

On rural development: a note on Malawi's Programmes of Development for exploitation *

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I. — Introduction

The aim of the paper is to examine the empirical realities of Malawi's programmes of rural development against a radical model of development. From the data available the paper contends that independence, the end result of politics of nationalist movement has not brought to the peasants, as a sociological category, the goods the ideologies of nationalist struggle promised. Rather the fruits have accrued into the hands of the new « elites », in particular the bosses of the party machinery, who have turned politics into a means to economic gain. To the peasantry independence has not liberated them from the realm of want, but has meant an exchange of White for Black exploiters: the faces of exploiters have changed but the bases, forms and contents of exploitation remain. The peasantry is now worse off than before.

II. — Concept of Development

To understand this proposition: « the rape of peasantry », a brief search of the meaning of the concept of development is essential. The term, development, is an amorphous concept, rather difficult to articulate, has been used to mean different things to different people. The use is often influenced by one's motives and interest. Often it has been used within the economic framework. Although economic progress is an essential component of development it is not clearly the only one. Development, in the context of the rural milieu, must encompass more than just the economic sphere, it must include people's well-being, freedom, changes and advancement in institutional social and administrative structures from oppressive to liberal forms.

Within this context programmes of rural development must be directed to the entire peasantry, to the totality of the rural population, to enable them to move qualitatively and quantitatively from low level of material and spiritual endowment to a higher, more abundant level. Development is a process in which man is liberated from the realm of want to the realm of freedom to create, to produce, to enjoy and

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to consume. Development Programmes must result in broad-scale redistribution of the resources and wealth to the peasantry.

In defining and measuring development concern should not centre on maximizing aggregate rates of GDP growth, or on measures of central tendencies such as arithmetic means, but focus should be on the reduction and elimination of growing social and economic inequalities, unemployment, absolute poverty, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy and rural alienation. When development is measured in terms of per capita GDP growth the result is distorted empirical realities. Almost always and more so in the multistuctural economies of the Third World the high rates of GDP growth only reflect the economic wealth pocketed by the richest few, the minority, a numerically insignificant proportion of the population while at the same time the economic and social status of the bulk of the population, especially the peasantry and the urban poor, remains static or deteriorates.

Development is inevitably a normative and emotive term. For it to be meaningful its definition and measures must relate to the closing of the gap in areas of poverty, unemployment and inequality. In the words of Dudley Seers : « If all three of these (poverty, unemployment and inequality) have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned... If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all the three have, it would be strange to call the result development even if per capita income doubled) » (1). This definition is echoed by Uma Lele's whose criteria for rural development are in terms of « improving the living standards of the mass of low income population residing in rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining » (2).

The two approaches to development are in direct conflict and reflect different realities. The first one, an exploitive one, measures development in terms of growth rate. The second one regards the concept in terms of narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor, directs attention to the eradication of social and economic inequalities, improving the well-being and living conditions of the rural masses. This is a radical and humanistic approach.

III. — Malawi's Economic Growth and Organization

The growth model is often used in evaluations of the rural development Programmes. Under this approach in which development is synonymous with growth Malawi's achievements since independence not only show but tell a bewildering success story. In the brief period of the country's independence the GDP at factor cost has grown by more than 100 % in the monetary sector and by 45 % in the subsistence sector, annual income per capita has doubled ; from K16 to K32, the country's fixed investments have increased by 4 times to K52 million with an estimated projection of K665 million by 1980. These achievements are impressive and underscore incredible economic growth.

It is this growth rather than development which has received widespread acclaim. The most outspoken proponent is the country's President who in everyone of his speech makes unrealistic claims of

having given the peasantry prosperity, high standard of living, plenty of food, money etc. The country's mass media echoes the claims, creates and paints the impression of economic prosperity and the well-being of the peasantry. In one of his typical speeches delivered to the Malawi Congress Party annual convention, Lilongwe, October, 1977, the President told a large crowd : « My people, especially my women, are better dressed, have more food and more money under my leadership » (3). For weeks earlier in an address welcoming the President the Kasungu District Chairman of the Party had parroted the political platitude when he emotionally told the President : « Under your leadership we have ample food and a lot of maize crop each year, last year's crops are still in the granaries, we have not started eating this year's maize, from our cash crops we are able to get a lot of money ; in fact much money ; the problem now is not money but how to spend it, today, unlike before, we are well dressed, free, healthy. All this is a result of your wise and able leadership » (4). The parrot speaker was given a staged wild cheers. It was a circus worthy of a Disneyland drama.

Scholars of the capitalistic orientation, using growth model, have echoed similar platitudes. Lele' a representative of the World Bank, cites Malawi as a model of successful rural development programme. She cites the Lilongwe Land Development Project as a typical story of success in rural development (5). What Lele Uma Saw refers to is economic growth which stands sharply against her definition of development quoted above. Unlike in her definition her intuitive conclusion reflects exploitive orientation of the World Bank and the capitalistic world.

The evaluations operate within the framework of growth model. Consequently they fail to pose the cardinal question : *who benefits in these programmes of rural development ?*

Analysis of the empirical realities reveals not development but growth, the enrichment of a few at the expense of the peasantry. This picture stands in total contradiction to the country's widespread acclamations of developmental success which ecludes realities.

One way to elucidate this tenet is to examine patterns and forms of programmes of rural development operative in the country. The trends in the programmes of rural development appear to aim at growth ; in particular increased production of export crops. The programmes' strategies can be classified into three broad categories : private estates, capital intensive agricultural development projects and sponsored small holder capitalistic farmers.

The most rewarding is the private estate farming. This category is only open to a small exclusive powerful minority category, Its membership is based on political power and influence both of which have become means to economic gain. Its membership is composed of bosses of the party, ministers, politically appointed heads of parastatal bodies, top civil services positions such as permanent secretaries, incumbents of key positions in the armed and police forces and a few others who are variously connected to the head of the state or the state hostess.

This is a privileged powerful minority « class ». Loans and credits on easy terms are intrinsic and inbuilt components of their positions.

Credits and loans are guaranteed either from the commercial banks or the special bank; the Industrial Development Bank-INDE Bank whose aim is to effect the translation into empirical realities the accumulative aspiration of the « class » by giving out easy loans. For farming the minimum loan amount is K25000 and one of the requirements is the employment of a White Rhodesian estate manager.

The present estate farm system in the country is to be seen in the perspective of historical development. The estate system was established in the colonial period for such crops as tea, tobacco and tung by the White Settler planters. Immediately after independence many of the White tobacco planters left the country and the new class of Black estate owners moved into the estates. While some White Settler planters left on their own others were forced out by the new aspirants. Not only did the new class take over estates but have established and continue to establish new estates.

At the top of the new class is the head of the state. Through the General Farming and Press Farming, subsidiaries of the Press Holdings, a personal company, he has not only taken over some of the impressive vast imperialistic estates of the Colonial Development Corporation but has opened up countless large tobacco, tea, coffee, rice, maize, groundnuts and cotton estates all over the country. The most impressive estates are in Kasungu and Mchinji Districts both of which have been turned into extended tobacco and maize estates. From the estates an impressive annual net profit of not less than K4 million accrue.

The national policy requires all political leaders to open up estates. Thus all men of power, Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, Central Committee Members and executive chairmen of para-statal bodies own at least one estate, especially tobacco estate in either Kasungu or Mchinji District. Kasungu, the home district of the head of the state, through estate farming has experienced phenomenal agricultural expansions, greatly changing her rural map.

The number of estates and the wealth accruing to the minority « class » are not easily assessed. Data from and on the estates are not made available. However, it is to be kept in mind that the importance of the estates remains a vital empirical reality which can be verified by aeral map examination. Comparison of pre-and post-independence areal rural maps show remarkable difference. Through the estate system political power has also bestowed upon the « powerful » control over large expanse of fertile land resources.

Post-independence epoch has witnessed expansion and acquisition of estates in aggressive way, mainly at the expense of the peasantry. The growth of estate system is a sad story of de-peasantization of the masses. In areas such as Kasungu and Mchinji the end result of the process has resulted in many peasants being pushed towards infertile lands. It is evident that the estate system is being established in a circumvention of rules of descency and fair play. It is from this point of view that in the cognitive perception of the peasantry the legitimacy of the estates has remained constantly in question. Strong resentment and strong feelings of injustice mark the peasantry's view of the estate farms.

Where estates have been established the peasantry has three alternatives, to be tenant, hired labourer or move away from the land. Under the estate systems the estate labourer are victims of extreme exploitation. In these estates farms conditions and terms of service for the White Rhodesian managers are quite attractive : free accommodation, domestic servants, water, electricity, car, a fat salary ranging from K500 to K1000 per month, attractive terminal benefits, incentives in the form of commission, often of 10 % of the net profit. These provisions of luxurious conditions of services to the White manager and to reap profit for the estate owner are only possible at the expense of the labourers who are paid insignificant sums of K5 per month, live in deplorable estate huts with no amenities, no terminal benefits and social security.

Estates are of two types. The first type operates on hired labourers. The labourers who work under close supervision live on the farms and get in addition to meagre wages, weekly rations of mealie meal flour and beans. The accommodation is designed for bachelors, single rooms, no allowance is made for wives or children.

The second type of estates system is more exploitive. An entire population in areas declared estate is turned into tenants or sharecroppers. In exchange for the right to use land the inhabitants under compulsion grow tobacco in addition to their staple food crops, using family labour but working under the close supervision of the estate manager. The state owner provides to his tenants « free » fertilizer to improve the quality and increase the yield per acre. The obligatory tobacco growing also entails that all the tobacco be sold to the estate owner, the patron, at very low prices. In turn the estate owner resells it on the auction flour sale in Limbe at extremely high prices.

The tenants must comply with these harsh conditions for fear of reprisals. Thus the peasantry in an independent African country finds itself living under conditions of serfdom ; conditions of « internal colonialism ».

The second category of agrarian programmes take the form of capital intensive agricultural development projects, aimed at improved quality and achieving high yields of specific crops in selected areas of fertile lands and are funded almost wholly from international loans. The World Bank has funded three : the Lilongwe Land Development Project, K21,235,000, the Shire Valley Agricultural Development Project, K11.7 million, and the Karonga Rural Development Project, K5.1 million ; the Federal Republic of Germany's loan goes to the Central Region Lakeshore Development Project, K10.8 million, the British and the Taiwan Governments run many small scale rice development schemes and several settlement scheme are run by Israelis.

Although the stated objectives of the land development projects are to increase the yield per acre and improve the quality of crops through the provisions of loan facilities in the form of equipment, fertilizer and pesticides, their assistance is highly selective and restrictive. Similarly the amounts of loans are extremely low. The bulk of the peasants farmers do not in fact procure income and agricultural produce beyond those of subsistence level. Although most of the peasantry have ample land they cannot utilize the land and raise both

quality and yield per acre because of lack of capital and labour. Thus the core of rural poverty is not necessarily lack of land but lack of access to capital and labour for development. Instead of providing capital to peasants, thus enable them improve quality and increase yield per acre, consequently reduce rural poverty, the land development projects do not do this.

The pattern of fund distribution in the land development project shows that relatively little amounts are allocated to very few selected peasants farmers. In Lilongwe Land Development Project, for example, one of the largest and costly projects, in 1974, out of a half million peasants, only 5 % obtained credit facilities amounting to just K586.000, averaging about K20 per farmer. In another major project, Karonga Project, credit facilities were extended to only 4 % of the total population, each one receiving about K30. In the Shire Valley Project only 19 % of the total funds were reserved for revolving peasant farmers' and fishermen's credit funds, while 81 % of the funds were allocated to capital development and management costs. Rather than redirecting the funds to the peasantry in the form of credits to eradicate poverty the projects spends the bulk of its funds on capital development, luxury offices, accommodation and salaries of top heavy bureaucracy. Thus in 1974 the Shire Valley Development Project was able to give credit facilities averaging K20 per person to only 3 % of the total population (6). The patterns of expenditure show reluctance to improve the lot of the peasantry. Though a few are assisted the majority of the peasantry is left out.

The few who are assisted have harsh terms for the loans. Loans, in addition to being small in amount, are only provided for fertilizer, high breed seeds, pesticides capital equipment but not for labour and must be repaid within one crop season.

The irrigated rice schemes are on small scales. They aim at double or tripple — crop harvests per year in the floods of several rivers and one annual crop but of improved quality in the rain-fed rice crop schemes. Participation is on voluntary basis. Participants receive fertilizer on loan through the projects credit funds. But the terms of repayments are harsh : payable at the end of each crop season by direct deductions which in many cases leave the farmer with very little amount. The participants work under close supervision of the project's management, do not own right of tenure and can be kicked out at any time. Sizes of plots vary from one to two acres. Rarely do farmers make more than K100 per year.

A number of settlement schemes are operating in the rural areas. Settlers from various parts are invited to take up plots to cultivate specific cash crops : tobacco, rice or cotton. On the settlement schemes they work under close supervision, have no rights of tenancy, or security.

The objectives are not directed at development for the peasantry. The policy legitimizes the government's anti-cooperative's measures which since independence closed down all the cooperative societies in the country and replaced them with the para-statal organization ; the Agricultural Development and Marketing Cooperation. Prior to independence the country had several cooperatives run and controlled by

the peasants. Among the most successful ones were Kota-kota Rice Cooperative Society, Karonga Rice cooperative Society, Lake Chilwa Fishermen's Cooperative and Lilongwe Farmers Cooperative. The first two produced more rice than currently being purchased by the ADMARC. Long before independence the two cooperatives introduced into the rural areas impressive developments including electricity. All these developments have now collapsed, the prosperity has been replaced by poverty.

The mass production through the cooperatives has been replaced by the current development programmes aimed at selective development, oriented at anti-equitable distribution of agrarian generated wealth. Through selective development strategies the government aims at achieving economic growth, especially through export crop sector.

The agrarian achievements in export crop production : tobacco, tea, cotton, have not been in response to the needs and welfare of the peasantry but to the response and demands of the acquisitive needs of the powerful minority « class ». Thus the preponderous emergence of the export agricultural economy signifies the dominance of the interests of the powerful few.

Since independence export trade, exclusively, through agricultural produce, has increased steadily. Tobacco export has increased from K8 million in 1964 to K50 million in 1975, tea and groundnuts tripled while the value amount of exported maize increased by ten times, see table I. While the value of exported crop value increased the earnings of the peasantry show not increase but decline.

For the peasantry the earnings from cash cropping is the principal, in some cases, sole source of income. If this is correct it means since independence the peasantry has steadily become more impoverished. The trends over the four year period, 1972-1975, show drop in total earnings as well as quantity of the major crops : tobacco, maize and rice, see tables 2 and 4.

TABLE I
MAJOR COMMODITY EXPORT IN K'000

Year	Tobacco	Tea	Ground-nuts	Cotton	Sugar
1964	8,400	6,700	2,200	1,900	0
1965	10,300	7,500	3,300	2,200	0
1966	9,000	8,900	2,000	2,200	0
1967	8,500	9,000	6,900	1,400	0
1968	10,600	9,700	4,600	1,300	0
1969	12,700	9,500	5,600	1,700	200
1970	16,592	10,916	4,241	2,777	158
1971	22,066	11,905	5,883	2,547	314
1972	24,968	12,022	7,123	2,567	360
1973	30,259	13,721	5,922	1,951	3,300
1974	39,269	17,2p0	5,202	2,720	9,200
1975	50,390	20,827	6,503	1,933	12,300

Source. — *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, Zomba, Government Printer, 1964-1975.

IV. — Economic Growth and Income Distribution

The pattern of distribution of agrarian generated wealth from the available data appears to reflect realistically the maldistribution of income between the peasantry and the few estate owning «class». The information gives demonstration of sharp income gaps between the extremely low level of incomes earned by the peasantry and those of the estate owners. In 1975 the peasantry, making up 95 % of the entire population earned only K14 million out of a total of K120 million agrarian generated wealth, see tables 2 and 5. In that year, 1975, tobacco generated or brought into the country K44 million.

TABLE II

ADMARC DOMESTIC PURCHASE

Year								
	Purchase	Tobacco	Grund. nuts	Cotton	Rice	Maize	Pulses	Other
1972	15,011	4,018	4376	1957	1437	1980	889	354
1973	13,559	3,730	3694	1940	1266	2216	363	350
1974	10,244	2,483	4543	3409	1567	2873	624	745
1975	14,861	3,182	5221	2895	1360	1250	512	461

Source. — *Monthly Statistical Bulletin, ibid, table 2.*

Out of the total value of K44 million only K3 million was earned by the peasantry, the bulk K41 million, went to a few estate owners, who account less than 1 % the entire population, and to ADMARC, see tables 2 and 3.

TABLE III

TOBACCO ACTION SALE BY QUANTITY AND VALUE

Period	Total sales : Quantity in '000 lbs	Values in K'000
1969	28,441	9186
1970	48,890	14394
1971	57,905	19953
1972	68,980	20905
1973	68,980	26294
1974	59,163	31739
1975	76,538	44293

Source. — *Monthly Statistical Bulletin, ibid, table 6.*

The source of the income inequalities and the means for their perpetuation lies partially in the country's system of marketing. The peasantry is not allowed to sell its commodities directly to international or national markets. Since the abolition of cooperatives all produce of the peasants are bought by ADMARC which resells it, either through export or on domestic markets, e.g. auctional flour sales for tobacco or grain and milling for food crops. On the other hand estate owners sell their produce not through ADMARC but directly, hence their produce fetch high prices. In case of tobacco estate owners not only sell their tobacco on the auction floor but have licence to buy cheaply peasant produced tobacco and resell it on the auction floor sale. In both cases the profits do not go to the rural areas to be reinvested and stimulate further developments. Profits from ADMARC is given to the government treasury to help reduce the government's recurrent budget deficit.

V. — Malawi's External Trade Constraints

Analysis of the patterns of the country's external trade equally reflect self-oriented policy of the powerful minority. Since independence Malawi's

TABLE IV

ADMARC DOMESTIC PURCHASES BY COMMODITY IN SHORT TONS

Period	COMMODITY							
	Total Purchase	Tobacco	Ground-nuts	Cotton	Rice	Maize	Pulses	Other
1972	202152	19484	43291	24355	21979	70079	17661	5305
1973	168497	165559	33048	17866	19047	69518	7521	4938
1974	187854	12762	31741	32591	23030	72168	8735	15777
1975	131726	1395	36164	19596	16163	32237	653	7535

Source. — *Monthly Statistical Bulletin, ibid, table 5.*

import trade has mushroomed rapidly from K29 million in 1964 to K217 million in 1975, see table 5. This has not been followed by similar rises in the exports. The result has been a negative trade balance leading to a soaring and serious trade gap, — K97 million in 1975, see table 5.

The large trade deficit is offset partly by large scale borrowing from various international organizations, export cash crops and human labour to mines in South Africa. The unfavourable trade gap is particularly marked between Malawi and the two Southern African racist states, South Africa and Rhodesia, see table 6. Since independence Malawi's policy of anti-liberation movement has drawn her more closely into the racialistic camps of Rhodesia and South Africa.

TABLE V
EXTERNAL TRADE IN K'OOO

Period	Total Imports	Total Export	Trade Balance
1964	28,640	25,000	— 3,640
1965	40,804	28,782	— 12,022
1966	54,292	34,816	— 19,476
1967	50,852	40,908	— 9,944
1968	58,180	40,044	— 18,136
1969	61,478	43,972	— 17,506
1970	71,367	49,697	— 22,076
1971	89,750	59,302	— 30,148
1972	102,913	64,486	— 38,427
1973	114,651	79,919	— 34,732
1974	157,726	101,306	— 56,420
1975	216,629	119,673	— 96,956

Source. — *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, Zomba, Government Printer, 1964-1975.

The trade involvement is an integral part of Malawi's total and wider involvement with South Africa and Rhodesia whose racialistic and capitalistic policies are seen as beneficial to the Malawi's powerful minority group. Thus since independence Rhodesia and South Africa have steadily replaced Britain as a chief supplier of goods to Malawi. On the other hand the two White ruled countries import relatively little from Malawi, hence a growing trade deficit. The negative trade balance to Malawi has grown steadily since independence. While the negative trade balance to Malawi from Rhodesia was — K12 million in 1964, it scored to — K45 in 1975, from South Africa in 1964 it was — K1.2 million and by 1975 it was as high as — K35.5 million, see table 6.

TABLE VI
MALAWI TRADE BALANCE IN K MILLION

Year	COUNTRY		
	United Kingdom	Rhodesia	South Africa
1965	— 2.5	— 12.1	— 1.2
1966	+ 3.5	— 10.7	— 2.9
1967	+ 3.5	— 9.4	— 3.0
1968	— 0.9	— 8.9	— 4.9
1969	— 1.4	— 8.2	— 6.6
1970	— 1.9	— 12.5	— 8.5
1971	— 3.6	— 9.8	— 7.0
1972	— 7.4	— 13.4	— 9.9
1973	— 1.8	— 24.0	— 17.5
1974	— 3.8	— 28.2	— 32.8
1975	— 8	— 45.4	— 35.5

Source. — *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, Zomba, Government Printer, 1965-1975.

Each year Malawi becomes more indebted to South Africa and Rhodesia. To reduce this trade imbalance Malawi exports large scale human labour to both South Africa and Rhodesia (7). The human labour serves two purposes. First, Malawi earns substantial foreign exchange, i.e. K32 million from South Africa alone in 1977, and in the second instance the human labour helps maintain the economy, especially the mining economy of South Africa, by constant supply of cheap labour. Thus, ironically, Malawi by becoming a reserve of cheap labour to the South greatly contributes to the sustenance of the imperialist regimes in both South Africa and Rhodesia.

An analysis of the items imported underscores the egoistic orientation of the minority « class ». The imported goods include large proportions of consumer goods, motor cars and other transport items, commodities for consumption, miscellaneous appliances etc. all of which are of no value to the peasantry but satisfy the needs of the minority « class ». These items account for about a half of the total value of imported goods (8). It is obvious that the commulative negative trade balance is overtaxing the country, above all the rising imports are not in the public interests.

All other development plans in the country are geared to serve the interests of the same « class ». It serves their interests to have improved transport and communication system. As owners of estate farms improved transport lowers the cost of export crops. Further, it enables comfortable and easy mobility in the imported luxurious cars. The wish to translate these aims into reality has led the Government to embark on most costly programmes of improvements and construction of roads, railways lines and bridges funded by large international loans. This item heads the list of the public sector investment, accounting for a third of the total development investments (9).

VI. — Social Conditions in Malawi

Indeed, an overview analysis of the government's record of public investments in all the spheres of the institutions of the peasants infrastructure and welfare is appalling. Since independence very little has been done to improve the welfare of the peasantry. A programme of rural development intended to improve the living standard of the peasantry cannot afford to neglect the health and educational aspect to the ruralites. Yet these have been the most neglected areas.

Today the country's infant mortality is alarmingly high : 140 per 1000. Those who are born alive their chances of survival is dim ; third of children born alive die before their fifth birthday. Life expectancy among the peasantry is 45 years. 14 years after independence the country has only two central hospitals, one general hospital, 21 district hospitals, 10 rural hospitals, 117 health centres and can only boast of a total of 7250 hospital beds in a country of 5 million. The 7250 hospital beds represent an increase of 2314 only since 1964. While on the eve of independence the country had 37 physicians today, almost 14 years later, the country has about 80 physicians, i.e. 1 physician to about 90.000 persons. Since independence only one new central and

about 3 new district hospitals have been built by the post-independence government (1).

The programme of health is elitist in orientation. In the urban centres of Blantyre, Lilongwe and Zomba there are separate paying hospitals which in the colonial epoch were exclusively for Europeans. The high standards established then are maintained and the treatment is superb. To these hospitals no peasant or proletariat can go. The fees are deliberately raised. In the non-paying hospitals which are only in towns or district headquarters the quality of treatment is appalling. But more the location of hospitals at the district headquarters make them inaccessible to the bulk of the population.

In the educational system the situation is once again biased against peasantry. Though there are now quantitatively more pupils and schools than on the eve of independence the numbers are dismally low. In a population of over 5 million, most of whom are aged below 20 years, the total school enrollment is only 481,461. Out of this only 10,000 are in secondary school while the country's only university has a total annual intake of 100 degree students.

Today the country has about 9285 primary school teachers, 1473 primary schools, 46 Government secondary schools of which 4 are full boarding schools and 13 mission secondary schools. Much less than 40 % of children of school age can find space in schools (11).

The location of schools reflect urban bias. In rural areas not only is there paucity of schools but where they exist the conditions are deplorable. Further because of high fees most peasants cannot send their children to school. There is, therefore, a strange situation in which in addition to shortages of schools, the schools in rural areas are empty, no children, because parents cannot pay fees. In secondary schools children of peasants are dismally and poorly represented. Though the fee, by well paid workers is low, K50, it is not easy for a peasant to raise the sum. Consequently most of the peasant's children selected into secondary schools are unable to take up their places.

The rural map today is in sharp contrast to the acclamation by the power structure. The empirical facts of the rural areas show that the peasantry lives under conditions of poverty, hunger, disease and extreme exploitation. The typical peasant has a few tools and belongings necessary for bare existence, cannot afford a pair of shoes, decent clothes, balanced diet. A typical peasant's livelihood consists of a few chickens, a granary of maize, a garden of cassava, he often runs short of food before the next harvest, his house is of no economic value. Equally his farm has no monetary value.

The bulk of the peasantry lives in huts, often windowless, built of wattle and daub with dirt floors, Adults and children crowd in one roomed huts on the hard floors, a few can afford even wooden beds. There are no water taps, though a few have access to boreholes, the bulk of the peasantry drinks water drawn from open well pits, situated frequently far from the houses. There are hardly indoor or outdoor toilets and no effort by the Government is made to encourage either the construction or the use of toilets. The economy is still basically

peasant. Lacking modern medical facilities the peasantry is still hunted by the witchcraft belief.

The state of nutrition, clothing, housing and sanitation in rural areas is at substandard level. Most people live under starvation, hunted by hookworm, bilharzia, malaria and many other tropical diseases. Apart from those who live along the lakeshore who benefit from fish proteins many live under conditions of chronic malnutrition and run out of food long before the next harvest season.

VII. — Conclusion

The conclusion is inevitably clear. To the peasantry the fruits of independence have been sour grape. The unequal distribution of wealth resulting from exploitive programmes of rural developments is a fundamental cause of the sharp cleavage between the powerful rich minority « class » and the peasantry. The extreme unequal distribution of scarce resources has become the overt expression of the politics of post-independence epoch. The situation is one in which power is the means to economic gain, creating a situation in which the powerful continue to be powerfully rich at the expense of the powerless but the numerical majority. For the latter the objective assessment of the realities of post-independence reinforces not only their feelings of being cheated but the general distrust of the non-peasants. After many years of independence the average income per capita for the peasantry remain below K20 per annum, resulting in one of the three countries with lowest standards of living in Africa. While the peasantry languishes, the minority « class » remains one of the wealthiest social categories in the present day Africa. Therefore the question : Development in whose interests ? The conclusion is simple and logical ; the country has and continues to experience growth but not development.

In this paper we have briefly delved into the problem of rural development in Malawi. The data and discussions indicate widespread inequalities of wealth with many ramifications. These inequalities are immense, persistent and increasing, resulting in the peasantry, the bulk of the population, living under intolerable conditions and that these disparities are created and perpetuated by systematic exclusion of the peasantry from the means of which would enable them to improve their fate. The disparity in wealth distribution is a problem precisely because of the unequal access to the material opportunities for personal and collective material achievement within the agrarian setting. The source of inequalities and the means for their perpetuation lie in the control of political power. Those who hold political power hold and control the key to means of accumulation of wealth.

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- (11) *Ibid*, page 61.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans ce papier, l'auteur examine les programmes et stratégies de développement rural du Malawi depuis l'indépendance. Il constate que pendant qu'un petit groupe de gens, à savoir l'élite au pouvoir, s'approprie le bénéfice de la croissance économique que le pays a connue depuis l'indépendance, le développement n'a pas été réalisé dans ce pays. Au contraire, note-t-il, les conditions de vie des masses populaires, et en particulier des paysans, se sont largement détériorées en comparaison avec la période coloniale.

Il mentionne, en particulier, les programmes de développement agricole, de propriétés foncières, qui, pendant qu'ils enrichissent un petit groupe de gens, ont fait des paysans des métayers et des serfs sur leur propre terre. La minorité dirigeante contrôle presque tout, y compris production, commercialisation, institutions financières et de crédit, et surtout, l'Etat. Il signale l'abolition des coopératives paysannes qui existaient du temps colonial et leur remplacement par les institutions de commercialisation d'Etat qui, arbitrairement, fixent des bas prix pour les produits qu'elles achètent aux paysans et des prix très élevés pour les produits qu'elles leur vendent. Ces pratiques ont évidemment appauvri profondément les paysans.

L'auteur souligne aussi l'intégration de Malawi dans l'orbite raciste de l'Afrique du Sud et de la Rhodésie. Il en résulte une détérioration très marquée de la balance commerciale de Malawi en faveur des Etats racistes d'Afrique australe, qui ont remplacé la Grande-Bretagne comme fournisseur principal de Malawi pendant qu'ils importent très peu de ce pays.

Enfin, l'auteur analyse les conditions de vie de la majorité de la population en examinant, la qualité de vie, la santé publique, l'éducation, etc. Il constate que ces conditions se sont profondément détériorées en comparaison avec l'époque coloniale.

Il conclut en indiquant que pour les masses populaires, la soi-disante indépendance n'a apporté que misère. L'élite minoritaire dirigeante, non seulement contrôle l'Etat et s'approprie le bénéfice de la croissance économique en appauvrissant la majorité de la population, mais encore, utilise l'appareil de l'Etat pour s'enrichir davantage et reproduire le système.