

Recently published research by two French trained scientists, Professor Jakob Segal and Dr Lilli Segal working in Berlin, argues that the AIDS virus does not originate from Africa. Their hypothesis rests on quite substantial evidence:-

1. For centuries black slaves from central Africa had been brought to America, frequently being used for sexual assault. Colonial Belgian, French and other countries' troops occupying parts of Africa regularly entertained sexual contacts with the indigenous population. Until after World War II there existed units of South African soldiers in the French and Belgian armies. Tens of thousands of European settlers, diplomats, technical experts and students have lived in the colonised countries of Central Africa. If AIDS originated among the native population of Central Africa, as suggested by some 'evidence' of supposed experts, it would certainly have long made its way to Europe and America.

2. The originator of the 'evidence' that AIDS somehow was transmitted from the Central African green monkey to humans, a certain Max Essex, has never published his findings in any known scientific journal. He released his dubious findings to television and the mass media. Why? Moreover, on the two occasions when he presented his thesis to gatherings of scientists, both in 1985, the extent of his written evidence was a text of one page and a poster. Yet this 'research' has received massive publicity throughout the Western world.

specialists know quite well that the genes of the virus derived from the green monkey are fundamentally different from those of the AIDS virus.

Quite separately, a Japanese research team and the Segal team have proved Essex's proposition to be scientifically impossible. In fact, specialists know quite well that the genes of the virus derived from the green monkey are fundamentally different from those of the AIDS virus. One can only assume that the totally unwarranted publicity given to Essex's thoroughly unscientific conclusions are an attempt to misinform the general public.

the number of AIDS patients per 100 000 people is 10 times more numerous in San Francisco than in Kinshasa, the latter frequently cited as the 'African AIDS inferno'.

3. Some scientists hold that AIDS has existed for a long time in Equatorial Africa, and recently emerged as a deadly virus having overcome human's natural forces of resistance. This is said to be probably the result of advancing urbanisation. This argument can be dismissed as quite unsubstantiated. Why should 'urbanisation' a process which has taken place over decades suddenly lead to an outbreak of AIDS in the 1980's? Moreover, urbanisation has, in general, resulted in clean drinking water, better medical care, reduction in the frequency of numerous infections and parasitical diseases and

BOOK REVIEW

hygienic disposal of waste water and garbage. How then should all this destroy an existing immunity to AIDS? According to all available statistical data; especially World Health Organisation reports, the number of AIDS patient per 100 000 people is 10 times more numerous in San Fransisco than in Kinshasa, the latter frequently cited as the 'African AIDS inferno'. Why? And by strange co-incidence, why is it that according to World Health Organisation reports, the ratio between AIDS cases in the U.S.A. and Western Europe is 10:1, the same ratio as U.S.A. to Africa?

4. There is indisputable evidence to show that the 'high risk groups' in the prevalence of AIDS in the U.S.A. are homosexual men and intravenous drug users and that AIDS started within these groups, in the U.S.A. Yet homosexuality and drug addiction of that type are exceptionally uncommon in Africa as compared to the U.S.A. In fact AIDS has been proved not to be a 'homosexual men's disease'. AIDS appears in Africa in roughly the same proportion between men and women. Had AIDS originated in Africa it would have evenly multiplied among both sexes elsewhere.

5. Finally, the first 4 AIDS cases were positively identified by New York physicians, Dr. Gottlieb, in 1981. Having identified AIDS it was possible to recognise a number of other clinically registered cases from 1979 and 1980, as AIDS, all of them in New York. About a year later AIDS appeared in San Fransisco, and 18 months later in Chicago. Therefore AIDS first appeared in New York in 1979. In Western Europe the first cases appeared in 1981 and 1982, in South Africa and Trinidad in 1983, and in the rest of Africa the first clinically evidenced case of AIDS was registered in December 1982. In a suspiciously large number of cases the primary infection in

other countries can be traced back to the U.S.A. In fact in almost all cases they were among white people who had been in the U.S.A. before. The available literature mentions only 4 cases of AIDS amongst African patients who were supposed to be infected with AIDS before 1979. This evidence is highly ambiguous because the 'patients' were not even available for examination at the time they were 'discovered' to have AIDS. The tests were on old stored serum which has been proved to be completely unreliable. There is now no doubt that AIDS originated in New York in 1979, and spread to the rest of the world from there.

But all the above points are logical and easily substantiated scientific facts. Actually, this review has by no means exhausted all the evidence cited in Segal and Segal's comprehensive new work. AIDS simply does not originate from Africa. Why then the sensational coverage in virtually the entire Western mass media about AIDS originating in Africa? What filth are our former colonial masters, and present neo-colonial exploiters, trying to pin on Africa? The collusion of the major Western capitalist states with apartheid South Africa has been magnificently exposed by Cde. Mugabe, Cde Kaunda and other African patriots, as well as the African National Congress of South Africa. And well we know the long and sorry chronicle of racist bigotry and anti-African actions emanating from the citadels of 'Western democracy', as they majestically call it in their newspapers. This blatant disinformation about the African connection with AIDS is an affront to the very name and dignity of our continent which is disgusting and scandalous. If all evidence points towards New York as the origin of AIDS, why doesn't the West admit it, and tell the world the truth? Why indeed?

There is no doubt that AIDS originated in New York in 1979, and spread to the rest of the world from there.

According to Segal and Segal, the structure of the AIDS virus shows that this virus is an artificial

BOOK REVIEW

product. It has not developed as a natural biological process. It has been produced by gene manipulation. Citing extensive scientific data, the authors conclude that the AIDS virus is a 'chimera', a system of two components of different origin, artificially joined and grown into a unit - something not achieved by nature and only brought about by the skills of

genetic engineering. On the basis of available scientific data and experimentation which can be reproduced and therefore proven, the authors have identified the 'components' of the AIDS virus as a virus currently widely known as HTLV-I and another virus which causes serious brain damage in sheep, called VISNA virus. A potentially tragic consequence of their finding, also used as evidence, is that the genetic behaviour of the AIDS virus is dominated by numerous mutations. Firstly, this marked genetic instability is consistent with the results of genetic engineering. Secondly, and ominously, this makes the work of creating an effective vaccine entirely unpredictable.

There is therefore a remarkable correlation between the establishment of the first military institution devoted to gene manipulation of viruses in 1977, and the first registered case of AIDS in New York.

Gene manipulation of pathogenes (viruses) entails grave dangers to the population and is subject to strict legal regulations. In particular, a P-4 type laboratory is required which should exclude all leakage of pathogenes. According to Segal and Segal the first laboratory of this kind in the U.S.A. - presumably in the whole world - was installed at Fort Detrick, Maryland, in building 550, in 1977; in the immediate vicinity of New York. They state that Fort Detrick had for a long time, up to 1972, been the central laboratory of the Pentagon for the development of biological agents of warfare. The P-4 laboratory was set up in 1977 by

the U.S. military. In Fort Detrick it was by all means customary to make use of voluntary test persons - convicted prisoners - for experiments with pathogenes.

"AIDS is a result of biological warfare research in the United States,"

Now, the incubation period for the AIDS virus is generally agreed to be about 2 years. There is therefore a remarkable correlation between the establishment of the first military institution devoted to gene manipulation of viruses in 1977, and the first registered case of AIDS in New York (the closest city to Fort Detrick) exactly 2 years later. Two more facts need to be noted; tested prisoners are known to have been released if they survived (note 2 year incubation period for AIDS); and long term prisoners are known to have a dramatically higher tendency to homosexuality and drug abuse than ordinary men, hence the connection between the outbreak of AIDS and these groups. Segal and Segal logically therefore conclude, "AIDS is a result of biological warfare research in the United States," on the basis of their evidence.

The authors point out that AIDS is, as yet, an absolutely lethal disease. Everyone who has got AIDS has died within 3 years. They statistically work out that by 1990 AIDS might have caused 5 million deaths, including on a conservative hypothesis based on World Health Organisation figures, some 2,56 million American citizens.

"If a military objective sets up a special laboratory for the manipulation of pathogenes, it must be concluded that the intention exists to conduct gene manipulation of germs, and we may be certain that pathogenes manipulated in this way are being produced, re-produced and stored. AIDS was a failure: the really existing and undoubtedly devastating material is something we can only guess." Thus Segal and Segal put their argument.

BOOK REVIEW

We consider that the work of Segal and Segal has such far reaching implications that the very least it deserves is serious consideration by all governments, all scientists, all humanitarians, and all peoples genuinely concerned with the future of mankind. Whether or not their work will be accepted, the issue of research into biological warfare must be

confronted. Every person is a potential victim of such a dangerous course, and all peoples are equally under threat. Time will tell whether Segal and Segals' research is scientifically substantiated and accepted. But have we that time? And what role will the mass media in the West play?

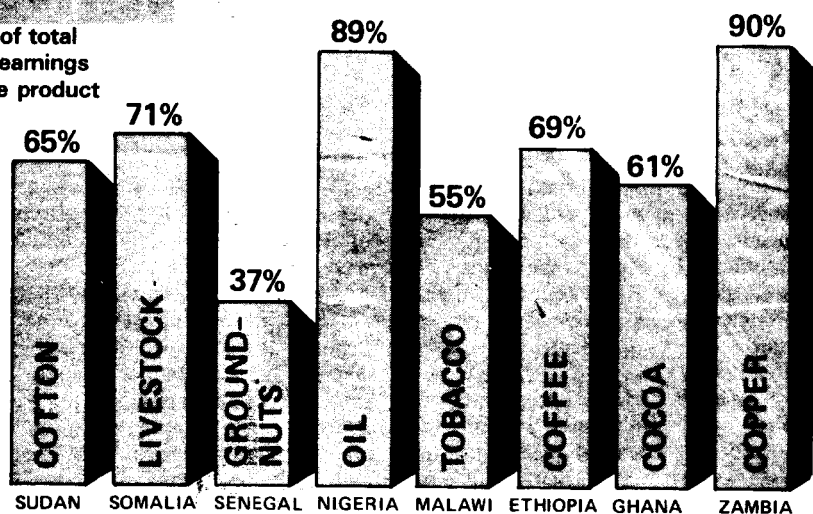
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