



# **SOCIAL CHANGE and development**

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*Focus on*

# **ECONOMY**



The Journal on Social Change and Development is being published to promote discussion among the people of Zimbabwe on issues of change and development in the country, and to provide information which may be useful in furthering this development.

Issue 5 October '83

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## economy in transition ?

In this issue we focus on the economy. Fittingly, we had hoped to carry an interview with the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Comrade Bernard Chidzero, who is more directly responsible for the economy. We delayed publication of this issue for nearly two months, hoping to secure an appointment with the Minister, but regrettably, all in vain. We wish to apologise to all our subscribers and readers for the delay in bringing this issue.

Growth with Equity, the government economic policy statement lists the following among the main features of our inherited economic structure;

"economic exploitation of the majority by the few, ownership and control of the major means of production by the few, and the consequent grossly inequitable pattern of income distribution and of benefits favouring the few, predominant foreign ownership and control of the economy and limited local participation, possession of the best land by the few and the consequent impoverishment of the masses of the people, etc."

The statement reiterates the government's determination to change this lopsided economic structure and to establish a socialist and egalitarian society. The Transitional National Development Plan 1982/83-1984/85 provides an extended analysis of the problems and prospects of the economy, and sets out actual targets to be achieved by the economy during the three-year plan period.

Our two last issues of Social Change and Development focused on Education and Health, and indicated that some bold steps had been taken since independence to make these services more accessible to the majority of our people. But what progress have we made or what concrete steps are we taking to alter the inherited economic structure and relations of production? For it is only through the development of the economy and its control by the people that our political independence can be given real meaning. These and other issues are discussed in the series of articles that follow.

The first article criticises the 1983/84 Budget for shifting the burden of the world recession and local drought more heavily on the shoulders of the rural people and the low income urban workers. It further questions the underlying strategy of the budget of an export-led growth based largely on the private sector. It discusses other possible strategies for restructuring the economy and getting it to serve the interests of the majority.

Daniel Ndelela then looks critically at the manufacturing sector, which he shows still has the typical colonial feature of producing luxury goods for a small elite. There is however, a small capital goods sector which needs to be emphasised in a country's industrial strategy. Apart from producing machinery, intermediate goods, and other equipment, it provides training of the labour force in engineering and other skills leading to greater labour productivity.

But local industry and technological endeavour are now threatened by so-called Commodity Import Programmes, which are ostensibly meant to help local industry. CIPs are essentially, tied aid for the purchase of new machinery and equipment from the donor countries. As such, donor country industries are likely to benefit more from the programmes.

Comrade Ndelela also expresses disquiet at the recent takeovers of local companies by some multinational corporations. This is disturbing in view of the already heavy predominance of foreign capital in this sector. He suggests that state participation in productive industry, especially the most strategic industries, should proceed more rapidly.

The role of agriculture in economic development is examined by Douglas Khumalo. He discusses the dual nature of the agricultural sector and shows that while the commercial farming sector of a few thousand predominantly white settler farms, and multinational corporations produce more than 90% of the marketed agricultural output, the 700,000 peasant farmers in the over-crowded communal lands are responsible for only a tiny proportion of marketed output. The peasant sector is a food deficit and economically depressed segment of the economy.

The prolonged drought has caused havoc to the agricultural sector, especially the peasant sub-sector. And while Zimbabwe has been able to export grain to some of the other SADCC countries, (thanks to the capitalist farmers!) thousands of Zimbabweans in the communal lands depend on food relief of some kind. The drought apart, this suggests that either there is something wrong with our distribution system, or that the whole question of achieving food security is becoming pertinent not only in other SADCC countries, but in Zimbabwe itself - that is to say, perhaps we should not export grain before satisfying domestic food needs.

The foraging of closer links between agriculture and industry is a major requirement for the healthy development of the economy.

Tafi Chigudi and Magiga Gabi look critically at our planning process. They say that unless the people participate actively in the planning process, unless they identify with the plan, then such a plan could not succeed. They emphasise more particularly the class character of planning, that planning is not class neutral or simply a technical process, but is part and parcel of the class struggle. The plan is a weapon of class struggle. It furthers the interests of one class or another by the manner in which material wealth is produced and distributed. To suggest otherwise is to engage in mystification.

Lastly, Cain Methema looks at co-operatives in the process of socialist transformation. He notes that in many countries cooperatives are formed with no aim whatsoever of achieving socialism. They could be straightforward capitalist organisations. Co-operatives are formed in many capitalist countries today. They can in fact play a reactionary role by diverting the masses from the serious struggle for socialism.

Experience in socialist countries has, however, shown that co-operatives can be a strong force in building socialist agriculture and in developing the countryside. They can be used as centres for training working people in the management of socialist enterprises. Comrade Methema lists some important guidelines for the formation and development of co-operatives.

We hope that you will find our issue not only interesting, but challenging enough for you to wish to comment or express your own views on the issues. We welcome any comments.



# THE NEW BUDGET

The 1983-84 budget has been described as an "austerity" budget presented against a background of a severe international recession and a prolonged drought. Presenting the budget, the Minister of Finance, Comrade Bernard Chidzero, said the economy registered very poor performance over the calendar year 1982. All sectors of the economy encountered acute difficulties and all indicators for 1982 showed sharp falls. Only 10,700 new jobs were created in the whole economy, as compared with 26,400 in 1981. Yet 80,000 people are added to the labour force each year. The country's balance of payments position deteriorated forcing the authorities to resort to very expensive short-term borrowing and to seek help from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

An extremely worrying feature of the economy is the serious imbalance in the growth of material and non-material sectors of the economy. "While in 1982 the material sector as a whole declined by one percent compared with positive growth rates of 14 percent and 13 percent in 1980 and 1981, non-material sectors, which grew three percent in 1980 and nine percent in 1981, registered a phenomenal 14 percent growth in 1982", said the Minister.

How does this budget contribute to the solution of the nation's economic problems? How firstly does it spread the burden of taxation and redistribute resources among the various classes and social groups in our society? Whose interests does it serve?

In the context of the goal of creating a socialist and egalitarian society we would expect resources to be shifted in such a way as to meet the needs of the workers and peasants (the povo) of our society and for these classes to carry a relatively light burden of the tax. But what does this budget do?

- (a) It introduces a two percent tax on persons earning 100 dollars per month, but not liable for PAYE. These are people who, in these days of high inflation, live below the Poverty Datum Line. No abatements are allowed. This is a most regressive tax, similar to the old poll or hut tax of the colonial days. These taxes were based simply on a head count, regardless of the man's family circumstances. This tax is expected to raise about nine million dollars in a full year.
- (b) Sales Tax, which is also regressive, goes up by two percent to 18 percent on general goods and by two percent to 23 percent on higher rated goods. The former tax in particular will hit hardest the poorer groups in our society. All indirect taxes have a tendency of placing a heavier burden on lower income receivers. Direct taxes on the other hand, could be made more progressive and are preferable from an equity point of view.
- (c) Cuts on subsidies for maize meal and beef will mean higher prices for these basic commodities most likely before the year end.
- (d) It proposes cuts in expenditures for high-density housing, resettlement schemes, etc.

The net effect of these, coupled with high inflation rates, must definitely mean a lower standard of life for the vast majority of Zimbabweans who, in any case, earn low incomes. They will have to tighten their belts more than the relatively well to do.

On the other hand, companies who were spared any tax increase last year have again been let off lightly this year. The company surcharge has been increased by 5 percent to 20 percent for the assessment year ending 31st March, 1983, but will revert back to 15 percent in the year of assessment ending March 31st, 1984. This tax is expected to net approximately 10 million dollars for the treasury. The Minister said this was, for him, "a most difficult tax to impose." Taking into account, the generous depreciation allowance, the nominal tax rate comes nowhere near the stated 54 percent of profits. Why are companies, who are after all the richer members of our community, given such favourable treatment? The Minister hopes that his gentle treatment of companies will encourage private investment in general, and attract private foreign investment in particular. But will it? It has not done so during the last three years. Instead, government has been forced to rely more heavily on domestic and foreign borrowing-at very high rates of interest-to finance its rising expenditures. The foreign debt has grown to an extent that for every dollar earned through exports Zimbabwe has to set aside nearly 30 cents for interest and capital repayments.

Where is our socialist egalitarianism if the Budget throws the burden of the international recession and the drought on the shoulders of the lower income groups in our society? It is often argued that the urban workers are more fortunate than the people in the rural areas. While this may be true for the higher income groups in the civil service, and the private and parastatal sectors, it is untrue for the vast majority of the urban working class who are engulfed in a struggle against exploitation by the employing class. The vast majority of them earn meagre wages and are under constant threat of unemployment. The vast majority of workers in the so-called "informal sector" also work long hours but earn very low incomes. This is why they have been referred to as the "working poor."

"Without a strategy for  
Socialist Transformation...  
we are doomed to capitalism."

The argument of the so-called "labour aristocracy" of the urban areas has been used to persuade urban workers to accept low wages. But in a class society, the losses of one class are the gains of another. That is, if the urban working class accept low wages, the capitalist class and its hangers-on would gain and enrich

themselves, since under capitalism there is no sure way of capturing the foregone earnings of the workers for use in the development of the rural areas. It must also be remembered that since colonialism made the communal lands unviable, the urban working class have to support their relatives in the rural areas by money, goods, and services. So it is mischievous to try to separate the two groups. In a class struggle there can be no half measures.

How does the budget tie up with the Transitional National Development Plan, if at all? The Minister himself said that he was greatly concerned that, "we appear to be slipping back from the parameters needed to utilize the Budget as an effective instrument of plan implementation: in terms of allocating and utilizing resources, once they are marshalled in a disciplined efficient and cost effective manner". Yet given the grim picture of the economy, it is all the more important that we channel the little resources that we have to more productive uses in a planned way. Since the Transitional National Development Plan has more or less collapsed we must have a new and more coherent one. Without a strategy for socialist transformation elaborated in a wellthought out plan, we are doomed to capitalism.

But what exactly is the strategy for the recovery of the economy? It seems the basic strategy is of the export-led growth type based on the private sector. But where are the markets for an export-led growth strategy? The E.E. C.? North America? Little chance, except perhaps for mineral products and the primary sector. But even these sectors have suffered badly under the impact of the world recession. The neighboring countries in the SADCC region have also been industrializing via import-substitution. So there are few real outlets in the region. It must be remembered too that Zimbabwe as a landlocked country, faces immense transport difficulties which have a tendency of raising unit costs of production making us less competitive in world markets. In any event, there are no clear instruments that can induce the private sector to produce for export. Government seems to want to rely mainly on disciplining labour as an incentive. It is doubtful whether this will work.

The much talked about commodity import programmes will ruin domestic technology and encourage technological dependence.

An alternative strategy could be to concentrate on producing for the domestic market. But the budget proposals of higher taxes all around serve to reduce domestic demand. Did not the Minister speak of the



existence of an extensive underutilization of productive capacity in the economy? So why emphasise the supply side? Should not the strategy be to provide incentives on the demand side of the equation? This would give a boost to the manufacturing industry in particular.

This strategy, particularly if it is to be concerned with the restructuring of the economy, cannot depend on the private sector alone. It requires more, not less, state participation in the productive sectors of the economy and the gradual capture of the commanding heights of the economy, including banking and other financial institutions.

## SINGING IMF SONGS

An excerpt from AFRICA NEWS May 30, 1983

Three years ago, Tanzania quarreled with a visiting IMF delegation over the organisation's terms for new funding to bail out the east African nation from economic collapse. Tanzania rejected the IMF prescriptions and openly accused the fund of arm-twisting. The IMF team packed its bags and angrily returned to Washington, saying: "Call us when you need us."

The IMF Tanzania crisis provides an example of the problems that arise in developing nations' negotiations with the increasingly powerful fund. For its part, the IMF has argued that its "bitter pill" is the right prescription for Tanzania's economic ills, while Tanzania has maintained that IMF medicine threatens the country's national sovereignty and cherished goals.

One of the world's 36 least developed countries, Tanzania decided about 15 years ago to fashion her economy on self-reliance and ujamaa.

Today, there are more than 2,600 health care facilities, and nearly all seven-year-olds go to school. The literacy level has risen from barely 20% to more than 70% in only 20 years.

In 1980, the IMF came forth with a "Standard Package" which included a series of remedial measures. Tanzania was asked to set a ceiling on wage increases, stop price subsidies on the maize meal staple, restrict imports, and trim the value of the shilling. Nyerere considered many of these measures harmful to Tanzania. One of the conditions' results would have been to trim expenditures for health and education services. He argued that he was not willing to throw away what Tanzanians considered as the great achievements of their socialist policy.

Last year, the World Bank and Tanzania appointed a joint "independent advisory group" to review Tanzania's economic needs and propose reforms. The team adopted a three-year "Structural Adjustment Programme" which has included the scrapping of about 200 development projects. So it seems the IMF conditions to cut back on social programmes and thus hinder Tanzania's progress toward a socialist state are being met.

# MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

## A Critical Review

by Daniel B. Ndelela

The aim of this paper is to look at the role of manufacturing and industry in the economy of Zimbabwe, focusing particularly on its interrelationships with the other sectors of the economy and its ability to allocate and reallocate resources and expand employment generation. Further, we ask the pertinent question of whether in this structure there exists some potential and dynamics for social change which is important for the transformation of the existing capitalist economy into socialism.

By 1965 the manufacturing sector had become the chief contributor to the GDP when its share of earnings was 18.9%, compared to 18.7% in agriculture. The manufacturing and industrial sector absorbed about one quarter of the funds available for fixed investment during post UDI period, which was slightly more in percentage terms than its contribution to GDP. A high proportion of the investment was devoted to basic metal products, and a considerable increase in efficiency and diversification was achieved in the light industrial sector. Thus during UDI the Zimbabwean economy achieved a considerable degree of diversification as industry and manufacturing embarked on a programme to meet the shortfall of imported items resulting from the imposition of economic sanctions. By 1980/81 the country's manufacturing sector, which includes light and heavy industry, was the second largest employer next to agriculture and forestry, and absorbed 76% of the total labour force employed.

The import substitution achieved in the pre-UDI, and during the UDI period, would seem to have achieved the often claimed high level of self-sufficiency developed in industry and manufacturing which is one reason why, after the lifting of sanctions in April 1980, foreign companies were disappointed with the comparatively small trade they could generate with Zimbabwe. To a certain extent there had been a remarkable increase in the locally manufactured content of imported industrial machinery, equipment, and domestic products.

But like the rest of the economic structure, Zimbabwe's manufacturing sector shows the capitalist division of labour, and lop-sided structure in which the manufacture of products geared for consumption by the small but affluent clientele is predominant. During the colonial period, the manufacturing sector reproduced the needed material wealth and labour force within its narrow demand structure. Assuming there were no significant changes in the sector following independence, which is a realistic assumption in the Zimbabwean case, the sector could reproduce the material wealth, and in fact expand employment generation in terms of the actual numbers, but certainly with a drop in proportional terms relative both to the demand for the goods and supply of the labour force in the economy. Often, this concentration on the production of luxury goods to the neglect of essential commodities results in what is now known as a "perverse growth" pattern.

A "perverse growth" pattern has inflation as its first symptom. Because of lack of planning in most developing countries, it is often dealt with by monetary measures which overlook its primary source, namely the imbalance between the slow expansion of staples and other basic goods and services, and the rapid increase of the urban population and unemployment in the economy.

Probably Zimbabwe has been slowly but surely approaching this "perverse growth" pattern in the last few years. Production of luxury goods ranging from foodstuffs to textiles, electrical goods, cars, and luxury houses was actually intensified in the post UDI period. One contributing factor to this was the loss of the relatively cheaper markets in the Central African Federation, and opening of the production of luxury goods for the local market and the South African export market.

It is important to realise that whilst all the sectors of the economy compete for the scarce resources, their expansion does not have the same effect on the long-term growth potential of the economy. For instance, we know that the growth of the luxury goods production only serves the selfish interest of the elite. In the economic sense, it does not contribute to the long-term growth process which depends on the available flow of investment, and raw materials, matched by a proper supply of essential goods, the main counterpart of wages. An increase in luxury goods is likely to endanger the long term development prospects, because the production of luxury goods is competing not only with the production of essential goods, but also with the capital goods sector, (the sector which produces investment goods and raw materials) for the utilisation of investment, raw materials and technology.

### The Position of Foreign Capital in the Economy

The major foreign companies, the British South Africa Company, the Anglo American Corporation (S.A.), the Rhodesian Selection Trust (U.K.), Turner and Newall (U.K.), and Union Carbide (U.S.A.), were all primarily engaged in primary production, mostly mining and plantation farming, and only diversified into distribution and finance.

Outside its participation in the primary sector, finance and distribution, foreign capital concentrated its import substitution industrialisation (ISI) activities in increasing the local content in manufacturing products for the local consumer markets. The reasons for this strategy are not far to seek. ISI was meant to satisfy the demand for those goods which had been previously imported by the whites, and the growing black elite. Thus, in *Zimbabwe: Agricultural and Economic Review*, published by Modern Farming Publications in Harare, it is stated, "The declared policy of the Zimbabwe Government today is to even further reduce non-essential imports by encouraging the establishment of enterprises capable of increasing local content in manufacturing and eventually replacing the need to import foreign content, particularly in products for the local consumer market".

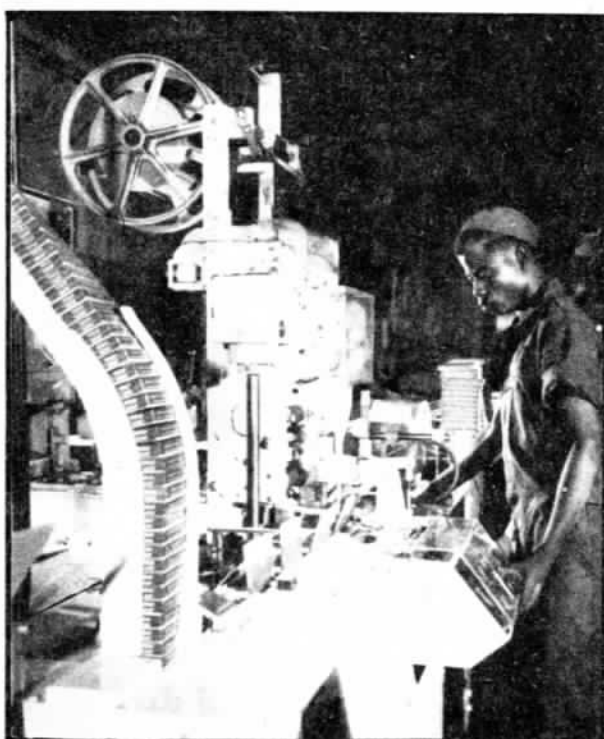


It is estimated that some 65 to 75% of the country's capital assets are presently held by foreigners. Government policy as stated in the October 1982 Guidelines for Foreign Investors and subsequently confirmed in the Transitional National Development Plan, 1982/83 1984/85 (volume 1) restate the need for increased participation in the economy but maintain that the country also requires a strong and viable private sector.

## **"It is estimated 65 to 75 % of the country's capital assets are held by foreigners".**

The new guidelines for foreign investors state that foreign capital is welcome in projects in rural areas, joint ventures with black businessmen, promoting growth in labour-intensive projects, using local materials and those which generate exports and provide new imported technology.

In the wake of these guidelines many local firms are being taken over by both South African and other western capital. Thus, for instance, in October 1982 H.J. Heinz, the US food company purchased 51% of Olivine Industries, a local producer of vegetable oils. Heinz' partner in the venture is the Zimbabwe government, with a 49% share in the 30 million dollar company. The German giant Siemens, set up a joint venture with the state-owned Industrial Technologies Corporation (IDC). Siemens has a majority holding in the new firm, Electric Technologies Corporations (ETC) whose plans are to start local manufacture of electrical goods. Dandy Chewing Gum (Denmark) set up a joint venture for a chewing gum plant with a local partner. Dandy Chewing Gum has a 49% share worth three million dollars.



MANY OF OUR RESOURCES HAVE GONE INTO THE MANUFACTURING OF LUXURY GOODS FOR THE ELITE POPULATION AND NOT FOR THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE. (photo-Ministry of Information)

The major participations of the Zimbabwean government include IDC, ZISCO, ETC, Wankie Colliery, and Caps Holdings. This represents state capitalism, i.e. state-private joint ventures which could be a good strategy particularly if state capitalism is involved in the most strategic industries. But in one view, this is exactly lacking in the state-private joint ventures so far taken. The government in fact does not seem to have a clue on what its priorities are if industry should be the lynch pin of a transformation towards socialism

One would also argue that there is no attempt to deal with issues of transformation. The Heinz take over of a local firm is a success story of the US giant capturing a profitable Zimbabwean firm. All Zimbabwe is gaining is the Z\$15,3 million in foreign currency, which is a short term measure devoid of any long term insight, in favour of the country where government holds some strategic companies through the IDC. There is no attempt to consolidate in such a way that those industries providing central links in the economy get the highest priority in the economy.

This consolidation of foreign capital is basically the consumer goods sector's contribution to the reproduction of the inherited capitalist colonial relations of production. There is no attempt in these moves by government to force foreign capital towards the reproduction of items of material wealth which will contribute to an expanded economic base. On the contrary, a "perverse growth" pattern remains undisturbed. Substituting "Olivine Oil" trade mark by "Heinz" trade mark is in fact moving towards a more luxury product mix than in the case of a locally owned company. Chewing gum could not be classified as anything but luxury.

### The Capital Goods Sector

The dynamic element that needs emphasis in the country's industrialisation strategy is the capital goods sector. This sector plays an important role in providing the central links in the economic system, the training of the labour force in engineering, and that of providing the ability to re-equip the whole economic system with the needed machinery, intermediate goods, and other equipment.

Through the colonial state intervention, the Rhodesia Iron and Steel Commission (RISCOM) was established in 1942. Over the years RISCOM, now ZISCO, has grown from the initial production of 10,000 tons to 70,000 tons per year. At present the government share-holding is at 49,3%. There are plans for the introduction of a sister plant which will enable ZISCO to process the abundant low grade iron ore at Redcliff within the grounds of the company. This will mean abandoning the high grade Buchwa iron ore which is transported from a distance of 220 km. away.

Production of capital goods is undertaken by companies manufacturing from simple tools, implements, and equipment for small farmers, up to the manufacture of the more sophisticated farm equipment and machinery for the commercial agricultural sector.

Zimbabwe also inherited a relatively developed metal products and engineering sector which produces a wide range of products. What has not been ascertained and more probably not fully exploited, is the degree of the sector's utilisation of local inputs from the major foundries and manufacturers of metal products, like F. Issels and Son Ltd., Morewear Industrial Holdings, O. Connolly and Company, W.S. Craster, Nimr and Chapman, among others, use the country's available scrap iron, locally produced limestone, coke and iron ore as raw materials and heavily rely on ZISCO semi-fabricated products (e.g. billets, wire rolls, sections etc.) as intermediate products.

(Continued on page 9)

# CO-OPERATIVES AND SOCIALISM

by N.C.G. Mathema

Following the news media in Zimbabwe, one is left in no doubt that the government expects co-operatives to play an important role in the economy of the country, and in the achievement of socialism. For instance, the January 1983 issue of Vanguard (a newspaper of the Zimbabwe Producer and Marketing Co-operative Organisation, ZPMCO) reported the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, Cde M. Mahachi, as saying that forming co-operatives is, in the view of the government, a process that requires the right orientation, direction and philosophy to guide the masses towards achieving overall national goals. To facilitate this, the government will provide basic facilities, financial and material assistance and incentives to co-operatives.

## Co-operatives Differ

The same issue of Vanguard reported that the Deputy Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, Cde Mark Dube, said the government wishes to see strong, self-managed, socialist-oriented co-operatives, which own the means of production themselves. These co-operatives will help, according to the Deputy Minister, speed up the development of a socialist sector of the economy.

In Zimbabwe there are two types of co-operatives; those whose membership is made up of poor working people (some of these co-operatives have socialist orientation) and those whose membership is made up of capitalist owners who have nothing to do with socialism or their workers, except as the producers of capitalist profit. The latter includes co-operatives formed by white farmers during the colonial era.

Under present legislation, co-operatives are registered under two Acts of parliament; the Co-operative Companies Act, and the Co-operative Societies Act. Members of Co-operatives registered under the Co-operative Companies Act do not have to work full-time for their co-operatives, they can employ others to work for them. Members of co-operatives registered under the Co-operative Societies Act work full-time in their co-operative. One can see capitalist relations in the former co-operatives.

The Herald of May 30, 1983 reported Minister of State Cde. John Nkomo, as saying the government was working on plans to merge the two laws, the aim being to create one co-operative movement. This, according to Cde. Nkomo, will enable the government not only to give guidance and orientation, but it would also cause co-operatives to be economically viable and self-reliant.

Co-operatives formed by capitalist owners are vehemently opposed to socialism, just like any capitalist enterprise. They are formed by people who want to take advantage of pooling some of their resources together, buying in bulk, and avoiding the middlemen, etc, whilst exploiting their workers as much as they can.

It is also true that in many countries co-operatives are formed with no aim whatsoever of achieving socialism. For instance, in some Third World countries co-operatives are seen as nothing more than a means of improving the welfare of the poor people, especially in the rural areas. Other countries see them as

a means of stopping rural-urban migration. Some see them as a weapon against illiteracy, etc.

Co-operatives for working people are mass organisations of workers, peasants, artisans and other working people. They illustrate a collective form of economic activity. However, history shows that the social essence and economic significance of co-operatives are wholly determined by the social and economic formation under which they function. In capitalism private property dictates laws of the existence of co-operatives. Only after a socialist revolution do co-operatives become the means of socialising labour, implements and other means of production.

In other words, for co-operatives to consistently serve the interests of the working people, there is need for the working class to win political power and overthrow the domination of the exploiting classes.

## Co-operatives and Class Struggle

Co-operatives can be used as a school for collective comradesly activities among the working people, they help train the working people to be organisers of socialist economic life. Those co-operatives in capitalist countries which are in close touch with trade unions and workers render material and financial assistance to workers during strikes and lockouts. With the support of co-operatives, workers' parties contest elections in capitalism. What this means is that political neutrality for co-operatives is not in the interests of the working people - after all, co-operatives started as a result of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the 18th century in England.

Communists support co-operatives and use them to raise the class consciousness of the working people, to build up ties between co-operatives, the trade unions, and workers' parties. On the other hand, Communists resolutely combat the spurious political neutrality of co-operatives and the reformist illusions of "co-operative" socialism. Marxists have always been critical of romantic and banal dreams of transforming class enemies into class collaborators, and class war into peace, by merely organising the population into co-operative societies.

In capitalism, co-operatives are forced to exist and act according to the jungle laws of capitalism. They cannot introduce any significant changes in society, and in definite conditions, they may even play a reactionary role, diverting the masses from serious struggle for socialism. On the other hand, in socialism the social and economic nature of co-operatives changes fundamentally. In socialism the property of the people as a whole is the state property. By this collective ownership the means of production are controlled by the people, ruling out the possibility of exploitation of person by person, and ensuring that production will be planned development. Co-operative ownership is also based on this idea of collective, and therefore non-exploitative ownership. Experience in the socialist countries shows that co-operation is a strong pillar in socialising agriculture and developing the countryside.



How co-operation is introduced to the peasantry and how they are organised into forming co-operatives are very important issues because tactics and strategy employed can, if not properly planned, lead to hostility from the peasantry. It has been shown in other countries that the co-operative movement needs to be developed gradually, beginning with its lowest and simplest forms. It has also been shown that co-operatives must be voluntary organisations formed after people have been persuaded and convinced about co-operation.

For such policies to come into being, and for them to be implemented, there is need for ideological clarity on the part of the party and the government of the day. People must understand why there is a need for co-operatives, what role they should play in the process of laying down the foundations of socialism and in the actual building of socialism. This is more so with the peasantry, the largest ally of the working class in Zimbabwe. Without a conscious working class with its vanguard party, the role of co-operatives in society will not be clear, they will be left on their own and to the whims and machinations not only of the local bourgeoisie, and other reactionary elements, but to those of international monopoly capitalism as well, which will do its best to hijack co-operatives and other organisations of the working people.

#### Ideology must be clear

Having looked at some of the basic points of the political economy of co-operation in general, we now need to come down to concrete situations in Zimbabwe. At the moment the main policy of the government is that of moving towards socialism. If such a policy is to be successful, one needs to organise and involve all the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and patriotic elements in the country and expose our workers, peasants and other small owners to anti-imperialist communist propaganda and ideology. The economy of Zimbabwe is dominated by foreign multinational monopolies. In such a situation, it would seem that our political strategy towards genuine independence and socialism must of necessity mobilise all the patriotic forces, parties, individuals and classes that have nothing to lose, but everything to gain, when the dominance of the multinationals is done away with and steps are taken to establish socialism.

One of such classes is the peasantry. Peasants need to be organised into co-operatives and other peasant associations. Peasant co-operatives, resettlement schemes, and state farms need to play a big economic role in taking over the farms and land owned by multinational companies. But for this position to succeed, co-operatives need to have ideological and political clarity imbued with patriotism. Such organised peasants are a force for socialism.

In towns and cities, artisans, small-shop owners, timber-stall owners, etc, also need to be shown the advantages of forming co-operatives not only for themselves and their families, but for the country as a whole. Those companies that close down for instance, need to be taken over by the state or to be handed over to the workers who would turn them into co-operatives - of course the state needs to take over not only bankrupt companies, but to have a policy plan and legislation that will allow it to take over, to start with, specific strategic companies and whole industries. There is also need for the state to protect co-operatives of workers from capitalist competition and other pressures through appropriate laws and such schemes as the state buying produce from co-operatives, easy loans, machinery, equipment, literacy campaigns, and expanding and strengthening of the state sector.

Already there exists in Zimbabwe co-operatives which have a progressive ideological standpoint. These can be seen in the January 1983 issue of Vanguard. For instance, the editorial of this issue says in part "... a new and clearly socialist oriented co-operative sector is being built. Unlike co-operatives which have existed before, the new co-operatives are based on the principles of collective production and socialist orientation" (*italics are original*).

Zimbabwe finds herself in a position where co-operatives are mushrooming left, right and centre, without one ideological standpoint, many of them being formed with the help of churches and outside organisations and finance. It is necessary to guide all co-operatives along socialist lines; they should not be seen just as organisations for self-help and self-improvement, but also as part of the movement for the building of socialism in the country.

This needs to be a condition put down for all foreigners who want to help Zimbabweans form co-operatives. Maybe there is also a need to have a single co-operative department to deal with all co-operatives in the country - at the moment there is no such department.

What we are saying therefore, is that the co-operative movement shows that despite practical usefulness, co-operatives cannot by themselves end the oppression of monopolies and the exploitation of person by person. Only revolutionary social-economic transformation that undermines the foundation of private capitalist property and liquidates the exploiting classes can turn co-operatives into means of socialist construction.



IN ORDER TO FIGHT CAPITALISM AND BUILD SOCIALISM  
CO-OPERATIVES SHOULD BE UNITED IN THEIR IDEOLOGY.

# A LOOK AT ECONOMIC PLANNING

by Magiga M. Gabi and Tafi E. Chigudu

This paper serves as a discussion and debating point on the whole question of the plan, planning, and plan implementation. We hope that it will give rise to a serious public debate on the question of planning and the organisation of planning in our country, a former British colony which now espouses the goals of scientific socialism.

It is our strongest belief that if planning is for the people, it should be done by the people. Not only should the whole debate and discussion on what planning is and how it should be organised, be thrown to the people themselves, but also an elaborate planning machinery to facilitate this debate and the implementation of the plan should be set up. The people are the ones affected by the plan in both space and time, they should therefore be active in both the compilation and implementation of this plan. The whole planning process cannot be separated from the implementation of that plan. That is, the very group that makes an input into the plan, and the entire planning process should and must be the very group that implements the plan. In this way, the class that draws the plan readily identifies itself with the very struggle associated with plan implementation for it knows quite well that these struggles are in the interest of that particular class. If the people i.e. the working people for whom the plan is intended do not identify themselves with that plan, then the implementation of that plan is bound to fail. The failure of one class is however the success of another class, the losses of one class are in fact the gains of the other class.

The major point that emerges thus, is before any planning is embarked upon, there should be a clearly laid down economic policy upon which all the economic political and ideological manoeuvres shall be based. This economic policy is based on a political decision which clearly defines the direction and ideological orientation of all the manoeuvres that are going to take place in the whole social and economic life. If the political decision rejects capitalism as a social system, then the entire economic policy will be a reflection of the aspirations of the social forces that form the decisive alliance in the government with the aim of creating, extending and consolidating the people's power. The political strategy and the foreign policy will also be geared to satisfying these aspirations i.e. transition from colonial capitalism to socialism. Without such a clearly laid down economic policy and political strategy, those organised against such a transition will always take advantage.

If they are within the planning machinery, they will draw up economic programmes that will frustrate the transition by consolidating the capitalist relations in the economy and increasing the country's dependence on foreign capital.

## The Concept of Planning

What is planning and why plan at all?

The need for planning has long been recognised in developing countries and some of these countries have actually had some history of planning since their independence. Several annual and five year development plans have been prepared and implemented. There have been concerted efforts to try and liquidate underdevelopment, a phenomenon that manifests itself in poverty, hunger, and disease, is wide-spread and in fact on the increase in the developing countries. At the same time the gap between the developed and developing countries seems to be on the increase as the latter continue to slide into debt and become more dependent on the former.

In trying to analyse the causes of the failure of these development plans, a number of questions arise. First is the question of the aims and content of the plan and secondly the nature and character of planning itself. In the first instance, the questions that come up question the very basis of planning. That is, was this really planning at all? If it was, what were its social aims? Did or do these aims coincide with the social aims of material production? These questions assume great importance as the production of material wealth which satisfies the social needs of man forms the basis of existence of any human society. If the social aims of the plan and those of material production do not coincide, the question is what then is being planned for? If material production follows its own private aims and is not affected by the plan then life will go on as usual regardless of whatever may be compiled on paper as the plan.

In the second instance, and arising from the above, is the question of the very nature and character of planning. That is, is planning neutral and merely a technical instrument that can be used to enhance economic growth and development regardless of the social system and the basic ownership relations in that system? Is planning class neutral? Is it the mere techniques, the mere technical knowledge, used to design the mathematical planning models, the input-output models, the two sector, multi-sector, Harrod-Domar Planning Models, etc? Or does planning have a class character and of necessity, has to affect the manner in which material wealth is produced and distributed in favour of one group, one particular class in that society? That is; whose interests does the plan further in a given society?

**"The Plan is therefore a  
class weapon. Planning itself  
an act of class struggle".**

Can planning be used to further the interests of all classes of society at the same time? Can it be used to serve the interests of the exploiters and the exploited; the oppressors and the oppressed; the capitalist and the worker; capitalism and socialism at the same time? To this question whose answer is quite clear even to any quaker and social reformer, we would like to underline our negative NO. This is because the interests of the two categories are irreconcilable and their relationship an antagonistic one as we shall see below. Having underlined our NO, what then is planning in the newly liberated countries as these opposed categories and interests exist side by side?

We define planning as nothing but a deliberate and conscious attempt made by the class that draws the plan, to give guidance and direction to social and economic development so as to satisfy its interests. It is first and foremost a political decision made by the class in power to deliberately control and guide social and economic development in its interests. It is a purposeful guidance to social and economic development by the class in power for its own good. It therefore of necessity, has to affect and determine the basic relations that govern the production of material wealth and consequently the distribution of this wealth in its favour.

The plan is therefore a class weapon. Planning itself is an act of class struggle. It is the elaboration of the strategy and tactics for carrying out and winning this struggle. The class in power prepares and implements the plan to further its own interests. It deliberately guides the production and distribution of material wealth to further its own interests. This is what planning is all about, there is no myth whatsoever about it. It is class struggle pure and simple.

Any attempt to remove, gloss over or mystify this class character of planning in the plan under the guise of technicality, "the techniques of planning," "technical know-how," "input-output analysis," "cost benefits analysis" etc., will only leave the plan a useless, meaningless, and castrated paper document as far as the working people are concerned. This neat technical document, however, remains to serve the interests of the exploiting class and its allies. This is because such a "class neutral and technical" plan, does not proceed from the profound analysis of the economic and social structure that unveils the very origin, the very root, and fundamental causes of underdevelopment. It does not



identify for us the position and role of the main class forces that were, and are at play in shaping the present state of underdevelopment. It instead obscures, veils, and mystifies these in technical, economic, and financial jargon. It throws dust in the eyes of the working people and diverts their efforts and attention from identifying and dealing with the fundamental causes of underdevelopment, to technically dealing with the surface manifestation of the phenomena of underdevelopment. The plan remains a paper document, intended to create an illusion in the minds of the working people that their social needs are being planned for. It temporarily blinds them from identifying the exploiter and his allies who still continue to extract their super-profits and throw crumbs to the working people. Planning is therefore nothing but class struggle. The plan is thus a class weapon, that can be used to temporarily blind the working people, or permanently open their eyes to their true interests and to further them in the class struggle in all fields; i.e. economic, political, and ideological. It can be nothing else but either of the two. If it is the former, reality will however harshly and ruthlessly, open the eyes of the people to the forefront of this class struggle. This is why we say the plan can be used to temporarily blind them to their true class interests. Only temporarily and not permanently.

#### Industry ( continued from pg. 5)

The existing capital goods sector could play a dynamic role in an intersectoral link, that of raising the level of productivity of labour in the national economy. The realisation of this dynamism and careful planning of the sector, taking into account the specific conditions of the development of technological capabilities in the sector, could play a major role in the reproduction of the labour force and material wealth on an extended scale. Growth in other sectors; agriculture, construction, transport, energy etc. will depend on the "appropriateness" of the technology diffused in these sectors. Of course it would be naive to say that such an industrial structure, without significant changes in its economic base, would reproduce socialist relations of production. Careful planning within the present conditions may produce a transformation towards expanded reproduction of the labour force in the manufacturing and industrial sector.

What is even worse is the fact that the present arrangements are a threat to the very existence of the present capital goods sector. The unplanned sort of salvaging of industrial action under the Commodity Import Programme is the importation of machinery, equipment, and industrial raw material, from the country that is offering the particular aid package. Thus from the viewpoint of the donor country, this aid is intended for the support of the industry of the donor country. Moreover, this aid is only tied to the purchase of new machinery and equipment which is not always the aim in the consolidation of Zimbabwe industry. Such choice of technologies often does not take into account the existing embodiment of "software" (including skills) and the acquired and tested "hardware" at the level of individual companies. Simple lessons of history, that depressions and wars, are the mother of invention, are forgotten. One would argue that if there was a shortage of foreign exchange, as is certainly the case, a carefully orchestrated capital goods sector would be given higher priority, but encouraged to do more adapting and copying of technologies as was done during UDI. Such stringent planning would act as a

(continued on pg. 25)



# AGRICULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

by D.M. Kumalo

There is an ongoing debate on what constitutes the requisites for the realisation of economic development in a country that is stricken by poverty and backwardness. For obvious reasons, agriculture features prominently in this debate. One of the typical features of underdevelopment is the dominance of agriculture in the economy. The provisional 1982 census results released by the Central Statistics Office (1983) support this. 77% of Zimbabweans are in the agricultural sector. In an industrialised economy however, the proportion of the population reliant on agriculture for the purpose of earning a living would be less than 30 percent.

Historically, society develops from being purely rural to a marked division of labour that characterises the rural and urban separation of economic activity. The importance of agriculture in an economy decreases as industrial activities increase. Therefore the dominance of agriculture is transitional. When society develops its productive forces so that the growth is self-sustaining, then the role of agriculture becomes less important, and is complementary. In a highly diversified and industrialised economy, agriculture ceases to be a dominant sector of the national economy. This distinction is important.

The division of labour in society leading to a marked rural-urban separation calls for the development of agriculture to meet the food requirements of the non-agricultural population. Zimbabwe's agricultural sector plays this role successfully, although there are severe anomalies. Historically, this sector can be sub-divided into the capitalist and peasant sectors.

The capitalist sector, with some 6,000 farms, which occupy 44% of the total land area (often in the better ecological zones and along the main rail and road network) is responsible for over 90% of the value of all agricultural produce marketed through official channels. On the other hand, and for well-known historical reasons, 0.7 million peasant farmers, who occupy 42% of the total land area (generally poorer soil in less accessible sites) are responsible for a small proportion of the agricultural output. Consequently, the peasant sector has for a long time become both a food deficit and economically depressed segment of the economy.

Under the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) agenda, Zimbabwe's agricultural sector is to play a key role in the food security of the region. Zimbabwe's capitalist agricultural sector is for many reasons well-suited for achieving that goal; as is well known, Zimbabwe's agricultural sector is a major exporter of other agricultural products such as tobacco and cotton, all of which are non-food commodities. This is consistent with the World Bank's prescriptions and indeed, with neo-classical economic theory on the question of specialisation in primary commodities for export to earn foreign exchange.

However, Zimbabwe should be wary of this kind of specialisation, particularly in the light of the current drought which has affected the whole SADCC region. Today we have two-million Zimbabweans dependent on food relief of various kinds. This suggests that the whole question of achieving food security is becoming paramount, not only in other SADCC countries, but in Zimbabwe itself. These issues are raised very specifically in the Lagos Plan of Action.

Expansion of agricultural exports can be important as foreign exchange earners. Zimbabwe's economy relies heavily on these exports. This role is historically transitional.

It is a feature of underdevelopment that Zimbabwe relies on primary commodity exports rather than on manufactures. An industrialised economy would on the other hand, rely more heavily on the exports of manufactures, than it does on primary commodities to meet its foreign currency requirements.

There are obviously distribution problems, but there are questions of strategy as well. Should we have so many people dependent on food relief? Whether we should depend on cash crop exports or raise food output has become a fundamental question for development strategy.

Advanced societies solved the problem of an excessive population in agriculture by the development of industry and technological breakthroughs. This path calls for investment in industries producing means of production within the Zimbabwe economy. In the absence of such investment, transfer of workers from the farming sector is unthinkable.

With 77% of Zimbabweans in the agricultural sector and under conditions of both under-employment and unemployment, the human potential contribution to capital accumulation lies in this sector. Under-employment and unemployment characterise the overcrowded communal areas. Add to this the urban lumpen - proletariat. This human resource once effectively mobilised for development purposes, can be put into capital formation (i.e. construction of dams, roads and railroads, irrigation canals, etc.)

The potential contribution of agriculture to capital accumulation is indicated by the long list of transnational corporations (TNC's) operating estates, plantations, irrigation schemes, and agro-industries in the Zimbabwe economy.

## LINKAGE EFFECTS WITH MANUFACTURING

Economic development warrants a balanced growth of the entire national economy. Balance must be maintained between and within, the industrial and agricultural sectors; and between the urban and rural sectors. Alongside this, the contradiction between production and consumption must be reconciled. Once this is effected there can be no question of the absence of a market for local produce. This is yet another point deserving emphasis in view of persistent mystification about what an underdeveloped country should do and what it should not do.

The contribution of agriculture to the development of the Zimbabwe economy has to be evaluated on its ability, or inability, to overcome her underdevelopment. The pressing question of the surplus population in communal areas represents a monstrous problem facing this post-colonial society. The urgency of the problem is self evident - a severe environmental degradation in communal areas, declining nutritional levels, etc. The agricultural sector alone is incapable of solving these

problems because it lacks the power of expansion necessary to provide full employment which is the precondition to a rise in the living standards of the majority. This power of expansion is in heavy industry which produces the means to further production (fertilisers, bricks, cement, steel, and machines).

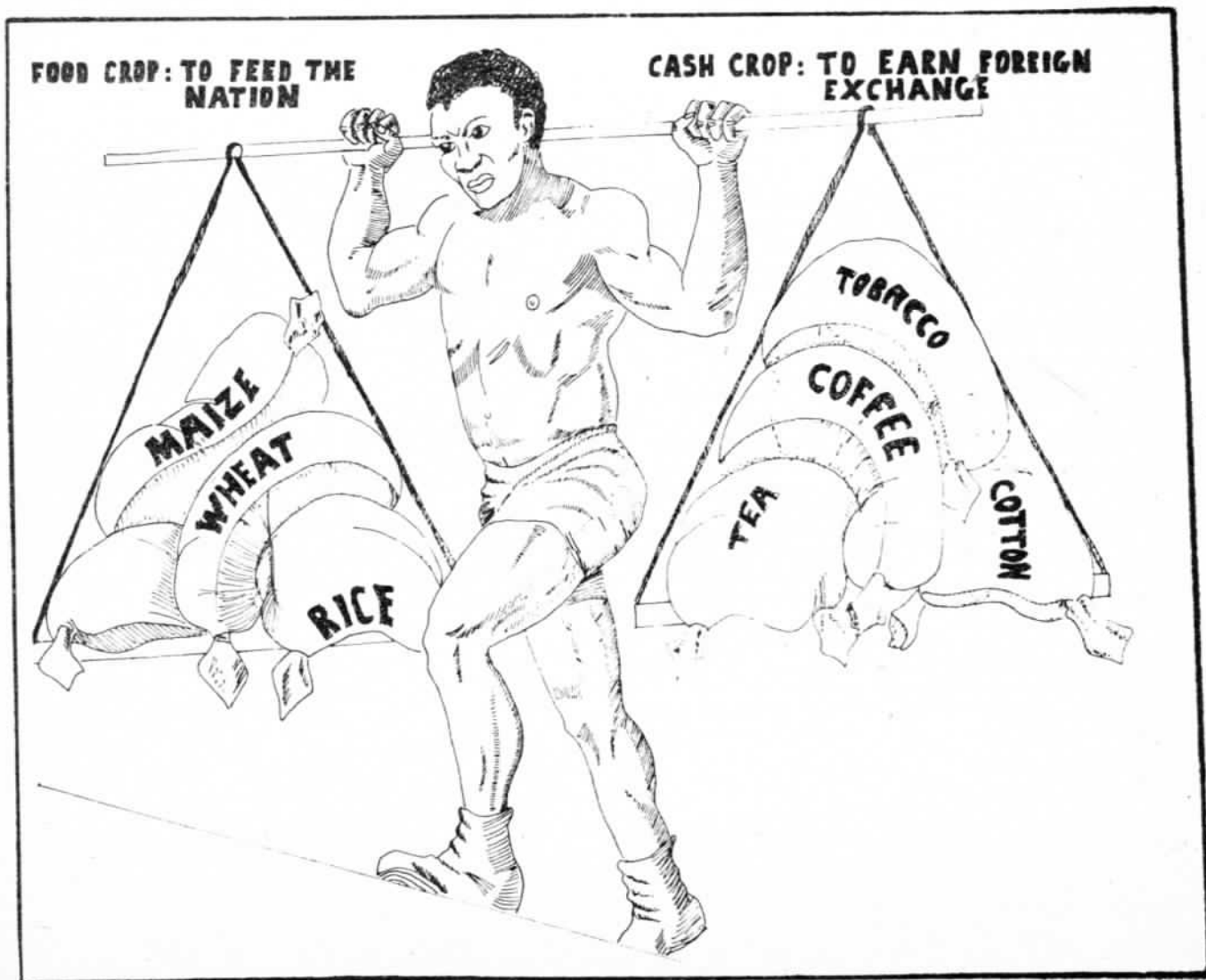
The challenge facing the Zimbabwe economy is therefore to utilise her foreign exchange for the importation of final and intermediate capital goods required to develop and strengthen her productive capacity. In the long-term, however, Zimbabwe should move towards the production of capital goods, given the existence of the key iron and steel works locally. Such a policy would facilitate a logical transformation from a peasant to an industrialised society. Zimbabweans have a right to the benefits of an industrialised economy.

#### MANPOWER TRANSFER

Since about 80% of Zimbabwe's population is dependent on agricultural activities, it has to be the agricultural sector that has to release labour to the other economic sectors of the national economy. Economic development is characterised by a decrease in the proportion of the population that relies on earning a living from agriculture. By the same token, under-development is characterised by a high proportion of the population in the agricultural sector. The Transitional National Development Plan implicitly recognises this problem as it relates to Zimbabwe. Referring to the 0.7 million peasant families, it records: "It is estimated that with the present technology, infrastructure and management systems, the communal areas have a carrying

capacity of no more than 325,000 families, or about 46% of its present capacity." Therefore, 54% of the peasant families urgently require alternative means of earning a living if the impending disaster in the peasant sub-sector is to be avoided. The removal of these families should not be seen as the solution to the depressed nature of the peasant sub-sector. There is still a vigorous need for rural development in communal areas. This would enable the remaining families to achieve a reasonable standard of living. One therefore hopes that the current policy on resettlement and rural development will strengthen efforts aimed at raising the standard of living, through income earning and employment creation activities, in the peasant sub-sector.

While agricultural raw materials do somewhat feature as intermediate inputs, this is largely to the consumer goods sector and not into the fundamental capital goods industries. It should be clear therefore that the development of agriculture can never be an alternative to industrialisation. A robust agricultural sector is only an indispensable complement to industrial development. This complement is nonetheless, no more than that between the engine and its lubricant. Heavy industry is the engine that propels the economy to higher levels of development. Agricultural development ensures that this propulsion unfolds smoothly, i.e., through the provision of adequate food supplies, raw materials, etc. And this is the crux of the whole issue of agriculture's role in facilitating economic development.



# T.V.'S ROLE IN SOCIAL CHANGE

Cultural revolution is a major component of socialist change. If cultural revolution is not significantly present in the social transformation of our society then one would see a very slow and insignificant transition from capitalism to socialism in Zimbabwe.

It is important for us to realise that even if we were able to articulate precisely the political and economic basis of socialism but fail to initiate basic social change, it would be most difficult to develop a practical socialist democracy and socialist mode of life.

A socialist cultural revolution should in fact be directed towards efforts aimed at creating a new socialist culture which is produced and consumed by the masses. To do that there has got to be deliberate cultural policies and actions capable of destroying cultural retardation brought about by colonial domination of the masses and by the unquestioning inheritance of past traditions.

Television in Zimbabwe is capable of playing a paramount role in this socialist cultural revolution if it were transformed to articulate the qualitative and quantitative changes taking place in many areas of the people's culture. To do this Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) has to adopt an endogenous development plan and communication strategy that deliberately negates the bourgeois television objectives of the capitalist west, but one that operates on the socialist premise of enabling the masses to become creators and consumers of their own cultural and intellectual products.

Recent efforts by Zimbabwe Television to produce, with the financial support of private companies, programmes such as "The Mukadota Family", "Solo and Mutsai in Harare", and "Chaka" in Shona, English and Ndebele should be seen as very positive steps in this complex process of creating a socialist culture. Unfortunately the quality and impact of such television programmes have been affected adversely by major social contradictions inherent in our society which has had a very large dosage of capitalist television culture as exemplified by recent series such as "Dallas", "Dynasty", "Falcon Crest", "Flamingo Road" and "Knots Landing", and by propagandist programmes such as "The Greatest American Hero" "The Professionals" and cartoons. When the masses in our society, especially the urban people, are faced with cultural and intellectual materials produced by their own people they unfortunately use capitalist yardsticks to determine the cultural usefulness and artistic standards of such programmes. This contradiction therefore becomes the main stumbling block in our cultural revolution.

The purpose of this article is to point out some of these social contradictions which seem to confuse not only the ordinary television viewing masses but writers, producers and sponsors of local cultural television programmes.

## Criticism on Local Shows

An analysis of the published criticism of "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" and "The Mukadota Family" shows how social contradictions force the viewers to ignore the role these programmes should be playing in a country which pursues a socialist line. That role is to destroy the class systems of ethical and aesthetic values, not only alien to the masses, but also

those which have been propagated as features of modern civilisation. In fact the majority of negative critics of locally produced television dramas are those who do not realise that in actual fact, they are advocating for the perfection and perpetuation of these alien cultural values which our people have accumulated over the many years of colonial subjugation, and those which have been created as ideological propaganda by western capitalism.

Programmes which advocate drama of antagonistic social classes and economic interests seem to appeal a lot to local television viewers. These viewers seem to want "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" and "The Mukadota family" for example, to emulate this capitalist concept of drama if they are to be considered as meeting international standards. Indeed the most common television drama of Zimbabwe Television is the consolidation of those aspects of the people's culture which portray human deprivation brought about by capitalism, but presented in a manner that seems to say that this is inevitable. It is television drama aimed at the glorification of clashing antagonistic social classes in a man-eat-man society of "Dallas", that is considered as best TV drama even by people who should have a proper ideological orientation. The same people who want to transform Zimbabwe into a socialist state are attracted by television drama that popularises capitalism. It seems that contradiction alone creates the most significant dilemma in the minds of writers and producers of local television programmes to such an extent that it would be unrealistic to expect them to produce anything of use to the socialist cultural revolution. Business interests who have realised that they sell their products easily by advertising on programmes glorifying the devastating moral crisis in the private lives of the people in capitalist societies, have in the process determined what shall be shown on Zimbabwe television, and what local programmes should do to draw that attention.

Zimbabwean television viewers, guided by bourgeois and capitalist critics, have therefore dismissed programmes which do not portray a crisis-gripping capitalist mode of life. It is this portrayal of people as doomed for ever to crisis caused by capitalism instead of showing that man is capable of destroying exploitation of man by man,

**Cultural creativity should be totally free  
from the domination by commerce...**

that has become the main diet of evening entertainment for television viewers in Zimbabwe. Because of this, one can say that Zimbabwe Television is at the moment promoting a contradiction where artistic talent and material resources are not used for man's development, but for the breeding of social insecurity, class antagonism, escapism, justified violation of elementary human rights, and the consolidation of a bourgeois and capitalist mode of life where the survival of the fittest ideology means the destruction and depersonalisation of the economically impoverished individuals and societies. Such a contradiction makes a mockery of any ideological utterances that are attributed to the role of ZTV socialist transformation.



Another major contradiction is the fact that capitalist mass produced television programmes are expected to reflect the so-called modern life, while locally produced cultural programmes are expected to reflect authentic traditional Zimbabwe. While the western television programmes are salted with ideological illusions of the dominant ruling classes of those societies, local cultural television programmes are expected to be rigid and reflect the "tribal" traditionalist outlook of the world divorced from realities and demands of the new social order.

Those who criticised "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" as something that was not authentic Shona culture were in fact, demonstrating their strong and unfortunate expectations for such programmes to be tribally parochial, and to consolidate unquestionable traditional codes of conduct, which they expect to be left intact by the new social transformation even though these codes may be repressive and contradictory to our new social consciousness. Solo and Mutsai as young Zimbabweans, for example, can not be expected by such critics to show dynamic changes in their social consciousness because if they do so, then they cease to represent authentic Shona culture. It is because of this contradiction that it was fortunate that "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" was not in chiShona because if it had been, it would have been expected to remain completely in the legacy of the past, thereby consolidating the misconception that a backward illusory and unscientific view of the world is what characterises authentic Zimbabwe or Shona culture and character. Then there are those whose criticism is that Solo and Mutsai's relationship did not portray authentic Shona social relations. This is as if to say that there is one standard type of Shona social relations that has escaped the influence of colonialism, western education and Christianity.

#### Relevance of TV shows

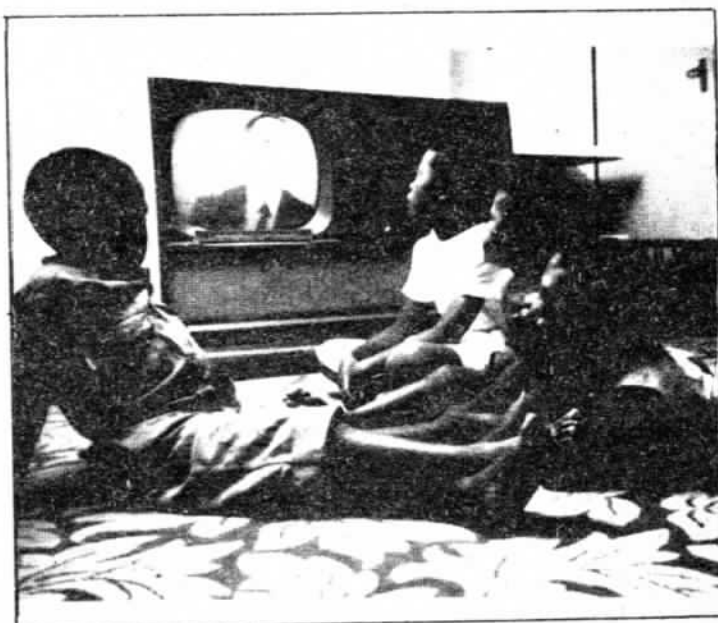
These social contradictions have thrown local television viewers into a capitalist trap designed to discredit any local programmes that become useful and relevant to diverse cultural groups in Zimbabwe. Any television drama that becomes relevant to the questions and realities of Zimbabwe as a whole are a challenge to western mass produced cultural programmes. Local artists have been told to be authentic and that means to pre-occupy themselves with the traditional past, which can be ignored by many racial and ethnic groups as irrelevant to present Zimbabwe, or something which they regard as too cultural to be of use to people outside that particular ethnic group. This is why they are happy to ignore "Mukadota Family" series as something irrelevant to their lives and as something typical for the Shona peoples. On the other hand, drama such as "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" which advocated broader understanding of the process of humanisation of social relations in the new Zimbabwe, was a direct challenge to whites because it was dealing with real and diverse issues and forms of social relations demanded by the new social order. Unfortunately, there are those who did not realise that programmes like "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" and "The Mukadota Family" should be used to destroy obsolete values and traditions. They do not understand that a socialist cultural revolution is both destructive and constructive. If to be authentic means promotion of negative cultural practices which should be the target of transformation, then authentic Zimbabwean drama would be irrelevant to the socialist culture being created to complement socialist economic and political initiatives being made.

Probably the most unfortunate social contradiction is that while Zimbabwe is expected to be on the path of socialist transformation, television programmes like "The Mukadota Family" are accepted when they portray a working class family that is not only enslaved, humiliated, deprived and oppressed by a capitalist mode of production and relations, but also imprisoned in out-dated social relations. The television viewers expect to see Mukadota continue to emulate misguided and reactionary capitalist class

interests instead of projecting a family of a revolutionary worker, which expresses the admirable characteristics of a socialist mode of life. Many of the local television viewing masses are not bothered by the fact that Mukadota is presented as an unprincipled black man (Shona man) resourceful in the destruction of human harmony, and incapable of exhibiting a character that encourages the development of a socialist mode of life in his family and the society at large. They do not mind that Mukadota remains a constant reminder of a contrast to a principled, disciplined, conscientious, honest and useful man who provides his labour and talents to the building of a foundation for socialist Zimbabwe. Mukadota can steal, destroy relationships and marriages, beat up innocent people, destroy public harmony and order, and project the most immoral behaviour and anti-socialist attitudes, but he is exonerated because he is simply a "stupid but likeable character". Nobody should take him seriously just as we should not take seriously social reactionaries in our midst. Mukadota therefore signifies Zimbabwe's social contradictions because despite its ideological disaster, it is the most popular programme among the television viewers in Zimbabwe. This is why despite its artistic merit "The Mukadota Family" series is much more dangerous, ideologically, than America's showpiece "Dallas".

Both "The Mukadota Family" and "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" have shown that for genuine socialist culture and creative endeavour to develop and to be presented positively on Zimbabwe Television, such cultural activity should be liberated from the domination of commerce.

Indeed under socialism, cultural creativity should be totally free from the domination of commerce and therefore the involvement of State agencies in that process is paramount. Rather than seeing the involvement of the Division of Culture only in the criticism of local television drama efforts, one should see the Division involved in the provision of human and material resources for the production of useful and relevant cultural programmes on Zimbabwe Television. It is such programmes that can destroy the dominant social contradictions which jeopardize the artistic work of individual creators of Mukadota (Safirio Madzikatire), and the writer of "Solo and Mutsai in Harare" (Stephen Chifunye); such potential talents should be guided by clear cultural policies, and actions articulated and implemented by the Division of Culture which is nationally responsible for articulating and initiating a socialist cultural revolution.



TELEVISION CAN BE A POWERFUL FORCE IN BRINGING PEOPLE CLOSER TO THE IDEALS OF SOCIALISM. HOWEVER, ZTV IS PRESENTLY DOMINATED BY WESTERN CAPITALIST PROGRAMMES WHICH SHOW US A SOCIETY WHERE MAN FIGHTS MAN.

# KENYA

## Detentions and Repression

According to a foreign owned newspaper, Daily Nation, of June 2, 1983 President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya has released 8,463 political prisoners and 22 detainees, some of whom were members of the defunct Kenya Air Force. Most of the released political detainees, and those still in detention, were held without trial before the August 1, 1982 attempted coup and after. Some of the university lecturers and students were lucky to have gone through a three minute trial in Moi's kangaroo courts before being imprisoned.

It is not known how many political prisoners and detainees he is still holding because since the coup detainees are not gazetted. We know that he is still holding many people in detention indefinitely. Among these are six university lecturers and President Moi's former business partner and deputy director of intelligence, Stephen Muriithi, whose property was confiscated. Oginga Odinga is under house arrest. His son Raria Odinga, former Deputy Director of Kenya Bureau of Standards and journalist Otieno Makonyango, are also in detention.

While we appreciate President Moi's good political gesture, we must not forget that all the released prisoners were not supposed to have been detained and denied their constitutional rights, freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, freedom of association, and all other freedom as enshrined in the Kenyan constitution. To Kenyan patriots, their detention is a clear illustration of lack of democracy in Kenya. It is a clear portrayal of neo-colonial fascism.

One can only hope that the release of 8,463 prisoners is a recognition of the importance of democracy, and hence an attempt to restore that democracy in Kenya. But, at the same time one is plagued with many questions: Why this sudden presidential clemency of releasing people who had plotted to overthrow his government? It was these people who on the morning of August 1st, 1982, announced through the Voice of Kenya radio that: "I announce to you today the overthrow of the corrupt regime of Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi by the patriotic forces of our country. As I speak to you now our country is fully and firmly under the control of the armed forces. Every care has been taken to make the revolution as bloodless as possible." There must be political strings attached to this amnesty

This announcement did not only shake Kenya, but also shook the world in that Western imperialist countries had spread lies and propaganda that Kenya is the model country in the Third World. The question is, what happened? Why is Kenya no longer the model country? Where is Kenya's beauty and independence? Why are the lecturers, students, and outspoken politicians, and people in general a culture of silence, fear, arrests and imprisonment, to the extent that they exploded in a coup attempt?

The opening words of the editorial of a special issue on Kenya of Race and Class, a Journal for Black and Third World Liberation, Winter 1983 entitled "Kenya: The Politics of Repression" says: "Wherever imperialism sets foot there's devastation, immiseration, deracination

and revolt. Kenya is a case in point." This is very true as history proves that when people of any society are exploited, oppressed, and denied any possible means of expression as well as access to participation in political and economic activities which determine their destiny and their children's destiny, they revolt.

### Black Colonialism

A glance at the last twenty years of a supposedly free Kenya tells a great deal of what a newly independent country like Zimbabwe can avoid. Before Kenya attained constitutional independence on the 12th of December, 1963, the people of Kenya had waged a fierce struggle against British colonialism. The Mau Mau armed struggle against the British Empire (1952-1962) was the first of its kind in colonial Africa.

What can we learn from Mau Mau armed struggle which brought independence to Kenya? After a protracted war, waged by the peasants, workers, and the young people of Kenya, Kenya was nominally granted independence. However, at independence the Kenyan people thought and trusted that the end of colonialism would bring some concrete changes to economic and political life of the majority of Kenyans. They also believed that after independence a more democratic society was born where all national aspirations were to be realized. The people hoped for a society where there was no unemployment, no poverty, no exploitation and no oppression. In other words, the people thought that independence would be real for the country and her people, and that everyone would take collective responsibility to preserve and enhance that independence.

These ideals were however, obscured and betrayed by the developments which took place in post-colonial Kenya.

What were these inhuman developments which overshadowed the people's aspirations? Who orchestrated these turn of events with subsequent neo-colonial forms and economic structures?

After the installation of Jomo Kenyatta in 1963 as the head of black government, nothing else changed in either the government nor the economic sector. It was almost a continuation of the colonial regime under the cover of Kenyatta as the leader. In fact, Kenya African National Union (KANU), maintained and strengthened the colonial status quo by way of rewarding the black colonial administration collaborators in promoting them into higher government positions using the experiences they had gained in the suppression of the Mau Mau revolution as credit and qualification. While those who suffered in the struggle and did not have an opportunity to go to school were left in the cold without good jobs because they were either not literate, or were regarded as too radical. The result is that today Kenya has more people unemployed than employed.

A good example of black colonialism is that of Charles Mugane Njonjo, son of a colonial chief who until very recently has been the strongest man in the government. Njonjo served the colonial government as a humble submissive, good boy, in various positions. From 1954 to 1960, he was an assistant Registrar General in the Registrar General's department. He was promoted to Crown Counsel and then to Senior Crown Counsel and to Deputy Public Prosecutor at the time of independence. The KANU government made him the Attorney General, a man who all his years has been committed and was promoted on merit as a result of administering oppressive laws to Kenyan people. How could such a person change overnight, and start being faithful to a government when he was never committed to its rise to power?

#### Colonial Administration Still in Force

The point is that the KANU government did not attempt to change the colonial administration. Kenyatta's Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners were all former colonial homeguards. This neocolonial administrative structure can be seen even today, although a few individuals have resigned or retired, but in key positions there are watchdogs of imperialism.

Take another example of the current chief secretary, Mr. Jeremiah Kiereini who has been signing detention orders of innocent nationalists, lecturers, and politicians. During colonial days, he was a faithful colonial rehabilitation officer. He served in several detention camps censoring plays and activities of detainees who were detained as a result of colonial brutality, in an endeavour to control an inevitable Mau Mau revolution.

The British imperialists maintained a close relationship with the "new" black government which they actually installed on their own terms. Up until today, Kenya has British troops—even after twenty years of independence. As if this is not enough, President Moi as recently as 1980 granted military and naval bases to the USA without any discussion and consent from the Kenyan people through parliament or media.

During the struggle for independence there were broadly two fronts; the nationalists and the radical militant front. The nationalists were further divided up into two camps. On one hand there were the conservative pro-colonialists and compromising section; and on the other hand, the liberal pro-radical militant front. The radical militant front, i.e. Mau Mau Freedom Fighters, led by Dedan Kimathi pressured the British government until the British agreed to grant Kenyan people their independence.

The first Lancaster House Conference on Kenya was held in early 1960. This had opened the way to an African state in Kenya.

#### One Party State

On the return from the Lancaster Conference the nationalist leaders who represented Kenyan peasants and workers who fought for independence in Kenya split into two, and formed two political parties; the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). They differed not only in the basis of their support, but also in their political strategy and organisation. KANU was the first to emerge with its motto, "Duty to one's country is duty to God," and it attracted to its membership the gallant militant and determined nationalists. KANU's objective was the unity of all Africans and the organisation of a mass movement in which powers and authority would be centralised in the party's central executive institution. While KADU's political line was majimboism (regionalism), a Muzorewa-type of black front for settler interests, which opposed an absolute unitary mass party. This KADU party was led by none other than the now President Daniel Arap Moi of KANU government. Previously at the height of the Mau Mau armed struggle for Kenya's independence, President Moi was a colonial government appointee in the settler managed and administered Kenya Legislative Council. In other words, he collaborated with British imperialism in the domination and exploitation of Kenyans.

What happened to KADU? After KANU won the first general elections in 1963 KADU and other auxiliary parties like Kenya People's Party (KPP) all merged into KANU and formed the ruling party and government. As a result of this merger, today's ruling KANU is not the same as the 1963 nationalist party which advocated and promised that after independence it would replace colonial rule with a "political democracy" which would be concerned in safeguarding the "good of the country as a whole and not merely the interests of a few".

So the people believed this blatant lie because these promises and many others were printed in the 1960 KANU Manifesto for Independence, Social Democracy and Stability, and delivered at a huge rally at Thika on 20th November the same year.

However, after independence in 1963 things started to change swiftly, the promises were turned into political manipulations to keep people waiting for changes and programmes to be implemented. The KANU government led by the late charismatic President Jomo Kenyatta introduced a "song". The only way the social development was to

(continued on page 24)

## Detained Without Trial



J. George Anyona  
Former MP

Koigi wa Wamwere  
MP Nakuru North

Al Amin Mazuri  
Lecturer in Linguistics

Maina wa Kinyatti  
Senior Lecturer in History





## Colonialism & Neo-Colonialism

Marxists have always abhorred any form of oppression, undemocratic rule and exploitation of one person by another, one class by another, and one nation by another. Marxists have also always actively participated, both in ideas and practically, in the fight against such system, which include the colonial system of capitalism.

When it comes to relations with oppressed people of other countries, Marxists are guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism. Marxists help the oppressed people through the principle of solidarity with all working people, particularly the working class which, according to Marxism, is the only class which can lead society to socialism and communism. That is why Marx and Engels always called upon the workers of all countries to unite in order to fight against capitalism, racism and all forms of exploitation.

Although there had been colonies in the past, colonialism flourished under capitalism. This was more so during the period when capitalism entered its last stage of development, which is imperialism (where big monopoly companies together with financial institutions dominate the economy and the state.)

The history of the colonial system of capitalism is divided into three stages. The first stage belongs to the time of primary accumulation of capital. The second stage corresponds to the period of pre-monopoly capitalism. The third stage corresponds to the period of imperialism. During the first stage the colonial policy of the European powers found expression in the seizure and plunder of many countries, inhuman exploitation of the indigenous population, and the establishment of a monopoly trade of European merchants with Asian, African and American colonies. This led to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of capitalists in Europe, where the wealth of the colonies was sent.

The exploitation of the colonies stimulated the growth of industrial power in the capitalist countries, while in the colonies themselves it impeded and hurled back the development of the productive forces (the means of production that is workers, slaves, serfs, etc) and social relations.

By the last decade of the 18th century the old forms of colonial exploitation were already out-living themselves. Pure swindle, open violence, and monopoly domination of trading companies, no longer yielded the desired results. The continuous uprisings of the oppressed people also dictated the necessity of changing to new methods of exploiting the colonies. This marked the beginning of the second phase of colonialism.

Colonies were now transformed into markets for industrial commodities of the industrial countries, and into sources of raw materials and foodstuffs. This resulted in the intensification of the exploi-

tation of the peasantry of the colonies. Peasants had to produce raw materials and foodstuffs for the capitalist market and sell them at very low prices. The slightest change in the market affected the conditions of the peasants in the colonies and dependent countries.

The local industry which was unable to compete with the industry of the capitalist countries declined. In other words, development of the manufacturing sector of the colonies was impeded.

During the imperialist stage of capitalism which came into being towards the end of the last century, the greater part of Asia, and Latin America and all of Africa and Australia were transformed into colonies, semi-colonies and countries dependent on imperialism. Thus the colonial system of imperialism was created. Zimbabwe was colonised during the imperialist stage of capitalism, with the monopoly British South Africa Company of Cecil Rhodes spearheading the colonisation process.

Imperialism uses the colonies and dependent countries as agrarian and raw material appendages of the industrialised capitalist countries, as spheres of capital investment, and as markets. The colonies and semi-colonies supplied the developed capitalist countries with most of the rubber, tin, nickel, gold, silver, copper, jute, groundnuts, wool, etc. These raw materials were acquired by the imperialist countries through unequal barter; buying them below cost in the colonies, and selling industrial commodities above cost. Of course the imperialists say the opposite.

The investments of the imperialist states in the colonies and semi-colonies cripple the economy of these countries. The economy of these countries is characterised by a lack of diversification, it is one-sided. It is true that the export of capital to the colonies and dependent countries accelerates the development of capitalism in them. However, it is also true that it leads to the subjugation and subordination of their economy to the developed capitalist countries.

In addition to the warping of the economy of the colonies and some former colonies, imperialism has led to the death of millions in the developing countries through starvation, rampant illiteracy and disease, and has almost destroyed age old cultures and languages. It has also used racism, which is maintained even long after political independence has been attained in those former colonies that



have not yet opted for socialism. Communists are opposed to all this, and do their best to hasten its end. That is why Marxists always remind the world that the most consistent and untiring friends of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe were the socialist countries; whilst the most consistent and untiring friends of colonialism and racism in Zimbabwe were the imperialist countries, whose multinational monopolies dominated and still dominate the economy of this country.

During colonialism the state (that is the army, police, legal system, prisons, etc) is directly controlled and led by the colonial power through appointed top officials like governors and military commanders. This is a repressive state, a state that knows no bounds in ruthlessness, just as the state in this country before independence; it was the state of the local capitalists and the multinationals. This state was helped by the church through preaching submission to the oppressed people.

## **"The imperialists are helped by local elements who want to enrich themselves"...**

The history of colonialism is at the same time the history of unremitting struggle for national liberation. It took many years of struggle with many lives lost and a lot of suffering before young independent states were established. The liberation struggle against colonialism involves a national liberation front of all the anti-colonialist classes, social groups, parties, trade unions, and individuals. Indeed, this was the case in Zimbabwe. The classes in the liberation movement also included the bourgeoisie and the proletariat - these are classes whose interests are fundamentally opposed to each other, these are class enemies.

In all former colonies important roles in the liberation struggle were played by the peasantry and the working class. In particular, the working class, though small and budding as it was, played the most crucial role. In Zimbabwe for instance, the black trade union movement of the 1940s laid down the foundation for a countrywide mass liberation movement that swept away colonialism.

Of big importance in the liberation struggle is the role played by the socialist countries. These countries helped the liberation forces in all sort of ways. They were fulfilling their internationalist duties.

Where political power has been gained, the former colonial power seemingly no longer has direct political authority over the newly-independent state. However, although imperialism has lost immediate political control in its former colonies, it still has possibilities for exploiting them, in fact it still exploits many former colonies.

To do so in the changed circumstances imperialists have had to build a new system of exploitation, which involves keeping the newly-independent peoples under the economic control of imperialism. This is the system of "neo-colonialism."

Economically, neo-colonialism is rooted in extreme economic backwardness and obsolete economic relations of the former colonies. The newly independent countries are predominantly agrarian, their manufacturing sector is at a very low level. A large part of the economy of many former colonies is still

owned by foreign capitalists through the subsidiaries of their multinational companies. In the case of Zimbabwe, 70 per cent of the economy is controlled by the multinational monopolies. In other words, after winning political freedom, the young states have become entangled in the meshes of economic dependence, which is the economic foundation of neo-colonialism.

The imperialists are helped by local elements who want to enrich themselves. These elements come from the local bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, top civil servants, top army and police officers, government ministers and from the ruling party's leaders and senior officials. These elements are ruthless towards the people.

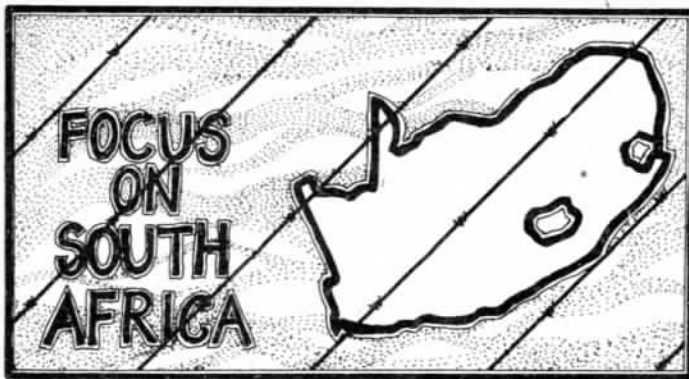
In other words, the liberation struggle must continue until economic independence is achieved as well. Under the new conditions, the liberation forces acquire a new character, some of the classes, parties and individuals that participated in the struggle against colonialism are now on the side of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Marxists say the struggle for economic independence can only be fulfilled when the working class rallies all the anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces. That is why communists maintain that in the developing countries communists must pursue a correct, sustained, flexible and effective policy of class and political alliances in the struggle for economic independence.

In as far as Marxism is concerned therefore, colonialism and neo-colonialism are doomed with capitalism, and they must always be fought against as they are part of the capitalist system.



70% OF ZIMBABWE'S ECONOMY IS CONTROLLED BY MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES. THIS TYPE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY IS "NEO-COLONIALISM", WHERE POOR COUNTRIES ARE STILL EXPLOITED BY RICH COUNTRIES.



# Botha's New Manifesto

If a dangerous snake sheds its skin, we should consider carefully before deciding that it really is reforming itself. Apartheid - capitalist rule in South Africa is twitching, trying to shake off the white exclusiveness of parliamentary policies. The Botha Government has committed itself to proposals for extending the right to vote, and stand for parliament to Coloureds and South Africans of Indian origin.

The apartheid strategy of divide and rule will be modified, but not abolished. The African majority of 23 million people will continue to be deprived of political rights, and a voice in parliament. What is more, there will be a built-in white majority in parliament. As Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis concocted, white supremacy will not be abolished. During a debate on the planned constitution Heunis argued that South Africa's security depends on the privileged position of whites. The minister said, "I am not ashamed to say that I want to ensure the position of the whites".

Nevertheless, Heunis' party is shy about making such admissions when producing propaganda directed at Coloured and Indians, and aimed at selling its proposals to them. Its slant is then quite different. For instance, a state sponsored newspaper for Coloureds provided the following questions and answers:

1. Will Coloured and Indians be able to take decisions regarding their own residential areas, education and welfare? Yes.
2. Will Indians and Coloureds be able to vote in the parliamentary elections? Yes.
3. Will a Coloured or Indian be able to be elected to parliament? Yes.
4. Has the government made proposals to improve the political rights of Coloureds and Indians? Yes.

## A Toothless Parliament

As such propaganda stresses, the proposed constitution would extend the right to participate in parliament which at present only whites have, to Coloureds and Indians. Nevertheless, the proposals ensure that the role played in parliament by Indians and Coloureds would be subordinate to that of the white electorate. Still more important than this is the fact that the planned constitution ensures that the exercise of real power will mostly take place outside of parliament. The proposals represent an attempt at stripping parliament of what power it has to make policy. As it is, much of that power has already been taken away.

In recent years, the rulers have increasingly by-passed parliament. Crucial decisions have been made in secret by unelected committees of leading capitalists and big shots in the army, police, and state bureaucracy.

## Economic and Political Crisis

What lies behind the weakening of parliament? Over past generations the capitalist class has bought the white electorate over by giving it privileges at the expense of the black majority. But more recently, the economy has been in crisis. This has meant that big business has found it more of a squeeze to subsidize the cost of maintaining white support. The employing class has responded by shifting part of the burden of the crisis onto the back of the white electorate. The job privileges and incomes of the white working class, and even middle class, are being diminished.

It is in reaction to this lowering of white living standards that ultra-right wing white politics has mushroomed over the past few years. Ultra-reactionary opposition parties such as the Conservative Party, and the even more extremist HNP, are desperately trying to defend white privileges. These parties are opposed to the so-called "reforms" which P.W. Botha, as the agent of the ruling class, has proposed. In their perception, it is Botha's pink liberalism that is undermining the advantaged status which whites have enjoyed. They imagine that their problems stem

## Dissatisfied Majority

Almost everyone agrees that all that the proposed constitution guarantees the majority of South Africans is poverty and rightlessness. Dr. Gassat, a leader of the mounting opposition to the government's new proposals says they "do not meet even the most basic demands of the people".

Mr. Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning agrees and says, "all leaders would have to scale down their demands. The country did not have the ability-physically, financially, or emotionally- to satisfy the demands of all" (Star May '83). "The very rich would find it emotionally upsetting to have their wealth seized from them and redistributed. But from a "physical" and "financial" point of view, the 58% of national income which presently goes to less than 10% of the population, could go a long way towards "satisfying the needs of all".

The planned constitution is intended to tempt middle class Coloured and Indian leaders into defending the system. The plan is that they will pull large sections of their own ethnic groups behind them. It is widely believed in South Africa that after the constitutional changes have been brought about, army conscription will be extended to male Coloureds and Indians.



from Botha's being too generous towards the "darker races". The strength of the far right has led Botha to try to reduce the power whites exercise through the vote. He hopes that by attacking the whites political rights, he can defeat extreme right-wing opposition to his manoeuvres.

#### Fishing for Supporters

Botha has no choice. Even if it means sacrificing more white support, he is forced to attempt "reform". He has to deal with the struggle of the black working class, which has accelerated. Faced with this onslaught, the state has to fish for support among black elites which can act as a buffer against the threat of revolution. The planned changes to parliament are intended to give Coloureds and Indians, led by their "own" privileged classes, a small stake in the system. The idea is that this will motivate them to join in the national oppression of the African masses, and the defence of the profit system.

State strategists believe that to make their plans of co-opting black elites a reality, the extreme right must be prevented from using parliament as a power base from which it fights against semi- or pseudo-privileges being given to "non-whites". The regime has plans to do this by giving a dictator it calls an "Executive President" almost total power over parliament. Among his powers will be the right to:

1. Appoint Ministers
2. Declare war
3. Declare martial law
4. Appoint and dismiss civil servants.
5. Dissolve parliament at any time.

Of course, as Heunis has promised, the Executive President will not simply trample white privileges into the dust. Capitalism will have to continue to depend on white support to suppress the blacks. The Executive President will have to take account of this. This will determine the way in which he will use one of the most important powers which rests with him. The Executive President will have the sole right to decide whether any particular issue should be decided jointly by white, Coloured, and Indian MPs, or only by the MPs belonging to one of those ethnic groups. A Coloured or Indian MP would only be permitted to decide on matters which the Executive President decided affects only his racial group.

Any issue which has to do with apartheid affects more than one racial group. Laws which place one group at an advantage over another are oppressive to both groups. The Coloureds and Indians will not be in a position to change any of the laws, such as the Group Areas Act, which discriminate against them.

Recognising this, the mass of the Coloured and Indian people will not fall for Botha's scheme; this is confirmed by the popular rejection of the Coloured Labour Party's decision to participate in the proposed constitution. An article in the Observer (2, Feb. '82) describes the sort of receptions that Labour Party leaders have been getting at their meetings:

"The Coloured leader had no sooner begun explaining his party's decision to participate in the new constitution than fists, chairs, bottles, bricks, and stones began to fly. Five people lay injured by the time police arrived to protect LP leaders, Ian Hendrickse and David Curry. It was the second time in a week that a LP meeting had erupted into violence.... It is in the cities that you find the militants, so not surprisingly after this experience Hendrickse and Curry cancelled their scheduled meeting. 'We'll resume when feelings cool down', said Hendrickse in his announcement. It seems doubtful whether there will be any simmering down. There is a groundswell of anger against the LP for agreeing to participate in the new constitution."

Not only does the ruling class not have certainty of winning much new support from those its proposals are intended to win, but it is also in danger of losing support from amongst the white racists. Another danger for big business is that even it will not be able to control the Executive President, because he will have massive power over the army and police.

Mr. Ron Ironside, president of the influential Federated Chamber of Industries, expressed this fear when making a cautious criticism of Botha's plans. He said, "the concept of comprehensive checks and balances is central to the Western democratic process, and more of these should be introduced."

We can assure those like Mr. Ironside, that the power of the Executive President will not go unchecked. It will be challenged. It will be challenged above all, by the mass liberation struggle.



## Dowry Protests

While in Zimbabwe women debate over the custom of lobola. In India a similar debate is going on in regards to the custom of paying dowry. Dowry is a payment which is made by the parents of the bride to the husband and his family. It may involve gifts of jewellery, furniture, or money. In recent years the family of the bride has begun to demand increasingly high payments. If her family does not agree she is often tortured or ridiculed until they give in. There have even been cases of the bride being killed. In the city of Delhi it is estimated that an average of two brides die each day; usually they are burned and their death is made to look like an accident. Last year thousands of women demonstrated against the practice of dowry, asking that the maximum payment be regulated by the government in order to stop the exploitation of the custom.



# DISARMAMENT

When the call goes out to pick up arms and fight for the liberation of a homeland, modern women struggle alongside their male comrades. In another struggle, unique to these modern times, women are banding together to force the super-powers to put down their arms, the arms that have the potential to eliminate life as we know it. On May 24, 1982 a group of women in Europe initiated the "International Women's Day of Action for Disarmament". Women from the Greenham Peace Camp and the British Women's Movement urged women everywhere to take direct action against the threat of nuclear war. Although the arms race may seem distant to the problems we face as women in Zimbabwe, it is an issue which is relevant to every citizen of every nation for the mere fact that in the event of a nuclear war, there is no place that will remain untouched.

But why in particular a "Women's Day for Disarmament? Isn't this a problem which deals with both men and women, and which needs all the unity possible to combat the growing stockpiling of nuclear arms? Should women separate themselves and work alone?

Many women feel that the whole approach of men to the world is different from the approach women take. This type of attitude is especially noted in the build-up of nuclear arms. The idea is to give security to a nation, but the Reagan's and Andropov's aren't considering that there are human beings that make up that nation, and these human being in no way will ever benefit from a nuclear war. The "targets" for these missiles are viewed as "objects" not human beings who have wishes of their own.

"Women are trying to develop a consciousness of "other" in all areas. We see subject to subject relationships as not only desirable, but necessary. Together we are working to expand our empathy and understanding of other living things, and to identify with these entities outside of ourselves, rather than objectifying and manipulating them. At this point a respect for all life is a prerequisite for our very survival." Peggy Kornegger, *Anarchism; The Feminist Connection*.

The nuclear disarmament movement in Europe is similar to many other women's movements throughout the world in that it is a free response to a particular social situation that has developed. Women's organisations in general function with less leadership, less hierarchy than men. They evolve through a need for change, meet the need democratically, and have more recognition for the common social goal, putting aside individual needs to dominate, and power struggles which are prevalent in men's organisations. Thus, although the nuclear disarmament movement does not wish to exclude men, the internal structure does not suit their attitudes of domination.

## Connection

What is the relevance of all of this to Southern Africa? How are we involved in the nuclear threat?

The Pretoria regime, intent on destabilising Southern Africa and pre-occupied by their own continued existence presents an undoubted nuclear threat. "South Africa continues to kill and plunder in this region because it knows it has the support of its Western allies who have backed it on Namibia and are now helping it to produce nuclear weapons which will be used to intimidate independent African states." *Herald* May 24, '83.

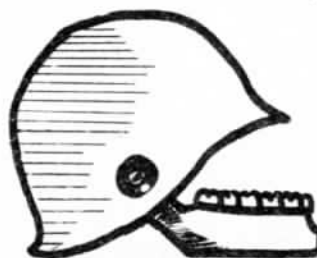
The uranium that is used both in nuclear reactors and for nuclear bombs, comes from Namibia which is illegally occupied by South Africa. "There are 100 000 South African troops for 1,5 million Namibians. The conditions in the mines are appalling, there is no clinic, the men live in compounds trade unions are illegal, blacks are paid far lower wages than whites. These Namibians have no choice but to work in the mines." *A Winnings Peace Magazine*

If a 20 megaton bomb were to be dropped in Southern Africa, these are the medical consequences: "It would form a crater over 1 kilometre wide and 100 metres deep. Everything in that volume would be turned into radio active fallout. Up to a radius of 15km, every person would be either lethally injured or killed. Up to a radius of 75km, anyone who survived the blast and looked at the blast would be blinded and deafened by the shock wave rupturing their tympanic membranes. It would form a firestorm of 75,000 sq. kilometres from the epicentre, you would die because the firestorm would use up all the oxygen and you'd asphyxiate, and or be pressure-cooked" Dr. M. Caldicott Edinburgh, Scotland, Oct. 1980.

South Africa's answer is "If we wish to do things with our nuclear potential, we will jolly well do so, according to our own decisions and our own judgements" Mulder S.A. Minister of Information, 1977. If one can take the recent air raid on Maputo as a sample of "their own judgements" one wonders if any moral restraint at all would be used in controlling the use of nuclear arms.

At the recently held World Ploughing Contest in Harare, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said, "The leaders of the superpowers, President Reagan and Comrade Andropov, were trying to decide "how best to plough our world down" On the motto of the contest, "Let Peace Cultivate the Field", he said it would serve, "to remind us that this was how you demonstrated the directions human activity should take in enhancing the work of man, on this our

THE MONEY REQUIRED TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE FOOD, WATER, EDUCATION, HEALTH, AND HOUSING, FOR EVERYONE IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN ESTIMATED AT \$ 20 BILLION A YEAR. IT IS A HUGE SUM OF MONEY....



ABOUT AS MUCH AS THE WORLD SPENDS ON ARMS EVERY TWO WEEKS.

beautiful world... I therefore judge all of you participating in this contest of peace as winners, big winners indeed over Ronald Reagan and Yuri Andropov who are not here. On this day we are also contesting, but not in nuclear fashion, on how best to plough our world". Herald May 14 '83.

In conclusion, the question of nuclear disarmament is extremely relevant. In Africa we also need to take action and show our protest against the mad arms race that not only enables people to overkill the "enemy" 20 to 40 times, but means that valuable resources are spent on arms instead of on the millions of poor and hungry men, women and children in the world.

"In today's world 1,5 billion people lack access to health services. More than 500 million people suffer from malnutrition. But world governments spend twice as much on armaments as on health." - Dr. M. Caldicott, President of Physicians for Social Responsibility, an organisation of 5000 US physicians opposed to nuclear war.



## Is Legal Abortion a Solution ?

A young school girl falls pregnant. In desperation she visits a n'anga and asks for help. The n'anga inserts a stick the size of a pencil into the cervical opening which leads to the womb. Two days later he removes the stick. By this time the cervix has begun to open, the birth process is beginning. After two more days an abortion occurs, ending the pregnancy.

How often this situation occurs in Zimbabwe today is not known. Since abortion is illegal, and a criminal act, it is difficult to even get an estimate as to how often women are choosing to abort. We do know that abortion, both spontaneous, (that is those that happen naturally) and induced is the greatest cause for admittance to hospital throughout the country. It is estimated that between six and ten percent of these have been purposely done to end a pregnancy.

Abortion is nothing new to Africa or to the rest of the world. The earliest known recipe for a medicine that would cause abortion comes from China, and is dated 2700 BC. Today more than half of the world's population live in countries where abortion is legal. It is estimated that between 30 and 55 million abortions are performed each year.

Making abortion illegal does not stop women from doing it, but it does influence the number of women who are damaged from aborting. Up to 70 percent of maternal deaths that occur in developing countries are due to illegal abortions. There is a death rate of 50 to 100 women of 100,000 who abort. This compares to a death rate of 1,4 for the same number of women in the USA where safe legal abortions are available. It was the high death rate of women who were having illegal abortions that influenced many countries to change their abortion laws and make safe legal abortion available.

There is no country where abortion is recommended as a means of birth control. It is seen more as a backup solution when other types of contraception fail. Legal abortion does not take the place of a good family planning programme, but could it be a solution to the unwanted pregnancies that are occurring in Zimbabwe? In answer, we could look at neighbouring Zambia, which in 1972 became the first African country south of the Sahara to legalise abortion. Zambia's law states that a woman may seek an abortion if the pregnancy will ruin her health or for social reasons. Social reasons may include her not

being married, or not economically able to afford a child. The abortion must be approved by three medical practitioners, and take place in a hospital. Zambia faces an acute shortage of doctors, having only one for every 10,000 people. This means that the chances of a woman, particularly of a lower income, seeing even one doctor, much less three, are quite rare. Hospital and clinic facilities are not adequate enough to handle the large number of women who want to abort, especially seeing that the case must be processed in a number of weeks before the end of the third month of pregnancy. As a result many women go to illegal abortionists. In the first year after the law was changed the rate of abortions which had become infected and were admitted to University Hospital in Lusaka rose by 106 percent. Thus changing the law, and making abortion legal actually proved to worsen the situation.

Without first setting up proper clinics and having trained medical personnel available, we could expect the same thing here in Zimbabwe.

Legalising abortion would affect the social attitude of women towards abortion. Once it is acceptable more women would seek abortion and without enough facilities they would be forced to go to illegal abortionists. Thus changing the law before facilities are ready would be detrimental to the health of our women.

In the meantime there is still the problem of women who have illegal abortions, often risking infection, and the possibility of becoming barren. Although it is against the code of ZINATHA for a traditional healer to perform an abortion, it is evidenced that many do. In other cases the women try to abort themselves by taking an overdose of pills or some mild poison. With the rate of complications from abortions increasing, along with infanticides which are reported almost weekly in the paper, and a high rate of children being abandoned, it is clear that we can no longer bury our heads in the sand. Society's mores and morals are changing, and will not return to those of the past. Threats and expulsions from school serve only to drive pregnant girls into taking drastic steps. We must begin to deal with the problem at its roots, first with education, and second with a clearly structured programme of pregnancy prevention aimed at men and women alike.





## WAR & CONSCIENCE

Since independence Zimbabwe has accepted quite a number of South Africans as refugees. These refugees include a handful of young white men. That the white Africans are leaving a system designed to protect their interests may seem unusual. Who are these men? Why are they leaving?

### War and Conscience in South Africa,

published by Mambo Press (\$4.45), takes a look at this small, but committed minority of white men who are refusing to serve in the defence force. The authors, who for good reason remain anonymous, deal with topics such as; the rise of militarisation, the ideology of national security, the response of the churches, and include interviews with conscientious objectors and resisters.

### Growing Resistance to Apartheid War.

There have always been conscientious objectors, such as Jehovah Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists, and other sects. They are opposed to all war in principle. This new group of objectors is not opposed to war; or to military service in general, but to the specific situation of South Africa's military involvements.

As quoted in the book, Pete Moll, a resister who was imprisoned for his objections, says to his commanding officer: "Selected conscientious objection is a refusal to engage in a particular war, while making no necessary statements about war in general. I have decided to be a conscientious objector because:

- (a) In terms of Christian morals, South African society is fundamentally unjust.
- (b) The insurgents are generally not foreigners, but South African citizens, i.e. the situation is one of civil war.
- (c) This makes one question what one is prepared to fight for and what one is required to die for."

The book deals in detail with the history of resistance, and the rejection of the apartheid war. The 300 laws which control the lives of the black population are obviously at the root of the rejection, but alongside it is the increased militarisation of South Africa.

### Apartheid Tactics

With growing resistance among the black population to apartheid, the government is doing its best to control the situation by creating a black middle class which will ally itself with the capitalist system. They are

also giving the Indian and Coloured population representation in parliament. But more than anything else, they are controlling the situation by increasing the size of the military machine.

### The Church and the State

War and Conscience in South Africa also goes into the role the churches have played in resistance to the system, and in support of the COs. With the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church, most Christian churches have opposed the idea of apartheid. The rejection though, had been only verbal until 1981 when they demonstrated against the state. The churches took the stand that the very foundations of the state are unjust, and suited only to the minority white population. With this statement participation in the military which defends such a system became an issue. The state passed a law which made helping COs illegal. They thought this would stop church involvement. It did not, as more and more objectors forced the churches to recognise the morality of their position.

### War Resisters

It is difficult to determine just how many young men are resisting the military. On the average, 3,000 men a year fail to report for military duty. But on examination many of them have non-political reasons. The book suggests that about 1,000 of these are actually political resisters.

Resisters have three options; prison, evasion within the country, or exile.

Prison conditions for COs in South Africa have been very harsh. Resisters imprisoned may spend as much as half the time in solitary confinement. There is also the chance of being called up a second time, and thus sent back to prison.

Evasion within the country is possible, but only a short term solution. Therefore many of the resisters end up in Europe, where some governments, such as the Netherlands, have offered support. Resisters have been aided by anti-apartheid organisations, and have formed their own organisations to support other resisters and exiles.

It is likely that in the future there will be more resisters seeking refuge in Zimbabwe. With the new Refugee Bill to be passed, there is at least an avenue open for their assistance.

As the book points out, the growing militarisation in South Africa has become a big issue. The time has come for the churches to choose; to fight against the militarisation is the first task. What remains to be seen is whether they can find the theology, the spirituality, and the strategy to do the task effectively.

The military budget in South Africa has increased from 32 million dollars to 2,400 million dollars in the last 23 years. The size of the army has increased from 78,000 men to 500,000 in the same period.

The liberation of the bordering states has made the regime even more nervous about what it terms internationally as "the threat of communism". This is answered again with increases in the military.

Following the 1976 riots in Soweto a new ideology developed. It became clear that the "enemy" was not at the border, but was everywhere within. Instead of warnings of external "Communist menace" "communist agitators" internally had to be fought. A philosophy of "National Security" was born.

In some third world countries the small wealthy minorities have become replaced by dictatorships, often military, who rely on extreme suppression of any form of resistance to maintain power. It was essential that people see the extreme measures, often violent, as necessary, and become willing to support the regime in its efforts to suppress discontent.

An ideology called the "national security" state was perfected and spread to various dictatorships. It was exported largely by the USA where leaders of these dictatorships were trained.

According to this set of beliefs, any resistance to the government policy is termed "communist", a threat to "Christian civilization", and "Law and Order". Blind obedience to authority is preached. Any abuse of human rights by the regime is forgiven, accepted as necessary, and the better of the two evils.

#### Total Strategy

In South Africa, the doctrine of national security is known as "Total Strategy". It assumes the country is in a state of war within itself. According to General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence of South Africa, "South Africa is involved in total war. The war is not only an area for the soldier. Everyone is involved and has a role to play".

School children are indoctrinated into the concept of total strategy by weekly lectures on preparation and vigilance. All male students must go to school once a week in military uniform. Military values are stressed, bush war is glorified, as well as is the history of the Anglo-Boer guerilla war.

All white citizens must go for military service for a period of two years. After that, they must go for two months every year for 12 years. This completes the involvement of the military in the life of the white citizen.



Since our previous article on this subject was written, price control has been in the news. Government does want to make the controls easy to enforce, but they work under many difficulties.

One difficulty is that they do not have enough inspectors to keep a regular watch on all prices, so if exploitation is to be stopped, the customers must report illegally high prices to the Price Control Board, P. Bag 7708, CAUSEWAY, Harare. That means all of us can and must report to this address any store that overcharges, quoting any prices they charge that are above those legally allowed.

To make this easier for us, the government is making the controls simpler to understand. We can expect more orders to be made about retail prices. We listed most of the goods in our last article for which one fixed shop price applies throughout the country. However, the prices of many goods are still governed by more complicated regulations. This article will try to explain two of these types of regulation.

The first type governs the wholesale price of certain goods and the markup which storekeepers are allowed to add to this. This kind of regulation applies to vegetable oils and fats, such as margarine and cooking fat. For all of these, the allowed retail markup is 10%. The maximum wholesale price for some oils and fats are listed below, and the right-hand column shows the maximum allowed retail price, which is 10% more than the maximum wholesale price.

		no distributor may sell to a storekeeper for more than this wholesale price:	no retailer may sell to the public for more than this retail price:
Olivine	375ml bottle	\$0.61	\$0.67
"	750ml bottle	\$1.04	\$1.14
"	2,5l tin	\$3.40	\$3.74
"	5,0l tin	\$6.33	\$6.96
"	20l tin	\$20.74	\$22.81
Panof	375ml bottle	\$0.54	\$0.59
"	750ml bottle	\$0.94	\$1.04
"	2,5l tin	\$2.80	\$3.08
"	5,0l tin	\$5.30	\$5.83
"	2,0l tin	\$19.94	\$21.93
Margarine: Butter-			
cup, Stork or Harvest,			
	250g	\$0.33	\$0.36
	500g	\$0.63	\$0.69

If you have a copy of the Control of Goods (Vegetable Oils and Fats Prices) Order, 1982, which costs 5c from the Government Printers, you can calculate in the same way the highest price that any shop is allowed to charge for all cooking oils and fats. Different storekeepers may take different markups, but as long as none of them add over 10% to the maximum wholesale price, they are within the law.

The second type of regulation controls the markups allowed to both the wholesaler and the retailer. That means the retailer may only be asked to pay for goods he buys a certain percentage more than the wholesaler paid the manufacturer, and he may only add an allowed percentage to the price he paid to make the price the customer pays. The total retail markup is the same however many times the goods change hands between the wholesaler and the customer; for example, when we buy candles, on which the allowed retail markup is 15%, whether we buy from a storekeeper or from a hawker who bought from a storekeeper, we should still not have to pay more than 15% over the wholesale price.

This seems straightforward, but even if we do know the allowed markups on goods we buy, we cannot be sure what price we should be paying if we don't know what the original factory price was. This is a serious disadvantage because many daily necessities are controlled by this kind of regulation; they include blankets, school uniforms, babies' napkins, light bulbs, batteries, salt, soap, tea, flour and toilet paper. However, if we can compare the prices in two shops, one with low prices and one with very high prices, we can often get a good idea of whether the more expensive one is overcharging. This should be easier when we consider (continued on page 25)

(KENYA-cont. from pg.15)

safeguard our hard won uhuru (freedom), was by working hand in hand with the government. But in the process the people wanted their aspirations to be fulfilled.

The people wanted land, education, employment and social services. They wanted equality and an establishment of an egalitarian society among other things. The eloquent Kenyatta who paid lipservice to the Mau Mau Struggle for independence told the people that there is no more manna from heaven. If you want land, you should contribute money and buy out the colonial settlers. On the willing buyer-willing seller basis. No more colour bar. No more racialism. Some people questioned: "Why should we buy land in our own country? Wasn't this land the one we were fighting for? This was our land that was stolen from us by the colonialists. That is why we waged a protracted war. That is why we shed blood. We should not buy it back. We should just take it." KANU government regarded such people as people who were not safeguarding hard won uhuru, and were sowing seeds of discord among the masses.

With independence, the Kenyan people realised their freedom, but economic freedom was still to come. The KANU neo-colonial government soon opened the way for the exploitation of Kenya by imperialists.

As early as 1965, nationalists who pursued a people's line as stated in the ruling party's manifesto, were either assassinated or sent to prison. Pio Gama Pinto, a radical nationalist, was assassinated and no person has been charged with his murder.

#### Political Repression Intensifies

In 1966, some nationalist leaders, led by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Bildad Kaggia, broke away from KANU at the Limuru party conference because they felt that the KANU government had deviated from the people's cause as projected by the progressive nationalist freedom fighters, and had opted for an economic system that was committed to the continual exploitation of Kenyans by foreigners. In the same year, instead of eliminating colonial laws and regulations, they reinstituted detention without trial, an act called preservation of Public Security, similar to Zimbabwe's Emergency Powers Act. In other words, KANU government, a government brought to power by the sacrifices of peasants and workers and the entire youth, introduced a measure for silencing any opposition, or criticism by the people.

IT IS KNOWN THAT THE FOLLOWING ARE STILL BEING DETAINED OR ARE UNDER ARREST

Edward Oyugi-Lecturer

Willy Mutunga-Lecturer

Kamoyi Wachira-Lecturer

Al Amin Mazuri-Lecturer

Makaru Ng'angá-Lecturer

Professor Otieno Osanya

Stephen Muriithi-Moi's Deputy Director  
of Intelligence and  
business partner

George Anyona-Nationalsit politician

John Khaminwe- Constitutional Lawyer

Koigi wa Wamwere-MP for Nakuru North

Maina wa Kinyatti-Lecturer

David Onyango Oloo-Student

Otieno Makonyango-Journalist

In 1967, Jaramayi Oginga Odinga and Bildad Kaggia (today a small farmer living in Muranga District) among others, formed Kenya People's Union (KPU). In 1969 KPU was banned. Its leaders were arrested and detained. Thus Kenya became a de facto one party state, which was legalised early last year.

In 1974 the Kenyan government hit at workers by banning strikes in both government and private sector. This left Kenyan workers powerless. They no longer had the right to strike in their fight with capitalist employers. There are numerous consistent political repressive events that took place every year since 1963 up to the present day. In 1975 a popular politician, Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, was assassinated and in the same year many people were detained. While in 1977 the government withdrew a permit for performance of a play Ngahika Ndenda (I Will Marry When I Want) by Ngugi Wa Thiongo and Ngugi Wa Mirii and performed by peasants and workers of Kamiriithi Community Educational and Cultural Centre (KCECC). Ngugi Wa Thiongo was also detained after the withdrawal of the licence. In February, 1982, the government denied a permit for a performance for a Gikuyu musical, Maitu Njugira (Mother Sing for Me). The play, written again by Ngugi Wa Thiongo and performed by the KECC peasants and workers, is a dramatical documentary of the forced labour and "kipande" (pass) laws in the colonial Kenya of the twenties and thirties. It shows the attempts in the community to repulse these and other injustices and to survive as a unit, despite tremendous official intrigue and brutality. Why would KANU government fear a dramatisation of colonial history and the history of the struggle against that brutal system? It shows clearly that our analysis is right, that the colonial regime continued in Kenya after independence.

The people of Kenya entered a new struggle twenty years ago. They are waging a war against imperialism. Perhaps Kenya might yet be the Viet Nam of Africa, given the presence of the USA military and naval bases there.

The Kenyan people do not stand alone in their struggle. Throughout the world solidarity committees are campaigning for the release of political prisoners and detainees. These committees have published a great deal of information on the Kenyan politics of repression.

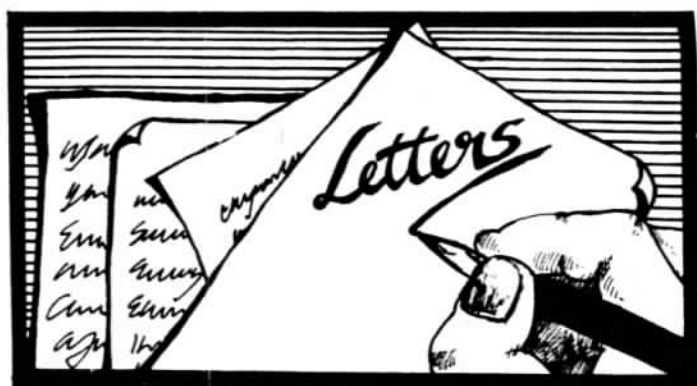


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## MORE REFORMS NEEDED

Dear Editor,

I found your last issue on health interesting. As a medical student I would like to add my own comments on the inappropriateness of health care in Zimbabwe, pointing out how the system is perpetuated and entrenched through the education of health personnel.

As you pointed out, the origin of disease is multifactorial, one of the most important causes being the material conditions of people's everyday lives. Our training does not recognise this, but views the disease as an individual pathological process that occurs out of context of the society. This is taken to extreme and even sees the pathological process as occurring in one organ out of context of the person. Ward rounds degenerate into the heart in bed 12, and the liver in bed 25.

The successful improvements in the health care system must coincide with fundamental economic, political and social changes. The later changes often impinge on the privileges of wealth and power enjoyed by dominant classes, and thus encounter resistance. This is the crux of the matter. Many doctors themselves come from this privileged class, even in the Third World. Most medical students come from high income families; those that don't, frequently view medicine as a means of upward mobility.

A five year university course based almost totally in the highest technology hospital in the urban areas does nothing to break down these expectations. If anything, the training as it exists today probably just encourages the exportation of doctors from Zimbabwe. (Approximately 75% of UZ medical graduates are practicing outside the country.)

I maintain that what is necessary is a health system which emphasises better distribution of health care facilities, and personnel, the mobilisation of local political groups in communities and the workplace to create a more equitable distribution of wealth. Only once medical education aims at tackling the problem can we all look forward to health for all by the year 2000.

Medical Student

### Industry (continued from pg. 9)

decisive instrument for generating and diffusing technological changes and thereby raise productivity of investment throughout the economy. Moreover commodity import programmes represent the transplanting of the sophisticated technologies on a base that was beginning to stand on its own feet. What the sector needed was the ability to produce more machinery and equipment in addition to the intermediate goods and raw materials. The conditions of reproduction constantly require reconversion of a part of the economy's products into the instruments of production. The economy needs this capability and it has a chance to recap the nucleus inherited at independence and develop it.

Dear Editor,

Your last issue on health touched on many of the problems facing us here in Zimbabwe. One of the biggest has always been the huge gap between the health services meant for the white population, and those meant for the black population. Now that this type of "apartheid" has been done away with, we still face another type, that of the separation of the rural and urban, and the rich and poor.

Our health care in rural areas is still lagging behind. This, as you pointed out, should be improved upon in the future with the introduction of village health workers and primary health care. One thing that really puzzles me though, is the situation here in Harare in regards to the two central hospitals, Parirenyatwa and Harare. While Harare Hospital is jammed to the roof with patients, I have been to Parirenyatwa on several occasions, and to several wards, and found it nearly empty. Perhaps there is a special intake system at Parirenyatwa that I don't know about, or some other reason why there is such a difference, but to me, it looks like another place for the "class struggle" to continue.

We are in desperate need of more hospital beds, why not even out the distribution of patients between the two hospitals, and make proper use of that "white elephant" of the avenues?

Thank you.  
"Patiently" waiting.

## MARXISM PRAISED

Dear Editor,

Your journal is worth reading and I wish more people would read the journal.

I got into deep thinking when I read the article on Marxism. I compared the Marxist world with the Capitalist world. These are two completely different worlds according to their ways of living.

I feel that when people live together, they should have love towards one another, they should enjoy to share and they should be natural beings. Marxism is more related to this, and people should understand it.

I am sorry to say that most of the people in the Capitalist world have loose and lost minds.

Upenyu Sakuringwa  
Patriotic

### Price Control (continued from page 23)

salt, tea, flour or candles for which the markups are low (10% for the wholesaler and 15% for the retailer) and therefore the price we pay should not differ much from shop to shop. If we find one shop is charging over 15% more than another for these goods, that is a strong indication that the more expensive one is overcharging, but it is not certain; they may buy from different wholesalers. But if the difference is more than the retail and wholesale markup combined, for the same brand of goods, then the law is being broken. For example, there is no way that a packet of candles that sells in Harare for 62c can be legally sold in Mangwende for \$1.20 unless the Harare storekeeper is making a big loss on every packet. This kind of case should be reported to the Price Control Board.

Markups on different goods, even among those listed above, can differ a lot, but they are all listed in the price control orders, and it is well worthwhile to know how to tell if you are being overcharged on everyday necessities.

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