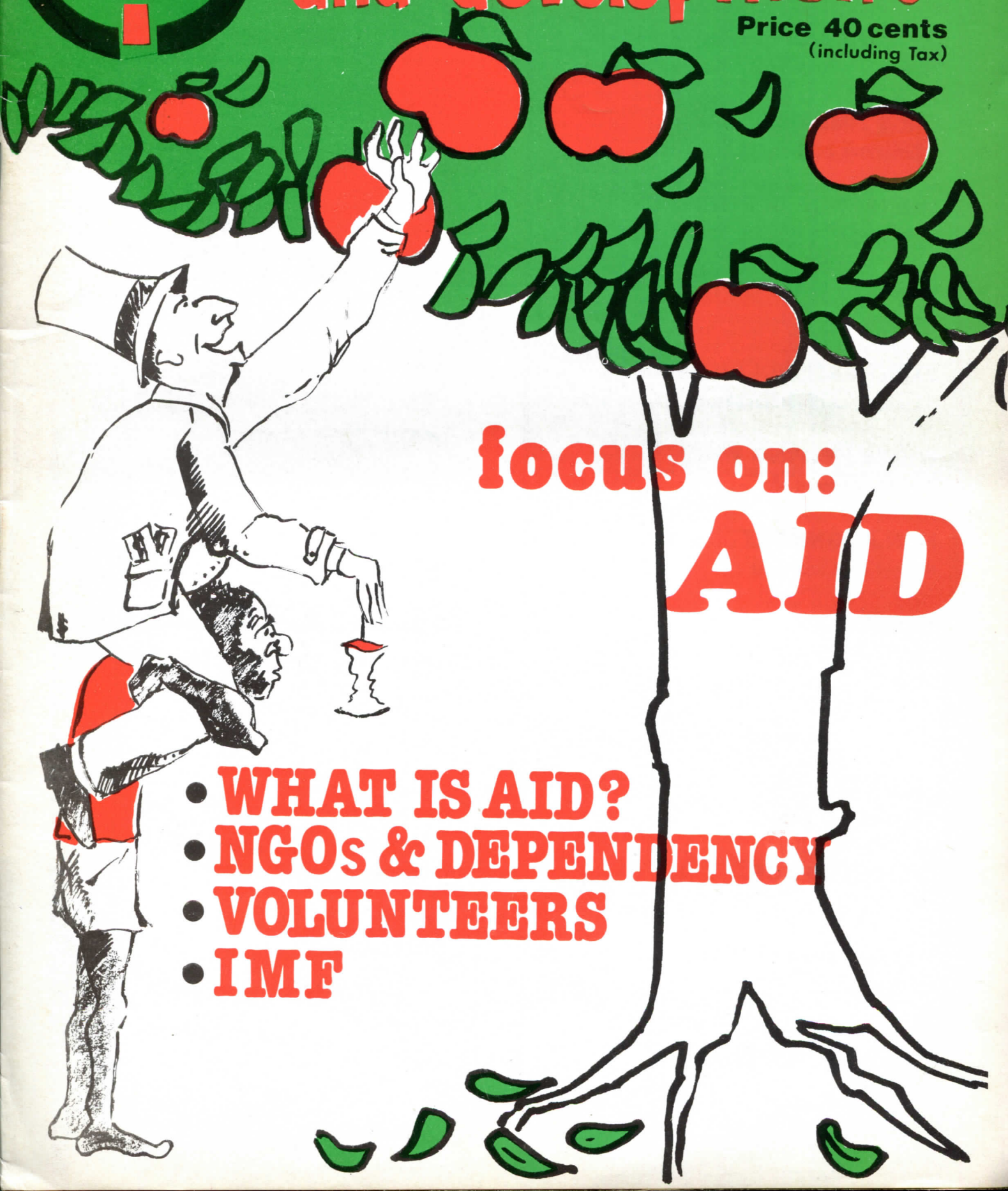


# **SOCIAL CHANGE and development**

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**focus on:**  
**AID**

- **WHAT IS AID?**
- **NGOs & DEPENDENCY**
- **VOLUNTEERS**
- **IMF**

The Journal on Social Change and Development is a non-profit collective publication, which aims to promote discussion on the issues of change and development within Zimbabwe. We welcome comments and contributions.

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# WHY AID?

Aid broke on us in a flood in 1980, and some of us have not recovered from that first sudden impact. It was something so startlingly new for nearly all Zimbabweans, this sudden inflow of bright new faces offering all sorts of good things and all sorts of new possibilities that had been beyond imagination during the years of sanctions and war. Even for the leaders of our present government, the change must have been startling. As leaders of the liberation movement, they were not welcome in some of the countries that now give us so much aid, and they were disregarded, maybe even suspected, by many big aid agencies that are now so zealously wooing them. Now they are in power and the whole picture has changed.

Why the change? We did need help to rebuild after the liberation war. We needed help to construct the new society for which the freedom fighters died. But did we deserve all the attention we got in those heady days of 1980 and since? We were not the neediest country in the world, and not the most helpless, but we were "trendy".

For there are fashions in aid giving, as in everything else. Being newly independent helps to make you fashionable. Coming to independence after fighting a long war, and eventually negotiating an agreement helps even more, and being the largest remaining colonial territory when you get independence ensures you a star rating. (All the remaining colonies in the world have a combined population of less than half of ours.) So we couldn't lose, if that kind of trendiness was what we wanted. First came the independence party, Prince Charles, Bob Marley, crowds of reporters and even bigger crowds waving flags. Then came the aid donors waving chequebooks.

But those donors didn't just want to be trendy. They are more careful with their money than that. We may have been carried away by their display of generosity at the start, but by now many of us are asking whether it was selfless generosity. We hope that this issue of *Social Change and Development* will help to answer a few questions.

In the first article, Hasu Patel gives us a general introduction to what aid is, how it works and a few questions we should ask about who benefits from any partic-

ular aid programme or project. This is followed by an account of the IMF's workings, especially its dealings with Zimbabwe. Then we take a close look at the local and international non-government organisations (NGOs) working in the aid field in this country, and after that we examine the role of expatriate skilled workers in Zimbabwe today. Arnold Sibanda, a Zimbabwean economist, writes about foreign manpower in private industry, and asks whether it helps our independent socialist development. Then Martin de Graaf, himself a volunteer involved in development work, asks the same question about volunteers and the organisations that send them. The aid theme concludes with an expatriate contract-worker's account of a particular project and questions about who it is really serving.

We would have liked to ask more searchingly why the West now provides 94% of the aid we receive, although nearly all of the help our freedom fighters got in the struggle for independence came from Socialist countries. A simple answer may be: "the West has the money, and they took it from us, so we should get it back from them". Some of our contributors do show that what we are getting from the West is not a voluntary repayment, but comes to us only under conditions that those Western countries still set. Perhaps we should ask whether it would be better not to accept aid that limits our freedom to choose our own road to development. If we did refuse it, we would get less money, but we might be more free. ☺

This is just one question that readers might want to answer. There must be others. We would like to print articles and letters from as many different writers as possible. For example, we are glad to welcome some new contributors to the Women's Page in this issue. Readers might want to answer or discuss what they find in any of the articles; if so, we would like to hear from you. The editors do not even have to agree with every word that is published in this journal, but we publish it because we hope to encourage debate on issues that affect us all, and we believe that more of you, our readers, have something to say in the debate that will be worth reading.

Brian McGarry  
Issue Editor



# FOREIGN AID

## A BLESSING OR A BURDEN?

by Hasu Patel

The above question involves several others such as what is meant by aid, what are the major forms of aid, who are the donors, and the recipients, what are the aims of donors and recipients in the aid relationship, and what are the consequences of aid?

The phrase "foreign aid" suggests that the donor is giving something freely to the recipient out of his own generosity. Therefore the recipient, receiving something that belongs to the donor, is supposed to be grateful for having been given something disinterestedly and without strings. The phrase also suggests that aid is a one-way street with something going from the donor to the recipient, so that the recipient always benefits and the donor loses.

Matters are not so onesided in the real world, because the nature of the aid, the method of giving, and the effects for both donor and recipient are all more complicated than these simple statements suggest.

The world is often divided in simple terms so that the recipients are the Third World countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America, while the donors come from either the First World of North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia or the Second World, which is made up of the socialist bloc states of the USSR and Eastern Europe. But even within the First and Second Worlds aid is given by some and received by others, for example in economic and military matters. And even some Third World countries such as China, Nigeria, Korea, India, Cuba and the Persian Gulf States have offered aid to other states of the Third World.

Foreign aid is not only from one government to another, although this predominates. This is one example of bi-lateral aid, but there are various forms of multi-lateral aid, which may come from international organisations such as the EEC (European Economic Community), the World Bank, or the IMF (International Monetary Fund) or from non-government organisations such as OXFAM, or the International Red Cross. Non-government organisations such as support groups for liberation movements are also aid donors.

The phrase "foreign aid" does not usually refer to loans given by local or international private banking and financial institutions. Interest is charged on these loans at commercial rates, and other conditions are often imposed so that borrowing from these institutions can drag countries deeper into debt, with disastrous consequences. For example, such borrowing has brought some Latin American countries to the verge of bankruptcy and has caused social and political upheaval in these countries.

Generally private investment should not be called aid. Aid is usually taken to mean loans, grants, expatriate staff, machinery or capital goods and services from governments or donor organisations. Grants can most clearly be classified as aid, because these do not have to be paid back. The grant can be in cash, services, cost of machinery or staff, but even here the recipient has to pay some costs such as transport,

insurance charges for goods received, or the recipient country must provide housing, offices, furniture or local transport for expatriates whose salary is paid by the donor. In these cases, the grant is not really free. Loans should not really be called aid because the loan must be paid back in full and with interest, but nevertheless some types of loans, which are called "soft loans" do provide some fraction of "free money" and should be called aid. A soft loan has a lower rate of interest than commercial loans. The borrower is given a grace period before he is expected to start repayments, and repayments can be spread over a long period of time, so the recipient gains something from this kind of loan which he would not get if he borrowed at commercial rates from a bank or a government.

"Commodity import programmes" can be a form of tied aid. They are agreements between Zimbabwe government and donor government for a loan or grant to be used to buy goods from that donor. This condition would be unnecessary if it was not possible to get the goods cheaper somewhere else.

### TIED AID

Even aid in grant form can be "tied" so that it can only be used to buy goods, for example, factory machinery, or services, such as paying expatriate employees, military or civilian, from the donor country. This helps the donor country to keep its own economy going by giving employment to its own professional people

### ZIMCORD AID

	pledged	committed	disbursed
Australia	18	8,45	1
African Dev. Bank	56	60	.
BADEA	50	28	.
Belgium	7	7	2
Canada	44,7	55,6	32
China	2	.	.
Denmark	10	11,3	5,4
EEC	125,6	125,6	117,3
Finland	5,17	5,17	3
France	60,7	71	71
W.Germany	63,7	137	64
Italy	37	86,7	56
Japan	46,8	48,3	31,6
Kuwait	131	56	42,8
Netherlands	11	75	48,7
Norway	10,4	35	24
OPEC	10	10	10
Saudia Arabia	48,6	7	9
Sweden	45,9	47,6	22,7
Switzerland	18,2	27,7	21,7
UK	165	181	129
UNDP	16,5	16,5	5,4
USA	276	285	123,2
World Bank	460	439	104
Yugoslavia	.9	25,9	11,8

All figures are in millions of Zimbabwe dollars.  
\* Indicates latest figures for 1984.

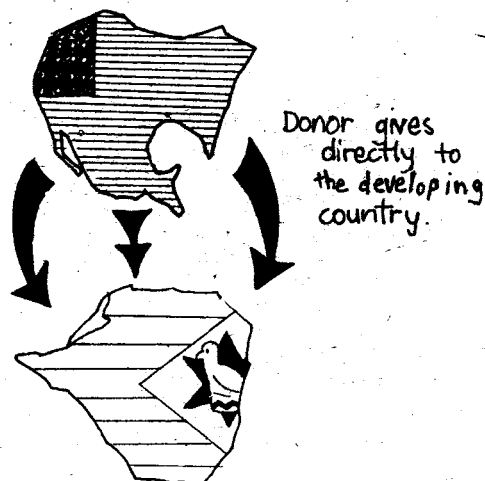
### Debt Service Ratio

About 30% of all the money Zimbabwe earns from selling its exports goes to pay interest on foreign loans, or to repay the loan itself.

-Ed.

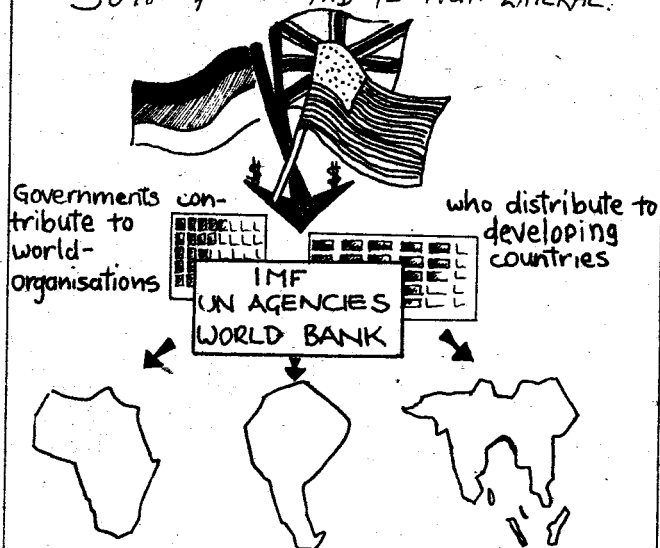
## BI-LATERAL AID

70% of OUR AID IS BI-LATERAL



## MULTI-LATERAL AID

30% of OUR AID IS MULTI-LATERAL



Zimbabwe's raw material exports, cotton, tobacco, chrome, asbestos and gold, dropped 30% in value compared to our manufactured imports between 1980 and 1983. This means that if we could buy a tractor for 100 bales of cotton in 1980, by 1983 the same tractor would have cost 130 bales of cotton.  
-Ed.

or keeping its factories working to produce the goods. It helps the recipient by providing goods and services that may be needed, but it also puts limits on the recipient. It may become more difficult to standardise equipment and therefore more difficult to get spares and maintain all the equipment used in the recipient country. Further, local talent may be under-utilised so that local professional training is delayed.

There is increasing criticism with regard to aid, especially aid from the rich western countries and in particular from former colonial powers. It is said that this aid is not a free gift given out of their generosity, considering that because of unequal terms of trade these very countries are getting daily richer at the expense of the Third World. They control our import and export prices, so that the raw materials exported by developing countries earn less money every year, while manufactured goods -exported by the developed countries- cost more every year.

Therefore "aid" is increasingly seen by the Third World as only giving back some of what has been taken from developing countries by other means.

A similar connection between "ownership" and "gift" has been put forward in comparing the riches lost by colonial plunder, theft, economic exploitation and human suffering under colonial rule with any gains in the form of development and foreign aid during that time. On balance it appears that the countries which were colonised have lost wealth and the former colonisers have gained.

### FOREIGN AID AND FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Foreign aid is a major element in the foreign policies of donor countries and so they are often following self-interest when they give or withhold aid. Any donor country, capitalist or socialist, when it gives loans,

Zimbabwe lost \$40 million in aid last year by voting in the UN Security Council against the American invasion of Grenada and abstaining from the vote on the shooting down by the USSR of a South Korean airliner which was allegedly spying for the USA.  
-Ed.

grants, scholarships or professional staff, wants to be considered a friend of the recipient country and its people. This is part of the donor's image building. Friendship means that the donor has more influence on the recipient than do countries which the recipient regards as enemies. Thus foreign aid adds to the "sphere of influence" of the donor country and opens possibilities for foreign interference. When the aid is military assistance in the form of training for the recipient's forces, equipment or especially bases, it is part of the donor's world-wide military policy.

Often recipients prefer multilateral to bilateral aid because it helps to reduce foreign dependence and interference. But foreign aid can still create a "beggar mentality" in the recipient. The recipient may continue to live beyond its means, confident that foreign aid will always come to its rescue, but it pays a price by losing self-pride, dignity and independence and by not making hard choices in domestic policy. Foreign aid may thus make a lopsided economy more unbalanced and make the recipient more dependent on the donor, particularly if the donor is a state, but also when it is an institution such as the IMF or UNHCR.

Aid often involves advancing the aims of the donor state. For example, the Socialist bloc prefers to give aid to develop the public sector and strengthen the state apparatus, while the Western bloc states have recently tended to emphasise developing the private sector, which weakens the control which the recipient's state apparatus can exert. In each case, the donors are taking their ideology as the best line for the development for the recipient.

### WHITE ELEPHANTS

Foreign aid can, and often does, emphasise large-scale rather than small-scale projects and visible prestige projects rather than more relevant and practical projects which might not attract so much attention. These big projects can become "white elephants" because the recipient may not have the imagination, skills, or money to keep them running. The donors' aims may dictate the choice of the project, and running it demands that the recipient spends heavily to bring in skilled expatriates, expensive spare parts, etc.

Foreign aid, in whatever form, may also be a magnet for mismanagement and misappropriation in the recipient country which may not have enough staff for designing, planning, carrying out and evaluating the projects, or there may be a temptation to steal money that is meant for developing essential roads, hospitals and schools or for relieving the suffering caused by drought, famine, flood or war.

Before the opening of the Harare Holiday Inn, an average of 47% of the beds in the city's big hotels were occupied on any night. To avoid losses, a hotel would need to fill 50% of its beds. Now we have the Holiday Inn, and the Ambassador Hotel is in financial trouble. What will happen when the new conference centre opens? -Ed.

#### NOT ALL BAD

Foreign aid is not totally a world of disaster and doom because it can be of real help to recipient countries which have little national resources or insufficiently developed financial, managerial, scientific and technical resources to improve the lives of their people. Especially the poor can be helped if development aid is used to pro-

vide sanitation, water, food, shelter, transport, communications, health care and education and to increase material production in the country.

Properly conceived and used, foreign aid can be a blessing which improves the quality of life for the people by increasing their material and non-material well-being and liberty. But improperly conceived and used, foreign aid can add to the awesome burden which most people in the Third World labour under.

"Free handouts" of "charity" aid are often criticised, and rightly. But sometimes there are no alternatives. For example, the relief and resettlement programme organised by UNHCR in Zimbabwe in 1980-81 provided not only food, but also packets of seed, fertiliser, and pesticides to help over 220,000 families become self-supporting farmers again after the disruption of the war.

# IMF & ZIMBABWE

Capitalism claims to be able to produce wealth and the pictures of the "good life" that it places before us in the Coca-Cola adverts are meant to suggest that it can provide luxuries for all. But in fact, as the capitalist system develops, it suffers crises which bring more unemployment and misery to more and more people. Capitalist economists give different explanations for this. They talk about a "market crisis" or a "payments crisis", suggesting that these are temporary problems that can be solved with a little more effort. But there are two basic causes of the problem. One lies in the capitalist system of production, and the other lies in the relations between the classes in a capitalist society.

The capitalist crisis may appear to be a "market crisis" meaning that goods which are produced cannot be sold. This is happening just now in the textile industry in Zimbabwe; it looks like a market crisis, but the cause of the problem is not in the market. The cause lies in the method of production of textiles. In the past 20 years machine production has advanced so rapidly that automated machines can produce much more fabric than the older methods which require more workers. But the income of the mass of the people has not increased as fast as the machines increase their production. The people then do not have money to buy all the cloth that is produced. If the cloth is not sold, the factories cannot pay all their workers, so some are sacked. This means that even less workers will be able to afford to buy the cloth, because less are earning wages. The crisis becomes worse. In this, we also see how the cause of the crisis lies in the exploitation of the working class under capitalism. It is the workers who cannot afford to buy, not the bosses. It is the workers who are laid off when sales drop, not the bosses.

The capitalist crisis can also appear to be a "payment crisis", which means that we cannot afford to buy what we need or seem to need as imports. Zimbabwe, for example, has found more and more difficulty in paying for its imports over the past three years. We hear that recession and drought are causing this difficulty, but these are only temporary problems. There are deeper problems, which affect not only Zimbabwe, but the whole Third World, and indeed the whole world capitalist system. Over the past 100 years capitalists have exploited the Third World so severely that it can no longer pay for the manufactured goods it needs to import. The prices of the manufactured goods keep rising, while the prices of the raw materials and semi-processed goods which Third World countries export keep dropping.

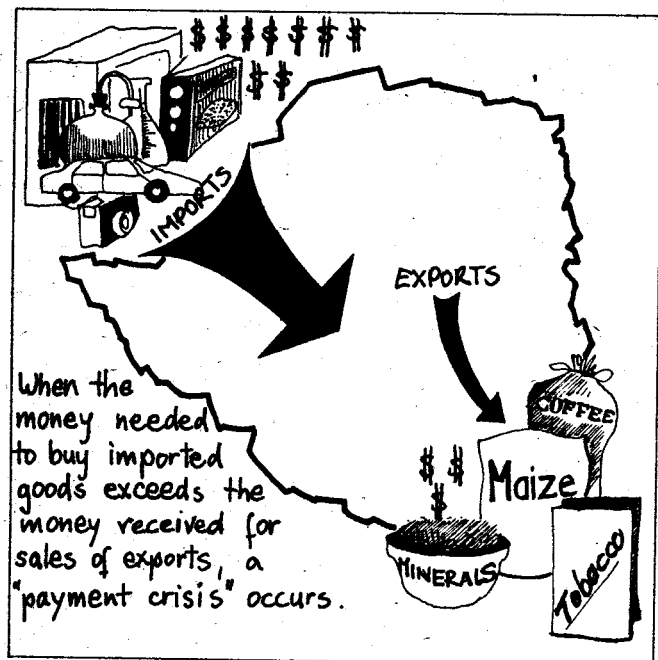
This happens because of the way the imperialist countries have been exploiting the Third World. Exploitation started with the West exporting capital, that is to say, investing money, which is used to organise production in the Third World countries. The West then buys the

goods which have been produced at the very low price. From their point of view, they are getting a very good return on their investment; the resources of the Third World are coming to them very cheaply. From the viewpoint of the people of the Third World, this is gross exploitation. Most "aid" has been invested in producing even more of the same kinds of exports from the Third World, but since it is the industrialised countries which profit from this production, the Third World countries have in fact been giving aid to the industrialised countries of the West.

So by now the Third World countries cannot pay for their imports, but even the industrialised countries cannot break out of this system. If they stopped, their own economies would suffer difficulties, so they continue, even though the Third World cannot pay for what it buys from them. The Third World countries get further and further into debt. Many countries have borrowed so much to help pay their bills that they cannot even pay



the interest on their loans, much less the loans themselves. For example, Mexico owes the Western banks \$85,000 million, and Brazil owes even more, \$87,000 million. The total debts of the Third World have risen from \$530,000 million in 1980 to \$628,000 million in 1982. More investment only means more production for the profit of the Western investors and the Third World only goes deeper into debt. The time has come when somebody must pay the price



and someone must make them pay. This is where the International Monetary Fund (IMF) comes in.

The IMF was set up at the end of the Second World War by the leaders of the capitalist world to organise a system of stable exchange rates and payments between nations. At first, it was concerned with organising relations between the rich capitalist nations, but now it is more involved with their relationships with the Third World. When it makes decisions, it does so by a vote of its members, and each member's voting power depends on the amount of money that a member contributes to the IMF. The richest countries then have control over its policy. The USA alone has about 25% of the votes.

There might be different ways of solving the Third World debt problems. Some people suggest that the Third World producers should be paid higher prices for their exports: this is part of what is meant by the new international economic order which Third World nations want. But this means that the West would pay those higher prices, and the IMF's solution is that the Third World countries must export more to earn more foreign exchange, and must also import less. The IMF encourages governments to let prices inside their country increase, as happens when our government cuts the subsidy for maize and other food-stuffs, so that the people will buy less. The idea is that they will then want to import less, and that more of what they produce can be exported. This by itself does not solve the problem, so the IMF also demands that governments devalue their currencies to encourage exports. The idea behind this is that, if for example, the Zimbabwe dollar has a lower value, goods which are produced in Zimbabwe become cheaper when their prices are quoted in foreign currency. An amount of cotton that cost Zimbabwe \$10 to produce would be sold for US\$14 before Zimbabwe devalued in 1982, but could be sold for only US\$11.20 immediately after that devaluation. The IMF's argument is that reducing the price of your exports like this makes foreign customers more eager to buy from you. It might work, except that IMF is telling all the other producers of cotton to do the same. As a result, the industrialised countries can simply buy their cotton, tobacco, copper, etc. at lower prices and the Third World is earning even less.

At the same time, because people in the Third World countries are buying less, more people in those countries are put out of jobs because people cannot buy what they produce. Eventually, as things get worse, the hungry masses take to the streets demonstrating against the IMF.

This is already common in Latin America, where countries are deeper in debt and the IMF jackboots have been pounding the backs of the people for a longer

time than in Africa. In July 1984, the managing director of IMF, Jack de Larosiere, was forced to deny that the IMF was responsible for social unrest in the Third World. That denial itself tells us much. Ten years ago people were marching in protest against US imperialism, but today they are doing the same against IMF imperialism. The IMF represents not just one imperialist country, but the whole of the world capitalist system.

Africa has some distance to go before it is in as bad a situation as Latin America, but we are on the way.

In Zimbabwe, the balance of payments, between what we earned from our exports and what we were spending on imports, began to turn against us after the first year of independence. In March 1982, the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development went to Washington to ask for a loan of Z\$140 million to help us out of balance of payment difficulties. The IMF would only agree if Zimbabwe accepted the usual "stabilisation programme". Zimbabwe rejected this advice and was refused the loan. During 1982 the situation got worse, so that by September, Zimbabwe's reserves of foreign currency had dropped from \$13.5 million in January to \$8.6 million. In October an IMF team came to Zimbabwe and again insisted on the "stabilisation programme" if Zimbabwe wanted a loan. This is what is called the "conditionality" of the IMF.

This time Zimbabwe had no choice. On 9th December 1982, the Zimbabwe dollar was devalued by 17% and the exchange rate was then allowed to drift until the effective devaluation was nearly 40%. At the same time the government was forced to cut its capital development programme by \$200 million and to reduce the maize subsidy sharply, thus increasing the price of maize for consumers in Zimbabwe. Promotions and new recruitment to the civil service were stopped. The amount of foreign currency available for buying exports and for holiday and other allowances was cut by \$50 million in the last quarter of 1982. All this was aimed to reduce the amount of goods purchased inside Zimbabwe, and make it more difficult for us to import goods, while hopefully making our exports easier to sell.

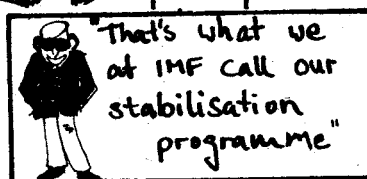
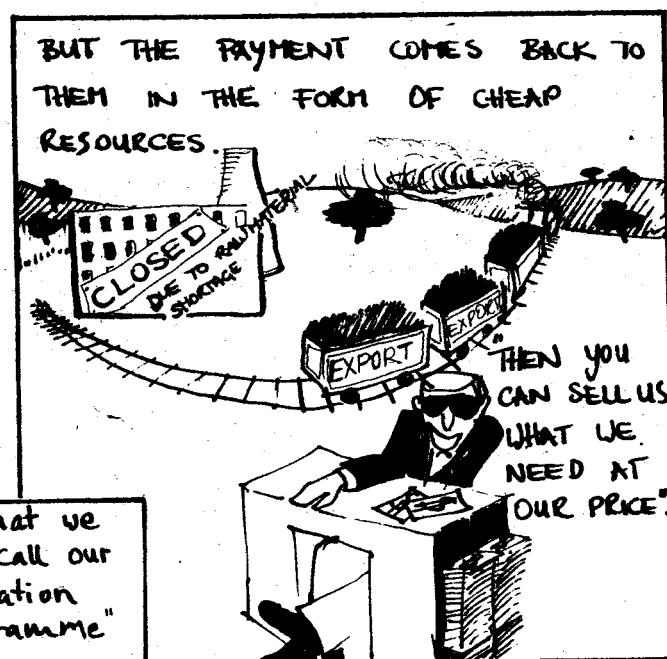
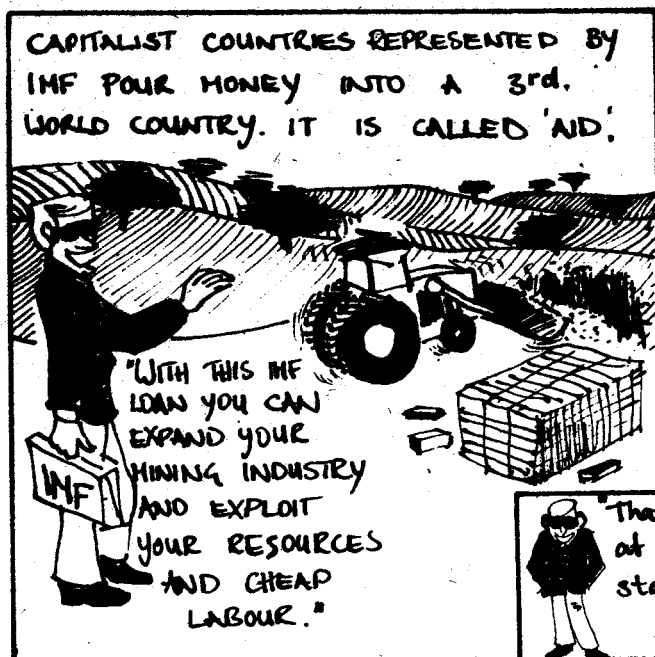
On March 24th, 1983, following these measures, the IMF announced that it was giving a loan of \$375 million to Zimbabwe. Of this, \$59 million were available immediately, and the rest \$316 million were "stand-by credit" to be drawn over a period of 18 months.

**"For the past 100 years the 3rd World has been a rich hunting ground for the imperialists to extract cheap resources."**

A "stand-by credit" is the IMF's usual method of lending. Once it is granted, it can be used bit by bit over a period, on condition that the borrower is following the IMF's advice. The borrowing country can draw the first instalment, but must prove to the IMF that its advice is being followed before it is allowed the second instalment, and so on.

The Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Bernard Chidzero, made a brave effort three months after the IMF loan arrangements were announced to claim the "government had wanted to do what the IMF advised, and even devaluation was started by government"

In August 1983, Zimbabwe also signed an agreement with the IMF's twin sister, the World Bank, for a US\$76 million loan to finance manufacturing for export. So Zimbabwe



Zimbabwe had got itself out of its difficulties by producing for export instead of for its own people. But with all Third World countries trying to do the same, there is little hope that any of them can really increase their exports. This is the dilemma that Zimbabwe is in because it tried to solve its problems by adopting the IMF's package of "solutions".

#### Conclusion

Zimbabwe may have its own special economic problems, such as drought and destabilisation by South Africa, but the more important problems are the ones that it shares with all other Third World countries.

For the past 100 years, the Third World has been a rich hunting ground for the imperialists to extract cheap resources. The capitalist countries export capital by investing to "develop" the resources of the Third World. This brings larger and larger amounts of the Third World's resources to the capitalist countries at ever lower prices. The Third World countries find they are having to pay more for imports. Their balance of

payments is always against them, and goes deeper into deficit.

Here is where the IMF comes in to offer "help" in the form of loans on condition that the Third World produces more for export and less for home consumption, and devalues their currency to make their exports "more competitive". But with all the Third World countries competing to cut their export prices in this way, they all simply earn less from their exports and the crisis gets worse.

This means that the capitalists who are now buying more cheaply from the Third World are exploiting it more and more. In some countries, especially in Latin America, this has produced riots and large-scale social unrest. Africa has not reached this stage yet, but the IMF has certainly put us on the same road as our Latin American brothers and sisters.

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# THE GIFT OF DEPENDENCY

For the time being, Zimbabwe is still a very popular country with international donor-agencies. At a speed of at least one a month, new agencies establish themselves in the country and start spending money or placing staff and volunteers. In a few years this dubious popularity will probably wear out, when new fashions have come up in the development community, when negative publicity about Zimbabwe has changed the moods of the donors and when some kind of saturation has been reached. But looking at other countries in Africa, where aid agencies have operated so much longer, one can expect that international aid will become and remain an important factor in at least two aspects: offering some kind of (mainly financial) support to the government, and offering various forms of support to local organisations.

The first aspect is by far the most important in terms of money, economic and political impact. Bilateral aid and multilateral aid account for many millions of dollars over the last few years. Whether much money is used to implement large-scale government programmes (like housing, resettlement, agricultural extension or road construction) or is used to finance scarce commodities, one of the major results is strengthening or at least sustaining the government of the day. In a way, such aid is as good or bad as the government, probably worse considering the conditions, bureaucratic complexities, inevitable delays and the many failures of large scale development programmes all over the world.

But the much smaller flow of private money to independent, private organisations in the country has another significance: it can make all the difference for small, emerging, progressive organisations. If there ever is some kind of transformation towards socialism, this will only happen when disadvantaged classes or groups of people participate directly in the transformation of their own lives and their social and physical environment. The Government of Zimbabwe has not been very effective in promoting and facilitating such participation, apart from treating the "povo" (a term which ignores all kinds of real political and economic distinctions) as the (captive?) audience at political rallies, the patient listeners at some Congress or the bored watchers of some intellectuals travelling the "road to socialism". So perhaps it is in the field of non-government organisations that we have to look for participation and for people changing their own lives. Zimbabwe has seen a number of such organisations emerging since independence, and it seems worthwhile to investigate the role of donors in this process.

Donor agencies usually have a strong interest in such local organisations and their financial or technical support can be either the "Kiss of Death" or it can be an essential contribution towards a stronger, more effective organisation. Most local organisations are not able to raise enough local revenue to sustain themselves (apart from a number of white dominated, urban-based traditional organisations) and hardly receive any subsidy from Government (government grants mostly go to the traditional welfare organisations). So they are indeed forced to look for outside financial help.

This is not to deny the good intentions of donors and recipients of such aid; in fact donors are professional dealers in good intentions. Perhaps it is more their naivety and the structural limitations of the system of international aid for local development that creates the risks and failures. But good intentions, slogans

and development jargon too often take the place of sound analysis and political reflection. Considering that, at a modest estimate, at least 30 million dollars a year are being spent on aid from overseas non-government organisations (NGOs) to Zimbabwean organisations, some analysis seems justified.

## DONOR TAILORED ACTIVITIES

The most obvious risk of receiving foreign aid is that a local organisation will almost inevitably design and organise its activities to suit the donor. Every donor agency has certain procedures, criteria, cycles of decision-making and reporting, evaluation-system and preferences. If a local organisation wants to receive money it is forced to artificially isolate a section of its current and planned activities and define this, in the jargon of the day, as "a project": a concise, planned activity taking place over a limited number of years and aiming for certain measurable results. The natural stream of improvising and responding to an ever-changing environment is frozen into some blue-print and donors will start examining whether future activities match the project planning, instead of looking at their overall impact, also outside the project. Not only does this approach require a level of managerial and planning skill that most local agencies do not have (or want to have), but it introduces a way of thinking and decision making that does not usually help real participation by members.

An example of donor-centred decision making was the ambitious exercise that many of the churches in Zimbabwe went through, last year. Under guidance of the Zimbabwe Christian Council (and advice from overseas experts) the churches tried to come up with a five year development plan. In itself this would have been a useful exercise if there had been ample scope for reflection, critical re-thinking of the past and experimenting with new approaches. But the pressure for the end-result reinforced a centralised and technocratic approach: the whole exercise culminated (or rather anti-climaxed) in the production of a totally uninspiring shopping list for the international donors, adding up to over 70 million dollars. When those donors indicated that they would not even have 10% of such an amount and that they did not want to make the selection, disappointment and disillusion took the place of high expectations. What was meant to be mobilising became demotivating instead.



*This women's group was aided by a non-government organisation (NGO). Many grassroots groups get started with aid money and are expected to later reach self-sufficiency.*

One can observe the risks of donor-tailored development planning also at much more practical levels. All over the country one can find unsuccessful "projects" because social and economic realities were not considered. Donor preferences and criteria often lead to short-term expenditure on some activity which has an immediately visible result: buying agricultural equipment, building training centres, giving sewing machines. The donor observes, from one point of view, a successful project. But only later the so-called "beneficiaries" find out that they cannot maintain and repair the equipment, do not have salaries for instructors in the training centre, and cannot sell the school-uniforms. Collective farms offer the sad view of expensive irrigation systems not being used, because of lack of managerial skill, electricity, or markets, and of electricity systems that were later disconnected because the running costs were too high.

#### DONOR ORIENTATED LEADERSHIP

It's not only the choice of activities that can be determined by the presence of some donors. Perhaps more important even is the fact that the quality and structure of the leadership of local organisations can be affected by over-exposure to donor agencies. One of the many in-built limitations of most donor organisations is that they can only deal with a limited number of people, who should be able to project an attractive image of their organisation, who speak not only English, but development jargon as well, who are "on call" whenever the donor needs them. This situation can generate a leadership style that is extremely dangerous, especially for so-called "participatory organisations". It can reinforce centralised decision making, put emphasis on formal education and verbal fluency and provide an incentive for leaders to look at the donor instead of members. It puts a premium on those organisations and, within the organisation those people, who are based in town, most of all of course in Harare, and who know more about report and proposal writing than about listening to "the povo". Office practice and manners become more crucial to such leaders than work with members and life in rural areas.

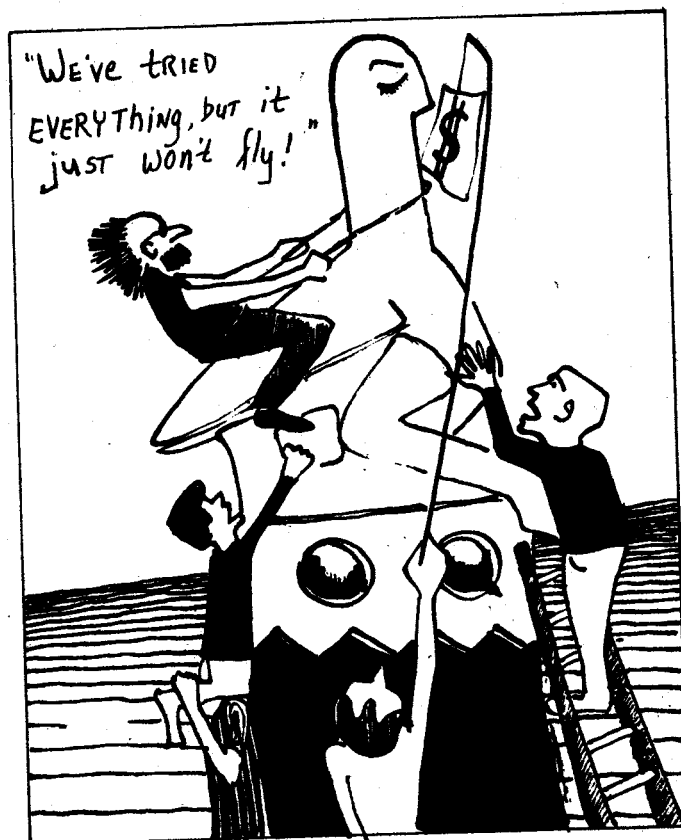
So we can note that VOICE (Voluntary Organisations in Community Enterprise) has a predominantly white staff and a black director, none of whom have ever been involved with communities. Or, to choose an example from the other end of the spectrum: The executive committee of OCCZIM (Organisation of Collective Co-operatives in Zimbabwe) consists mostly of people who, at present, have almost no practical involvement with co-operatives (and who certainly don't run OCCZIM like one!) and whose past experiences in real-life co-operatives are not impressive to say the least. One more example; the leading non-government organisation in adult literacy, ALOZ, has been led until recently by a white director who could not even speak any local language, but who was extremely effective in interacting with donors.

There is another side as well - the mere amount of time and energy that donors demand from the local leadership keeps them away from being with members. At least once a month, but sometimes once a week, some international donor representatives drop in at the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau or the Zimbabwe Project and need to be talked to, shown around, flattered or satisfied, and ORAP staff have to attend international meetings within and outside of Zimbabwe.

#### DONOR DEPENDENT ORGANISATIONS

The next level of donor impact on local development efforts is the nature of the local organisation itself. When local organisations are entirely dependent on outside funding the quality, competence and integrity of the local organisation can be affected. Accountability to local people is replaced by accountability to donor. Whether activities serve any real purpose and respond to real needs doesn't matter, so long as the donors are satisfied. Consequently quite artificial organisations develop, without a strong local base and without real roots in the social and political reality of Zimbabwe.

Some examples: The Manicaland Development Committee and some lower-level committees in the province have almost been created, and certainly been sustained by one donor-



NOVIB from Holland. Thanks to the unreflecting generosity of that donor a structure has grown, with full-time paid office staff, committees of dubious standing, not controlled by anyone, and completely separate from already established local organisations. One can wonder what will happen when NOVIB finally terminates its funding. Christian Care is another organisation that thrives entirely on outside funding - in fact most of the European church-related donors, like EZE and Brot fur die Welt (W. Germany), ICCO and Cebemo (Holland), Christian Aid (UK) spend large sums on and through Christian Care and make it easy for the local organisation to embark on all kinds of activities without proper investigation, without anything like a deliberate strategy to mobilise local resources or without trying to assess which needs are most urgent.

There is a strange tendency in aid funding to concentrate on those who are already successful. New agencies get in and usually take the lead from already operating colleagues with their limited circle of contacts. They are under pressure to come up with quick proposals that don't have too many risks. So they tend to look at those local organisations that have some record of success and a positive reputation - at least in the very circles of the "aid mafia". So it is again Zimbabwe Project receiving the money or Zimbabwe Women's Bureau ALOZ, OCCZIM, Silveira House, Hlekweni Training Centre. The risks are two-fold. The not so well known and not so conveniently situated organisations do not have access to financial support and the successful organisations can, under pressure of too much money, expand too quickly and lose exactly that quality which made them successful. In the field of collective farms this principle (success breeds failure) is sadly demonstrated for example, by Batsiranai and Simba Youth. These co-operatives became popular with donors (not in the least because they were near Harare and had fast-talking leaders) and attracted inordinate amount of money in too short a period. While other collective farms were still waiting for their establishment grant, Batsiranai got money from the British High Commission, NOVIB, AFS, Oxfam, SIDA and nobody felt responsible for the over-all effect of all that help: overburdening the managerial capacity of the farm, undermining the spirit of self-reliance, creating temptations for corruption, loss of a sense of costs and control. The results can be observed.

Perhaps we will be able to observe the same depressing process with other, as yet successful co-operatives: Shandisai Pfungwa (near Marondera) was doing rather well

and is consequently burdened with a complicated US \$300,000 scheme for agro-industrial processing. Gowe Co-operative (some 60km from Kadoma) has been blessed by the attention of Redd Barna (the Norwegian Save the Children Organisation), which expresses itself in half a million dollars, and in many more.

Meanwhile all over the country community groups, co-operatives, women's clubs, are struggling to survive on their own strength, but ever aware of the highly specific generosity of international agencies. At least they will disappear if and when they don't serve a function. Unlike VOICE, which has been maintained by outside funding for years and years and now suddenly finds itself in trouble when that support dries up. Not so much the trouble of not having money, but more important not having roots in the struggle for development and transformation in the country.

#### DONOR-DICTATED DEVELOPMENT

Now we come to the highest level of interference by donors - the strategy for development as such. Again we should not think of simple criminal corruption through the embezzlement of funds. Although the influx of relatively large sums of money without proportionate accounting and control systems can, and does, lead to that kind of corruption as well. We refer instead to the imposition of models of development and the moral or political corruption of the minds of people.

International development thinking is highly fashion-conscious and at more or less regular intervals some "answers" or "new approaches" come up and are exported to Third World countries which cannot afford to think up their own answers and which don't have the resources to try their own solutions.

When it is in vogue to follow an "Integrated Rural Development Approach", donors steer the receiving local organisations in that direction. When somewhere in the Western World women are being defined as prime targets for development, suddenly huge amounts of money force local organisations to come up with phraseology about women, and to define their membership and approaches in social terms that can be completely alien to them. When some "Green Revolution" is announced as the answer to problems of hunger (and, by the way, to counter the Red Revolution) peasants all over the world are stimulated to use pesticides, fertilisers and mechanical irrigation. But when, one decade later, Westerners have become disillusioned with that capital-intensive approach, they start to propagate "Appropriate Technology". And so suddenly there is money available for what Westerners consider to be simple and what appeals to their sentiments about rural life - a mud-oven, a manual pump, solar heating.

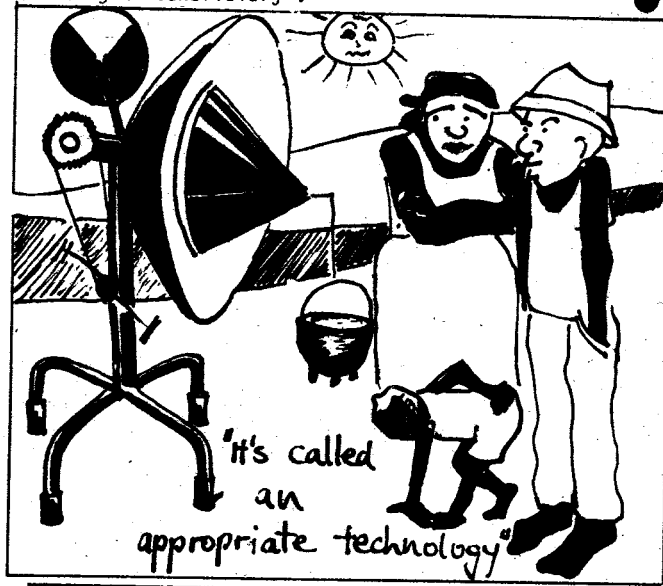
The influence of donor organisations on local development understanding should not be underestimated. Because their money talks donors have power to produce the sometimes disastrous and often unexpected but never unimportant results which we see.

When outside agencies now think that Zimbabwe needs training for co-operatives or for women, the country will have training centres - uncoordinated, duplicating each other, sometimes competing with each other and never evolving from a local awareness of problems and their possible solutions. We can see the Lutheran World Federation trying to erect a training centre, ZIMFEP planning for one, Redd Barna starting one, the Glen Forest Training Centre being opened, also Melfort for women, Jamaica Inn for women, Red Lands for women, the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau thinking about its own centre and so on and on. This is just a simple example of how development can be shaped and sometimes inhibited by the availability of outside funds and the pressure that goes with that.

The unreflecting importation of some development concepts will certainly not stimulate local people to come up with their solutions - especially when the money is seemingly so easily available. The political impact of this situation should not be under-estimated: when so many donor organisations are pushing each other out of the way to stimulate "income generating projects in the rural areas", the incentive and opportunity to think

of real solutions to the underdevelopment of communal areas in this country will be so much less. Development becomes an easy catch-word, taking the place of real participation and careful investigation of how people live their lives and who decides about this.

Foreign aid to local organisations can become a vehicle for a kind of cultural and social imperialism, imposing ways of looking at oneself and measuring one's own strength and ambitions which might fit into a western, technocratic concept of development=modernisation. That might be the end of local political awareness, self-confidence and self-organisation which in the end are the exact things needed to produce major change. Of course such changes are not popular with many Western governments and not with many of the so-called aid agencies. Perhaps not even with the Government of Zimbabwe. So politics are replaced by projects. Mobilisation is replaced by receiving aid, and participation gives way to being a "beneficiary".



## **US AID**

President Reagan's request to the US Congress for approval of additional foreign aid money for 1984 and for his aid programme for 1985 contains some revealing statements about the purpose of American aid.

The aid budget is described as "that part of the total Federal budget which directly furthers and protects US interests abroad". The methods used "range from direct military aid to pay for training and weapons, to short-term stabilisation support, to long-term development assistance". The President emphasises that all aid programmes are carefully drawn up by US government bodies to serve US interests.

In Central America, US aid is meant to strengthen pro-US governments. In Africa the US has two priorities:

1) food aid is important to the present drought US \$90 million of food grants will "support market development for US products".

2) winning over governments and supporting those that favour US military and business aims. A major aim of US policy is "increased reliance on the private sector" so state control, state corporations, and state farms are to be discouraged and "some African countries are now ready to take the necessary measures". A US \$500 million programme will start in 1985 to make possible the "reforms".

Military aid to Kenya, Somalia, and Sudan is so important that this year it is to be in the form of grants instead of the usual loans. Economic and military aid to Zaire and Botswana is designed to stabilise southern Africa and ease the transition to independence in Namibia.

and all of this will cost less than 2% of the US Federal Government Budget!

# FOREIGN MANPOWER

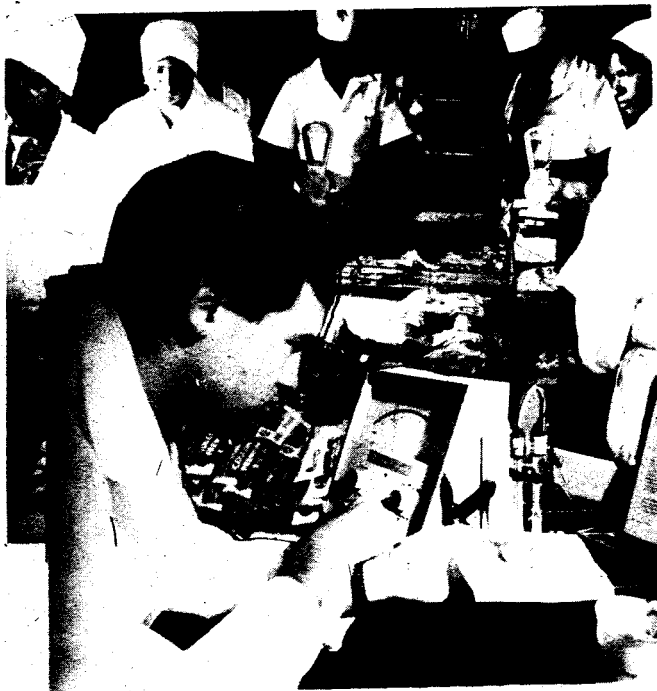
by Arnold Sibanda

Every patriot and non-patriot knows that the struggle for the independence of Zimbabwe was waged to successful completion without a single weapon from a capitalist country for the liberation forces. Yet the resistance, murder, and atrocious actions of the colonial regime were made possible by the abundant supply of weapons and manpower in one form or another, from almost all the capitalist countries.

Therefore patriots could well ask why does our newly independent country depend so heavily on aid from the very capitalist nations that supported the undemocratic regime.

The colonisation of Zimbabwe in 1890 marked a watershed in the territory's relations with the outside world. 1890 was not the first time Zimbabwe was coming into contact with the external world. External trade had existed with Arabic, European, and "Far East" lands from before the 16th century. Various wars of resistance to penetration and domination by merchant capitalists were fought, from "active" popular uprisings to "passive" resistance. Some African pre-capitalist ruling classes - like the Rozwi Changamires, for example - never allowed the foreign representatives of merchant capital to penetrate the interior of their territories or to mine and trade in minerals and other goods. Mining and trading remained a preserve of indigenous people and this was protected by the state. Thus mining and trading skills remained to a large extent with the locals.

The penetration by imperialist capital in 1890 ushered in a new mode of production and a new form of incorporation of Zimbabwe into the world system. The carriers of finance capital to be invested in the mining, rail and road infrastructure were foreigners whose concrete representative was the British South African Company (BSAC) of Cecil Rhodes. From the very beginning then, capitalism enters our country with foreign manpower.



*Under the colonial government training in skilled occupations was reserved for whites. At independence there was an exodus of skilled labour so that foreign manpower was imported.*

It is this contingent of foreign manpower which grew and changed its composition and character over time. The development of capitalism itself required that this contingent should continue to grow: (a) to meet the ever-growing need for new skills, and (b) because capitalism at first wants local workers only to supply unskilled cheap labour, and these workers are not at first turned into full-time wage labourers, so they are not fully absorbed into the capitalist system. For the spread and growth of capitalism therefore, foreign labour and skills are brought in.

## **"From the very beginning, capitalism enters our country with foreign manpower."**

For Zimbabwe, the early development of capitalism depended on the class of white wage workers formed of artisans, semi-skilled workers, foremen, clerical workers, administrative employees etc. Demand for their labour was concentrated in mining, transport (mainly railways) and service activities (civil service especially).

Every developing country that had been drawn into the capitalist orbit and did not establish a different kind of relationship to world capitalism at independence still has all the most skilled and vital jobs in its industry, commerce and administration controlled by expatriates.

Expatriatism is not an accident. The export of capital for investment in the age of imperialism was a method of imperialist exploitation. So also the export of expatriates is a method of foreign domination and exploitation today. This export of expatriates is an inevitable consequence of the global development of the capitalist world system and the inability of Third World countries either to transform their societies or to alter their pattern of integration into the capitalist system.

The continuation of expatriatism worries every Zimbabwean patriot, be it in Government or labour sphere. Even at independence, the growth of expatriatism was seen as a threat to the development of local manpower. Figures published in October 1982 showed that expatriatism was tending to grow: less than half the residence permits granted between July 1981 and July 1982 were granted for limited periods of 2, 3, 4 or 5 years. More than half were granted without any such limit. Expatriates also came mostly from the advanced capitalist countries: 49,7% from UK alone, and only 19,2% from Asia and independent African countries combined.

The then Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development described the use of expatriates as an unfortunate, but necessary, short-term solution to the problem. Rules were made about the granting of work permits to skilled workers, and permits would only be granted if the employer could prove:

1. that there are no unemployed persons in Zimbabwe who are qualified to do the job,
2. the employer has really tried to fill the vacancy from among his existing workers,



3. the employer has a training programme suited to the present needs of the country and can describe how the expatriate will train a local person (counterpart or understudy) to replace him. Firms employing expatriates were also to be supervised to ensure that they are training local people effectively.

The National Manpower Survey of 1981 showed that of 84% of the employed people who were surveyed, 14% were non-citizens, and 2% held dual citizenship. The survey showed that there were many non-Zimbabweans in the more specialised occupations (such as accountancy, architecture, civil, mechanical, structural and mining engineering) and industries such as electrical, financing, banking, real estate and business services as well as mining and health. As recently as 22nd July, 1984, the Minister of Health stated that one third of the total workforce in the health sector is expatriate.

The major shortages revealed by the NMS were in areas of (i) administration and management - including qualified accountants, financial and projects analysts, stenographers, etc. (ii) agriculture-occupations such as veterinarians, extension and land use planning specialists, agricultural engineers and research specialists and technicians (iii) engineering (in professional technical and artisan grades) civil and mechanical, structural draughting and computer engineering, (iv) in the medical field there are shortages of physicians, dentists, pathologists, psychiatrists, pharmacists, etc.

This was the situation in July 1981 and it was basically unchanged in October of 1983. In view of this, the NMS seminar in October 1983 resolved that in order to reduce the period of dependence on foreign recruitment - (a) more extensive monitoring procedures should be devised to ensure the transfer of skills to locals. Both the Ministry, the Public Service Commission, and the private sector should co-operate in this; (b) monitoring should be extended wherever possible, consultancies were not to be given to non-Zimbabweans. (c) exhaustive measures were to be taken to ensure no suitable local was by-passed before recruiting an expatriate.

The Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare is due to publish an annual review of manpower shortage soon, but for now only tentative conclusions can be made, mainly on the basis of general trends in Zimbabwe and the capitalist-orientated developing countries as a whole.

Maybe manpower shortages in critical areas are being met by foreign recruitment, the "necessary short-term evil". But how short-term is "short-term"? The answer is usually "until we have built our own pool of skilled manpower".

## WHO GETS AID?

*Zimbabwe ranks quite high among the receivers of aid. This is not because we are a poor country. Some richer countries get more aid than we do, and many poorer countries get less.*

*The table shows the amount of aid received by Zimbabwe and some other countries in 1981 from the OECD countries, (which include all the major capitalist countries). This list shows clearly how aid serves Western political and military interests, especially in countries which we often consider as developed, like Israel and Turkey.*

*It is easier to get aid if you have a well organised bureaucracy who can speak the language of the donor's bureaucrats and guarantee that the aid will be "properly used". Ensuring that it is so used makes work for local bureaucrats and strengthens them.*

all figures are in US dollars

## "the export of expatriates is a method of foreign domination and exploitation today."

This may be a noble desire but when one comes to consider the history and workings of the capitalist system and its reliance on expatriates, the short-term argument starts to be questionable. From its arrival in our country, capitalism brought expatriates. The relations of production under capitalism reproduce the world-wide uneven development of productive forces, human resource development included.

Monopoly capitalism demands more and more expatriates. As long as Zimbabwe continues to be a part of the world capitalist system it will still depend on foreign aid, loans, technical assistance programmes, etc, from the capitalists. Due to their monopoly interests, the capitalists generally do not transfer skills to locals; their assistance programmes do not help, and often hinder, manpower development. Aid and loan agreements come with specific consultancy experts, forms of technology, etc.

It is not a question of not wanting help from outside. Our people have a right to share the benefits of other countries' achievements by learning from their experts. But what sort of experts do we get? Most expatriates from capitalist countries are very conservative in outlook, opposed to socialist transformation of the Third World economies, and their political and ideological biases are such that they try to steer the country's development along capitalist lines.

Most expatriates in private firms and in parastatal bodies like the ESC are employees of transnational corporations, filling top posts in all departments and helping to drain the wealth of Zimbabwe off to the capitalist countries where those corporations are based.

In this context then, once you see a country being heavily dependent on foreign aid, foreign investment, foreign expatriates from the capitalist countries, you can be assured that it has not changed its relations with imperialism, and is therefore sliding deeper into capitalist exploitation.

Country	Rank	Total millions	Aid/ head	GNP/ head
Egypt	1st	1529	38.4	580
Turkey	3rd	850	18.7	1460
Israel	6th	826	211.8	4500
Philippines	10th	412	8.6	720
Thailand	12th	396	8.5	670
South Korea	13th	388	10.0	1520
Brazil	15th	332	2.8	2050
Morocco	16th	325	16.0	860
Papua New Guinea	18th	303	101.0	780
ZIMBABWE	24th	217	29.3	630
Upper Volta	26th	189	33.1	190
Niger	28th	169	31.9	330
Mali	29th	167	24.2	190
Mozambique	35th	154	14.7	270
Madagascar	38th	121	14.0	350
Nepal	39th	115	8.0	140
Vietnam	44th	92	1.7	190
Ethiopia	45th	92	2.9	140

# EXPATRIATE VOLUNTEERS GAP-FILLING OR DEVELOPING

by Martin de Graaf

Zimbabwe has been slow to catch up with other countries in using expatriate volunteers. As in other areas, Zimbabwe's isolation under the previous regime prevented contact with the volunteer agencies which have been operating elsewhere in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

What is a volunteer? In Rhodesian days, a volunteer was someone who gave time, without being paid, to work for some public good, such as a charitable organisation, children's home, women's group or so on. The name of the local umbrella organisation for non-government welfare organisations still reflects this - Voluntary Organisations in Community Enterprises (VOICE). In those days, expatriates who came here were not do-gooders. They came to pursue their own interests and find a higher standard of life than they could have had at home - usually at great cost to the local population. With independence, this has been turned upside down, and now a "volunteer" seems to mean a skilled person coming to a developing country with the stated intention of helping that country's development by transferring supposedly valuable knowledge and skills. This "volunteer" is usually well paid.

Zimbabwe now gets its fair share of these volunteers; about 200 now, and more to come. This does not include the hundreds of teachers recruited directly by the Zimbabwe government, who come with the more selfish motives of earning a good salary, which is sometimes even "topped up" by their own government, escaping unemployment at home, and so on.

The 200 we are talking about came through officially recognised and registered volunteer agencies.

Who are these organisations? How do they operate, and where are all the volunteers placed?

## WHO ARE THE VOLUNTEERS?

Modern volunteers come to offer a skill that is supposed to be scarce and useful, and they are supposed to help the country's development by transferring their skills to local people within a two or three year period. Their pay will be less than professional salaries in Europe, but higher than most Zimbabweans will ever earn. Most organisations pay their volunteers between \$300 and \$500 per month for a single person. On top of this the volunteers usually have some \$100 to \$300 per month paid in their own country to help them resettle when they return, and often their housing, health care, and utilities are paid by the volunteer agency.

Volunteers from other developing countries could be gaining by coming, especially if the volunteer agency paid for them to bring their families. Still, for many volunteers, there are hardships involved; maybe less comfortable living than at home, missing friends and opportunities they had at home, and often time spent abroad does not count for advancement in a professional career.

So why do they come? Different volunteers may have different motives, such as finding a more exciting life than at home, learning new skills, getting a more influential or challenging job than they would have at home, or some political ideal, but the government lets them come because their skills are scarce and Zimbabwe should benefit from a supply of relatively cheap, properly qualified and usually dedicated manpower.

Whether this happens is another matter. But let us look first at the agencies that bring these volunteers. In this description we will not include the agencies which bring highly paid "development experts" who help to plan or carry out development programmes. Volunteers come to do more ordinary jobs, directly under government or with a local organisation.

At least 15 agencies bring volunteers to Zimbabwe. Most are linked with a particular Western country and get their funds and nearly all their volunteers from that country. Some even bring administrative assistants from their home country.

Only two recruit internationally; UNV (United Nations Volunteers) and IVS Inc. (International Voluntary Services Inc. based in Washington), while CUSO (Canadian University Services Overseas) does sometimes pay salaries for Zimbabweans.

### Volunteer Agencies in Zimbabwe

CIIR - Catholic Institute for International Relations  
Oxfam - UK  
VSO - Voluntary Service Overseas (UK Government)  
all out of the UK

DOG - Service Abroad  
KZA - Holland Committee for Southern Africa  
ONV - Organisation for Netherland Volunteers (gov.)  
all out of Holland

DVS - Danish Volunteer Service (gov.)  
DAPP - Development Aid from People to People  
SVS - Swedish Volunteer Service (gov.)  
all out of the Scandinavian countries.

IVS Inc. - International Voluntary Service Inc.  
CUSO - Canadian University Service Overseas  
WUSC - World University Service of Canada  
all from N. America

GVS - German Volunteer Service (gov.)  
OED - Austrian Volunteer Service (gov.)  
UNV - United Nations Volunteers - Geneva  
CATORUZI - Catholic Auxiliary Teachers for  
Rural Zimbabwe (based in Zimbabwe)

As you can see by the table, most agencies are based in Europe. Many of these are financed by their governments, and some of the private ones draw on some government funds.

They all aim to help develop Zimbabwe, but their methods are different. Some will try to fill posts which would be unacceptable to others. The main difference in approach seems to be between placing volunteers in vacancies that appear in existing establishments, especially in education and health, and placing volunteers in a more carefully planned "development" project.

In the first approach, usually either the Zimbabwean government, or a school, hospital, or mission organisation calls for teachers, doctors or nurses. The volunteer agency then looks for suitably qualified people and

brings them here. Often the Zimbabwean government pays the salary, while the volunteer agency pays other expenses. In this way over 100 volunteer teachers are working here, not counting WUSC teachers who could be another 50-100, while there are about 70 medical volunteers; 40 doctors, the rest midwives, nurses, etc.

In the second approach, the agency makes contact with local organisations, district councils, etc. and designs a project to deal with a special development problem, such as developing water resources (as done by the Lutheran World Federation); women's income generating activities (helping through the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs by DVS and ONV); the Adult Literacy Organisation (CIJR & IVS Inc.) or training centre such as Hlikweni (DVS).

Conditions of service with agencies vary. Some accept couples with children as volunteers (like IVS, GVS) but most do not unless both adults can be employed. Some volunteers are paid directly by the Zimbabwe government, especially if they are teachers or in medical jobs, but others are paid by their organisations, and rates of pay differ, so that DVS and GVS pay almost double what CATORUZI pay their teachers. Contracts can be for two or three years.

One important difference is that some agencies try to find suitable jobs for volunteers they have already found overseas, while others work the other way around, and find a need in the developing country for a volunteer to meet.

Some agencies can only afford to pay their own volunteers, but some also pay for house, equipment, a vehicle or a salary for a Zimbabwean counterpart to the volunteer. This can depend on whether the agency sees its job as filling gaps in the labour market or as helping more significant change, where placing a volunteer is only one aspect.

#### HOW DO THEY CHOOSE?

Some agencies have a clear aim and strategy, but some do not. For example, KZA and CATORUZI put teachers at rural secondary schools. Medicus Mundi and Oxfam (at present) bring medical volunteers, and IVS develop productive projects in rural areas, but what have these in common? a goat specialist with ARDA, an electrician with the Ministry of Construction and National Housing, a lecturer at the University, a nurse and a ZIMFEP school teacher? They are all found in the OED programme. Why do two UK based agencies separately recruit secondary school teachers while one also places doctors, physiotherapists, and a motor mechanic with OCCZIM?

The DVS programme is just as diversified as these, while GVS brought a large number of doctors and teachers but also some technical people working on a collective farm and at a rural technology centre.

Most agencies seem to concentrate on filling vacancies without asking many questions about the nature of the programme they are helping, or about the long-term effect of putting in an expatriate, or demanding that the volunteer be given a local understudy. So three agencies are all involved with the small Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, and four are all sending teachers to ZIMFEP schools. At one hospital you can find doctors and nurses sent by two or three different agencies.

This lack of planning and coordination may explain the amazing way volunteers are spread around the country. Mashonaland East and Central, the richest areas of the country and the nearest to Harare, have 45% of all the volunteers, while Masvingo, the province with the largest population has 11%, and Matabeleland South, a needy province, has only 2% of the total - that is, four volunteers.

Province	volunteers	% of total
Mashonaland Cen.	37	23%
Mashonaland East	36	22%
Manicaland	29	18%
Masvingo	18	11%
Matabeleland North	16	10%
Mashonaland West	15	9%
Midlands	9	5%
Matabeleland South	4	2%
Volunteers and where they are working		

#### GOVERNMENT POLICY

The government of Zimbabwe has called the use of expatriates "an unfortunate but necessary short-term measure", needed because so many skilled jobs, especially for artisans and technicians, were reserved by the settler regime for whites, many of whom have since left the country. Government has made some strong-sounding rules about issuing work permits to expatriates and supervising them while they are working here. They rejected 23% of the 2566 applications they received between July 1981 and July 1982.

## "There seems to be no systematic government control or supervision of expatriate volunteers."

As with many Zimbabwe Government regulations, the rules sound logical and sensible, but three comments can be made.

1.) It is disappointing that the rules do not distinguish between expatriate employees in commercial firms and volunteers who are dealing with development in a non-commercial way. The self-seeking activities of private enterprises are different from programmes in rural development, forming producers' cooperatives, water development projects, primary health schemes, and so on. While companies such as Anglo-American, Lonrho, and Union Carbide can and should be pressured to provide more training for their Zimbabwean employees, and do it quickly, the emerging struggling voluntary organisations cannot all immediately provide this training. The commercial sector claims to need highly skilled expatriates to maintain and even expand a productive system that serves the needs of a few of the people while connecting Zimbabwe's economy to outside sources beyond her control. On the other hand, progressive local organisations and the progressive sectors in government service try to improve local control over local resources; developing a technology that meets the needs of the mass of the people and sharing skills that were formerly controlled by a white elite. Needs for technical or financial help for these purposes should be judged and treated differently from the "needs" of capitalist firms. Government procedures which distinguish these two kinds of needs could be tools for the transformation to socialism.



2.) Government says that expatriates can only be used where there is a sincere effort to train local people, but there are hundreds of foreign teachers in the country, not one with a counterpart or understudy, while the teachers' training colleges seem not to need foreign staff. The Ministry of Agriculture does not accept foreign trainers at the local colleges of agriculture, although these are very short of staff, but does allow expensive foreign staff to work at grassroot level. There seems, to the best of my knowledge, to be no doctor or nurse who spends much time training local people - they are just filling gaps, even if they do it in a very dedicated way. No expatriates are involved in training health workers in a cost-effective way.

3.) There seems to be no systematic government control or supervision of expatriate volunteers. Applications to work in the private sector are sometimes turned down, but I know of no case where a volunteer was refused. Presumably the volunteer agencies made their selection in cooperation with government authority at an early stage, and concentrated in one area and in a few kinds of work. Isn't it surprising that there are only 10 volunteers directly involved in agriculture, with four more teaching agriculture? Couldn't expatriate skills help small-scale business, communal farming, animal husbandry or appropriate technology?

Government control, at least of voluntary agencies, seems to be just a matter of rubber-stamping applications, while the real

decisions are made in an arbitrary manner somewhere between the voluntary agencies, local organisations (especially secondary schools and missions), and individuals at the various ministries.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Zimbabwe is still better off than some African countries, such as Botswana, Zambia, and Lesotho where expatriates hold over 35% of all the professional jobs. Government and local non-profit organisations are keen to keep jobs for Zimbabweans.

Official policy on employing expatriates sounds practical, but the reality looks less bright. Government seems to be quite naive, or maybe merely loses sight of long-term priorities when short-term problems need a solution. Inviting 1000 Peace Corps teachers might solve some immediate staffing problems in schools, but it would create many more ideological and social problems which would last longer than the two-year stay of those bright young Americans. Government did actually invite them 1½ years ago, but Peace Corps did not accept another example of decisions made by outside agencies instead of by Zimbabwean authorities.

As long as expatriates, including (or perhaps especially) volunteers are regarded as stopgaps to fill a vacancy for a while without assisting more substantial changes, the disadvantages of having them here might outweigh the advantages. Employing them can only be justified if skilled and dedicated foreigners can be part of a more carefully planned and controlled effort at real development, which means social change. This would demand a change of focus for most volunteers in this country. But it is not clear whether the volunteers themselves, the agencies that bring them, or the government itself are ready to make this change.

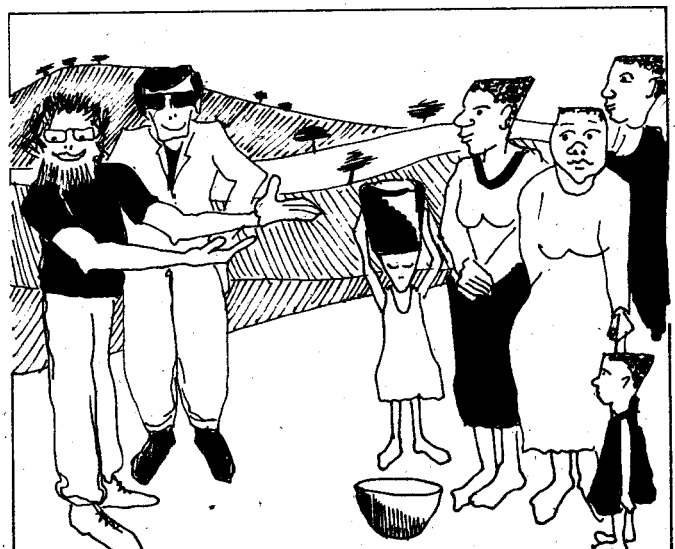
## WHO'S HELPING WHOM?

We were visiting a water supply hand-pump programme in the rural areas. My colleague had set up a very efficient and well-trained team for the installation of these hand-pumps. This particular type of pump has been in use for a long time, but has very often been badly installed, and thus inefficient and even non-operative after some time. Besides ensuring good installation, this team was also remedying another overlooked fact in hand-pump design - the surrounding area, unless drained of waste water, very soon becomes a swamp for cows and children to drink, walk and defecate in, and for insects to breed. Common is the scene where barefoot women with 20 litre tins on their heads precariously tiptoe over broken branches and stones to get to the pump, and back again. This situation fairly negates any benefits the people might expect to get from the "protected" source, and can even lead to pollution of the source itself. The quagmire seems to be an accepted partner to the hand-pump.

This team was building cheap but effective brick and concrete splash aprons with a channel to a cattle trough and then a soakaway. The users of the pump are usually villagers, and they are expected to build a small fence to keep cows and other animals away.

The first point we visited had an old pump which was barely working, through its own innumerable faults, and because of the very slow recharge of water into boreholes in this particular area. Women had to swing on the handle, two at a time, to get any water out. This was all the more difficult to watch since the women were obviously so very poor, dressed in rags, with children dressed in rags and showing signs of kwashiorkor. Where do they get their energy from? It makes a joke of the serious work which many pump designers do in making good

economic pumps - those which conserve human energy. If they came to the field they would see that the important point is to have water close at hand. Dirty water from a stream nearby is usually preferable to clean water from a beautiful but distant pump. Conversely, clean water from an awkward and fatiguing pump will also do if it saves a kilometre walk.



• It's our latest innovation to help with water supply. We've redesigned the head!



The next pump installation proved to be one of those classical failures in the transfer of technology. The community is shown by a line drawn on the ground, where to build the fence. This community had built their fence, after much prodding, but put it between the pump handle, which is very long, and the pump head. This meant that the women had to enter the enclosure to put buckets down, and go back outside to pump, then return inside to fetch the full bucket. This all was very strange since not only had the community been shown how to build the fence, but just down the road there were fences which had been built correctly. Of course it is the men who put up the fence, and the women who suffer the consequences.

My friend, whose design this was after all, was extremely angry that aside from the fence, the area was dirty with garbage around the head, and children had been damming up the drainage channel with soil. He went to work cleaning the cattle trough, breaking down the wall and cleaning the area. The women and children now at the fence found this extremely amusing.

The next village we visited had also been a long time in getting around to building the fence. Finally they completed it, an extra large variety. As we hung ourselves onto it, and watched the women, the men of the village joined us and watched too. They momentarily climbed into our rank, the rank of the privileged, as we all watched the women - the very bottom of the scale, the drawers of water, hewers of wood, weeders of fields, producers of children, ever in obedience to their husbands. In another time or place, they would have carried bazookas through the bush, commanded and taught men, cooked and carried food for guerrillas through the line of fire. They usually get rewarded with courses in typing.

This particular pump was not proving to be very successful, largely because the recharge rate of the water into the borehole was very slow and the women had to bring their knitting and sit on their buckets to wait. The men pointed this out to us, and said, "We built your fence but now the water does not come." My friend, after having such difficulties with this group, enjoyed saying rather maliciously, "Yes, now that you have fixed the fence, we will come and fix the pump". The first man did not like this line of reasoning - you mean we won't get water from you unless we behave? What was unknown to him was that no improvement could be made. But clean water from a slow pump is better than dirty water from a dam five kilometres away. The men didn't think of this, only their slighted honour.

The next week my friend went back to the area and found that most of the fences had been broken down by cattle and not repaired. A further interesting development was taking place at the pumps where the fence was still intact. There was no water in the cattle trough, which was outside of the fence. Upon asking the women why they did not pump water for the cattle, they said, "The cattle belong to the men." Upon asking the men why they did not pump for the cattle they said "Pumping is women's work". Now obviously this is not the case historically. The difference seems to be that the old hand-pump points had a long discharge pipe leading to a cattle trough. It was a cattle watering point firstly, and women who wanted to fetch water put the bucket under the pipe inside the trough. Of course there was no fence. Now there is a fenced in, hygienic and easy to use (for women) hand-pump supply - the men do not want to be seen entering a clearly defined women's area. Logically, this situation cannot continue since the cattle would die of thirst. You can see however, that this "assistance" has not been appreciated and has caused discord in the village. Fortunately, the cattle have resolved it for everyone by breaking down the fence so they can get their share from the discharge outlet.

The old hands in the "aid game" have the explanation - no community involvement. This is the third and latest great theory of aid as development. The first theory was "push enough money into them as in the Marshall Plan, and they will develop in no time". This was tried in the 1960s-70s. The second theory, tried in the 70s-80s was "build expensive imported high-technology schemes and the benefits will somehow 'trickle-down' to the poor". Now the latest theory is to use only small community-based projects with community participation. The catch phrase is, "Make them believe it's theirs and it will work".

In the decade of water and sanitation community participation is rapidly being over-shadowed by the stress on women's involvement. A recent UNDP Project Document goes on to blithely state "In many African and Asian cultures, acceptance of a woman in the role of a village caretaker responsible for pump maintenance and repair may be slow in coming. However, once the idea has been introduced and accepted in one region it is reasonable to assume that it will spread to other regions and ultimately to other countries". Why should the idea spread? Fences are not built the same one kilometre apart! You can then imagine the slowness of whole countries in accepting and appreciating the latest development ideas.

Aid agencies are trying hard to find women to employ in suitable women's roles. Their eyes really twinkle when they discover I am a female engineer. Just what is needed! I will, they assume, unearth all the hidden problems. Yet, what do I know, as a western woman, of perpetual pregnancy or losing my children to mysterious diseases which I cannot control, or facing starvation, or being beaten for speaking my mind? We are all the new neutered third sex - we look the same, we talk the same, and are part of the latest tribe migrating to Africa - the two year contractors.

Nevertheless, it is true that those of us who wear high heels and ties have declared this to be the Decade of Drinking Water and Sanitation. We have set out to cajole the Third World into believing this to be true. As with most aid programmes, but especially community participation ones, a large degree of behavioural modification is involved in getting them to follow our needs. It should be remembered that we (the developed side that is) normally use behavioural modification techniques on criminal offenders, delinquents and small children. Why are we using them on the majority of the world's population?

It should be remembered that the use of piped water and sanitation in the Western World is fairly recent. Certainly people did not take a fancy to it because they were told it was good for them. A general improvement in the standard of living, with more money, more goods, more food, came first. Piped water and sanitation became financially affordable and, in terms of social concern, necessary for health in crowded cities. A telling example is South Korea where it is expected that within the next two years all village houses will have piped water. All village water supplies are built through community participation and operated and maintained by the community. Stunning! How do they do it? A professor of environmental engineering involved in the programme stated, "Most villages were not motivated by outsiders or by the government. During the 1970s farmers became middle income people. For the first time in Korean history family incomes were higher in rural areas than in towns. Farm families had all the essential elements of improved living including electricity. Water supply was the one thing they lacked."

The time for project proposals, project documents, the decade for this, the year for that, the day for something else, and heaven help us - conventions - is over. How about talking to the people, the local leaders, even ministers, in a calm rational manner that shows we are actually interested. Maybe we will find some use for our excess money and university degrees or maybe we will all have to go home.

## FUTURE FOCUS

THE NEXT ISSUE OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT WHICH IS DUE OUT IN JANUARY WILL FOCUS ON:

### FOOD

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# NON-ALIGNMENT

by N.C.G. Mathema

The non-aligned movement was born in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia when heads of state or of government from 25 countries took part in the first non-aligned summit conference, led by Tito, Nasser, Nkrumah and Nehru. Today there are over 100 non-aligned countries including Zimbabwe, and their total population is more than 1500 million. More than half the people in the world live in non-aligned countries.

What are the principles of non-alignment? Non-alignment stands for the right of all countries to choose their own political system and their own path of economic, social and cultural development; free from domination by any other nation, large or small. Non-alignment therefore defines itself from the start as opposing military pacts and alliances. Non-alignment demands that the independence and the just borders of all nations be respected. It demands respect for basic human rights and forbids the use of force to settle disputes between nations; it excludes even the threat to use force. Respect for the rights of individuals and of nations demands that disputes should be settled peacefully, but it also demands support for positive liberating changes in our world; support for a new international economic order, and for national liberation movements, even support for their armed liberation struggles when their aims cannot be achieved in any other way.

These principles were reaffirmed by all conferences of the non-aligned countries: the sixth summit conference in Havana in 1979 underlined the importance of solidarity among the forces fighting against imperialism in all its forms, and for peace and disarmament. The Delhi Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1981 declared that "non-alignment involves the struggle against imperialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism, and against all forms of aggression, domination or interference in other countries as well as the bloc policies of the great powers".

The non-aligned principles, therefore, go against the interests of the imperialist countries and forces of racism. It is obvious therefore why the imperialist forces do their best to disrupt the non-aligned movement. For instance, they want to confuse the non-aligned movement by trying to make it mean that those who are in it should neither be communist nor capitalist. Non-alignment has nothing to do with one

being a communist, a capitalist or whatever ideology. Its founders included communists, revolutionary democrats and those leaders whose countries were following the capitalist road toward development. Indeed, even today the members of the non-aligned movement include socialist countries like Cuba and Yugoslavia, countries following a non-capitalist mode of development like Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, and countries following capitalism such as Kenya and Venezuela. Non-alignment is anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-racist and anti-military bloc. It is for peace. These are all progressive democratic positions which are cherished by democratic forces which include communists.

The imperialists know that many times those who say they are neither capitalist nor communist ideologically end up on the side of the exploiters. Therefore if the non-aligned movement adopts a "neither communist nor capitalist" position, it will end up supporting imperialism, colonialism and war. It is important to note that the military blocs that exist in the world today were started by the imperialist countries and not by the socialist countries. The Warsaw Pact came into being as a reaction to the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949. Communist and socialist countries have proved to the world at large that they are for world peace, they have shown beyond any doubt that the wars raging all over the world come about because of the imperialists, the exploiters. The war in Zimbabwe came about because of the colonialists and the racists who were ruling Zimbabwe then. The democratic forces in Zimbabwe did not start the war - they reacted to the racist colonialist violence.

The non-aligned movement has the socialist countries as some of its greatest friends because its struggle for peace, democracy, anti-imperialism, and anti-colonialism is shared by those countries.

Non-alignment is one of the world's great democratic institutions for a peaceful world that must be supported by all who have the interests of humanity at heart. It is no wonder Zimbabwe is a member of such a world body which has defended the oppressed and subjugated all over the world, a body which supported us during our war of national liberation from colonialism.

## ODDS & ENDS

Sweden's help for liberation movement is well known, but even the most well-meaning donors can slip up. For example, SIDA (Swedish International Development Association) money was used to pay a Swedish firm, Container Express, to put up buildings in Namibian refugee camps in Angola. The firm used the refugees themselves as unskilled labourers to erect prefabricated concrete buildings. One block of two classrooms still cost about \$300,000. The money in effect, was going from SIDA to Container Express without leaving Sweden and without doing very much for the Namibians.

By contrast, it is possible to train a dozen Namibians at a time in basic building skills at a cost of no more than \$25000. These builders would save their people more than the cost of their training on the first house they built, but it is harder to find donors who will pay for this type of course.

(NB: Container Express has now lost the contract for building in the camps.)

The "gift" of a solar electric power unit to Marymount Mission in Rushinga District was well publicised, but some important facts were not mentioned.

Firstly, the Zimbabwe government has paid at least 25% of the cost of the equipment, installation and operating expenses. Secondly, the French manufacturers were not offering fully tested equipment. They had chosen Marymount as a good site for field testing. Marymount did not understand this and scrapped their diesel-powered generator.

Now the solar power unit has broken down every time an insect flew into it. Each time it breaks down a mechanic must come from Johannesburg and sometimes parts must come from Paris, so this equipment has been working for a total of eight weeks since it was installed in May 1983, leaving the hospital without even hot water for sterilising the instruments the rest of the time.

To be fair, this equipment was the latest space-age technology, and had probably been tested on the moon where there are no insects.



# DIARRHOEA

## third world menace

Between four and five million children per year die from diarrhoeal disease in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The numbers are almost incomprehensible, but they add up to a tremendous burden of suffering and sorrow. For every one child that dies from diarrhoea probably between 100 and 200 may suffer an acute attack. Although many episodes are relatively mild and the child often recovers without, or in spite of, therapy, a further consequence is that diarrhoea is a major cause of malnutrition which is so prevalent in many parts of the world.

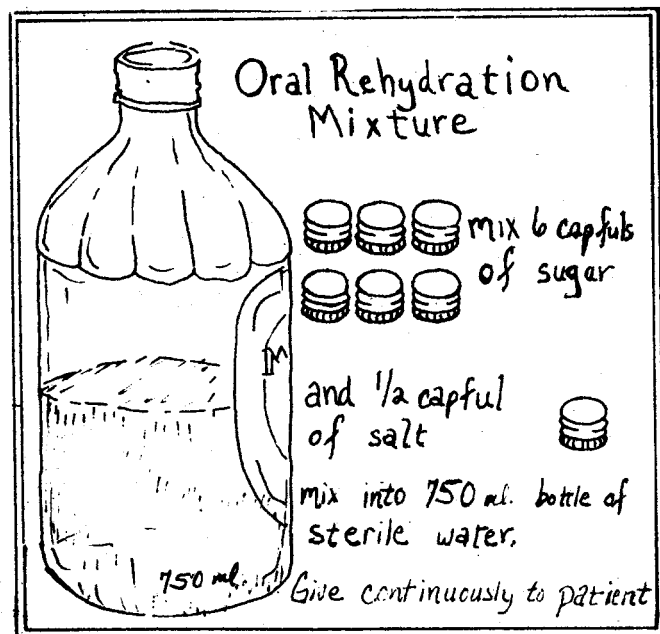
In Indonesia, Abdul ran home from his village school, eager to play with his sister Seri. As soon as he saw her in the courtyard, his eyes lit up, for he loved to play with his sister. She was only one and a half years old, and would clap her hands with delight as he made funny faces at her, or giggled when he counted her toes. He had helped her with her first steps, picking her up when she stumbled.

But what was wrong today? Usually Seri toddled straight to her brother, her arms outstretched. Now she just sat on the porch and gazed at him with dull eyes. Quickly he lifted her up and noticed that she was very limp and had an unpleasant smell about her. Their grandmother greeted Abdul with a tired voice, "Seri is sick. She's had several watery bowel movements today. Abdul, you must not let her have any food or drink so that the diarrhoea will stop and she will get better."

Abdul thought for a moment, and then took a deep breath. "But Grandmother," he cried out, "my school teacher told me that watery stools can be very dangerous. If the body loses water it's like a plant that isn't watered. First it gets weak, and then it dies! We have to give Seri enough to drink so she won't be weak like this."

Grandmother could feel how much Abdul believed in what he was saying and she was proud that her grandchild had a chance to go to school and learn new things, but she had never given food or drink to a child with diarrhoea. Then while Abdul looked at her with pleading eyes, she thought of one of her own dear children, dead after only two days of watery stools.

Grandmother sighed and said gently to Abdul, "perhaps your teacher is right. Maybe we should try a new way. What did she say we should do?"



While Grandmother held Seri in her arms Abdul poured 2 large bottles of drinking water into one of the clean cooking pots. He took salt from a tin with a small spoon and levelled off the amount with his finger before putting it in the water and stirring it. "That is not too salty" he said after tasting a sip. "Now eight level spoons of sugar." After the drink was mixed well, he handed a glassful to Grandmother, who gave it to Seri who drank it eagerly. Then he gave a second glassful and Grandma watched with surprise as Seri drank that one as well. Suddenly Seri vomited and Grandma looked anxious. "My teacher says not to worry if a child vomits in the beginning. Just try again and give a little this time."

After some time the next glassful was finished and Seri clapped her hands. She began to wriggle to get off Grandma's lap and she was more lively than she had been all day. But suddenly, much to Grandma's distress, Seri had another watery bowel movement. "Don't worry Grandma she is already much better and if she is drinking, her illness is not so serious. See, she is still thirsty. She is trying to reach for the glass."

When Abdul's mother arrived home from work at the market she asked anxiously "How is Seri?" Then she saw her bright eyed daughter run out to meet her. "I'm happy to see she is so much better! Not giving her anything to eat or drink must have helped." "Oh no," said Grandmother, smiling at Abdul, "we've tried a new way and look how Seri has got better since this morning. Abdul, tell your mother what you have given Seri."

Treatment of diarrhoea by mouth to replace the water and salts which have been lost is scientifically known as oral rehydration therapy (ORT) and has been proved to be very effective. Modifications of the simple treatment used by Abdul for his sister Seri are immediately applicable. Simplifying and making this message widely known is an important short term objective for all people and services concerned with the well-being of children's health. However, the long term goal remains an improvement of the domestic and environmental circumstances which perpetuate the conditions. This means redistribution of resources, which constitutes development.

Oral rehydration therapy is essentially simple, but to make it available to those who most need it requires a lot of careful background work. What are the factors to be considered when planning an oral rehydration therapy (ORT) programme? These include the beliefs of the local people about the cause and the appropriate treatment for diarrhoea, the availability of the basic ingredients for treatment by mouth, suitable size of containers for mixing the fluid and appropriate ways for measuring the ingredients. Training is necessary to ensure that people know and understand the essential facts, and finally a supporting health infrastructure can be very important not only to encourage the adoption of the method but also as a back-up for the few cases in which it is not effective.

In many countries salt and sugar are widely available in homes. A recent survey of 367 households in four different parts of rural Zimbabwe found salt in 99% and some sugar in 96% of homes. Suitable containers for measuring drinking water are required and in the same Zimbabwean study, 92% of homes were found to have a 750ml bottle which had contained either cooking oil or an orange drink. A means of measuring the ingredients is also essential. In many countries small domestic spoons are available, but their sizes tend to vary. In some countries bottle tops have been used to measure sugar and salt.

(adapted from *Development - Seeds of Change* 1983:1)



*The following article, taken from the International Development and Research Centre of Canada, REPORTS, shows how foreign multinationals promote their products without consideration of the sociological, physiological, or economic effects they may have on a developing nation.*

There is a toothpaste debate going on in Kenya, and it is not about cavities. While Europeans and North Americans enjoy the well-founded benefits of fluoride toothpaste, its vigorous promotion by foreign multinationals in this East African country may be creating a health hazard.

People in many regions of Kenya get too much fluoride mainly from natural sources, such as water and food. Using fluoride toothpaste is like adding fuel to the fire, warn concerned researchers at the University of Nairobi. The Kenya Dental Association, whose activities are funded in part by a fluoride toothpaste manufacturer, has been publicly endorsing the product. The association's chairman, Dr. G. Owino, argues that "dental caries are on the increase in Kenya and, to date, fluoride is the only accepted anti-caries agent that dentists can use". Many of his colleagues disagree. They maintain that with about 60 percent of the population suffering from some form of fluorosis, a disease caused by an excessive intake of fluoride, the use of fluoride toothpaste is hardly in the interests of public health.

The presence of endemic fluorosis in eastern Africa is now well established. The condition is associated with the drinking of groundwater in regions with volcanic rock containing high levels of soluble fluoride salts. The countries that are most affected by endemic fluorosis lie within Africa's Great Rift Valley. They include Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, and parts of Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The fluoride toothpaste debate has been the focus of public attention for more than a year in Kenya. The Ministry of Health recently banned the advertising of toothpaste containing the additive. Until December 1982, only fluoride toothpaste was available in Kenya. According to Dr. K.R. Nair, co-author of a major report on fluoride in rural water, the advertising campaign mounted by toothpaste manufacturers has until recently convinced Kenyans that it was necessary to use fluoride toothpaste to have strong white teeth.

Even a slight excess of fluoride will lead to yellowing of the teeth. At higher levels, tell-tale grey patches appear and the enamel of the teeth fractures. And at higher levels yet - in the range of 40 milligrams a day - the spine may become calcified, causing crippling.

With a grant from the International Development and Research Centre of Canada, the University of Nairobi and the Ministry of Water Development have collected data from over 2,000 people and 1200 samples of water from boreholes, and have documented the seriousness of endemic fluorosis in Kenya.

It is expensive to remove excess fluoride from drinking water. A pilot defluoridation plant built recently in Kenya cost over 20,000 dollars and maintenance costs are also high. However, recent research in Kenya so far shows that locally available materials, such as clay, carbonised coffee husks, and bone meal have good potential as defluoridation agents. The use of clay pots in the home may also help resolve this major public health issue.

The re-emergence of mass political struggle in South Africa over the past few years has revived the debate over the most appropriate method of struggle in South Africa. After the harsh repressions of the fifties when the Congress Movement was crushed, there seemed to be no other option than armed struggle. (The Congress Movement was made up of the African National Congress representing Africans, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, and the Congress of Democrats representing democratic whites.) But with the resurgence of the black trade union movement in the early seventies, the emergence of the black consciousness movement in the late sixties and early seventies and the escalation of the community struggles which culminated in the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983, the political scene seemed to be changing. Now for the first time in twenty years, mass struggle expressed through extra-parliamentary political organisation seemed able to challenge the apartheid state.

It was this climate that led people to question the basic assumptions that had been made about armed struggle; was armed struggle in fact the only way to overthrow the apartheid state, or did it merely take the initiative away from the mass of the people?

#### MASS POLITICAL STRUGGLE AS A BASIS FOR REVOLUTION

Mass political struggle in South Africa today takes the form of Worker Organisations (unions and union federation); youth organisations; organisations of women; civic organisations and political organisations (Transvaal Indian Congress, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, etc.)

The underlying principle of mass political action is that of unifying the masses in order to create a front broad enough and powerful enough to overthrow the state. The assumption therefore is that the unions alone, or the students alone, or the community organisations alone, are not strong enough to challenge the power of the state, but the united strength of the people is powerful enough to bring the state to its knees.

The second basic principle of mass struggle is that of countering the state's autocratic method of rule by building mass democratic institutions. These institutions provide both the model of the future democratic state that the people are striking for, and the means of mobilising the people for that struggle. The trade unions can run the factories themselves by teaching the workers about company accounts, bargaining procedures and profit ratios, and at the same time the unions are mobilising the workers to overthrow the oppressive state.

Mass political struggle operates at two different levels of organisation. The primary level is that of the grassroots organisations; the trade unions, the youth organisations, the civic, the women's organisations, the student organisations. This is the mass level. The secondary level is that of the political organisation. In order to unite all the grassroots organisations in common struggle against the state, in order to prepare joint strategies, plan campaigns and unify the oppressed, a second level political organisation must be built. The aim of this organisation is to act as a broad front, which unifies all the grassroots organisations around the issue which they all have in common, that is, the desire to overthrow the autocratic state. This of course means that reactionary trade unions or youth movements which support the state cannot be included in the broad front. Without the broad front political organisation there is a danger that the unions will only focus on economic issues, the student organisations only on educational issues, etc., and no one will concentrate on the broader political questions. No one will link the shortage of houses to the rising military budget, the lack of trained teachers to the expense of maintaining apartheid, etc. So the political organisation both broadens and deepens the struggle. It links the student struggle to the worker and peasant struggle by showing the interconnections between these struggles, and in so doing unites the oppressed in one common struggle against the state. Finally, the adherents of mass political struggle object to the elitism (militarism) and the necessary non-democratic nature of armed struggle. These two





THE FOLLOWING TWO ARTICLES EXPRESS VARYING VIEWS ON THE RELATION BETWEEN MASS POLITICAL ORGANISATION AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

READERS WHO WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THE DEBATE FURTHER ARE WELCOME TO WRITE TO US.

# mass political struggle vs armed struggle?

features directly contradict the mass democratic nature of mass political struggle.

## ARMED STRUGGLE AS THE MEANS OF REVOLUTION

Armed struggle can only take root where political means of opposing the state have been completely exhausted in the eyes of the majority of the people. Because armed struggle (guerrilla warfare) relies on the support of the people for its very existence, the people themselves must be entirely convinced of the need to resort to violent methods of struggle. If this is not so, then the act of taking up arms becomes mere political opportunism. But, on the other hand, if political methods have clearly failed to bring about the desired change, and if the political organisations have been crushed (as happened in the early '60s) then the leading political organisations have no option but to use armed struggle. In such a situation armed struggle becomes a political act because the people can no longer express their opposition to the state through their trade unions or community organisations. All avenues of legal opposition have been closed, therefore resistance takes the form of burning down government offices or attacking the forces of the State: directly (the police and army). These acts of resistance boost the morale of the people who have seen their organisation crushed by the State and who might feel that the power of the State is all-pervasive. Each successful act of resistance brings more recruits into the liberation struggle.

Because of its illegality, the liberation army can never be responsible to the mass of the people. In order to survive the inevitable attacks of a hostile state, the organisation will have to be structured on hierarchical lines, with each level of the organisation taking instructions without question. There is no room for democratic debate in such an organisation, for full meetings of the organisation which enable the members to discuss the programme of action outlined by the leaders, or the election of leaders for that matter. The organisation must of necessity be run on strictly centralised lines (receiving instructions from the top) with only the highest organs being in full possession of all the facts. It is the above point (the centralisation) which contrasts the methods of the liberation army most starkly with those of the democratic organisations. It is the lack of accountability to the people themselves that worries the adherents of the "political struggle" most. Yet it is the absence of political organisations that led to the creation of the liberation army.

## THE SITUATION IN SA TODAY

Broadly speaking, the development of the struggle in SA took the following path: mass democratic organisations were built in the process of struggle against the state

(the Congress Movement) which were brutally repressed and crushed by the early sixties. In response, leading elements from within those organisations turned to armed struggle as the way forward. Although this was launched in the early sixties it did not seem to take root in SA. The PAC's military wing POQO (We Alone) was quickly crushed by the state, never to revive, while that of the ANC, Umkonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) only just managed to survive the harsh repression of the sixties. Armed struggle almost ceased to exist in SA until the late seventies, when the ANC was able to renew its sabotage campaign.

However, the late seventies also saw the revival of mass political organisations, creating a situation in which mass struggle existed side by side with armed struggle. It is this situation which created the dilemma in SA today. Does the armed struggle jeopardise mass struggle, or does it complement it?

The liberation movement, the ANC which is responsible for the organisation of armed struggle in SA firmly believes that without the armed struggle the people will never overthrow the SA state and that the popular mass organisations of the seventies and eighties will experience the same repression and ultimate destruction that the organisations of the fifties experienced. On the other side, the adherents of mass political struggle inside SA (Fosatu, Fodd and Canning Workers Union and the General Workers Union, being the main forces in this camp) believe that resistance must be spearheaded and directed through the mass organisations, and because they cannot control the armed struggle (ie, because the guerrillas are not answerable to the mass organisation), they would see this form of struggle as undemocratic and not in the interests of the people of SA. Presumably they foresee the mass democratic organisations eventually paralysing the state through mass strikes and stay-aways. Some elements within this camp foresee the mass organisations developing their own armed wings in the final stages of the struggle - military wings which would then be accountable to these same mass organisations.



# ANOTHER VIEW

Any revolutionary struggle has its own successes and failures. The enemy we are fighting is capable of temporarily reversing the gains of the masses but he cannot completely halt the revolutionary process. Events in the recent past in southern Africa e.g. the counter-offensive of the Pretoria regime epitomised by its destabilisation tactics in the frontline states, the training, arming and equipping of armed bandits which are used to destabilise the independent states, and most recently the diplomatic offensive which culminated in the Nkomati Accord - all of these indicate a grim future and set critics to turn to their pens.

The obstacles facing the liberation movement in pursuit of its strategy may have disappointed earlier hopes and defied some of the more optimistic predictions. But the defeatist conclusions of many academic analysts are static in their conception and show an onlookers separation from the demands and process of active revolutionary struggle. One such conclusion is that armed struggle is of no relevance or that it takes away the initiative from the mass of the people.

## THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS A COMPONENT PART OF OUR REVOLUTION

The issue involved is not of counterposing armed struggle to mass political activity. Indeed, the ANC, which is conducting the armed struggle, has always emphasised the importance of the two forms of struggle in our situation with mass political activity taking precedence. General Giap, that great Vietnamese strategist, stated: "If insurrection is said to be an art, the main content of this art is to know how to give to the struggle forms appropriate to the political situation at each stage, how to maintain the correct relation between forms of political struggle and those of armed struggle in each period. At the beginning the political struggle is the main task, the armed struggle a secondary one". Years later, in his message from prison, Nelson Mandela was to state; "Between the anvil of mass political struggle and the hammer of armed struggle we shall crush apartheid and white minority domination."

The very idea of counterposing armed struggle to mass activity in our situation is, to say the least, very absurd. The one complements the other. One cannot do without the other. Any suggestion that the adherents of mass political struggle are opposed to armed struggle because of "elitism" is unfounded. In the first place, to refer to a people's army, i.e. Umkhonto We Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation), as an elitist army demonstrates ignorance of the nature of a people's army. It is failure to differentiate between a bourgeois army and a people's army. A people's army must of necessity practice democratic centralism, a situation where, unlike a bourgeois army, the commanders give orders, but are accountable for their actions. Centralism is necessary to safeguard the army against attempts of the enemy to undermine or crush it, but not as an excuse to do away with democracy. Furthermore, the ANC is itself a mass political organisation with its armed wing subordinate to the political body and not vice-versa.



RELEVANCE OF ARMED STRUGGLE

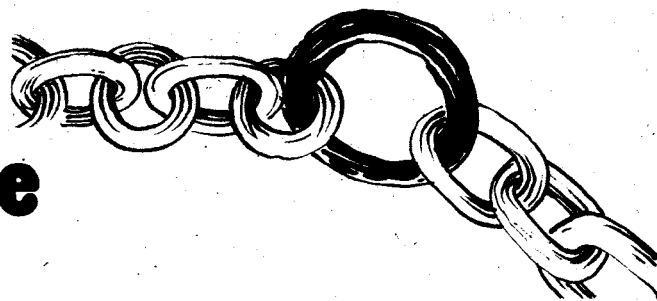
The decision to take up arms is not the exclusive privilege of a single group of people or of certain individuals. It is a decision of the people. It is brought about by certain conditions both subjective and objective. It requires the psychological readiness and a motivation among the oppressed to use violence for their liberation. Those conditions emerged in the 1960s and have not changed since. In the 1960s, when this decision was taken, the people had exhausted the "reformist option". All avenues of mass political activity were closed. The people's leaders were harassed and their organisations banned. Today there is heightened mass political activity but over the people's activities is the enemy's power ready to be unleashed. It did not take the enemy much effort to ban several of the people's organisations and their newspapers after the 1976 uprisings. But whatever the enemy does with its brutality and legal machinery, it can never smash a determined people completely. It may ban this or that organisation but people will always find ways of regrouping and mobilising.

To admit the difficulty of executing armed struggle today, does not imply that armed tactics have no place in South Africa's future liberation struggle. The struggle for majority rule has no realistic backing without it. Indeed the ANC and its allies continue to regard force as one of the main foundations of any future strategy. To abandon the armed tactics is to abandon the people to forces willing to settle for scraps of power and not its substance. However long the struggle still takes, and however many lessons there are still to be learnt, it is unthinkable for South African revolutionaries, in this era, to return to the struggle for reform only within the white framework; for this is the only alternative.

On the whole, conditions for armed struggle have, in fact, improved. The activities of Umkhonto We Sizwe have escalated precisely because of the people's support. The international isolation of South Africa has reached a very high point. In Africa direct imperialist control is being undermined; one country after the other has obtained independence. Today South Africa is not cushioned by buffer zones, but on its borders are independent African states opposed to apartheid. Inside the country the people are displaying a significant unswerving political awareness and militancy. This is gaining momentum as the system remains incapable of overcoming the ever-recurring financial and economic crises inherent in the capitalist mode of production, and more especially as contradictions which flow from its internal racist-colonialist character intensify. The depressed state of the workers has triggered off economic struggles which are giving the workers a renewed consciousness of their collective strength. The youth and students are continually challenging government policies at educational institutions. Government attempts to gain "coloured" and Indian acceptance are proving fruitless as demonstrated by the very low turnout at the recent "coloured" and Indian elections of the dummy Tri-Cameral Parliament. These conditions create a favourable situation for armed struggle and are in turn strengthened by it.

Today the presence of armed struggle, worker organisation, underground political units of the ANC and mass political organisations are the four pillars on which the struggle is based and from which victory will come. Without the armed struggle it is doubtful whether the mass political organisations of the 1980s would have emerged. To depict adherents of mass political struggle and armed struggle as alternative or opposing camps is a reprehensible attempt to divide those who are united in action to crush the Apartheid State and establish a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

# NAMIBIA: the linkage issue



by Kauku Hengari

by Kauku Hengari

The word "linkage" has become commonplace in the independence discussion of Namibia. In 1982, Reagan's administration and the apartheid South African regime refused to give independence to Namibia because of the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces who are in the People's Republic of Angola.

This is not the first time that such an excuse has been brought up; many hindrances were brought up one after another. This delaying of Namibia's independence is a racist South African strategy to protect herself from what she terms "instability". She wants countries surrounding her to cooperate and not say anything about apartheid. South Africa will then continue with white minority domination and exploitation of Southern Africa.

This linkage of the Cuban internationalist withdrawal from Angola has been rejected by SWAPO, the Frontline States, the Organisation of African Unity and the whole progressive world. They argue that Angola and Cuba are sovereign states and are free to enter into whatever agreement they wish.

Despite the opposition to linkage, and despite efforts by the international community to give Namibia independence in accordance with the United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibia, no progress has been made. By insisting on the irrelevant issue of Cuban troops in Angola, the Reagan administration and South Africa have blocked decolonisation.

The reason why the Cubans came to Angola is well known. It was because of Pretoria's invasion of Angola in 1975 and because of her support for UNITA bandits. The Cubans came at the invitation of the Angolan government to help with the defence of the country. The Cubans have never crossed Angola's border into any other country of Southern Africa. Also Angola does not even share a border with South Africa.

In recent weeks and months the world has been fed with lies by Reagan and Botha that everything is fine for Namibians and that efforts are being made to give independence to Namibia. But in reality many more Namibians are being jailed, tortured, and killed while the Reagan administration arrogantly blocks the independence of Namibia.

Linkage has been used as an excuse for nearly two years. South Africa and the Reagan administration want to evade UN Resolution 435. This is why there is a need to mobilise the international community so that it can take a clear stand in support of the liberation of the people of Namibia.

At SWAPO's enlarged central committee meeting, held in Kwanza Sul province of the People's Republic of Angola, from April 17 to 20 last year, the central committee condemned and rejected the unjustifiable linkage. It said that the Namibians have a right to be independent without preconditions or delays.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, said in Lusaka in January this year that his government still insists on the Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Pretoria's call for a regional conference to be attended by Angola, SWAPO, the UNITA bandits and the puppets of the Namibian Multi-Party Conference is a clear indication that she wants to avoid the programme for independence set out in Resolution 435.

Early this year, South Africa and Angola signed what is known as the Lusaka Security Agreement. The agreement is for South African forces who have occupied southern Angola since 1975, to withdraw. The Cubans will not be allowed to enter the area left by South Africa. Although Angola has kept the agreement to show good will, South Africa has delayed the troop withdrawal.

After this agreement many observers had expected that South Africa would be convinced that the Cuban presence was not a threat to her so-called security. She would then drop the linking of the Cubans to the independence of Namibia. But this did not happen. During the Lusaka Conference on the future of Namibia in May 11-13 1984, the Boers prevented the agreement to bring Namibia to independence.

South Africa continually says she wants to leave Namibia. These statements are welcomed by some western countries. It is true that South Africa wants to withdraw but not at any cost.

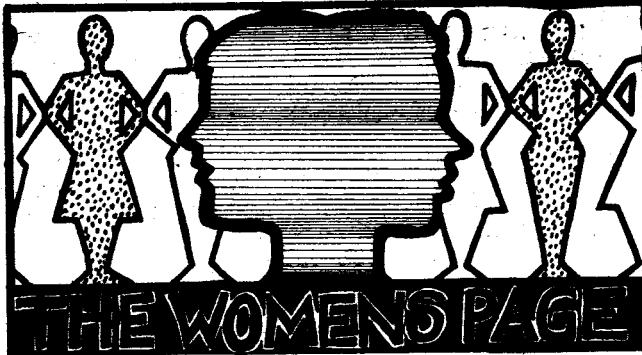
South Africa is doing as she is told by Reagan. Reagan wants to be regarded as good with foreign policy, to help him be re-elected as president. He needs a success for his only African policy - "Cubans out of Angola". He seeks a Namibian settlement for this reason only. On the other hand, South Africa wants to leave Namibia because the war costs too much, especially with the instability in South Africa, drought, and world recession. She is hesitant to let free and fair elections take place in Namibia as the UN wants, because SWAPO will definitely win.

The US invented linkage but pretend that linkage is being made by South Africa. The latest South African statement, that they cannot wait indefinitely for the Cubans to leave Angola, clearly shows that linkage is an American idea. South Africa is just following American orders.

Recently the Reagan administration, having realised that most countries reject linkage, have now changed the language they use to make it more ambiguous. They claim to seek not "linkage", but "parallelism" between Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal. The Contact Group of five Western nations (US, France, Britain, Canada, West Germany) which was seeking a solution to the Namibian question, has been split by linkage. France has left the group and all the others, except the US, have rejected the linkage.

The Reagan administration and South Africa are busy with diplomatic moves in order to fight against world criticism of their stand towards Namibia. The moves are the so called security arrangements with Angola, "regional peace", and seeking a third colonial power, as the racist Premier Botha announced recently, to replace South Africa in Namibia.

To SWAPO it is clear that the aim of the Reagan administration is to hold Namibia's independence and its people's freedom to ransom, in exchange for strategic concessions by the Frontline States to Washington and Pretoria. For itself, the Reagan administration wants to secure strategic positions for American imperialism in the region.



# DEFINING W.A.G.

*This article arises from an interview with Dr. Carolyn Clarke, a lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe, and an outspoken member of WAG. We hope that it will answer some of the questions people may have about the group.*

## THE BIRTH OF WAG

WAG was born in response to OPERATION CLEAN-UP (Sept.-Oct. 1983), an activity that was meant to rid the urban areas of squatters, prostitutes and other unemployed people. The aim of this exercise was to resettle these people and involve them in gainful employment, or to rehabilitate them somehow. While this aim was basically good, most Women's Organisations in general, and WAG in particular, felt that this operation had been carried out indiscriminately, resulting in the embarrassment of quite a number of women who were collected and hence wrongly implicated for illicit operations. Ever since then WAG has established itself as an on-going group, a trouble shooter, whose main concern is WOMEN.

## MEMBERSHIP

WAG is not a mass organisation, neither does it see itself as an umbrella body for women's organisations scattered around the country. It is also not an elite group despite what some people may say about it. Nevertheless, WAG is open to any woman concerned with problems facing women as individuals, or as a group. The hope is that members will gain something from the activities and structures of WAG, and so enhance their organisational skills. Though the group started with about 120 members, the number has since dropped to a steady 40. One reason may be simply frustration, a belief that their activities will get them very little, if anything at all. Nonetheless, with more positive response from the powers-that-be, WAG hopes its membership will increase. Currently it is an interracial group, white dominated, with expatriates forming a sizeable percentage. However, membership is effectively limited to those comfortable with English, as all WAG business is conducted in that language. A question was raised as to whether men could become members of WAG. It was tentatively suggested that they could become associate members, but nothing definite was agreed upon.

## OBJECTIVES

WAG is committed to the economic, social and cultural advancement of women in Zimbabwe, a broad objective indeed. On the economic level, the group aims to investigate the economic problems facing women in Zimbabwe and then, acting as a pressure group, bring these problems to the attention of people in influential positions in various institutions, like the government.

Culturally, WAG sees itself as a forum where women can be encouraged to produce plays and creative art, and so lead to the projection of latent abilities which would not otherwise have an outlet. Drama could be used to help women understand their problems and to make changes in their lives. It would also mean opportunity for women to examine their own lives and then present it to those interested enough to listen.

## ACHIEVEMENTS

WAG is hardly one year old, so one should not expect miracles from its activities. But what WAG has achieved so far cannot be ignored. At the very beginning, WAG had hoped to document the experience of women who had been rounded up in OPERATION CLEAN-UP. The results were disappointing. Most of the women were very reluctant to speak of their experience for fear of reprisal, or out of embarrassment. So this goal was not realistically achieved. However, WAG members and other concerned women kept a high profile in keeping this issue before the public, through *The Herald* and other mass media. Because of this general outcry, and other reasons, not least of which was the general mishandling of the whole operation, almost all women were released.

In May of this year WAG organised a highly successful workshop in Harare. One of the main objectives of the workshop was the dissemination of information to women about their rights. Women's organisations and groups from all over the country were able to discuss problems common to all women, particularly black women in Zimbabwe. The most popular subjects were: maintenance, employment, prostitution, property rights, and sex education for children. Since most of the participants came from the rural areas, the range of problems were mostly related to the lives of these women in rural areas, who were really the main target for WAG. Asked why there was this bias towards rural women at the workshop, WAG said that these women were the least informed about the rights they had acquired since the Legal Age of Majority Act was made into law. (Dec. 1982) It was quite surprising to find that these women knew so little about their rights, showing that communication networks needed to be used effectively and efficiently if women in all walks of life were to progress.



A Women's Club meeting.

Women from a local trade union present a play at the W.A.G. seminar.



At the end of the workshop, a number of recommendations were drawn up and these have been sent out to various institutions concerned with women's activities and their welfare. A report on the workshop was made and may still be in circulation now. One realisation was that women were conscious of the problems facing them. As the saying goes - troubles shared are troubles halved. They were able to speak out and join with other women. Solutions may not be well thought out or easily implemented, but women by suggesting solutions see that their problems are solvable, their situation is not overwhelming.

Many of the women at the workshop hoped WAG would be able to organise or help them organise more workshops of this kind in their own areas, which would be attended by men as well. That way it would be easier to break out of the shackles women find themselves in now. It is not very easy to bring out in words how successful the workshop was, but suffice it to say that the women who participated in it were quite pleased with the whole organisation.

As the name implies, WAG is for action, by women, for women. All members in WAG realise the great task before them and they are prepared for the challenge facing them. More organisations of this kind could really prove an invaluable asset to all women in Zimbabwe, and in fact, to all citizens.

## seizing power

by Tsitsi Dangarembwa and Juliet Baah

*Reuben, Reuben, I've been thinking  
What a fine world this would be  
If the boys were all transported  
Far beyond the Northern Sea.*

I'm sure many of us have felt similar sentiments to those expressed in this old English nursery rhyme at one time or another. Although it would be quite a revolutionary step to dispatch all men northward, it simply cannot, fortunately or unfortunately, be done. And even if it could, given the present level of consciousness among us, the women of Zimbabwe, it probably would not do much good anyway.

A revolution is necessary, yes, to improve the conditions of women in this country and in the world at large. The question is; "What kind of a revolution?" In answer a resounding roar emanates from all progressive male throats "a socialist revolution". Are they correct? A socialist revolution is indeed a people's revolution hence the adoption of scientific socialism as its policy by our government. Only scientific socialism can lead to the liberation of the oppressed masses, and since women form the majority, they will be liberated once an advanced state of socialism has been realised. One cannot refute this analysis, but I wonder, given the plight of women today, whether we shall survive as unexploited productive forces in society in order to contribute to and benefit from this revolution.

The problem is: women are oppressed in ways that do not seem to be economic, so this oppression will be the last to be destroyed. But if it combines with the new socialist jargon it can lead to worse oppression.

For example, since socialisation of the means of production is a basic aim of scientific socialism, socialist men in the transitional stages, who still regard women as mean-objects, will happily subscribe to the notion of socialisation of women - joyfully and lustily throwing to the capitalist any shreds of decency and self-discipline they might have had in this respect. So we see a married man, enjoying an evening out with his "sugar mummy", who claims that this is an aspect of traditional socialism that was stifled by the present capitalist system.

This is universal, as a writer in the USA shows: "even among men who are radical in many of their political and social beliefs, women are treated as second class citizens. They are expected to serve as hand-maids, as bearers and servers and as bed-companions to men in radical politics whose roles and attitudes towards women are not significantly different from those of men with more conservative political views."

However, it is not only the female sex that suffers from the present state of our system, but everybody, as individuals and as members of society, will suffer the effects of the current self-indulgence. For this reason, and because no thinking woman can accept being owned, whether privately or publicly, more radical changes than that which are presently occurring are necessary.

So what is to be done? The best solution is for us to make the struggle our own. We must fight our own battles so that we do not have impossible or alienating conditions imposed on us. We must stop being passive participants in the struggle and arm ourselves with a revolutionary consciousness and solidarity.

This does not mean we should shout slogans or wage physical war, but we have a rather subtle weapon which most of us are not conscious of ... "OUR DIGNITY". How can we have dignity in this male dominated society? Our dignity is in the fact that we are the ones on whom the core of the society depends. A woman is there at the cradle, she watches the boys and girls take their first steps, she is the homemaker. The men run to us when they are in dire need of comfort. Mother, the strongest figure in the home. Our male counterparts would obviously object to her being the strongest in the home and in the society.

This ammunition can only be used when women in our society are able to wield it, when we recognise that we are and can be as good, as intelligent, as useful as men are in the homes and in every sphere of life. Hence we need to hold up our dignity.

But how do we hold up our dignity when there is no one to acknowledge it? We do agree that our society is one of exploitation of women by men. But do the men themselves see this as a woman's duty to fight this battle alone, having fought side by side in the liberation struggle? We therefore appeal to the government, the masses and to all level-headed men to rise up and bear the banner with us, for we make the backbone of society. Look for a "big" man and behind him is a woman who has laboured night and day to get him where he is.

Our appeal is to you all to acknowledge our value in society and appreciate our contribution to it. Treat women as they deserve, and not as objects of fun. Our shouts of "A Luta Continua" has been too melodious. Men join forces with us, bring in harmony and we will get a break-through. We promise you, you will not regret it.





A woman is brought into the maternity ward in early stages of labour. Her contractions are regular, one every three minutes lasting 30 seconds each. The amniotic waters have already broken, she is progressing well and able to sleep between contractions. Although she is not in extraordinary pain, a nurse comes in and gives her an injection. The woman has been warned by friends that injections are not good for the baby, but the nurse insists it will not do any harm, it is only for the pain. After a few minutes the contractions become irregular and the labour is slowed down. The injection is doing its job of slowing down the labour so the baby is not born during the night when no doctor is on duty. By morning the woman has dilated only 3cm, and by ten o'clock she is put on a drip which contains a hormone to speed the labour up. She has now been in labour 15 hours. Inducing the labour with a hormone causes the contractions to be more painful, making a simple birth much more traumatic. The baby is finally born after 24 hours of labour. Because of the delay between the onset of delivery when the amniotic waters broke and the birth, the baby has an infection and is immediately put on antibiotics.

This case is a typical example of the misuse of modern medicines. A normal birth was complicated by the use of unnecessary drugs, for the only purpose of making things easier for the medical professionals.

There are few of us who would challenge the authority of people in the medical field. We tend to view doctors, nurses, and such as those who know much more about our own bodies than we do, and we take their word as divine truth. We entrust our very lives to these people, often being afraid to even ask for an explanation of what and why certain things need to be done. But as human beings, those in the medical profession can make mistakes. They can also abuse their authority, and they can (often because they are so overworked) sometimes forget that they are in the service of humankind.

It is up to each of us as individuals to control how our own bodies are treated. The authoritarian atmosphere of a hospital may make us feel powerless, and even ignorant, but when we are aware of our rights and demand them we regain the power to make decisions on our own behalf.

What rights do we have as a patient in hospital? Let's first look at the admittance procedure. When can you be admitted and to which hospital? Within the government sector there is a chain of referral from clinic or rural hospital to district hospital to general hospital and finally to central hospital. Central hospitals, such as Parirenyatwa, are referral centres for the rest of the country and you cannot be admitted unless you have been sent there from some other hospital, clinic, or doctor. However, any emergency case will be freely admitted. Admittance to any government hospital is done on examination by the doctor on duty. If you are examined and the doctor does not understand the seriousness of your situation you can demand to be examined by another doctor. You are also free to appeal to the medical superintendent.

ent, who will judge the situation. You cannot, however, choose the doctor who sees you, but must accept any doctor employed by the government.

Once you have been admitted you should turn in any valuables such as money, jewellery, watches etc. to prevent loss or theft. You will be given a receipt for them, which you should check for accuracy. If you have any special diet requirements you can talk to the housekeeper on the ward about them. They will try to accommodate you as best they can.

When a female patient is being examined by a male doctor either in an office or in hospital, she can and should ask that another female, either a nurse or a friend, be present in the room.

The treatment of your illness is the area where defense of your rights is most important, and also where frequent violations can occur. It is important that a patient understand exactly what the problem is, and what treatment is involved. Doctors are often too rushed, and can appear to be unconcerned with informing the patient, so it is up to the patient to demand a careful explanation. Those who cannot understand the language the doctor speaks should not be shy to ask for a translator.

It is very difficult for the average lay-person to determine if the treatment being given is actually appropriate to the illness, but it is good to ask. Sometimes drugs are given to make things easier for the hospital staff, (as in inducing labour) without consideration of the patient's actual needs. For example - if you are going to be given an injection you may ask: "What is the injection for?" The nurse may tell you, "It is a sedative", which doesn't help you much, so you ask, "What does a sedative do?" The nurse will explain, "It helps you to sleep." But you actually have no trouble sleeping - so feel free to say, "I don't want it." Be firm with your refusal, it is your right.

The patient is entitled to refuse treatment at any point, and can discharge himself from the hospital even though the doctor may not approve, provided a form is signed which says the discharge was against medical advice.

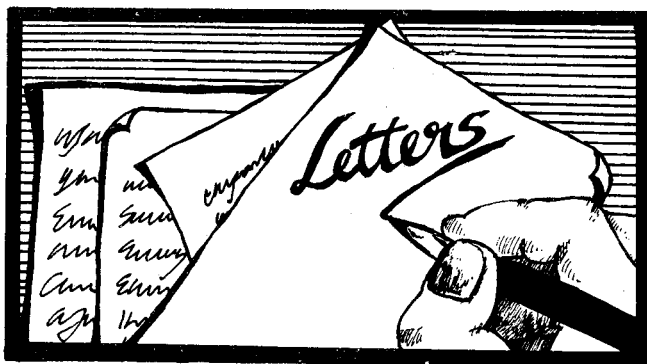
Some hospitals, such as Parirenyatwa, are connected with medical schools. The patients are then used for various studies which greatly benefit the medical students by giving them first hand experience with health problems. As a patient, however, you must be informed that your case is being used as a study, and give consent.

When surgery is under anaesthesia a consent form must be signed. Anyone over the age of 18 is considered a legal major and is able to sign their own consent form. Only in the case where a woman wants to be sterilised is the husband asked to sign consent, in all other cases she is considered a major.

Some consent forms will state that once the patient is anaesthetised and undergoing an operation the doctor may go ahead with any procedures he thinks are necessary. For example, a woman being operated on for a growth on her breast may find when she awakes that not only the growth was removed, but the whole breast because the doctor found the growth to be cancerous. This limits the woman's choice to seek less radical treatment than removal of the whole breast. To prevent this from occurring the patient has the right to alter consent forms to include only the specific procedure he or she may want performed.

Who do you complain to if you feel you are being mistreated in hospital? The first complaint is to the sister in charge if no action is taken, complain to the floor matron and then finally the principle matron. You must know the actual name of the person you are complaining about when you make the complaint. In the case of a complaint against the doctor, go directly to the medical superintendent at the hospital.

What happens when the doctor makes a real mistake? If you believe you have been mishandled you should seek legal advice. If there has been "malpractice" a settlement can be made. When a case is very serious the doctor can lose his licence.



## SHOWING OFF ?

Dear Comrades:

Who is your journal aimed at? I think it is much too difficult to understand. The sentences are long and complicated. You use words that many people do not know. Also you use difficult phrases when you could use easy phrases.

I will give you an example. In Number 7 you had an article called "Resettlement". The first sentence of this article was:

"Observers of agrarian reform and rural development since independence have sometimes had to content themselves with deducing the content and possible effects of government programmes from the lofty rhetoric contained in policy pronouncements."

What does "agrarian" mean? What do you mean by "content themselves with deducing"? What is "lofty rhetoric"? I am sorry to say that most of your articles are like this. Many are even more difficult to understand.

You say you are socialists. You say you are writing for ordinary people. If this is true then you must write simply. Stop trying to show us how clever you are. Start writing simple English that anyone can understand.

Yours in critical support,  
Mike Davies

## IMPERIALIST AID

Dear sir;

I would like to contribute to this little debated topic, but one fought with much controversy, "aid".

The question that has plagued my mind with lingering persistence is—Why have the imperialist powers made a right about turn and suddenly started injecting massive sums of money through ZIMCORD or through technical aid agreements? Why have they become suddenly philanthropic, yet during the anti-colonial war they were wont to frown at us as "Moscow's puppets, and terrorists" and all those negative and perjorative imperialist terms with which their languages abound, yet they were wont to give succour to the Smith terrorist regime by aiding and abetting it directly or indirectly through their multi-national corporations in defiance of the UN. What do they stand to gain?

In this light, those of us who are patriots and Marxist-Leninists by conviction viewed and still view ZIMCORD as not the best thing that could have happened to us. Knowing the intrigues of imperialism, mindful of the proverbial man who needs a long spoon if he is to eat with the devil, some of us look with suspicion and caution at ZIMCORD, because to us imperialists are not just paper tigers.

Why this sudden wooing? These answers present themselves: Imperialism does not want to lose us to the East. They still want to maintain intact the intricate tubes of capital flowing to the metropolitan countries. They are trying to bribe us into abandoning our principled stand, into becoming their watchdogs and to achieve this they must keep us in the capitalist camp so that we can join hands in defending Christianity and civilisation.

Subtle indeed are the approaches and overtures of imperialism. Their aid has infiltrated and influenced every sector. In education, they have sent hundreds of their bourgeoisie teachers, some of whom cannot be trusted to teach effectively but hide behind mastery of the language and their knowledge of the background of T.S. Eliot's or Shakespeare's works. Thus they are effective instruments for the dissemination of bourgeois cultural values. Their imperialist cultural missions join with the British Council, which has donated imperialist books and offered scholarships for Zimbabwean students to study abroad.

With a few exceptions, what generally characterises the imperialist books offered as aid and now being disseminated to our libraries as useful literature to be ladled to our scholars? By and large, they are full of racist trash and racist theories and apologies for imperialism. They depict us a people without a history, culture or religion who would have perished in hell were it not for the timely intervention of the missionary. Apart from their obscurantism, they are full of trivialities that are irrelevant to the production of a socialist man for whom our education should prepare our children—the future architects of a worker's state.

That aside, what about the manpower that they help us to develop? Without mincing words, we can say that these students become black Englishmen in dress, manner values and thinking, and all other ideological facets. They have been groomed as an elite class to act as the ideological spokesmen of the bourgeoisie. How else can we explain the zombie-like air of our 'learned men'? Their words, their thinking found in the philosophy, economics books and works of creative writing are so full of apologies for imperialism, cynicism at our efforts to create a new order. When they are critical, they openly flirt with capitalism or at best hide behind obscurations. They are true to their masters whose works they have imbibed with books they have donated to us through their cultural missions. You can't win can you?

How in all honesty can these people bring our transformation to Zimbabwe when they are actually "homesick"? The educational aid therefore must be viewed with caution for it is meant to produce specialists and economic advisers whose advice to our government will coincide with the profit interests of the Reaganites. Aid indeed!

Zimbabweans don't want to talk about another sector that is vital and which the building of we cannot trust to any foreigner, least of all any imperialist foreigner—that is the military forces. Through some form of aid we had a British military advisory team involved in the integration of our communist trained forces, and because of this our officers had to meet the bourgeoisie standards in order to qualify.

Comrades, Marxists are not given to cynicism, but these negative developments, direct products of imperialist aid, need serious analysis. We cannot just entrust our future to Euro-Americans, even if they are black.

Benny Lutshani Moyo



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