

# *Vanguard*

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Zimbabwe Communist Party Vol. 2 No. 4

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## NATIONAL ECONOMIC DIALOGUE



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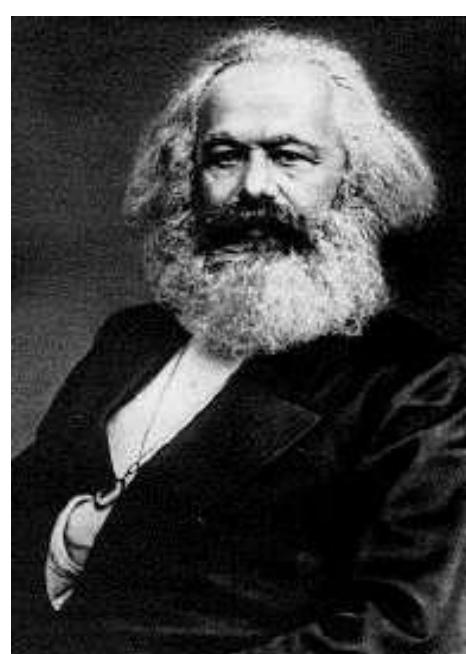
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**WE WANT YOUR ARTICLES AND YOUR LETTERS!**

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**KARL MARX  
BICENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH  
1818-2018**



## COMRADE GIFT MTISI

*Statement first released on 4<sup>th</sup> November 2017*

**The Zimbabwe Communist Party dips the Red Banner to Comrade Gift Mtisi our founding Deputy General Secretary who passed away on Tuesday 31<sup>st</sup> October 2017.**

Comrade Gift was obviously not well when he came to our Party School in Johannesburg earlier this year and we know that he had been sick for some time.

Comrade Gift played a key role in the formation of the Zimbabwe Communist Party. Both pre-Party formations, the Zimbabwe Communist League and the Zimbabwe Communist Group were based in Johannesburg and Bulawayo. At our Founding Conference on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2017, Comrade Gift and others were able to represent the north of Zimbabwe thus making the ZCP a truly national Party from the beginning.

Comrade Gift, after a long history in left politics, had come to understand the crucial need for the creation of an orthodox Communist Party, a Leninist vanguard party which is able to use Marxist methods of analysis to the concrete conditions of Zimbabwe in 2017. A Party with an ideology and a vision. A Party which would unite theory and practice in the interests of the working-class and peasantry.

Comrade Gift was among the pioneers who started with us on that difficult road.

Famba Zvakanaka, Comrade Gift

Viva Socialism, Viva !!

**Ngqabutho Nicholas Mabhena  
General Secretary  
Zimbabwe Communist Party  
on behalf of the  
National Steering Committee  
and the entire membership**



## SACP STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF COMRADE RICA HODGSON

The South African Communist Party (SACP) lowers its Red Flag in honour of the gallant stalwart of our struggle for liberation and social emancipation, Rica Hodgson. Born 1<sup>st</sup> July 1920, Comrade Rica Hodgson died at an old age of 97 around 4pm on Thursday, 11<sup>th</sup> January 2018. The SACP expresses its message of heartfelt condolences to and joins the Hodgson family in mourning the death of a mother, a progressive author and one of the finest revolutionaries the Communist Party and our national liberation movement have ever produced. In honour of Comrade Rica Hodgson, South Africa must deepen work to build a completely non-racial and non-sexist, just and democratic society. As an ultimate goal, that is a South Africa without the exploitation of one person by another, patriarchy and domination by imperialist forces.

Comrade Rica Hodgson was awarded The National Order of Luthuli in Bronze for her excellent contribution to the struggle for a non-racial, non-sexist, just and democratic South Africa. Underpinning and guiding her involvement in the struggle was, above all, her communist conviction and activism. This is what produced her outstanding contribution to our struggle for freedom, as recognised through the award as follows:

### Profile

Rica Hodgson devoted her life to the struggle for democracy, confronting the enemy at all stages of the struggle from the early 1940s, until her retirement in 1996 as secretary to Comrade Walter Sisulu.

She met Jack Hodgson, whom she married in 1945. The two shared a life of struggle. In 1943, she became a fundraiser for the Springbok Legion — an organisation comprising ex-servicemen that mobilised against the rising threat of fascism in South Africa.

She joined the Communist Party in 1946 and in 1953 she was a founding member of the Congress of Democrats (COD) that organised white progressives into the mainstream Congress Alliance headed by the African National Congress (ANC). She travelled around the country with other Alliance members, building a network of support. She became the National Secretary of the COD until August 1954, when she was served with banning orders, under the apartheid régime's Suppression of Communism Act, Number 44 of 1950.

In 1954 Hodgson served on the National Action Council of the historic 1955 Congress of the People. In 1957, following the arrest of 156 leaders of the struggle, she became a fundraiser and Secretary of the Treason Trial Defence Fund and later, in 1961, for the Johannesburg Branch of the Defence and Aid Fund, South Africa. In 1959, she was secretary for the musical production *King Kong* that sought to promote black jazz musicians and non-racial performances.

She was detained during the 1960 state of emergency. In the build up to the launch of the joint SACP-ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Rica and Jack's small flat in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, was used to produce explosives for the 1961 Sabotage Campaign. This was a high risk venture, revealing the Hodgsons' courage and determination to withstand possible consequences. In 1962, in the same flat, she and Jack were placed under house arrest.

They left the country illegally in mid-1963 to set up a transit centre outside Lobatsi in Bechuanaland [Botswana] for MK cadres en-route to training abroad. The couple was declared prohibited immigrants by the British Colonial Government and deported to London in September 1963.

From 1964 to 1981, Rica Hodgson worked full-time for the British Defence and Aid Fund and headed the Welfare Section of the International Defence and Aid Fund, covertly channelling funds for the defence of apartheid prisoners and the support of their families. Thousands of people were assisted with regular income transmitted through a network of church and sympathetic people, which Hodgson helped to establish in various countries. During this period, she continued to assist in clandestine Communist Party, ANC and MK work, and her small flat in London was a workshop and meeting place for Jack and other comrades producing underground material for the struggle at home.

Hodgson volunteered and joined her son, Spencer, his wife Claudia and their daughter, Tanya, in the development and administration work at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, which was established by our liberation movement in Tanzania after the Soweto Uprising. She served as secretary to the late Tim Maseko, and to Henry Makgothi. She returned to South Africa in 1991 after the unbanning of the SACP and the ANC the previous year.

Rica Hodgson embraced the cause of human freedom without regard for the possible consequences to herself and her family. She out-rightly rejected the racial privilege that many chose to enjoy in the face of a crime against humanity.



## EDITORIAL:

### Assessing the Conditions of Struggle in Zimbabwe Under the '*New Economic Order*'



Robert Mugabe is no longer the President of Zimbabwe. The absurd ravings of his wife and her delusional bid for power through her aging and increasingly cranky husband became too much even for ZANU(PF). The army took action and now Emmerson Mnangagwa is President — surrounded mostly by government ministers who served under Mugabe with army officers filling in the gaps. The G40 faction has been defeated: the Lacoste faction is firmly in power. In fact the assumption of power by Lacoste means that it is no longer a faction; G40 has melted away to become a footnote in future history books.

Were these two factions based simply on personality politics, or did they represent different views within the ruling élite on how to maintain their class rule?

As Communists, we have the advantage over all other political commentators in having the Marxist tools of political analysis at our finger-tips. Marx wrote in some detail about what he referred to as the 'Primitive Accumulation of Capital'.

**"This primitive accumulation plays in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race... In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal élite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential... Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work."**

**"Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property... In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly, force, play the great part... the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic."**

Karl Marx, *Capital* Vol. I, Chapter XXVI [MECW Vol. 35 pp.704-705]

The first capitalists, then, were able to gather the massive amounts of money necessary for investment in industry through plunder.

Let us consider first the oldest industrial capitalist country, Britain. It was towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, that the English peasantry for the first time began to experience being thrown off their land for commercial wool production.

In his book *Utopia* written in 1516, Thomas More tells us:

**"...your sheep that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now... become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up, and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities.**

**“For look in what parts of the realm doth grow the finest, and therefore dearest wool, there noble men, and gentlemen, yea and certain Abbots, holy men... not contenting themselves with the yearly revenues and profits... nor being content that they live in rest and pleasure... they inclose all into pastures, they throw down houses, they pluck down towns, and leave nothing standing, but only the church to be made a sheephouse.”**

In a slow but steady process, by 1840 the peasantry of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland had been completely dispossessed of their land; in the case of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, the majority had little choice but to leave their native land entirely; in the case of England, the Scottish Lowlands and Wales, the majority were forced into the factories and the coal-mines.

By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, English pirates under licence from Queen Elizabeth I were attacking the Spanish treasure ships loaded with gold which they themselves had plundered from the Aztecs, Incas and other native peoples in what we now refer to as Latin America. The horrible trans-Atlantic slave trade which was to reach its peak 150 years later also began at this time — and in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Barclays Bank was established through capitalisation entirely derived from the capture of black slaves for use on the sugar plantations in the Caribbean and the cotton plantations of those British colonies which were later to become the southern states of the USA.

Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the British East India Company began its looting of India. Cotton was originally an Indian product, but the Indian cotton industry was destroyed in favour of cotton grown by slave labour in the United States which was then transported to Lancashire in England where child labour was used to process it.

The Industrial Revolution which in Britain began around 1760 was in full swing by the 1830s; even then the British in India were making huge profits by growing opium in India and transporting it to China. When the authorities of Imperial China objected to the Chinese population being turned into drug addicts, the British retaliated by launching two Opium Wars: 1839-1842 and 1856-1860 to ensure that the Chinese continued to smoke British-grown opium. It was during the course of these wars that Britain seized Hong Kong — later presented as a bastion of freedom in the face of Chinese Communism!

But looting and plunder cannot last forever; to continue making a steady income, it becomes necessary to invest the money obtained by plunder so that profit can be made from the continuous exploitation of the workers. Real value comes only from production, from the labour of the workers which is contained in the commodities which they produce.

Returning to Zimbabwe: the more far-sighted members of the élite led by Emmerson Mnangagwa have come to realise that simple looting cannot continue indefinitely and that now is the time to restore production in order to produce stability and a steady income. They, or at least some of them, are transforming themselves from being a parasitic bourgeoisie into becoming a real bourgeoisie organising production for continuous personal enrichment.

Only the spoiled brats of the G-40, drunk on the ability, without any real effort, to own any commodity that they fancied, imagined that it was possible to carry on indefinitely in the same way.

Previously in the pages of *Vanguard*, we have quoted Misheck Chinamasa as saying, “They talk about socialism. Do they know what socialism is? — Do they know what capitalism is?”

We have now progressed: Mnangagwa and at least some of those around him, now know what capitalism is. In announcing the start of the ‘*New Economic Order*’, they are obviously aiming to do something different.

But what?

In order to try to understand the political economy of the Mnangagwa government in greater depth, we need firstly to read the *National Budget Statement 2018* presented to Parliament by Minister of Finance Patrick Chinamasa on 7<sup>th</sup> December 2017 and secondly to view its proposals in the light of practice, in the context of what is happening on the ground.

It was very obvious that the visit of the Rory Stewart, Minister of State for Africa in the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office who spent a number of days in Zimbabwe, even before Mnangagwa was made President, had been pre-planned and signalled the wish for the British government as the political face of British monopoly capital, to regain at least partial control over Zimbabwe and its economy.

But also, there has been very strong re-engagement with the Zimbabwean business community outside the country. This was testified to by the response to President Mnangagwa's meeting in South Africa with Zimbabwean business-people at which 500 were expected but 3,000 turned up.

**At this stage, Communists must prefer Zimbabwean capital to foreign capital and interact with Zimbabwean capital on the basis of the ZCP Political Economy Programme and engage them in the National Economic Dialogue.**

Here we must congratulate those Zimbabweans living in South Africa who are in the process of forming the Workers' Financial Co-operative Ltd. The formation of co-operative banking and financial services can play a very crucial role in the building of a National Democratic Economy. We hope to bring readers an update on this organisation in the next issue of *Vanguard*. In the window of opportunity open to us at the present stage, we must encourage and support all forms of co-operative enterprise in our country.

When we examine what is happening, we discover a strong element of planning but also a decision to sell off a number of parastatals, and in this context it is a matter of serious concern that recently, shares of the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) have been sold. Of all parastatals, ZESA is the most central, the most important to our economy. However the passing of control of the Cold Storage Commission (CSC) to the National Social Security Authority (NSSA) is a welcome move obviously aimed at keeping the CSC under public ownership and at the same time providing funding for the NSSA.

The following extract from the *National Budget Statement 2018* leaves us wondering, "Why?"

**"231. ...the proposed Amendments will confine the 51/49 Indigenisation threshold to only the two minerals, namely diamonds and platinum, in the extractive sector.**

**"232. The 51/49 threshold will not apply to the rest of the extractive sector..."**

Compare this with the clear vision of the ZCP *Political Economy Policy Document*. Minerals are a finite resource. Once they are gone, they cannot be replaced. Thus:

**"113. The first principle to be understood is that the minerals of Zimbabwe are the common property of its people.**

**"114. The second principle is that the people of the province and the district in which those minerals are found have preference of interest over those from other parts of the country. "**

and in implementing the policy

**"117. Within a maximum 10 year period, ownership of any mining venture should be shared by the Zimbabwean people and a commercial mining company in the overall ratio 51% to 49%.**

**“118. The Zimbabwean interest should be divided in the ratio of 31% to government, 20% to the employees.”**

The only logical outcome of the government’s new policy is that the people of Zimbabwe will be dispossessed of most of their raw materials in return for being ‘allowed’ to work for the companies which will exploit not only their labour power but also the minerals under their feet, leaving them in the long term with holes in the ground. The recent action by mine-workers at Lynx graphite mine outside Karoi, who went on strike simply to be paid, illustrates clearly that the working-class does not yet have any confidence in the future; but with over 90% unemployment in the formal sector — some say 95% — and with no cash in the ATMs we have a situation that is so severe that just about any move to restore a productive economy under just about any system is welcome.

And how will that increase in production assist the workers other than simply giving them jobs?

Patrick Chinamasa has answered us very well in his *National Budget Statement 2018*. In order to attract foreign investment (through which the élite will obtain their percentages) they intend to keep down wages

**“252. The sources of Zimbabwe’s high costs of business are many, including but not limited to... High wage structure, relative to productivity, when compared to such other countries as Ethiopia;”**

This statement alone demonstrates how far detached the ruling élite is from the realities faced by the working-class and from the realities of production. In all surrounding countries and even overseas, Zimbabwean workers generally have been praised for their diligence and their work-ethic. This begs the question:

Why is the Zimbabwean working-class, which is so productive elsewhere, not productive in Zimbabwe?

The answer is a simple one. The parasites who have been running our economy and who are responsible for the payment of wages have developed a culture of such disdain for the workers that the workers are rarely paid on time. In most recent cases, workers do not go on strike for more wages, they simply go on strike in order to get paid. In order to find money for survival, workers are forced to look for other means to make money outside of their formal employment. This is the case in both the public and the private sectors. Local authority bosses pay themselves huge salaries when the workers are hardly paid at all. And this is equally true of both ZANU(PF) and MDC-T run councils.

Without earning a living wage which is paid on time, even within the parameters of the capitalist system, there can never be meaningful productivity. The first immediate demand of the working-class movement in these conditions must be therefore:

**PAY WORKERS ON TIME AND IN FULL !!**

This government is clearly intent on re-building the economy through planning. The details of the *National Budget Statement 2018* are too many to go through one by one in an editorial. But there are two sides:

Zimbabwean communists long before the formation of the ZCP as a Party were advocating production-based planning based first of all on the re-building of infrastructure — where government has advanced well thought out, acceptable solutions we must not only support such programmes but monitor them and push for implementation.

But with regard to privatisation, not only are we utterly opposed to such moves, but we demand that all remaining parastatals be placed under effective and professional management — they are in a bad shape precisely because of a combination of looting and managerial incompetence.

Further, all parastatals already privatised must be returned to public ownership. Where necessary, we are not opposed to deals being made with foreign countries or foreign companies to rebuild those parastatals so long as either government retains a controlling share, or alternatively the outside funder has control for a fixed term. In the same vein, we demand the return of privatised co-operative ventures such as the Dairibord and Old Mutual to collective ownership.

**Under all conditions, Communists will defend and advance the interests of the working-class, the peasants, the informal sector traders and the poor against the ravages of the élite.**

We welcome the National Peace and Reconciliation Bill and urge all victims of Gukurahundi, mini-Gukurahundi, Murambatsvina, Hakudzokwi and other, un-named atrocities against the people not to react over-emotionally, however terrible was their experience, but rather to gather detailed, un-exaggerated testimony and evidence and present it to the Commission when the time comes.

While the victims and their families — even those perpetrators who want to unload their huge burden of guilt — give testimony to actual events; it is the job of the Communist Party to expose the political and economic reasons which caused these events to happen as we have done in the ZimCom Publishers document *GUKURAHUNDI: an atrocity committed by the Mugabe government on behalf of apartheid South Africa and Britain*. In this issue of *Vanguard*, readers will also find an article called *HAKUDZOKWI: Commemoration in Manicaland*, in which we expose the brutalisation and killings in the Marange Diamond Fields.

So how do we characterise this new government?

The appellation ‘neo-liberal’ is very popular, and comrades having learnt the term tend to want to use it everywhere. True, the worldwide environment is neo-liberal, but even in the capitalist world, necessity has had to modify the most extreme forms of neo-liberalism. The neo-liberal agenda in the United States has eventually led to the weakening of US hegemony. The election of Donald Trump as US President by a population whose politics are mainly informed by Hollywood action movies has led to a further deterioration in the prestige of the USA even amongst its closest allies — with the exception of apartheid Israel, of course.

In Zimbabwe, government has invited foreign capital, but has also made peace with Zimbabwean diaspora capital; it has introduced planning and has not relied wholly on ‘market forces’ although it has talked about the privatisation of some parastatals — nevertheless it is reviving others. Most definitely, this is a purely capitalistic government, there is no feeling for the workers, the peasants, the down-trodden in anything they say or do. But they are intent on reviving production.

Having produced the first version of our *Political Economy Policy Document* in 2010 long before our formation as a Party, we have seen that some of what we have been saying as communists, as the only people in Zimbabwe talking about national planning for many years, has been incorporated into the plan reflected in the budget. The difference is that our plan is a plan which is there to benefit the whole people:

**“The National Plan must involve the whole population and the whole population must benefit. There must be a Development Plan in every District and in every town. There must be a Development Plan in every Province agreed by the people and linked to the National Plan. This is what we mean by Devolution of Power. Devolution must also involve the huge Zimbabwean Diaspora. Tribalism and racialism are the enemies of nation building. Our new Zimbabwe must be based on national consciousness linked to hard work.”**

ZCP, *Political Economy Document* Section 2. Para. 40

And who is really in charge?

The military. This then is **militarised capitalism**.

This militarised capitalism is informed by the worldwide neo-colonial agenda, but it has not swallowed the neo-liberal agenda of complete freedom for capital and for market-forces completely. This phenomenon has been seen in other countries, for instance in most of Latin America for most of the twentieth century. On the African continent we can observe it currently in Egypt and Rwanda.

It is clear that Emmerson Mnangagwa has the intention at the age of 75 of wishing to leave a legacy which at least in part will ameliorate his former wrong-doings — but old habits die hard.

Will he and his closest associates change the habits of a lifetime?

The Communist Party is more interested in policies than in individuals. If progressive policies are carried out, we will applaud them. But we will be keeping a very sharp watch on what is happening and will not hesitate to make a great deal of noise if the opposite is the case.

We believe that for the next year or two, Emmerson Mnangagwa and his government will be generally popular with the people as industry opens up. But without doubt the class antagonisms will appear. Our job as the ZCP at this stage is to build our organisation and make the National Economic Dialogue a popular topic among the people. We need a people-driven economy and we need to organise conferences and meetings to push the Dialogue. We cannot at this stage be certain that our analysis of the immediate future is correct: things might change in an unexpected direction and we must be flexible enough to change our tactics and even our strategy accordingly.

One thing is certain. The Zimbabwe Communist Party is the only political organisation with a progressive alternative to the fundamentally neo-colonial plan of the new ZANU(PF) government. The programme of engagement with imperialism at the heart of the politics of the MDC Alliance has been taken over by ZANU(PF) and has made them politically redundant. Prior to the coming-to-power of Mnangagwa, ALL of the opposition parties become frightened when they hear the words ‘National Plan’. They preferred to listen to the failed text book policies of Milton Friedman and other neo-liberals than to observe what happened with the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991. Following the advice of western-trained Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero, ZANU(PF) managed to successfully destroy the relatively autonomous economy bequeathed to us by the Rhodesians when all that was needed was the democratisation of the planned economy. More recently, the MDC Alliance made itself appear pathetically ridiculous when its leaders went running in tears to their former funders in Washington.

Economic democratisation — real indigenisation — is what the ruling élites both local and foreign are most frightened of; it will eat away their profits, their extravagant lifestyles and their dominance. But that is what the programme of the Zimbabwe Communist Party is all about.

Forward with the National Economic Dialogue !!

**Ian Patrick Beddowes**  
**Editor**

## GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

**There are decades where nothing happens,  
and there are weeks where decades happen.**

The above quote attributed to the leader of the Russian Revolution, Vladimir Lenin, captures what happened in Zimbabwe in November 2017. For decades, the struggle has been reduced to a “Mugabe Must Go” mantra with no success. Following the firing of Deputy President Emmerson Mnangagwa from both government and the ruling ZANU(PF) party it only took a few weeks to achieve what the opposition failed to achieve in decades. The pouring into the streets around the globe by Zimbabweans was the celebration of the departure of the world’s longest serving dictator, former President Robert Gabriel Mugabe — it was NOT the celebration of the assumption of office by President Emmerson Mnangagwa.



Our fear as Communists is that we are now under the direct control of the deep state which master-minded what is now referred to as the “Bond Coup”.

The current military leadership has always maintained that any person who never participated in the liberation struggle will not occupy the highest office in the land. With natural depletion now taking its toll on the war veterans, in the next few years we are likely to be told that any person who never served in the military will not occupy the highest office in the land. Our young people may now be forced to first go for military training before pursuing their careers, especially if they are to serve in state institutions or take up any political position.

There are a number of reasons for what has happened in ZANU(PF), but one of the most obvious, and common to the majority of liberation movements, is the failure to develop a clear succession plan. This failure within ZANU(PF) gave rise to two contending factions: one known as Generation 40 (G40) which enjoyed the support of ZANU(PF) intellectuals and both the Youth and Women’s Leagues; the other known as Team Lacoste enjoyed support from War Veterans and the military. When Team Lacoste lost the political battle within ZANU(PF) culminating in the firing of its leader Emmerson Mnangagwa, the military rolled its tanks into the streets of Harare, taking control of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) and other key institutions, leading eventually to the resignation of former President Robert Mugabe.

Under the new conditions, the Zimbabwe Communist Party has taken a principled position stating that we will judge the Mnangagwa administration on three issues:

- 1) The interests of the working-class, the peasants and the poor.**
- 2) The rebuilding of the shattered Zimbabwean economy on the basis of production and national economic autonomy.**
- 3) The implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe voted for by the overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans in 2013.**

Since President Mnangagwa came into office, what we seem to be observing is a transformation within the capitalist system from parasitic capitalism into militaristic capitalism. This form of capitalism may be observed in Egypt, Rwanda, and, until recently, in most of the countries of Latin America. We cannot make any clearer judgement at this time. We must observe events as they happen.

When the ZANU(PF) Central Committee met in Harare on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 2017 to recall former President Mugabe and other leaders, we had hoped that, ZANU(PF) was undergoing a process of reformation. This was informed by the proposal of removing the centre of power from an individual (the President) to an institution (the Congress). In its 2014 Congress, ZANU(PF) resolved that the centre of power was not the Congress or the Central Committee in between Congresses but its leader Robert Gabriel Mugabe. This placed Mugabe above the Party, with powers to appoint members of the Politburo and the power to fire them. By adopting this resolution, it created a cult around the person of Mugabe.

In contrast, the cult of personality was rejected by the leader of the Cuban revolution EI Comandante Fidel Castro; at his funeral, it was announced that he had requested that the Cuban people should not build life-like statues of him or name roads and public buildings after him. President Raul Castro told the world, “The leader of the revolution rejected any manifestation of a cult of personality”.

At the ZANU(PF) Extraordinary Congress in December 2017, the clauses introduced under Mugabe placing all political power in the hands of its leader were not removed. This creates the conditions for the creation of another leadership cult.

## The Year of Party Building

The Zimbabwe Communist Party has declared 2018 as ‘The Year of Party Building’. Every communist cadre must pay particular attention in building party structures in our communities and at the work place. This requires us to develop cadres schooled both in Marxist-Leninist philosophy and Communist methods of work.

The National Steering Committee meeting of the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2018, resolved:

1. That the national leadership visits at least one province per month as part of our political work both in building the Party and in interacting with communities and community based organisations;
2. That the Party conducts seminars on labour youth, women, and international solidarity;
3. That we hold a public meeting in remembrance of Chris Hani and the Luthuli Detachment which fought in Wankie during the liberation struggle;
4. That we hold conferences around the National Economic Dialogue in various provinces in Zimbabwe.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe, 2018 should be an election year. Already, ZANU(PF) is suggesting that the election should be postponed for three years. Within our own Party, some suggested that it would not be unreasonable, within the current circumstances, for the election to be postponed until 2019, but Party members were unanimous in declaring that postponing for three years is unacceptable. After comradely debate it was decided that we should stand firmly behind the Constitution voted for overwhelmingly by the people of Zimbabwe in 2013; the ZCP therefore demands that the next harmonised elections be held before the end of 2018.

In our statement, made on the occasion of the proposed postponement, the ZCP did not only address the question of the election date, we looked at something far deeper, the failure of elected MPs to represent those who had elected them. Here is what we said:

**“Given the pathetically incompetent level of representation of the people by the current crop of MPs, people might be forgiven for thinking that any election has little relevance to their real problems.**

**“The people of Zimbabwe gave a mandate to every one of their Members of Parliament to represent them in facilitating development in each of their 210 constituencies through parliamentary funding. The National Assembly allocates \$50,000 per constituency through Members of Parliament.**

**“On 12<sup>th</sup> January 2018, the Speaker of the Zimbabwean Parliament, Hon. Jacob Mudenda was quoted by *News Day* newspaper as saying that of the 210 MPs, 129 applied for the \$50,000 Constituency Development Fund (CDF), with 74 MPs failing to submit their applications. Of the 129 MPs who submitted their applications, only 2 MPs met the requirements. The Speaker of Parliament is quoted as saying:**

**“To date, only 129 constituencies have submitted initial documents for CDF and their bank accounts, and out of that figure only two have fully complied with the CDF constitution and accounting officers manual and have submitted estimated costs and identified a project management committee.’**

**“The comments by the Speaker of Parliament indicate that there is a parliamentary crisis which can only be resolved by electing MPs who understand their role as public representatives.**

**“We note that both ZANU (PF) and MDC-T have failed to monitor the work of their members who were elected as MPs in 2013. This therefore calls for communities to elect MPs who, regardless of political party, will be committed to the development of their constituencies as provided for in the Constitution.”**

At present, both ZANU(PF) and MDC are in disarray, there is in-fighting in ZANU(PF) between the ZANU(PF) activists, the War Veterans and the military over the allocation of parliamentary seats and other goodies. The MDC Alliance is fighting over who will lead them due to the poor state of health of Morgan Tsvangirai. Added to this is the fact that the western countries have obviously ditched their relationship with the MDC in favour of the Mnangagwa-led ZANU(PF).

The fact that the British Minister of State [Deputy Minister] was in Zimbabwe for some days during the Bond Coup gives concern that due to the rampant plunder by the élite, we may now be faced with effective re-colonisation. The fact that Mnangagwa has also engaged Zimbabwean capital in the diaspora gives a little hope that we may be able to avoid total imperialist domination. We must use the space available to us to advance the alternative to rape of our resources by foreign capital.

ZANU(PF) and the MDC Alliance are representing minor variations in the promotion of the rule of monopoly capital — as represented by the obvious enthusiasm of Eddie Cross for the Mnangagwa programme and not forgetting that Mr Eddie Cross was a major player in the conversion of MDC from a projected workers' party into the mouth-piece of imperialism.

Comrades, the liberation movement in Zimbabwe started in earnest in 1957 when working-class leaders in Salisbury and Bulawayo chose Joshua Nkomo, then President of the Railway African Workers' Union to lead the re-formed Southern Rhodesian African National Congress. The armed struggle was funded by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries created by the working-class. It is now the turn of the workers, peasants and poor, to re-assume the class leadership of the movement which they started and the country which they died for. Our labour seminar should be the first step in working towards uniting the divided labour movement in Zimbabwe. Without this unity, we will not achieve socialism in our life-time.

## Wither 2018 elections!

*Some after-thoughts written just before the publication of 'Vanguard'.*

Remember those days when Mugabe and his cronies will shout in rallies, "Zimbabwe will never be a colony again."? Fast forward to the outcome of the 2018 harmonised elections (if they do happen). The policies of the resulting government will not be based on the aspirations of the people a party brings to rallies but on the willingness of the political party in power to advance and defend British and/or American economic interests in our country.

For over 18 years the British gave practical support to the opposition in a bid to oust Mugabe from power with no success. By the way, Mugabe's problems with the British and her allies did not start with the disputed elections in 2000 or 2002 but with the Congo War of 1998-2003, when the imperialists sought to dislodge Laurent Kabila (not to be confused with his useless son Joseph) through their puppets in Rwanda and Uganda. When Mugabe committed the Zimbabwe Defence Force to the DRC in defence of Kabila, something had to be done. As they say, the rest is history.

It would be naïve to think that, the British were not involved in the 'Bond Coup' of November 2017. How does one explain the quick deployment of the British Minister for Africa in attending the inauguration of President Mnangagwa and his meetings with the opposition leadership, who after their American trip, claimed there was never a coup?

The promise of compensation to former white commercial farmers, the promise of the British to give us a loan to pay our IMF debt and our commitment to re-join the Commonwealth plays directly into British economic interests. The Conservative Party of Margaret Thatcher which rigged the elections in 1980 on behalf of ZANU is now the governing party in Britain and is seeking to rebuild its alliances. The Labour Party which governed between 1997 and 2010 gave practical support to the MDC from its formation in 1999 is now in opposition. At the Davos meeting, President Mnangagwa made it known that, he wants to meet with the British Prime Minister.

The recent utterances by MDC Alliance deputy leader Nelson Chamisa in Mutare where he told his audience that President Trump has promised them \$15 billion if Tsvangirai wins, is an attempt to reach out to the racist Trump and present him as an angel following the condemnation by the rest of Africa after his utterances calling us "shitholes". What is also strange is that the Zimbabwean government did not condemn the utterances by Donald Trump, electing to hide behind the AU statement. When asked about what he thought of Trump's statement, President Mnangagwa said that the AU spoke for all of us, notwithstanding that countries like South Africa, Botswana and others summoned the American diplomats to register their unhappiness about Trump's action. So the Zimbabwean government is simply saying to Trump, "Yes we were a shithole under Mugabe, please support us as we clean his mess." The MDC Alliance is trying to win over the Americans. But we all know that the United States of America will not compete with her ally Britain when it comes to British former colonies.

The electoral contest in 2018 therefore is not about winning the hearts and minds of the Zimbabwean voters, but rather to win over the British and/or American support on the basis that, whatever party wins in 2018, it will protect the British and/or American economic interests.

What then should the left forces do?

While we need to re-open our industries to create much needed jobs, we are on the road to build our economy through cheap labour. The left forces must unite, intensify its struggle against imperialism and the parasites who are now advancing militarised capitalism. We must build class-conscious trade unions, informal sector and community-based movements and raise their class consciousness. We must build the foundations for a people's government.

**Ngqabutho Nicholas Mabhena**  
**General Secretary**  
**Zimbabwe Communist Party**

# STATEMENT ON THE POLITICO-MILITARY ACTION TAKEN BY THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY

*Originally issued 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017*

The politico-military action taken by the Zimbabwe National Army is the result of the chaotic state of Zimbabwe as a whole and the ruling party, ZANU(PF), in particular. The extravagant lifestyles of the ruling élite contrast sharply with the extreme poverty of the majority of the Zimbabwean people. Factories are closed and there is more than 90% unemployment in the formal sector. Both ZANU(PF) and the opposition are characterised by personality politics. It is with the conditions of breakdown in the country as a whole and within the ruling party that the politico-military action has taken place.



In a constitutional democracy transfer of power should be exercised through peaceful, constitutional means and conditions must be provided for this to take place. It must be possible for the people to express their views without fear of violence and intimidation. For the past 37 years this has never been the case in Zimbabwe. An undemocratic political system has been accompanied by massive looting by the political elite, and consequent economic degeneration. Military action in normal circumstances cannot be condoned, but the concentration of power into fewer and fewer hands, and the closing of all normal avenues of popular control or dissent has in this case led to military action which has been welcomed by the majority of Zimbabweans with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

The Zimbabwe Communist Party calls for a transitional arrangement to be put in place to guide the country towards a peaceful, free and fair election within a reasonable time frame. The attitude of the ZCP towards all developments in Zimbabwe depends on the following:

- 1) The interests of the working-class, the peasants and the poor.
- 2) The rebuilding of the shattered Zimbabwean economy on the basis of production and national economic autonomy.
- 3) The implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe voted for by the overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans in 2013.

The ZCP is consulting with Zimbabweans both individually or through their respective organisations over present developments.

Once a new government is in place, the ZCP is willing to conduct talks with it and to examine areas of mutual concern and possible agreement in order to take our country forward,

Forward with Zimbabwe !!

Forward to Socialism !

## CELEBRATING THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

*Our Party, the Zimbabwe Communist Party was recently formed on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2017 under difficult condition; but in 2017 the world was celebrating the Centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, so the ZCP had to play its own small part in bringing the celebrations of the assumption of power by the working-class in Russia to the people. We celebrated in the working-class suburb of Sakubva in Mutare, the capital of our best organised province, Manicaland on 11<sup>th</sup> November 2017. Originally, both the General Secretary, Comrade N.N. Mabhena and the National Political Commissar, Comrade Ian Beddowes were supposed to attend. But for security reasons, Comrade Ian was redeployed to the SACP Centenary celebrations in Durban where he spoke on behalf of the ZCP.*



SOME OF THE COMRADES ATTENDING THE CELEBRATIONS OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN SAKUBVA.  
FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: LUCKSON KALIMAJERI, BRIAN CHOKANI, KAREN MATAMBUDZE, UNKNOWN, RURAMAYI MUSIIWA

## Speech on the Great October Socialist Revolution

*This speech prepared by the National Political Commissar, Comrade Ian Beddowes, was read out on his behalf by Manicaland Provincial Secretary, Comrade Manex Mauya.*

This year we celebrate the centenary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which took place in Russia on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1917, a country so backward that in the rest of the world it was the 7<sup>th</sup> November. Russia was still using the Julian calendar which western Europe had given up at least 300 years before!

The Russian Empire covered an area as big as the whole of Africa south of the Sahara and with almost as many ethnic groups, languages and religions. Most of the population were peasants, little different in their living conditions and their mentality than our own African peasants. Many areas suffered regular famine every 8 to 10 years. An Irishman Dr Émile Joseph Dillon lived in Russia from 1877 to 1914; he had this to say about the Russian peasant:

**“...the Russian peasant... goes to bed at six and even five o‘clock in the winter, because he cannot afford money to buy paraffin enough for artificial light. He has no meat, no eggs, no butter, no milk, often no cabbage, and lives mainly on black bread and potatoes. Lives? He starves on an insufficient quantity of them.”**

The two major cities, Petrograd, built by the relatively progressive Tsar Peter the Great was the Russian capital in 1917, and Moscow the old capital, had huge, mainly foreign owned, factories which housed a growing and increasingly more militant working-class. Other regional centres too became places where foreign enterprises could source cheap labour.

The turning point came when the First World War began in 1914. It was a war between two imperialist blocs, Germany, Austria and Turkey on one side; Britain, France and Russia on the other. Capitalism had reached its imperialist stage and rival imperialists sent workers to massacre each other in their millions. Most of the old Marxist Social Democratic Parties followed their bourgeois governments in supporting the slaughter. But in Russia, Lenin and the Bolsheviks said “Learn the arts of war, kill your officers, turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary war.”

In other parts of Europe, those sections of the Socialist Parties which followed the Leninist revolutionary line came together to form the Communist Parties at the end of the First World War. By 1916, the Russian Imperial Army, under-equipped and led by incompetent aristocratic officers had suffered some 5 million casualties. The soldiers together with the workers in the cities formed Soviets — Workers and Soldiers Councils. Some sections of the bourgeoisie were also fed up with the rule of useless, pompous aristocrats and the rule of the simple-minded Tsar Nicholas II who was dictated to by his domineering but not-too-intelligent wife.

Towards the end of February 1917, the Tsar was overthrown and a Provisional Government put in its place. But that Provisional Government had no direction and no vision. It failed to do the main thing that the revolution had set out to do — pull Russia out of the First World War. It was also a time of dual power. The Soviets on the one side: the Provisional Government on the other.

Lenin was in exile when the February Revolution took place; getting off the train in Petrograd on his return, he surprised even the Bolsheviks, by saying in his arrival speech “Down with the Provisional Government — All Power to the Soviets!” At that time there were other leftist parties dominating the Soviets, but with this slogan, and another: “Peace, Bread and Land”, by October 1917 the Bolsheviks had won the support of most of the workers.

In October 1917, as the All-Russian Congress of Soviets met — with the Bolsheviks now in the majority, the Red Guards stormed the Winter Palace in Petrograd where the Provisional Government was sitting — and dismissed them. There was little resistance, only three people were killed.

Most of the army and navy too was by now on the side of the Bolsheviks. The Soviet government was proclaimed on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1917 (old style), 7<sup>th</sup> November 1917 (new style). The next day, Lenin made the Decree on Peace, calling for an immediate peace with Germany, and the Decree on Land, which gave “Land to the Tillers”. Land to those who work it. (Not land to senior Party members living in the cities).

Civil War broke out. No less than 14 different countries sent invading armies into Soviet Russia to assist the White Armies (so-called because of the white uniforms of their officers — not because of their skin colour). By 1920, the Red Army was in control of most of the country, but the war never finally ended until the end of 1922. Lenin had been shot in the neck towards the end of 1918. Not by an out and out reactionary, but by a young girl, Fanny Kaplan, belonging to the so-called “Socialist-Revolutionary Party” — this must always be a reminder of how dangerous fanatical and idealistic ultra-leftism can be.

Probably because of a side effect of the shooting and also because of the burden of work, Lenin had a number of strokes, the one he had in March 1923 finished his political career. He could no longer speak. In early January 1924, his final stroke killed him.

After Lenin died, Joseph Stalin became leader. Stalin was opposed by Leon Trotsky. Trotsky had played a major role in the organisation of the seizure of power and a little later in the organisation of the Red Army. But in the years from 1903 and June 1917, Trotsky had been an enemy of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, joining only in June 1917. He came with his own idealized view of Marxism and opposed the building of “Socialism in One Country” — which with the defeat of the revolutions in Germany and Hungary in 1919 was the only real option in the early 1920s. On assuming leadership, Stalin said:

**“We have assumed power in a country whose technical equipment is terribly backward... we have hundreds and thousands of mills and factories the technical equipment of which is beneath all criticism from the point of view of modern achievements. At the same time we have around us a number of capitalist countries whose industrial technique is far more developed and up-to-date than that of our country. Look at the capitalist countries and you will see that their technology is not only advancing, but advancing by leaps and bounds, outstripping the old forms of industrial technique. ...our industry, which should be the basis of socialism and of Soviet power, is extremely backward technically. “Do you think that we can achieve the final victory of socialism in our country so long as this contradiction exists? What has to be done to end this contradiction? “To end it, we must overtake and outstrip the advanced technology of the developed capitalist countries.”**

Even before the Civil War was over, Lenin and the Communist technician Gleb Krzhizhanovsky had launched a plan for the electrification of the whole country; starting in 1920, it was completed in 1932. Industrial growth rates during the 1930s averaged 16% per annum and electrical generation more than doubled from the 1932 level. The living standards of the people advanced with the growth of production.

Here we might stop to ask: In Zimbabwe in 37 years; how much have we increased electricity generation? How much have we increased agricultural and industrial production in comparison to what was left to us by the Rhodesians? How much have the living standards of our people improved since 1980?

Then in June 1941, came the German Nazi invasion which had an explicit plan for the extermination of a large section of the Soviet people and enslaving others to make way for German settlement. By the time of the invasion the Soviet Union was building bigger and better tanks than Germany. These tanks were wholly designed and built by the Soviet people to Soviet designs using Soviet steel smelted with Soviet coal. This war is known to us as the Second World War or World War II and to the Soviet people as the Great Patriotic War.

Although other nations participated in the Second World War, it was the Red Army of the Soviet Union which engaged 70% of the German Army and defeated it, most spectacularly at Stalingrad in 1942, the biggest battle in human history and again at Kursk in 1943, the biggest tank battle in human history. It was the Red Army which took Berlin on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1945, forcing Hitler to commit suicide. Despite the devastation of such a huge swathe of Soviet territory and the loss of at least 20 million citizens, the Soviet Union rapidly reconstructed only to be faced with the Cold War — the isolation of the Soviet Union and its allies by the USA and its satellites. After the Chinese Communist victory of 1949, the Soviets gave immense assistance to help China industrialise.

In 1959 the USSR backed the Cuban revolution against US aggression and began giving massive aid to the African liberation movements without asking for anything in return. True, by 1991 counter-revolutionary forces both internal and external as well as errors by the Soviet leadership created the conditions for the overthrow of Soviet power. But Socialism in the USSR was immensely successful! It did not fail. In a few years a country the size of the whole of sub-Saharan Africa — a country in which the majority of people were peasants just as primitive in their production methods and as superstitious in their ideas as their African counterparts — was, under Communist leadership, propelled from the middle-ages into the 20th century. In South Africa, the Communist Party was formed in 1921, mainly by white miners, there was only one black member, T.W. Thibedi, but by the late 1920s there was an African majority in the Communist Party. In 1929, it was the Communist Party of South Africa, as it was called at that time, which was the first to call for a “Native Republic” in the language of the day. This was at a time when the ANC, formed in 1912 was still collecting petitions which the leadership, dressed up in their best suits would politely hand over to the British government, proclaiming that they were more loyal to the British Empire than the Boers. The real foundation of the liberation movement in South Africa, then, was not in 1912 with the founding of the ANC. The ANC at its foundation was little more than a pressure group formed by the black élite for inclusion into the imperialist system. It was the vanguard Party of the working-class the Communist Party which, in South Africa was the first to call for a Black Republic. It was the Communist Party which was to direct the liberation struggle through the writing of the Freedom Charter, the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the linkage up with the trade union movement. It was the rank and file workers who gave their lives’ blood for the liberation of South Africa.

When the ANC was formed in 1912, more than 30 traditional leaders from Southern Rhodesia attended. The Southern Rhodesian ANC (SRANC) died out and was reformed a number of times. It was not very militant. But in 1957 three young working-class men in Salisbury, James Chikerema, Charles Nyandoro and Paul Mushonga; and three more young working-class men in Bulawayo, Joseph Msika, J.Z. Moyo and Francis Ndawali came together to revive the SRANC as a militant, fighting organisation. They called the President of the Railway African Workers Union to lead them. His name was Joshua Nkomo. In addition, the main leader of the 1948 strike and the main leader of the fight against land invasions by white settlers, Benjamin Burombo, instructed his followers to join the SRANC.

Comrades, this was the real beginning of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. We may have criticisms of some of these leaders individually, but which class did they represent?

It was our class the working class. When the armed struggle began, ZIPRA received arms and training from the Soviet Union, ZANLA from the People’s Republic of China. Not only Zimbabwe, but South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Namibia all received support from the socialist countries. Not only in arms training, but also in technical matters and administration. In particular the German Democratic Republic — East Germany gave a lot of non-military assistance. All this assistance can be traced back to the seizure of power by the working-class led by the Bolsheviks in 1917. To the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution which we celebrate today.

Viva Socialism, Viva !!

Sando ne Jeko !!



SOVIET POSTER:  
AFRICA FIGHTS !! AFRICA WINS !!  
by Viktor Koretsky (1971)



SOVIET ADVISERS IN THE ANGOLAN WAR

## Speech on the Opening of the National Economic Dialogue

*Speech delivered by General Secretary Comrade N.N. Mabhena*



Comrades we have heard the previous speech outlining the history of our movement in the world and in southern Africa. Without both the great October Socialist Revolution and the assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and the direct activity of the organised working-class in Zimbabwe and South Africa, this country would still be Rhodesia and apartheid would still dominate South Africa.

Here we must acknowledge the role of the South African Communist Party and its long and heroic history there. Those of us who are politically aware and have lived in South Africa are very aware that without the SACP, South Africa would long ago have reached the same depths as Zimbabwe. The SACP in most cases initiates the dialogue taken up by others, in most cases without recognition. The words "State Capture" now on everybody's lips were enunciated some three years ago by the SACP when it more correctly referred to "Corporate Capture of the State". Due to the presence of the SACP, political dialogue reaches beyond the discussion of personalities, even from some of the most bitter enemies of the SACP.

This observation by those of us in the diaspora in South Africa, encouraged us to form a Communist Party in Zimbabwe. We believe that our presence since the end of April has already improved the level of debate in Zimbabwe well outside the ranks of the ZCP.

We can see that our revolution has been sidelined by people who, in the name of "black empowerment" are empowering only themselves and their families and friends and disempowering the majority of black Zimbabweans. This phenomenon is not new in Africa. In 1961, the great African nationalist writer Frantz Fanon had this to say about them:

**"...they are completely ignorant of the economy of their own country. This economy has always developed outside the limits of their knowledge. They have nothing more than an approximate, bookish acquaintance with the actual and potential resources of their country's soil and mineral deposits; and therefore they can only speak of these resources on a general and abstract plane."**

Today we refer to them as the parasitic black bourgeoisie.

Of course ALL capitalism is parasitic to a certain degree: but real capitalists organise production. They establish factories and make money from the surplus value of the working-class forced to sell their labour power for a wage. They also produce finished products, commodities with a use-value. The real capitalists know that to sustain the workers, and keep them coming back to work they must also pay them wages regularly. Our parasitic black capitalists do not know this!

Zimbabwe is the only country that I have ever heard of where in most cases, workers go on strike not for more money, but merely to be paid! And it is nation-wide! We have heard of such cases in Gwanda, Bulawayo, Chitungwiza and here in Mutare. I am sure comrades assembled here can give us many more cases.

And why do we say specifically black?

Because they maintain they are the champions of “black empowerment” or to use the term commonly used in Zimbabwe “indigenous empowerment”. Most Zimbabweans, for whom English is a second language, today believe that “indigenous” is another word for “corruption” and become very offended if you called them “indigenous”.

Nor is it true that ALL members of this class belong to one party. The recent attack on street traders in Harare was a joint venture of the ZANU(PF) Government and the MDC-T Council in Harare.

We have already said that the coming election in 2018 will not really change anything and that it will be a contestation of individuals with no ideology and no vision. Nevertheless we encourage people to register to vote in order to keep up the pressure on the régime.

There are now more than 50 parties hoping to participate in the 2018 elections. We do not confuse standing for election with the achievement of state power, neither do we reject standing for election in the future. But to be another name hoping to get a candidate or two elected? That is not our mission.

Our mission in developing ourselves as the vanguard party of the working-class is to reintroduce politics or more precisely political economy into the electoral process.

Every Zimbabwean with even a little political knowledge knows that the economic downturn in this country started with the introduction of ESAP in 1991. That was the year that national planning was abandoned in favour of the ‘Free Market’.

Yet talk about national planning to ANY of the electoral parties in Zimbabwe and they become scared, really scared. The ‘economists’, by whom they mean the bourgeois economists, the monetarists, have told them that economic planning is wrong! this despite the obvious contrast in the Zimbabwean economy before and after 1991.

Even after it had become painfully evident that ESAP did not work, the ZANU(PF) government still maintained the Privatisation Agency of Zimbabwe as a functioning government body. Simultaneously, the MDC, formed as a workers’ party when the effects of ESAP on the working-class had become obvious, made the pro-imperialist reactionary Eddie Cross their Economic Spokesperson.

After the fading away of the short-lived Communist Party of Southern Rhodesia in the 1940s, ZAPU, with its close to the Soviet Union became the nearest thing we had to a communist party, but since its revival in 2008, communists within ZAPU have fought in vain for national planning to be included in its programme.

If we are going to understand the political economy of Zimbabwe properly, we must put it in the context of Africa as a whole and the attitude of the colonial powers to Africa. In the early 1950s, Algeria fought the first bitter anti-colonial war of the modern era against France which sent its army in full force to fight the Algerian people. A little later in Kenya, the Land and Freedom Army, better known as the Mau Mau, killed a handful of white settlers; this was followed by the massacre and torture of thousands of Kenyans by the British Army.

The two major colonial powers realised that it was not possible to stop the tide of African nationalism. The new policy was to divert that tide, to give imaginary independence through the appointment in each country of a black president and a new national flag and a new national anthem — while control of the economy remained firmly in the hands of imperial monopoly capital. This was the birth of neo-colonialism.

On moving south, the real imperialists (not the white settlers but the monopoly capitalists in London, Paris and New York) realised that the time for white-racist settler régimes was coming to a close. They WANTED black governments in Rhodesia and South Africa, but black governments they could control, certainly not governments run by or friendly to — communists.

During the 1960s, the Soviet Union published handbooks advising newly formed African governments not to try to implement socialism immediately, but rather to create economies which were as independent as possible from outside control.

It is as if the Rhodesians were the only ones in Africa to study these handbooks and implement them! Except of course that implementation was twisted in a way in which it would benefit white settler rule. Nevertheless, in 1980 we were left with a very strong, mostly sell-contained economy and until 1991 nearly everything we bought in Zimbabwe was made in Zimbabwe.

It was not the white settlers but the black ZANU(PF) government — which by then included ZAPU as well as ZANU, which implemented the IMF/World Bank plan which we call the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, ESAP.

From that time, the economy went into decline. People's attitudes also changed. Before ESAP visitors to both Harare and Bulawayo would comment on the cleanliness of the streets. Once the neo-liberal economic programme took hold of the economy, people's mindsets also changed. the streets became filthy. People lost their pride. This observation bears out the basic concept of Marxism, that the mode of production influences everything else in the lives of the people.

Our argument for National Planning, then, is attractive to the majority of Zimbabwean people who know that economic life was better before ESAP.

The Rhodesians introduced a National Economy, but it was not a National DEMOCRATIC Economy. It was aimed at serving the interests of the white élite, but it did have some degree of beneficial effect on the lives of the African majority.

What the programme of the ZCP offers though is not an economy in which the working-class and peasants will be like the catering staff after an expensive party, taking a few tasty left-overs home to their families. We want the party to be FOR the working-class and the peasants.

Nevertheless, we recognise that there is no instant socialism. We have to restore the economy based on PRODUCTION.

The current government, and many ordinary Zimbabweans, have not yet learned the lesson of the last few years. The slogan pushed out by Kingdom Securities "Making money makes sense" every day in Zimbabwe during the 1990s made a huge contribution to our impoverishment. Not only the government, but people in general, tried to make money without production. As a result, we all became millionaires, then billionaires and even trillionaires.

But our government still imagines it can achieve miracles by changing the currency now and then. And the opposition has no plan either. The key word is PRODUCTION and this is how we intend to revive it.

We believe that a National Democratic Economy must, first of all be based on National Planning linked to Devolution of Power to the People.

#### How do we intend to administer our plan?

First of all professional planners will draw up a Draft National Plan. That Draft will circulate to every Ward and Village in Zimbabwe for discussion by the entire adult population. Wards will send representatives to Town or District. Every City Town or District will have a Plan run by a City, Town or District Planning Council. Every Province will have a Plan and a Provincial Planning Commission. Diaspora Committees will be asked to participate in reviving the economy. Finally, there will be a substantive National Plan.

All enterprises previously privatised will be taken back into public ownership. Where necessary deals will be made with foreign countries or foreign companies in order to get going. But wherever possible, we will do it all ourselves.

Management Committees of parastatals will be primarily made up of competent professionals in their different fields, not necessarily Zimbabweans. One or two political appointees will be attached to each board to ensure that the interests of the government and people. These appointees will be genuine political appointees — not cousins and nephews of government ministers!

A truly democratic government based on the direct participation of the people will own, or at least control, the commanding heights of the economy

All former co-operatives, such as Farmers Co-op, Dairy Board, Cotton Marketing Board etc., will become co-operatives once again. Old Mutual will be re-mutualised.

Collective co-operatives such as Simukai and Vuka Zenzele will be revived, as will be the Zimbabwe Project which will become an NGO with a close, friendly but independent relationship with government. Collective co-operatives will be given preferential treatment by government.

The banking system will be placed under the same laws, rules and restrictions as before ESAP. We will examine the development of both state banking and co-operative banking systems. In terms of international banking, BRICS is better than the western banking system, although it is far from what we would really like to see.

At this stage we will encourage productive capitalist enterprises while severely restraining all those who want to make money simply by buying and selling. All those products which prior to 1991 were made in Zimbabwe will be made in Zimbabwe once again — plus some others.

We will revisit Land Reform. Land, in the final analysis, will be nationally owned. Distribution of land will be to those who live on it and work on it. Being a Minister will not entitle anyone to any portion of land bigger than a large plot.

All land must be productive. Those unwilling to produce must vacate the land. Collective co-operatives will be encouraged. Agro-industrial Estates must be wholly or partially state-owned. Small peasant farms will be encouraged to co-operate in terms of marketing their produce and other activities. Greedy truck owners will be forced out of business.

There will be an Agricultural Workers' Charter drawn up by government in co-operation with the relevant trade unions. Commercial farmers not conforming to the Charter will risk having their land confiscated.



**MANICALAND PROVINCIAL SECRETARY COMRADE MANEX MAUYE (STANDING NEXT TO GENERAL SECRETARY N.N. MABHENA) LEADS THE SINGING IN PRAISE OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.**

Corruption will be dealt with by the confiscation of property. Complete confiscation in serious cases.

Now this is our vision, the vision of the Zimbabwe Communist Party. Our contribution to the coming election is to call for a National Economic Dialogue. We know that we cannot implement such a programme alone. Although we have our own vision, we want to discuss with others, and we include both the ruling party AND the opposition in this. We also call on trade unions and progressive business people, on farmers and on workers in the informal sector. On all

Zimbabweans who wish to revive the economy of our country.

This Dialogue can be in meetings both formal and informal and on the social media. But BEFORE the election of 2018, we are calling for the Dialogue to be formalised in the form of a National Conference.

As General Secretary of the Zimbabwe Communist Party on the occasion of the Celebration of the Great October Socialist Revolution, I announce the start of the National Economic Dialogue.

Viva Socialism, Viva !! Sando ne Jeko !!

And finally I say to you in the words of Comrade Lenin:

**"Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."**

## REPORT FROM GAUTENG PROVINCE ZCP

I will start by thanking the comrades in the both the Zimbabwean diaspora community in South Africa and in the South African Communist Party for making our Party visible; with the help of the National Political Commissar and the General Secretary we have managed to mingle with other communists from southern Africa and other parts of the world.

2017 saw our Provincial Secretary at that time, Comrade Takura Chipindura, being invited to attend the South African Communist Party 20<sup>th</sup> Congress together with the General Secretary and National Political Commissar. As the event was attended by Communist Parties and other progressive organisations from around the world, it helped the ZCP to begin to gain international recognition.

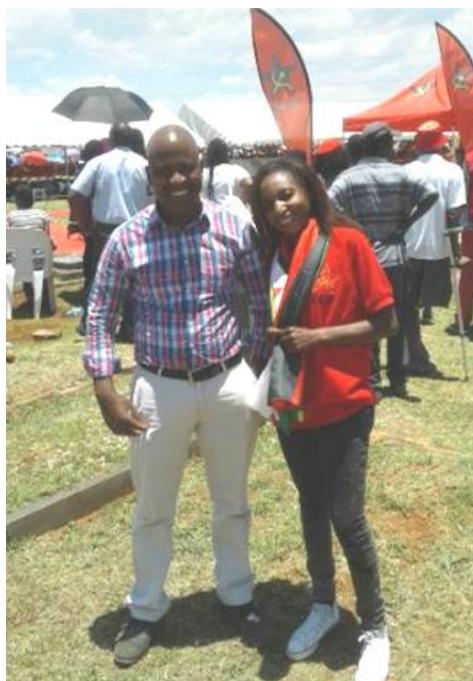
The General Secretary was also given an opportunity to address the Chris Hani Institute (CHI) in a one-day seminar on Zimbabwe on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2017. Comrade Samukele Hadebe, who is a senior researcher for the Chris Hani Institute and a member of the ZCP also addressed the meeting which was held in one of the larger meeting rooms at COSATU House. This seminar was also addressed by speakers from the SACP and COSATU.

Due to work commitments Comrade Takura Chipindura resigned as Provincial Secretary. We thank him for the work he did in the early stages of building our Party in Gauteng. He remains a loyal and committed member of the ZCP.

The turn of 2018 saw the Provincial Chairperson, Comrade Collen Ndebele and the Deputy Secretary Comrade Nobuhle Ajiti represented our Party at the Joe Slovo Commemoration Day held in Soweto on 6<sup>th</sup> January 2018. The Provincial Secretary, Comrade Minenhle Nyathi represented the Party at a meeting with the Oromo People's Association (the Oromo form at least 35% of the population of Ethiopia and are the largest ethnic group but have consistently been denied representation in government. They are seeking advice on forming alliances with other progressive forces to topple the current Ethiopian government.) We are looking forward to having both dialogue and working relationships with Communist Parties and other progressive organisations throughout the world.



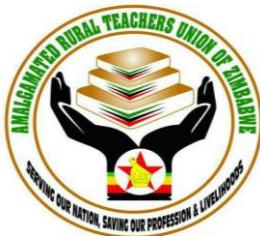
GAUTENG  
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY  
COMRADE MINNIE NYATHI



COMRADE COLLEN NDEBELE AND  
COMRADE NOBUHLE AJITI ATTEND  
THE JOE SLOVO COMMEMORATION



COMRADE SAMUKELE HADEBE ADDRESSES  
MEETING OF THE CHRIS HANI INSTITUTE



## ARTUZ STATEMENT ON THE PLACEMENT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION UNDER THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET

29<sup>th</sup> December 2017

The Amalgamated Rural Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (ARTUZ) condemns with the contempt it deserves, the recent press proclamation by the Government of Zimbabwe placing the Civil Service Commission (CSC) under the Office of President and Cabinet (OPC).

This move undermines principles of good public administration as set out in the Constitution. It is our submission that the process is designed to capture and militarise the Public Service as part of a broad and calculated move to control public sector workers.

By placing the CSC under the office of the President, the Mnangagwa régime is effectively seeking ways to directly spy on public sector unions and thus undermine collective bargaining principles and militarise negotiation processes.



The ideal scenario is to allow the CSC to be a stand-alone commission independent from direct control of government. In this way workers and their employer can freely engage on improving working conditions and salaries for public sector employees.

Thus the recent move has no basis either at law or in the best interest of the workers. Examples of countries with the best public service practices like Canada show that government has minimal intervention. Closer home, the Botswana model is proof that when there is minimal government involvement, decent work in the public workplace can be a reality.

ARTUZ is however aware that the attempts at controlling the CSC emanates from the commandist mentality of the Mnangagwa régime. It also comes at a time that ARTUZ and other public sector unions have declared that in 2018 the fight for a living wage will be escalated, along with fights against the opaque 7.5% pension contributions and cancellation of vacation leave.

As a union we are consulting with our legal teams and membership to craft a multi-pronged response to this manifestly illegal move by Mnangagwa's government. We further reiterate our readiness to organise and democratisate the public sector working place, more so in rural schools.

Released by:

ARTUZ Information Department

People who saw *Vanguard* Vo.2 Issue 2 (1Aug 2017) will have seen an article on Comrade Mackswel Basiyavo, National Legal and Security Secretary for ARTUZ and ZCP Chairperson for Mashonaland Central. He was falsely accused, for political reasons, of child molestation. Having previously won his case in the Labour Court, he went on to win his criminal case in Guruve Magistrates Court on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2017. Makorokoto Comrade Max!!



# ORGANISATIONAL PROFILE OF THE ZIMBABWE DIAMONDS AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION — ZIDAWU



PRESIDENT OF ZIDAWU  
COMRADE COSMAS SUNGURO

The Zimbabwe Diamonds and Allied Workers Union (ZIDAWU) is a trade union formed in 2013 aimed at organising workers engaged in the mining of diamond and other precious minerals such as gold and platinum.

Having witnessed the victimisation and harassment orchestrated by the foreign owners of diamond companies backed by the forces of the Zimbabwe state — including beatings and sodomy by Chinese nationals in Chiadzwa mines — workers formed themselves into a union which they felt would unite them, articulate their issues and advance their demands.

## Objectives

- 1) The promotion of workers' rights.
- 2) The promotion of workplace democracy.
- 3) Advocacy of user-friendly laws and regulations in the diamond industry.
- 4) Solidarity and co-operation with organisations and individuals seeking to address problematic issues in the diamond industry.

We believe in the core values of professionalism, accountability, reliability, transparency and commitment to our mandate as a union.

## Achievements

As a union we are proud of our achievements under the harsh operating conditions caused by the militarisation of the diamond fields within the general context of national economic deterioration. These harsh conditions mean that workers are vulnerable to constant abuse by their paymasters.

- 1) We have carried out research on the working conditions of diamond workers, child labour, the involvement of the military in the diamond industry and the effects of mining on local communities and have published reports based on that research.
- 2) We have published several workers handbooks.
- 3) We have introduced training for trade union activists and office bearers.
- 4) We have effectively represented workers during disciplinary hearings. In most cases we have found that company managements habitually exercise unfair labour practices.

## Challenges

Diamond mines are in restricted areas not easily accessible to people who are not from Marange. We still have restrictive laws like POSA (Public Order and Security Act) and AIPPA (Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act). State security clearance is needed to conduct any form of public meeting. There is no freedom of movement and association in the Chiadzwa area. Workers are constantly harassed by soldiers. On many occasions workers and other ordinary people have been hospitalised, some have been left with permanent injuries, the most unfortunate ones have lost their lives. ZIDAWU members are victims of such harassment and assaults.



In 2014, our offices at Hotsprings in Chimanimani were closed and officials were severely assaulted. In practice, the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe voted for overwhelmingly by the people of Zimbabwe in 2013 is not in operation. Labour laws are not in accordance with the Constitution and the state security forces consistently act in violation of the Constitution. Trade unionism remains a threat in the ruling party.

There was consolidation of diamond mines in Chiadzwa carried out by the previous Minister of Mines and Mining Development, Walter Chidhakwa. This exercise left more than 2000 workers jobless since February 2016. These ex-workers have not been re-engaged and have not been given their terminal benefits up to now.

The recruitment policy of mines remain skewed and there is gender imbalance in most cases. The living conditions of workers in their staff quarters is deplorable.

The dissemination of information remains a challenge to us as trade unionists and to the workers in general. It is the right of citizens to be informed and have access to financial audits.

## The Way Forward

- 1) We must be proactive and work in unity with other progressive organisations.
- 2) We must unite the workers and the people as a whole to fight to benefit from our own natural resources and wherever possible to initiate employee ownership schemes which are transparent.
- 3) We must mobilise resources to assist those who in different ways have become the victims of diamond mining — whether through being brutalised or losing a relative through Operation Hakudzokwi, through injury or death at work, through losing land to the mining companies or any other associated reason.
- 4) We must continue engaging the relevant authorities in diamond mining and encourage and promote consultations with all stakeholders.
- 5) We must formulate, articulate and engage the government on the challenges being faced in the mining industry.

## **OPERATION HAKUDZOKWI: Commemoration in Manicaland**

Operation Hakudzokwi [Operation Don't Come Back] took place at the Marange Diamond Fields, Chiadzwa Ward, Mutare District of Manicaland from November 2008 to January 2009 when small-scale artisanal miners were brutalised by the police and army. Estimates of how many died vary between 200 and 300, many more were injured, some permanently disabled.

The Marange Diamond Fields, previously owned by African Consolidated Resources, were subsequently taken over by the government and given to the Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation (ZMDC). The Chiadzwa diamond rush began in September 2006 when news circulated around Mutare that Chiadzwa was rich in diamonds. The diamond rush was led largely by the jobless and homeless. At first the government denied that the stones being mined by the panners were indeed diamonds, but in 2007 the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe began sending buyers to Chiadzwa to buy diamonds from the panners who were drawn from all corners of Zimbabwe and even from Nigeria, Angola, and Mozambique and other countries. At one stage, there were about 35,000 people doing business in Chiadzwa in connection with the diamonds as panners, buyers or vendors. In many cases, police formed syndicates with panners who were working in conditions of doubtful legality, offering them immunity from arrest in return for a share of the money obtained from mining.

The first phase of Operation Hakudzokwi at the end of September 2008, was carried out exclusively by the police, but in a half-hearted manner due to the involvement of the police with the panners.

### **Political Context**

Operation Hakudzokwi Part 2 commenced around 10<sup>th</sup> November 2008 and was officially announced by the Manicaland Governor and Resident Minister, Chris Mushohwe. Chris Mushohwe was the losing candidate in the Mutare West Constituency (of which Chiadzwa is a part) at the March 2008 General Election. During the time that Mushohwe, was campaigning as the ZANU(PF) candidate, he encouraged panners to continue with their activities, promising to protect them if he was elected to Parliament.

Everything changed when Mushohwe lost the Mutare West Constituency to the MDC. Suddenly the government began talking of taking tough action to flush out the 'illegal' panners from Chiadzwa. Nevertheless, despite talking tough, the government allowed the police to continue operating in Chiadzwa for the greater part of 2008.

The situation changed dramatically when Chris Mushohwe was appointed Governor of Manicaland Province in October 2008. At a meeting of the Provincial Joint Operations Command (JOC) chaired by Mushohwe it is reported that he expressed bitterness at the low voter turnout from Chiadzwa and complained that the local people in Chiadzwa were now enjoying the benefits of illegal diamond panning to the extent that they no longer cared to vote for ZANU(PF). A few days later he addressed a press conference where he vowed to crush the illegal diamond panning activities. His sentiments were echoed by the Reserve Bank Governor Gideon Gono who said the government was losing millions of dollars to illegal panners every month and that soldiers must come to "to try to drive the illegal diggers out."

### **Home Affairs versus Defence Ministries**

Operation Hakudzokwi started about 9 weeks after the signing of the Global Political Agreement between ZANU(PF) and the two MDC formations, leading to an inclusive government. It was agreed that ZANU(PF) should run the Ministry of Defence and that MDC should run the Ministry of Home Affairs.

As the police come under the Ministry of Home Affairs many senior politicians believed that the police force was no longer loyal to ZANU(PF) and was reluctant to carry out its duties. Police were accused of co-operating with the illegal panners to undermine the government. A Joint Operations Command meeting was also held in Harare which is reported to have left out Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri. At that JOC meeting the army was tasked to take over from the police in Chiadzwa. Below is an account from a police officer on duty in Chiadzwa when the army arrived:

**“I was stationed in Chiadzwa when the soldiers arrived. At first two helicopters flew around the diamond fields and we just thought it was an ordinary military exercise. When the two helicopters landed, several army buses and trucks arrived. The soldiers announced that they had come to take over operations in Chiadzwa. They informed the leaders of Police that they had come under a directive issued by President Mugabe. There were a few skirmishes between the soldiers and the police as the former tried to assert their authority in the diamond fields. Some police officers were beaten by the soldiers. At first the Police authorities fought back, ordering police officers to return to Chiadzwa and continue with their operations. Police chiefs in Manicaland communicated with Commissioner General Chihuri about the military interference in their work and Chihuri expressed ignorance about any presidential directive replacing police with the army in the Chiadzwa diamond fields. The Police finally withdrew, temporarily. Meanwhile the number of soldiers in Chiadzwa kept growing. For about three weeks the army was left alone in Chiadzwa until such a time when a decision was reached at the highest level that it was in the best interest of national security that the police and the army harmonise relations. Then a hybrid force of about 1500 soldiers, Police and CIO was put together to patrol the Chiadzwa area. But the damage had already been done. During the military operation, two helicopters flew around the diamond fields, spraying bullets all over from the sky, and in the process killing scores of illegal panners. Some were buried in mass graves using bull-dozers.”**

Centre for Research and Development (CRD): *Interview with Police Officer*

The military operation was jointly carried out by three army units, namely the Mechanised Brigade, 1 Commando Regiment and the Kwe Kwe based 5<sup>th</sup> Brigade (which carried out the Gukurahundi atrocities in the 1980s). The Mutare based 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade only patrolled the highway leading to Chiadzwa. Meanwhile during the three weeks in which the army was in sole control of Chiadzwa, thousands of gross human rights abuses occurred: While some soldiers sprayed bullets from the helicopters others were pursuing the ground offensive, shooting to kill real and suspected diamond panners.

Suspects were rounded up and taken to Chiadzwa where they were tortured and forced to fill the open pits that were dug at the height of the uncontrolled mining activities. Families in and around Chiadzwa were not been spared with several reporting that they have been beaten on accusations of harbouring illegal diamond miners. Scores of suspected diamond buyers and illegal panners were abducted by military personnel without any warrants of arrest. Many fled the country leaving their impounded vehicles in police custody. On 19<sup>th</sup> December 2008 a private contractor was hired by Mutare Provincial Hospital to conduct a pauper’s burial for 78 bodies received from Chiadzwa. The bodies were buried in a mass grave at Dangamvura cemetery.

## Criminal Activities by the Police and Army

The net of the operation widened to include those suspected to be involved in illegal foreign currency deals. Soldiers and police were openly stealing forex and other valuables from residents after accusing them of dealing in forex. (It is not an offence to own foreign currency in Zimbabwe). At the height of the operation residents were afraid to carry foreign currency in Mutare city centre as they could be arrested and taken to Chiadzwa where they were likely to be robbed by security agents.

At the height of the operation every police holding cell in Mutare was full beyond capacity. It was reported that Mutare remand prison, with a carrying capacity of around three hundred inmates, had to house over a thousand people from Chiadzwa. Many had to sleep in the open courts within the prison yard. The prison did not have the ability to feed the inmates and prisoners went for days without anything to eat.

The scenario in the courts was not better either. The officials from the Attorney General's office's did not follow statutory court procedures. Cases were bundled together: for instance forty people would have their cases on one docket. The accused persons went through what the court officials referred to as mass trials. There was a blanket refusal to grant bail without taking each case on its merit. According to the report by Manicaland Lawyers Association, the total number of people brought to the courts from Chiadzwa within a space of two weeks was in excess of one thousand one hundred .

## The Governance Factor

Both civil servants and other employees from the private sector deserted their workplaces due to worthless salaries and poor working conditions; these included police officers, soldiers and teachers who went to Chiadzwa where they operated as diamond diggers, buyers or traders in various items ranging from food to clothing. Hundreds of college students whose colleges spent the second half of 2008 closed due to a general strike by the teaching staff also flocked to Chiadzwa to become both diggers and buyers of diamonds. Others came to Chiadzwa as a result of Operation Murambatsvina [Operation Move the Rubbish] in 2005, the destruction of the shacks of the poor in the cities which left many destitute and desperate.

## Police and Military Syndicates in Chiadzwa (Hakudzokwi part 2)

Despite the heavy presence of police and army, illegal diamond mining continues unabated in Chiadzwa. This is an account of one panner:

**"When the Military operation began early November it became difficult to get into the fields. Upon their arrival in Mid-November, the soldiers shot and killed several panners. This brought panning to a standstill. However, a few days later, the soldiers started inviting the gwejas [artisanal diamond miners] to continue with their panning activities. Nowadays, you just need to be escorted by a soldier and you share The proceeds with him. But at times you work the whole day and in the end another group of soldiers arrive and rob you of everything."**



ARTISANAL MINERS IN THE MARANGE DIAMOND FIELDS

## Commemoration

The Commemoration of Operation Hakudzokwi was held 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017. It was organised by the Centre for Natural Resources Governance (CNRG); ZIDAWU was privileged to be part of the organising team. The theme for 2017 was focussed on violence against women.

The event has been held annually since 2015 and this time was better organised and attended by more people than before with more than 1,000 people including local villagers, workers and civic society organisations. We also had visitors from across southern Africa and from as far as Latin America and Europe.



FARAI MUGUWU

The articles on ZIDAWU and Operation Hakudzokwi were written by ZIDAWU President Comrade Cosmas Sunguro. The person originally assigned to write them was ZIDAWU Deputy Secretary General, Comrade Billian Matambo. While preparing the articles, a terrible tragedy occurred. Her 11 year old son, Brandon Matambo, drowned in a pond. The ZCP, ZimCom Publishers and Vanguard offer their deepest condolences to Comrade Billian and family.



BRANDON MATAMBO

The gathering was disturbed by state security agents who handcuffed all the foreigners present. 21 people were arrested including Farai Maguwu, the Executive Director of CNRG. The case against them was trespassing; they were released around 11pm and made to pay a \$100 Admission of Guilt fine

Victims of Operation Hakudzokwi were given the opportunity to describe what happened. Among them were orphans and widows who were finding it difficult to earn a living; others had been left with permanent disabilities; people gave testimony to how their property had been destroyed and their families fragmented. There is still no freedom of movement and association in and around the Marange diamond fields. Government has done nothing to investigate the atrocities nor to assist the victims. The mining companies are simply not interested. There are still arbitrary searches of individuals and homes, thereby stripping villagers of their dignity.

The community is not benefiting anything from their natural resources. There is no talk of development and the infrastructure of Manicaland Province remains an eyesore despite the abundance of diamonds in the area — there is not even an airport in Mutare.

Yet in 2015, President Robert Mugabe alleged that \$15 billion was missing in diamond revenue. Even if, as some commentators suggest, this figure is exaggerated, in 2015, Reserve Bank Governor John Mangudya claimed that \$1.8 billion had gone missing over the previous year. These huge losses were not the result of diamond smuggling by artisanal miners: they were the result of high level corruption.

We are waiting to see if any of the big fish involved will be fried.

At the Commemoration, Comrade Farai Maguwu read out a petition addressed to the Zimbabwe Consolidated Diamond Company. Issues covered in the petition were:

- 1) Employment of locals.
- 2) Gender equality and equity in the mining sector.
- 3) The community to benefit from diamonds being mined in their area.
- 4) Maintenance of roads and other infrastructure.
- 5) Community share ownership to benefit youths

ZIDAWU made a presentation on the victimisation of women and our findings of research carried out in April 2017.

## COMMEMORATION OF THE BHALAGWE TORTURE CAMP

Bulawayo 22<sup>nd</sup> December 2017

On 21<sup>st</sup> October 2017, mourners went to the site of the former Bhalagwe Torture Camp in Kezi Matabeleland South to say prayers for those who died there, but were stopped by riot police. [see *Vanguard* 4<sup>th</sup> November 2017]

Bhalagwe Camp was in existence from 1982-1987 during the era of Gukurahundi terror against the people of Matabeleland. The worst atrocities there happened in 1984. There were just under 2000 inmates at any one time forced to sleep on the floors of the huts into which they were packed 136 at a time without any bedding of any kind. Torture tended to be of a sexual nature with women having sharp sticks thrust into them and men being beaten on the private parts. Deaths were many. Often people were buried in shallow graves which were dug up later to hide the evidence of brutality.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> December 2017, people gathered at the statue of Joshua Nkomo in Bulawayo and marched to the historic Stanley Hall in Makokoba. Here they were addressed by various speakers including former ZIPRA Chief of Intelligence, Comrade Dumiso Dabengwa [the Black Russian].

Comrade Benny Moyo, International Secretary of the Zimbabwe Communist Party was given 2 minutes to speak. Here is his contribution:

**“The Zimbabwe Communist Party views the genocide as part of the imperialist global anti-communist struggle.**

**It was no coincidence that the ZANU victory was viewed in the west as a victory for the west. This was because of the ZAPU-ANC links to the Soviet Union.**

**It was therefore no coincidence that the first to be targeted under this genocide were ZIPRA cadres who were persecuted, detained without trial or forced to disappear. This was because it was the ZIPRA cadres who had received mentoring in Marxism — which the capitalist feared. Even during the Second World War the Nazis targeted the commissars in the resistance armies for special torture. This was to be the case in Vietnam — and so it was in our case.”**



## VENDORS

### Introduction

In many countries, vendors are under attack due to various negative beliefs about them, including that they block footpaths and streets, make the streets dirty and sell unhygienic food. The owners of established businesses often object to their presence because of the perception of “unfair” competition. Despite the objections to them, vendors are popular with the public, suggesting that they provide essential services that, in the words of Sharit Bhowmik (2016), author of various articles on the topic, “neither the municipalities nor the larger retailing outlets can provide.” Vendors play a vital role in urban life and economies. The complaints about vendors are typically related to the lack of sufficient, dedicated space and infrastructure for their use. It is important to understand the role of vendors in urban settings before deciding on a policy approach to their presence.



### Economic Issues

A thriving city needs a healthy economy. People need job opportunities. People also need access to goods and services at affordable prices. Vending provides all of these things. Vending provides employment and for many people, vending is the only available job. In the absence of a safety net (government-provided support for those in need), the “informal” sector is an essential service to prevent desperate poverty. In addition, vending provides affordable goods and services. The Informal Economy Monitoring Study (IEMS, 2010) was a study of street vendors in five cities: Accra in Ghana; Ahmedabad in India; Durban in South Africa; Lima in Peru; and Nakuru in Kenya. The study identified several ways in which street vendors strengthen their communities. These include generating employment for themselves and others, maintaining a household on their income, contributing to cleanliness and safety on the streets, providing friendly personalized service to customers, and contributing to city revenue via payment for licenses, permits, fees, fines, and taxes. Many of the goods sold by street vendors are made by small local industries, thereby further benefiting local economies. The informal sector is very large in many countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and is vital to their economies. Unfortunately, rather than recognize their importance, governments are at best indifferent, and at worst hostile, to them. Too often, says Bhowmik (2016), rather than recognize their contribution, “governments view street vendors as encroachers or criminals.”



### Employment

Vending is a source of jobs both for the rural poor migrating to the city and for those who have lost their formal sector jobs after financial contraction. Vending is not a hobby or an additional income source; for most street vendors, their occupation is the main source of income for their families. Their work allows them to feed their families and pay their children’s school fees, thereby contributing to the well-being of the next generation. Vending creates jobs not only for the street vendors themselves but also for various others such as farmers, artisans, and porters. Censuses in Harare, Zimbabwe (2010) and in Lusaka, Zambia (2012), found that many sellers of street food employ others, thereby generating up to three times as many jobs as there are vendors. Many also earned a considerable wage, at least in comparison to other jobs available.

## Contribution to the Local Economy

Vendors must obtain their goods at a designated place. What they sell benefits those who produce or create those goods. Since they tend to sell local items, they contribute to the local economy. Vendors are an important link between rural farmers and their urban customers. They buy local products and make them available throughout the city, thereby increasing sales, which benefits the producers of the goods as well as the vendors. Governments that legalize vending benefit from the licensing fees and sometimes taxes; otherwise the fees for use of space simply go to political or other elements that control access to public places. Large stores, on the other hand, tend to access their products outside of the local community — indeed, often out of the country — and move their profits out as well, so that the locale gains little, as opposed to the positive effects of small shops and, by extension, vendors. Vending provides another benefit as well. For low-income people to benefit fully from employment, at least some of the money they earn needs to remain at the bottom of the economic pyramid, among the poor, and circulate there. If the only option for obtaining goods and services is from formal businesses owned by the wealthy, then wages to the poor and middle class will simply rise back up the pyramid again. The presence of vendors means that at least some of the money that reaches the poor will stay there, benefiting other low-income people as well and avoiding the gravitational pull of money upwards.

## Benefits to Local Customers

The lack of overhead costs means that vendors can make their goods and services available at lower costs than in shops. The availability of low-priced goods is a boon for both the poor and middle class. In many cases, these may be the only goods that others can afford. Vendors provide other benefits to customers as well. The process of negotiating prices may lead to lower prices for the low income.

Street vendors also make goods and services available throughout the city, reducing the need for customers to travel to fixed shops. This saves both time and travel expense. People can shop near homes and offices, at train stations and bus halts, and at other convenient spots, as well as on trains and buses and at intersections. This is important as cities work to deal with congestion. Moving vendors, whether carrying goods in baskets or on bicycle carts, make such items as fresh vegetables, live fish and chickens, brooms made of traditional materials, ash to clean pots, and various snacks available to people at their homes. This is an important convenience to those who cannot easily leave their homes, whether due to physical incapacity, the need to care for an infant or others, or simply time constraints.

## Specific Recommendation:

1) Local, regional, and national governments should recognize the importance of street vendors to local economies and to social life in cities. That recognition should be enshrined in national policy that is properly enforced throughout the country. Specific legal provisions should include the licensing of vendors and full legal protection for them. Rather than pay bribes to use space, vendors should pay licensing fees directly to government, with some of the proceeds being used to provide vendors with appropriate working conditions and facilities (as described below).

2) The problems that can be caused by vendors should be addressed with specific policies and actions to remedy the harms while maintaining the benefits. This can include designating different parts of the cities as high-vending areas, limited-vending areas, and vending-free zones, as long as appropriate and sufficient space is allocated for them. In order to address a high demand for licenses, spaces could be allocated for a specific number of hours per day so that each space is used by at least two vendors daily (more if vending can continue well into the evening/night). Vendors must be included in the formulation of these policy measures.

3) Rather than ban vendors, cleanliness could be enhanced through provision of proper facilities. In order to gain the advantages that vendors bring while reducing or eliminating the problems, vendors should be accorded not only legal rights to their space, but also basic facilities such as shade, electricity, public toilets, water taps, pedestrian-oriented lighting, and trash disposal services. Rules can govern the display of goods and where vendors can set up shop in order to prevent obstruction of footpaths. Proper sanitation and drainage are essential. High-quality stalls, lockers, and shelters not only help to make vendors more legitimate but also remove the need for them to transport their wares to and from home each day. The provision of these services benefits not only vendors, but also, according to WIEGO (2015), helps “make public space safer, more comfortable and aesthetically pleasing,” benefiting those on foot, local residents, and other visitors.

4) Vendors could contribute to footpath maintenance, in a new spin on public-private partnerships (PPP). Vendors, as representatives of the private sector, can be involved in agreements with the public sector to maintain the cleanliness of the space around their stalls and to ensure the quality and hygiene of the products they sell in return for obtaining a license to do business there. Since the presence of vendors can also increase safety, they can be involved in helping to reduce crime.

5) When allocating space for vendors, it is important not to limit oneself to sidewalk (footpath/pavement) space. Some street space could be liberated from parked cars, thus putting the space to far more economically-efficient use. Pedestrianizing market streets would also create more space for vendors while lessening the negative effects that their use of space can have on traffic flow.

## Conclusion

The existence of vendors elicits a passionate response in the lives of many people. Some are vehemently opposed to their presence, feeling that they block footpaths and streets, make cities dirtier, contribute to corruption and chaos, and undersell established shops. Others equally passionately argue that vending is an essential safety net for the poor, preventing desperate poverty and starvation; that not only the vendors but their customers and local economies benefit from their presence; and that vendors play an important role in maintaining safety, attractiveness, and a vibrant social life in the economy. The numbers make clear that vending provides an essential livelihood for many, and is a major contributor to local economies.



The ideal solution, then, would be to give full legal and social recognition to vendors while working to reduce or eliminate the problems that their presence can, indeed, sometimes cause. Appropriate policy strategies do exist and have been utilized in some cities, with positive results. It is time to apply those results more broadly so that more cities can enjoy the manifold benefits of vendors while ceasing to suffer from the problems that poor management and illegality can bring. We can do better by our cities and our populations; the time to start is now.

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## INFORMAL ECONOMY ORGANISATIONS PETITION PRESIDENT E.D MNANGAGWA

Vendors Initiative for Social and Economic Transformation (VISET) participated in the National Informal Economy Forum/Indaba for Policy Change that was organised by the Zimbabwe Chamber of Informal Economy Associations (ZCIEA) in Harare on 16<sup>th</sup> December 2017. The Indaba was also attended by Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association, Zimbabwe Cross Border Traders Association, Street Wise Traders Association and SIMUNYE and attracted over 400 vendors from across the country. The meeting extensively deliberated on the challenges that informal traders are facing, in particular the recent clampdown by the Zimbabwe Republic Police and the military on vendors operating within the Central Business District of Harare. Speaker after speaker urged the new government to abandon the approaches that were employed by the previous government and embrace an inclusive engagement path. Some of the major challenges that were identified by the hugely subscribed Indaba include the following:

- 1) Non-respect of the informal economy workers' rights especially socio-economic rights.
- 2) Non-recognition, formalisation, and legalisation of the informal economy business and workers.
- 3) Outdated, fragmented, restrictive legislation, and bye-laws
- 4) Lack of respect and implementation of the four pillars of Decent Work: Social Protection, Social Dialogue, Workers Rights, Employment Creation.
- 5) Non-domestication of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Recommendation 204 of 2015.

Further, the meeting came up with a list of demands to the new government that included inclusion of the informal economy in development planning and implementation, acknowledgement and recognition of the informal economy's contribution to the country's economic development, formulation of legislation and by laws that protect the informal economy and more importantly the domestication of the ILO recommendation 204 of 2015. After the compilation of the challenges and demands, the Indaba prepared a petition that was signed by the five informal economy organizations represented and delivered to the Office of President and Cabinet at around 3:30pm the same day.





## LAND AND AGRICULTURE: ZIMBABWE'S GREEN HEARTBEAT

### Zimbabwe, The Breadbasket of Africa!

Over time, we have gradually and blindly lost this status, proudly symbolised by the green stripes on our Zimbabwe flag which represent the country's agriculture, vegetation and land resources.

The title, "Breadbasket of Africa" dates back to the early 1950s and continued for the next few decades, the time when Zimbabwe's green heart could pump its produce across Africa and beyond. Then, agricultural land was owned mostly by the white minority of European ancestry which had enjoyed superior political and economic status. The white bourgeoisie owned most of the fertile, rich land suitable for large scale commercial farming whilst the black peasantry were, for the most part, pushed into sandy, rocky and arid areas — and if unlucky, owned no land at all.

### History of European Acquisition of the Land

The Privy Council (which advises the kings and queens of Britain) decided in 1918 that the land of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was the property of the British Crown. The Land Apportionment Act passed in 1930 became the basis of land allocation on a racial basis. Families were moved from one place to the other on the basis of skin colour and zones for white land ownership were created, particularly on the central plateau of Zimbabwe.

The land question was a central issue in the Zimbabwe Liberation War. In the compromise agreed during the Lancaster House talks held at the end of 1979, there was an attempt to balance the need to redistribute the land to the landless with the recognition of the contribution of the white farmers to Zimbabwe's economy. Land, mostly under-utilised land, was acquired by government from white owners on a "Willing seller — willing buyer" basis, with the assistance of funds from United Kingdom. This exercise was not overly successful as only about 3 million hectares of land was obtained in contrast to the expected 8 million hectares; some of the problem was due to the misuse of funds coming from the UK. The funding of Zimbabwe's Land Reform and Resettlement by the UK as agreed at Lancaster House came to an end in 1990, although some other funding continued until the late 1990s.

### The Land Acquisition Act

Before the expiry of the Lancaster House Agreement, Parliament passed the Land Acquisition Act in 1985 which gave the government the first option to purchase any land put up for sale. It empowered the government to claim tracts adjacent to the former Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs) [now known simply as "Communal Areas"] and mark them for resettlement purposes — provided the owners could be persuaded to sell.

The Zimbabwe Land Acquisition Act of 1992 was enacted to empower the authorities to acquire land and other immovable property compulsorily under certain circumstances; to make special provision for the compensation payable for agricultural land required for resettlement purposes; to provide for the establishment of the Derelict Land Board; to provide for the declaration and acquisition of derelict land; and to provide for matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing. Several Land Reform Acts were introduced aimed at giving land to the indigenous people. Unfortunately, a large proportion of the land acquired passed into the hands of the black élite.

In 1980, and until the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991, Zimbabwe professed to be a socialist oriented state, but land reform in Zimbabwe was far different in class-character than Land Reform in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

## Zimbabwe Land Reform versus Socialist Land Reform

In the Soviet Land Reform private ownership of land was abolished. [see the article in *Vanguard* Vol. 2 Issue 2 *Focus on Agriculture*]. On 26<sup>th</sup> October 1917, the day after the Bolsheviks seized power, the *Decree on Land* written by Vladimir Lenin and passed by the Second Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' was published and became the guide to the implementation of the great land reform. The slogan was "Land to the tillers!" Land belonging to the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie was given to the peasants. From 1927, collective co-operatives were formed to enable more efficient large scale food production. The collectives also provided education and better living conditions for the mainly illiterate peasantry. Peasants were educated on how to obtain higher yields. Skilled militant workers came from the cities to train young peasants how to drive tractors and operate machinery. Soviet Land Reform not only passed land ownership to those who lived and worked on it, it also mechanized and increased production.

### How different to our Land Reform!

The problem of extreme racism by the former white settler régimes in southern Africa made people see problems in terms of race rather than class. Once ethnicity had become an issue at the level of race, it then manifested itself in tribalism — in ethnic disputes among Africans. The struggle, instead of being the means to solve social inequality, became diverted into a fight for power rather than "Peace, Bread and Land."

Those that benefitted most from Land Reform in Zimbabwe were the black businessmen and political élites, together with their families and close friends. Few had any knowledge or commitment to farming. Despite the slogan of "One family — one farm" at the beginning of the Land Reform process, many of them came to own multiple properties. Some started renting out their properties and some farming land has been transformed into residential stands.

*One man from our rural home was fortunate enough to obtain a full farm from his former employer, including cattle and other animals, plus a tractor and other equipment. He used some of the Brahmin and Angus cattle to pay lobola for three more wives. He also bought two Mercedes Benz. He became very influential in the community and an activist in the ruling party. Even older men humble themselves in the 'clever' man's presence.*

Following the initiative of the War Veterans in 2000, the Zimbabwean government agreed to a "fast track" redistribution campaign, forcibly confiscating white-owned farms without compensation. In events that continue to fire debates up to now, white farmers were removed from their farms forcefully, violently and chaotically; some lost their lives. More than half of the labourers on the former white-owned farms were of Malawian or Mozambican origin and were told that they were "not Zimbabweans" and had no rights. Many lost their only source of livelihood — both homes, and employment.

The Presidential Well-Wishers Input Scheme was introduced to help the widowed, disabled, less privileged, orphans and those living with HIV/AIDS and beneficiaries were provided with seed and fertilizers during the agricultural season. But this scheme was limited to children whose parents were members of the ruling party and, sadly, was subject to serious looting.

*I observed this personally in Mount Darwin. There is always a spy who is ready to expose someone who is not a member of the ruling party. Not only is it taboo to belong to another party, but it is considered an offence not to belong to any party.*

## Command Agriculture

In order to try to correct the chaos in the food production process, the Zimbabwe government has tried to implement Command Agriculture. Command Agriculture means that government determines what to produce, how to produce and at what price the produce to be sold. The Rhodesian government used this method as did socialist countries such as the Soviet Union.

The first attempt at Command Agriculture was Operation Taguta/Sisuthi/EatWell introduced in 2005-2006 due to fear of food riots, this saw many farmers near bodies of water receiving incentives and equipment from the government to facilitate irrigation programmes. It was aimed at placing the vital processes of food production under the partial control of the Zimbabwe Defence Force. It was not successful, the army was often brutal in its methods and there was rampant abuse of subsidised diesel meant for agricultural purposes (*Fourth Quarter Monetary Policy Review Statement 2005*). Operation Taguta/Sisuthi/EatWell was plagued with corruption and inefficiency.

Command Agriculture was again implemented with rather better results in the 2016-2017 season and is continuing. The scheme requires farmers to produce 1000 tonnes of maize on 200 hectares of land. Farmers are contracted for three consecutive years and provided with seed, fertilisers, agro-chemicals, irrigation and mechanised equipment, all on a cost recovery basis. Though there has been an improvement in production, it has not reached its target goal due partly due to corruption and partly to a lack of clear understanding about the objectives and form of operation.

Command Livestock, Fisheries and Wildlife, a new programme introduced in December 2017 is expected to run between three and five years. It will cover all aspects of livestock such as beef cattle, dairy cows, pigs, sheep, goats, fish, wildlife and small stock such as poultry and rabbits. A2 farmers are expected to anchor the programme. Funds will also go towards foot-and-mouth disease fences, resuscitation and establishment of dip tanks, watering points and livestock infrastructure. The programme is expected to boost crop production for stock feed, resuscitation of the leather industry, and production of tally for soap. It is also expected to boost production of blood and bone meal, which the country is currently importing.

## Corrections?

Although there has been a downturn in agricultural production since the Land Reform Programme began in 2000, we cannot deny that there have also been successes. Many families of peasants formerly forced on to marginal lands as well as war veterans and landless people have benefitted from Land Reform in addition to the business people, government officials and politicians. Agricultural production has not completely collapsed. It is interesting to note that in general, the small-scale A2 farmers, most of whom live on the land, have performed much better than the larger A1 commercial farms many of which now belong to people based in the cities. The pattern throughout the country is not consistent. There are places where production has improved since the beginning of Land Reform while in other places production has come to a stand-still.

There are also two objective problems which are often ignored when studying the problems of food production. One is that the population of Zimbabwe has more than doubled since independence, the other is that climate change has brought drier weather conditions Independence in 1980.

Whenever we study agriculture and Land Reform in Zimbabwe we must do it objectively: if we defend Land Reform emotionally without looking at the errors, inefficiency and looting that has taken place during the process we will be wrong; if we take a purely negative view of Land Reform without seeing the benefits, we shall also be wrong.

We must acknowledge the corrections in the programme beginning to take place.

*A farm in Hatcliffe near my home has been returned to a white commercial farmer. Where previously I only saw grass, weeds a very small quantity of maize lost in the vast in the vast area of the farm, it is now all gleaming with maize plants, soya-beans and potatoes.*

On 11<sup>th</sup> January 2018, the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Settlement Rtd. Air Chief Marshall Perence Shiri addressing villagers in Shamva announced that 200 hectares of irrigated land would be set aside in every District to counter the effects of climate change and poor rainfall is set to be put under irrigation scheme in all districts to evade effects of climate change and the erratic rainfall patterns experienced throughout the country. He said that the programme is to run for the next ten years to benefit communities and boost food security countrywide as well as restore the country's bread basket status.

## Conclusion

Politics, land and agrarian programmes are intertwined in Zimbabwe, but there is hope for a better productive future that utilises land for great output. Agriculture in Zimbabwe can make a huge contribution to the country's Gross Domestic Product, ensuring that valuable foreign currency is not used to import agricultural products which we can grow. Higher agricultural production will not only stabilises our own food security but also create a surplus for export. Efficient agriculture can help eradicate high unemployment by providing work as well as making the communities self-reliant and sustainable and can be the basis for improving the living standards of the rural majority.

*The green heart of Zimbabwe can once again beat to a melodious star rhythm if we cut down the corruption with our sickle and use wisely the hammer of production.*

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# ZIMBABWE COMMUNIST PARTY

## POLITICAL ECONOMY

### POLICY DOCUMENT

*Although we published this document in ‘Vanguard’ Vol.2 Issue 1, it is so central to our vision and our way forward that we are re-publishing it.*

## Section 1

### A Brief History of the Political Economy of Zimbabwe

1. The history of Zimbabwe’s current political economy starts in 1890 with the arrival of the Pioneer Column. Colonization soon swept away the previous relations of production and replaced it by capitalism. Historically, Zimbabwe had traded with the Arabs, Swahilis, Portuguese, Indians and Chinese in gold and ivory, but in the main there was peasant production of grain in the form of different varieties of sorghum and millet; growing of vegetables; and livestock rearing of goats and cattle. The degree of importance of livestock rearing in relation to crop-growing varied according to the amount of rainfall and of soil conditions found in different parts of the country. In some areas, communal-patriarchal relations of production had given way to a form of feudalism and the beginning of class society. Here and there, there were still hunter-gatherers. But from at least as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there was a small class of traders linked to hereditary leaders.
2. The colonizers simultaneously brought with them both modern infrastructural development and racial oppression. They determined the shape of the country which was at first called “British South Africa” and from 1895 “Rhodesia”.
3. European settlers did not enter the country which we now call Zimbabwe simply to oppress black people; they came for economic reasons which were dictated by the development of capitalism in Europe through the 19<sup>th</sup> century until it had reached its monopoly stage. Small capitalists had been swallowed by big capitalists. Capitalism needed to grow through the export of capital to make more profit and through the ever-increasing need for raw materials both from mining and agriculture. In 1885, the leaders of the contesting European capitalist countries came together at the Berlin Conference and divided Africa between them. Prior to that, European capital had been content with trading ports around the African coast but few had ventured into the interior. The percentage of Africa belonging to European Powers was 11% in 1876, and 90% in 1900
4. In 1916, in his book *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* V.I. Lenin made this summary of the main features of imperialism:

“(1) The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;

“(2) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this “finance capital”, of a financial oligarchy;

“(3) The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance;

“(4) The formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves;

“(5) The territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.”

5. Lenin also quoted Cecil Rhodes in *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

**“I was in the East End of London [a working-class quarter] yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for ‘bread! bread!’ and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism... My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e. in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.”**

6. The Pioneer Column was not a project of the British Government; it was planned and financed by the British South Africa Company a joint-stock company under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes looking principally for profit.

7. It was J.V. Stalin in 1924 who in his book *The Foundations of Leninism* pointed out:

**“The third contradiction is the contradiction between the handful of ruling, ‘civilized’ nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world. Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries. The purpose of this exploitation and of this oppression is to squeeze out super-profits. But in exploiting these countries imperialism is compelled to build there railways, factories and mills, industrial and commercial centres. The appearance of a class of proletarians, the emergence of a native intelligentsia, the awakening of national consciousness, the growth of the liberation movement — such are the inevitable results of this ‘policy’. The growth of the revolutionary movement in all colonies and dependent countries without exception clearly testifies to this fact. This circumstance is of importance for the proletariat inasmuch as it saps radically the position of capitalism by converting the colonies and dependent countries from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution.”**

8. The truth of Stalin’s statement is born out in Zimbabwe by the fact that despite the co-ordination of the different ethnic groups across Zimbabwe in the resistance war which began in Matabeleland 1893 and later spread across the country due to the influence of the Kalanga religious leader Makwati (Mukwati), they could not defeat the imperialist colonizers. Spears could not defeat Maxim machine-guns. The old system of chiefs and kings was either swept away or made subservient to the Rhodesian administration. The colonizers built infrastructure, railways, coal-mines, power stations. Hut tax was imposed so that young men would have to work in the mines or for other European businesses in order to earn money to pay that tax. Thus there was the beginning of a native proletariat. Resistance was not led, for the most part, by the old traditional leaders, but rather by the young men trained in the mission schools who were part of the new system.

**9.** The colonization of Zimbabwe and South Africa was, however, different from that further north. In most of Africa, imperialism sought at that time only to plunder minerals or to establish plantations. In Rhodesia and South Africa the Europeans who came to settle were trying to establish a permanent home. So, despite their arrogant racism, they built an infrastructure based on European standards and at the same time, especially for those of working class origin, established for themselves living standards of which they could only dream in Europe; black servants became the norm for people who had never had servants in their place of origin.

**10.** From 1890 to 1923, Southern Rhodesia (as well as Northern Rhodesia) was ruled by the British South Africa Company. The settlers of Southern Rhodesia, however, did not want permanent rule from a board of directors whom they had no say in choosing; they petitioned the British Government, and, following a whites-only referendum, were given "Responsible Government". Mindful, even then, that unlike Australia, New Zealand, Canada and even South Africa that whites were only a small minority, the British Government did not give Southern Rhodesia official Dominion status; but with its own Parliament, it was, in fact, run in a similar way to the Dominions. With power in their hands, the Rhodesian settlers established an infrastructure of roads and railways. Wankie Colliery supplied coal for the provision of electricity and in the 1960s the Kariba Dam supplied hydro-electricity. Iron ore was mined in the Midlands and the state-owned Rhosteel (later Ziscosteel) became the centre of the steel industry.

**11.** In agriculture, the 1930 Land Act divided the land into white-owned land and African-owned land. About half the land was allocated to the white minority and about half to the black majority. In general, the best land was given to the white minority. Although there were a number of subsequent Acts which modified the original Act in one way or another, sometimes giving concessions to Africans and at other times taking more land away from them, the pattern of land ownership remained more or less the same until Independence in 1980 and for some time after.

**12.** Of great commercial importance were tobacco, sugar and tea with cotton coming somewhat later. Pine forests were established in Manicaland by the Forestry Commission and there were large agro-industrial estates responsible for tea and sugar.

**13.** Although it is true that 70% of maize was produced by black communal farmers, it is also true that 70% of the population lived in the rural areas. The cities, then, were supplied with most of their staple food through the efforts of the white commercial farmers.

**14.** The white farmers also set up collective marketing organizations. Dairyboard, Cotton Marketing Board, Grain Marketing Board etc. as well as Farmers Co-op as a consumer co-operative.

**15.** Private industry grew up in the towns and cities but workers were very poorly paid. The fact that most male workers relied in part for their maintenance on their women-folk producing food on the communal land only served to drive the wage levels down. In 1948, Southern Rhodesia experienced a General Strike organized by black workers. Subsequently government was forced to try to alleviate working conditions.

**16.** 1945 marked the end of the Second World War. Though today it is often portrayed in movies as a victory for the USA and Britain, the reality, which people at that time understood, was that the main burden of the fighting was taken up by the Soviet Union. Even outside the Soviet Union, the main resistance movements in Europe, especially those of France Italy, Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia were led by Communists. In the Far East also, it was the Communists in China, Vietnam and Korea who seriously fought Imperial Japan, the ally of Nazi Germany in Asia.

**17.** In 1945, soon after the end of the war the 6<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, Britain. With the defeat of fascism in Europe came the demand for African independence.

**18.** In the early 1950s, Gamal Abdel Nasser seized power in the British semi-colony of Egypt throwing out the corrupt King Feisal; soon after, the first major anti-colonial war in Africa took place in the French colony of Algeria. In Kenya the Land and Freedom Army, better known as the Mau Mau killed a handful of white settlers initiating a brutal response from Britain in which thousands of Kenyans were massacred and thousands more tortured. It was clear that the tide of African nationalism could not be stopped. Jointly, Britain and France adopted a new policy — neo-colonialism. “You can have your black President, National Flag and National Anthem — we will control your economy.”

**19.** During the 1960s there was a rapid move by Britain and France to grant “Independence” to African countries. However, in doing so, a great deal of power was given to the greedy black élite which yearned for the living standards of the European colonizers without having their organizational skills, or even the understanding of capitalism of their former masters — and, in fact, their former masters were not, for the most part really “former”. They simply receded into the background, still reaping the profits but without direct control.

**20.** As early as 1961, the African writer Frantz Fanon had this to say in the chapter *The Pitfalls of National Consciousness* in his famous book *The Wretched of the Earth*:

**“The objective of nationalist parties... is... strictly national. They mobilize the people with slogans of independence, and for the rest leave it to future events. When such parties are, questioned on the economic programme of the state that they are clamouring for... they are incapable of replying, because, precisely, they are completely ignorant of the economy of their own country.”**

**“In underdeveloped countries, we have seen that no true bourgeoisie exists; there is only a sort of little greedy caste, avid and voracious, with the mind of a huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that the former colonial power hands out to it. This get-rich-quick middle class shows itself incapable of great ideas or of inventiveness. It remembers what it has read in European textbooks and imperceptibly it becomes not even the replica of Europe, but its caricature.”**

**21.** After the granting of “Independence” to countries further north, when dealing with southern Africa the imperialists were faced with a problem. There were white settler regimes in place put there during an earlier stage of imperialism. It was obvious that they could not survive. Worse (in terms of the interests of the imperialists) in the Portuguese colonies, the liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique in particular had strong links with the underground Portuguese Communist Party — and with the Soviet Union. In South Africa, the main liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC) was strongly influenced by the underground Communist Party and was supported by the Soviet Union. In Zimbabwe, from 1962, the liberation movement, the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), had established strong links with the Soviet Union. The task, then, for the imperialists, was to replace the out-dated white settler regimes by black regimes — but not by Communists! The new rulers must be willing tools of monopoly capitalist, in particular mining interests.

**22.** Further, local southern African whites had to some degree, set up semi-autonomous economies outside of the direct control of imperialism. This was not too popular in Europe and America.

**23.** By 1965, and under pressure from the Commonwealth, Britain put sanctions against the intransigent Rhodesian Government. The imperialists were manoeuvring towards the establishment of a black neo-colonial government. The growing ties between ZAPU and the socialist world were not part of that plan; British intelligence manufactured a split in the movement, using as an excuse that the leader, Nkomo was a “member of a minority tribe”. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), ostensibly more militant, was born in 1963 and, with the assistance of the imperialist powers, was to come to power in 1980.

**24.** In 1965, the Rhodesian minority, unwilling to grant the vote to the black majority as demanded by the British government, made their “Unilateral Declaration of Independence” (UDI), and following the imposition of economic sanctions by Britain, began to build economic autonomy. True, a lot of sanctions-busting took place, but state planning and control was strengthened.

**25.** By the time the Independence of Zimbabwe came in 1980, the economy was very strong. The Rhodesian dollar (and subsequently the Zimbabwe dollar) was valued at higher than the British pound. But there was a problem in that a great deal of the African population expected to quickly achieve the living standards enjoyed by the small white minority.

**26.** It should be noted here, that 1980, the year of Zimbabwe’s Independence also marked the beginning of the neo-liberal agenda of privatization and removal of controls from the banking system; this took off world-wide when Margaret Thatcher became British Prime Minister in 1979 Ronald Reagan became US President in 1981.

**27.** This trend was further deepened by the computer revolution which facilitated the movement of money around the world and created the conditions whereby money was used to make more money rapidly and with only a loose relationship to actual production. This trend has led internationally to a few people becoming very rich in the midst of an increasing number of predatory wars started by the United States and its allies and an increase in world poverty and human trafficking.

**28.** Following Zimbabwean Independence, the Rhodesian system remained in place and during the 1980s there was a modest increase in real wages and the living standards of the African majority. There was some import substitution, but there was little innovation or infrastructural planning.

**29.** In the late 1980s we saw the first major outbreak of the “shiny disease”.

What is the “shiny disease”?

The shiny disease is the idea that we must have the latest shiny technology, whether or not it is appropriate for our specific needs. Thus, for example, the tendency is for emergent business people will buy the latest Mercedes Benz rather than a 4x4 bakkie even if their home is in a rural area without proper roads.

**30.** Nationally, it was decided that steam locomotives were too old-fashioned — despite the fact that Zimbabwe has known coal deposits that can last at least another 300 years — but does not have oil. Further, at the time of Independence in 1980, Zimbabwe was manufacturing its own steam locomotives.

**31.** National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) asked Canada for advice on how to modernize. The Canadians of course advised Zimbabwe to buy diesel locomotives from them — and also spare parts. Because of this, Zimbabwe also had to increase its import of diesel fuel. Steam locomotives are more labour intensive than diesel, but because everything connected with diesel locomotives had to be imported, they became more expensive. Zimbabwe, therefore, paid out a great deal of valuable forex in order to make Zimbabweans unemployed.

**32.** Until 1991, the Zimbabwe Dollar was not convertible outside the country. Not making one's currency available on the international market DOES create some bottlenecks. Therefore during the 1980s Zimbabwe was sometimes unable to import the constituents of toothpaste or of match-heads. Youth wanted Nike takkies rather than North Star. The idea grew that foreign made is better. There are many stories of people boasting about products purchased in other countries, only to discover that those very products were made in Zimbabwe.

**33.** In this period, the Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero proved to be efficient at his job. He was a good accountant. Unfortunately the ZANU(PF) government — ZANU was by now adding "Patriotic Front" to its name to become ZANU(PF) — did not understand the difference between accountancy and political economy. It was Chidzero who championed the neo-liberal agenda in Zimbabwe from within government. There was also pressure from the imperialist powers which had installed ZANU(PF) and Mugabe as the government of Zimbabwe. This pressure was strengthened by the fact that East European socialism was in crisis (political rather than economic).

**34.** Through a combination of these factors, Zimbabwe was pushed into the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) put together by the World Bank and the IMF. This was the real beginning of the neo-liberal agenda in Zimbabwe. Immediately both luxury goods and cheap imports poured into the shops. The ZimDollar started to rapidly decline in value. Factories closed, wage levels dropped and unemployment rose. ZANU(PF) had by this time swallowed ZAPU and the élite became ever more remote from their constituents.

**35.** Trade unionists justifiably began to discuss the formation of a labour party; but they had no funding. Simultaneously, the white farmers who had grabbed land following the 1930 Land Act, in 1994 successfully challenged a law which would have taken land away from them without compensation. Then came the Congo War; following the demise of Mobutu Sese Seko, Laurent Kabila was installed as the new President of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). He refused to follow the dictates of those who had put him there, demanding that those mining in Congo should put money back into Congo. The United States used its puppet states of Uganda and Rwanda to invade the DRC under CIA direction and with the latest US weaponry. Zimbabwe sent troops and immediately lost the support it had long enjoyed from Western imperialism. The IMF and World Bank removed funding from Zimbabwe (while continuing to fund Uganda and Rwanda). This was the first stage of sanctions, the second being the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) which became official US policy in 2001.

**36.** Towards the end of 1998, about three months after the start of the DRC War, the British diplomat and MI.6 agent Linsey called together divergent strands of the opposition and asked them to create a well-funded new party; in the following year this was to become the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), a party of militant but politically confused trade unionists, on the one hand and white farmers and other remnants of the Rhodesian Front on the other. This odd grouping came together against a united but corrupt national liberation movement in which the parasitic black bourgeoisie was becoming increasingly dominant.

**37.** One of the main players in this conundrum was the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), the main body uniting the workers but advised by Godfrey Kanyenze an employee of arch-capitalist George Soros through his virulently anti-Communist "Open Society Initiative".

**38.** Instead of organizing against sanctions and boosting production like their Rhodesian forbears, the Zimbabwe élite increased its plunder. The land occupations started by former freedom fighters in 2000 became a means for the élite to grab land for themselves, in many cases expelling the peasants who had been resettled earlier, in others treating the farm labourers on the commercial farms even worse than their former white employers.

Black empowerment became the empowerment of the élite who now wished to take over ALL white owned businesses, whether or not they had the ability to run them.

**39.** Since then, the most devastating thing that has happened economically is that the skilled workforce has been effectively expelled from Zimbabwe by the new capitalists who do not understand that in order to continue exploiting the labour power of the worker, then he must be paid regularly. A small minority have become exceedingly wealthy while the working-class goes on strike not for increased wages, but merely to be paid.

## **Section 2** **Moving Forward**

**40.** There IS a solution. We cannot hope that China or the West is going to bail out Zimbabwe while Zimbabweans stand with their arms folded. We have to rebuild our economy based on National Planning and Production. The National Plan must involve the whole population and the whole population must benefit. There must be a Development Plan in every District and in every town. There must be a Development Plan in every Province agreed by the people and linked to the National Plan. This is what we mean by Devolution of Power. Devolution must also involve the huge Zimbabwean Diaspora. Tribalism and racialism are the enemies of nation building. Our new Zimbabwe must be based on national consciousness linked to hard work.

**41.** Socialism cannot be built overnight. The building of a National Democratic Economy is the first step towards a socialist Zimbabwe. The building of a National Democratic Economy is the necessary intermediate stage between that of social production but private ownership (capitalism) and the social ownership of the means of production and social stability (socialism).

**42.** In 2009, the South African government produced a Green Paper on the question of National Planning; unfortunately, since then, most of the concepts advanced in that Green Paper have been severely undermined by predatory class interests when it comes to implementation. Nevertheless, it gives a clear idea of what has been happening internationally and is worth quoting from and an indication of the way forward:

**“The collapse of the Soviet bloc in the 80s, coupled with the mixed success of the newly independent post-colonial states saw a decline of interest in and the prestige of development planning processes. This coincided with the dominance of what became known as the Washington Consensus, a conservative approach to economic management with a limited role for the State.**

**“Paradoxically, during this period, growing attention was being paid to long term strategic planning in capitalist firms. They had also discovered that, in complex organizations, it was impossible to make meaningful use of large volumes of detailed information in conditions of substantial external uncertainty, which became evident at time scales longer than a few years.**

“However, shareholders and managers still needed to guide the evolution of their organizations. As a consequence, while formerly centrally planned nations were abandoning structured, planned state intervention, large firms, which were not subject to the same ideological constraints, continued to plan but developed new methodologies that were more appropriate to the complex and uncertain environments in which they operated.

“The success, in particular, of the East Asian countries which experienced explosive and sustained growth highlights the importance of focusing not only on the form of institutions and the capacity of the state, but also on mobilization of the public service and all of society behind a long-term vision.

“Strategic long-term planning and the institutions underpinning it should be rooted in the traditions of each society and aimed at its socio-economic imperatives.

“Clear justification and motivation existed as to why the societies of East Asia embraced certain policies and it was the underlying political and social processes that determined the form and quality of the institutions to drive growth and development. Japan felt that the only way it could be an important global player was by becoming an industrial power house. In Malaysia, inter-racial tensions, which reached their highest point in the 1960s, propelled the country to consider national strategic planning to expand the economic base, and to ensure more equitable distribution of resources and national unity. In the late 1970s and 1980s Thailand’s external security concerns were amongst the incentives for structural transformation.

“The outcomes of strategic national development planning have also been vastly different. The Philippines had a higher Gross National Product (GNP) per capita than Malaysia in the 1950s and Thailand in the 1970s. By 1990 Malaysia’s GNP per capita was three times and Thailand’s almost twice that of the Philippines even though the Philippines also set up a planning and co-ordination machinery. Instructively, in the Philippines, the core decision-making structures comprised four oversight agencies responsible for economic policy-making with little co-ordination between them. In contrast Malaysia, Thailand and South Korea have much stronger interagency co-ordination to plan and execute the development plan concentrated in the office of the head of government.

“A common striking feature of the successful states, particularly Malaysia, has been effective co-ordination and linking of the central co-ordinating agencies into the machinery of the development planning process — the Ministries of Finance, Industry and Public Service and Administration for example are closely linked to the bodies responsible for planning and implementation co-ordination in the Prime Minister’s office.”

*GREEN PAPER: Annexure 1, Lessons from International Experience*

“Lack of a coherent long term plan has weakened our ability to provide clear and consistent policies. It has limited our capacity to mobilize all of society in pursuit of our developmental objectives. It has hampered our efforts to priorities resource allocations and to drive the implementation of government’s objectives and priorities. In addition, weaknesses in co-ordination of government have led to policy inconsistencies and, in several cases, poor service delivery outcomes.”

*GREEN PAPER: Preface by Trevor Manuel (then South African Minister of Finance).*

## Section 3

### A Plan for Zimbabwe

#### National Plan

**43.** There can be no long term solution for the problems of Zimbabwe **unless production is put first**. Zimbabwe has abundant natural resources and it is the harnessing of these resources with an understanding of priorities through a national plan that there can be any national recovery. Following the lead of other countries with fast developing economies, we need to establish a National Planning Commission. It should be broad based and transparent. Provincial and District Planning Commissions should draw-up local plans in consultation with the people. In order to accomplish this we need a Draft National Plan to be drawn up by planning professionals working in conjunction with representatives of industry and trade unions as well as regional representatives.

**44.** The Draft National Plan needs to be discussed in every Ward and village. Every Town and District should have a Development Plan implemented with the assistance and oversight of a permanent, broad-based Planning Committee. Every Province must have a Provincial Plan and a permanent, broad-based Planning Commission. There must be an over-arching National Plan and a permanent, broad-based National Planning Commission. The Zimbabwean Diaspora must be involved in developing and financing the National Plan.

**45.** Planning Committees at lower levels need to be dominated by people at local level. Planning at the higher levels will require a greater input by planning professionals. However, we will need mutual sympathy between the professionals and the people who are involved directly in production. Professional planners need not be arrogant to those involved directly in production — and those involved directly in production should not have an obstructive or dismissive attitude towards the professional planners. The development of our country, Zimbabwe, must always be the priority.

**46.** In implementing the National Plan, the commanding heights of the economy should be publicly owned through parastatals or in some cases by enterprises under Provincial, Municipal or District ownership. All enterprises privatized since ESAP must be restored to public ownership.

#### Parastatals

**47.** We will need strong, efficient parastatals staffed by competent professionals recruited for their expertise and experience. Though there should be political appointees to the boards of parastatals to monitor adherence to the National Plan and to national development policies, they must be always outnumbered by appropriately trained professionals. Appointments made on the basis of nepotism or cronyism must not be allowed.

**48.** Whenever possible, parastatals should be self-contained and working for the national interest, by which we mean principally the interests of the working-class and peasantry. Parastatals should engage with the private sector locally or with foreign investors to create joint ventures only **when and where this is necessary and appropriate in the interests of efficient production**, i.e. when we need expertise either in production or distribution or the acquisition of machinery which would otherwise be unavailable. This proviso must never be abused by unscrupulous ‘business people’ with no real skills

## Banking

**49.** The first principle of banking in a restored Zimbabwe is that banking must serve productive industry and not be used to suck its life-blood and eventually destroy it. Banking and accountancy must be used to assess and regulate growing production.

**50.** It is self-evident that banking should be well regulated and under strict government supervision.

**51.** The global melt-down of 2008 was wholly caused by the corrupt US banking system.

**52.** The melt-down in Zimbabwe in 2004 was wholly caused by the corrupt Zimbabwean banking system.

**53.** All banking regulations in force in Zimbabwe prior to ESAP in 1991 must be restored with immediate effect.

**54.** In particular, the duplum rule must be re-introduced and enforced. (This forbids, even through compound interest, interest becoming more than the original sum. Thus under this rule it is unlawful to try to recover more than twice the amount of money originally loaned.)

**55.** Securitisation of loans must be banned with immediate effect.

**56.** Banks which flout the regulations must have their banking licenses revoked and their assets confiscated.

**57.** There must be harsh laws against the buying and selling of currency. Individuals engaged in illegal currency selling must be punished through the confiscation of all assets, including family houses. Churches or other institutions engaged in such activities must have all their assets confiscated and face closure.

**58.** Half of all gold produced in Zimbabwe must be kept in the country and go into the vaults of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe in order to give strength to the currency.

**59.** A strong, government-owned National Bank must be established.

**60.** Co-operative Banks should be established by the people with government assistance.

**61.** Close ties must be established with the BRICS Bank as the only credible alternative internationally recognized banking system.

**62.** In order to create a production oriented banking system geared to the needs of national economic recovery, Government must establish an expert Commission to study and report back on the banking system so that a new and effective system can be established. Foreign as well as local experts need to be recruited on to that Commission. The following need to be studied as part of the Commissions work:

**1)** The Zimbabwe banking system prior to ESAP.

**2)** The banking systems of former socialist countries (such as the USSR, Yugoslavia and Hungary) those countries following a socialist path today (Cuba, China, Vietnam) and those countries which have successfully followed a semi-independent growth strategy (Bolivia, Nicaragua, Malaysia).

- 3) The recovery of Iceland after its banking melt-down.
- 4) Islamic Banking.
- 5) Co-operative banking (especially in Brazil and Bangla Desh).
- 6) The BRICS Bank, Banco del Sud and other relatively progressive international banking organizations.

## **PLANNING PRIORITIES**

**63.** The two most basic economic priorities needed for self-sufficiency and therefore form the base for national sovereignty are food and energy. Energy includes both electricity and fuel.

**64.** Water is a major problem in Zimbabwe as rainfall has declined since Independence in 1980 while the population has grown. The problems of agriculture involve reduced rainfall just as much as chaotic land reform. However, the problem of water supply is not only about the building and maintenance of dams, it is also about pumping the water to wherever it is needed, therefore electricity supply becomes the most important single factor in infrastructural development and economic recovery.

### **On electrical power:**

**65.** The current coal-fired power stations are performing far below capacity and need refurbishing.

**66.** Hydro-electric power from Victoria Falls and Kariba Dam need to be upgraded. Kariba Dam is in danger of collapse: if this happens it will be a catastrophe not only for Zimbabwe but for Zambia and Mozambique too.

**67.** Solar Power needs to be greatly increased with factories producing both solar water-heating and solar electric panels. In the rural areas these can be used in conjunction with establishment of wood lots and the use of wood-burning stoves to reduce deforestation and the amount of time spent by women on the collection of firewood. Street lighting and traffic lights should be solar powered throughout Zimbabwe, thus reducing the need for mains electricity supply.

**68.** A gas-fired power station must be built at Lupane using the so far untapped natural gas. The use of natural gas directly can reduce the demand for electricity for domestic cooking and also for some industrial operations.

### **On liquid fuel:**

**69.** Zimbabwe has enormous coal reserves but no oil. We have the capacity to at least partially overcome our fuel problems through the following:

**70.** Putting our whole railway system back to steam (part of it is still relying on steam) thus saving a large amount of forex spent on importing diesel and also on imported diesel engines and spare parts.

**71.** There is a large low-grade coalfield in the south of Zimbabwe spreading across Matabeleland South and Masvingo Provinces but which has never been exploited. This coal is suitable for conversion into liquid fuel. This could be achieved through a deal with Sasol in South Africa which specialises in this process.

**72.** As mentioned above, there is a large untapped gas-field around Lupane in Matabeleland North. Conversion of vehicles to methane gas is a possibility which needs to be investigated.

**73.** Production of bio-fuel. This can be achieved through the following methods.

- a)** Production of ethanol from sugar. This is already being done but can be expanded.
- b)** Increased production of jatropha on marginal land. This has so far been done half-heartedly but if carried out in a systematic manner could be of major importance.
- c)** Production of high-protein algae at coal-fired power stations as in Brazil. This process has been extremely successful and has significantly reduced greenhouse gas emissions.
- d)** Increased use of bio-gas from human and animal waste. This can be done especially on large-scale farms.

**74.** Research needs to be carried out on hydrogen cell technology. This technology focuses on the splitting of water into hydrogen and oxygen and requires platinum as a catalyst. It is the hydrogen which is used as fuel. It is a very clean technology.

**75.** An integrated energy programme needs to be worked out and implemented. Without any doubt, Zimbabwe could severely reduce its energy imports and possibly eliminate them.

## Water

**76.** Water is the most essential need for daily life. But in Zimbabwe, a country which most of the time suffers water shortages, there is little real planning. Dams exist but are not properly maintained and frequently we find dams which contain water but without means of utilising that water.

**77.** There are three major water programmes in the dry provinces of Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and Masvingo as well as the Metropolitan Province of Bulawayo which need completion. These are the Matabeleland-Zambezi Water Project, in particular the Gwayi-Shangani Dam which affects Matabeleland north and Bulawayo. The Nuanetsi Scheme in Masvingo Province which needs the Tokwa Dam to be completed in order to be functional. The Matabeleland South Water Project, which is almost unknown, would connect existing dams as well as build two new ones to create a pipeline for agriculture in Zimbabwe's driest Province

**78.** In the north of the country, the people of Harare and Chitungwiza face water-borne disease with sewerage running into their drinking water. The disgusting state of the water in the capital city of Zimbabwe is a national disgrace. In Chitungwiza people go for days without any water at all and then are faced with a brown, smelly liquid which the authorities refer to as 'water'.

**79.** The creation of a National Water Plan is clearly a priority for Zimbabwe, both for the development of industry and for the health and well-being of the people.

## AGRICULTURE

**80.** The recent history of Zimbabwe has highlighted the central importance of agriculture in the economy of our country. However, in condemning the anarchic incompetence and inability of the ZANU(PF) government to carry out a land reform programme which is both just and productive, and the greed of the parasitic black bourgeoisie in grabbing the best land for itself, we should not forget the historical conditions under which this happened:

**81.** Under the 1930 Land Apportionment Act and a number of subsequent acts, (none of which made any fundamental change to the 1930 original), the Rhodesian Government divided the land into two, the white minority not only receiving approximately the same amount of land as the black majority, but also receiving the bulk of the best agricultural land. Following forced removals of the historic owners, the white minority then proceeded to create laws and give themselves title deeds to that land.

**82.** Following Independence in 1980, the white farmers, many of them owning multiple farms, with 1000 hectares representing only an average sized farm, consistently opposed any compromise on the question of land reform, despite the fact that only 40% of their land was being fully utilized.

**83.** The culmination of this was, the British Government through their surrogate organization in Zimbabwe the MDC, opposed the Draft Constitution of 2000 because of its land reform clause, despite the fact that that same constitution limited the term of office of the President, liberalized citizenship laws and guaranteed the rights of women amongst other progressive reforms. The defeat of this democratic constitution precipitated the direct action by war veterans and others who had waited 20 years to see the fruits of their struggle.

**84.** Nevertheless, the white farmers were generally competent at their job and the programme of removing them totally from the land was both wrong and foolish, more especially given the fact that the defeat of US backed forces in DRC and Angola provoked a furious response in terms of political and economic destabilization characterized by the ‘Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act’ passed by the US Senate, but in fact going far beyond mere sanctions. Such situations require the maximum national integrated effort, especially with regard to food production. After the initial land occupations, many white farmers demonstrated their willingness to co-operate with government. Fair treatment of those who co-operated would have encouraged many others to follow suit and the underlying current for national unity against foreign interference could have been a springboard for independent economic growth and development rather than its opposite.

**85.** Distribution of land has been even more skewed. Generally, A2 farmers representing those from the over-crowded communal lands and the more serious of the war veterans have, with their limited resources been more successful than the A1 farmers who are typically ‘businessmen’ living in town for whom farming is a hobby conducted by the occasional phone call to the ‘farm manager’, in most cases an under-paid and under-qualified poor relative.

**86.** For the most part, the real producers on the farms, the experienced farm labourers, many of them of Malawian or Mozambican origin, have been left out of the equation. When applying for land, they have been told that they are foreigners, and in most cases, when they have remained on the farms, their truly awful former white employers have been replaced by others who are far worse. The result is that many have returned to their countries of origin, others have simply become destitute.

**87.** There has for years been a lack of agricultural planning. Although the drier provinces of Matabeleland North and South and Masvingo have been advised to grow small grains rather than maize, government has continued to wastefully give out maize-seed packs and fertilizer. The growing of small grains has been encouraged only locally and spasmodically without any overall plan. Production of crops specifically adapted to dry land, pigeon peas and cassava for example is almost non-existent. Despite the exorbitant cost of insecticides and chemical fertilizers, organic farming methods are virtually unknown.

**88.** Meat production has concentrated on beef. The excellent work by the Matopos Research Station in commercial goat production has hardly moved outside the Station. Commercial production of eland and impala has hardly been touched; ostrich production has been systematically destroyed.

**89.** Agricultural estates, responsible for efficient production of sugar, tea, citrus fruit, coffee and other products have wholly or partly given to small individual producers, as has some Forestry Commission land with disastrous consequences for production.

**90.** Since Independence, successive drought, even before 2000 had a negative impact on agriculture, yet Zimbabwe has not been able to boast of a comprehensive irrigation policy. Sanctions have largely interfered with funding of the two major irrigation schemes, the Matabeleland- Zambezi Water Project and the Nuanetsi Scheme.

### **The Way Forward in Agriculture**

**91.** There are seven basic problems to be tackled if we are to have efficient agricultural production coupled with the improvement of the lives of those living in the rural areas:

**92.** Correction of the mismanaged land redistribution.

**93.** Expansion and streamlining of irrigation schemes.

**94.** Serious technical planning of production taking into account the food needs of the population, export production and local conditions of soil and climate.

**95.** A charter to safeguard the rights of agricultural workers.

**96.** Skills training in agriculture at different levels including in situ training for peasant farmers.

**97.** Special planning for communal lands in conjunction with their communities.

### **98. Land Distribution**

Unless those that are managing the land are competent, or at least enthusiastic and willing to learn the necessary skills, agricultural production cannot be achieved. Those who have been responsible for disrupting production and terrorizing agricultural communities must be dealt with urgently. This includes undisciplined elements in the police and the army.

**99.** An impartial land audit needs to take place. Those not using land or seriously under-utilizing land need to be removed. Those white farmers deprived of all their land should be rehabilitated on the “one man – one farm” basis. Land must be made available to all Zimbabweans serious about farming regardless of ethnic background. As far as possible, although productive ability must be the first criterion, strong consideration should be given to prioritise people who belong to the area where land redistribution is taking place.

**100.** Those agro-industrial estates which have been sub-divided must be re-united. Where possible the old management must be restored. However, in terms of ownership, the old owners should have 49% of shares, the employees, divided into the three categories of management, supervisors and technicians, and workers should collectively own 20% of the shares (an employee receiving his share after 1 years employment and surrendering it when leaving – but retaining it on retirement). 8% should be owned by the district, 8% by the province and 15% by the national government. In this way, the needs of effective management, genuine indigenization, motivation of the work force and devolution of power are all met. Forestry Commission land should be restored and even extended.

**101. Irrigation:** See ‘Water’ above.

Irrigation is absolutely necessary for intensive large scale crop production. However, where irrigation is not available, the use of dry-land crops must be encouraged. The provision of maize seed to dry areas without irrigation is a ridiculous waste.

**102. Technical Planning**

Innovative and serious technical planning needs to be carried out, which will encourage maximum land use according to availability of water in the form of rainfall or irrigation, soil-type and terrain. The “mombes and mealies” mentality must be overcome, as must reliance on expensive agricultural chemicals. Large scale production of wheat must be encouraged so that Zimbabwe becomes self-sufficient in wheat-flour and bread. Nutritious traditional small-grains should be encouraged particularly in the drier areas and milling, packaging and advertising must be established to encourage their consumption. Potato farming can play an important role in irrigated areas and produce an alternative starch crop. Commercial goat farming is highly profitable and there is a huge untapped export market in Muslim countries. Commercial production of game meat also has a very good export potential as does the rehabilitation of the ostrich industry. Establishment of jatropha and other forms of forestry on marginal land also needs to be part of the plan. Those innovations which have been tested and found to be effective need to be implemented immediately. At the same time, experimental farms should be established and the mechanism put in place which will implement all those innovations which will assist sustainable agriculture.

**103. Agricultural Workers**

Agricultural workers are some of the poorest and most exploited people in Zimbabwe. They have benefited nothing from the liberation struggle, yet they have toiled to produce food for the nation. It is essential that this situation comes to an end. Zimbabwe cannot allow any of its people to be clothed in rags and live in poverty. Further to that, if we are to encourage skilled and hard working people to remain in our rural areas and build agricultural production, they must be well paid and enjoy a comfortable living standard. It is a well-known fact that people who are properly looked-after are far more productive than those who are not.

**104.** The Communist Party must fight to establish an Agricultural Workers’ Charter in collaboration with the appropriate Trade Unions and other bona fide representatives of the workers. This Charter should include rights to a minimum wage, decent housing, clean water, electricity (mains or solar), education, pensions, security, Zimbabwean citizenship and any other demands coming from the workers themselves.

## **105. Communal Lands**

Development projects need to be developed on our communal lands, normally in conjunction with the traditional leadership of the area. Those projects, as with those for agricultural labourers, will bring clean water, electricity and decent housing to those areas – but they must also become productive and self-sustaining, not depending on hand-outs

**106.** When we deal with such communities, we must make sure that no group is subservient to another, and that each ethnic group or sub-group has its own leadership. For instance, the small San groups on the western border do not have any leadership recognized by government and are subservient to local Kalanga chiefs. Similar conditions exist elsewhere in the country for other oppressed minorities.

**107.** Communal projects will differ considerably according to local conditions and traditions.

## **Co-operative and Collective and State Farming**

**108.** Co-operative buying and selling must be encouraged for individual peasant farmers and for commercial farmers.

**109.** Peasant farmers must not be at the mercy of greedy transport operators who buy their produce cheaply and sell at an inflated price. Communities need to own transport on a co-operative basis.

**110.** Dairibord, Cotton Marketing Board and Farmers' Co-op must return to co-operative ownership.

**111.** The Zimbabwe Project must be re-established to assist the re-establishment of collective farms and this must be facilitated by government.

**112.** Where possible and necessary, such as in the Nuanetsi scheme, government must establish state farms. In some cases government should take over agro-industrial estates.

## **MINERALS**

**113.** The first principle to be understood is that the minerals of Zimbabwe are the common property of its people.

**114.** The second principle is that the people of the province and the district in which those minerals are found have preference of interest over those from other parts of the country.

**115.** The third is that having understood the first two, any mining company, local or foreign, which can provide the expertise to mine those minerals and to market them, will, once a contract is signed, have those rights and terms secured by government, without interference for the duration of that contract.

**116.** In furtherance of these principles, the standard outline form of agreement should be as follows. Negotiation around these fundamentals being allowed.

**117.** Within a maximum 10 year period, ownership of any mining venture should be shared by the Zimbabwean people and a commercial mining company in the overall ratio 51% to 49%.

**118.** The Zimbabwean interest should be divided in the ratio of 31% to government, 20% to the employees.

**119.** In line with the policy of devolution of power, the government owned proportion should be divided thus: 15% ownership should be controlled by national government, and 16% by local government. This should be further broken down so that 8% goes to the provincial government and 8% to the district.

**120.** The share going to the employees should be sub-divided in three, 50% going to the general workforce, 30% to middle-management and technical staff, 20% to senior management. The shares would be equally divided according to category and be given to those who had at least one year's service. Shares would be surrendered on leaving the company except for those retiring from the company. Shares would also be made available to the families of those dying whilst in company service. This policy would give a degree of control, responsibility, pride and motivation to the workforce. It would also add to the programme of devolution, putting money back into the community and creating stability.

**121.** Interest for potential investors would be created through a ten year induction period. In the first two years the investor would have total control. The collective Zimbabwean share would rise to 25% in the next four years, 33% in the following four years rising to 51% after 19 years. The investor would not be taxed and would have freedom to repatriate his money. Contracts would be for ten years at a time. Should there be a move by an investor to pull out prior to accepting a 49% share, government would retain the right to nationalize completely with the total shareholding within the nation being divided as above.

**122.** Government would retain the right to buy shares on the open market of mining companies operating in Zimbabwe.

**123.** Closure of mines must be followed by rehabilitation of land and establishment of new industry for the community, which should be built into the programme.

**124.** A mining parastatal must be established in Zimbabwe quickly but not hastily. It must be led by people who have a combination of skill, dedication, honesty and devotion to the concept of having an efficient, nationally-owned company in which the workers have a share and which co-operates with the local people wherever it operates.

## **SECONDARY INDUSTRY**

**125.** It has been frequently pointed out that we should add value to products before exporting; that we should endeavour to export finished goods rather than raw materials. This concept is not wrong. However, we cannot make finished products without firstly paying attention to the problem of the energy needed to produce it, which has been dealt with earlier in this document; secondly we need to properly develop secondary industry, particularly with regard to minerals. For instance, we have iron, nickel and chrome, but we do not produce stainless steel – before we can produce ball-bearings and stainless steel pots, we must be able to produce stainless steel. Before we can weave cotton cloth we need to spin the cotton. We must aim to be as self-sufficient as possible as a nation so that never again can sanctions bring us to our knees: to achieve this, we need to prioritize, to understand the steps needed to get to where we are going and not to do things haphazardly.

## MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

**126.** Some large scale companies – Zisco-Steel, Tregers, should be largely under government control. However, it is in the manufacturing sector that private initiative can play an important role, especially where import substitution or export is concerned. Those with innovative ideas must be encouraged to develop those ideas. Venture capital must be made available to such people. Our universities and research institutes must be empowered to help those who wish to bring their ideas into commercial usage. In the past, innovative ideas, such as those developed by the Building Research Institute in Harare and the Matopos Research Station have either been ignored or actively blocked by government officials and even ministers. We need pro-active officials who see their job as facilitators of economic growth rather than as blockers. Those who are not interested in performing must be dismissed. Those who actively misuse their positions for private gain must be either imprisoned or stripped of their illegally gained property.

**127.** Like in agriculture, industry can only grow if the workforce is properly remunerated. As stated in our introduction, those skilled Zimbabweans effectively expelled by ‘indigenous entrepreneurs’ with the collusion of the ZANU(PF) government, need to be offered reasonable remuneration, conditions and stability in order that they may return home. Without them there can be no growth. Wage and salary settlements should grow with the economy. They must NEVER fall below the annual inflation rate. A steady rise in real wages for the working-class actually stimulates the economy. Unlike the bosses, they are more likely to spend their money on locally produced goods than on expensive imported commodities, and are more likely to save their money for the future, if they have a surplus to save. People who have worked hard for their money are far less likely to squander it than those who have had windfalls of unearned income. Policies must be put in place to ensure this. Therefore a social contract is needed, but not one which sub-ordinates the interests of the workers to capitalist greed and short-sightedness – rather one that will ensure a steady rise in the living standards of the workers whilst maintaining uninterrupted production.

**128.** No-strike agreements can be made in return for workers receiving a substantial part of company profits, membership of boards of directors and access to company accounts. Workers’ organizations should also be engaged in buying shares which are then co-operatively owned and managed by the workers of that company.

## COMMUNICATIONS

**129.** In the past, enormous sums of money were spent to maintain the prestige status of Air Zimbabwe when rural untarred roads could not even be graded. Though a huge amount needs to be achieved in the communications sector, priorities need to be established in line with the general economic growth plan

**130.** Zimbabwe needs a national road-building programme linked to economic growth. Proper maintenance of rural roads must be the priority in terms of the communication structure. Regular grading of untarred roads must take place as must the extension of the tarred road network. Innovative methods of road-making must also be investigated. In the past, most of the wealth of Zimbabwe has been produced in the countryside, through mining and agriculture but has been consumed in the towns and cities. This parasitic arrangement needs to end in order for rapid growth to take place.

**131.** As discussed in the section on energy, we need a massive renewal of the railways. Because of the ability of railways to move huge bulk cargoes by rail cheaply and efficiently with minimum fuel usage, they are expanding again worldwide. In many cases, including Zimbabwe, private road hauliers have in the past deliberately and corruptly persuaded governments not to invest in their rail systems. National Railways of Zimbabwe needs a nationally owned road service section which will ferry goods from railway stations to their destinations.

**132.** It is very important to improve rail links to all the surrounding countries. Most important of all is the link to the port of Beira. It is also very important is to create new links to Angola and DRC in conjunction with SADC.

**133.** Passenger transport should also concentrate on increased rail transport. Within the bigger cities, particularly Harare and Chitungwiza, we need to look at an internal rail network which may be conventional, underground, monorail or a combination of all three. A few years ago, the attempt to reintroduce ZUPCO buses nationally was welcomed by all the travelling public. Its sabotage by ministers was both a tragedy and a reminder of the depths of corruption to which the ZANU(PF) government had sunk. An affordable, subsidized public transport system exists in every major city in the world. Subsidized public transport is an incentive for private vehicle owners to keep out of the city centre, thus avoiding congestion and lessening wear and tear on roads.

**134.** Private transport operators must keep their vehicles roadworthy and ensure that their drivers are properly trained and keep to the rules of the road, particularly with regard to speeding. The argument that “they are indigenous and we mustn’t be too hard on them” does not hold water. The people they murder through their recklessness are also indigenous. Those who habitually avoid regulations must have their licenses removed.

**135.** Posts and telecommunications must be returned to public ownership and an integrated system re-established. The nationally owned cell-phone service provider should keep its rates moderate, and the two alternative providers will be forced to keep their rates moderate.

**136.** Though air travel is not the immediate priority, it is still important especially for the tourist industry. At this point in time, functioning and efficient airports are more important than maintaining a national airline. The establishment of a regional, SADC airline should be pursued. It has been discussed in the past but not implemented. This is an area where private enterprise might play a role. The success of Etihad and Emirates Airlines in the Gulf should be studied and, if possible, emulated.

## GOVERNMENT

**137.** The focus of government must be on economic recovery. The size of government, whether of cabinet, Members of Parliament, local councillors, civil servants or local government officers is secondary. There efficiency, focus and relevance to the task at hand is primary.

**138.** Government which is too large and unfocussed is merely ‘jobs for the boys’ and a burden on the productive sector of society. Government which is too small and has minimal control is profoundly undemocratic as it reduces the power of the people through their elected representatives and hands it to the sharks and criminals who buy, sell and manipulate without constraint.

**139.** Size, then, must be related to function and performance. We do not need a ‘Minister for Political Affairs’. But if it is decided that in the all important Ministry of Energy that two or even three Deputy Ministers **with specific functions** are needed to organize the energy needs of Zimbabwe within a given time frame, then it must be done.

**140.** Every minister must be given a performance contract or go. The same goes for every government employee down to the office cleaner.

**141.** Remuneration of MPs, ministers, civil servants and the President himself must be related to the salaries and wages of the Zimbabwean people as a whole. Annual increases must be based on a formula which relates to the percentage increases in a basket of salary increases found in Zimbabwean Industry. Ministerial cars must be at least assembled in Zimbabwe. Professionals working for government should be paid in line with salaries found generally in their profession. When travelling around the country, or to other countries, expenses must be modest as must hotel accommodation. All government and local government departments must have audited accounts, with criminal penalties for those who fail to provide them. Most of all, civil servants should stop behaving as the people who say ‘no’, and see themselves as the facilitators of growth and national recovery.

## THE CLASS NATURE OF THIS PROGRAMME

**142.** Because of the specific problems of Zimbabwe, because of the almost total destruction of the economy by the parasitic black bourgeoisie, we have the situation where most of the working-class is either involved in the informal economy or is in exile. At this stage there is no possibility for immediate socialism, but the demand for National Planning and return to a form of economy that was in place prior to ESAP is attractive to most Zimbabweans regardless of class.

**143.** Therefore this programme is a multi-class programme of a kind originally espoused by the national liberation movements rather than by the Communist Parties. The almost total take-over of the liberation movements by the black-parasitic bourgeoisie has meant that this intermediate stage of development between capitalism and socialism must now be led by Communists. However, we must be mindful of the errors of the past. We must be mindful of the dangers of a multi-class programme — even though it is the only way forward at the present time. We must also be mindful of the dual nature of the African struggle. Our Communist Party is made up of both former members of ZANU(PF) and former members of MDC.

**144.** The ZANU(PF) government has frequently adopted a principled stand against imperialism, especially with regard to the Congo War of 1998-2003. Many of the positions of the ZANU(PF) government, such as on the question of democratization of the United Nations are still anti-imperialist and in line with what we think as Communists. But at home, that government and that party are totally under the control of the parasitic black bourgeoisie which has plundered the economy and impoverished the people.

**145.** MDC, or the idea for MDC came in the mid-1990s after the effects of ESAP began to seriously affect the living standards of the working-class. They opposed corruption in the ruling party and put forward the idea of the creation of a Labour Party.

But who was going to fund them?

Following the fall out with the imperialist centre following Zimbabwe’s intervention in the DRC, opposition forces which involved the working-class on one side and old white Rhodesian capital on the other came together to form the MDC. Instead of a programme which would advance working-class interests, there was a totally neo-liberal programme of ‘minimum government and foreign investment’ put in its place.

**146.** We as African Communists must, therefore, advance the concept of the Dual Struggle — Against Imperialism — Against the Parasitic Black Bourgeoisie — for an autonomous National Democratic Economy and a prosperous Zimbabwe, a prosperous Africa.

**147.** But because of the dangers of the hi-jacking of this multi-class programme, we as Communists must make sure that the working-class and the peasantry lead this process, because the next phase is Socialism. There will still be class-struggle. Whether or not the transition from a National Democratic economy to a Socialist economy is relatively smooth or requires a militant or even violent revolution will depend on the strength of the working-class and the leadership of the Zimbabwe Communist Party,

*Some of the specific developmental ideas in this document have now been implemented by government, or have begun to be implemented; there may also be other features of this document which are now out-dated or will become out-dated with time. Comrades may propose amendments to the document. These can be discussed by the National Steering Committee for incorporation. We must always keep up with changes.*

*However, the core concept of the document, that of National Planning linked to Devolution of Power to the People — that is the building of a people-driven National Democratic Economy can only be changed by our Congress at the end of 2019 if Congress, the highest decision-making body of the Zimbabwe Communist Party, so wishes.*

*Please submit any proposed amendments to [ianbeddowes@gmail.com](mailto:ianbeddowes@gmail.com) for presentation to the NSC.*

# 200 YEARS SINCE THE BIRTH OF KARL MARX

## Biographical Sketch

by V.I. Lenin



Young Karl Marx

Karl Marx was born on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1818, in the city of Trier, Rhenish Prussia<sup>1</sup>. His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from a Gymnasium<sup>2</sup> in Trier, Marx entered the university, first at Bonn and later in Berlin, where he read law, majoring in history and philosophy. He concluded his university course in 1841, submitting a doctoral thesis on the philosophy of Epicurus<sup>3</sup>. At the time Marx was a Hegelian idealist in his views. In Berlin, he belonged to the circle of Left Hegelians (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusion from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating, Marx moved to Bonn, hoping to become a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government, which deprived Ludwig Feuerbach of his chair in 1832, refused to allow him to return to the university in 1836 and in 1841 forbade young Professor Bruno Bauer<sup>4</sup> to lecture at Bonn, made Marx abandon the idea of an academic career. Left Hegelian views were making rapid headway in Germany at the time. Feuerbach began to criticize theology, particularly after 1836, and turn to materialism, which in 1841 gained ascendancy in his philosophy, as in his work *The Essence of Christianity*.

The year 1843 saw the appearance of his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*.

**“One must oneself have experienced the liberating effect of these books,”** Engels subsequently wrote of these works of Feuerbach, “we [i.e. the Left Hegelians, including Marx] **all became at once Feuerbachians.**”

At that time, some radical bourgeois in the Rhineland, who were in touch with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper called *Rheinische Zeitung* (The first issue appeared on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1842). Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne. The newspaper's revolutionary-democratic trend became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship, and the government first imposed double and triple censorship on the paper, and then on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1843 decided to suppress it. Marx had to resign the editorship before that date, but his resignation did not save the paper, which suspended publication in March 1843. Of the major articles Marx contributed to *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels notes in particular an article on the condition of peasant wine-growers in the Mosel Valley<sup>5</sup>.

Marx's journalistic activities convinced him that he was insufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it. In 1843, Marx married, at Kreuznach, a childhood friend he had become engaged to while still a student. His wife came of a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility, her elder brother being Prussia's Minister of the Interior during a most reactionary period — 1850-1858. In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical journal abroad, together with Left Hegelian Arnold Ruge (1802-1880), who was in prison 1825-1830, a political exile following 1848, and a Bismarckian<sup>6</sup> after 1866-1870. Only one issue of this journal, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, appeared, publication was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secretly distributing it in Germany, and to disagreement with Ruge. Marx's articles in this journal showed that he was already a revolutionary who advocated merciless criticism of everything existing, and in particular the '**criticism by weapon**'<sup>7</sup>, and appealed to the **masses** and to the **proletariat**.

In September 1844, Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time on became Marx's closest friend. They both took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris. Of particular importance at the time was Proudhon's<sup>8</sup> doctrine, which Marx pulled to pieces in his *Poverty of Philosophy* (1847); waging a vigorous struggle against the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary **proletarian socialism**, or communism. At the insistent request of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris in 1845, as a dangerous revolutionary. He then went to Brussels.

In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League<sup>9</sup>; they took a prominent part in the League's Second Congress (London, November 1847), at whose request they drew up the celebrated *Communist Manifesto*, which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-concept, consistent with materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat — the creation of a new, communist society.

On the outbreak of the Revolution of February 1848<sup>10</sup> Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March Revolution<sup>11</sup> he went to Cologne, Germany, where *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*<sup>12</sup> was published from 1<sup>st</sup> June 1848, to 19<sup>th</sup> May 1849, with Marx as editor-in-chief. The new theory was splendidly confirmed by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-1849, just as it has been subsequently confirmed by all proletarian and democratic movements in all countries of the world. The victorious counter-revolution first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1849), and then banished him from Germany (16<sup>th</sup> May 1849). Marx first went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of 13<sup>th</sup> June 1849<sup>13</sup> and then went to London, where he lived until his death.

His life as a political exile was a very hard one, as the correspondence between Marx and Engels (published in 1913) clearly reveals. Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family; had it not been for Engels constant and selfless financial aid, Marx would not only have been unable to complete *Capital* but would have inevitably have been crushed by want. Moreover, the prevailing doctrines and trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, and of non-proletarian socialism in general, forced Marx to wage a continuous and merciless struggle and sometimes to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks, as with his pamphlet, *Herr Vogt* (1860)<sup>14</sup>. Marx, who stood aloof from circles of political exiles, developed his materialist theory in a number of historical works, devoting himself mainly to a study of political economy. Marx revolutionized scientific analysis in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* Volume I (1867).

The revival of the democratic movements in the late fifties and in the sixties recalled Marx to practical activity. On 28<sup>th</sup> September 1864, the International Working Men's Association (IWMA)<sup>15</sup>, the celebrated First International, was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organization, and author of its first Address and of a host of resolutions, declaration and manifestoes. In uniting the labour movement of various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassalleian vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.)<sup>16</sup> and in combatting the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working in the various countries. Following the downfall of the Paris Commune (1871)<sup>17</sup> — of which he gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant **effective** and revolutionary analysis in *The Civil War In France* (1871) — and the Bakunin-caused cleavage in the International, the latter organization could no longer exist in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872), Marx had the General Council of the International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in **scope**, and **mass** socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed.

Marx's health was undermined by his strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous theoretical occupations. He continued work on the refashioning of political economy and on the completion of *Capital*, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance). However, ill-health prevented him from completing *Capital*.

His wife died on 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1881 and on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1883, Marx passed away peacefully in his armchair. He lies buried next to his wife at Highgate Cemetery in London. Of Marx's children some died in childhood in London, when the family were living in destitute circumstances. Three daughters married English and French socialists: Eleanor Aveling, Laura Lafargue and Jenny Longuet. The latter's son is a member of the French Socialist Party.

## Notes

**1. RHENISH PRUSSIA:** Before Germany became united, the Kingdom of Prussia in the North East of Germany began to gain control of other small states; Rhenish Prussia was that portion of the Prussian Kingdom lying along the River Rhine in the west of Germany.

**2. GYMNASIUM:** A private secondary school which prepared pupils for university.

**3. EPICURUS (341-270 BCE):** Greek materialist philosopher. In his doctoral thesis, written at the age of 23, Marx compares the work of Epicurus with that of Democritus an earlier materialist philosopher. Quoting Epicurus, he says:

**“The wise man takes a dogmatic, not a sceptical; position” — Yes exactly! — For this is what makes him superior to all others, that he knows with conviction.”**

A few lines later, Marx adds:

**“While Democritus turns the sensuous world into subjective semblance, Epicurus turns it into objective appearance.”**

Karl Marx, *The Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature* (1841): MECW Vol.1 pp.39, 40

**4. BRUNO BAUER (1809-1882):** A follower of Hegel, who, together with his brother Edgar (1820-1886), became the leader of the Young Hegelians and tutored and befriended Marx in the period 1839-1841. Though Bauer's views turned away from Hegel's concept of the World Spirit and towards atheism, Marx began to despise the pretentious attitudes of the group and their remoteness from real life. He and Engels mercilessly attacked the Bauer brothers in their book *The Holy Family* published in 1845: MECW Vol.4

**5. Karl Marx, *Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel* (1843): MECW Vol.1**

**6. BISMARCKIAN:** Supporter of Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898). Bismarck dominated German politics from 1862-1890. As chancellor of Prussia he united Germany under the Hohenzollern dynasty in 1871, becoming Chancellor of the German Empire (The Second Reich). He also implemented the anti-socialist law, banning the Social Democratic Party, workers' organizations and the socialist press.

7. Karl Marx, *Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (1844): MECW Vol.3 p.182. The full passage reads:

**"The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapon, material force must be overthrown by a material force; but theory too becomes a material force as soon as it grips the masses."**

8. PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON (1809-1865): Often seen as the father of anarchism; he criticized big capital from a petty-bourgeois position and dreamed of perpetuating small private ownership. He proposed the foundation of people's banks through which the workers would acquire the means of production as handcraftsmen. Proudhon displayed a negative attitude to the class struggle, proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; as an anarchist he denied the need for the state. Marx subjected Proudhon's ideas in *The Philosophy of Poverty* (1847) to ruthless criticism in his book *The Poverty of Philosophy* in the same year. See MECW Vol.6.

9. THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE (1847-1852): The first international communist organization. Founded in 1836 as a German secret society, 'The League of the Just', Marx and Engels joined early in 1847. In June of that year the League had a congress in London, it was re-named 'The Communist League' and its hazy slogan "**All Men are Brothers**" was replaced by the militant internationalist slogan:

**"Workers of All Countries Unite!"**

The aims of the Communist League were the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the old bourgeois society based on class antagonisms, and the establishment of a new society in which there would be neither classes nor private property. In November and December of 1847 the Second Congress of the Communist League was convened, and, on the instructions of the Congress, Marx and Engels wrote the historic *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in February 1848. The Communist League remained in existence until 1852, becoming the predecessor of the International Working Men's Association (First International) founded in 1864.

[For more information read Frederick Engels, *On the History of the Communist League* (1885): MECW Vol.26.]

10. The reference is to the bourgeois revolution in France in February 1848.

11. The reference is to the bourgeois revolution in Germany and Austria which began in March 1848.

12. *DIE NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG [THE NEW RHEINISH GAZETTE]*: Published in Cologne from 1<sup>st</sup> June 1848 to 19<sup>th</sup> May 1849. Marx and Engels directed the newspaper, Marx being its editor-in-chief. Lenin called it "**The best, the unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat.**" It closed when Marx was deported from Prussia and its other editors persecuted.

[Articles from *Rheinische Zeitung*, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* may be found in MECW Vols.3, 7, 8, 9, 10]

13. The reference is to the mass demonstration in Paris organized by the Montagne, the party of the petty-bourgeoisie, in protest against the infringement by the President and the majority in the Legislative Assembly of the constitutional order established in the revolution of 1848. The demonstration was dispersed by the government.

14. KARL VOGT (1817-1895): a 'left-wing' German politician who made scathing personal attacks on Marx. He was later proven to be in the pay of the reactionary Napoleon III who ruled the Second Empire in France 1852-1870.

**15. INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION (IWMA):** Also known as the First International, it existed from 1864-1876. Following the January Uprising in Poland in 1863 French and British workers started to discuss developing a closer working relationship. In September, 1864, some French delegates again visited London with the concrete aim of setting up a special committee for the exchange of information upon matters of interest to the workers of all lands. A great international meeting for the reception of the French delegates took place and the meeting unanimously decided to found an international organization of workers. The IWMA was to reach a membership of 5-8 million at its height. Marx was a member of its General Council for its entire existence and its guiding figure. He was often in conflict with various sectarian trends within the Association, particularly the anarchists led by Bakunin. However it laid the foundation of an international organization of the workers for the preparation of their revolutionary onslaught on capital.

After the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871, it became clear that it was necessary for each country to form a mass party based on the principles laid down by the IWMA

**"As I view European conditions it is quite useful to let the formal organization of the International to recede into the background for the time being."**

Karl Marx, Letter to F.A. Sorge 27<sup>th</sup> September 1873: MECW Vol.44 p.535

The IWMA was officially disbanded in 1876 at a conference in Philadelphia, USA.

## **16. VARIOUS FORMS OF PRE-MARXIST SOCIALISM:**

**MAZZINI:** Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) Italian patriot who played a major role in the unification of Italy. He made contact with the IWMA at its formation but was not a revolutionary socialist and soon parted company.

**PROUDHON:** See Note 8.

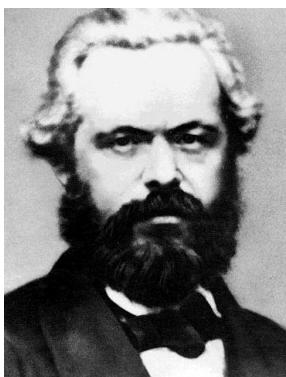
**BAKUNIN:** Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin (1814-1876). The most important anarchist thinker after Proudhon, he came from an aristocratic Russian background. He joined the IWMA in 1868 and became a destructive influence.

**"...according to Bakunin, the International was not formed for politic I struggle but in order that it might at once replace the old machinery of state when social liquidation occurs, it follows that it must come as near as possible to the Bakuninist ideal of future society. In this society there will above all be no authority, for authority = state = evil in the absolute."**

Frederick Engels, *Letter to Theodore Cuno*, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1872: MECW Vol.44 p.307

**LASSALLEAN:** Reference to Ferdinand Lasalle (1825-1864). Founder of the General Association of German Workers in 1863. Lasalle was the leader of a reformist trend in German socialism which believed that revolution was unnecessary and dangerous and that all reform could come through the existing state. He was much criticized by Marx and Engels. His party later became absorbed into the German Social Democratic Party.

**17. PARIS COMMUNE:** The workers in Paris seized power following the war between France and Prussia and set up the first workers' government anywhere in the world, it lasted for 60 days from March to May 1871. It was put down with extreme ferocity; between 20,000 and 50,000 workers being shot and many more being transported for forced labour in the French colonies.



Karl Marx

## 170 YEARS SINCE THE LAUNCH OF THE *MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY*



Frederick Engels

The publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1848 marks the beginning of the modern revolutionary epoch of which we are still a part. The tiny group which formed the Communist League in 1847 is now a huge movement with millions of members and supporters and with organization of some sort in nearly every country of the world. Millions more who would not profess to be called communists are nevertheless profoundly influenced by that body of opinion now known as Scientific Socialism or Marxism-Leninism. That theory first launched itself into the world through the publication of *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Proletarian Revolution, National Democratic Revolution, the building of socialist economies or of intermediate economies leading to socialism are no longer matters of theory and speculation — they are now practical matters around which there is a wealth of experience both positive and negative.

The movement has had its triumphs: the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, the victory over fascism in 1945, the triumph of the Communist Party of China in 1949, the victory of the Fidelistas in Cuba in 1959 and the victory of the Vietnamese people over US imperialism in 1975.

It has had its failures and tragedies: the slaughter of Indonesian Communists in 1965 and the European Counter-Revolution of the late 1980s leading to the destruction of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia as countries.

Despite these serious setbacks, we have since experienced the rejection of US domination by Latin America starting with the election of President Hugo Chavez in Venezuela in 1999 and continuing with the election of progressive governments aligned to the Republic of Cuba and supported by their local Communist Parties throughout that continent. Most importantly, these governments have boosted their economies and considerably reduced poverty. Monopoly Capitalism has meanwhile sunk into its most severe crisis since the 1930s and has no obvious way in which it can solve that crisis.

In Africa, it has been increasingly clear that a flag, a national anthem and a black president in each country will not resolve the problems of poverty and inequality. The imperialists in their greed for the raw materials of Africa have, to their delight, discovered African élites that are not only easily corruptible but are eager to be corrupted. In a few cases, like Zimbabwe, there has been a difference of opinion between the corrupt neo-colonialists and the corrupt indigenous ‘entrepreneurs’ over the division of the plundered wealth. It has become painfully obvious that those who talk about Marxism as an imported un-African ideology have been proved to be nothing but romantic windbags remote from the daily life of the African majority — of which they claim to be part by virtue of their skin colour. Du Bois, the founder of pan-Africanism and Nkrumah, its greatest practitioner never hid their debt to the theory of Scientific Socialism. Kotane in southern Africa led the process which indigenized the ideology of Marx and Engels and their great successor, Lenin, welding it into a weapon that would successfully direct the forces which would defeat apartheid in South Africa and profoundly influence the liberation movements in the surrounding countries. The liberation of Africa, then, starts with the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

Marx and Engels had both been philosophy students in the 1830s studying the work of the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel whose brilliant work on dialectics had been updated and revolutionized by his successor, Ludwig Feuerbach. Radicalized by both the growing bourgeois revolutionary movements sweeping Europe and the misery caused by the Industrial Revolution to the growing industrial proletariat, they independently arrived at a similar viewpoint.

By 1844, Marx had already demonstrated his ability as a revolutionary journalist in the *Rheinische Zeitung* and the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbüche*; more importantly he had, at the age of 26, already developed the fundamentals of his theory in his *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* which, however, were only to be published in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Engels, during the course of 1844 wrote his well documented and graphically descriptive *The Condition of the Working Class in England* which was published the following year.

Marx and Engels met for the first time in Paris in September 1844 creating a partnership that was destined to change the course of world history and was to continue even after the death of Marx in 1883 when Engels edited and completed Volumes II and III of Marx's major lifework, *Capital*. In 1845, Marx and Engels collaborated for the first time with their work *The Holy Family*, an acidic attack on the philosophy of the Bauer brothers which had become popular with the intellectual youth of Germany but floated like a cloud above all material reality: the book created a sensation when it was published. In the same year they also wrote jointly *The German Ideology* a brilliant early statement of their ideas which was only published after their deaths,

The League of the Just, a secret society founded in Paris in 1836 by German workers and craftsmen had spread around Europe and was becoming increasingly international in membership and outlook. The leaders of the League, Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and Heinrich Bauer, who all lived in London asked Marx and Engels for their help in re-organizing the League and drafting its new programme. When Marx and Engels were convinced that the leaders of the League of the Just were ready to accept the principles of scientific communism as its programme, they joined the League late in January 1847. In June 1847, at its London congress, the 'League of the Just' became the 'Communist League', its hazy slogan "All Men are Brothers" was replaced by the militant internationalist slogan "Workers of All Countries Unite!" thus this congress became the First Congress of the Communist League. The aims of the Communist League were the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the old bourgeois society based on class antagonisms, and the establishment of a new society in which there would be neither classes nor private property. Marx was unable to reach London for the Congress: Engels attended and drafted its first programme, *A Communist Confession of Faith*, The form of a 'revolutionary catechism' was commonly used by secret societies and organizations of workers and craftsmen at the time. The draft was accepted by the Congress on its final day 9<sup>th</sup> June 1847, and signed by the League Secretary, Wilhelm Wolff and its President, Karl Schapper. Following a Communist League meeting in October 1847 at which the 'True Socialist' Moses Hess tried to introduce a new draft programme, but was rejected following sharp criticism by Engels, Engels was asked to draw up a revised programme: this he did under the title *Principles of Communism*. By this time it had already been decided to call a Second Congress. In the *Letter from Engels to Marx, 24<sup>th</sup> November 1847*, Engels writes:

**I think we would do best to abandon the catechetical form and call the thing *Communist Manifesto*. Since a certain amount of history has to be narrated in it, the form hitherto adopted is quite unsuitable.**

MECW Vol.38 p.149

The Second Congress of the Communist League was convened from 29<sup>th</sup> November – 8<sup>th</sup> December 1847 in London. The Congress charged Marx and Engels with the task of writing a new programme in manifesto form. They worked together from the end of Congress until the end of December after which, having other commitments, Engels left Marx to continue on his own.

Marx continued through the whole of January 1848; the manuscript was sent to London to be printed in the German Workers' Educational Society's print shop owned by a German emigrant J.E. Burghard, a member of the Communist League. The first edition appeared in German at the end of February 1848. The Communist League remained in existence until 1852, becoming the predecessor of the International Working Men's Association (First International) founded in 1864.

The first English translation, made by Helen Macfarlane, was published in 1850, in the Chartist journal *The Red Republican*. Its editor, George Julian Harney, named the authors for the first time in the introduction to this publication. All earlier and many subsequent editions of the *Manifesto* were anonymous.

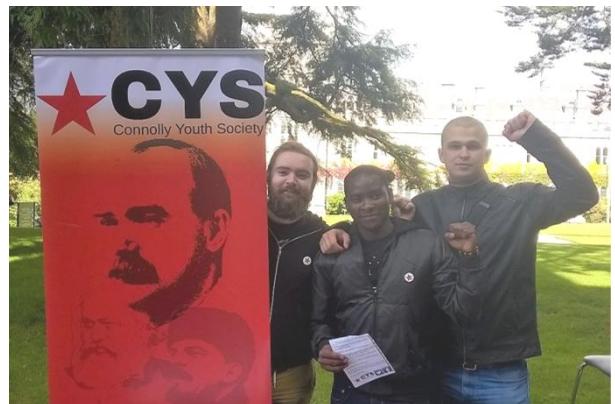
In his *Preface to the English Edition of 1888*, Engels explains why their work was called the *Communist Manifesto* and not the *Socialist Manifesto*:

...when it was written, we could not have called it a *socialist* manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks who, by all manner of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working-class movement, and looking rather to the 'educated' classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of total social change, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian communism of Cabet in France, and of Weitling in Germany. Thus, in 1847, socialism was a middle-class movement, communism a working-class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, 'respectable'; communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that "the emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself," there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have, ever since, been far from repudiating it.

MECW Vol.26 pp.516-517

Ian Patrick Beddoes

# TIME WITH THE CONNOLLY YOUTH MOVEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND



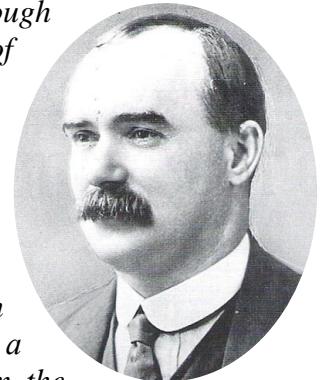
*From Comrade Lenin Chisaira, ZCP Deputy National Political Commissar*

Greetings Comrades,

As you may know, in September 2017, I moved to the Republic of Ireland to begin my studies at the University College Cork. Following Comrade Ian's advice I got in touch with the Connolly Youth Movement (CYM) and subsequently joined the Connolly Youth Society (CYS) at the university. It has been a great experience with engaging meetings, public discussions and other activities such as screenings of progressive movies. In 2017 these included *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* about the Irish Revolution and Civil War as well as *I, Daniel Blake* about social welfare in the UK. Among the highlights was a talk by the Ambassador of Cuba to Ireland on the realities of implementing a socialist economy.

For 2018, I have been elected to be Treasurer of the CYS at UCC, though sadly I will be completing my studies this year. Among activities planned for this year are discussions by invited guests, mostly progressive writers. There will also be movie screenings and collaborations with other societies on emerging issues where communists may need to add a voice. Comrade Fergal has kindly written about the history of the Connolly Youth Movement for *Vanguard*.

**JAMES CONNOLLY (1868-1916)** was one of the first to link, through practical organisation, socialism to the national liberation struggle. Born of Irish parents in Edinburgh Scotland, at the age of 11 his first job was as a night-soil collector like his father. At the age of 14 he joined the British Army remaining there for 7 years; his experiences there taught him to loathe imperialism — but he did learn the arts of war. After deserting the army, from 1890 Connolly became involved in working-class and socialist politics in Scotland, the USA and Ireland. On his return to Ireland in 1910, James Connolly became involved with Jim Larkin and the militant Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, forming the Irish Citizen's Army as a small disciplined force of about 250 men mainly to protect strikers from the police. When the First World War broke out, Connolly like Lenin opposed the war as an imperialist war and led his Irish Citizens' Army into a joint action with the bourgeois nationalist Irish Volunteers. On Easter Day 1916 they seized the Dublin Post Office and declared the Irish Republic. After a gun-battle with the British Army, they were defeated. The leaders were shot. Connolly, badly wounded and unable to stand was shot tied to a chair. Two years later, in 1918, the Irish again declared their Independence from Britain and the Civil War began. The name of James Connolly is revered not only in Ireland but by all class-conscious workers and revolutionaries throughout the British Isles. He was also an excellent and clear writer. One of his most famous quotes is:



**“The socialist of another country is a fellow patriot,  
as the capitalist of my own country is my natural enemy.”**

# History of the Connolly Youth Movement

by  
Fergal Twomey

The Communist Party of Ireland began in 1921, during the Irish War of Independence. It faced major historical impediments in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that led to it repeatedly being splintered and suppressed. It temporarily fell defunct when a large number of its members died fighting in the Spanish Civil War, and its allies faced internment and bitter recriminations at home.

The Connolly Youth Movement was founded in 1963 by activists close to the Irish Workers' Party. At the time of founding, there was already a communist youth organisation operating in Ireland — the Communist Youth League which in the partitioned six counties as the young wing of the Communist Party of Northern Ireland. In 1970, the Irish Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Northern Ireland merged to form a new all-Ireland group called the Communist Party of Ireland. Simultaneously, the Young Communist League joined the Connolly Youth Movement, creating a large Northern membership at a crucial junction in Irish history with the rising intensity of 'The Troubles'. The first secretary of the new organisation was feminist republican Madge Davison.

## North:

The Connolly Youth Movement operated on a cross-community basis that found a welcome reception amongst the disaffected youth of the two polarized traditions of Northern Ireland (the split is often mis-portrayed as being a religious one, between Catholic and Protestant, but the material reality was an historical division arising out of the differing allocation of socio-economic position for the conquered (nationalist), and settler supporters of the conquerors (unionists), in the aftermath of Ireland's colonisation).

In spite of this colonial division, there was a large unionist working class also under the thumb of the ruling class. The mission of the Connolly Youth Movement was to radicalise Republicanism into an egalitarian socialist cause, rather than a retro-nationalistic one with religious elements, and win the working class over to this shared vision of freedom from class and colonial exploitation.

Many members of the northern CYM, including Madge Davison and Lynda Walker went on to win substantial advances for the working-class in the form of women's rights (which had been severely neglected by the local colonial administration in Northern Ireland) and civil rights (the ongoing struggle to equalise the right of members of both communities to state employment, housing, etc.).

## South:

In the south the foremost issue was housing, and the struggle of young and unemployed workers. The Connolly Youth Movement was under constant surveillance, and suffered from high levels of intimidation by combination of church and state pressure. Michael O'Riordan and the Dublin Housing Action Committee were central to this struggle. In spite of providing an outlet for young people to interact with the international communist movement, the CPI and CYM in the south failed to gain permanent traction. It wielded great influence in the trade union movement, and many union leaders emerged from its ranks.

## 21<sup>st</sup> Century:

The Connolly Youth Movement was disbanded in 1991 as the party entered an unprecedented political crisis with the fall of the Soviet Union. It was reformed in 2006, and experienced a large increase in membership after financial crisis of 2008. In terms of membership, it is now certainly the largest and most active Marxist-Leninist youth movement in the country.



*In Nepal, a country of 29 million people, lying between India and China, the Left Alliance comprising of the Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist) [CPN(UML)] and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist Centre) [CPN(MC)] has won a massive electoral victory.*

*A large part of Nepal lies in the Himalayas and contains 8 of the world's 10 highest mountains. The summit of Mount Everest, the world's highest mountain, is on the border of Nepal and the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China.*

*Agriculture is Nepal's principal economic activity, employing about 65% of the population and providing 31.7% of GDP. Only about 20% of the total area is cultivable; another 40.7% is forested, most of the rest is mountainous. 29.1% of the GDP of Nepal comes from remittances from those working in other countries, mostly India, South-East Asia and the Middle-East.*

*There are 123 recognised languages in Nepal. About 79% of the population speak languages related to the surrounding North Indian languages, which includes Nepali spoken by 45%. About 18% speak languages related to Tibetan.*

*81% of the population is Hindu by religion, 11% is Buddhist and 4% Muslim. Gautama Buddha (C563-480 BCE), the founder of the Buddhist religion was born in Nepal; Nepali Hindus are strongly influenced by Buddhism.*



The Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal was known as the Kingdom of Nepal until 2008, and was an absolute monarchy until 2000. Nepal was a poverty-stricken and backward. There was no democracy. From 1959, political parties were banned, but by 1990 a mass movement which involved both the Communist Party of Nepal and the bourgeois democrats represented by the Nepal Congress Party forced the King to adopt a form of constitutional monarchy in 2000.

There has been a very complicated history of alliances and splits, including among communists. The forces which later formed the CPN(UML) concentrated on building a mass movement while the Maoists, now grouped in the CPN(MC), concentrated on armed struggle which lasted from 1996 to 2006. The reality is that both forms of struggle complemented each other and led to the election victory of December 2017.

The final result for the 275 seat House of Representatives, a combination of both first-past-the-post and proportional representation seats was CPN(UML) 121 and CPN(MC) 53 — a total of 174. The largest number of seats going to any other party was for the Nepali Congress Party which won 63 seats, the rest going to various smaller parties. In elections for the country's provincial elections, the Left Alliance won 6 out of 7 provinces.

Unfortunately, there are a number of problems with the Nepali Constitution which need to be clarified. One of the problems is that the upper chamber, known as the National Assembly has 56 of its 59 members elected by the Provincial Assemblies which have yet to convene. The other 3 are appointed by the President and must represent minority ethnic groups.

Until this process is completed, the current Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba of the Nepali Congress Party, remains in power — and he is trying to spin it out for as long as possible, simultaneously trying to split the Left Alliance.

The President — largely a ceremonial post as in Zimbabwe up to 1987 and still in India today is a woman, Bidhya Devi Bhandari, who was appointed in 2015; she is a member of the CPN(UML).

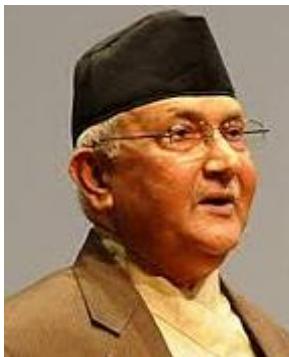
In Nepal, Communist Parties are led by their Chairperson: in the case of the CPN(UML), this is Khadga Prasad Oli; in the case of the CPN(MC) it is Pushpa Kamal Dahal known as Prachanda [Fierce] from his days as a guerrilla leader. Both have previously served as Prime Ministers for short periods.

Communist success at the polls was firstly due to the recognition by the people of the history of struggle led by communists; secondly to their unity in this election after years of squabbling; and thirdly to the blockade of Nepal by the extreme right BJP government of India led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. This blockade, which India denied doing, regardless of all the evidence, caused great hardship to the people of Nepal seems to have been part of a plan to forcibly integrate Nepal as part of India. It seriously backfired. Comrade K.P. Oli spoke out vehemently against the blockade gaining a great deal of national support. China has now promised massive aid to build Nepal.

Recently, protesting students gathered in front of the parliament under a heavy police presence, chanting slogans such as “Caretaker government must go”. Also angered by a rise in fuel prices, they burned effigies of Deuba and clashed with riot police outside a government school in the capital, Kathmandu.

Talks are underway to unite the two Communist Parties.

## NEPAL'S COMMUNIST LEADERS



KHADGA PRASAD OLI  
CHAIRPERSON OF CPN(UML)



BIDHYA DEVI BHANDARI  
PRESIDENT OF NEPAL



PUSHPA KAMAL DHAL  
(PRACHANDA)  
CHAIRPERSON OF CPI(MC)



COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF NEPAL  
(UNITED MARXIST LENINIST)



NEPAL FLAG



COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF NEPAL  
(MAOIST CENTRE)

## WE WANT YOUR ARTICLES AND YOUR LETTERS!

We need reports from ZCP structures, from vendor organisations, trade unions, community organisations and all progressive organisations which serve the people. We also need contributions from individuals. We have had more contributions in this issue and we are pleased about that.

Do not be afraid if you cannot write good English! If the content of the piece is good, we will deal with that. We also need contributions in Shona and Ndebele. If you write in any Zimbabwean language other than Shona, Ndebele or English, please attach an English translation, we will publish in all our languages and dialects.

Please email to [ianbeddowes@gmail.com](mailto:ianbeddowes@gmail.com)

**Editor**

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## ZimCom Publishers Online Publications

ZimCom Publishers is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Zimbabwe Communist Party which operates under the guidance of the Commissariat.

For any of these publications in soft copy write to [ianbeddowes@gmail.com](mailto:ianbeddowes@gmail.com). We hope to have our own website by January 2018.

*Note that all ZimCom Publishers titles are distinguished by extensive explanatory notes and attractive presentation.*

*Philosophy and Class Struggle* by John Hoffman (Dialego) (1976):  
includes *Karl Marx* by V.I. Lenin (1914)

*Principles of Communist Organization*: main document from 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the Comintern (1921)

*Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1848) includes  
*A Communist Confession of Faith* (June 1847) and  
*Principles of Communism* (October 1847) both by Frederick Engels

*How to be a Good Communist* by Liu Shaoqi (1939)

*Value, Price and Profit* by Karl Marx (1865)

*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Frederick Engels (1880)

*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* by Frederick Engels (1884)

*The Foundations of Leninism* by J.V. Stalin (1924)

*The Road to South African Freedom*: Programme of the South African Communist Party (1962)

*Gukurahundi: an atrocity committed by the Mugabe government on behalf of apartheid South Africa and Britain* by Ian Beddowes (2012)

*An Instrument of Global Power: the International Criminal Court* by Alex Mezyaev (2016)

*Critical Essays on African Nationalism*, Nkrumah — Fanon — Mishambi: includes  
*African Socialism Revisited* by Kwame Nkrumah (1967)

*The Pitfalls of National Consciousness* by Frantz Fanon (1961)

*The Mystification of African History* by G.T. Mishambi (1976)

*ESAP's Fables* by Richard Saunders (1996)

*Why Socialism?* by Ian Beddowes (2015)

*Collectivization and the 'Ukrainian Holocaust'* by Ludo Martens (1994)

## **Titles Planned for 2018**

*Zimbabwe: Working-Class Nationalism 1957-1963* by T.H. Mothibe (1996)

*Reminiscences of Lenin* by Nadezhda Krupskaya (1932)

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## **Available Online Publications from other Sources**

*The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man* by Frederick Engels (1876)

*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* by Frederick Engels (1886)

*Wage Labour and Capital* by Karl Marx (1847)

*Going to the Root* SACP discussion document (2014)

*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* (1939)

*ZAPU Ideological Programme* (1978)

*Fraud, Famine and Fascism: the Ukrainian Genocide Myth from Hitler to Harvard*  
by David Tottle (1987)

*Evidence of Leon Trotsky's Collaboration with Germany and Japan* by Grover Furr (2009)

*Another View of Stalin* by Ludo Martens (1994)

*The English Revolution 1640* by Christopher Hill (1940)

*Capitalism and Slavery* by Eric Williams (1943)

*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* by Walter Rodney (1973)

*The East India Company: the original corporate raiders* [article] by William Dalrymple (2015)

**From:**  
**How the Steel  
was Tempered**  
**(1934)**



*Man's dearest possession is life. It is given to him but once, and he must live it so as to feel no torturing regrets for wasted years, never know the burning shame of a mean and petty past; so live that, dying, he might say: all my life, all my strength were given to the finest cause in all the world — the fight for the Liberation of Mankind*

*by Nikolai Ostrovsky (1904-1936)*