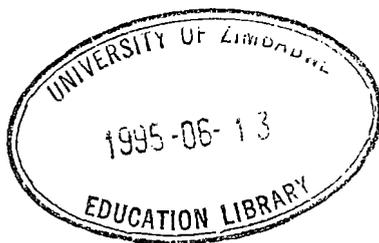


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Education For Liberation And Development: A Comparison Of Cuban And Zimbabwean Educational Practices

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the contradictions experienced by Zimbabwean policy makers in their efforts to use education in the socialist transformation of a post-colonial state in which capitalism was the dominant mode of production. Zimbabwe, like most settler colonial countries in Sub-Saharan Africa inherited a well developed European educational system, and an underdeveloped African educational system which had been used by various colonial and settler governments to oppress the African majority and marginalize them from major political and economic activities in the country. The new regime of Robert Mugabe that came into power in 1980 after fourteen years of a protracted guerrilla warfare also inherited an underdeveloped rural sector where 80% of the population lived and a well developed urban oriented economic structure that was dominated by a small white settler community of 250,000 people.

For comparative purposes, Cuba will be used as an example (not as an ideal type) of a developing nation in the process of consolidating its socialist revolution, now threatened by events in Eastern Europe. For both Zimbabwe and Cuba, centralized planning was adopted instead of a free market economy in which the laws of supply and demand would prevail. This paper will also examine the problems associated with centralized planning in education since participation of civil society in policy making is difficult to realize in command economies like the one the Zimbabwean regime has tried to establish. In both countries, mass education was seen as the major vehicle for the transition to socialism. In Cuba, the emancipation of the working class and women was regarded by both Castro and Guevera to start with mass education. In Zimbabwe, while mass education was seen as a means of "raising the ideological consciousness of the people in the political, social, cultural, and economic

spheres," it was used primarily to redress the imbalances in educational provision that existed before independence due to the racist policies of successive colonial regimes.

At independence, the leadership in Cuba and Zimbabwe espoused a radical socialist ideology that was intended to guide the socioeconomic transformation and development of their societies. For both Zimbabwe and Cuba, socialism was adopted as the guiding philosophy in transforming the respective educational systems. While Cuban education reforms have been heralded as a success in transforming a backward Caribbean country into a modern socialist society, Zimbabwe seems to be finding it difficult to translate its radical socialist ideology into a workable agency for both its economic and educational transformation (Jolly, 1973).

Therefore, this paper compares the post 1959 Cuban educational reforms to the efforts being made by the Zimbabwean government since 1980 to use education as a *sine qua non* for transforming Zimbabwean society. The objective of the comparison is to try and explicate why and how Zimbabwean educational reforms are struggling with the ineluctable task of restructuring the inherited inequitable educational and economic system towards a more egalitarian socioeconomic formation when Cuban reform efforts seem to have succeeded in changing the old order by establishing a more equitable educational and economic system in that country. As shall be discussed below, this writer is aware that certain aspects of Cuban education are still elitist in form and content and that the Cuban revolution has not completely succeeded in eradicating inequalities between the poor and the rich. Further, while Zimbabwe cannot replicate the Cuban educational experience, Cuba has certainly had a longer experience with educational change than Zimbabwe. Therefore, it offers an experience which developing nations like Zimbabwe can compare with their own efforts in reforming educational systems.

While the term educational reform can be used to describe macro and micro changes in the educational sector, in this comparison, an educational reform is regarded as a change that covers the entire education system or some aspect of it such as teacher education. Therefore, a distinction is being made between a reform and an innovation. The latter refers to specific changes within education or teacher education such as the introduction of computer assisted learning

in teachers' colleges or the adoption of a new science program in high schools. As Sack (1981: 39-53) argues in describing educational reforms in the developing nations, a reform:

...is a system wide effort at creating change whose need and impact are often broader than the confines of the educational system itself; innovations are much more isolated attempts at changing or improving some particular component of the educational system without affecting its entirety.

Thus an educational reform aims at changing the form, content and orientation of an entire educational system while an innovation is restricted to one or two aspects of an education system.

This comparison is concerned with structural educational reforms that are intended to have a long-lasting impact on the socioeconomic development of Cuba and Zimbabwe. Therefore, the ideological and political discourses that are embedded in the educational reforms in the two countries will also be central in this analysis. The objective is to illuminate the strategies and models used in both countries to reform the educational systems in an attempt to go further than the rational or center periphery model. This is a model in which reforms are conceptualized and funded from the center and then programs are implemented by schools, teachers and parents in the periphery (Rizvi and Kemmis, 1987). The paper will seek to show how reforms in the two countries were contested by both dominant and subordinate groups involved in the reform process.

The history and meaning of socialism in Cuba and Zimbabwe

While discursive opposition movements to colonialism in Zimbabwe which appealed to traditional or regional sentiments can be traced back to the 1890's, Cuba, in the first half of the nineteenth century already had a history of indigenous leaders who espoused a socialist ideology (Lis, 1984). Therefore, when Castro's regime came into power, it found a proletarianized labor force in towns and the sugar plantations which was already sensitized to the possibilities of revolutionary politics. The nineteenth century Zimbabwean armed confrontation with colonialism was not a working class movement. Second, the initial anti-colonialist

uprisings were not influenced by a socialist ideology because nineteenth century Zimbabwe had not been exposed to socialist ideas as Cuba was at this stage. Rather, these were resistance movements opposed to the imposition of white colonial rule and the expropriation of African land by hunters, farmers and gold prospectors. Socialism became part of the guiding philosophy of Zimbabwe's liberation movements during the late 1970s. For instance, for Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), socialism was not adopted by his party, which was formed in 1963 until the Chimoi conference held in Mozambique in 1977. Thus, the foundation, history, and resilience of socialist ideas and the commitment of leaders to a socialist agenda in revolutionary Cuba and post colonial Zimbabwe were different.

Upon taking power, the Cuban leadership regarded a socialist society as one in which each person works according to his or her ability and receives a compensation according to his or her needs. In addition to this view, a socialist society was to be created by a new socialist person whom Ernesto Che Guevera (1927-1967) described as a community oriented person willing to work for the good of society rather than compelled to do so by social pressures. From 1962 to 1967, Castro put the responsibility of leading the socialist revolution on the former guerrillas and exalted the peasants as the revolutionary class. The creation of a technological base and elimination of dominant classes in Cuba was also critical to the creation of a socialist society based on moral incentives.

In contrast to Castro, the first years of the Mugabe government were dominated by the exigency to reconcile European settlers and Africans who had been fighting each other for over ninety years. The Zimbabwean regime did not approach the question of creating a new person dedicated to socialism with the same vigour as the Cubans did because the majority of the top echelons of the civil service and industry were occupied by people who had not been fighters during the war. While government rhetoric emphasized the creation of a new socialist person, the realities of the inherited economic structure demanded the retention of Europeans and Africans who had served the Smith regime in both the public and private sector while the former freedom fighters were either voluntarily demobilized or preoccupied with integrating the army. Economic expediency dictated that in *practice*, socialism was not to be high on the agenda of reconstructing and transforming Zimbabwe's economic base. Rather, the new regime concentrated on preserving and maintaining the inherited mixed economy which had endured international economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia since 1965 when Ian Smith unilaterally

declared independence from England. The Zimbabwean government was also preoccupied with placating armed dissident elements in the western part of the country who felt that they had not been given a fair deal in the new government.

Unlike their Cuban counterparts, Zimbabwean leaders argue that they inherited a highly developed capitalist economic structure by Sub-Saharan standards which should not be disturbed. As FitzGerald (1986:31) contends in his discussion of problems associated with the transition to socialism in underdeveloped economies, the capitalist economy can be maintained while the government concentrates on controlling the social distribution of labor and developing:

... a diversity of (a) types of ownership of the means of production; (b) forms of expropriation of the surplus; (c) degrees of division of labor; and (d) levels of development of productive forces.

Within this framework, it is argued that, it is crucial for the state to control marketing and distribution of commodities rather than the means of production in the early stages of the transitional period. In the case of Zimbabwe, government has concentrated on establishing parastatals in the agricultural and mining sectors so that the mode of appropriating surplus becomes critical in the transition to socialism. Consequently, the creation of a socialist society is now regarded by Zimbabwean leaders as a gradual process which can even take generations to create. Even after five years of independence, the Mugabe government had not succeeded in nationalizing the major industrial and farming concerns inherited from the colonial period as did happen in Cuba. Instead, the Zimbabwe government opted for joint ownership schemes in which it for instance, buys 45% of the shares in an enterprise controlled by transnational corporations as did happen in the agreement with the Heinz Corporation in 1985. Now such schemes are being encouraged under the Structural Economic Re-Adjustment Programs.

The policy of reconciliation adopted by the Zimbabwean government at independence was also the exact opposite of Castro's policy of destroying dominant political classes and the need for a definite and permanent restructuring of society. Whereas Castro saw the destruction of the pre-revolution dominant classes as an imperative to the creation of a socialist society, the Mugabe government sought an accommodation with the white farming, commercial, industrial, and political dominant classes.

Thus, residual pre-independence economic and social forces were carried over into a supposedly socialist post-independence era. Furthermore, a socialist society in Zimbabwe is viewed in such general terms as : government participation with local and international capital; the redistribution of land; the establishment of collective cooperatives; and the expansion and provision of social services such as health, education and transportation. Emphasis is on re-distributive welfare policies without altering the basic economic structure that was inherited from the settler colonial period (Sylvester, 1985). Critical observers of the Zimbabwean revolution like Astrow have seen in such an imperceptible policy an accommodation with international capital in which the Zimbabwean state is becoming weaker in terms of fulfilling its socialist agenda (Astrow, 1983:161-196). While Zimbabwe has no communist party like Cuba, it is a de facto one party state. The organization of the Zimbabwean ruling party was streamlined after the 1984 National Congress to resemble a Leninist party with a fifteen member Politburo as the main policy making body of government and the ruling Party.

Major historical and institutional patterns

The major historical configuration that has imposed limitations on Zimbabwe's ability to establish socialist values and styles in society and the educational system has been the 1979 Lancaster House independence negotiations (Davidow, 1979). First, the conference agreements forced Zimbabwe to maintain a multiparty system for ten years up to 1990. Second, it compelled the government to accommodate local agrarian and industrial capital which has since exerted tremendous influence on state policy making. In the process, the government has been unable to institute viable agrarian reforms to redistribute land to landless peasants and change the pattern set by the Land Tenure act which reserved 50% of the best land for Europeans in the 1930s. For instance, by 1985, the Zimbabwean government was only able to resettle 35,000 rural families out of a total of 162, 000 families needing resettlement. The Lancaster House agreement has also made it difficult for the government to improve conditions of over 200,000 farm workers in an agricultural sector which is still dominated by 4,000 white commercial farmers who own 50% of all arable farmland in Zimbabwe on farms averaging 2,300 hectares in size (Economist Intelligence Unit, 1987: 11-15). This situation is of considerable import to educational reform because it negates government's efforts to include agriculture in the school curriculum which is intended to make students stay in over crowded and undeveloped

communal areas formerly known as "tribal trust lands or African Reserves". A large segment of the industrial and mining capital is linked to South Africa -- a situation that continues to impose limitations on Zimbabwe's economic independence.

Third, the conference negotiations curtailed the maturation of the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the former freedom fighters before they could map out a clear strategy for socialist transformation and mobilization of the rural and urban masses. In fact, sympathetic observers of the Zimbabwean political process such as Bratton and Burgess (1987) poignantly argue that at independence, the nationalist leadership in Zimbabwe already had an economic and political agenda when they came to power while the revolutionary cadreship had none (Bratton and Burgess, 1987). Thus, at independence, the former freedom fighters were preoccupied with the integration of the three armies (the Rhodesian forces and the two liberation armies) while the technocrats were busy controlling the bureaucracy, especially the crucial ministries of Finance, Agriculture and Planning. The nationalist leadership was well suited for their new jobs unlike the former fighters because they had managerial experience and a world outlook that was in accord with that of the free market economy prevailing in both the private and public sectors and the Western foreign assistance community that descended on Zimbabwe at independence.

The shortage of skilled manpower, due to the inadequate training of Africans and the emigration of Europeans before independence, was another major inheritance which imposed limitations on the state's capacity to create conditions necessary for the building of a socialist society. The new state's program of socialist development needed a large group of well skilled state managers. This situation was further aggravated by the fact that the best and experienced managers (such as school principals) in the civil service left and joined the private sector which had better conditions of service than the public sector. Shortages of skilled manpower were felt in the supply of teachers for rural schools due to deteriorating conditions of work and budget cuts induced by drought and a general world recession.

The strength of local agrarian and industrial capital also had implications on the role of the working class in building socialism in Zimbabwe. Their political marginalization and collective power was curtailed by the

enactment of a labor relations Bill that banned strikes by essential workers (Sachikonye, 1986). This Bill further deflated the autonomy of the working class and thereby subordinated it to corporatist control.

Such a historical and institutional inheritance, was felt directly in education where the government was forced to maintain an elitist private sector for the few who could afford to pay the exorbitant fees and a public sector for the majority of the African children. This type of education was also ill suited for the building of a socialist society because of the maintenance of a national competitive external examination system at the secondary level.

Students from high fee-paying mission and private schools with experienced teachers and adequate teaching and learning facilities have tended to do better at these examinations than students from rural and urban low fee-paying schools in which students from the lower classes are concentrated. For instance, in a comparison of the number of students who gained five "O" level passes in her sample by type of school, Dorsey (1989: 40-58) found out that in 1984, the pass rate by type of school was as follows:

Type of school	%	N
Private schools	57	279
Mission schools	45	1,995
Former white schools (urban)	30	1,783
Former African schools (urban)	22	2,482
Rural government schools	18	387

These pass rates reveal that white students and African students who enroll in private, mission and the former government white schools will continue to be over-represented at tertiary institutions such as the university and consequently in the professional managerial positions in both the private and public sectors of Zimbabwe's economy. In a country that has been ostensibly committed to the building of socialism, this situation is a major contradiction which the Cubans were able to resolve

during the initial years of their revolution. Thus, in the case of Zimbabwe, educational expansion seems to intensify existing inequalities and class structures instead of engendering a more egalitarian society.

The Zimbabwean situation was further compounded by the maintenance of English as a medium of instruction, a largely academic curriculum and a heavy reliance on books written in North America and England. Such an educational system thwarted government's intentions of democratizing education because only a small proportion of students continued to tertiary education provided in the polytechnics and the university. In addition, capital favored an elitist system of education because it created a large pool of labour that could be employed at very low cost.

While Cuba, like Zimbabwe, is not a mono-economy based on sugar, its historical and institutional inheritance was conducive to the development of socialist values and styles among its leadership and people. The small industrial sector which was present was controlled by foreigners. Unlike Zimbabwe, Cuba had an underdeveloped industrial sector. Domestic capital was only strong in real estate or it was invested in the U.S. At the time of the revolution, sugar mills, ports, rail roads, mining and manufacturing sectors were not operating at full capacity. Whereas in Zimbabwe, despite the war and sanctions imposed by the international community, the economy was relatively intact and booming. Therefore, the Cuban economy was much easier to dislodge and replace with a new economic order than the Zimbabwean one.

The absence of a strong landed upper class was also propitious to the building of socialist values. The moneyed class was made up of businessmen, bankers, and merchants who had less moral legitimacy in the eyes of the population. In Zimbabwe, the agrarian and commercial white upper classes was first protected by the Lancaster House agreements and then legitimized by the new leadership which regarded them as crucial to the economy. It was therefore easier to dismantle the Cuban upper classes than their Zimbabwean counterparts, whose continued special privileged position now seemed critical to the survival of the new regime and nation.

Although the Cuban middle class was substantial economically, it was not a homogeneous group in terms of its ideology and attitudes and had no collective self identity (Manitzas, 1973). Therefore, they posed no threat to Castro's efforts to destroy the middle class. In Zimbabwe, the white middle class was united by its racial ideology. In this situation, they posed

a serious threat and even threatened to stage a *coup d'état* in 1980. The white professional middle class was also crucial to the continued existence of the economic system in Zimbabwe. Thus, the absence of a national bourgeoisie in Cuba united on racial grounds made it easier for Castro to restructure the class structure of Cuba than it was for the new Zimbabwean regime.

From the early 1930's, the labor force in Cuba's urban areas were integrated into a labor movement that incorporated agricultural workers in the country side. Unlike the Zimbabwean situation, there was a Communist Party which was active in the leadership of the labor movement (Tismaneanu, 1987). In other words, Cuban society was to some extent proletarianized when the revolution came. Unlike their counterparts in Zimbabwe, the Cuban revolutionary leadership was dealing with a population that had already been "exposed to values and norms of behavior that were secular, rationalistic and fundamentally modern." While U.S. hegemony in Cuba had an economic and political impact, its unintended consequence on Cuban culture was positive in that it prepared Cubans culturally for a modern society. In Zimbabwe, rural Africans, farm workers and the urban masses were exteriorized to the modern sector. With such a socio-cultural legacy in Cuba, it was relatively easy for Castro to absorb the Cuban masses into a national government which emphasized socialist values and attitudes than it was for the Zimbabwean regime. The Zimbabwean government had, instead, to contend with two regions of the country which owed allegiance to their opponents for over four years after independence (Sylvester, 1986 and Shaw, 1986).

The inheritance of the two countries in education was also different. Whereas Cuba had an illiterate adult population rate of 25% at the time of independence, Zimbabwe had 43% in 1980. In Cuba, 53% of school age population was in primary school while in Zimbabwe, only 35% were in school at the time of independence (Riddell, 1980). Such a situation meant that Cuba had approximately one million illiterate adults to teach how to read while Zimbabwe had to contend with about three million illiterate adults.

However, both countries inherited educational systems which were heavily concentrated in urban areas in terms of coverage and facilities. In both countries, the content of education was not relevant to the economic and political development of indigenous people. In Cuba, there was a

heavy emphasis on high level liberal professional qualifications instead of middle level technical expertise. According to Jolly (1973:211), education in pre-revolutionary Cuba was:

... expensive, wasteful, and corrupt and absorbing a high proportion of national income and government expenditure, but producing much less than was paid for because of over-staffing, misallocation of resources and bribery.

For instance, Jolly shows that in 1952, there were only 1,468 engineers and 1,109 technicians compared to 6,500 lawyers (Jolly, 1973:162-174). With its emphasis on technology and industrialization, especially from 1959-1963, the Castro government sought to redress this imbalance by concentrating on the sciences and engineering. Thus, by 1962, the enrollments in all three Cuban universities in engineering was 3,001 compared to 535 students in law faculties. As Khadani and Riddell show, Zimbabwe's educational inheritance was no different from that of Cuba (Kadhani and Riddell, 1981: 58-73). African education was, *inter alia*, meant to produce a small percentage of people to work in the farms and factories and "as a route out of a peasant existence, a route out of the rural areas where the chances for finding productive employment was near to zero". However, unlike Cuba, Zimbabwe did not seriously redress imbalances in university orientation. For instance, in 1983, Zimbabwe had 232 students enrolled in engineering and 871 enrolled in Commerce and Law. As such, commerce, law and the liberal arts continue to be over subscribed in Zimbabwe compared to medicine, pharmacy, veterinary medicine, science, and engineering.

Initial Measures At Independence

According to official Cuban policy, the aim of socialist education which was instituted in Cuba in 1959 is the linking of education with productive labor as a means of developing men in every aspect. The major initial measures in the Cuban educational reform were changes in the purpose and structure of adult education; expansion of schooling at the primary and secondary level, shifting of schooling to rural areas; the development of a closer relation between schooling and work; and the development of schools as production units. In the Zimbabwean case, the problem of adult literacy, although important, did not take such a central role in the socioeconomic development of the country as it did in Cuba. Instead, the

expansion of both primary and secondary education was one of the biggest agenda's of Zimbabwe's new regime. While Zimbabwe put emphasis on building more schools in rural areas and rebuilding those that had been destroyed during the war, there was no deliberate effort to move the school to the rural areas as happened in Cuba. An effort was made to link education to work, but not with the revolutionary ardor as was the case in Cuba. The Zimbabwe Foundation For Education With Production (ZIMFEP) was an effort to develop schools as production units. Eight pilot schools were established on farms that were abandoned by whites in 1980 for the children who had been refugees during the war. Considerable importance was put on linking classroom activities with work in the fields. Administratively, they were run by a board of directors independent of the then Ministry of Education. First, the success of these schools has been limited because their students have to write the same secondary school examination from Cambridge, England as students from conventional schools. ZIMFEP students do not spend the same amount of time in classrooms as the students in both government and private schools. Second, after 1983, the schools started to admit students who had not been refugees. In the words of Mudariki, (1983: 130):

It is quite possible that when the last group of ex-refugees complete their education at these schools, the new intake might not be so sympathetic to the idea of manual work when their counterparts in other schools do not do the same.

Consequently, this program is not very popular with students and parents because it reminds them of colonial efforts to introduce vocational education which inhibited their children from proceeding to tertiary education. As Carnoy and Werthein note, Cuban educational reforms were unique in the developing world because the majority of them took place after the initial commitment of incorporating the masses into economic development through adult education and the expansion of primary and secondary education (Carnoy and Werthein, 1977). As has been pointed out earlier on, at independence, the adult illiteracy rate in Cuba was 25%. With nearly 2,000,000 million illiterate adults it was clear to the Cuban leaders that these adults could not take part in the economic and social development of Cuba where technical and industrial skills had become essential. The need to bring peasants and workers into the national strategy of socioeconomic and political development also added an exigency for the importance of a nation wide adult literacy program. Thus, changes which were being initiated in the economy were dictating the structure, content and orientation of the educational system.

It was in this context that 1961 was declared the Year of Education. The government was able to mobilize 250,000 men, women, boys, and girls who responded to the call for sacrifice and idealism and were organized into *alfabetizadores* (adult volunteers) and *brigadistas* (volunteer member of more mobile student groups). Each member of the *brigadistas* was supplied with the bare necessities and books. The *brigadista* had to live with the family he/she was teaching to read and write. The *alfabetizadores* were concentrated in urban areas because they were mainly employed people. Some courses were also organized for workers who could read and write. Others were organized for women who had been employed as domestic servants. By the end of the year, the Castro government claimed that it had reduced the illiteracy rate among adults to 3.9%.

In 1980, Zimbabwe had an adult illiteracy rate of 45%. This in effect means that about 2,300,000 Africans who were fifteen years and older in 1980 were illiterate. The illiteracy of the adult population was certainly not at the center of the Zimbabwean developmental thrust as it was in Cuba. As Riddell (1980) shows, very little was being done in relation to the scale of the problem. This perfunctory approach was illustrated by the fact that adult education in 1980, did not come under the ministry responsible for education. It was a small section of the Ministry of Women's Development and Community Affairs that is responsible for adult education. Since 1969, there has only been one major adult literacy organization in Zimbabwe, the Adult Literacy Organization of Zimbabwe (ALoz). ALoz is a voluntary organization whose funds come from local and international private donors.

Primary And Secondary Initiatives

At the primary and secondary level, the first measure undertaken in Cuba was to restructure the system. Private schools continued to exist up to 1961 when they were abolished. After two years of pre-school education, children spent seven years in primary schools, three years in basic secondary education and three years in pre-university institutes. After primary education, students could be enrolled for a three or five year program in teacher education. At the end of basic secondary education, students could opt for four years of professional training either at the Language institutes, Agricultural and Veterinary institutes, Administration and Commerce institutes, Technical Industrial institutes or the Center for Physical Education and sport. Pre-school education was done on a massive scale to enable Cuban women to participate in the

economic life of the country. In fact, the establishment of government funded Day Care centers in Cuba was indicative of Cuba's commitment to eradicating the employment of women as domestic servants and the general emancipation of women.

The Zimbabwean system of education was also restructured at independence. Previously, there had been two systems of education to cater for Africans and Europeans respectively. At the primary level, children stayed in school for seven years. Primary education was made free but not compulsory for all children and the primary school leaving public examination was no longer the major determining factor for entrance into high school, except for the popular private and elitist institutions that continued to exist at the secondary level. The vocational secondary schools, which parents and students regarded as inferior, were merged with the academic secondary schools, although school fees and the nation wide external examinations at the end of the four years were retained. Tertiary education was limited to four years of teacher training after four years of high school; three years post high school diploma courses at agricultural institutes; one to three year post high school diploma courses at polytechnics; and a three year degree programme at the university. The employment of women as domestic servants was not eradicated in Zimbabwe as did happen in Cuba. In fact, the increasing number of an African middle class also meant an increase in the number of both males and females employed as domestic servants.

Structural changes in both countries were followed by quantitative changes. While in Cuba some teachers had to teach multiple grades, in some urban and rural schools in Zimbabwe, both teacher and students had to contend with double shifts of students using the same classrooms in one day. The enrollment profile for Cuba from 1958-1962 was 736,606-1,350,000 at the primary level and 6,3171-107,748 at the secondary level. The expansion was aided by a system of scholarships given to most students to attend the nation wide system of boarding schools which started after 1959. Zimbabwe also registered similar quantum changes. For instance the enrollment profile for 1980-1989 was 1,235,994-2,220,967 at the primary level and 74,966-653,353 at the secondary level. Unlike Cuba, Zimbabwe had no nation-wide scholarship system at the secondary level.

Boarding schools were seen by the Cuban leadership as the best mechanism of instilling in students cooperative attitudes and values consistent with socialism, thereby playing a crucial role in the creation of

a new socialist person. Second, they provided a full curriculum which included physical education as well as academic subjects or the training of the whole body and mind. Third, boarding schools were also regarded to be particularly useful for students from rural mountainous areas. Fourth, semi-*internado* boarding schools were used as the nucleus of developing towns in rural areas because they became centers for clinics, social centers and new housing for peasants. In Zimbabwe, the boarding school continued to be a predominantly private, expensive, and elitist institution. Unlike its counterpart in Cuba, the boarding school institution in Zimbabwe continued to be the custodian of elitist values and attitudes which are at the core of European and African elite class formation. For instance, by 1985, Zimbabwe had 9,413 primary school students and 60,000 secondary school students enrolled in private and public boarding schools. While these numbers are small compared to overall enrollments in 1985 (2,229,396 primary and 497,766 secondary), students from boarding schools continue to be over-represented at tertiary institutions because they have access to better facilities and more qualified teachers which enables them to do better at the external examinations than their counterparts in public urban and rural day schools. In their perspicacious discussion of similar institutions in the United States, Cookson and Persell (1985: 21) observed that:

... the web of affiliation that begins in the dormitories, playing fields, classrooms, and dining halls of elite schools does not end on the day of graduation but continues to grow, becoming more interwoven, entangled, and in the end, the basis of status group and class solidarity.

Therefore, after independence, the boarding school in Zimbabwe was used by the European and African upper and middle classes to repudiate and to encumber government's efforts to democratize secondary education.

Teacher Education Initiatives

Teacher education stressed work, cooperation and commitment to the Cuban revolution and had a rural orientation. Consequently, the five year teacher training programme after primary education involved spending the first year in a mountain school where the revolution started, then two years at a lavish ex-hospital school and the final two years in Havana. Where there were shortages, as in technical education, volunteers were

utilized and in some cases technicians from the factories were called upon to help. Foreign teachers from Eastern Europe and other Latin American countries were also utilized during the reform. In contrast, Zimbabwe used teachers from England, Canada and the Scandinavian countries. However, the Zimbabwean teacher education reform (in which students spent two years at college and two years student teaching) was equally innovative because it enabled government to supply teachers to rural primary schools where they were needed most.

Curriculum Initiatives

The shortage of books in Cuban educational programmes was extenuated by the view taken by the Cuban Book Institute that a book is not a commodity but a social necessity. Consequently, copyright conventions were disregarded and over 1,300,000 books were reprinted without the repayment of royalties. In Zimbabwe the government responded to the shortage of books by setting up a separate unit in the Curriculum Development Unit of the then Ministry of Education and Culture which started writing materials for primary students and their teachers. By 1983, the programme had been extended to secondary schools.

The school to the country side movement in Cuba was instituted in 1966 as a response to the need for agricultural labor and to encourage the development of a value system among students that was consistent with socialist values of linking mental and manual work as defined by the Cuban leadership. The program involved the movement of a school to a camp in the rural areas for forty-five days in a year. The other objectives of the movement were: the elimination of differences between urban and rural attitudes and differences; the establishment of close bonds between the school and daily life; and the education of the new generation by work and for work. Sympathetic Cuban observers such as Richmond (1985) have regarded the *esceula campo* as a normalization of the mobilization process for solving non-educational problems such as labor shortages at harvest time. In Zimbabwe, educational reforms did not emphasize the development of rural areas by moving schools and students to camps in the countryside. On the contrary, there was a huge influx of people from rural areas to the towns. For African parents, this was the opportunity for them to enroll their children in the urban schools especially the former white schools which were better equipped and staffed than rural schools.

Cuba built schools around agricultural production units to raise the collective consciousness of the students. The main objectives of these types of schools were: to shift future workers from the cities to rural areas; the preparation of students to be skilled agricultural workers who could then transform their communities; and to make the schools productive units which could finance themselves and thereby reduce the general cost of education in the country. As mentioned earlier on, Zimbabwe established ZIMFEP schools in 1980. They were run initially as military units and had to be self sufficient in food production. They had a very heavy component of ideological content and were committed to linking theory with practice.

Planning and Consultation

Cuba and Zimbabwe, opted for planned economies instead of relying on the logic of a free market economy in which the laws of supply and demand predominate. Centralized planning was seen as a fundamental instrument for unifying and mobilizing scarce national resources to accomplish priority tasks; achieving full employment; expanding social services such as education; bringing about necessary structural changes to achieve a more equitable distribution of income; and securing more international financing and cooperation of development programmes. The latter function was more applicable to Zimbabwe which had an international conference in 1980 to attract foreign aid.

Therefore, state intervention in the economy was justified in both cases on the grounds of redressing previous imbalances and the need for mobilizing human and natural resources to build socialism. Theoretically, emphasis in both countries was on a heavy degree of centralization in the planning process. In Cuba, the Communist Party, the Marxist-Leninist ideology and leaders such as Guevera, Castro and Armando Hart, the former Minister of Education expounded the political philosophy that guided the activities of the main central planning body (JUCEPLAN). JUCEPLAN prepares annual plans in consultation with ministries such as education. Ministries are responsible for sectoral, special, extra or mini plans which are decided by the political leadership to tackle a problem such as illiteracy. Below the Ministry of Education plans are implemented by regional and local agencies which implemented educational reforms under review.

The same situation obtains in Zimbabwe where the Party Politburo initiates the politico-economic objectives that guide the activities of the Ministry of Economic Development and Finance which then prepares a national plan in consultation with other ministries. However, in Zimbabwe, the budget has become the major instrument guiding implementation of educational plans. Students and parents participate in the implementation of plans as evidenced in Cuba by the participation of students and workers in the adult literacy movement and in Zimbabwe by the participation of parents in financing local schools. However, a quintessential feature of centralized planning in the two countries is its rigidity, domination of political prerogatives, absence of competent managers and a lack of participation of the lower echelons (teachers, parents, workers, principals) in the formulation and elaboration of educational planning. In Zimbabwe, opponents of centralized planning, such as the Minister of Finance and Economic Development, cautioned in 1984 against the tyranny of a plan which was rigid in managing the economy without regard to prevailing internal and external conditions and realities at specific stages in the plan period. Since 1990 this school of thought has now been vindicated by Economic Structural Adjustment Programs.

Implementation Stages And Modifications

As mentioned earlier on, Cuban policy makers continually adapted educational reforms to fit economic strategies of increasing output per capita and which supported their ideological commitment of creating a socialist society and a New Man. The first implementation stage (1969-1972) was the democratization of education as a basic right and the elimination of educational imbalances inherited from the Batista regime. This was the period of massive literacy programmes and teacher training. Modifications were made to post-literacy, courses for new literates and adults who were either under educated or who were employed as teachers.

In Zimbabwe, the first phase stretched from 1980-1984 when the government was committed to expanding primary, secondary and teacher education and the restructuring of the entire educational system. Major achievements were the removal of racial discrimination, and localization of the content. In 1985, there was a reduction in government revenue due to drought, macroeconomic mismanagement and the recession in world commodity markets. Therefore, since 1985, Zimbabwe has been putting emphasis on the quality of graduates from secondary and tertiary

institutions and improving the internal efficiency of the system through in-service courses for teachers and standardizing textbooks. A diversified secondary school curriculum was also re-introduced in 1987 with emphasis on the role of industry in collaborating with schools in writing the syllabus and setting the examinations. A marked feature of Zimbabwe's second phase is the reductions in budget allocations to education and the emphasis on examinations as a means of selecting students for tertiary education. This development is to some extent an indication of the failure of the employment sector to absorb all graduates from the school system.

The second implementation phase (1972-1981) in Cuban education was characterized by the continued expansion of primary and secondary education, emphasis on day care programmes, examination of the drop out problem and manpower training, especially at the tertiary level. The major event of this period was the implementation of the Improvement Plan (IP) in 1975. Major modifications which were the direct result of the IP included the introduction of over 1,350 new school programmes; the thorough revision of curricula and of hundreds of textbooks and teachers' manuals; the application of new teaching methods and evaluation techniques; the reorganization of the structure and cycles of schooling; the upgrading and training of teachers; and rapid school construction.

The third Cuban stage from 1980 onwards is seen by Cuban leaders as the period of qualitative change in which reforms are closely related to the changing needs of the economy. Education in this period is committed to the creation of a person with a socialist view of work. Major elements of this period are: an analysis of schools to the countryside programme; improvement of technical education and university reform.

Similarities And Differences In The Two Experiences

The Cuban and Zimbabwean experiences overlap because the Marxist-Leninist ideology was used in both educational experiences as a guiding philosophy. Furthermore, the two experiences overlap because they were both results of committed and deliberate reactions to redress educational imbalances between urban and rural and between the rich and the poor created by their previous predecessors. These two experiences are also similar in terms of the emphasis put on expanding primary, secondary and teacher education. An overlap in the two experience can also be found in the way in which both regimes committed

large percentages of their budgets to educational reform at the initial stages. However, as from 1984 the budget allocations to education in Zimbabwe declined from 19.2% in 1984/85 to 17.4% in 1985/86 to a forecast of 15.4% in 1986/87. There are also similarities in the two experiences with respect to the functional relationship the two governments placed on education and socioeconomic development. In both cases, educational reform was intended to precede socioeconomic development.

The first major difference was in the emphasis put on attitudes and commitment by the Cubans instead of skills as did the Zimbabweans. This explains why at independence the Zimbabweans were more concerned with reconciliation with skilled Europeans while Cuba allowed highly skilled Cubans to leave the country if they were not committed to building socialism.

Cuban literacy and school to the countryside programmes had no parallel in Zimbabwe. Even the post literacy programs, which were conducted in Cuban factories, had no comparison in Zimbabwe. The content of Cuban adult education programmes was highly politicized to reflect the revolution, Cuba's international role and the country's political aspirations as enunciated by the regime. As mentioned earlier, these programmes in Cuba were responding to the radical restructuring that was taking place in the economic sector such as land reform, urban reform, the nationalization of 1960, industrialization and agricultural diversification. In Zimbabwe, there was no rapid restructuring of the economy and land reform due partly to the constraints imposed on policy makers by the Lancaster House agreement, the fear in the Zimbabwean leadership to interfere with the private industrial and agricultural sectors; and the emergence of an African petty bourgeoisie which had faith in the market economy. Both local and international capital continued to benefit from a situation in which there was abundant cheap labor to be exploited. Thus, adult education continues to be organized by a single private organization with paltry government involvement.

The two experiences were separate in the emphasis put on rural education. Cuba managed to re-orient education to rural areas through measures which included an extensive programme to build new schools in rural areas; the building of "School Cities" in remote rural areas such as Oriente; the provision of boarding schools where students were given scholarships; the building of teachers' centers for professional in-service training, relaxation and facilities for the teachers to continue their studies;

and a new teacher training programme which began in the rugged Sierra Maestra where emphasis was on rigorous rural living and ended in Havana. In contrast, Zimbabwe's rural education programs were negated by the fact that in most cases the schools built were of a very poor quality. Furthermore, Zimbabwe's efforts to democratize rural education was frustrated by the continued existence of fee-paying boarding and day schools run by private organizations. The situation is similar at the teacher education level where eleven of the fourteen Zimbabwean teachers' colleges are located in urban areas. The three which are located in rural areas belong to church organizations. Hence, the focus of teacher education and schooling in Zimbabwe seems to be urban in form, content and orientation.

Finally, the two experiences are dissimilar in the way the two reforms tried to relate schooling to the world of work. In Cuba this was done through the 1966 programme in which students from all over Cuba spent 45 school days harvesting sugar cane in Camaguey; the 1971 school in the countryside programmes; the establishment of interest circles in science and technology among primary and secondary school students; and an emphasis on technical and scientific education at the university level. In Zimbabwe, only the ZIMFEP schools try to integrate schooling and work. They, however, cover less than one percent of the entire school population and university education continues to emphasize the liberal arts. The new diversified secondary school curriculum in Zimbabwe is different from the Cuban practice because it is meant for those students who are presumed to be weak in the traditional subjects such as math, science, languages, geography, and history. This policy seems to be oblivious of the fact that all children need a sound basis of high school education in subjects such as math and science so that they can be able to apply mathematical and scientific skills to vocational subjects such as book-keeping, agriculture and metal work.

Current Problems

Both countries have inadequate qualified teachers at the secondary levels due to educational expansion. The situation is acute in Zimbabwe where the pupil teacher ratio at the elementary level is 1 to 50. In both cases, the socialist ideology of moral incentives can be used to attract skilled personnel from other sectors to help in teaching students and adults. However, as Cuban policy makers have realized in the 1980s, young workers who did not experience the revolution are not easily convinced

to offer their services in the name of a distant revolution. In the Zimbabwean case, appeals to workers and teachers to make sacrifices in the name of the revolution started to wane in 1983 when the gap between the poor and the rich started to widen. The socialist ideology and its emphasis on raising the moral consciousness of teachers is also necessary in the in-service teacher education programmes which aim at improving the professional competence of teachers. However, as noted above, material incentives complimented by teachers' participation in decision making are necessary to motivate teachers so that they work for the common good.

The continued existence of elite boarding schools in Cuba which are meant to develop technical and scientific talent continue to pose a dilemma for a regime committed to equality. The quality of equipment in the boarding schools tends to be more superior than in the other schools. The need for highly skilled professional personnel by the Cuban economy has also led to increased selectivity in technical institutes for more desired higher status forms of professions and the unintended consequence of developing a technocratic elite. The socialist ideology can be used in admission policies by stressing commitment, leadership qualities and innovative potential instead of scholastic achievement. In Zimbabwe, elitist boarding schools continue to pose a serious problem by widening the gap between upper and lower class children in terms of access to secondary and tertiary education. The socialist principle of egalitarianism can be used so that the government can give scholarships to children from different socioeconomic backgrounds to attend boarding schools.

In both systems, testing and examinations still posit a serious problem in that some students are unable to pass the competitive scholastic examinations. Such an emphasis on examinations as a means of evaluating student and teacher worth tends to stultify innovativeness and group efforts in both students and teachers. In Zimbabwe, it has led to a problem in which teachers concentrate on drilling students to pass the examination instead of mastering concepts. The socialist principle of comparing students to a set criteria and a collective approach to knowledge rather than comparing students to the group and individualism need to be emphasized.

Zimbabwe faces a serious shortage of books and teaching aids. Where they exist, as in the private schools, they are from Europe or North America. The socialist principle of self reliance in the production of books should be applied in book production. The Cuban example of establishing

a Book Institute is an example Zimbabwe needs to consider. However both countries need to reduce their dependency on other countries for books and personnel. Cuba's heavy political and economic reliance on the Soviet Union negates the development of a nationalistic educational system.

The Problematic Of Education And Socialist Planning

By adopting a multidimensional approach to educational change (Fullan, 1991) the Cuban experience addressed the ineluctable problem of relating education to rural training and a national socialist consciousness. The school to the countryside movement is important to the concept of socialist planning because it was self-financed and was able to reduce the urban-rural dichotomy by moving urban children to rural areas where skilled labor was in short supply. The financing aspect is one which a country like Zimbabwe ought to consider. By 1981, Cuba with a population of about 10 million was spending US\$140 per capita on education while in 1983 Zimbabwe with a population of about 8 million was spending US\$96 per capita on education (World Bank, 1988). The average per capita expenditure for Low income countries in Sub-Saharan Africa for 1983 was US\$16. Thus, financing of education is an issue socialist planners have to consider in terms of the benefits to the country especially, educated manpower. The mingling of urban and rural children was not only crucial in raising a high level of national consciousness among Cuban children. The effort went a long way in removing preconceptions which urban children had about rural life and their role in developing rural areas. In Zimbabwe, the rural-urban imbalance seems to be almost inscrutable.

Cuba's two-pronged strategy of borrowing and learning from basic research and development from developed countries; and the introduction of Cuban innovations such as the "school to/in the countryside" model, special boarding schools, work study programs for adolescents and adults, parental and community involvement, the linking of school and work through "interest circles" raises fundamental issues about education and socialist planning because they are at the core of problems of dependency and autarkic development.

The concept of eradicating illiteracy and raising productivity through moral incentives (which were used during the first few years before the shift to material incentives) is an issue about socialist planning which the

Cuban example was able to raise and resolve successfully. Furthermore, this issue was related to the need to create manpower for Cuba's industries. For instance, day care centers were established to free women and to create employment for women who had been employed as domestic servants. The saliency of this issue lies in the fact that Cuba stressed the need for education to respond to a restructuring which was already taking place in the economy, politics and society. In Zimbabwe, education is instead being used to initiate changes in the economy, politics and society. Hence the modernisation of schools (Popkewitz 1991) promised in 1980 is becoming a fading reality.

Finally, the nature of schooling in both countries is raising the need for decentralization of planning and control of financial resources. For socialist planners, this is crucial because centralization is embedded in the concept of a command economy yet it tends to inhibit innovativeness, independence and the advancement of democratic principles. As Zimbalist (1988) notes in discussing the Cuban experience, the utility of centralized planning can be justified during the initial stages of a country's socioeconomic development when central planning can be used:

... to quickly mobilize resources for needed projects; nurture, finance, and protect infant industry; to be surrogate for the fledgling or non-existent entrepreneurial class; to coordinate investment projects and reduce uncertainty; to develop human capital and fully employ labor resources.

Thereafter as events in Russia have shown decentralisation is critical. In fact, a centralized educational plan dissuades participation of civil society in plan making. Teachers who are crucial in implementing educational plans tend to be marginalized in the conceptualization of process thereby making it remote for them to own the plan which is crucial in the implementing stage. Centralized planning also engenders apathy because the planners at times assume that people especially peasants do not know what they want. Consequently, it negates one of the major tenets of socialism that people in civil society have an agency and are therefore masters of their own destinies because centralized planning in developing nations has the tendency to bureaucratize the decision making process. With the winds of change blowing in Eastern Europe it still remains to be seen whether Cuba can remain an island of socialism in a sea of capitalism. ESAP has already changed Zimbabwe's orientation in social policy.

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