

THE VOICE

SADCC | PTA

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- The map shows the continent of Africa with a focus on Southern Africa. A large area in the north and west is shaded with pink diagonal lines. To the east, along the coast, are several countries shaded with purple diagonal lines. Further south and inland, a group of countries is shaded with green diagonal lines. A legend in the bottom left corner explains these color codes.
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COMMENT

THE VOICE SADCC/PTA Magazine welcomes you to its household and we are confident you, after reading this first issue, will continue to support us.

Primarily, THE VOICE's function is to fill a vacuum long felt in that issues of importance are written by publishers who live 6 000 miles away.

THE VOICE is a regional publication — owned and published in Zimbabwe in order to inform, educate and entertain on the development programmes within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and the Preferential Trade Area regions.

Our objective is to focus on development within this vast region; development in agriculture, manufacturing, mining, energy, transport and how best to lessen and finally, cut off dependence on South African trade routes through usage of the Beira Corridor and the port of Dar es Salaam, through the Tazara railway and road net works.

The Cover might mislead readers, but the question has to be asked: With the SADCC; the PTA? (Note: Key: 1. SADCC countries; 2. PTA countries; 3. SADCC countries who also belong to the PTA; 4. Member States who have not signed the PTA protocol.) See Cover Story, Page 5, also Page 8.

The region is imbued with infrastructure which only rehabilitation — which will take time, but the region's leadership is of one mind that the apartheid regime has to be brought down and must surrender power to the masses of South Africa through sanctions and non-usage of its ports at Durban and Port Elizabeth.

The region too has some "bad fish" in its net, the likes of whom are Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Sese Seko Mubutu of Zaire, both of whom are protégés of Pretoria and Tel Aviv.

In this issue, our first — see contents page — we also deal with the Third World Debt crisis; racism in South Africa, and, on a lighter note, autobiographical conversations of current issues, which will give a lift to your spirits and those of your friends who might "borrow" your copy. Share it with them and we'll say: Welcome to the club of THE VOICE readership.

THE VOICE

SADCC/PTA

VOLUME 1 No. 1 FEBRUARY 1987

FOUNDERS

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ARTWORK

LOGO — Hassam Musa
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The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference Enters Its Seventh year . . .

WITHER, THE SADCC?

By Our Correspondent

Even as it prepared for the launch, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was already under close analysis by prophets of Doom. Economic and political fortune tellers had started crystal-ball gazing to determine the time and date of the collapse of the SADCC. Projects like the SADCC have become, in the African context, like the phenomenon of the shooting stars who are expected to just a moment later.

What then is so special about the SADCC that one should be moved to celebrate its seventh anniversary in advance? What lessons have been learnt from past failures? Perhaps this is not even the right question. After all, those economic and political analysts who have been around quite a bit have already compiled their journalistic offerings into reference books on the subjects.

So there you see. A good library should have this book. The future under the SADCC is a great deal of uncertainty. According to the authors three

FLASHBACK: SADCC leaders met at Meikles Hotel, Harare for their annual Consultative Conference. From Left: Pres Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia; Pres Eduardo dos Santos, Angola; the late Pres Samora Machel, Mozambique; PM Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe; Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs, Michael Sefali, Lesotho; Pres Kamuzu Banda, Malawi and former Pres Julius Nyerere, Tanzania. (Photos: Ministry of Information, Zimbabwe)



were sacrificed to the pursuit of self interest!

It then becomes pertinent to ask why the SADCC should be expected to deviate from the well established norm.

In their desperate attempts to justify their predictions, the sceptics even note that, in a continent where even the result of a football match can threaten relations between countries, the collapse of any economic or political union is totally in character.

But, to be serious, why should the SADCC be expected to succeed where the East African Common Services (EACSO) failed; where the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland collapsed; when even the Economic Commission for Africa could not get its act together to create an economic union of its East African States from Ethiopia to Mauritius?

Some African countries north of the Sahara are known to have met to put their signatures to the political and economic union of their states, and thereafter hurried back home in time to declare war on each other!

will inform you about the lessons that should have been learnt from past failures. But I think a more pressing question should be what lessons have not been learnt.

This should yield more practical answers to the problems that stand for the SADCC. This question has the further merit of placing us all on exactly the same position, that of equal ignorance, like survivors of a nuclear holocaust!

Our sudden recognition of each other's worth and dependance should provide us with a sufficient resolve to succeed. And failure should be a prospect too ghostly to contemplate.

- * The first lesson that has not been learnt is the difference between means and ends. The struggle for independence from colonialism and imperialism was not an end but a means to an end. The end was the fundamental transformation of the socio-economic structure to serve the interests of all the people.

What has happened instead is that the new ruling class has merely in-

herited the vulgar materialism of the colonialists and established themselves into a class of conspicuous consumption.

To secure this position for itself for a long time, this consumer elite has inherited the colonialists' instruments of torture, and is displaying a similar appetite for muzzling its opponents.

The road to transformation gets longer and longer as the gains of the struggle are squandered by replacement governments, while their opponents are in full flight back to the metropolitan countries and crying "revolution betrayed".

- * The second lesson that has not been learnt is that economic development

is a process and not a conclusion. Common newspaper headlines in the SADCC countries nonchalantly announce the signing of billion dollar loans by one government or another within the region.

The hungry masses are presumably expected to feel immediate satisfaction from these headlines, if they can read them at all! the unemployed should presumably start spending the money they would have spent had they found a job.

Those headlines are a mirage reflecting the quality of life that might be possible if people can replace present indolence with hard work, and forced immediate

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The SADCC will be offered several more billion dollar loans. But these must quickly set in train a process that will ensure food for all and jobs for all. Then education for all and health for all by the year 2 000 will be transformed into a reality rather than the slogan it currently is.

- The third lesson that has not been learnt is to distinguish between promise and performance. Politicians are great ones for making promises which they have no intention of keeping. Where the ballot box has been respected, progressive changes have taken place and only those who have matched promise with performance have been returned to power.

The tendency abounds in Africa to change issues through the barrel of the gun. In situations like that, it is not uncommon to find, not one, but several administrations claiming legitimate authority over the same country, each administration promising the masses exactly the same package as the other groups.

Hopefully, the SADCC will be spared too many of these experiences because the task before it is too important. People in such countries have experienced no progress, no matter how long they have been independent. They have lived all their lives in a constant present where the same promises have been flashed before their eyes in such quick succession that they may believe them to be different. The ef-

fect is debilitating. And the temptation becomes ever present to change Governments for the sake of change.

- The fourth lesson that has not been learnt is that colonial boundaries have to be disregarded if African unity is to have meaning. Preoccupation with flying a multitude of flags simply serves to identify who the colonial master was! It is not a positive assertion to identify oneself. Hence the need, still, to obtain a visa to visit one's relations across the so-called border.

But that border too, is a psychological barrier to one's identity. It represents a split mentality which renders many African States incoherent.

The SADCC countries represent multiple types of government. There are kingdoms, democratic republics, republics run by dictators, multiparty democracies, and one-party democracies. The list and the variations go on.

But, as some one once quipped, the SADCC countries have only three forms of government. There are those who operate like political parties and never stop addressing parliament. Others operate like business enterprises and only call parliament to resolve a conflict of interest. Others, still, are run like agro-industrial estates with an absent landlord, usually just across the border.

Whatever the truth may be, diversity of political systems should not be a sufficient factor to disrupt the objectives and intents of the SADCC.

The tendency to make issues of whether one country is following a socialist road or a capitalist one is to involve a new form of tribalism operating within the wider content of the SADCC. It is a tribalism which is more debilitating in its effect.



Simba Makoni SADCC Executive Secretary

It is not important what form of government a country finally adopted at independence. What is important is that the country came out of colonialism through its own particular experiences.

It's like a house on fire. You take the escape route you find most suitable. And if you want to escape the next fire,

then you will listen to the experiences of others who took different routes.

Which is where the SADCC comes into true perspective. A fire is raging in South Africa. And thousands of voices of people of all races and colours are crying to the world to bring them out or to put down the fire. Preferably to put down the fire.

The message has gone out to the whole world, and a fire brigade may be on its way to South Africa. But those on the spot cannot stand by and watch. They must act together with resolve so that the fire brigade can still find something to save. The SADCC is on the doorstep of that house on fire.

But the SADCC should not be carried away with emotions.

It must look facts in the face. Apartheid, like Nazism is based on the superiority of one race over the other. It is just another world for racism. The core of its philosophy is the inferiority of the black person.

So how much help can the SADCC hope for from the Western World? In the wake of revelations of American double dealings in Iran, it would not be surprising to wake up one morning and find that the billion dollar agreements signed by SADCC States with western countries are the profits from the sale of arms to South Africa!



BEEF Industry faces difficulties in Zimbabwe

Comparative Notes

Colonialism is a system of Government which has been around human history for a long time, but which is least understood. It is imperative that it be understood especially by former citizens of imperialist states who have now settled in former colonies. It must be understood by the formerly colonized peoples so they can transform their systems of Government in the knowledge of what they are dealing with.

Although colonial systems have existed from very early times, the times when the Africans colonized Mediterranean Europe, the times when the Romans colonized England and Europe to the times when the "Sun did not set on the British Empire", there have never been any in-depth studies on those systems of government or control.

I define a colonial system as control of a sovereign entity or state by a foreign government or a foreign people. The early scholars tended to write about all these events as wars, battles and feuds. They don't seem to have analyzed why after defeating a country the system failed and fell apart; indeed there is the Gibbons study of the fall of the Roman Empire. There is hardly any critique or further study on it.

The British and French have tended to follow the same pattern, adding a new dimension, that of looking at a colonial system as a system of education for the colonized.

The French and Portuguese were more forthright. They considered the colonial system as a method of absorbing a colonial people into their entity, politically and culturally. The tragedy of it is that none of these scenarios turned out to be real. Scholarship in this field failed us. We have not learned much from it.

Latest studies by Americans, generally called studies in development, tend to follow the British scholarship, emphasizing stages of development that a new state must go through. The new state must learn to follow the stages that were pioneered by the early states. The veracity of this hypothesis is questionable when one examines their typical models like India, Brazil etc.

The Soviet Union tended to follow the French line of absorbing the colonial peoples totally. Perhaps those who have been in exile in Britain for more than ten years can give us some idea of how it feels to be absorbed by the mother country and what the traumas and crisis are.

There is, however, a recent school of thought in the field, led mostly by French-speaking scholars. Perhaps the foremost scholar of this view is Professor Georges Blandier in his studies of *The Colonial Situation*. Other scholars and writers including Memoli in his study of *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Franz Fanon in several of his studies some of which are quite well known. It is Fanon, as medical doctor studying mental patients during the Algerian Liberation war who gave the label that I like to use, "the pathology of colonial systems". After studying mental cases among both French soldiers and Algerian combatants, Fanon came to the conclusion that there was a mental disease, a psychosis that is created by colonial systems. The psychosis results in a disfunction of all colonial behaviour and systems.

Before getting into the disease, let us develop a typology of colonial systems. I usually would like to think of this system in five types:

- 1) The settler system
- 2) The marginal settler system
- 3) The classical colonial system
- 4) The marginal colonial system
- 5) Temporary occupation colonial system.

The typical settler system is the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and perhaps Siberia. In this type, the settlers take over the land, the people and the culture and transform them into their own land, own people and own culture. The system eradicates the former peoples and their cultures.

The typical marginal system is South Africa, Rhodesia, Algeria, and Indochina. In this system there is a serious attempt to eradicate but it is resisted and the society which emerges can transform either way, into a settler system or an independent system, very often with serious contradictions.

The classical colonial system is the Roman colonisation of Britain, where

the foreign government takes control of all instruments of power of the foreign entity but does not try too hard to transform the culture and the people, or absorb them.

The marginal colonial system is what the British called indirect rule of the colonies, where the foreign power attempts to use the local institutions to control the colonial peoples, with very little effort to transform the people or culture and a definite unwillingness to absorb the colonized.

The typical temporary occupation system is Japan and the Middle East countries of Syria, Iraq, Jordan etc. The Foreign Power temporarily imposes its will for a short period of less than ten years with hardly any attempt to absorb or transform the people.

Endemic Violence in the System

All these systems are colonial systems but vary in their influence on the systems. What is common to all of them, however, according to Professor Blandier, is that:

- 1) There is endemic violence in the system;
- 2) The violence is cyclical;
- 3) The system produces disfunctional institutional, administrative or cultural traits;
- 4) The system destroys itself; it is pathological.

If we look at the first type we cannot but concede that the system has endemic violence. The American films on the way Indians were systematically killed is perhaps the best study in violence of any nation. The violence had been institutionalized into a culture of the American West which now permeates all American Society. In 1977 a TV station came up with 24 deaths a day by violence and many more injured in the City of New York on a summer's day.

In America there is no denying that there is an endemic trait of violence especially in the Mid-west, West and the South. There are many writers who have argued that violence is a way of life; is the culture of America. The Cowboy and his gun blazing away is only a symbol of the way of life.

In Australia and New Zealand the native population was massacred to the point of extinction. The remnant native population in New Zealand was at one time required by law to marry foreign peoples in a cultural attempt to completely eliminate the native peoples. The Americans have tried to confine the native population in an environment that could kill them off (Indian Reservations). They required those who escaped the environment to become wholly American; become culturally absorbed, cultural violently genocide.

This type is genocidal in nature and has been responsible for the death of whole nations, and peoples in Australia, New Zealand and North America.



Disfunctional Nature of Colonial Systems of Government

The marginal colonial system is also genocidal, but because of population ratios and other factors the genocide becomes double-edged and a detente is reached in which cyclical violence is characteristic until the system changes either to a settler system, a bastard system (neo-colonialism) or a native system (independence). South Africa, Rhodesia, Algeria, Vietnam etc. are typical examples.

Balandier has done studies which indicate that violence in this system can go on for a long time in cycles of specific numbers of years.

Several Circles of Violence, The Latest . . . As Sharpeville

In Rhodesia we have defined specific periods of violence we have called Chimurenga I and Chimurenga II. There were several muted cycles of violence in between which we know about.

In South Africa we are seeing several cycles of violence, the latest of which we know as the Sharpeville massacres, the 1976 Soweto Uprising and the 1985 Uprising. These cycles will go on and

may go on for a long time, but ultimately the system will transform.

If the settlers succeed to wipe out 80 per cent of the 20 million Africans it could transform into a Settler system like Australia or New Zealand. This is, however, most unlikely because of the population ratio. It means the cycles of violence will continue until the system transforms into a bastard system (neo-colonialism) or a native independent system. The settlers of South Africa must face this reality.

The institutions created by the system are typically dysfunctional:

- 1) Southern Rhodesia education
- 2) Algeria's land system
- 3) South Africa's culture
- 4) South Africa's political system.

Southern Rhodesia's education system is a typical institution under which the settler required Africans who can read and write, but who were not educated beyond Standard Six at first and later Form IV, but not allowed to be skilled workers, accountants etc.

Those who somehow acquired the skills were not recognized and quite often victimized. One cannot think of a more dysfunctional institution. All former colonies cry out for skilled and trained personnel after independence because the institutions of education in the colonial system were completely dysfunctional.

Algeria's land system has been written up by many writers showing how dysfunctional it was.

South Africa's educational institutions have been so visibly dysfunctional that school children have died protesting against the institution. South Africa's cultural system has been so visibly genocidal that the world is rivelled by the system.

South Africa's land system where 20 percent of the population are allocated 85 percent of the land and the 80 percent are allocated 20 percent of the poorest land speaks for itself. Nothing could be more dysfunctional in terms of production, marketing and development.

South Africa's political system in which 85 percent of the population has no say in the government of the country is the ultimate disfunction of a political system. Such a system cannot survive. It destroys itself. It is pathological.

IN happier days President Kamuzu Banda is garlanded at Harare International Airport and welcomed to Independent Zimbabwe by President Banana and Prime Minister Mugabe. But relations between Malawi and Frontline States are now sore — The dysfunctional nature of colonialism!

Although colonial systems have existed from very early times, the times when the African colonized Mediterranean Europe, the times when the Romans colonized England and Europe, to the times when the "Sun did not set on the British Empire", there have never been any in-depth studies on those systems of government or control.

The classical colonial system of Roman colonization was also characterized by low level violence especially on the colonized. Roman slavery with its spectacles of men fed to lions and slaves entertaining their masters to death was typical of the system.

The system could not survive.

The marginal colonial system of Nigeria, Ghana, India etc. was also characterized by the violence of slavery and labour camps. Because of climatic, population and other factors, it could not last long. It had to transform because the foreigners were few and the climate and geography was against the foreign population. The system generally transformed into a native system with some elements of the foreign culture.

The temporary occupation system of Japan, Iraq, Syria, Jordan etc. was, as the name suggests, short lived. The culture and the institutions were not permeated.

The political institutions were abandoned after a brief period. The new state picked the functional elements of occupation and rejected what it did not need. This could very well explain the behaviour of Japan and all these countries, but it must be emphasized that even here there was a very high level of violence.

And so the colonial systems of government are characterized by endemic violence, cyclical violence, dysfunctional institutions and pathology of both the colonized and the colonizer. The people of these systems are sick and need to re-examine all their patterns of behaviour and institutions.

In the late '60s Americans went through an era of sensitivity sessions in most of their institutions.

These were psychological exercises of great intensity to bring out the deep rooted pathologies of their behaviour. I am not sure that was enough. Fanon prescribes war as a catharsis for the disease.

Revolutions of Algeria, Vietnam and Zimbabwe suggest Fanon's prescription is a partial solution. The catharsis enables the new state to build various institutions anew, throwing out the dysfunctional elements of the colonial system and building on the functional. Society cannot throw away all of 100 years of history, not even 50, but it cannot build on a dysfunctional institution. It has to create a new system to replace the dysfunctional.

Foremost the society has to recognize the disease to find the right prescription.

Zimbabwe has had some of this medicine. How many former settlers recognize the disease? Ian Smith certainly does not! Many of his Clan do not.

The white community (the colonizers) and the Black (the colonized) must face the diagnosis squarely and accept the prescription if we want to build viable institutions and a vibrant and dynamic society.

All of the imperial powers and all of the formerly colonized people must recognize colonialism for what it is, a disease that creates a dysfunctional personality, a dysfunctional society and dysfunctional institutions.

The prescription is bitter, but it must be taken!



AUTOGRAPHICAL: PANGS OF HUNGER

There are five of us. We are sitting talking quietly in Nhamo's rented room in the Kambuzuma high-density suburb. What we call the ghetto, eh? It is Sunday afternoon and no one has any inclination to drink beer. Tomorrow is Monday — work day.

We have touched on various topics; women, men, booze, politics and history. We have been careful not to delve into the one thing all black people have in common at one time or the other in their lives.

Hunger — it is a touchy subject, especially during those drought-struck years.

It is Temba who foolishly asks Nhamo how his parents in Masvingo are.

Nhamo is 26, withdrawn and has a look in his eyes that's older than his years. And a permanent woeful expression that shows he had had more than his fair share of grief in his young years. He has been staring at the floor and laughing softly at our jokes.

We all there quietly as we realise we have touched something in him that he would have preferred to remain silent about. We are apprehensive too. We have known Nhamo for a year now. "Known" is not the right word, I guess, because all we know is that his name is Nhamo Munetani, that he comes from Masvingo, where in particular, we have no idea, he has a father and mother still alive and a number of brothers and a sister. His age and that he came to Harare in early 1983. And that is that, apart from the fact that he is a clerk with an engineering firm in Workington. Otherwise we know nothing about him really.

His voice is low, so low that it's almost inaudible, but not so low that we cannot hear, or miss the frequent catches of pain.

"My parents? yes, they are alive, Temba, well, almost alive. And the other members of my family too. There are four of us children now. We used to be five, three boys and two girls. But now there is only one girl, Netsai, she is also the youngest.

"You have heard of the drought in Masvingo? Read it in the papers and listened to it on the radio? Well, that does not really mean a thing. Only when one has seen it and experienced it can one really know what is happening.

"I will not bother you with details of where my village is or its name. But I will tell you about pangs of hunger, real pangs that have no respect for morals or individuals.

The nearest town, Masvingo, is situated some 40 kilometres away. But there's a growth point about midway.

What I really want to tell you

about is my twin sister, Chenai. Or rather, her death. You did not know I once had a twin sister, did you? Well, its true.

"We grew up together, played together and went to school together. We were very close, you know, identical twins. We loved the same dresses and wearing boys' clothes.

"Well, we grew up. She became the most beautiful girl in the village and all the young men were after her. But she put them all off. She wanted to be a nurse, you see. And I think she would have made a wonderful one, she was so kind and understanding.

"Father worked as a transport driver in Masvingo. When we had just begun our form three, he was involved in a car accident and lost his right leg. They said the fault was his and refused to pay him compensation. So he came back to live in the village with us. He had not had a lot of money and the little that he had was soon spent on food, school fees and clothes. But we still managed, the rains were good during those years.

"Then everything started going wrong, we were unable to pay our school fees and were sent home. And the rains failed. But I had hope. I thought that with my Form Three, it would not be long before I found a job so Chenai could go back to school and eventually take up nursing. Ah, the vain hopes of youth! I had not bargained with the hard world of unemployment out there.

"Armed with my school certificates and enthusiasm, I borrowed money and went to Masvingo. I stayed there three months. I could not get a job. I tried everything, begging and entreating, but nothing was doing, there were many others in like condition, some with even better qualifications. The drought was also affecting industry.

"I was afraid of going back home, afraid to face my hungry family, and Chenai. You do not know what that kind of fear does to a person. It works on you day and night. You can not sleep. Your days are restless and you move around like someone in a daze. I was living sparingly, on cokes and buns and an odd meal once every four or so days. That does not help your health. I became thin, really thin. My ribs stood out and my clothes became too large for my emaciated body. I made do by myself, with needle and string.

"Eventually, my money ran out. I had no money for food. I had started sleeping in doorways, old barns, anywhere I could find shelter enough to huddle for the night. By day I was like a noble wardrobe, carrying my clothes and blankets in a

small cardboard box, and I would go with me as I looked for my job.

"Obviously things could not go on like that. One day I collapsed in the street from hunger and weakness. I came to in a hospital bed. There was nothing wrong with me, I was just too hungry. They gave me food, my first in two weeks, and asked me to go home. I stayed my pride and took the food back home on a plate.

"I will never forget the reception I got when I got back home. I don't ever want to see so much pain and suffering in anyone's eyes again. They took me in, fed me to bed. Chenai came and knelt by my bedside. The shame on her tear-stained face is something I wish I could forget. But I cannot, everytime I close my eyes to sleep, her face comes before me. Gaunt and hollow, with the pleading eyes pouring rivulets down her scarred cheeks.

"Something in me just broke then. I saw it in her eyes what she had been doing to try and feed the family. Prostitution! She had been giving herself to any man, old or young, who had money or grain. Most of her clients were bus drivers and conductors who passed through the village. Sometimes she did not sleep at home.

"The story came out between great, racking sobs. I felt that my heart would burst as I held her close, trying to comfort her and let her know that I understood and did not blame her. But it did not help much, for she blamed and hated herself more than I could ever have done already. I could feel those emotions as I held her. In the end we were both crying.

"The following day I contracted a fever and I could not get up. Chenai nursed me devotedly but the fever just grew worse. Two days later, Chenai was gone. She was not by my side, my mother took her place. Before I could ask where she had gone, I became delirious.

"They started to give me medicines. In my delirium I had visions of Chenai kneeling by my bed. And I would reach out to touch her, but then she would slowly fade away as my hands reached her until she was no longer there. I spent two months in that bed. I wish I had died there too. It would have spared me the pain later.

"As the fever receded and my strength came back, I began to see clearly around me, but I could not as yet talk. I saw Chenai twice then. But she did not come close to where I lay when she saw my sight was better. Both times she never stayed long, just looked in to see how I was. And she had been wearing make up and sexy clothes. But

By Evans Mawonera

I could see the pain in her eyes. "I knew what had happened, she had gone back to prostitution so she could have money to buy my medicines. Nothing hurt me more than that. And from the long intervals between her visits, it was obvious she was then staying in Masvingo.

"I pray none of you guys will ever feel that kind of shame — the shame of a sister prostituting herself to make you live. There's nothing so self-destructing as that. It kills you inside until you become an empty shell.

"Well, I grew stronger and could at last get out of bed and walk around. Chenai's visits to the village ceased at the same time. She could not face me. But I felt for her when I saw the 50kg bags and money she sent by bus to us every month. When I was stronger, I wanted to go to Masvingo and look for her but my parents restrained me. They begged me not to rub salt into her wounds. I changed my mind. I did not go.

"Then one day, ten months later, in November, it was, I remember a police truck drove up to our huts. I had a premonition of the terrible news. They told us Chenai had been stabbed to death by a jealous boyfriend. I was stunned, we all were. It was a shattering blow. A white mist came before my eyes and tottered off to my sleeping hut to cry.

"My parents went back to Masvingo with the police. In the evening they brought back her body. I do not think I will ever weep like that again, the way I did as I stared at her once lovely face lying painfully there in that coffin. I wept myself dry then.

"We buried her the following morning, on a hillock where I could see her grave everytime I stood at the door of my sleeping hut. A part of me died with her.

"I think of all our young dreams. Her dreams of becoming a nurse, and I cry all over again, inside.

"I left home a second time, this time bound for this city, Harare. I was lucky. I got a job after only two days. I believe her spirit helped me. Every month I go home to my family and to her grave. I bring them food and money. I talk to her grave, of my dreams and wishes, yes, my plans. I am sure she listens. After all, she was my twin sister, the ties are still there. I feel her presence beside me. And I also feel that the pain and shame have left her. I wish it could also leave me too!

"I am going to put cement on her grave. She would like that.

"Yes, Temba, they are alive and

• CONTINUED ON PAGE 30

Racism under the microscope

An interdisciplinary seminar on the theme "racism before science" was organized by the Free University of Brussels as its contribution to weeks of international demonstrations against racism and apartheid. In a two-day, heavily-loaded programme, historians, sociologists, psychologists, biologists and experts on law and political science debated the origins and causes of racism through their various disciplines. The picture that emerged was that of a phenomenon without foundation or justification and a deviation from the truth.

For starters, the term "race", itself has had a chequered history. It was derived from the Latin "ratio" or from the Italian "razza" meaning "kind or species" and was used in the 16th century to denote family lineage. In the 18th century the French naturalist Georges-Louis Buffon applied it, for the first time, to human groups, innocently of course, as keeper of the Jardin du Roi and its museum, where the cataloguing of items was part of his activities. Then came Joseph Arthur Gobineau in the 19th, with his *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* that was to provide the 20th century racist with his ideological base.

The defeat of fascism in the Second World War and the frontal attack on racial discrimination at both international and national levels with resolutions, conventions and legislation appeared to have finally put racism at bay, but events in the western industrialized societies in recent months — racial attacks and electoral successes of overtly racist political parties — have signalled its resurgence. With apartheid claiming victims daily in South Africa, the FUB-sponsored colloquy could not have fitted better into the general efforts to raise the consciousness of the world to the dimensions and the foreseeable consequences of racism.

The seminar was opened by the rector of the University, Jean Michot, and was chaired at various stages by its prime movers, Professor Paule Bouvier and Robert Anciaux, and by Raymond Chasle, Ambassador of Mauritius to the European Communities.

Egypt of the Pharaohs

It was to history that the seminar turned first. Speaking on "The perception of difference in the Egypt of the Pharaohs", Professor Roland Tefnin, philologist and expert on oriental history noted a complete lack of perception of difference on the basis of race or of the colour of the skin in this cradle of civilization. Egypt was the meeting point of two migratory races — negroes from the south and

white-skinned people from the north — and was in ancient times, as it is today, a highly permeable and racially-mixed society.

To the ancient Egyptian, the colour black had no negative connotations. It was, on the contrary, associated with joy, fecundity and rebirth. If there was any opposition of colours it was between black and red, the former linked, in the mind of the ancient Egyptian, to the black fecundity of the Nile and its basin and the latter associated with the red barrenness of the desert. Armed with slides of the paintings and sculptures of this ancient civilization, Tefnin showed conclusively that colours were used there indiscriminately. Black was sometimes used for a white-skinned character and white for a black-skinned character. Colours had no order of importance, a clear indication of the society's acceptance, albeit subconsciously, of its racially-mixed character.

The idea of the purity of the blood was equally absent. Pharaohs, for example, accepted foreign princesses as wives, though they never gave theirs to foreign kings, in keeping perhaps, with what Tefnin, described as their "ethnocentrism".

Egyptian ethnocentrism was one of concordance and of mistrust of foreigners — a mistrust based on the fear of black magic and witchcraft. The Egyptians prided themselves on their moral rectitude, their social order as against their neighbours' decadence and disorder. They believed that their supremacy was written in the cosmic order. Abroad meant weakness, chaos and lawlessness while Egypt signified strength, law and order. Tefnin saw this as more or less political and economic, as the Egyptian conception of nation was not based on physical or biological characteristics but on language. Anyone who spoke their language was an Egyptian.

Racism in a society in crisis

The tendency to exclude, says sociologist, Professor Claude Javeau, is a universal phenomenon. Discrimination takes many forms — discrimination against women, handicapped children and sick people and discrimination on the grounds of race, the latter based on concrete facts — morphology, paramorphology, the colour of the skin and culture.

Speaking on "The return of racism in a society in crisis", Javeau noted that one can be a xenophobe without necessarily being a racist. Discrimination is an entrenched daily behaviour. There is, on the one hand, rejection of the "other person" for fear of contamination because "he is not like us" and, on the other, the fear of the "other person" because "he does not have the rules necessary to live in our society". Gypsies, Jews, blacks and other strangers are thus seen as threats.

In the Western industrialized societies, this rejection of foreigners has intensified in recent years for a number of reasons; first, there is the economic factor, the crisis provoked by high oil prices which has led not only to the scapegoating of foreigners but also to feeling that the erstwhile colonies were taking a revenge on their former colonial masters and the development of a reflex of defence in the latter.

Javeau pinpoints a second factor in what he calls "contemporary egotism" — the trend towards a kind of narcissism, self-withdrawal from society, a society seen as hostile. This results in the creation of many small worlds, in an emphasis on differences and in kind of anti-humanism, all of which are being reinforced by a third factor — the mass media, which tend to mould public opinion, more often negatively, on issues such as immigration, insecurity, unemployment and chauvinism.

Racial prejudice

Racialism is an aberration from nature, a deviation from reality and a camouflage of the truth. As Professor Pierre Salmon said in his "critique of racial prejudice", the cross-breeding of the human species is not only practicable, it has been going on for ages and is being intensified. There is no race that is completely homogeneous. This explains why modern civilizations are rich. Indeed, contacts between different civilizations, as history shows, have always been productive: the West has borrowed from the East and Europe has borrowed from Arab civilizations and from Christianity.

Racial prejudice is often the result of ignorance, of irrational judgement of values and of cultures. More often, though, it is based on personal profits, economic exploitation or is a result of national and religious tensions.

Salmon believes that racial prejudice can be overcome through education. He notes that children, for example, do not feel racial repugnance until they have been influenced by adults. Education should start at their level to steel them against the negative influences of adults as they grow up. Religious and moral education should be part and parcel of this drive, even if passages of the Bible have been used erroneously by racists to justify their behaviour.

This possibility of overcoming racism through education was not entirely shared by psychologist Anne-Marie Cambier who pointed out the perpetual duel that exists between the "name" and the "other person" and the position that the former has of the latter as a permanent threat.

Cambier seemed to infer that racism is part of the human condition as her emphasis is on the recognition by humanity of the interest and the right of the individual to be different. That

is what might be called tolerance, not much comfort for those at the receiving end of racism, for one can be tolerated and allowed to be different without being given equal rights. What should be recognized is human diversity and its richness, the diversity which Professor Albert Jacquard of the Universities of Paris VI and of Geneva spoke about in his contribution: "The biologist scared by racism".

Humanitude

An eminent biologist, Jacquard returned inevitably to the issue of genetics which had been referred to by previous speakers. He affirmed that at least 99% of the genes associated with the human species are present in men of all races, and no two persons have identical genes⁽¹⁾.

No scientific evidence has emerged to date to prove the contrary.

There are no biological bases for racism. Of course, psychologically, each and every one of us would like to feel he or she belongs to an elite.

Those who declared the Rights of Man during the French Revolution were right. They believed in the dictates of their conscience and common sense and did not seek evidence outside nature. Equal rights, Jacquard said, is a human invention. Man is Man, he cannot be classified. Any classification of humanity is a classification without foundation.

Jacquard warned that we live in a planet that is gradually being overpopulated. The heterogeneity of humanity must be taken into account, its richness recognized. What man is today is the result of what has been going on since the "big bang".

The history of the world is the history of the accumulation of power, power to reproduce, power to oppose nature.

Man is the conquest of man. Racism begins when the "me" locks himself in a world that excludes the "other person" — the "other person" seen as a member of a group.

The complexity and the ambivalence of the relationship between the "me" and the "other person" emerged clearly throughout the seminar: the "me" needs the "other person" and, at the same time he wants to exclude him. Yet, he cannot survive without him. Man needs man, in fact, there is no man without another man.

It was perhaps for this reason that Jacquard talked of man's suicidal tendency. He who despises another man, he said, is a man that cannot accept himself — all the hatred ends in suicide.

Racism is, in a way, a wish for collective suicide. Becoming aware of what man is is the basis for fighting racism. Professor Jacquard called this "humanitude", drawing inspiration from Senghor's "négritude".

— Augustine OYOWE

(1) Except twins.

Third World Debt

by PASCAL ARNOLD

Typically, developing countries have relatively small incomes and large financial requirements as a result. Many reasons for injecting financing from abroad were found in the '50s and '60s — the developing world did not have enough domestic savings or foreign exchange, its financial requirements were huge, the returns on capital were greater there than in the industrialized world, and so on. There was a general feeling that development meant non-stop transfers of capital from the developed countries to bridge the gaps of underdevelopment. After the 1930-45 period of crisis and war, the international capital markets disappeared. External financing was now direct:

Official Development Assistance consists of loans from public bodies and multilateral institutions with the main aim of boosting development and raising the standard of living in the recipient countries. These are soft loans. The terms are laid down in advance and the rates are fixed.

Firms make direct investments in the developing countries. Only one undertaking is involved, as the subsidiary is an integral part of the parent company. The recipient country has no debt and there are profits, calculated once the results of operation are known to pay.

By 1950, after liquidation in 1930-45, the developing countries had very little debt. But loans from the industrialized countries increased rapidly in 1955-60, more rapidly in fact than the developing countries' exports that went to service them. These exports expanded by an average 6% in 1960-71, but debts mounted at the rate of 14% p.a. By the end of 1971, direct investments were an estimated \$80-100 billion and the debt \$110 billion. Asia had the biggest bills to pay (42% of the total), Latin America owed 38% and the recently independent African countries owed only 20%.

By the end of the '60s, there was considerable criticism of these forms of financing, primarily of the quality of the aid, of the fact that it was "tied" (recipients had to buy in the donor countries) and of the cost, the amounts paid over in profits and debt servicing being thought excessive. The cost of the capital loaned or invested ate up 17% of the developing countries' export earnings in 1960 and 22% in 1971. The low-income nations were the worst off. They spent 19% of their export earnings just on servicing their debts whereas the figure for medium- and high-income nations was 9%.

There were many external payment difficulties and debt was a very heavy burden. It seemed difficult to achieve the aims of development without a

Over the past 40 years, some of the developing countries' financial requirements have been met with injections of capital from abroad. The types of financing used to cover all the different needs have changed considerably. The rapid increase in loans contracted on the international market which began in the early '70s has reduced the relative importance of traditional forms of financing (direct investment and official aid) and, since the beginning of the '80s, it has generated new problems too. Four years of effort have not produced an answer to them, but they have to be solved if the developing countries are to re-establish both regular growth and their position in international economic relations.



substantial increase in official transfers — which had to cost less. In fact, development financing gave way to an extraordinary expansion of balance of payment financing from the capital markets.

These markets reappeared in the '60s and opened their doors to the developing countries in 1971-73. Private credit was in the form of syndicated bank credit and the banks — essentially those in the industrialized world — got themselves organized and offered medium-term credit, to clients from the developing world (i.e. to public and private national firms, subsidiaries of multinationals, banks and regional and national authorities).

Bank credit in the developing countries rose by an average 28% p.a. between 1973 and 1981. This was not excessive as export earnings in the new debtor countries were increasing steadily as new export industries developed and raw material prices improved.

Between 1977 and 1980, their

outstanding bank debt dropped from 82% to 75% of export earnings and the figures were down from 163% to 159% in the case of Latin America. It was in the '70s that the bank debt grew, with expansionist monetary policies, the switch to floating currencies, changes in the international monetary system, the rise and fall of commodity (including oil) prices and expanding trade surpluses and deficits.

All this encouraged and reflected the development of international capital markets — which fed them in turn. They rose from \$2.8 billion in 1962 to \$76 billion in 1970, \$250 billion in 1974 and around \$1 000 billion in 1981. The developing countries' share of the banks' international assets was 30% at this stage.

The banks gave credit to countries whose export earnings seemed most likely to cover the servicing of the debt. In the non-oil exporting group, it was the Latin American countries which got

the lion's share, with 46% at the end of 1982, while the Africans only got 10%. The OPEC nations, which had oil as their guarantee, obtained nearly 22%. Bank financing was concentrated on only a handful of countries whose solvency was in no doubt. The three biggest debtors (Brazil, Mexico and Argentina) got nearly 40% between them and the 12 biggest 60%. These credits mounted so far after 1973 that the developing countries, primarily one or two medium- and high-income countries, in fact were receiving external financing that was out of all proportion to anything they might have imagined in 1970, at the start of the second development decade.

By the end of 1981, the total bank debt was more than 40% of the total debts of the developing countries, although it had not existed at all 10 years earlier. The servicing was more expensive than on loans from official organizations, as interest depended on the cost of refinancing to the banks and therefore on the market rates.

The expansion of Eurocredits channelled into the Third World up until 1981 was an opportunity for the reopening of the international capital markets, which had disappeared after the catastrophes of 1930-45, to solvent borrowers, the countries of Latin America, the Middle East and some countries of Asia and Africa.

Investors, including the banks, were anxious to diversify their business and the multinationals were anxious to diversify both their business and their location and they took an active part in this readjustment — which led to international economic relations becoming far more complex.

The readjustment of the international capital markets was not without its ups and downs. As they were unable to get to what was deemed to be a satisfactory level of debt gradually, both debtors and creditors went too far. The 1979-83 period was not a good one. There was the oil shock, interest rates and the dollar soared, recession hit the industrialized world and commodity prices went down.

External financing is extremely useful when it comes to growth in the developing world, but it is difficult to manage and there has to be considerable continuity in the economic policy of the country concerned. Some developing countries have had problems with their external payments over the past 30 years.

In 1956, the Club of Paris was formed to solve the problems of Argentina, which was unable to meet its repayment commitments to its official creditors. The Club, which has no legal status or

formal rules, consists of the main official creditors of the countries which for various reasons, apply for renegotiation of their debt.

The multilateral nature of the operation means that no single creditor has the advantage and this makes for the sort of collaboration through which a viable solution for the debtor country can be arrived at.

Problems have usually arisen because of faulty domestic management or unsuitable economic policies (relating to the exchange rate, interest rates, the budget and so on). The adjustment programme destined to restore the country's ability to meet its commitments is devised with the help of the IMF, which provides technical and financial assistance to countries with temporary balance of payments difficulties.

The problems with the official creditors are long-standing. The Club of Paris has dealt with them efficiently, in spite of the fact that the transfers to development may still look inadequate. The settling of this kind of external financing poses no problem to the international payments system.

Non Repayment Leads to Higher Taxation

The supply of capital and credit is restricted by the creditor countries independently of demand in the recipient countries. Moreover, in cases of non-repayment, there will be an extra burden on the public budgets and this could lead to higher taxation or public lending and a slight rise in interest rates. Between 1956 and 1970, the Club of Paris renegotiated \$6.5 billion of a total debt of around \$100 billion. The number of renegotiations increased over the 1971-81 decade to 40, but the amounts in question were still small — about \$20 billion of a total official debt of \$450 billion at the end of 1981.

Payment problems were clearly increasingly caused by the instability of the international markets following the break with the monetary system set up after World War II. But the capital and commercial markets were not the only ones to be hit. The commodity markets were also affected. The mounting balance of payments problems in the developing world was due to the failure of the debtor countries' economic leaders to react and adapt to the unstable markets.

Banks always run greater risks than official creditors. Between 1971 and 1981, they lent more than their capital

to the developing countries and it would be very serious if they lost this, since they could well lose their credibility with their depositors thus putting under threat the international system of finances.

The banks realised the full extent of the risks in the developing countries after the Mexican moratorium in August 1982.

The risk attached to interest rates is that the borrower has to support their instability through the technique of variable rates, but if they go too high, he will find it difficult to keep up the repayments. The risk is then the banks', who thought they were safe.

The risk attached to transfers is that, even if loans to Third World customers are spread over a number of activities in both public and private sectors and in public works and exports, they can only pay up if the relevant exchange is available in their central banks or on the exchange markets.

A healthy firm in an economy with no foreign exchange cannot honour its debts abroad.

There is always a question of whether a country can pay or not. It is all a matter of assessment. It cannot go bankrupt like a firm could, it is thought, hence the confidence shown in the Third World clients who have obtained all sorts of guarantees from their parent state.

A country in difficulties also needs fresh credit to renew its capital. It cannot repay because even interest payments are a problem, but any bank will be tempted to go it alone and put its own interests before those of the creditors in general.

This is where the risk of over-reacting comes in.

If some banks stop renewing their loans, the country will ask the others for more credit and they will take fright and stop lending too. As they are worried about other countries finding themselves in the same situation, the banks reduce their lending to a whole region and this leads to further payment crises. In 1983, the capital markets closed to the whole of Latin America, to all the African countries bar Libya, South Africa and Algeria and to one or two countries in Asia, including the Philippines.

The payment crises in the countries with bank loans (medium- and high-income members of the developing world) made it impossible to honour commitments to the official creditors and they asked for their debts to be renegotiated at the Club of Paris. But their problems are different from those of the low-income countries, whose export earnings are small and unstable.

● African countries in general are faced with problems of economic and political organization, in many cases linked to bad development policies. Reorganization means a sustained effort in the medium term and (concessional) international financial assistance is essential for this. Their debt problems are aggravating an already difficult

situation for which they are not primarily responsible. A case-by-case approach to their problems by the official creditors and multilateral development organizations should make it possible to bring in reforms and apply the sort of policies that will get their development back on the rails.

● Countries with bank loans (the Latin American nations, the Philippines and one or two African countries, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Morocco) have special debt problems due to the instability of conditions (interest rates, refinancing, risk of expropriation etc.) on the international capital markets.

The approach since 1982 has been to bring about a drastic reduction in their external financing requirements by, as a first step, cutting imports (from 20% to 50% as the case may be). In return for full repayment of the interest, the debtor countries have got their debts refinanced and obtained one or two new loans as well.

Their external debt problems have not been solved since 1982, but the situation is less explosive now. After their exports took off again in 1984, they felt the effects of waning growth in the USA at a time when commodity prices were also depressed. Their imports are very small.

Without adequate export earnings, how can they pay back the perennially high interest on their debts? That is the question they have been asking since 1985. The African countries have mounting arrears, including debts to the IMF, and they are counting on official assistance to save the day. Latin America can no longer cope with a further deterioration in its foreign payments and there is a general feeling of lassitude amongst the population after three years of effort. In August 1985, the new President of Peru kept the promise he had made during the election campaign and decided to cut debt servicing to 10% of export earnings for a year.

In October of 1985, James Baker III, the American Secretary of the Treasury, suggested a new plan to the annual meeting of the IBRD and the IMF. He proposed that all parties concerned should double their efforts, the debtor countries to achieve greater efficiency, the banks to give more loans and the development banks (the IBRD and the regional banks) to provide more supervision and financing.

The main idea was that there can be no answer to the Third World's problems if there is no growth and that growth should be, preferably, in its export earnings.

Baker even gave figures — 15 of the big debtors, \$20 billion-worth of new bank loans over three years and \$20 billion-worth more loans from the development banks. The American plan was soon judged to be a partial answer. Why these countries and these figures?

The banks called on the governments in the industrialized world to make their contribution and the governments then

stressed the fact that the IMF should not be left on the sidelines.

The debtor countries not listed were surprised at being left out. Those that were, called for fair sharing of the debt with the creditors. And lastly, the IMF and the World Bank agreed, stressing the co-responsibility of everyone concerned in the debt crisis and the quest for a solution. The Baker plan was announced 12 months ago, but is taking time to be put into practice!

Bank financing in the developing countries has shown its limits. It is a complement to other financial input and it should be used to cushion changes in the international economic situation, not make them worse. The monetary and financial disorder of the past 15 years has made people forget that a net transfer has to be organized to the poor countries. When official transfers are deducted, the present deficit in the debtor countries amounted to \$22 billion and \$27 billion in 1984 and 1985 respectively.

With world inflation at 3%, net capital injections (or a current deficit) of more than \$25-30 billion (88 × 3%) would be needed to prevent the outstanding debt from dropping in real terms. And lastly, as the whole world has a \$100 billion deficit in non-registered earnings (private Third World assets in the industrialized countries, for example) the latter are not running a deficit, but a surplus: they are financing the developed countries.

The most obvious lesson to learn from the trends in international financing over three decades is the perverse link between development and external debt. The many development theories of the '50s and '60s obviously have very little to say about the extraordinary developments of the past few years.

Monetary and financial theory has not reflected these developments much either. International lending, typically, involves the risk of the borrower reneging, a sovereign risk (individual behaviour and economic policy decisions in the country of origin of the borrower) and the risk of the over-reaction on the financial markets (linked to the conflict between collective interests and the interests of the banks and individuals involved).

Theoretical models tend to give very little consideration to this sort of thing. This is probably one of the reasons why it is difficult to design flexible solutions that reconcile views that are deemed to be opposing where they should be complementary. The theory behind the economic policy (and the solution to the debt problem) does not yet reflect the new situation of the past 15 years.

In April 1986, the final sessions of the Interim Development Committee recalled the need to reinforce, along the lines defined by this initiative, the strategy followed in matters regarding indebtedness. Progress has also been made in greater cooperation between the World Bank and the IMF, which has set up a structural adjustment facility for the benefit of low-income countries.

FIVE YEARS ON . . . By Our Agricultural Correspondent

THERE is much to be gained by speaking with one voice, but nothing short of a miracle will make farmers come together as their vested interests are so diverse . . .

The National Farmers' Association for peasants in Zimbabwe is gaining strength with Government backing. In a country of 8 million, it is the biggest farmers' organisation. The others are the Commercial Farmers' Union for whites and the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union for middle-class blacks.

The National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe was officially launched in 1981. Prior to that it was a fragmentary group of master farmers in Masvingo Province. Last year at its fifth annual meeting in the Midlands city of Gweru it unveiled a progress report.

The organisation has embarked on a number of rural development projects supported by both foreign governments and non-governmental organisations. Over the past two years it has appointed farmers' organisers in the country's eight provinces. They have been given motorbikes to make travelling easy.

The idea paid off. NFAZ membership jumped from 30 000 in 1984-85 to 45 000 in 1985-86. Overall membership has since increased from 600 clubs in 1980 to 5 000 clubs in 1985.

The organisers encourage farmers to form clubs so that they can benefit from joint efforts in essential services like input procurement and marketing. Leadership courses are held occasionally to enable farmers to run their clubs efficiently.

There is need for storage warehouses both before inputs reach the farmer and produce gets to the market. This is because transport in remote areas is unreliable. So far NFAZ has set up 20 warehouses.

The association has secured aid for dam construction. The move has helped to combat malnutrition among the poor.

Mechanised tillage has entered a new phase. NFAZ, with help from France and other European Economic Community partners, is carrying out research on the economic use of tractors by peasants. So far four tractors are being tested. The Government on its part has set up a tillage unit with tractors for hire by peasants at a nominal charge.

The department of land management at the University of Zimbabwe has agreed to appoint a full time graduate to monitor the programme for the next two years.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation in West Germany has provided funds for courses on co-operatives. Six farmers' organisers have returned from Egypt

where they studied organisational management and tractor mechanisation. Another senior official has been to the United States to study the concept of co-operatives and marketing of produce.

NFAZ says rural development calls for people's participation, and regards this as a key to effective developmental policies. In Zimbabwe, people's participation in rural development dates back to the 1920s when the principle of crop rotation was introduced.

However, colonial regimes, fearing competition from blacks, banished peasants to infertile lands, refused to give them money, denied them fair marketing outlets and came up with a host of other hurdles.

Since peasants themselves have sown the seeds of participation in development by forming clubs, the Zimbabwe Government found a launching pad for rural development, and NFAZ became the linchpin in the exercise.

The Government said rural development needed money and that meaningful progress can only be achieved through agriculture. The problem was how to lend money to people without security of tenure. Land in the peasant sector is collectively held.

The Government took a plunge fraught with security risks. It relied on the integrity of the borrower, with one condition that he had to be a full time farmer. The Agricultural Finance Corporation, which previously lent money to whites only, was revamped and instructed to expand its operations.

Borrowing by the peasant sector has since rocketed from 4 348 loans worth \$1.6 million in 1979-80 to \$190.6 set aside for 1985-86.

To expedite farming programmes extension workers at grassroots were given motorbikes secured through a World Bank loan.

With these support services, the communal farmer came into his own. In the last five years his maize output has risen from the paltry mid-1970s eight percent of national off-take to 42 percent. Maize deliveries to the Grain Marketing Board averaged 1.37 million tonnes compared with 820 000 tonnes in the second half of 1970s.

The peasant farmers have also done well on cotton production. Out of a record of 290 000 tonnes delivered in the fifth year of independence, 104 000 came from the small-scale farmer.

Of this phenomenal achievement, the NFAZ progress report notes: "Co-

munal farmers are now taking the opportunity of learning from the experience of commercial farmers. Of the issues communal farmers have noticed is the vast difference in organisational skills, capital resources and educational levels between themselves and their large-scale commercial counterparts."

The question of disunity among the farming community serviced by one ministry is an embarrassment to the Government.

Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has on many occasions called upon the three organisations to sink their differences and form one body.

The problem is that the differences between peasant and commercial farmers is too vast. The large-scale producers tend to think that they might be lowering themselves if they joined hands with communal farmers.

Since 1981 the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement has been chairing unity talks involving leaders of the Commercial Farmers' Union, the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union and the National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe. Nothing much has come out of these talks as the Government prefers to leave it to the farmers themselves to find their own feet.

There is much to be gained by speaking with one voice, but nothing short of a miracle will make the farmers come together as their vested interests are so diverse.

The peasants have been forthright about this issue. The president of their association, Robinson Gapara, has said: "I appeal to all Zimbabweans to start looking towards the formation of a single farmers' union. The major constraints slowing down unity are complexities and differences which need to be ironed out."

"We suggest a way to start can be in

the form of a farmers' federation." The other unions have yet to speak with conviction on this issue! The peasant farmers have also been critical of their Government in areas which they feel it had let them down. They are not happy with the way the Government has been responding to their pleas.

At the last annual meeting officially opened by Prime Minister Mugabe, Gapara said: "Lack of information flow between farmers and policy makers has contributed to the failure of many development projects."

What the peasant farmers' leader had in mind was that the Government should not impose projects on the people. They want to be consulted first before any firm steps are taken.

As Gapara put it: "There simply is no dialogue between the Government and the communal farmer in the formulation of policies and projects. It is of paramount interest to the association to see an improvement in the information flow."

Of the future, the association believes more research is needed to get the data on the sizes of farms owned by peasants, types of crops grown, their yields and the number of livestock they own.

The organisation feels there is urgent need for basic training on human discipline at grassroots level so that people can become literate and know their role in agricultural development.

A lot of improvement is still needed in areas of rural infrastructure, marketing arrangements, water resources and beef, tobacco and dairy production.

On the whole farming in Zimbabwe has clearly indicated that a new agrarian revolution is beginning to grip Africa, and that a peasant can be a force to reckon with if he is given tools for the job!



PHOTO: John Mauluka

ROBSON Gapara: "I appeal to all Zimbabweans to start looking towards the formation of a single farmer's union . . ."



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ZIMBABWE

A pragmatic approach to a resilient economy

By ROGER DE BACKER

"Our nation is young, but it is rich in experience: the experience of heroically waging a victorious war of national liberation, of successfully undertaking tasks of post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction and firmly laying the foundation for the building of a new, just and democratic society in Zimbabwe. As we enter the second half of our first decade as an independent sovereign state, we face many new challenges . . ."

Pronouncing these words at the opening session of Zimbabwe's second Parliament in July 1985, President Canaan Banana could not have better summarized his country's performance so far, as well as the path mapped out for its future. Having turned just six on 18 April 1986, this Republic may be young, yet its economy is mature well beyond its years. Well-endowed with a vast range of mineral, agricultural and human resources, it has already reached a fairly high degree of sophistication, building on its undeniable advantages of its economic inheritance. Indeed international economic sanctions applied against the illegal Smith minority regime during the UDI period contributed to developing a wide range of import substitutes.

Yet this inheritance turned to maximum benefit for all Zimbabweans by the Government after the much longed-for and bitterly fought-over independence, contained in itself a major injustice which became a top priority to be tackled: the majority of Zimbabweans live in communal areas, disadvantaged by their generally poor soils and patchy rainfall, and hardly integrated into the mainstream of the coun-

very irregular and patchy and varies from an annual average of about 1 000mm in the centre to only some 300mm in the lower areas. The unreliable and capricious nature of it — up to three out of every ten years are drought years — constitutes, in fact, a major bottleneck for further agricultural development. The mastering of water resources for irrigation purposes therefore ranks high on the priority list. Already a large number of man-made lakes — including Lake Kariba, covering 5 000km² — are tapped both for hydro-electricity and water supply purposes.

Whereas the recent history of the estimated 8.2 million Zimbabweans is still fairly fresh in most people's minds, in fact, their broader sense of nationalism and history stretches back way beyond their colonial past and independence struggle. The word "Zimbabwe" being derived from the Shona "dzimba dzamabwe" (houses of stone) or "dzimba woye" (venerated houses), there is no better place to search for the essence and core of this nation than the ruins of Great Zimbabwe near Masvingo. First seen by a European in 1872, Zimbabwe is the premier national monument is the remainder of a Shona-Karanga civilization, flourishing between the 12th and 15th centuries, though its cultural influence did not wane after its political decline. Composed of three main groups of man-made stone structures — the biggest in Africa except for the pyramids in Egypt — the spread-out valley complex, the impressive Great Enclosure and the all-dominating Acropolis, they form one of Africa's most fascinating features. Though their massive walls still to some extent remain



• PREMIER Mugabe: "The so-called commercial farming areas . . . bring to mind a combination of the American corn belt with vast expanses of tobacco, cotton and maize crops, and the Texas range lands with lots of healthy-looking cattle; then there are the communal lands . . . more familiar to the African travellers, with high population concentration, and with their generally very small farm plots with poor, sandy and coarse soils . . ."

of the major crops which stoked up the whole economy, in which manufacturing output also responded to a better world economic outlook. In 1985 estimated real GDP growth rate came close to 6%, the visible trade balance showed an estimated Z\$350 million surplus and the overall balance of payments was recorded at Z\$250 million in the black; even the current account showed up an unusual +Z\$80 million. Whereas inflation was cut back by 1985 to just below 10%, or about half of the 1983 figures, the debt service ratio nevertheless already stands at 25.6% and will probably rise to about 30% over the next two years before it comes down again. Still, even after three years of drought, and the resultant economic stagnation, Zimbabwe

grew by no less than 118% over 1984 against only 48% for the commercial sector. The communal farmers sold almost half of the 1.82 million tonnes of maize delivered to the marketing organizations and performed almost as well in terms of cotton production.

The trend towards closing the gap and reducing disparities between the modern and peasant farming sector has been noted with much satisfaction by the government. Most of its efforts are indeed geared towards improved productivity and higher yields in the communal sector and, in fact, in sharing out the main agricultural asset, good farm land, on a fairer basis than up to now. About 36 000 farmers have been resettled and about 2.2 million hectares of land has been taken over to the end,

Drive a few hundred kilometres through the country — noticing not only the scenic beauty but also the generally well-kept transport infrastructure — and the dual character of Zimbabwe's rural sector becomes evident very rapidly. The so-called commercial farming areas (roughly 13.5 million hectares) bring to mind a combination of the American corn belt with vast expanses of tobacco, cotton and maize crops, and the Texas range

the mainstay of its economy. Even in drought years agriculture never provides less than about 15% of GDP, is the biggest formal employer (about 265 000 jobs) not to mention subsistence farming in which 80% of all Zimbabweans are involved, and provides close to 40% of foreign exchange.

Redressing the imbalances caused by this dualistic nature of the economy therefore was, and still is, the major challenge facing this young Republic, as it will provide the answer to the main aspirations of the majority of its population.

Landlocked in the heart of Southern Africa and bordering on Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa and Botswana, Zimbabwe covers some 390 245 km². Four-fifths of its area lies above 600m, an altitude which explains the generally fine climate. The main feature is a large 650km-long and 80km-wide central plateau, the so-called Highveld, flanked on either side by the Midveld, (600 m to 1 200m high) which is itself cut into different smaller plateaus by a number of rivers. Below 600m one speaks of the Lowveld, which basically comprises the narrow northern Zambezi river valley and the broad Limpopo valley in the south. The central plateau vegetation is mostly savanna grassland while the rest of the country is covered with wooded savanna.

Part of the high mountains region on the eastern border, stretching over some 350km and peaking at the 2 592m high Inyangani is covered with forest. Rainfall can be

the "norm-eastern" monomodal Kingdom that lasted from the 15th to the 19th century and is better known, mainly due to Portuguese historic records — they are unique witnesses of a great past, a source of inspiration for the fierce sense of nationalism that also inspired the independence struggle. No wonder the renowned Great Zimbabwe Birds, carved out of soapstone and once used as totems for ritual purposes, are now omnipresent symbols found also on the country's flag and crest.

Economic performance since independence has known its ups and downs: at first, the euphoria of freedom was accompanied by an economic boom with a double digit GDP growth rate in 1981 (12%), then in 1982 came a downturn. Three consecutive years of drought and a sluggish world economy caused stagnation and even decline. In 1983 real GDP growth rate was negative (-3.5%); by 1984 GDP at current prices reached Z\$5 699 million, but its real growth rate was still no more than a mere 1%. At last, rainfall returned and caused a reversal almost as dramatic as a Greek *deus ex machina*: the 1984-85 farming season turned out bumper harvests

ing credibility and has not had to go through such exercises as debt rescheduling!

Much of this credibility is explained by a look at the country's main productive sectors: its mining, agriculture and manufacturing are all developed to a degree well beyond the average for sub-Saharan Africa.

The mining sector is very diversified since about 40 types of minerals are mined here, mostly, however, on a small-scale basis, as only chromite and asbestos deposits can be classified as large. Though accounting only for 5%-6% of GDP, mining generates around 40% of foreign exchange, which makes this sector the largest export-earner. In 1985 the value of mining production totalled Z\$629.6 million, a 15.2% increase over 1984, despite a marginal decline in the value of output. About 10 key minerals represent almost 90% of total production: the main ones being gold (473 000 ounces produced in 1985 worth Z\$243.3m), asbestos (173 500 tonnes — Z\$84.5m), nickel (9900 tonnes — Z\$73.4m), coal (3.1m tonnes — Z\$66.8m), copper (20 500 tonnes — Z\$43.3m) and chrome (526 500 tonnes — Z\$33.7m).

The manufacturing sector is responsible for about a quarter of GDP, which is about three times the black African average. It provides a broad and varied range of over 6 500 industrial products both for domestic use and for export. Employing close to 170 000 people, it is also the second most important job provider, preceded only by the agricultural sector. In 1985 industry expanded by 12%, reaching record production levels: the volume index of manufacturing reached 113 (1980 = 100), about 3% higher than the 1981 peak year. Most of this boom was due to expansion of the textile and cotton ginning sector, related to the record cotton crop, and to increased utilization of capacities in the metals sector. Though generating only about a quarter of the foreign exchange revenue, this is still in Zdenek Silavecky's view "the sector of the future in terms of value added, exports and employment".

However developed the other key productive sectors, Zimbabwe's agriculture clearly remains

cattle; then there are the communal lands (about 16.5 million ha), more familiar to African travellers, with high population concentration (750 000 households) and with their generally very small farm plots with poor, sandy and coarse soils. Still, even in the latter, one is struck by the quantities of maize, cotton, vegetables etc. peasant farmers are growing.

In discussions with key personalities in this sector, one cannot fail to notice the philosophy behind farming in Zimbabwe: here, on all levels, be it peasant, small-scale or large-scale commercial, a Farmer is Somebody! As Mweni Mahachi, Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Resettlement, stressed: "In Zimbabwe we consider all farming as business. We have got out of the thinking that farmers are social workers, merely supplying cheap food to urban populations, so at whatever level they are, we believe they should be reasonably rewarded for their output". No efforts are therefore spared in putting together good pricing structures, in keeping infrastructure up to date and even expanding it, in providing the proper marketing and storage facilities, in supplying the necessary inputs and in increasing the extension services. Agriculture has proved very successful over the years: Zimbabwe is, for instance, the third largest world producer of flue-cured tobacco, after Brazil and the USA; it has become the third biggest African cotton producer, it is a major producer and exporter of white maize on the Southern African scene. Other important crops are wheat and sugar and to a lesser extent tea, coffee and oilseeds. Maize is the main staple food but is also used as stock feed for part of the over 5.5 million cattle, which also make it an important beef and dairy producer.

In 1985, Zimbabwe set a farming example, so to speak, within the region, thereby fully living up to its responsibility for food security within SADCC: favourable weather conditions led to record-breaking harvests. Crop sales went up by 48% over 1984 to total Z\$1 100 million. They were marked by substantial further growth, for the second consecutive year, of crop sales from the communal sector: topping Z\$225 million or 21% of marketed crop production, its share

production yet. The new 1986-1990 Development Plan anticipates resettling another 15 000 farmers per year both on new lands and on lands previously underutilized.

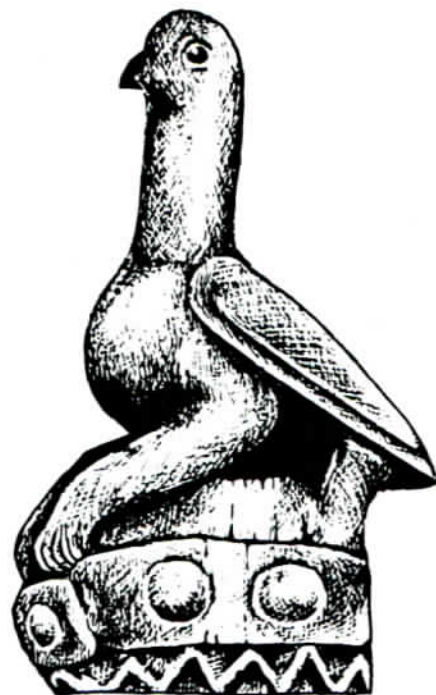
"We want to transform our communal sector right across, with an integrated approach biased towards agriculture" stressed Mahachi.

A lot of work remains to be done there in terms of marketing, storage, input supplies, infrastructural improvement, credit facilities and, of course, extension services. Irrigation will be brought to those areas and could have a major impact: it will allow communal farmers to work all year round and thus generate increased incomes and purchasing power. To serve the same purpose, livestock, which represents an estimated value of Z\$700 million in the communal lands, will be tackled on a commercial basis.

"Redistributing the good farm lands is the best way of redistributing the productive means and therefore wealth" Mahachi felt, adding that "what we want is food produced by whoever, be it commercial or communal farmers, so let there be that sort of competition."

John Laurie, former President of the Commercial Farmers' Union, couldn't agree more: "We consider the increased output by the communal farmers as far from being a threat to us. On the contrary, farming is a national asset and what more can any farmer desire than to see more land being put to productive use — I greatly appreciate the constructive and realistic attitude of Government towards commercial farming and the exceptional partnership that has developed there. This was shown, for instance, by its positive response to our plea for increased foreign exchange allocations, which are vital for our basic import necessities. On the other hand, I am also very favourably impressed by its efforts to achieve agricultural progress in the communal lands, which prior to independence really didn't get the proper attention they deserved. Our call to any farmer would be: make your farm as productive as you can".

Though difficult on an individual basis, given the proportions (±



4 500 commercial farmers and a few hundred thousand communal ones), Laurie definitely saw scope for increased and improved co-operation between the two main types of agriculture: "Behind the scenes we already gave a significant amount of help to communal farmers so one could speak of a sort of internal transfer of technology". He also considered the recent boost in communal maize and cotton output as a further incentive for even more diversification and specialization in the commercial sector: "We are looking closely at all avenues of productivity, particularly export-oriented: more oilseeds, fruits — also for canning — vegetables and other horticultural produce, flowers and also coffee and tea can lead to an expansion of agro-industrial development and exports".



***MAHACHI:** "We consider farming as business... We have got out of the thinking that farmers are social workers, merely supplying cheap food to urban populations..."

Laurie also believes "more and more land should be brought under irrigation — up to 5 000 hectares a year — which is vital for our winter wheat production". Commercial farmers being predominantly white, though with some black colleagues already, Laurie remained hopeful that more and more blacks would "come into our orbit". He also stressed "the need for increased decentralization of all services in an effort to try and keep people in the rural areas and fight urbanization, which was intensified by the prolonged drought. Already over 1.6 million people live on commercial farms and we make great efforts to improve the amenities for our employees, particularly when good crop sales allow it, so that people feel they can get as much in the countryside as in town".

On the sensitive issue of land redistribution, John Laurie was not particularly worried: "Everything goes by the willing seller-willing buyer principle and the new Land Acquisition Act, while maintaining that principle, now gives first choice to government to buy at a fair price. We always bear in mind that since independence, nothing was nationalized or taken over by Government here. Generally speaking, what really counts for us is that we, as a Third World country, stand on our own two feet from an agricultural point of view. For any developing country it is terribly important to become food self-sufficient, and we have done so and more; we are also exporting some of our commodities on the world market. We are feeding and feeding for ourselves, and as good producers all we want is a fair price, both at home and on the world market, so help us therefore to help ourselves".

Enjoying the hospitality of Robson Gapare, President of the National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe (about 300 000 members organized in some 4 000 co-operative groups) and interviewing him in the middle of his 2.5 acres of land, near Serima, gives a good insight into the concerns and desires of the vast majority of communal farmers. Himself a so-called "master farmer" — who, thanks to their application of modern farm techniques, obtained higher productivity and therefore have a demonstrative effect on their fellow-farmers — he produces (though one should definitely mention the key role Mrs Gapare plays here — as do women in general in Zimbabwe) maize, vegetables and groundnuts, and also keeps 13 cattle. Last year, he was able to sell a surplus of no less than 76 bags (each of 90kg) of maize, and, as the Scots say, "many a mickle makes a muckle...". In fact, if Zimbabwe continues producing maize at the current rate (maize deliveries for this year are 1.4 million tonnes), it may, ironically speaking, develop problems along the EEC's CAP lines: the Grain Marketing Board might end up with large surpluses, enough to cover about five years of local consumption, at high storage costs...

"The boom in communal farming goes hand in hand with our farmers having become more self-assured" explained the NFAZ chairman. For Gapare it was also quite obvious that communal output did not just take off because of a good "technical" environment (credit facilities, free fertilizers during the first two years of independence, increased prices, improved marketing, etc...): "Our surplus production today in communal lands in fact finds its origins in increased production prior to independence

in order to supply food to the freedom fighters, so our minds were tuned, as it were, to produce more than our basic needs and thus contribute our bit to the freedom struggle".



***LAURIE:** There's a "need for increased decentralisation of all services in an effort to try and keep people in the rural areas and fight urbanisation... intensified by the prolonged drought..."

He also greatly appreciated the extent to which peasant farmers' organizations are being consulted, for instance in the selection of farmers for resettlement schemes, and encouraged to utter their own practical ideas during the conceptual phase of the new Development Plan: "No African leader will accept that people can interfere in the decision-making process, but our PM is on record as having pushed this through!"

No farmer likes to be a tenant and Gapare could only regret that "so far, the vast majority of us have no security of tenure of land for a number of reasons; we can only hold our land by right, not in full ownership, and therefore not even use it as collateral for a loan. But even if title-deeds were given to us today, that would still be tricky, politically speaking, as it would to a large extent create a static situation, whereby we peasant farmers would own only very poor land. So redistributing good lands really remains a key issue".

Even on this poor soil, many a peasant farmer has already been able to improve his yield dramatically — only a minority still use their own maize in different phases: "This is a security for us, we can't take chances on the risk of not having enough food. Now we are really looking how, while maintaining our maize output, we could diversify and go more into other crops like soya-beans, cotton, white

sorghum, vegetables and groundnuts".

Working in close cooperation with the extension services, Gapare also stressed how much he and his fellow-farmers appreciate the EEC's intervention in the communal lands: "The EEC has probably done more for us than one could have expected. Its aid is of direct use to us and EEC-sponsored micro-projects are such a success here that people ask for more of them".

That comment led Mrs Gapare to express a very concrete wish. "If only we could get more tools and even tractors here... I've waited several months again before a tractor could come and plough my field..."

While everybody in Zimbabwe seemed to be holding their breath as it were, awaiting the publication of the new five-year Development Plan, it is already quite clear that Zimbabwe will have to cope with creating enough jobs to absorb the already high degree of unemployment (estimated at 12-14%). There are also more school-leavers coming onto the market every year; their present number (of about 90 000) is expected to treble over the next five years. On the other hand, the



***SHAVA:** "It has also become paramount that in every ministry we need trained personnel in order to translate the (Five Year) Plan into concrete realities..."

necessary skills will have to be provided to carry out the Plan to its full extent.

As Frederick Shava, Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, put it: "The question of job creation is really the multi-million dollar question. Presently about 1.2 million people are formally employed, out of a total of about 2.5 million employable people, that is able-bodied persons of employ-

ment age. The difference, of course, cannot be determined as unemployed persons: there is a whole range of informal activities which definitely also contribute to the economy. Those we have to structure and organize, for instance in cooperatives; and on the other hand we have to cope with those fully unemployed, particularly in urban areas, and an ever-increasing number of school-leavers".

"At Independence", he continued, "we had no idea of our stock of skills, so first we surveyed them in order to find out shortages and determine priorities. Some of these became quite clear: we have to try and cover the whole spectrum of engineering, with the exclusion only of space engineering, right across all sectors of the economy; we are also in need of highly-qualified senior managers in finance, banking and accountancy; in middle-management we look at two levels, one more finance-oriented, the other for technicians in the hard sciences. For the latter we are not so badly off: although many skills left the country, not a single factory closed down and in fact the middle-skilled labour performed as well as the former professionals. Many skills are there but need trade-testing".

"It has also become paramount that in every Ministry we need trained personnel in order to translate the Plan into concrete realities. In those areas where there are manpower problems, we will continue to recruit from abroad to assure the success of the public sector invest-

ment programme", Minister Shava explained.

Having to look also after people's well-being, even in difficult times like the three-year drought, Minister Shava felt a few key lessons could be drawn from that experience: "The most important one, perhaps, is the awareness that we must put every effort to dam our rivers and prevent our water galloping to the Indian Ocean. Harnessing the waters for irrigation is therefore vital. Our second most important lesson was that whatever assistance is given to people under those harsh circumstances, it still must be linked to development: it is not enough to provide food, you also have to put them to work — let them build small infrastructures like dams and feeder roads for instance — and thus let them create their own income, contributing to their well-being. Finally I would say, we realized the necessity of increasing and improving storage facilities for staple food to cope with future droughts".

Up to now the private sector has no real problems in finding proper labour, which is described as "basically good and easy to train, and a major asset for our development, together with our good infrastructure, our management and our basic raw materials".

Having said this, that doesn't mean that, in the view of Anthony Read, Executive Director of the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI) — also Member of Parliament whose organization is the local antenna of the ACP-EEC



The breathtaking and unforgettable "Mosi Oa Tunya" (smoke that thunders). Livingstone, who named the Famous Falls after Queen Victoria, felt they offered "Scenes so lovely they must have been gazed upon by angels".

Centre for the Development of Industry — there isn't a cloud in the sky:

"Some labour regulations are not conducive to investment and to some extent we have suffered from somewhat erratic decisions by certain government officials. We also feel the price control system is almost diabolic but perhaps most of all we are concerned over the foreign exchange allocations system. The foreign exchange control here is one of the tightest in the world — that is an inheritance from the economic sanctions period

prior to Independence — and this really hampers us a lot. Our present foreign exchange allocation for industry is, in value and in real terms only about 45% of what it was at independence, and that is without taking into account inflation in the industrialized world".

In more general terms, Read felt that "policies practiced by Government haven't encouraged foreign investment enough. For instance, international investment guarantees haven't been accepted yet, and they also didn't sufficiently perceive the need for a return on investment which we think should be in the range of 25%". Government, of course, takes a different stand on this (see again Minister Chidzero's interview) but, even Read admits, "this is not a country where foreign investors will easily find as-yet-untapped potential."

Most small-scale investment opportunities have already been taken up locally — which, by the way, also explains why, from our point of view, the CDI's record here has been pretty negative. On the other hand, many industrialists, because of the UDI period, have not really got a habit of looking outside for foreign partners, and on the other hand we really require large-scale investment in such areas as foodstuffs, chemicals pharmaceuticals and engineering.

"We may get some spill-overs now, due to disinvestment in South Africa, given the escalation of troubles there" Read added, though stressing at the same time that "full trade sanctions on South Africa may make things very difficult for us, as it is still one of our biggest markets, as well as a major supplier of materials to Zimbabwe industries. We obviously must consolidate our position within the PTA — although Zimbabwe faces all sorts of problems there — and start

The magnificent sight that is man-built Lake Kariba — a resort, fish industry and one of Zimbabwe's "musts" for tourists who drive or fly there from all over the world.



looking for other sources of supply, but this always brings us back to the problem of transport and access."

The future of Zimbabwe's transport outlets could indeed become very tricky if the final blow-up, which so many observers forecast, finally happens in South Africa. Dependence on South African routes is near-total: during the fiscal year 1984/85 (ending 30 June), between 80%-90% of Zimbabwe's import and export traffic used the two major South African rail links (the Beitbridge line and the Plumtree line through Botswana). According to certain sources, the South Africans are even slashing their rail freight tariffs — partly as a result of internal competition with road transport — which could even increase this dependence.

Of course it isn't just Zimbabwe but also Zambia, Malawi, southern Zaire, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho which are concerned by this burning issue, which explains why communications rank so high on SADCC's priority list. The Beira corridor — comprising the 293 km-long railway line from Mutare to Beira, a road parallel to it and the Beira port — would be a partial alternative to South African routes, although the outlet via Maputo is in terms of technical facilities in principle more promising for some of Zimbabwe's industries which are located predominantly in the south.

The line from Chicalacuala to Maputo, however, has been disrupted by RENAMO's destabilization activities. The Beira Corridor, too, suffered security problems due to RENAMO actions, to the extent that presently some of Zimbabwe's troops are deployed to ensure its security and continued operation.

SADCC has worked out a global programme of upgrading of the whole Corridor, including the port, covering over 60 different projects costing a projected US\$660 million over a period of 10 years. A major donors' conference took place in mid-April to set out both a contingency and a longer-term programme. Some donors like the USA, the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and the EEC, have already earmarked funds or are providing practical help to develop this alternative route and the Zimbabwe authorities, in close cooperation with their Mozambican colleagues, are prepared to defend and keep it open at any price!

Trade routes in the future may well become a problem. That does not mean however, that one can not get there and see for oneself what a fantastic variety of tourist assets this country has to offer.

Not only are there the Great Zimbabwe — and similar ruins in many other places — vital to all those who want to try and understand

Zimbabwe as well as to broaden their overall historical perspective of this part of the African continent. There is, of course, also the varied and rich culture of the different sections that make up Zimbabwe's population. There are several first-rate national parks and wild-life reserves covering a tenth of the land, with game viewing, safaris etc. and where concern for the environment is apparent.

This balance between environment and development is, in fact, one of the major objectives of the new Development Plan. There is also Lake Kariba, which offers a whole range of leisure and relaxation activities. There is so much more that any long list would fail to mention it all. But one view will remain imprinted in memory forever: the breathtaking "Mosi oa Tunya" or "Smoke that thunders", the African name for the famous Victoria Falls.

When the first white man, Livingston, was brought to them by local Africans in 1855 and named them after Queen Victoria, he was so impressed that he wrote in his diary: "Scenes so lovely must have been gazed upon by angels in their flight". One couldn't agree more.

Situated about midway on the Zambezi river between its source and the Indian Ocean, the falls are 1 688 metres wide, made up of five different chasms ranging from 61 to 108 m in height. In the flood season over 545 million litres of water plunge down here every minute, sending clouds to over 500 metres up in the sky, which explains where the African name comes from.

Easily accessible for sightseeing, though at the risk of being soaked by the spray, they are so impressive that even American tourists have to admit "they are bigger and better than anything we have back home" (referring of course, to the Niagara Falls).

In 1985, over 361 000 people visited Zimbabwe, up by 15% over the previous year, about 320 000 giving holiday as the main purpose of their visit. The estimated earnings for last year for all visitors have been put at about Z\$41 m, but tourism representatives like Nelson Samkange and David Kaufman, both assistant Director-Generals at the Zimbabwe Tourist Development Corporation, respectively in charge of marketing and research and planning, pointed out the "weakness in statistical surveys, grossly underestimating tourist revenue, which we in the trade believe to be rather in the area of Z\$100 m". Both also expect their sector to grow even more. "Reduced oil prices increase disposable incomes in our main tourist markets, as does the upswing in the world economy, and also makes long-haul destinations like ours cheaper" explained Samkange.

SADCC has worked out a global programme of upgrading The Beira Corridor, including the port. . .

A major boost to tourism income could also be given by conference business in Harare's new complex comprising a very modern Conference Centre and Sheraton Hotel, the whole irreverently referred to by taxi drivers as "the golden delicious", their way of describing the luxury inside and the golden shine outside caused by the reflected sun. SADCC's last ministerial meeting took place there, as well as a number of other major gatherings, such as an intra-ACP Council, but the high point came in August-September last year, when Zimbabwe hosted the Non-Aligned Summit.

There are also an increasing number of South Africans visiting Zimbabwe, not just on economic grounds given their restricted holiday allowances, but also out of a certain curiosity, maybe trying to find out for themselves how their own future may turn out.

Growing with Equity

If they are open-minded enough, they can see for themselves that a multi-racial society with a thriving economy is possible in this part of the world. The white population is now estimated at about 120 000,

down by about half since independence, but the situation has evolved in such a way that emigration of white Zimbabweans has considerably slowed down and there are clear indications that some would not mind coming back.

The process of unification that has taken place here is impressive. Some problems do remain to be dealt with, as Prime Minister Mugabe explained in his interview. But all in all, a steady determination to achieve its goals, combined with a sound sense of pragmatism, has allowed Zimbabwe not only to preserve its basic economic prosperity but also to expand it to some extent, while reducing disparities and growing with equity. There are still many challenges to be faced, but as Minister Chidzero stressed "there is a distinct possibility of an economic breakthrough". The regional complication, given the already-dramatic situation in South Africa, hangs as a cloud over the future of the region, but does not prevent one dreaming of the potential of this whole area with a free Namibia and majority-ruled South Africa with Zimbabwe at the core of it.

Story: The Courier



PHOTOS: ZIMBABWE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

THE VOICE SADCC/PTA, FEBRUARY 1987

FOCUS ON ZIMBABWE



Zimbabwe, six years on from Independence on 18th April 1980, has gone a long way towards attaining its "4R" priorities, resettlement, rehabilitation, reconstruction and reconciliation. It owes much of this progress to the able leadership of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

Having led the Zimbabwe African National Union, ZANU (PF) through the armed struggle against the Rhodesian minority regime — which had detained him in prison from 1964 to 1974 — Prime Minister Robert Mugabe finally savoured the sweet taste of victory, first during the 1979 Lancaster House negotiations, and later after winning a landslide victory at the first (February 1980) elections.

In July 1985, he led ZANU (PF) as President and First of its Politburo and Central Committee to another resounding victory, thereby increasing his majority in the second parliament from 57 to 64 of the 80 common roll seats.

The Lancaster House Agreement stated that a majority of 70 seats out of the total 100 seats, including the reserved 20 white seats, would be required if certain aspects of the Constitution were to be changed after 1 April 1987. During last year's Independence celebrations, the Prime Minister announced that he intended to invoke this constitutionally in order to abolish the reserved 20 white seats, which he

considers quite disproportionate to the actual numbers of whites remaining in the country.

Now 62, Robert Mugabe's single-minded dedication of purpose has not faltered a bit, quite the contrary. Within Zimbabwe he continues to pursue his political, socio-economic and development goals with staunch, yet pragmatic determination. Within the context of Southern African turmoil, his pleas, both as a Frontline State and a SADCC leader, for a truly free Namibia and a majority-ruled South Africa, have been made with increasing persistence. Now he will be heard even more on the international scene, as last August he succeeded Rajiv Gandhi as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

In this second interview with *The Courier* he reviews past achievements, points out how he succeeded turning swords into ploughshares and explains why he is striving for the establishment of a one-party system. He also comments on the dramatic situation in Southern Africa and puts the "Bi-

FOCAL" ACP-EEC relationship into perspective.

Prime Minister, in 1985 you were voted back into office with an increased majority. Looking back on the first six years of Independence, what would you say have been the main achievements and what the main disappointments?

— I suppose our achievements really could be categorized. There are those in the military field, and we have of course those in the socio-economic field. So one would really have to do a comparative exercise, but it doesn't matter what you do, what advance is made. If you don't have security, if you don't have peace, then those advances are nullified, almost, and in fact it may not be possible even to make them. And so I should like to believe that the policy of national reconciliation was the highlight of our achievements, in the sense that we brought together the blacks and whites who had been opposed to each other, and separated by a system as inimical as that of apartheid in South Africa. To get them really to accept that now they were one society with common objectives and a common destiny, that was a feat in its own category, but that has happened.

Unifying the armed forces:

"a stupendous exercise"

Within even that context you had the political division between ZANU and ZAPU, and going together with that, the struggle we fought was on two parallel fronts, the ZANLA front

and the ZIPRA front, and we were fighting, divided as we were militarily, a common enemy who also had his forces. So the task on the eve of Independence was to unify the forces, three separate forces, ZANLA, ZIPRA and the Rhodesian forces — not to mention Muzorewa's own forces within the Rhodesian context and the remnants of Sithole's.

Well, the exercise was a very stupendous one for a start, but we took the position that no force was greater than the other, no force should claim precedence over allies, all of them were equal — the Rhodesians wanted to make theirs the core force... And so all the generals stood before their forces as it were — theoretically — and we had to integrate the forces.

But of course the larger segments were those of ZANLA and ZIPRA, the largest being that of ZANLA — the Rhodesians didn't have much really by way of regular forces, they had depended on what they called the territorials, people who were taken from their walks of life to serve in the army, so the regular army was only three battalions or so, but ZANLA had about 20 000, and ZIPRA some 16 000. We managed to integrate these and that was a feat.

The British assisted us. We got in the British tactically, because we had to create confidence on the part of the whites, and also as a deterrent to South Africa, because there had been talk about a possible coup if my party won the elections, and true, there was that design.

**Creating
"One Society
with a Common
Destiny — A
Feat in its own
Category"
— Mugabe**

FOCUS ON ZIMBABWE

We feel that by our policy of national reconciliation, the preparedness to integrate all the forces and make them one, the request we made to the British to assist us in the process, that the combination of these made those who had cherished notions about a coup, abandon them. So there it was, we created a situation of peace.

Rehabilitating the economy

Now, having said that, we must also recognize that we inherited an economy which to some extent had become dilapidated, but to other extents had infrastructures which were quite advanced. The bridges in the rural areas, the roads, the schools, the agriculture, all had deteriorated terribly — even in commercial agriculture there were farms that had been abandoned. But in urban areas, factories and industrial enterprises had emerged, in order to enable Rhodesia to have those substitutes which it needed, now that certain goods it used to import could not come in.

So, there was that import substitution process which they carried out and they established industries to be self-sufficient. We inherited that, but to us, what was very important was to rehabilitate the economy overall, especially rural development and agriculture,

and alongside that to resettle the people, both refugees from abroad and from within the country itself — people who had left their home areas to seek other areas within the country which were safer. We undertook that resettlement and we were helped immensely by voluntary organizations, by a number of countries, mainly European countries, which gave us aid for resettlement.

That exercise was done, and within a short period we had no refugees any more and they had turned into peasant farmers. At the end of 1980, our first year of independence, we had a bumper harvest: we produced, at the end of that period, some 2.2 million tonnes of maize and we have not yet beaten that record.

So there we managed to succeed, but in the industrial field, now, we had new markets instead of just the South African and the black or clandestine markets which the Rhodesian regime had established for us. We now had open markets within the region and abroad.

Zimbabwe had opened itself, as it were, to a new relationship with the outside world and the outside world had equally opened itself to that kind of friendship with Zimbabwe. The lax capacity which was in our factories was utilized, and our manufactured products output also rose in 1980/81 and we therefore experienced quite a high

performance in our industries. Of course that was before the world recession.

As we did that, we had to attend to the problem of education and health as vigorously as we could. After all, the development of manpower is essential if you are to carry out any economic development at all.

We went full blast into the area of establishing schools, in rural areas especially, encouraging people in self-reliance projects to undertake these and we stimulated this new interest in socio-economic development of social services. Within a short period, we had schools emerging throughout the country.

Whereas in 1979 we had about 800 000 pupils in school, the number went on rising and rising until we got, by the end of 1984, up to 2.5 million children in school, and this year the number is even more. We believe now that the figures will stabilize, that the bulge we had because of children who had been thrown out of school during the war, has been taken care of, and we will have to cater for the natural growth from births.

Our educational system has really been one of the highlights of our endeavours during the last six years. The social service, which has to do with peoples' health, has also been remarkably advanced, but it's at a slower pace than our education. Now every child can go to

secondary school, let alone go into a primary school — primary education is free, but secondary education is not free yet. However, the fees are reasonable, especially in the rural schools.

But we are also assisting the parents to be more productive agriculturally. We are giving incentives to peasants so they can be more productive, by way of prices and by making credit facilities accessible to them, and they also get help from extension officers. That way they will have an income, we believe, provided the climate is good, an income to enable them to pay school fees for their children, to look after their families and feed them, and perhaps have a little cash to save.

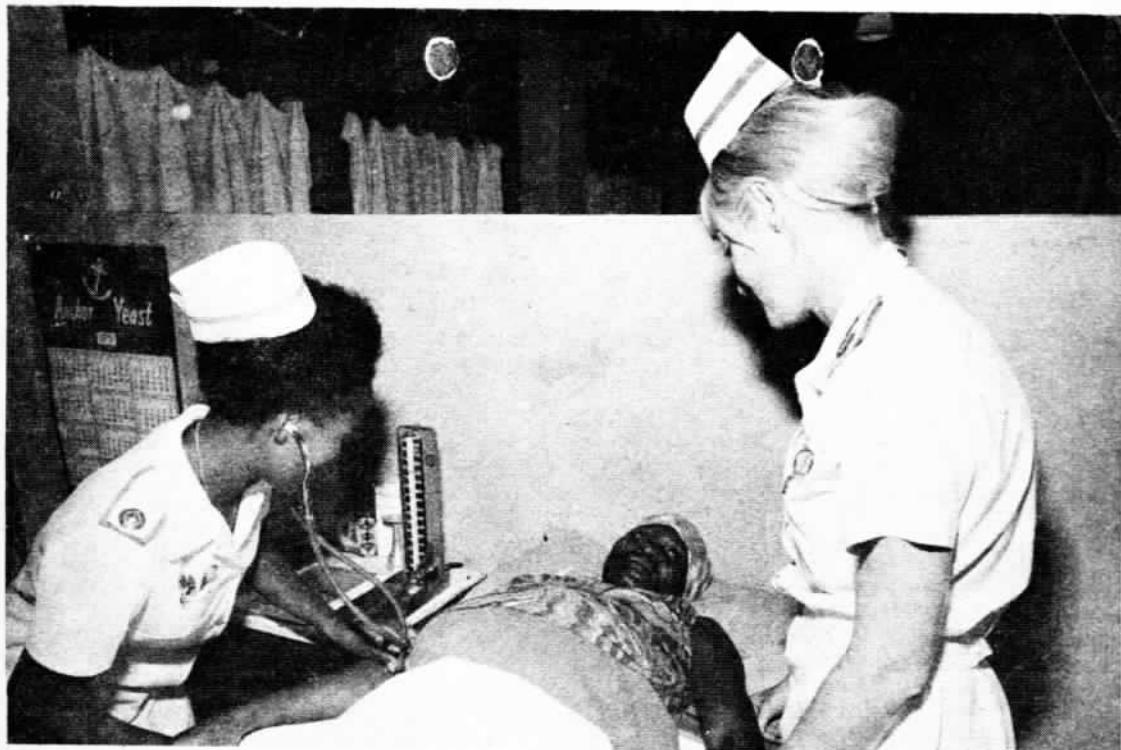
We haven't got to a position where every peasant is as productive as another, not yet. A number of factors come into it, like the question of the land and soils. Most peasant agriculture is really in areas which have sandy, coarse soil, and we have to carry out the programme of resettlement to its conclusion. This we managed to begin, and to some extent to implement it, but it's a long way from being accomplished.

In resettling them we must ensure that they have the right services, the extension workers I have made reference to, and access to facilities like those offered by the Agricultural Finance Corporation, and ensuring therefore that they have the necessary equipment with which to carry out their agriculture.

If we can develop a relationship between them and the extension officers, increase the number of extension officers so that we have one extension officer to a village, this is what we would want to establish — who will, on a day-to-day basis be giving advice, supervise the agriculture of every peasant widow, widower, poor family or whatever — that way we hope we can improve the performance of our peasant agriculture.

Our bid during the next five years, of the new Five-Year-Plan, is precisely to do that: improve on our agriculture fundamentally. But this means, of course, the improvement of other things that go with that. Roads and feeder roads must be improved, we have worked on them, they are better than most roads in other countries, but still they dilapidate when heavy rains come, and now we must look at how to make them permanent.

But otherwise you can travel to every corner of our country — yes, there will be bumps, but you will get there and our crops from all corners get to their centres and depots. We would hope that a combination of



Ante natal wards midwives taking the blood pressure of the expectant mother.



"WE went full blast into the area of establishing schools . . ." MUGABE.

PHOTOS: Zimbabwe Information

development projects will yield a level of rural development which will help us to achieve the balance between the level of development of urban people and that of people in rural areas. It may not be an achievement on par as such, but at least we will be able to raise the standard of living of the rural peasants.

"Our traditional style of life is that of oneness"

One of your major stated goals is the establishment of a one-party system in the near future. Why is this so important to you, how do you intend to achieve it and by when?

— Well, the one-party state is just a political philosophy we've had all along, even before the liberation struggle. We feel that a multi-party state is an oddity, it's a strange phenomenon to us, and we say this in all genuineness. We feel it makes an unnecessary division in our society, that our own traditional style of life is that of oneness — we are one family, under one chief with various headmen under him, and if we can use this concept to create one political society, allowing for expressions of opinion of various kinds, that would be better than a multi-party state and its divisional nature.

It's important because we want unity, it's important because we must attain the goal of development and of raising the standard of living of our people and avoid bickering and unnecessary quarrelling for the sake of power.

We are not in that dramatic hurry which most people think we are in. We postulate this as our goal and true, we are proceeding towards it by organizing our party. In 1980 we won 57 seats, in 1985 we won seven more seats, and got 64 out of 80. We are hoping that by talking the same language, we can come

together and unite our people. It's necessary, we have got to avoid this unnecessary fighting which is taking place in the western part of the country, and attend to the problem of developing our country and society. So that's the main reason really why we would want to see a one-party state.

We are not after a system, as some people think, which frustrates opposition, which negates democracy, far from it: in fact we would want to enhance democracy. We would be the last people, really, to try and throttle those with opposed views to our own because we fought for democracy and we know how painful it was to achieve the democratic order that prevails in the country today.

So, we cannot really establish a system which defies what we sincerely believe in. But what we wouldn't want to see is a system which enables those who are defeated at the polls to resort to all kinds of undemocratic measures in order to achieve their goal, as is happening now within ZAPU: some elements there have taken to violence because they lost the elections in 1980 and lost their elections again in 1985.

We believe that if we are united we will do better: we would work together, the goals would be identical and our quarrels, so to say, would be family in-fights, as we will regard ourselves then as one large family.

A plea for pressures on South Africa

As Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and as leader of a country which is a major SADCC partner as well as a Frontline State, what do you expect from the international community as a whole and from Europe in particular as regards the dramatic situation in South Africa?

— It was an honour that we were

chosen as the host country for the Non-Aligned Summit last August and September and that I, in particular, had this honour of Chairman conferred on me for three years. But we believe that the choice of our venue was motivated, amongst other things, by the situation in Southern Africa, that there should be pressure exerted on the South African regime to change the system there.

So we would hope that the holding of the Summit here added some political pressure to the pressures already being exerted internationally, by the Commonwealth, bilaterally by countries which have relations with South Africa, and by Europe. The EEC has already pronounced itself by way of given measures and given political pressure opposed to apartheid and has demanded that there should be changes to the system. So we believe that the Non-Aligned Movement did after the Summit, have that force of pressure which, combined with other pressures, bring about change in South Africa.

Now, our expectation here in the region as a Frontline State, neighbouring on South Africa, is really that Europe, which has historical relations with South Africa, should be seen to be more committed to the attainment of human rights in South Africa, than to its economic interests.

This has been my quarrel with Mrs Thatcher, that for her it's British economic interests that predominate, rather than human rights — and I raised this point at Nassau in the Commonwealth. I raised it in my letters to her. I feel that Britain is being impelled by the consideration of purely economic interests, and so is putting these above human rights and the question of freedom in South Africa.

So if Europe were to speak with one voice, act as one, impose sanctions against South Africa, there

would certainly be some change in South Africa.

But since sanctions have been imposed on South Africa, what becomes of Zimbabwe itself, as your economies are interdependent, for instance in the field of transport? How will you cope with the effects of such effective sanctions?

— We will have to adapt. We have said that if sanctions are imposed against South Africa, naturally we would expect some assistance in order for us to be able to alleviate the pressure of sanctions. But let it not be forgotten that, really, South Africa also depends on us to a very great extent. We have volumes and volumes of foreign currency or Rand that goes down south, pensioners will save millions of dollars per year which go to South Africa, let alone what we pay for the imports that come from South Africa. And we are, to date, the greatest market in Africa South Africa has, and it will think twice before it imposes counter-measures on us. It will be the loser in the long run.

Is there not also a current trend whereby white South Africans are coming to Zimbabwe to see how things are going, bearing in mind their own future?

— That's true. That also, I think, has been a good thing, an eye-opener to most whites. Even those who ran to South Africa and left us are coming back, because the green pastures they thought existed in South Africa aren't there. They are coming back, and they see that the ones they left behind are still as comfortable, if not more comfortable than before. We have not touched them, we have not touched their properties. If anything, they are going ahead with their style of life, and we believe we have been an example to some extent that can be emulated by the people in South Africa.

URBAN HOUSING

As the land market is controlled by the private sector and (is) using this as a leverage, the housing sector is exploited by them to their own benefit . . . It is imperative, therefore, that Government must be a major shareholder in the real estate market!

Political Economy of Housing the Urban Low-income Families

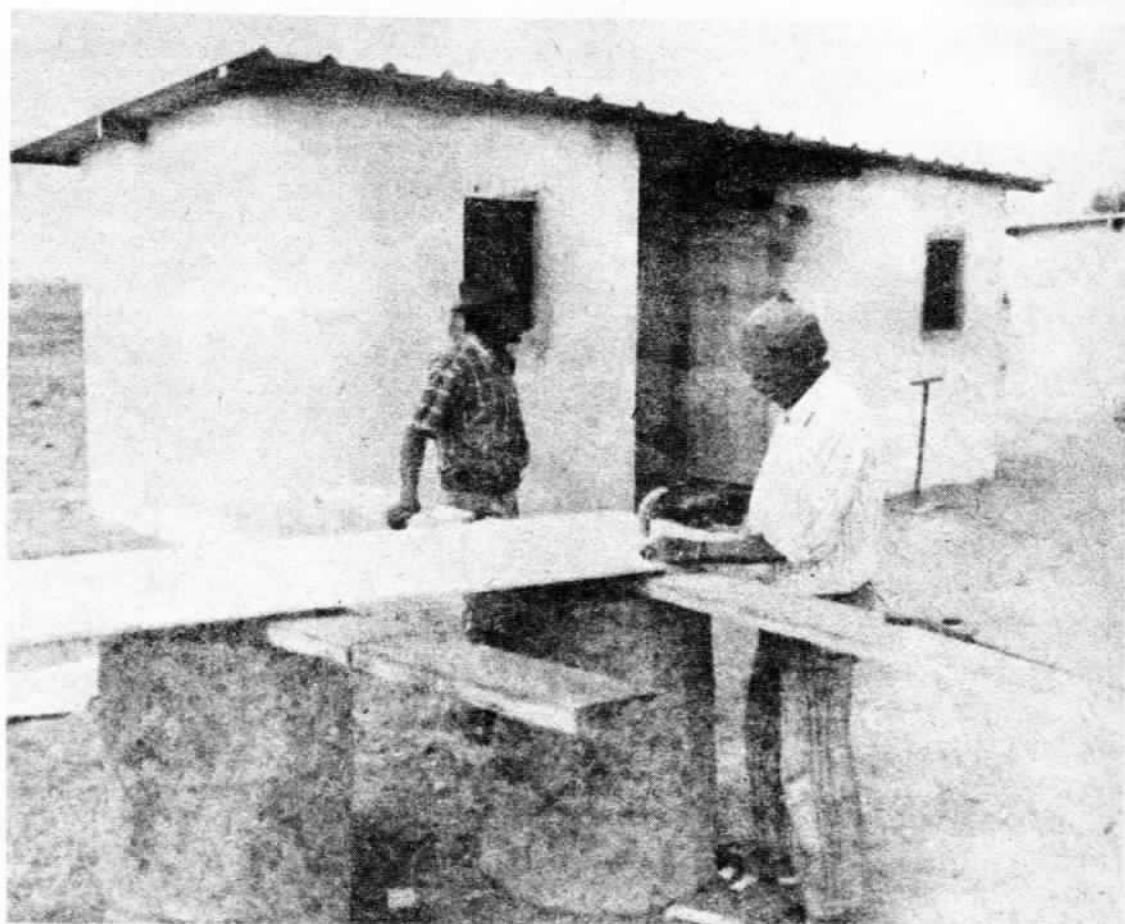
By Sipho Magonya

The provision of habitable dwellings and the complex issue of housing the low-income households in Zimbabwe can best be seriously analysed in the context of the critical political economy of the urban policy initially designed to keep the urban Black labour force as a temporary visitor to the urban centres.

This deliberate strategy was to ensure that the African workers would not be paid wages sufficient to cover the full cost of their labour reproduction and that the transitory and dual nature of such a population could be maintained.

This meant that the African workers were wholly dependent on the peasant economy for post-employment subsistence consumption. The labour reserves were thus the function of both reproducing labour power for capital and also acted as an indigenous retirement insurance at old age.

Such urban policy was central to the colonial administration's strategy of rapid accumulation by the metropolitan core. In The Land Apportionment Act of 1930, the racial designation of land was formalised. However, because of the contradictions in the policy, debate continued on the desirability of a stable urban labour



*** PRIOR to Independence, moves were made towards public investment in housing such as Magwegwe and Glen View, where both local authorities provided "wet core", that is, toilet and bathroom and the beneficiary would build additional structures of the dwelling. (Zimbabwe Ministry of Information Photographs).**

force, and hence the Land Apportionment Act was repealed in 1941 (No. 11) making provision for all local authorities to nouse the black population and therefore drop the requirement that residents must be employed in the urban area. This encouraged male workers to bring their wives and dependants in to the towns.

Even with this notion of stabilising the labour force, the colonial government viewed spatial residential segrega-

tion and, therefore, social distancing a necessity for order, health and security.

Nonetheless, the number of houses, mainly rental, built, was determined by the number of jobs available in any area and such houses had little, if any, minimum standard requirements.

This does not ignore the fact that prior to Independence there had been some moves towards public investment in housing such as Magwegwe in Bulawayo and Glen View in Harare

where both local authorities provided a "wet core" that is, toilet and bathroom and then the beneficiary would build other structures of the dwelling.¹

The post independence era saw influx of the rural population into urban centres of Zimbabwe which increased the demand for housing. In 1980/81 the housing sector was allocated \$17.4 million and 10,808 units were built. During 1984/5, \$37.9 million was allocated but only 5,000 units built.

Now there seems to be a decrease in housing units built between 1980-85, but, however, this is due to the rising costs of building materials and, in fact, the house production was of a progressively high quality through better and varied housing strategies and policies such as the self-help strategy which is now quite popular in Zimbabwe. The strategy has the following advantages:

- (a) Minimum public investment is required.
- (b) Minimum or no need for housing subsidies, thereby freeing resources for investment in public services, for example, water supply, sewage, transportation, education and health etc.
- (c) Equal assistance to a larger slice of the population rather than limiting benefits to a few. Moreover, beneficiary participation in the construction process has a requisite in any development process since the reduction of public investment leads to the pooling together of human and financial resources within the individual's own means.
- (d) Capital formation in low-income families is also accelerated because the poor invest their spare time labour capacity in construction.

Other housing schemes which are popular in the urban centres, especially Bulawayo and Harare, are Building Brigades, the World Bank low-cost housing schemes in which government, and in the case of Bulawayo, the Commonwealth Development Fund, has to build 4 500 housing units in the high density suburbs.

In Harare's Glen Norah and Sunningdale, the World Bank scheme has 2 353 stands ready for allocation. The cost of these stands vary by type from A to F. Type A stands cost \$1 225 and increase in price by alphabetical order to type F which cost \$2 235. The Building Brigades build 4-roomed "core" house in the city at \$10 000 while loan entitlements are as follows:

Income Z\$	Loan Entitlement Z\$	Monthly Payment Z\$
200 00	4 000 00	28 33
400 00	7 920 00	56 66

It must be pointed out that the stands a beneficiary must build are a series of social, economic and information networks can be considered no services but a further exploitation of the poor.⁵

To say that the poor get a raw deal in the provision of affordable housing does not, as earlier mentioned, mean that efforts have not been made by government, but because of its other demanding obligations on its budget, sufficient resources cannot be set aside for public housing, thus few households

can benefit as the Harare City Council Housing and Community Services Department comments "... The Council is losing ground on the battle to give affordable decent accommodation to all those in need. In 1984/85 ... the housing list increased by 8 626 families despite the fact that 3 822 families were given accommodation. The present waiting list is about 28 000 families."⁶

The waiting list above is similar to the Bulawayo one of 17 500 which does not include those who have not even bothered to register and those who are unmarried. This is indicative of the colossal housing problem in the major cities of Zimbabwe today.

The low-income housing system should therefore aim at the production of affordable units which will enable poor households to afford family nutrition, education etc, and thus increase their national productivity.

This paper suggests that certain implementation techniques for low-income housing must be adopted since at the moment the middle and higher income families have better access to housing units by market mechanism.

To correct this situation, it is necessary to direct more savings towards low-income housing and to use the state as an investment source in the housing sector. For this reason, the following measures should be considered:

- (a) Possibilities of obtaining mortgage credit should be widened.
- (b) The use of local materials and labour should be encouraged.
- (c) The low-income families can be supported by various measures (while allowing owner/rental housing on the one hand).

These measures are as important as the subsidies and also they can lessen the need for subsidies. On the other hand, policy decision must be made to build (or support) conventionally finished housing units but "core" housing.

This is a more realistic approach.

While preparing macro development plans, income levels differentiations and groups together with their family structures should be carefully considered (as to freehold owner/rental alternative).

- (f) To realise that (such as the World Bank schemes) a large housing programme will have its major investment resources spent on infrastructural and social services.
- (g) Appropriate technology as opposed to costly elaborate initial capital technology will mean producing

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- (g) Appropriate technology as opposed to costly elaborate initial capital technology will mean producing

and building more units with less initial capital investment.

- (h) The existing housing and house building cooperatives, brigades and associations should be encouraged.
- (i) A suitable taxation policy that channels savings towards the housing sector must be adopted and this can be used to restrict luxury housing building and land speculation.
- (j) A ceiling on land holdings and the number of houses an individual should possess would essentially limit the use of land and houses as assets. Though people holding more than the ceiling would sell the excess and convert it to other forms of wealth — only changing the composition of portfolios although the distribution of wealth remains constant, monopoly power in the land and housing sector will be reduced thus access of the low-income groups made easier. This would actually curb private companies (such as Old Mutual which owns a significant portion of Harare) from such a monopoly!
- (k) The preference structures of city planners, especially foreign and western, must not be imposed at the exclusion of other necessary disciplines such as sociologists, economists etc. who may contribute in the socio-cultural meanings and roles of

Finally, the consideration of the land market is not like to enter into the term of mortgage contracts. The issue of government uncertainty about the future. The government to build incrementally as their income grows as in the site and services. It is suggested that the urban poor are likely to be helped if we accept that presence and/or to understand their preferences and needs.

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Certain techniques for low-income housing must be adopted since the middle and higher-income families have better access to housing units by market mechanism . . .

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THE TROUBLE WITH GEORGE

A cautionary tale

I first met George about five years ago. He was then in his late 30s and working as accountant/book-keeper/administrator/company secretary of a small high-tech firm outside Newbury.

The company had been set up by two brothers, Frank and Sam, both brilliant systems engineers with years of experience, but although they were equal shareholders, Frank was the undisputed boss. They were both experienced in electronics but not in back-office administration. Nor were they interested in it. So that was where George came in and he had been with them since they started 15 years ago.

He was the perfect dog's-body — he kept the books, paid the creditors, collected the cash, negotiated with the bank, looked after the insurances, doing anything and everything, in fact, and doing it well. He was well paid, had a company car and as company secretary participated in the informal discussions that were called board meetings.

Curiously enough for such a systems-orientated firm, the books were produced by old-fashioned manual means. George had learnt the hard way. The fact that he was totally unqualified did not seem to matter. He had tried to pass the accounting exams (another institute incidentally) but he kept on failing one paper (a different one each time) after another.

'I really appreciate George's energy and loyalty', said Frank at our first meeting. We were sitting in what he called his snuggery, a small room that served as kitchen, scullery and meeting room at the same time. I had been sent in by a bank's venture capital fund, looking for a good investment.

First of all I went through the business with Frank and Sam and then the figures with George and the friendly local auditors, and I came to the conclusion that the business would be a good investment for the fund. The money from the bank would help them

expand their product line and manufacturing capability and enable them to develop their overseas interests. It seemed an excellent opportunity.

I duly made my report and the deal eventually went through. The bank took a substantial stake, invested a considerable amount of money and put a director on the board. The bank insisted on certain conditions, of course. It wanted formal board meetings with agendas and regular routine reporting. Tea in Frank's house on a Saturday afternoon would no longer qualify as a board meeting. The bank also insisted on the appointment of new auditors — the bank's auditors as a matter of fact.

Helpful

George had been enormously helpful to me during my investigation and we became good friends. I often urged him to take his exams more seriously. He tried hard but he kept on failing. It is not easy to study when you have two small children and, anyway, he was far too busy.

The company prospered in the next few years: a new assembly/production line was installed, salesmen were recruited, overseas subsidiaries were set up. The business grew. Inevitably it became more complicated. There was increasing pressure on George to produce more numbers, more quickly, in greater detail.

The old auditors were replaced — not without some anguish — and new, snifty, London ones arrived. They barely tolerated me — an FCMA might have some minimal standing they conceded — but they were quite aghast when they were confronted with an unqualified chief accountant. They complained crossly to the bankers. The bankers had never taken to George in any case. He was a rough country type who was totally ill at ease in the financial world.

The bank's non-executive director complained that the board meetings were not at all what he was used to in the City: they were not handled professionally, the minutes not properly recorded, the board papers not good enough. When he asked for the minute book poor George had to create it out of ten years of scrappy files. The register of directors' interests was non-existent. He never did manage to pass the paper on Secretarial Practice and Company Law.

The expansion of the firm meant more complicated accounts, and the need for management figures and costings. There were ECGD negotiations, tax problems, control of the overseas subsidiaries. The bankers and the auditors shook their heads in sorrow. George was beginning to get out of his depth.

'I do hope George will be able to adapt', said Frank testing his smart swivel chair in his newly furnished office. 'We are getting into the big time now and I need a first class financial man in my dealings with the financial world. And I do wish he would shut up at board meetings; after all, he is only company secretary'.

The success of the company was such that it was moving inevitably and inexorably towards flotation. Everyone would benefit from this, the bankers, ourselves (for having discovered the company in the first place), Frank and Sam, who would become very rich, and the employees through a share incentive scheme. Inevitably it might be, but flotation is still very hard work and the need for an experienced finance man was paramount.

Suddenly everyone was talking about the importance of recruiting a professional finance director. I need hardly point out that 'professional' means 'qualified'. Two jobs in fact opened up: finance director (as interface with the City) and management accountant (to set up the costing and

reporting systems). George was qualified for neither. He took his exams very seriously now and continued to fail them.

A finance director was duly hired: a qualified, experienced FCA who knew exactly what was required, as did the ACMA who was recruited as management accountant. George was left with the sop of company secretaryship. Inevitably he resented the new FD, and retreated into a morose, gloomy silence. He did what he was asked to do — no more and no less. He was beginning to become a self-fulfilling prophesy.

'The trouble with George,' said Frank, slipping his Mercedes 450 into overdrive, 'is that he hasn't grown with the business.' The bankers sitting in the back nodded agreement. We were off to celebrate the successful flotation with a lunch at a new *nouveau cuisine* restaurant that had just opened in the Thames Valley. George was not invited. He was busy in the office preparing cheques, calculating depreciation or working out bonuses — or something like that. He still had not passed his exams.

Relegated

He was by now firmly relegated to the sidelines and however much goodwill the company felt to him for his past services, he had little to offer them now. There seemed no place for him in a medium-sized company growing fast to reach the big time. His large salary and company car were in fact an anachronism, commented on bitterly at every opportunity by the management accountant. The telephonist tells me it is well known that George is looking for another job. In his early 40s and without a qualification his chances of equalling his current salary must be rated very dim indeed.

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Season of Confusion

ABRAHAM Marange shook his head sadly. His life had come to a standstill! To a standstill that was confusion, and would not, or could not, move forward . . . and everything else advanced into the future with Time — This Time on which he stood . . . By that great narrator Evans Mawonera

Time had ceased to care. The world had done so too, a long time ago. His life had come to a confused standstill.

He was all alone.

He wondered why.

He thought of home, little old home that was a small circumference of unburnt bricks, and piles of long dry grass that refused to keep out the rain. The small yard came to his thoughts too, as lifeless and barren as it always was. The sagging fence still made his sad sigh escape slowly, through the yellow enclosure of his sorrowful teeth. It took a lot of work out of him, everything of his did, but mostly the crumbling fence and the leaky grass thatch of his hut, but it gave him nothing at all in return, nothing at all to show for the enormous amount of work he put in daily, weekly and yearly.

Abraham Marange shook his head sadly. His life had come to a standstill; to a standstill that was confusion, and would not, or could not, move forward again remaining standing at one spot in confused frustration while everyone and everything else around advanced joyously into the future with Time — This Time that was the ground on which he stood; the air he breathed; the food he ate; the water he washed in; and the house he lived in; everything that surrounded him day in and day out would not

move forward. It stood still like a frozen river and, now and then, would only move cruelly and sharply, backwards.

Abraham sighed. With the lack of moving ahead of his Time, one would think that he was not growing older, but no, surprisingly, his age still moved ahead with the other Time, leaving him old but at a confused standstill still. He was 45 years old now, and still not married. It showed in his eyes, grown deeper brown, and in his hair turning white-grey with each passing year.

But, his position in the world — his spiritual wanderings, his material sphere, his social and financial stance remained at a standstill and that was not anything at all, only confusion.

Still, all around him, in everything else that was not his and cruelly including the years that were his age, Time moved luxuriantly ahead.

Abraham came out of the side road that had branched off the small main road, and took the smaller, almost undetectable track that led to his own hut. Obviously from the poor state of use of the track, he was the only one who used it.

To his left, the land fell away heavily, towards the small rivulet that never came to flood, even after very heavy rains. There lay the village's fields, in that sleeping area of land that allowed the ruins to wash away half the planted seeds, every year. Abraham's allotted plot was the one right by the river and all the seeds that were washed down by the rain accumulated there, taking root wildly and producing a real confusion of tangled plants. He never knew what to do with the seeds and the field, it more than vexed him. As he stared down at it, seeing the crowded maize plants struggling with each other for a breath of air and some free soil for the roots, he sighed.

Their struggles were like his own. He had no air to breathe, no soil to send down his roots into. In short, he was at zero.

He shook his head sadly. Every year was a season of confusion for him.

He wondered why again.

Barren

To his right lay the rocky mountain area which, except for a few tall stubborn trees, was barren. It rose high and cruelly into the eastern horizon. It was part of the Zvimvurwi Range. Abraham did not understand why it was given that name, since it was so barren, so devoid of all rich undergrowths.

Anyway, Abraham thought, it is still like me; it never changes, except in age. We are two of a kind, solitary brothers, better future, in fact, no future. Our life is desultory;

it refuses to move. We are rocks, the mountains, that shaped this planet. We are not the trees because they die in time — but we, we are backborne of this earth; we may be broken but will never die!

Death is for those who keep in step with time. We do not. We are as stationary as the Sun, everything else moves around us. We are a generation of everpresents. We are a season of confusion, because no one can explain us, no one, not even ourselves. We are a closed book that is bound and strapped with iron questions and mysteries that cannot be answered or solved. We are the pit the discoverer and explorer will never dare descend into. We never move with time: we never die. We are as constant as the Universe: as great, as omnipotent as God — for we are Him, are we not? We'll always be around even when time itself had ceased to be, because we are not time: it moves, we don't. Tomorrow, and tomorrow and tomorrow, you will always find us here? masters of this destiny!

He had ceased to care about Time, even the world.

He was no longer alone, he had the rocks, the mountains, he had the earth. It was time and the world that were alone now, that kept moving ahead because there was nothing else for them to do. Maybe now they were beginning to wonder why ask for a charge?

He had ceased to wonder why now; he knew. He was infinity; He was God: He was life; he was Existence before, now and after. He was Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. He was the Circle, the Wheel of life. He was Everything external.

He knew.

He had company in himself. He had peace.

Peace was confusion, was it not? Because in confusion you did not know what to do, you were at Peace.

He reached the small, broken down gate.

No small child came running to meet him; no dog barked at his arrival; no loving, faithful wife greeted him as he entered the yard. Only the small black cat that was his hut-mate. He felt a small regretful pain in his stomach as he surveyed his little holding.

The hut smiled down at him in welcome; its door swayed crazily on one set of hinges in resignation. The small dwarfish crop of maize in his yard bowed with the wind as it felt his brown eyes on it. Everything knew him; everything recognised him and declared him welcome.

The corn had not grown taller, not even after six rainy months. It had, however, grown older and its stems turned brown and grew withered. The hut had remained as always, old and leaky. Everything was just as stagnant as he was. Time brought the years only and the

signs of old age, nothing else.

Far away, to the east, the clouds had formed. The heavy grumbling of distant thunder came to him, slowly, like it feared to disturb him and trouble him with its noise. It was going to rain hard soon, very hard.

A strong wind started to blow.

Wet, Cold

It would rain hard he knew, but it would not have any effect on his crop of corn. It had happened before, many times. The crop had not thrived, and it would not thrive today. It was just a waste of rain. His yard did not need it, nor his hut because it leaked. He did not need it too, it made him wet and cold. It was just a waste of rain. Who needed it?

He collected firewood and piled it on one side of his little hut. Then closing the small broken down door, he lit the fire. He stood up again while the feeble flame licked the small dry sticks, and reached the fire, began to eat. He gave some to the cat too. Time moved troubled ahead. It had no company except in the passing world. They were a lonely pair, headed for a lonely end.

The fire had grown larger. It lit up everything in the hut. There was a large old sideboard that was leaning against the cracked walls. It had had grass doors once but these were long gone now, only the empty space remained to mark where they had once been. The sideboard had turned almost black from too much smoke playing on it. It was hard to say what had been its original colour. A few plates and pots reposed in the top half of it, what lay below could not be seen for it was too dark there. Above the sideboard, on two large nails driven into the wall, two small cups of doubtful age and colour swayed with the slight wind.

On the left of the sideboard, almost in the dark, were what looked like two large earthen pots. One had a lighter brown colour while the other one was darker, as if it had not been left in the hardening fire for long enough while it was still being made, maybe it was blacker just because it was used oftener?

On the right of the sideboard hung Abraham's clothes from the low beams of the roof. There were only two worn out trousers, old and torn. The patches on them had obviously been put there by Abraham himself, they were so crude and amateurish that instead of bringing a little dignity and cover to the seats of his pants, they took away what little had been there and left the rents there still preferring to hang down like poor curtains that flopped this way and that with the winds. One could not tell whether he ever troubled himself to wash them. There was a large coat full of rents up there too. It served as a

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IS A
SUCCESS"**

THE VOICE SADCC/PTA

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*** BEN
NOMVETE:
"TEETHING
PROBLEMS
WITHIN
PTA"**

***BCG: REALITY
SA HAS TO
LIVE WITH!**

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EDITOR

SEASON OF CONFUSION

well, those that remain . . ." His voice trails off. We are all silent as raincoat, and a blanket too sometimes when the winter months were around and the hut grew cold.

There were no shirts there at all. By the door was the pile of firewood he had brought in. On the other side was his sleeping place. A small, pitiful and untidy heap of blankets was there. Abraham himself, in a somewhat better looking coat, a khaki shirt (his only one) and brown trousers, sat with his head bowed at the fire, drawing in the warmth with the favour of a hungry babe sucking.

He had taken off his large black shoes which had once belonged to his brother Johannes who worked as a security guard 100 kilometres away in Harare. They were now giving off a horrible stench, but it seemed not to worry him, the smell, he sat there, nostrils unpertrurbed.

He was used to it. It was the air

he was used to breathing. It was the air he breathed.

He was thinking of his mother. She had died only two years ago and so it seemed, had everything else around him. Nobody knew what her age had been then, nor, Abraham doubted, had she. The memory of the thin, tired creature was too painful for deep thoughts. He could only sigh and shake his head. The rain suddenly came down, bursting upon his ears like the noise of great drums that was sometimes heard coming from across the river, seeming to originate in the ancient caves that had housed his ancestral forefathers, ten or more generations back.

That was what made him know he was the one who would never die like Time, the world and the trees, that sound of his forefathers at their ancient drums, beating out the old songs they had loved. It was that that made him classify himself with the rocks, the mountains and the Sun, because they had been around in the Times of his ancestors and they were still around even now. But not so the Times and the world of those ages,

they had gone, had died with the He'es of those centuries.

The rain seeped through the leaky grass roof. It put out the fire, it fell on everything in the hut, it fell on Abraham too.

Abraham sighed. He could not bring himself to shiver. The rocks and mountains, he knew, never shivered but only sighed, so why should he who was one of them allow himself to shiver when they did not?

A sudden blinding flash and the hut was no more. The flesh that had moved with Time, that had grown old and grey was no more.

To the world, to the Time, Abraham was dead, stricken down by lightning. But to the rocks, the mountains and the Sun, he was still alive, was still with them, would always be. His body would be laid down in the earth, and would there remain and turn to earth, but it would not die, would only change state.

It was the Time that had been in him that would die, the Time that had brought out the white hairs of his age. Of course his soul would never die, was abroad and very alive in its new freedom even then. Now

he was ageless; the season of confusion had not gone with the dead Time. It was him. He would never die.

He was now abroad, sitting with the elders, beating the great drums across the river. He was the 'ever-present', the would-not-die. He was the standstill, the season of confusion that would never end . . . •

PANGS OF HUNGER

FROM Page 11

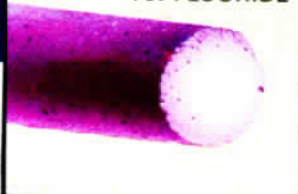
he comes to the end. There does not seem to be anything to say.

One by one the others leave. There are no farewells, they just stand up and move silently out. There is only me and Nhamo left now. I stare at him, trying to find something to say, something consoling. But I cannot, and I turn away slowly. I too move towards the door. I pause in the open doorway and look back. Nhamo does not move, with a sigh I go out and softly close the door behind me. •



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