

Appendix

Table of contents of Mahoma Mwaungulu's manuscript *Probleme und Perspektiven der industriellen Entwicklung Malawis* (Problems and Perspectives of Malawi's Industrial Development)³⁴²

1. The objective necessity of industrialization to overcome backwardness, and the existing conditions of Malawi's industrialization (p. 1–113)
 - 1.1. The objective necessity of industrialization to overcome backwardness in Malawi (2–57)
 - 1.1.1. The main characteristics of Malawi's backwardness and their causes (6–39)
 - 1.1.1.1. The existing obsolete relations of production in Malawi's agriculture (6–27)
 - 1.1.1.2. The colonial heritage in the national economy of Malawi (28–34)
 - 1.1.1.3. The causes of backwardness (35–39)
 - 1.1.2. The objective necessity of industrialization (40–57)
 - 1.1.2.1. On the definition of industrialization in developing countries (42–51)³⁴³
 - 1.1.2.2. Industrialization as the only way to Malawi's ultimate political and economic independence (52–57)
 - 1.2. On the existing conditions of industrialization in Malawi (57–113)
 - 1.2.1. The territorial size of Malawi as a factor of industrialization (57–59)
 - 1.2.2. The question of natural resources in Malawi (60–63)
 - 1.2.3. Agricultural and forestry raw materials in Malawi (63–68)
 - 1.2.4. The use of hydropower as an energy source (68–70)
 - 1.2.5. On the current state of development of the productive forces in Malawi (70–83)
 - 1.2.6. The current economic structure of Malawi (83–113)
 - 1.2.6.1. On the question of basic industry (84–86)
 - 1.2.6.2. Light industry (87–93)
 - 1.2.6.2.1. Timber industry (87–89)
 - 1.2.6.2.2. Textile industry (90–93)
 - 1.2.6.3. Food and luxury food industry (93–97)
 - 1.2.6.4. Agriculture (97–103)
 - 1.2.6.5. Transportation (104–106)

³⁴² PhD dissertation (uncompleted). Hochschule für Ökonomie “Bruno Leuschner,” Berlin (East) 1973. All translations into English are mine.

³⁴³ Page 44 is missing.

1.2.6.6. Proportional development of the economic sectors in the Malawian economy (106–113)

2. Malawi's economic and industrialization policy and the main problems arising therefrom (114–245)

2.1. The class foundations and theoretical basis of the shaping of Malawi's development concepts (114–144)

2.2. On Malawi's current economic and industrialization policy (144–218)

2.2.1. Broad economic policy guidelines (144–167)

2.2.2. State economic planning for the industrialization of Malawi and the financing of plan tasks (168–188)

2.2.2.1. The 1962–1965 development plan (168–181)

2.2.2.2. The 1965–1969 development plan (181–188)

2.2.3. The Malawian government's view on priorities between agriculture, infrastructure and industry and their funding resources (188–218)

2.3. Problems of cooperation between the Malawian government and the South African Republic and Rhodesia (219–237)

2.3.1. On the question of economic cooperation (219–233)

2.3.2. The political stance of the Malawian government towards the South African Republic, Rhodesia and Portugal during the fascist dictatorship (233–237)

2.4. The results of Malawi's economic and industrialization policy (237–245)

Mwaungulu: Theses from his manuscript *Probleme und Perspektiven der industriellen Entwicklung Malawis*

1. The aim of this work is to demonstrate the objective necessity of industrialization to overcome Malawi's backwardness and, after analyzing the [country's] existing economic and social problems and the government's policy to solve them, to show the prospects and possible paths towards achieving an industrialization which serves the well-being of the people. At the same time, this is intended to contribute towards investigation of the particularly complicated development problems of Malawi, which is one of the most backward among the developing countries and which—given the government's capitalist orientation—is facing particularly serious theoretical and practical contradictions and obstacles on the way to achieving socio-economic independence.

2. Malawi's backwardness is characterized by the following main features:

- The prevailing forms of pre-capitalist relations of production that persist in agriculture as the national economy's main sector form an extremely inadequate basis for extended reproduction. On 86% of the land area, the majority of the African peasants still practices semi-natural economy with primitive means of production and backward methods.

- With concentrated cultivation of monocultures, the European agricultural sector has maintained its colonial orientation. The generated profit is largely withheld from the national economy through profit transfer abroad.
- In all branches of the national economy, the level of development of the productive forces and the level of labor productivity are extremely low, especially in the countryside, where 91.8% of the population lives.
- The working class is numerically weak and lacks the qualitative characteristics necessary for a modern economy. In the absence of industry, a significant part of the workforce is exported abroad as migrant workers.³⁴⁴
- The per capita productivity of the employed as well as the national income per capita are very low.
- As a result of economic backwardness in all areas, there is an acute lack of capital. The currency and customs system, as an important part of the national economy and an important set of instruments for carrying out political and economic tasks, is controlled by British imperialism. As a former British colony, Malawi is still a member of the sterling bloc through which British imperialism maintains a currency climate which favors its interests, obtained through non-equivalent exchange and capital export.
- The dominance of all sectors of the economy by foreign capital is a serious obstacle for the development of the national economy.
- The sales opportunities and conditions for the products produced in the country have only been developed to the extent that they correspond to the interests of foreign monopoly capitalists and representatives of their interests in Malawi.
- Production, exchange and distribution of goods are managed in such a way that the internal market remains backward.

3. Malawi's backwardness is, first of all, the immediate result of the historical conditions created by the principles of imperialism. The British colonial system led to stagnation of the productive forces and, relatively speaking, partially to their decline; the lack of or one-sided development of essential economic sectors led to the deformation of the entire economic structure. Because of the capitalist path of development followed by the government, the necessary steps to overcome the colonial economic structure have not yet been taken. The more the capitalist

³⁴⁴ This paragraph has been crossed out by hand in the manuscript. A reason for this might be that Mwaungulu, following his expulsion to West Berlin, made a halfhearted attempt in the 1980s to complete his PhD at the Freie Universität Berlin and was trying to revise his dissertation for this purpose, an idea which he finally gave up.

mode of production develops, the more its immanent contradictions emerge and intensify alongside those already existing.

The colonial infrastructure is characteristic of the colonial process of reproduction, which is still the crucial factor that impedes economic development. Preservation of the colonial economic structure as well as semi-feudal and semi-capitalist relations of production means that Malawi remains an object of exploitation within the international capitalist division of labor. It is neither a stimulus for increasing the productive force's level of development in agriculture or development of the entire economy.

4. The increasingly intensified neocolonial exploitation, which is the economic aspect of British imperialism's strategy towards Malawi, is the characteristic feature of the country's economic development. Great Britain, as the former colonial power, plays the main role in neocolonial exploitation. It is supported by semi-feudal and semi-capitalist forces in Malawi, European landowners, foreign monopolies operating in Malawi, and the collective neocolonialism of all imperialist states and the ruling bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

5. The only solution to the task posed by history—overcoming the backwardness resulting from historical, economic, political, and socio-cultural factors—is the accelerated development of material production. This is where the historical necessity of Malawi's industrialization lies. Industrialization as an all-round process of Malawi's economic development is objectively necessary in order to remove the outdated relations of production preserved by the colonial system and the remnants of colonial rule and neocolonialism, which tries to cement Malawi's dependence through international monopoly capital.

6. Confronted with the aspirations of people in developing countries to consolidate their political independence and improve their standard of living, neocolonial ideologues are forced to refrain from what they had previously denied—the need and opportunity to industrialize developing countries. Instead, they are now offering definitions of industrialization that fit their interests. The main content of these definitions is primary development of agriculture as a basis for the development of small-scale industry or a focus on infrastructure, which is equated with industrialization. The main purpose of these concepts is to create more favorable opportunities for development and exploitation of the raw materials of the developing countries. Economic growth, however, cannot be advanced by developing individual branches of the economy but only by carrying out socio-economic transformation as a whole.

7. The Marxist-Leninist conceptual definition of the industrialization of the developing countries shows the only proper way to achieve a single-minded and comprehensive industrialization, which not only includes elimination of obsolete relations of productions, colonial remnants or neocolonialist dependence; it also offers the corresponding developing country the epistemological foundations to analyze its concrete conditions methodically and systematically, in order to decide on this basis the way of its political, economic and social self-determination.

According to the Marxist-Leninist point of view, industrialization is to be understood as a comprehensive, unified process of transforming the entire economic and social structure of a developing country. With the help of modern technology, large-scale machine production and the application of science as an immediate productive force, this transformation accelerates in all areas advanced reproduction on the basis of increasing social labor productivity and eliminating the country's pre-capitalist and capitalist relations of production as well as their concomitant social conditions.³⁴⁵ In this process, the social and economic conditions are inextricably linked.

The aim of industrialization on a Marxist-Leninist basis is to create the preconditions for satisfying the material needs of the entire people. This aim corresponds with the objective interests of all members of society. It is the basis for their active participation in the development of social production, modern technology, mastery and application of science, establishment of new economic branches and transition to large-scale machine production.

8. The implementation of industrialization depends in part on the availability of usable natural resources and on the country's potential for a continuous and complex industrialization. Malawi's economic-geographic conditions are characterized by the following factors:

Located in the southeastern part of the African continent, with a population of four million people the country covers an area of 127,368 km². It borders the United Republic of Tanzania in the North and Northeast; the Portuguese colony Mocambique in the East, South and Southwest; Zambia in the West; and has no

³⁴⁵ Note that, in the German original, these two sentences are one, with quite a complex syntactic structure: "Nach marxistisch-leninistischem Standpunkt ist die Industrialisierung zu verstehen als ein umfassender einheitlicher Prozeß der Umgestaltung der gesamten ökonomischen und sozialen Struktur eines Entwicklungslandes, die mit Hilfe der modernen Technik, der maschinellen Großproduktion, der Anwendung der Wissenschaft als unmittelbare Produktivkraft, die erweiterte Reproduktion auf der Basis der Erhöhung der gesellschaftlichen Arbeitsproduktivität, der Beseitigung der vorkapitalistischen und kapitalistischen Produktionsverhältnisse als auch der sozialen Verhältnisse des Landes in allen Bereichen beschleunigt."

access to the ocean. The most salient geographic feature is Lake Malawi, which covers a quarter of the total area.

Contrary to colonial estimations, Malawi has a number of natural resources worth extracting (such as bauxite, hard coal, corundum, ore, graphite, cyanite, apatite, and others); foreign monopolies have already started to exploit some of them. With thorough geographic investigation, the scale of existing mineral resources is substantially expandable. Of the 23 million acres of arable land, only 25% is cultivated with agricultural products, mainly grain for the population's own needs. Only a small part of the land is used to grow agricultural export crops on the European plantations, especially tea, peanuts, cotton, tung and sugar cane. Livestock breeding has been of little importance in Malawi to date. Hydropower remained completely unused as an energy source until independence was achieved. Lacking an industrial base, the 90.7 million kwh of energy currently generated by the Nkula Falls Power Plant is also largely unused and, instead, exported to Mocambique. Potential energy reserves, however, are many times higher than the total amount of energy currently being generated. Malawi's socio-economic structure is characterized by a strong south-north divide. The southern region, with its more favorable climate for the European colonialists, is more densely populated, has a better developed domestic market and a significantly higher level of economic development than the 'dead North', which was completely neglected by the colonialists and suffers most from the consequences of colonial disproportionality.

9. As part of the strategy of British colonialism, Malawi served as a reservoir of cheap labor for economically more developed areas, sales market for the imperialistic monopolies, and as a reserve for raw materials for foreign monopolies that operate in- and outside the country. Thus, the current economic structure, in its essence and manifestations, is the result of the British colonial system. It is characterized by

- a complete lack of basic industry, with the exception of a negligible construction industry and an energy industry in an early stage;
- an underdeveloped extractive industry (Malawi's mineral resources were to be reserved in case other colonial supplies ran out);
- a weak, marginally developing light industry, leading to steadily increasing dependence on imported consumer goods;
- a timber industry that makes completely inadequate use of the country's timber wealth;
- a relatively well-developed textile and leather industry run by European monopolies;

- a relatively strongly developed food and luxury food industry in the hands of foreign monopolies. It is the main branch of industry and focuses on the processing of tobacco and tea, such that constantly increasing food imports are necessary;
- agriculture, the most important economic branch, which creates 40 % of the gross domestic product, despite the low level of the productive forces;
- a poorly developed, colonial-oriented transport network;
- the penetration of almost all sectors of the economy by foreign capital.

