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(A) **DISCUSSION
PAPERS**

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**The Main Contradictions
and Obstacles Confronting
the Five-Year National
Development Plan**

M.C. Halimana

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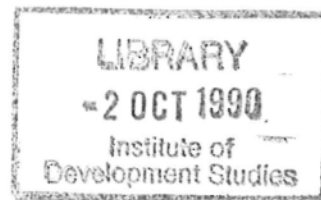
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PREFACE

This paper was delivered at a weekend seminar of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation's Radio Four and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung held at the montclair Casino Hotel, Juliasdale in November, 1986.

The theme of the seminar was "The Broadcaster and The Five-Year National Development Plan".

While the paper sought to fulfil the requirements of the seminar organisers, it also had both a pedagogical mission and an ideological one too. It is the belief of the writer that the polemics surrounding the latter mission are far from being exhausted and will be with us for a long time to come.

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INTRODUCTION

Aims and Objectives

The general aims and objectives of this paper have been set by the organisers of this seminar, that is, mainly "to make broadcasters understand the details, general goals and problems of the Five-Year National Development Plan (NDP)".

We have been asked, in particular, to deal with "the main theoretical problems of the NDP".

It is quite inevitable, therefore, that you will find a certain degree of overlap between this particular paper and that of my colleague from the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development (MFEPD).

This paper, in particular, seeks to examine what (main) contradictions characterize and confront the NDP in Zimbabwe today.

To perform this task I have divided the paper into four parts. Part I deals with the method and the concepts used in the paper. Its purpose is to introduce the reader to the general framework of asking questions that we operate within. It also deals with the question of what contradictions are. Finally, it introduces the theoretical concepts/terms that we use in our analysis.

Part II gives an outline of planning while Part III deals with the difficulties of planning in Zimbabwe. Part IV is the conclusion.

Limitations

This paper has limitations that relate both to its scope and form.

First of all, the paper does not make a comparison between the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) of 1982/83 -84/85 and the NDP. Such a comparison would enable us to draw conclusions about the experience that "we as a nation" and, in particular, the planners have gained in plan preparation, writing and execution.

Secondly, the paper does not concern itself with the technical methods of arriving at the different targets that are set in the Plan. Such an exercise, although quite informative and necessary for an understanding of the concept of planning held by the planners, and the interrelationships of the different economic magnitudes like wages, prices, profit, investment, etc., immediately falls outside the scope of this paper. This exercise (if undertaken) would, in the last instance, reflect the dominant method of interpreting the socio-economic relationships that characterize our planning institutions in Zimbabwe.

Thirdly and finally, the paper's concern is with the main contradictions that underlie the NDP. This means, therefore, that the problem is not in the Plan document itself but in the whole planning process and context.

This raises the question: Are we to look for the main contradictions confronting the Plan in the document itself or to look for them in the wider context? If the main contradictions confronting the NDP lie in the document itself then the problem is mainly one of the technical process of Plan elaboration and/or lack of experience in this field.

If they lie outside it then the NDP can only be a reflection of these wider contradictions and the manner in which they affect the realisation of the targets set in it.

It is this last argument that this paper puts forward.

Method of Approach

It is very important that we start off by stating and explaining the method that we shall employ in dealing with the tasks that we have set ourselves.

In dealing with any question, be it in the political, economic or social field, be it marriage, roora, rape, wages, witchcraft, etc, there is a certain approach or outlook that influences our thinking on these issues whether we are aware of it or not. That is, we all have a certain outlook towards the world we live in.

There are two basic approaches to the interpretation of the world we live in, that is, the idealist and the materialist, or idealism and materialism.

Idealism is the way of interpreting things which regards the spiritual as prior to the material, whereas materialism regards the material as prior.

(For more details on this, please consult M. Cornforth, *Dialectical Materialism*, Vols. 1 & 2.)

In short, idealism asserts that:

- the material world is dependent on the spiritual.
- spirit, or mind, or idea, can and does exist in separation from matter.
- there exists a realm of the mysterious and unknowable, "above", or "beyond", or "behind" what can be ascertained and known by perception, experience and science.

In opposition to these assertions of idealism, materialism teaches that:

- The world is by its very nature material, that everything which exists comes into being on the basis of material causes, arises and develops in accordance with the laws of motion of matter.
- Matter is objective reality existing outside and independent of the mind, and that far from the mental existing in separation from the material, everything mental or spiritual is a product of material processes.
- The world and its laws are knowable, and that while much in the material world may not yet be known there is no unknowable sphere of reality which lies outside the material world.

Therefore, in dealing with an event like lightning striking and destroying a hut idealism teaches us to look for the causes outside nature, that is, in the mysterious world, in the

supernatural, whereas materialism teaches us to look for the causes in nature itself, in the material world. Another example is in dealing with why some men are poor (the majority) and some are rich (the minority). Idealism would have us believe that this is because the rich are the "chosen few", are hardworking; while the poor are lazy or are paying for the sins of their ancestors, or simply that this is the choice of God, "Kuda kwaMwari", "Yiku thanda kuka Thixo".

Idealism would then tell the poor that their fate is God-given, theirs is not this world but the kingdom in heaven.

Materialism on the other hand would tell the poor that it is the sweat of their labour that keeps the rich in abundance, that it is the fruits of their labour that gives the rich monopoly of knowledge, that it is their labour that sustains all the institutions that the rich use to keep them in ignorance. Materialism would teach the poor to look for the causes of their poverty in the material world, in the social relationships, which are also production relations, that dominate their society. Therein they would find that some enter into the production of the necessities of life as owners of the means of production, i.e. mines, factories, farms, tractors, etc, and some as sellers of their ability to work, i.e. labour-power. They would also find that it is in the production process that wealth is created, the bulk of which is appropriated by the owners of the means of production and hence the poverty and wealth that exists. Only after ascertaining these facts would they also know that it is possible to change all this.

We shall proceed further and dwell on the dialectical method of interpreting things.

The dialectical method is, indeed, nothing but the method of studying and understanding things in their real change and development.

This method is opposed to the metaphysical way of thinking which looks at things:

- in abstraction, i.e. removed from their conditions of existence, e.g. the poor are poor because they are poor, not because they have no means of existence.
- in abstraction from their change and development.

The metaphysical method thinks of things:

- in separation one from another, ignoring their interconnections; and
- as fixed and frozen, ignoring their change and development.

In contrast dialectics considers things as:

- connected with and dependent on and determined by each other, i.e. nothing can be understood taken by itself, in isolation, but must always be understood "in its inseparable connection with other things, and as conditioned by them".
- in a state of continuous movement and change, of renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing and something is always disintegrating and dying away.
- developing when they pass from quantitative changes, to open, fundamental changes, to qualitative changes which occur abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another. Development is therefore an onward and upward movement, a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher.

- disclosing the contradictions inherent in them in the process of development from the lower to the higher. It considers development as a struggle of opposite tendencies which operates on the basis of these contradictions (M. Cornforth, *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p.71).

The "essence of dialectics", therefore, is the understanding of the "contradictory parts" of every phenomenon. It consists in

the recognition (discovery) of the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena and processes of nature, including man and society (Lenin ,Vol. 1., *Philosophical Notebooks*).

The method of considering things in their interconnectedness and change and in their real concrete conditions is dialectical materialism. Therefore, in adopting and using this method we approach all social events, processes, etc, not in some prejudiced, preconceived manner, or as "we would rather have it", but in their "real sense", i.e. as they are.

The materialist method as applied to the solution of social problems is *historical materialism*. Historical materialism, which is a general understanding of the motive forces and laws of social development and change, is not just an interpretation of the world but a guide to the practice of changing the world.

These preliminary remarks on dialectical materialism and historical materialism are necessary if our discussion is going to be meaningful. This does not mean that we have done them justice at all for, we feel, they ought to be subjects of study in their own right.

What is a Contradiction?

We have already seen in our remarks on dialectical materialism that "contradiction" is a term that comes up frequently.

A contradiction is a unity of opposites. When we use the term "strange bedfellows" we are referring to a contradiction.

There is a real contradiction inherent...in the very nature of a thing or process or relationship when in that thing or process or relationship opposite tendencies are combined together in such a way that neither can exist without the other. In the unity of opposites, the opposites are held together in a relation of mutual dependence, where each is the condition of existence of the other(M. Cornforth, *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p.93).

Therefore, to understand a thing or process it is necessary to understand the opposites that are united in it. Only in this manner will we be able to control and master the thing or process. It is in contradictions that we find the driving force of change. This is because the existence of a contradiction provides the very conditions for its resolution, i.e. for change.

It is also important to note that contradictions take a universal form and a particular form.

All processes, whether social or natural, contain contradictions, i.e. *universal* character of contradictions, but each process has its own contradictions characteristic of it, i.e. *particular* character of contradiction.

It is always important to understand the particularity of a contradiction as it relates to a particular process.

The contradictions characteristic of each kind of process may be called the essential contradictions of that kind of process. *These essential contradictions are manifested in specific ways in specific instances of processes of a given kind. (M. Comforth, Ibid., Vol. 1, p.97).*

Therefore, to be in a position to understand a process and to learn how to control and master it, it is necessary that we know its essential contradictions and investigate the specific forms they take in specific instances.

What then is an obstacle? Bearing in mind all that we have said about dialectical materialism and contradictions especially, an obstacle is that which prevents, delays or retards the working out or resolution of a contradiction. But it is always important to remember that an obstacle always acts in favour of and on behalf of only one side of a contradiction. Therefore, where there is a contradiction between workers and management, an obstacle will only serve the purposes of one side. Furthermore, an obstacle usually acts on behalf of the stronger side.

In the peaceful form the change is effected by non-antagonistic forces, e.g. a disagreement between friends. In the violent/forcible form the change is effected by antagonistic forces, e.g. a disagreement between enemies.

Antagonism is not the same thing as contradiction, nor is it the same thing as the struggle of opposites within a contradiction.

The struggle of opposites is a universal, necessary feature of every contradiction, and it may take an antagonistic form or it may not, depending on the particular nature of the particular contradiction. We, therefore, have antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions (*M. Comforth, Ibid., p.105*).

Theoretical Concepts

It is important that we further introduce some key concepts that are used by our method of approach to the topic.

In order to live *men must produce food*, clothing, shelter, etc. No society can exist without producing this material wealth and, therefore, its *production forms the basis of the life and development of any society*.

Production always has two aspects: *productive forces* and *relations of production*. Productive forces are the *means of production* created by society, i.e. machinery and equipment, factories and mines, and also *the people* producing the material wealth.

The relations between people in the process of production, exchange, distribution and the consumption of material wealth are called relations of production. These relations are always property relations connected with the nature of the ownership of the means of production, i.e. primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and socialist. The productive forces and relations of production constitute the *mode of production*.

When the relations of production no longer correspond to the character and level of development of the productive forces, i.e. when they begin to hamper the further development of the latter then they are replaced by new ones. This is a fundamental law of social development discovered by Karl Marx.

Those people in society whose interests were served by the old relations of production necessarily resist such change. And such a change has to be brought about by those who have nothing to gain out of the present set-up. But where such a conflict of economic

interest is no longer existent this change is brought about in a planned manner, i.e. under socialist public ownership of the means of production.

The *economic structure* of a society is always determined by the nature of the relations of production in their totality, i.e. the *basis of society*. This basis engenders a corresponding *superstructure*, i.e. the political, philosophical, legal, artistic, religious and other views of society and corresponding institutions, i.e. the world outlook we talked about earlier on.

The *superstructure*, while being a product of the basis, also forms the necessary conditions of existence of the basis, e.g. where private property characterizes the base then the superstructure sees to it that people respect private property, i.e. voluntarily through their world outlook and forcibly through the law, the police and the courts.

The base and the superstructure constitute the *socio-economic formation*. The history of mankind has seen five types of these: primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and socialist (communist). The fundamental distinction between all these is that all except the primitive-communal and the socialist are based on private ownership of the means of production.

The relations of production that we have talked about so far are also *social class relations*. Therefore, whenever we are talking about production relations *we are also talking about* groups of men and women divided into social classes, some owning the means of production privately or jointly owning these (public ownership).

Finally, in this section on theoretical concepts we shall examine the economic laws of development.

We have already seen that dialectical materialism teaches us to look at both things or processes, nature or society in their interconnected and interdependent manner. This deep link between phenomena is expressed in the laws of development, and as applies to society and nature, of nature and society. The purpose of science, and in the case of society of historical materialism, is to discover these laws and put them at the service of mankind.

The laws of nature and society have in common their *objective character*, i.e. they emerge and operate regardless of whether they are known or not. Therefore, they cannot be changed, transformed or abolished. They can only be discovered and used in the interests of society.

However, economic laws differ from natural ones in several ways:

- in the first place, they are relatively short-lived and operate during a particular historical period. They operate in specific economic conditions i.e. the relations of production and the basis of society. When society develops from one socio-economic formation to another the old economic laws are replaced by new ones. Thus :
 - under capitalism because of private ownership in the means of production by the capitalists, the latter strive for their own enrichment. The non-owners of the means of production only work for wages. The whole process of the development of production is subordinated to their personal riches. The *production of surplus-value* is the basic objective economic law of capitalism,

i.e. capitalists strive to maximize that part of the worker's produce/sweat/labour that is unpaid for.

- because of the desire to maximize surplus-value by individual capitalists, the capitalist economy develops on the basis of *competition* and *anarchy*. This is another objective law of capitalism.
- therefore, only those branches of production that are profitable for individual capitalists are developed, i.e. attract investment. This, consequently, excludes the possibility of planned and balanced development of the national economy.
- under socialism there is public ownership of the means of production. It is in everyone's interest to strive to maximize production but not for the personal/private enrichment of one person or group of persons but for the whole of society.
- therefore the ensurance of the fullest satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of the whole of society is the basic objective economic law of socialism.
- public socialist ownership of the means of production combines the entire socialist national economy into a single organism. This makes it possible to develop according to a plan.
- the *planned, balanced development of the national economy* is an objective law of socialism.

There are many economic laws that are specific to each socio-economic formation but there are always basic ones.

Furthermore, there are general laws that apply to all socio-economic formations, e.g. *the law of the correspondence between relations of production and the character and level of the development of the productive forces*.

- The second difference between economic and natural laws applies to the discovery and application of the former. In natural science this process proceeds more or less smoothly (except for Galileo). In social science, the discovery and application of a new law meets with fierce resistance on the part of those who stand to lose something out of it. In the case of Galileo his discovery that the Earth was round challenged the dominance of the Church that had been preaching that the Earth was flat.

In the final analysis, in class society, the application of economic laws has a class character.

PLANNING- AN OUTLINE

Definition of Planning

National economic planning is a "conscious and deliberate shaping of the national economy in accordance with the plan and guided by the plan, in order to achieve identified, calculated and balanced objectives and plan targets with high efficiency" (Wittich, G.W., Planning in Zimbabwe: Observations of a Visitor in *Zimbabwe Journal of Economics*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1984).

Aims and Objectives of Planning NDP

The NDP sets itself the following tasks:

- Transformation and control of the economy and economic expansion.
- Land reform and efficient utilization of the land.
- Raising the standards of living of the entire population, in particular the peasant population.
- Enlargement of employment opportunities and manpower development
- Development of science and technology.
- Maintenance of a correct balance between the environment and development.

The Need for Planning

The tasks that the NDP sets for itself correspond very closely to the general tasks of planning that have been observed in developing countries (Popov, Y.,; *Economic Planning: A Vital Task for Socialist-Oriented Countries*, Novosti 1984) namely that:

- the urgent problems of their economic development demand speedy solutions and do not allow them to tackle questions of accumulation of capital and industrialization in the course of decades, let alone centuries, as was the case with the now developed capitalist countries. Furthermore, they do not have the colonies that the latter used to sponsor their own development. Backwardness, therefore, makes state intervention imperative in all spheres of economic life.
- the increase of state property (public sector) especially in industry and the ever greater role of the state in industrialization, in growth and redistribution of national income and in foreign trade call for the drawing up of at least tentative programmes and plans of economic development.
- they have to mobilize limited financial resources and use them in the form of state investment programmes to carry out projects of agrarian transformation and industrial development, educational and health programmes.
- the scientific and technological revolution (S&TR) entails the introduction of some principles of planning and the need to elaborate, if only in the most general outline, development programmes covering many years.

In other words, the law of uneven development makes the capitalist road of development that was followed in the 19th century a pipedream for most developing countries.

Capitalism develops unevenly, and objective reality gives us highly developed capitalist nations side by side with a number of economically, slightly developed or totally underdeveloped nations (Lenin, V.I., *Collected Works*, Vol .23, p. 60)

The Zimbabwean economy exhibits many of the features that characterize developing countries or, in other words, former colonies.

- it relies heavily on exports of raw materials - a product of its historical integration into the world capitalist market. Two-thirds of its total exports are

accounted for by agriculture and mining. These are vulnerable to fluctuations in prices on the world capitalist market and world capitalist economic recessions.

- it has a high degree of technological dependence on the outside world, i.e. the capitalist world, since most of the productive enterprises here are subsidiaries of foreign companies or transnational corporations -(see Page 9 of this discussion Paper)

The type and quality of intermediate and capital goods imported demonstrate beyond doubt that the manufacturing sector does not provide the country with a sound base for self-reliant and self-sustained economic development, observes the National Development Plan (p.4).

- we have a high population dependency ratio, i.e. the bulk of the population is young and dependent, i.e. 0-14 years constitute 47,3% of the population.

Table 1
STRUCTURE OF FOREIGN TRADE IN 1984 BY INDUSTRY OF ORIGIN

EXPORTS	PERCENT	IMPORTS	PERCENT
AGRICULTURE	41,0	AGRICULTURE..	7,9
Tobacco	20,1	MINING	1,5
Cotton	8,2	INDUSTRY	90,6
Sugar	3,9	Energy (oil products	
Coffee and Tea	3,8	and electricity)	20,9
Meat and Hides	3,5	Chemicals	16,8
Other Agricultural		Metal Products	4,8
Products	0,5	Textiles, Wood and	
		Paper	4,7
		Iron and Steel	3,4
		Other intermediates	0,8
MINING.	26,9	Cables, Screws, Tools	
Gold	11,2	and Spares	4,0
Asbestos	5,2	Machinery &	
Nickel	4,4	Equipment	27,1
Copper	3,0	Consumer Goods	.8,1
Coal and Coke	1,1		
Other Mining Products	2,0		
INDUSTRY	32,1		
Ferro-alloys	10,8		
Iron and Steel	4,0		
Textiles	3,5		

Chemicals.	1,8		
Machinery and Equipment	1,5		
Other Manufactures	10,5		
<hr/>			
TOTAL	100,0	TOTAL	100,0
<hr/>			

- "strategic sectors of the economy are dominated by foreign private investment (NDP p.4). The NDP estimates that over two-thirds of capital invested in the economy is foreign-owned. This is indicative of lack of control by locals and the State. The upshot of this is that the branch/sectoral structure and the proportions between these is malformed, i.e. it does not reflect the requirements of the majority of nationals but the investment interests of foreigners.

To the above observations about the Zimbabwean economy we must add another feature which is, quite interestingly, absent in the NDP, i.e. the social structure of the Zimbabwean social formation. This social structure is of necessity derived from the relations of production or ownership relations that characterize our economy.

THE INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISTS

These are the owners of the two-thirds of invested capital that the NDP observes. Names like Lonrho, Anglo American Corporation, Union Carbide, Barclays Bank should readily spring to mind here. Through these companies this class owns our economy. No matter how much it tries to localise itself, i.e. to make itself acceptable locally, in the final analysis its actions are not dictated by local national interests but by its own interests. This social class is not necessarily resident in Zimbabwe although its representatives fly in and out of Zimbabwe daily to check if its resident "boss-boys" are extracting enough surplus-value (profits, interests and rent) from the nation (see comprador bourgeoisie below).

THE NATIONAL CAPITALISTS

These own some commercial farms, mines and industrial firms. Their contradiction with the international capitalists is that the latter limit their possibilities for expansion. But they nevertheless uphold the gospel of private property in the means of production. It is the historical legacy of Zimbabwe that they are mainly white and are to be found shuttling between the "Independents" and the Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (formerly RF) in political representation.

Settler racism did not allow many blacks (with potential) to rise to this class hence their "bitterness" and support for the armed struggle.

This class objectively is opposed to public ownership of the means of production, i.e. socialism.

THE COMPRADOR OR DEPENDENT CAPITALISTS

One political scientist has referred to these as the mujibhas of the foreign capitalists (see note on K. Makamure below).

They thrive on the "crumbs" of the foreign capitalists. They are to be found in the import/export trade, investment consultancy firms, local agents of foreign firms, shareholders in foreign firms, company "directors" of foreign firms although in reality they only implement decisions taken in London or New York.

This class cannot exist without foreign capital and therefore it is the most vehement anti-socialist and anti-patriotic social force. When the State goes into partnership with foreign capital in selected ventures this class cannot be relied upon to look after Zimbabwean interests since its survival lies in the continued existence of foreign capital.

Therefore, in terms of the socialist objective this class is an arch-enemy. It is usually the first to ridicule the genuine efforts towards national planning since this process takes away its "semblance" of decision-making.

THE PETTY BOURGEOISIE

This is probably the most difficult class to categorize. This is because of the spectrum it covers. It includes: the small-scale commercial farmers who employ labour and are formally organized into the Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union and the National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe; rich peasants who employ labour; shopkeepers; garage and workshop owners; the petty-commodity sector, i.e. the so-called informal sector; Government civil servants; managers in private companies and parastatals; the professionals, i.e. teachers, television and radio announcers, engineers, etc.

It is a mixture of all sorts. But it still has got its characteristics. To put it graphically, although it lives in Mabelreign, it nevertheless lives with the illusion of one day living in Gunhill or Borrowdale. But there are moments when, if not actually forced to physically go to live in Mbare, it ekes out an existence like the residents of the latter.

What we mean here is that this is a very unstable and vacillating social class. The motions of the capitalist system are such that it goes in cycles because of the anarchy in production. It is not the anarchy of the small-time petty capitalists that matters but of the international big capitalists. With every crisis comes great suffering not just to the workers who are thrown out of employment but to the petty bourgeoisie as well.

Furthermore, the tendency of the capitalist system to develop towards monopolies sees to it that a large proportion of the small producers is ruined. Witness this:

50,4% of the local products are produced by single firms, 20,6% by two firms and 9,7% by three firms, i.e. up to 80,7% of goods produced in Zimbabwe are monopoly products" (cited in Ndlela, D.B., (Sectoral Analysis of Zimbabwe's Economic Development with Implications for Foreign Trade and Foreign Exchange *Zimbabwe Journal of Economics*, Vol., No.1., p.73)

In terms of political outlook this social class is as unstable as the movement of its economic fortunes. In moments of the "upswing in the economy", when it can realise some of its ambitions, it sides with the bourgeoisie, i.e. the preceding classes. However, during the "downswing", when it faces the imminent prospect of joining the ranks of the workers, it becomes very radical and joins forces with all the oppressed to dismantle the capitalist system.

It is from this class that the revolutionary intelligentsia is drawn. This latter stratum is not a social class as such but is scattered throughout the social spectrum of the petty bourgeoisie.

It is this stratum that scientifically analyses the social classes in society and particularly how they stand in relation to each other at any one moment. It then educates the working class and takes part in their struggles and eventually in the struggle for socialism.

In short, the petty bourgeoisie are a potential ally of the working class. But the prime condition for their taking part in the struggle for socialism is that they must be under the leadership of the working class.

THE WORKING CLASS - THE PROLETARIAT

This social class has sometimes been referred to as the "gravedigger of capitalism". It is created by capitalism and it is the only class that has an objective interest in destroying capitalism.

When the capitalist mode of production was taking shape in this country in the 1890s it had to create the conditions for its own existence, i.e. by creating a proletariat through hut-tax which could only be paid in money that could only be obtained by working for wages, forced expropriation of land and migrant labour.

This is the social class that lives by selling its ability to work, i.e. labour-power. It works on the farms, mines and in factories. It is the class that is directly engaged in the production of material which feeds all the classes we have talked about so far. And yet the paradox is that it has the most miserable existence. Its existence is so frightening that the petty bourgeoisie would rather be revolutionary than face the prospect of being thrown into the ranks of this social class.

It lives in the high-density suburbs, mining compounds or sometimes has the "pleasure" of living in the low-density suburbs, i.e. in the servants' quarters as lodgers. Its children go to "upper-top primary schools", have no textbooks and it travels on crowded buses, etc.

Its misery will only end when it stops producing wealth for the capitalists, i.e. with the end of capitalism. The working class is organised into trade unions and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions to fight for its economic interests.

THE POOR PEASANTRY

This is a class that ekes out an existence from the land, i.e. in the communal areas. Sometimes it sells its labour-power on the commercial capitalist farms or engages in handicraft production or other income-generating projects. At times it is landless and "squats" on "private" property!

It is the natural ally of the proletariat in the struggle against capitalism.

(For "An Analysis of Social Classes in Zimbabwe" see K. Makamure in *Zimbabwe News*, Vol. 17, No. 2, February, 1988).

The Pre-Conditions for Planning

These are the basic conditions for planning:

Organisational

There must be an accurate knowledge of the state of the country's economy, regional needs, top priority requirements and the ability to constantly control the achievement of Plan objectives so as to correct mistakes.

Socio-Economic

There must be a mobilization and centralization of the newly created surplus product/wealth. This wealth would find its way into a growing state sector that is able to determine or have an over-bearing influence in the economy. In other words, the state sector should become a solid material basis of planning.

Political

There must be a political party or alliance of parties with a carefully worked out programme on what it wants to achieve. This party/alliance should engage in a consistent campaign to get the support of its power base to implement its aims.

Types of Planning

We shall not go into the detail of types of planning here but just their basic characteristics.

There are three types of planning:

- Socialist planning under developed socialism which is comprehensive because of the public ownership of the means of production.
- Capitalist programming or state-monopoly regulation which tries to soften the effects of the crises caused by anarchy in production and also ensure the conditions for the maximum extraction of surplus-value. Its aim is to ensure not just capitalist profit but monopoly profit of the transnational corporations.
- Programme planning that we find in developing countries. This kind of planning has two variants. One that appertains to those countries trying to develop along the capitalist path and the other that appertains to those countries struggling to build socialism. The latter is characterised by a deliberate effort to wrest control of the means of production from foreign control and the mobilisation of the population in preparation for the consequences of this action. So, on a political level a state embarking on the latter form of programme planning is anti-imperialist and the party teaches its

support base that its main enemy is imperialism (and its hangers-on -remember the comprador bourgeoisie?).

THE DIFFICULTIES OF PLANNING IN ZIMBABWE: CONTRADICTIONS AND OBSTACLES.

The Broad Context

It is quite clear to any casual observer that the world capitalist recession has had drastic effects on the Zimbabwean economy. Other factors notwithstanding, the recession made the Transitional National Development Plan irrelevant.

It is important also that we note the geopolitical position of Zimbabwe and in particular in view of the recent events in the region, i.e. the cold-blooded murder of Cde. Samora Machel and other Mozambican patriots by imperialism through South Africa.

We should take stock of all these factors so that we can appreciate events not in an isolated manner but in their interdependencies and causal links. Only in this way will we be better prepared to deal with any eventualities that are the outcome of our endeavours.

In this way we begin to see that the closure of South African transport routes to Zimbabwean exports and imports is a real possibility. Furthermore, our involvement in Mozambique might assume a different character that necessitates certain structural changes in our society, i.e. the contradiction between those who want a compromise with South Africa, especially on the international sanctions issue, and those who reject a compromise.

It is difficult to say how this would be resolved but in terms of the planning process it might force the State to take a more determined stand towards making non-co-operating private companies "fall into line". This is not mere guess-work but is based on the fact that one of the largest companies in the country is the South African-based Anglo American Corporation.

Furthermore, there are companies, and therefore members of the comprador bourgeoisie, dependent on the "South African connection".

All these are planning problems.

The Transition

In his New Year Message to the Nation, the Prime Minister and First Secretary of ZANU-PF, Cde R.G. Mugabe, said:

Pursuant to the directives of the Second Congress of ZANU-PF, the Central Committee of the Party prepared a Five-Year Development Programme which it submitted to Government and which provides the philosophical basis of the Plan as well as its major objectives and strategies towards the establishment of a progressive socialist-oriented national economy.

The Plan itself notes in several instances that its objectives and aims are those of the Party. This, therefore, immediately establishes a link between the Party and the Plan.

Furthermore, the objectives enunciated therein establish the pre-condition for planning that we mentioned earlier on.

The Planning Process

In the foreword to the NDP, the Prime Minister warns against mere enthusiasm for the Plan as a guarantee for its success. The fact that the Government has devoted resources to the drafting of the Plan does not guarantee its implementation.

In its election manifesto, ZANU-PF sets out the attainment of socialism as one of its objectives. This implies a transition from one mode of production (i.e. capitalist) to another (i.e. socialist).

In his 1986 New Year Message, the Prime Minister says

the Plan is designed to change the ownership and production relations of the structures of the existing economy as a strategy for creating a national and socialist economy.

Since objective economic laws only function under specific production relations, e.g. the laws of planned and balanced development, then the transformation of the relations of production can only be a necessity for the implementation of the Plan.

This means that while the relations of production remain characterized by private ownership, they can only be an obstacle to the implementation of the Plan. That means the laws that operate under the latter relations of production will remain in force, i.e. the production and maximization of surplus-value will remain an objective of society.

The execution of all the different aspects of the Plan makes certain assumptions about the ownership of the means of production. The NDP itself has made it quite clear that two-thirds of the national economy is foreign-owned. Therefore, investment decisions in the foreign-owned industries are not made locally but by their parent companies abroad.

During the five-year period the Plan envisages total investment of \$7,126 billion of which 47% will come from agriculture, mining and manufacturing. It is in these sectors that the privately owned strategic industries are to be found.

This particular feature of the Zimbabwean socio-economic formation, i.e. the dominance of private property in the means of production, lends certain features to the planning process as we have already partly noted.

It means that the Plan cannot be mandatory. It is not surprising, therefore, that both the TNDP and the NDP have not been supported by Acts of Parliament to make them law. On the other hand, the Budget, which is concerned with the short-term considerations, of raising revenue for State expenditure, is enacted into an Act of Parliament.

The sign that planners have power is that the Budget follows rather than contradicts the Plan. (Caiden, N. and Wildasky, A; *Planning and Budgeting in Poor Countries*, John Wiley & Sons, New York 1974, p.20).

The non-mandatory character of the NDP means that it is powerless to dictate to private entrepreneurs what to produce and where to produce. Here we see the non-operation of the objective basis law of socialism, i.e. planned and balanced development.

It is also important to note that the State sector as exemplified by parastatals complicates the picture. To this sector can be added those firms where the State participates, i.e. Heinz, CAPS, Bank of Credit and Commerce, the various firms that are held through the Industrial Development Corporation and ZISCO.

These enterprises enjoy practically the same autonomy with regard to the State as private ones. They are subject to the same laws of the "free market" and plan their production accordingly.

As this point we shall pose a question: What precisely is the obstacle in Zimbabwe to the successful implementation of the NDP?

We have already noted that the primary contradiction seems to be that between the private and foreign control of the bulk of the economy and the demands of planning.

We have also heard the remarks of the Prime Minister in his foreword to the NDP.

The Political Process

In the transition period between capitalism and socialism there is an intense struggle, a political struggle, between the major contending classes, i.e. the workers in alliance with the poor peasantry and organised into a revolutionary party and the bourgeoisie who are no longer in control of the political machinery but still have resources at their disposal. The transition period cannot be any other way. The international and national capitalists cannot voluntarily give up of their ownership of the means of production for this would put an end to them as a social class. Nor can they be persuaded to dissolve themselves as a social class. Such is the character of the transition period.

As we noted earlier when analyzing social classes in Zimbabwe, it is only those classes that have nothing to gain out of the present set-up that have an interest in ending it.

It is against this background, therefore, that we ought to view the Leadership Code adopted by the ruling party at its Second Congress, i.e. to create a leadership that does not develop a stake in the present set-up. This particular resolution had been overwhelmingly voted for at the Second Congress and leaders had been allowed to have not more than 50 acres of land, but not to own businesses and farms. Cde. Maurice Nyagumbo, interview with *The Herald*: 5th June, 1986 ZANU (PF) URGED TO Review Leadership Code).

In the same article Cde Nyagumbo said:

We are meeting difficulties in implementing the Leadership Code because leaders have acquired property and do not seem prepared to part with it.

He went further:

We should call an emergency congress and tell the people that we are unable to fulfil one of our important resolutions of the Second National Congress of ZANU-PF, namely that of scientific socialism, because the leaders have acquired property.

The question is not so much how the leaders have acquired property (although this is important for understanding the "connections" that some leaders are developing with capital) but why they have acquired property.

The First Secretary, Cde R.G. Mugabe, provides an answer to this question, thus:

I must in this regard hasten to point out that because of the mass nature of our party, itself an unavoidable condition of the national democratic phase of our revolution, we come across complex factors which we should take into account in our determination of the administrative and legal provisions of the Leadership Code.

The Zimbabwean society is still largely capitalist controlled. The attitudes and value systems of the majority of the enlightened sections of our social spectrum are still predominantly capitalist.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that it was not only socialist revolutionaries who fought for national independence.

In addition to the revolutionary or class-conscious workers and exploited peasants, the armed struggle also drew into its ranks the petty and the comprador bourgeoisie, who formed a very significant percentage of that struggle.

He goes further to say:

While the Party in 1977 had been clear that it would follow the ideology of scientific socialism based on Marxist-Leninist principles, it had not always been able to purge itself of bourgeois elements in its membership generally and in its leadership in particular.

It was that character of the national democratic revolution which characterized the present class composition of and the contradictions in the leadership both in the Party and in the Government, tending to delay the implementation of the Leadership Code adopted in 1984.

(*The Herald*, 4th April, 1986).

This address by the Prime Minister, carried by *The Herald*, was delivered to University of Zimbabwe students.

The answer to the question that we posed is quite clear: that a section of the leadership that has violated the Leadership Code has no contradictions with the private ownership of the means of production. This situation therefore complicates the planning task. It also complicates the achievement of public ownership in the means of production, i.e. socialism, which would make the task of Plan implementation easier.

The next question we need to ask, therefore, is: Does this section of the Party leadership exist in contradiction with the foreign ownership of the bulk of our economy? If it does exist in contradiction, what kind of contradiction is it?

- One that could be resolved by accommodation and mutual understanding between this section of the leadership and foreign capital, i.e. non-antagonistic? or
- One that would see it actively campaigning for the seizure of foreign companies if only to become the private owners, i.e. antagonistic?

We need to answer all these questions if we are to be able to effectively draw up and implement our plans. For plans are implemented for and by specific social forces.

Finally, it is important that we note that in June the Central Committee of ZANU-PF reaffirmed its commitment to the Leadership Code (*The Herald* 14th June 1986 :

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it would appear that the main contradictions that the NDP faces are:

- private ownership in the means of production; and the underlying conditions that make a violation of the Leadership Code possible and therefore see the custodians" of party ideology develop an interest in private property.

The answer can only be with the Party membership, i.e. mainly workers and peasants, since we saw that all the other social classes have an interest in private property. It is up to the working class to develop ideologically so that it can be in a position to ensure the implementation of Party resolutions.

With the impending unity of ZAPU and ZANU-PF this conclusion still holds since both parties are composed of the same social classes. The following quote attributed to the Minister of Home Affairs, Cde Enos Nkala, in an exclusive interview with *Prize Africa Magazine* (December, 1985) illustrates this point:

Not all people in ZANU-PF are socialist, and because of that, debate is in full blast within ZANU-PF as to whether or not socialism is the best ideological path for Zimbabwe. What would happen if a one-party system was adopted is that non-socialist ZANU-PF members would team up with non-socialists from PF-ZAPU against the pro-socialists in both parties. There would then be an alignment of elements from both sides.

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