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# D<sup>(A)</sup>ISCUSSION PAPERS

(ZII) ZIMBABWE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

(1) ZIMBABWE

**The Political Economy of Zimbabwe -  
Focus on the Creation of a Proletariat:  
Implications for the Labour Movement**

Arnold E. Sibanda

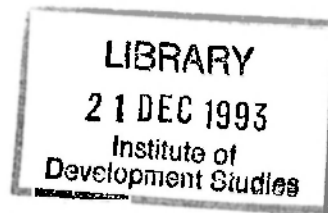
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P.O. Box 880 HARARE

**DISCUSSION PAPER**

Number 15



**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ZIMBABWE -  
FOCUS ON THE CREATION OF A PROLETARIAT:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**

by

**Arnold E. Sibanda**

ZIMBABWE INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

HARARE 1992

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P.O. Box 880  
Harare  
Zimbabwe

First printing 1992.

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Printed and published in Zimbabwe.

This Discussion Paper was prepared from a lecture delivered to a ZCTU Seminar on Collective Bargaining and Incomes Policy in Zimbabwe, held in Kadoma from 30th May to 3rd June 1988.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	1
WHAT IS POLITICAL ECONOMY? .....	2
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ZIMBABWE .....	5
The Tax System .....	5
Land Expropriation .....	7
Forced Labour .....	8
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT .....	10
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	11

## INTRODUCTION

The Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies has been asked to present a paper to this important seminar on the topic: The Political Economy of Zimbabwe: Implications for the Labour Movement. This, as the letter of invitation from the Assistant General Secretary notes, is a very broad topic indeed. Basically, every issue relating to, or of concern to the labour movement in this country cannot be understood outside the framework of an understanding of the political economy of Zimbabwe. Fortunately, the invitation letter guides ZIDS to focus on the process leading to the creation of the proletariat as a class in Zimbabwe.

Even that is still a wide topic and does not provide a specific focus. The first thing to note is that when we are talking about the development of a proletariat - a class of people who live by no other means but by the sale of their labour-power to those who own the means of production - we are really talking about the development of capitalism in Zimbabwe, the development of a historically specific system of production and of gaining the means of life. We will define capitalism later on, but the point is - the proletariat is the specific class of capitalism and capitalism *cannot*, can *never* exist without this class of people. But we should not forget that every class has its opposite number, like every coin has two sides. So when we talk of the development of a proletariat, we are really talking of one side of the coin; the other side being the development of a bourgeoisie. There is no coin without two sides; similarly there cannot be capitalism without two main classes. The class which is the opposite side of the proletariat is the bourgeoisie. That class, by virtue of its ownership and control of the means of production (things which make life possible, which are necessary for human life), lives by hiring the proletariat to do wage labour for it. So, then, when we talk about the development of a working-class, of a proletariat, we must always have in mind the development of the bourgeoisie and the struggle between these two core classes.

## WHAT IS POLITICAL ECONOMY?

Before we proceed with this discussion, I think it is important to start with a definition of political economy. Political economy is a science which studies the laws which govern the production and distribution of goods or wealth in society. It is a science which has laws that must be studied, their operation understood and used to the benefit of society. Political economy is not just ideology, like say the ideology of the bourgeoisie, or the ideology of the Marxists.

The bourgeoisie were the first to evolve a system of political economy - Marx's writings like Capital Vols. I,II,III,IV were polemics (sharp debates/disagreements) with what he (Marx) called English classical political economy and its offshoots like vulgar economy. For classical political economy, whose chief theorists are Adam Smith, David Ricardo, T. R. Malthus, William Petty, etc, *the problem of economic science was to investigate the social relations which arise in the process of labour (for they accepted that labour was the source of wealth) in the process of production.* With this starting point, classical political economy was recognised by Marx as a first scientific system of economic investigation. *However, classical political economy took the laws governing production and distribution to be laws of Nature, ever present in the same form, unchanging and unchangeable.* If one was a propertyless exploited slave, peasant or wage labourer, and the other was a rich slave owner, feudal landowner or capitalist factory owner who exploited others, that was it. Nature simply had it that way and those are "things which we can't change". Our duty is to acquire the wisdom to know the difference between the things we can change and those we cannot. Marx was the first to observe that at this point, classical political economy was nothing but a simple ideology of the bourgeoisie, bent on buttressing the capitalist system of exploitation by arguing that it was a "natural and divine" order of things!

Variants of bourgeois thought have developed over the centuries, some even degenerating drastically from the high point which focussed on the relations among people in the process of production. Vulgar economy, for example, degenerated to a focus not on production but exchange, even to the point where not relations among people were investigated but individual persons buying things to satisfy themselves at the market place. Classes and class conflict no longer arise in vulgar economy because everybody was taken to be an equal consumer making their own choices at the market place. Exploitation as an issue disappeared from analysis. No laws can be investigated because no such laws can exist when individuals behave according to their own choices without any regular pattern. Society is not the focus but an isolated individual living on an island of his own and relating only to objects or things of nature and not to other people.

The ideology was clear. The focus on society, social relations, classes and their position in the social organisation of production was not the issue. This was/is the ideology in the political economy or economic thought of the bourgeoisie. The issue is to hide, deny the existence of classes and/or more so, the existence of exploitation and of the class struggle. They even dropped the word "political" to remain with "economics", so as to give the impression they were not concerned with politics or with social relations or classes but with the "technical questions" of unemployment, inflation, productivity, investment technology, etc.

It is only Marxism which maintains the science of political economy as a science which studies the laws governing the production and distribution of wealth in society. For Marxism, such laws are not natural but *historical*. They are limited in time and scope. There are laws which are specific to a particular historical epoch, yet at the same time there are some laws which are "general" in that their common elements are seen to exist or operate in more than one social system.

Marxist political economy holds that production is the starting point because life is inconceivable without production. In this process of production, labour is central. Engels, for example, demonstrates quite vividly the centrality of labour in the process of production in an essay called "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man". (See *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, Moscow).

The important point to note is Marx's conclusion that: "In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will ..." (K.Marx: Preface to a *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* - See Marx and Engels, 1968, p.181.) Here Marx establishes the centrality of the social relations which arise between people in the process of production. This then means that whether human beings like it or not, production is social, and that is why we talk of *social production*. But if production is social, labour which is the thing that is expended or used in the process of production, is also social. That is why we speak of *social labour*. But again, we proceed. If labour is social, the product of its expenditure must also be social - that is why we speak of the *social product*. And, as we know, all products are consumed by society (we revile baboons when they devour our social products in the fields) therefore consumption should be social - *social consumption!* There are also problems relating to the investigation of consumption but in this aspect political economy shares the burden with other sciences. However, in consumption we speak of productive and unproductive consumption. We will not delve into this issue here but I think what we have established is the social nature of production, distribution and to a certain extent consumption.

Marxist political economy says, if production is therefore the starting point, we must investigate the laws of development of production, how one production system changes into another. Here then lies the importance of the Marxist philosophy of *dialectical materialism*. This philosophy holds that things are not stagnant, constant, unchanging, isolated, etc, but are in constant motion - changing, interdependent, inter-connected. There is a permanent struggle of opposites in everything. This is the law of motion, the law of development. Things change from mere quantities to new qualities. They rise and fall. This is a general law of all epochs in social development.

Extended to the study of social life, and with production as the starting point, Marxist political economy concluded that the dialectical movements, the clash of opposites in the process of production or the contradiction in the whole system of production, leads to the development of a new system of production, the coming into being of a new form of society based on a new production system. This is called *historical materialism*.

In their investigations of the development of social life Marx and Engels established that mankind had known (at their time) four main forms of society based on different systems of production. We refer to these systems of production as *modes of production*. Modes of production simply means the method, the way (mode) by which people obtain things which are necessary for life (material things). These are things like food, shelter, clothing, education, health, etc - the basic necessities of life. People can obtain these by



either working for others for money to buy these things, or by working for others not for money but to be given those things themselves. Other ways may be peripheral (or main for some people), for example stealing! Others may be obtained by hunting or gathering.

The four main modes of production identified by Marx and Engels were first the *primitive communal mode*. It had no classes, no exploitation, simply, everyone worked and the property and wealth belonged to the whole group. However, over time, with the development of the technical level in production, a *surplus* was produced which fell into the hands of a group that later became an enslaver of others. Then developed the *slave mode of production* where slave owners owned everything, including the slave, his family and all that he produced. The slave was the property of the master.

Slaves continually revolted and the struggle between slaves and their masters eventually led to the "freedom" of slaves. They became "free" peasants or "serfs". But they soon came under another form of bondage. They owned no property, not even the land and they soon found themselves bonded to landowners as peasant serfs. The landowners were feudal lords who derived their living from the rent they forced out of the serfs. This was the *feudal mode of production*.

The serfs had to pay for being allowed to live on the landlord's estate. Such payment took three main forms. It could be by *labour rent* - where the peasant worked two days on the small field allocated to him and another three or four days every week on his landlord's field. Another form was *rent in kind* where the serf surrendered, say, one-third of his produce from the fields to the landlord for the "privilege" of remaining on the lord's land. The third form of rent was *money rent*. This became more common in the period of the transition from feudalism to capitalism.

The class struggles, the class contradictions between feudal landlords and peasants led to the development of capitalism. A new class of industrial people emerged in towns which had risen (due mainly to trading) and this class needed wage labour to work in its emerging factories. The feudal landlords lost in class battles as the peasants fought to be "freed" from the land and they did so in alliance with the new industrial urban classes that wanted the newly "freed" peasants to come and do wage labour.

The "freed" peasants then became this new class of wage labour working in the new factories in the towns. This marked the emergence of the class of wage labourers called "the proletariat" possessing nothing but their power to work, and the class of urban industrial business people called the "bourgeoisie" who had accumulated in their hands monetary wealth. This was the beginning of the capitalist mode of production. Two classes had to come into existence: the urban industrial business class - the bourgeoisie and the urban (and some rural) wage labouring class - the proletariat. Marx and Engels lived before the coming into being of the *socialist mode of production*. We who have now evidence of its existence can add it to the list of historical modes known to mankind. We can now count five in all.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROLETARIAT IN ZIMBABWE

We have now established that capitalism requires the existence of the two main social classes. We must explain this further.

We said that peasants were "freed" from bondage to landlords in order to function as "free wage labourers", that is, free to sell their labour power to any bourgeois that will buy it. The "freedom" we are talking about is really that they must be released from personal bondage to the landlord. However, release from personal bondage did not automatically mean the peasant would agree to do wage labour. Some peasants won in the struggles for land and remained as free peasant cultivators, a few of them developing into a rural bourgeois class.

In order that peasants can be transformed into wage labourers, into a proletariat, they must be separated from their means of production, they must be dispossessed of things that enable them to live an independent life. They must, most important of all, lose their land. This means they cannot cultivate to feed themselves adequately. It means they must lose all or a greater part of their livestock, etc. This process of expropriation or dispossession is a necessary condition for a proletariat to be created and for capitalism to exist.

How did this process take course in Zimbabwe? The colonisation of Zimbabwe in 1890 and the subsequent overthrow of the last hegemonic state, the Ndebele state, in 1893 plus the crushing of the resistance uprisings of 1896-97 all initiated a process by which various methods would be employed to create an army of direct producers dispossessed of their means of production and having no option but to work for the new capitalist class (the bourgeoisie), a class that had monetary wealth in its hands. This monetary wealth needed to be turned into capital, i.e. wealth that earns more wealth, by the labour of the wage labourers.

### The Tax System

Capital faced a serious problem in obtaining labour for its mines in the early days of colonisation. This was because the pre-existing systems of production and politics had not been really demolished. People remained, in the main, united with their means of production and subsistence and saw no need to become a wage labouring force. We are informed by Per Zachrisson (1978, p.49) that Cecil Rhodes - the social imperialist chief of the British South Africa Company - wanted to introduce a hut tax as early as 1892 in order to force the "natives" to work.

In October 1894, the first Hut Tax Ordinance was introduced in Mashonaland stipulating 10 shillings which could be paid as rent in kind, in labour or in cash. All the three forms of feudal rent were to be operative. In Mutoko District in 1894, Native Commissioner Weale explained that his instructions to the "natives" were "that they were now freed from the domination of the Ndebele and we intended to rule the country in the future and give them good government for which they were in turn to pay an annual tax which they might obtain by money earned from the whites for whom they were required to work".

Arrighi (1973, p.194) also tells us that the hut tax of 10s which was imposed in 1894 on

every adult male and 10s extra for each wife exceeding one was later replaced by a poll tax of one pound on each male over 16 and 10s on each extra wife. As we have noted, payment in kind (by produce) was initially accepted, but it was later discouraged as a way of inducing African peasants into wage employment rather than allow them to increase their productive capacities on the land in order to pay taxes. (See also L. H. Gann, 1965, p.123)

The BSAC administration had limited resources to set up a machinery to collect taxes. Thus individual settlers did as they pleased, collecting the taxes, and most importantly, using collaborative elements of the pre-colonial African ruling class. Tax defaulters were whipped, their cattle, grain and women confiscated. This was, in fact, given as one of the causes (rather grievances) leading to the 1896-97 uprisings.

Taxation had its own shortcomings in terms of creating a proletariat for the capitalist class. Firstly, it did not discriminate according to the sources of the tax money, i.e. whether the taxpayer got the tax money via the sale of his produce or by wage labour or both. Indeed, in order to resist proletarianisation, African peasants either intensified production on their cultivated plots or extended their cultivated area in order to produce enough surplus to sell and pay tax.

Secondly, when peasants turned to wage labour to earn tax money, they did not necessarily go where they were needed most. Some actually preferred "trekking" down south to the better paying gold mines! That is why the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines in 1902 called for Pass Laws requiring all African males over the age of 14 to carry Registration Certificates. This was enacted in 1904 and amended in 1913. Defending this law, one Col. Carbutt claimed that it was intended to make "natives observe their obligations", "to compel natives to carry out their contracts", "also for protection against unscrupulous employees", to "control undesirable movements towards towns", to "reduce desertions", and "provide control over people who have been emancipated suddenly from the autocratic control of their chiefs" (Zachrisson, *ibid*, p.103).

Indeed, African peasants resisted being turned into a proletariat, by being separated from their means of production via the tax system. They adopted technologically advanced instruments of production such as the plough and draught animals. They tried new crops, etc., to raise their productive capacities. They sold their produce at the new markets in mines and towns so as to obtain cash for tax. After the increase in the tax as noted by Arrighi, the peasants still intensified productive capacities. In 1908, a Belingwe (now Mberengwa) Native Commissioner suggested further increases in the tax to include, as he put it, "every native who did not work for the privilege of the idleness he enjoys"! (Zachrisson, *ibid*, p.153).

The peasant class resistance to proletarianisation was obvious. An angry peasant militant in Bubi summed up the process by declaring that white people would be "taking money from the *flies* in our kraals next. Better be dead than pay such demands". (Palmer, 1977, p.97).

Taxation was clearly a mechanism designed to separate direct producers, the peasantry, from their means of production, especially the land. Peasants resisted by increasing their productive capacity and selling their products on the market. So, as long as peasants remained united with their land, with their means of production, they would not be turned into a proletariat. This necessitated the taking over of peasant land by capital so that capitalist relations of production could be established in land and in industry.

## Land Expropriation

The settlers of the Pioneer Column despatched from Rhodes' gold paradise down south entered present-day Zimbabwe with everything except one crucial thing - the capitalist relations of production. Those, no one can carry in their suitcase! They have to be established on the ground on which capitalism is to be built.

Settlers immediately grabbed land, pegging out large farms as they wished and helping themselves to the alluvial gold deposits. Once these deposits were exhausted, the mining operations needed labour. This is where problems set in. Crude methods of labour recruitment were used. Once mining proved unprofitable (mainly because cheap labour was scarce as African peasants resisted wage labour), the BSAC provoked war with the hegemonic Ndebele state, interfering with its tribute collecting system. The aim was to overthrow it. This was done quickly and the Ndebele monarch, Lobengula, was overthrown and all the land and cattle passed to the BSAC by "right of conquest". One bandit settler, Herman Heyman, even set up a Loot Committee to supervise the distribution of the spoils. Since the Ndebele feudal state had occupied the fertile and gold-rich lands formerly ruled over by the Rozvi hegemonic state, the Ndebele lost all of this overnight and, quicker than anyone else, many Ndebele peasants were compelled into wage labour. They thus became a *proletariat*.

An 1894 Land Commission recommended that Ndebele peasants be resettled on the "marvellous well-watered fertile land of the Gwaii and Shangani Reserves". Prominent aristocrat, Lord Grey, later testified that the Ndebeles regarded those two so-called "reserves" as "cemeteries, not homes". The Ndebele peasants refused to move and thus became squatters on company and settler land and subjected to all sorts of taxes! Many were evicted or forced into labour. This state of affairs led both Ndebele and Shona peasants to mobilise for war which broke out in 1896 and lasted until 1897. These uprisings forced Rhodes to negotiate and he did so with the Ndebele aristocracy who demanded an end to land takeovers, cattle expropriation, taxes and forced labour. Rhodes also obtained assurances of labour supply from the Ndebele ruling class. But since most of the peasants returned to their land, capital did not get any labour at all and this led to the collapse of the mining industry in the colony (see Ranger, 1967, p.103).

The company resorted to land speculation in an attempt to accumulate capital. This precipitated the development of a white agricultural bourgeoisie holding land expropriated from the African peasantry.

In 1902, the colonial state carved out "reserves" for Africans. By 1913, 9 million acres were held by land companies; 12,5 million by settlers and absentee landlords, 24,8 million by peasants as reserve land and 48 million were unutilised while African peasants jostled each other in crowded reserves. As more settlers came in, Africans on unalienated land were required to pay one pound per annum as rent in order to force them to work. In 1910 a Private Locations Ordinance was evoked to restrict "kaffir farming" on "European farms" (African peasants farming like white capitalists). The rent caused a peasant exodus to the reserves. In 1915 a Native Reserves Commission proposed that 5 610 595 acres (of infertile and poor soils not desired by white settlers) be allocated to existing reserves while 6 673 055 acres were to be subtracted and added to white enterprises as it was "good" land. As a result, the peasantry lost 1 062 460 acres! By 1921, agriculture accounted for the largest single group of white income earners and

at that time, this very group was gaining political ground, winning a majority in the settler colonial parliament in 1923. With this political power, the settler community in agriculture was in a position to dictate the future land policy in the colony more than any other faction of capital.

In 1925 the Morris Carter Commission was set up to make recommendations on land policy and it reported in favour of segregated "Land Purchase Areas". A total of 6 851 876 acres were given to an aspiring African peasant petty bourgeoisie while settler capital got 17 428 815 acres. Altogether, 17 793 300 remained unalienated. The policy of developing a peasant entrepreneur class was evolved against the background of peasant unrest, urban labour strikes, etc, in order to generate the evolution of a class ally of capital among the African peasantry. This was the core of the so-called "two-pyramid or separate development policy". The 1925 Commission's recommendations became law in the form of the notorious Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which marked a watershed in Zimbabwe's history of land relations. More peasants were expelled to the already crowded "reserves".

Others remained on capitalist farmland paying rent in the form of labour, in kind or cash, but labour-rent (so-called labour-tenancy) was the most prevalent and long lasting (see Rennie, J. K., *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1974).

African peasants resisted proletarianisation by adopting more ploughs, more draught animals, new crops, etc, but this overworked the "reserve" lands. Thus, many were forced to seek wage employment. But, *land expropriation* alone was not enough to solve the proletarianisation question. This was largely because "reserves" were deemed necessary for a cheaper reproduction of the labour force and also because peasant revolts were always a potential and actual threat. We now turn to *forced labour*.

### **Forced Labour**

The gold fields of colonial Zimbabwe failed to yield deposits comparable to those of South Africa. Thus the BSAC's dream of "The Second Rand" proved a mirage. In 1910 eleven Johannesburg mines yielded a profit close to 7 million pounds while the then leading Rhodesian mines yielded a profit of 614 000 pounds (Arrighi, 1973 p.336). Yet the mining industry, which had virtually collapsed by 1903, was reconstructed via *cost minimisation* and *output maximisation* strategies, so that in 1910 they yielded an output of 2,5 million tons, an incredible performance if compared to the pre-1903 period, says Phimister (*Economic History Review*, 1976).

What then were some of the cost minimisation strategies which Phimister says were significant in solving the problem of the industry? One was the reduction of black labour costs. Why and how? We will look at a system called *Chibaro* or forced labour for slave wages.

All the mechanisms we have looked at so far did not push labour in the direction it was required, neither did they ensure the availability of labour at the desired rate of pay. Pass Laws, as we have already noted, were designed to direct labour to areas where it was needed. The long established South African Rand mines were better worked and with better pay and conditions, so dispossessed bearers of labour power trekked from colonial Zimbabwe to the South to sell their labour-power, forcing domestic mines to put up wages in an effort to attract indigenous labour. Arab, Somali and Abyssinian (Ethiopian) migrants were imported but the scheme was not feasible as some took to

finding alternative ways of earning a living while others traced their steps back to Aden (see Lanning and Mueller, *Africa Undermined*, Penguin, 1979).

The only option was to force local labour to surrender itself for work at the prevailing rate of pay. As mining machines were grinding to a halt in 1902, the mining oligarchy formed the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) with the aim of securing for the mines:

a nucleus of natives contracted to work for twelve months at a definite minimum wage. (*ibid*, p.171)

With the Pass Law provisions, Native Commissioners and their police and elements of the pre-colonial ruling class, dictated labour as the RNLB required. There was no longer free sale of labour power on the market. Those who refused to go were whipped and some had their grain stores burned to ashes.

Says Phimister:

Because the RNLB recruits and other migrant workers still retained rights to land in rural areas, the wages paid by the mining industry were generally fixed at, or slightly above the level of subsistence of the individual worker. The needs of his family were to be met by agricultural production in African rural areas. By obliging the rural economy to undertake social security functions for migrant labour, capitalist enterprises thus relieved themselves of important expenditure in this sphere. This was of immense value for profit maximisation by the mines as it allowed capital to pay the worker below the cost of his reproduction. (Phimister, 1976, p.476).

Once recruited, black mine labourers were housed in closed barrack-like compounds, isolated from the local economy and population. This isolation was an absolute necessity since forced indigenous and extra-territorial migrant labour sometimes utilised contacts with the local or adjacent peasantry and escaped to unite itself with the means of production.

Zachrisson notes a case where migrants from Mozambique escaped and took to fishing in the local rivers, selling their catch to the mines rather than working for starvation wages! The compound system is correctly viewed by Lanning and Mueller as an effective instrument of labour coercion, the foundation upon which mining capital and the whole fabric of capitalist dominance in Zimbabwe and the whole of Southern Africa was built and continues to this day.

Crucial to the period of reconstruction of mining therefore was the RNLB, *Chibaro*, the compound system and the Pass Laws. All these reinforced *labour coercion* to assure the mining industry of its share of the hitherto reluctant labour force. Mines which could not attract a labour force not totally separated from the means of production enjoyed huge profits. This forced labour system, with the intensification of agrarian capitalism and the expulsion of peasants from the land and the strangulation of peasant productive capacity (which was often intensified as resistance to proletarianisation grew), all boosted the development of the capitalist mode of production and a proletariat in the colony. Mining capital, especially, stood back on its feet, so that by 1927 the colony's Auditor-General was able to proudly proclaim:

... in Western Australia, where there is no native labour, mines which are of higher grade than ours cannot be worked at a profit though ours, the lower grades, produce profits. The inference is clear. Our mines are profitable only because of native labour available (*ibid*, p.481).

## IMPLICATIONS FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The implications for the labour movement are many and varied. Here we can only point to a few. Firstly, capitalism obviously cannot exist without a class of dispossessed direct producers who must function as labourers for a wage. To end capitalism the working class must struggle for an eventual end to wage slavery.

Secondly, in order for there to be wage labourers, the general population of direct producers must be stripped of the basic means of obtaining a living. They must lose their land and livestock rights. This means that the labour movement must be conscious of its historical social origins, its peasant base. To re-unite itself with the means of production both in town and country, the working class must forge an alliance with the exploited sections of the peasantry. These two classes are the only ones in an objective position to lead a struggle for meaningful land reform which would re-integrate direct producers with their means of production in a socialist way. It means that the working class must prepare for long-term political struggles for socialism.

Thirdly, the main aim of capital was to create a large pool of cheap labour to make possible accumulation and higher levels of profitability. The labour movement must understand that this is the basic law of capitalism to maximise surplus value by increasing exploitation of the working class.

The working class must therefore struggle to ensure a meaningful living wage in its economic struggle, to ensure that wages do not fall below decent standards of living. But it must be known that this economic struggle is limited and can only reach a high point when the working class forms its own political party to become a vanguard in the struggle for socialism.

Fourthly, the role of the state as an organ of class power emerges in the process of the creation of a proletariat. State taxes, legislation, expropriations, etc. all worked on behalf of the rising capitalist class. Once capitalism comes into place, the state operates to reproduce the bourgeoisie as the bourgeoisie, the proletariat as the proletariat. It means, in order to free itself, the proletariat must organise and lead other oppressed classes in the necessary struggle to overthrow the state of the capitalist class and install in its place a democratic proletarian socialist state.



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