



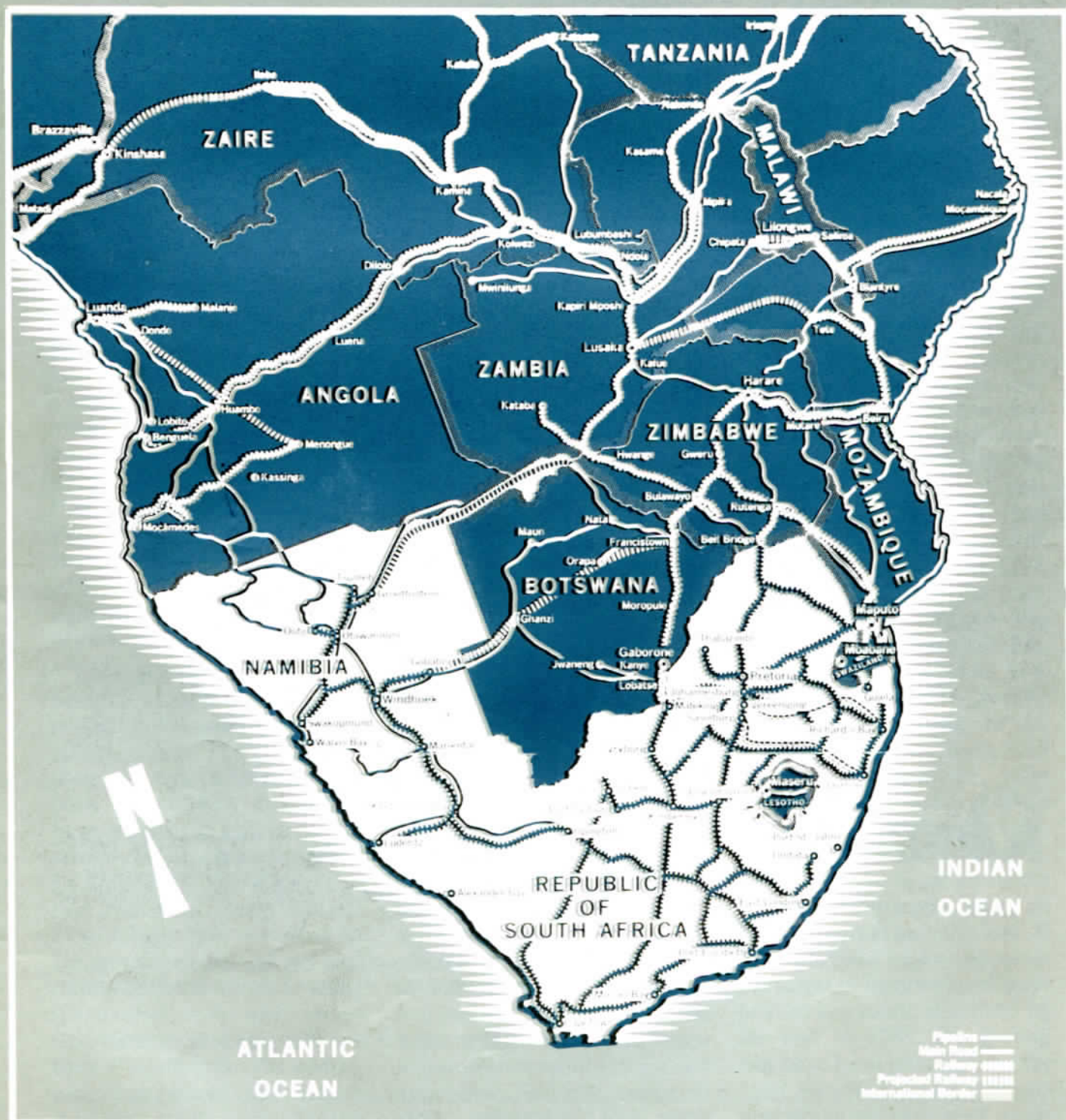
Zimbabwe News

Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

Department of Information and Publicity, 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare
Volume 18 No. 1, January 1987, Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

70C (incl. sales tax)

HARD TIMES AHEAD



* **AFRICA
FUND**

**APARTHEID'S WAR
AGAINST AFRICA**

Contents

Editorial — Difficult Times Ahead	1
Letter to the Liberation Struggle in SA	3
The Party, Government and the Farmer	4
"Solve the African Economic Crisis" Scholars urged Association of African Universities Meeting	8
Association of African Universities Meeting	14
Self-Sufficiency as a Rallying Point for Economic Independence	15
Jordan, the US and Israel Plans for the West Bank and Gaza Strip a false programme to Isolate the PLO	17
South Africa's Destabilization Policy	By Prof. Hasu H. Patel 19
NAM "Africa Fund" Action Plan Agreed in New Delhi	25
Tambo Meets ZANU (PF) Central Committee	27
Housing	By Comrade Simbarashe S. Mumbengegwi 28
What are Social Classes Part 1	By N.C.G. Mathema 29
The Current Crisis in Mauritius	By our Correspondent 32

1987



Zimbabwe News is the official News Organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union [ZANU (PF)] and is produced on the authority of the Central Committee by the Department of Information and Publicity, Jongwe Printing and Publishing Co., No. 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare. World Copyright, Central Committee [ZANU (PF)].

Editorial Council: Cde. N.M. Shamuyarira; Cde. S.S. Mumbengegwi; Cde. C. Ndlovu; Cde. D.N. Mutasa; Cde. E. Kanganga; Cde. C. Nduku (Managing)

Pictures by Jongwe Archives, Zimbabwe News papers and Ministry of Information

Editorial

Difficult Times Ahead

The year 1987 is going to be a very difficult one in our region — Southern Africa — because the struggle for independence in Namibia and South Africa is entering a critical phase. The masses are rising up in opposition to the Apartheid regime. With the exception of some elements of the ruling classes in America and Western Europe, the diplomatic isolation of the apartheid regime by the international community is almost complete. The programme of international economic sanctions is starting slowly with the Bahamas package, and the important resolution of the USA Congress. The African National Congress has stepped up its military and political activities inside South Africa. P.W. Botha is calling for a general election which will endeavour to put all the whites into the last 'laager'. The political battle lines have been drawn.

There are many factors that are favourable to the struggling masses in Namibia and South Africa today. The racist doctrine of Apartheid itself has been thoroughly discredited both inside and outside South Africa. Infact, the doctrine is so obnoxious and discredited that even P.W. Botha himself is no longer able to defend it. He says it is outmoded and outdated, but he is afraid to scrap it and admit to the white voters that Nationalist Party rule has been disastrous for the whites, and dangerous for South Africa. Even the Dutch Reformed Church — the anchor of Apartheid now admits that there are no scriptural

grounds for supporting Apartheid. For over four centuries, these same clergymen have been telling their believers that there could be no equality in the Church or in the State. The false doctrines of racism and inequality preached by both the Nationalist Party and the Dutch Reformed Church, have been thoroughly exposed for what they are — a sham and shameful design for maintaining economic and social privileges, and political power in the hands of a minority within the white minority. Infact, a majority of the white minority have been opposed to Apartheid ever since the nationalist Party came to power in 1948.

The African National Congress has stressed that it will work even harder in 1987 in order to make the African townships in the urban areas 'ungovernable'. The workers who live in these townships are daily increasing their opposition to Apartheid, and taking greater risks all the time. Student opposition to Bantu Education has led to the closure of many schools and widespread disruption of the education system throughout South Africa. The rural areas, and the so-called Bantustans are also in turmoil. The state of emergency declared last June, as well as the accompanying ban on the foreign press has made it difficult for the international community to see and appreciate the full extent of mass opposition and mass resistance. It is however quite clear that the level of National consciousness of the people is

now very high. The enemy has been clearly and correctly identified and is being hit harder and harder with every month that passes. These are all favourable factors for the process of liberation.

Although the complete diplomatic isolation of the racist regime is an additional positive factor, it must be accompanied by concrete action such as the imposition of economic sanctions, increased material support for the ANC and the PAC, and strengthening the frontline states. Individual states and international organisations must contribute materially and concretely to the dismantling of Apartheid and the attainment of freedom and independence. Nothing more concrete than support for the wealth package, as well as the USA Congress package. In particular Africa cannot lag behind countries like the USA, Canada, Austrilia and New Zealand which have already taken some measures, in the struggle against the Apartheid regime of South africa. After all it is our own struggle in the first instance; and an international one in the second place. Therefore, we must be in the front of the struggle, using all the weapons at our disposal. If the Apartheid regime becomes the target of internationally approved economic sanctions by the end of 1987, the ground will have been prepared for the final overthrow and destruction of the evil system of Apartheid, and the introduction of democracy in that troubled land. The fact that the Apar-

theid regime is dead set against economic sanctions is evidence that they must be an effective weapon.

South Africa — Focus on the African National Congress

In the continuing struggle for the liberation of South Africa, the focus this month has been on the African National Congress. It is celebrating the 75th Anniversary of its existence in the midst of serious developments within and without South Africa. As the principal organisation engaged in the armed struggle, it faces many many problems and challenges.

The ANC is the oldest political organisation on the African continent. It was formed in 1912 to oppose the Union Act, 1909 which gave the Boers pseudo independence, and the land Act, 1913 which deprived the Africans of 87 per cent of their land. Over the years it has gone through many phases, but its central goal has remained the true freedom and independence of the black masses in South Africa.

The American Secretary of State, Mr. George Schultz, who has just completed a tour of six African countries has had a meeting with the President of the ANC. Comrade

Oliver Tambo, in Washington. This is the first time the American government has met the ANC at such a high level. The American government has obviously been forced by events especially the growing mass resistance to Apartheid, to talk to the leaders of the liberation movements. The movements must take credit for this welcome development.

While on a recent visit to Harare, the President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, had cordial discussions with the President and First Secretary of ZANU (PF), Comrade Robert G. Mugabe. The ANC President discussed with ZANU (PF) leaders the present phase of the liberation struggle inside South Africa. He was also extensively quoted in the press and radio on the question of South Africa. He told Zimbabweans on television, that 'the South African struggle, unlike other resistance movements world-wide, was unique in the sense that the ANC did not have bases in neighbouring countries from which to operate, but had to fight from within. To this end it has become necessary for the Party to mobilise and politicise the masses to render South Africa ungovernable and upset the state of emergency. A unified labour front in the form of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, has been created

to conscientise the workers of the political current in the country'.

On the ANC's non-racial policy, President Tambo said 'it was the movement's goal to create a democratic and non-racial South Africa. By welcoming other oppressed races and democratic whites into its ranks, the organisation was building the foundation for a non-racial country now. To make headway in South Africa, the African people must be united, but they must not take all whites as enemies'.

Comrade Tambo thought the foreign policy of America has not changed, and that their efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement would not succeed. He said 'they are trying to do what the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth did and failed. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe also tried and failed. There is no alternative to acting against South Africa'.

The ANC remains strongly committed to the armed struggle as the only viable and effective alternative. Comrade Tambo said the black people have confidence in armed struggle. Black soldiers from South Africa who fought in the North Africa campaign in the second world war were not supplied with weapons until they were actually in the battlefield.



LETTER TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SA

If History Cannot Forgive Hitler, Can History Forgive P.W. Botha?

We are living in an era where the oppressed have resorted to the use of armed struggle as the only way to liberate themselves, where the arming of the masses, and their ideological awareness constitute a revolutionary process. It is therefore imperative that in Southern Africa, where the region's independent countries are striving for economic independence and social progress, information about the situation be correctly transmitted to the people so as to conscientise and politicise them.

The enemy strategy is to deny the people access to information about what is currently taking place. Apartheid is masking itself behind its own weakness. The Pretoria regime has now reached the stage where revealing information to the population is a violation of its code of ethics based on the false assumption that an information clampdown, and the censorship of any published material on its vileness, protects it from the advance of the people's war. The Rhodesian regime tried it but disastrously. Further, the revolutionary masses refused to be cowed by threats and rewards offered by the regime for information of where commanders of the liberation war were located.

Instead this helps the strategy of mass mobilisation. The tide of revolution is irreversible.

The creation of the tricameral parliament did not help the regime's reactionary and fascist intentions to control the black population further. What that did was to create a political crisis, where the masses demand their freedom now. This act so politicised the youth and the workers who set on the strategy of crippling the apartheid economy to the extent that Pretoria reacted with further draconian measures, culminating in the passing of the emergency regulations, where thousands of the revolutionary youth and the working class have been massacred, and thousands others detained without trial.



One Settler, one bullet

As the Pretoria regime is increasingly cornered by the revolutionary tide it assumes more and more the characteristics of a wounded cat. But with the spreading of terror to white fascists, and a reciprocal result of mass mobilisation the walls of apartheid's Jericho will soon fall.

A further act in reaction to the revolutionary thrust is the clampdown on information as to how Pretoria is being hit. This does not help the regime which is exposing itself daily, quite on the contrary it furthers the revolutionary thrust. In these circumstances therefore, where sanctions are another strategy, together with disinvestment, to weaken the Pretoria regime, and further the armed struggle, where the solution one settler one bullet, is on the march, it falls to the media to accurately inform the region's masses about the revolutionary thrust, recognising the fact that typical of fascist destructive tendencies, Pretoria will launch attacks on their territories.

Zimbabwe News talked to the media organisations in Zimbabwe about how they are going to coordinate efforts to keep the people informed about the tide of events in South Africa and what they are going to do in order to make sure that information continues to flow, between the oppressed and revolutionary people of South Africa and the masses of Zimbabwe, bearing in mind the fact that attacks by the racist regime on Zimbabwe and the Frontline states is an affront to their efforts to build socialism.

With the stage set, the curtain of sanctions about to fall and the drama unfold what role do the media organisations see themselves playing on this revolutionary stage?

Comrade Charles Chikerema, President of the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists forthrightly said, "Journalists have to be politicised since they do not work in a vacuum". In the pursuance of this objective the Union of Journalists would organise

workshops and seminars where leading personalities in the struggle to liberate South Africa would be invited to inform and educate, members of the Union about the struggle for them to inform accurately the masses of Zimbabwe.

The killing of children and their imprisonment, the maiming of infants and pregnant mothers, shooting of peaceful demonstrators, trade unions and school children, is a typical Hitlerite characteristic; this is what Pretoria does not want the world to know about.

"Apart from the repercussions of sanctions on the people, the masses have to know in concrete terms that their suffering is in aid of the revolutionary process of South Africa and Namibia" said Dorcas Hove, Secretary of the Federation of African Women media workers. The Federation which has branches in Nairobi and Zambia, will concentrate on the rural areas where they would organise information seminars and workshops discussing problems likely to be faced as a result of the imposition of mandatory sanctions against the repulsive racist regime.

"These workshops will recognise the need to implement the Five-Year National Development Plan on a local level and are expected to conscientise the peasantry about the need to be self-sufficient in accordance with the guidelines set by the Prime Minister Comrade Robert Mugabe" said Mavis Moyo, Chairperson of the Federation.

"We have left the paternalistic stage whereby we are supposed to know more than the masses therefore

take information to them. We will go to the women in the rural areas and get information from them about what projects they expect to carry out in the period of the Five-Year Plan and help them make the projects a success," she said.

It is not only on the economic front where Zimbabweans are bracing themselves up in preparation of the coordinated international onslaught on the racist regime. A cultural boycott is also in force where books published in South Africa are not being displayed in some African and European bookshops. Artists from the regime cannot perform in African and European theatres. With the banning of books, literature, ways and means of making this literature available to the region, and internationally should be found. "We are in the process of getting the books published locally" said Chenjerai Hove, Chairman of the Zimbabwe African Writers Union. "The union is talking to publishers to publish works banned in South Africa."

Since it is difficult to prescribe to a writer what to write about, Comrade Hove is sure that with more broadmindedness, more awareness of the socio-economic reality, writers in Zimbabwe would move to the level, where they should write about the ordinary lives of the people in the struggle and chronicle their experiences in the socio-economic, cultural and armed struggle to unseat the apartheid regime and establish a democratic-majority rule system devoid of South African obnoxiousness.

With South Africa suffering all these boycotts it is therefore not sur-

prising that its only solution which will in time be proved to be partial is military. The racist ideology is not an ideology that can survive the attacks of politicised and revolutionary masses. In the same way as Ian Smith's racist ideology was defeated by revolutionised, conscientised and politicised masses backing the armed struggle, so too will Botha's.

Today the Germans, who were led to believe through Hitler's Department of Propaganda that they were a superior race, and sought to found 'a place in the sun' for the blue eyed race discovered that they were no more superior than other person, so too will the South African white ruling class discover that it is no better than a black person. The struggling masses of South Africa are already building a nation by uniting against the regime. Led by the revolutionary liberation movements they are already forming a people's army that will replace the racist one. P.W. Botha does not realise that he is living behind time. The support he has and is receiving from the western governments is not forever since imperialists are known of switching sides when the going gets tough. The time is now for the racists to step down, without anymore of their nauseating tactics, where they are trying to beat History. Yet, repression cannot stop commitment to the struggle. Racism is on the defensive, it cannot win a people's war. If History cannot forgive Hitler, can History forgive P.W. Botha?

The Party, Government and the Farmer

Farmers play a vital role in the agricultural and agro-industrial development of Zimbabwe. Both communal and commercial farmers have a role to play in the transformation of past farming methods as well as improvement upon the current agricultural

strategy so that Zimbabwe becomes a self-sufficient food producing nation.

Though confronted by hazards such as drought and other ecological mishaps, the communal and commercial farmers should be guided by the Party and government's agricul-

tural development policy.

In this direction, the farmers must exchange information and experience in order to increase productivity.

The Party and Government has plans for the development of this industry in the Five Year Development Plan which protects the farmers as

well as the consumer. The farmer through the External Marketing Authority of the government gets a fair share of his labour as an owner of the means of production in that industry.

Towards the end of 1987, the National Farmers Association of Zimbabwe held their congress to review and assess their performance. The National chairman's statement (in part) at the opening of the Congress follows.

The last year has again seen the communal producer increasing his contribution on marketed output. This is a clear indication that given the right supportive structures, the communal farmers can compete quite firmly with large scale producers.

Communal Farmers have registered increased gains in productivity with improvements in per hectare yields. Some of our producers have entered the ten tonne club in the production of maize thus showing improvement in gains per hectare.

The distribution for 1986 is as follows;

Goromonzi yields per hectare that was achieved was 10.3 tonnes, Murehwa 10.9 tonnes, Karoi 10.8 tonnes, Nyanga 10.0 tonnes, Shurugwi 10.0 tonnes.

The National average maize yield to date by the communal farmer has increased from under 3.0 tonnes per hectare in the pre-independence period to about 5.5 tonnes per hectare at present.



The First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe meeting communal farmers

These achievements have been performed in all the maize growing areas.

This is attributable both to the access the farmer is getting on the extension knowledge and also access to inputs. This has tended to see a surplus of the grain crops which is causing a major alarm and concern both to the government and the Association.

In its trust to deal with the surplus the Association has started a major campaign urging its farmers to diversify into other enterprises besides grain. In the last, the Association embarked on 8 Provincial Beef Meetings whose main aim was to try to make

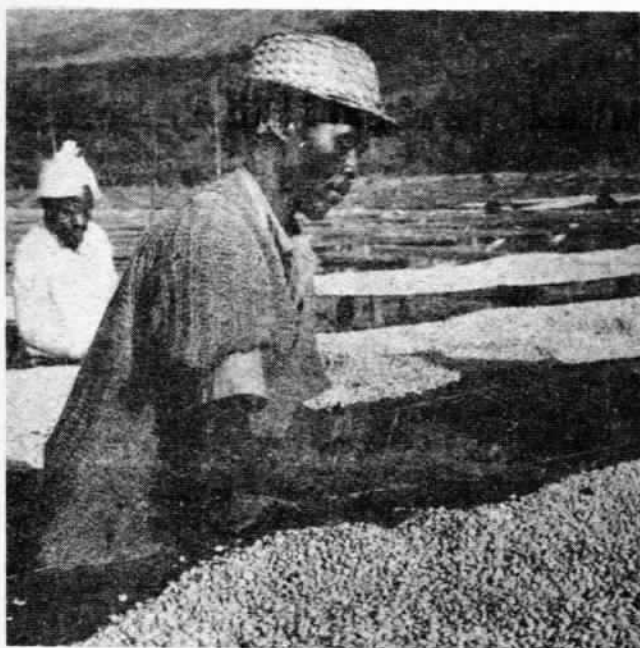
the communal farmers increase their marketed beef from the current 3%. A working document from the deliberation is still being prepared which will help in increasing beef off-take from this sector.

The year 1987 will see the Association holding seminars on other crops, the aim being to promote the appropriate crops for each agro-ecological region besides the grains. In order to deal with the surplus NFAZ aims at

- (i) Encouraging diversification into soyabeans, groundnuts, horticulture, sunflowers and beef. This effort need supplementation from both ourselves and our main counterparts, Agritex, in educating and designing the appropriate package contents. We envisage a shortage of the seed for groundnuts and sunflower so we need to highlight that something must be done to ensure seed availability. Farmers in the past have shown quite positive response to any new incentive provided its accompanied by a full supportive package of both inputs, training and extension knowledge, this has been the case with cotton. So for the new crops like soyabeans and horticulture, a similar approach must be adopted.
- (ii) Encourage on farm storage, for food security.
- (iii) Decentralise milling facilities into the rural areas, if possible pro-



The communal farmers aggressiveness in excelled food production has earned them praise by accounting for 67% of the country's grain produce



The Party and Government diversification of the Agro-industry has opened programmes to communal farmers to grow cash crops like coffee which will earn the country much needed foreign exchange viable for the development of industry

ducers start owning these facilities.

Not only did we hold the beef seminars as a start to the diversification programme, various projects have been launched. These include the Garden and Poultry projects in Manicaland, Masvingo, Mashonaland West, Mashonaland East and Matebeleland South. Though these are still on small scale basis, we hope that they will expand to other various regions so as to increase the income base for the communal producer.

The Organisation feels there is urgent need for basic training on human discipline at grassroots level so that people become literate as to know their role in agricultural development. It is necessary to teach the rural person how to live in his own environment and expect him to do an honest day's work. We have recently started a farmer leader training programme which involved member training and participation.

It is notable that local government through its department DDF is doing all it can to improve the road infrastructure in many communal areas, but more has to be done when we talk about the feeder roads which go to the places where most farmers dwell.

If the development of agriculture is to succeed there is need to decentralize the input supply centres and other supporting services. It seems

that most input supply agencies have preferred to remain in the main centres. It is now becoming too costly for the poor person to get his needs because of the time he takes in travelling. It appears as if those who provide the travelling services and the suppliers have agreed to keep it in this manner so that both remain in business. If people do not invest within the rural areas, which is a means of developing the farmer, then the success of any programme will be short-term. NFAZ has built over 20 warehouses within the communal sector and these could be used by the input suppliers as their depots.

In terms of marketing, farmers this season have experienced shortages in transport and as a result, there was a delay in the delivery of output thus a delay in payments. Also, we would like to urge the GMB to speed up the processing of payment. In the case of input procurement some notable effort was shown during this year when policy-makers, farmers, input suppliers and distributors jointly worked together to deal with the input problem. Such a spirit of mutual co-operation is the catalyst in any development programme.

Zimbabwe has now joined developed countries' problem of over-production of certain agricultural commodities. An in-depth study of the marketing of our agricultural commodities is needed. We need now to be very pragmatic in identifying which crops do we need

for export and also identifying specific markets like the one for our cotton. It is of importance to emphasize that the quality and the cost of products at international markets is now the key to the survival of our Agricultural Industry.

Many of our members live in the sub-marginal regions, with very limited climatic flexibility to warrant them to participate fully in the growing of some of the cash crops that are in high demand, thus, the tendency to grow mhunga and sorghum which have very limited commercial use. Our researchers must concentrate more in these marginal areas so that viable crops with very commercial uses can be grown.

The land is a complex one. Zimbabwe is divided into five agro-ecological regions designated in terms of the rainfall pattern. Communal areas are mostly in regions IV and V. In terms of population 65% of the population live in the communal areas, composed of 800 000 households each of which must have a piece of land to produce food.

Comrade Prime Minister, is on record at our sister union congresses that maximum utility of the land is of paramount importance. This issue, we are fully aware of it, and we fully support the government on what it is trying to do. NFAZ, because of this complexity, is now concentrating on the following:-

- (i) Proper land use
- (ii) Resource Conservation
- (iii) Rural afforestation
- (iv) Increase production per unit as shown by the increase in number of the communal farmers entering the ten tonne club.
- (v) Water conservation, to make the maximum utilization of this scarce resource land.

It is also of importance to everyone concerned that there is urgency needed in identifying the size of efficiently utilized land, the yields emanating from this and how many mouths are relying on that piece of land, if we are to redress the land reform issue.

Irrigation development in the communal areas has been slow to take off. This shows that there is something wrong with the irrigation policy as regards to the communal farmers. NFAZ would like to see that a more speedy and coherent irrigation

policy for communal farmers is developed. We would like to address ourselves to the terms surrounding the Farm Irrigation Fund, to incorporate the communal farmers situation and needs. This will go a long way in widening the crop choice, which at present is very small because of the climatic constraints.

NFAZ wish the Minister of the Ministry of Co-operative all the best of luck and success in his new Ministry. "The Minister has a daunting task ahead of him". Co-operatives can be used as a tool for rural development but there are conflicting reports of success and failure.

While there are many reasons for the success and failure of co-operatives in Developing Countries, there is no check list of criteria which will automatically ensure success. Achievement of certain criteria will be towards success, but many successes or failures are relative and fall in a group area in which improvements can definitely be made. The enumeration of criteria which tend to lead to success is presented to aid co-operatives and those assisting them to adjust and correct the focus of their activities.

This must be followed by a brief listing of common misconceptions about co-operatives and reasons for co-operative failures.

What are the Criteria for Determining if a Co-operative is a Success

- a) Is a co-operative an economical-

ly viable business enterprise?

- b) Does it have the capacity to adopt to growth and be innovative?
c) Does it provide services that its members are seeking?
d) Does it afford democratic participation in decision making related to the planning and implementation as well as the sharing of economic benefits and risks of development objectives?
e) Is the co-operatives effectively pursuing whatever social and economic goals it has set out for itself?

Important Factors Contributing to Co-operative Success and Failure

1. Leadership

The Chairman or Leader of a co-operative society must have the ability to articulate motive and stimulate others. Selfish Leaders and Bureaucrats see leadership only as giving orders and making others follow.

2. Management

Co-operatives need to have sound Management and need to have a system of checks and balances for their book control.

3. Training and Education

Education and Training is necessary in both skills required to operate a co-operative and in the professionalization of those operations. Traditional Co-operative Education for leadership staff and the membership is

vital, as is the distribution of information on the privileges and responsibilities of membership.

The continuous flow of information provides members with the capacity to participate effectively in decision making.

Favourable Climate

Government has created and fostered the conditions which allow co-operatives to flourish.

Sensibility

Government officials and other members of the community have been given the education to make them aware of the role co-operatives can play.

Participation

There must be full, direct participation in the planning of the co-operatives by the co-operative members themselves.

Linkages

There is need to be some degree of relationship between types of co-operatives and by co-operatives with other institutions of society.

Need for Recognising Pre-cooperatives

While there may be a single co-operative model, there is need to recognize the whole variety of experience of various co-operative groups pre-cooperatives and other self-help groups.

Unfortunately many co-operatives in Developing Countries are not real co-ops, there is need to distinguish between 'genuine' co-operatives by and on behalf of their members and 'pseudo' co-operatives controlled by outsiders and other agencies which may have primarily social not economic purposes.

There are areas NFAZ would like to appeal to the Minister to take note of and also assuring him of our full support of the Ministry.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the success in the production of food crops is attributable to the government's thrust to develop the rural people by involving them in formulating development programmes. This has seen a shift in the ap-



Co-operatives are aimed at improving the living standards of co-operators, not to impoverish them

proach, because now development is initiated from the grassroots.

I appeal to all rural farmers to start committing themselves fully to agriculture in order to develop themselves and join their commercial counter-parts.

I would like also to appeal to all Zimbabwean Farmers to start looking towards the formation of a single farmer's union.

The major constraints slowing down the merging are in the complexities and differences which need to be ironed out between the two sectors communal and commercial. We suggest a way to start it can be in the form of a farmer's federation.

Lastly, I would like to thank the government's continued assistance to communal areas. All Non-Governmental Organisations which have been supporting our association



in the support they have given to the Organisation in its effort to improve its structure and service to members. We hope with the consolidated effort we are receiving from Agro-industry-

NGOs and government the communal sector will continue to increase its share on the total agricultural production.

"Solve the African Economic Crisis" Scholars Urged

The First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) in the inaugural speech to the Joint Conference of the Association of African Universities and the Economic Commission for Africa challenged Universities to fight the African Crisis. He discouraged the existence of institutions whose preoccupation was to pursue and dispense knowledge that has no bearing on development objectives. Below is his speech read on his behalf by the ZANU (PF) Secretary for Production and Construction, and Minister of Education, Comrade Dzingai Mutumbuka.

It is a great honour and privilege for me to have been given this opportunity to open this Conference which is jointly sponsored by the Association of African Universities and the Economic Commission for Africa. I believe this is the third in a series of joint meetings of the AAU and the

ECA, the first having been held in Addis Ababa in January 1982, and the second in Mbabane, Swaziland, in February 1985. These joint meetings are a welcome development for they bring together two of the most important sources of hope for the recovery and development of Africa. The ECA brings to the meetings technical know-how and expertise on socio-economic matters, while the Association of African Universities represents our best brains in the area of higher education and research.

It is with great satisfaction therefore that I note that the theme of the joint Conference is 'The Future of Higher Education in Africa and Africa's Long-Term Development Problems: 1988-2008'. I note further that the joint Conference is followed by two other meetings, the Conference of Rectors, Vice-Chancellors and Presidents of Institutions of Higher Learning in Africa (COREVIP) and a meeting of the Council of the Association of

Eastern and Southern African Universities (AESAU). The themes of the joint AAU/ECA Conference and that of the COREVIP dovetail neatly into each other, with the latter focussing on strengthening cooperation among African universities with a view of coping with Africa's development problems. The deliberations of the Council members of the Association of Eastern and Southern African Universities, a regional organ of the Association of African Universities, will, I presume, be informed by the discussions and tenor of the first two conferences. That you have undertaken to deliberate on these two themes is an indication of the determination of our institutions of higher learning to shed the garb of ivory towerism that universities have been traditionally associated with and to sink their roots deep into African soil and walk on firm and solid earth. May I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your foresight and wisdom in selecting these important topics and commend you for your careful use of financial resources, for



University ivory towerism must give way to people oriented scientific research for socio-economic development

by holding three meetings one after the other at one venue you are exercising thrift and saving the meagre resources that are at the disposal of the governments that support you.

For Zimbabwe and the University of Zimbabwe the coming together of such distinguished scholars and illustrious sons and daughters of Africa is a great honour, and we derive a sense of pride and comfort from the realisation that you consider our university worthy of playing the host to you. Let me therefore take this opportunity on behalf of the Government and people of Zimbabwe to extend a very warm welcome to you all, more especially to our visitors who have travelled long distances from their respective countries to attend this Conference. I hope our country will provide you with good facilities and pleasant weather and enable you to conduct your deliberations on matters of such great importance to Africa and its peoples under conditions of reasonable comfort and tranquility.

He said the Conference is taking place at a critical turning point in Africa's economic and political history. On the political front Africa is now struggling to cast off the last vestiges of colonial domination and racial segregation which are both perpetrated by the apartheid state in South Africa, a regime that continues to exercise its illegal control on the people of Namibia and to harass and subjugate by brute force the black

people of South Africa. As a surrogate of imperialism racist South Africa is not content to terrorize, dehumanize and butcher those who live in South Africa and Namibia, but is determined to destabilize independent neighbouring African states in a desperate bid to contain the revolutionary process that is unfolding within its own borders. You are therefore meeting at a moment of great political upheaval in Southern Africa and at a moment when the apartheid regime is bent on retarding the progress and development of its black neighbours.

The training of economic cadres requires as much discipline, commitment and dedication to the ideals of the revolution as much as the military in defence of our sovereignty and independence



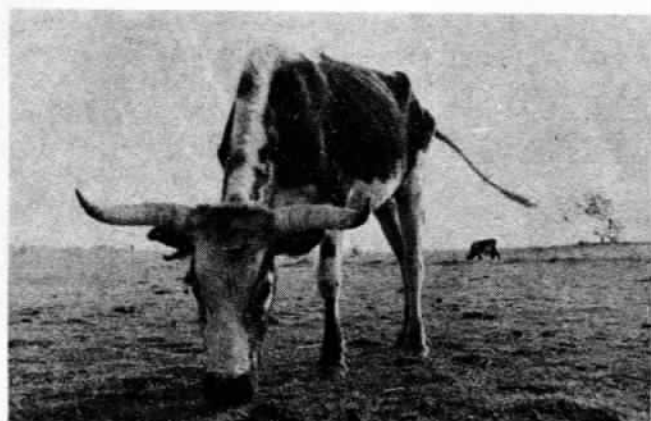
You are also meeting at a time when the entire continent of Africa is facing major socio-economic disasters characterised by low and unevenly distributed per capita incomes, high birth rates, high levels of unemployment, increased trade deficits and unfavourable balance of

payments. This bleak economic situation into which African nations have been hurled is the result of a multiplicity of factors — our colonial history, the present unequal world economic order, the structures of our own economies and political upheavals. As if human factors are not enough, nature has joined the conspiracy against us and has had a calamitous effect on our economies and the entire fabric of our societies. Thus floods, drought and desertification have taken their toll; hunger and starvation have become the curse of Africa, while the albatross of economic stagnation continues to weigh heavily on our necks. Indeed the situation is bleak and is going from bad to worse. Africa is facing a serious crisis.

It is with this crisis in mind that in its publication, *ECA and Africa's Development 1983-2008*¹, the Economic Commission for Africa has rightly warned that if the present trends are not arrested then Africa faces a very bleak future indeed. The warning of the ECA should be viewed in relation to the Lagos Plan of Action which articulates the vision of African Heads of State and Government and gives a picture of the kind of continent they wish Africa to be by the year 2000: an Africa which will move forward on the basis of collective, accelerated, self-reliant and self-sustaining development of member states; an Africa that has achieved in-

tegration in the economic, social and cultural fields; an Africa that is well on the way to industrialisation and genuine development. It is with a view to enabling African governments endeavouring at continental, regional and national levels to pursue policies and engage in activities that

make the objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action realizable. The formation of such regional organisations as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) are an ample demonstration of the determination of African governments to achieve the goals articulated in the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos.



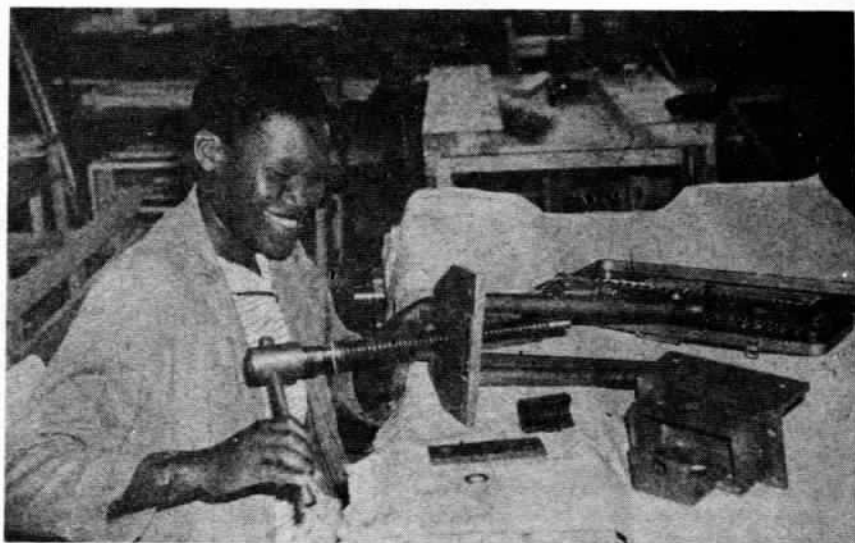
African universities must conduct research in such areas as rural and water development, drought and desertification

Despite these noble efforts the spectre of a hunger-stricken, impoverished and backward Africa still looms large on the horizon giving a clear signal that if the battle is to be won and the goal of a prosperous Africa at the beginning of the twenty-first century is to be reached, then the struggle must be intensified on all fronts. The battle cannot be fought by governments alone but requires the cooperation of governments, local and international organisations, educational institutions, the private sector and all patriotic sons and daughters of Africa. In these circumstances African universities cannot be content to stand by and assume the role of passive onlookers while the drama of Africa's tragic history unfolds before their very eyes. Nor is it enough for our academic institutions to peer at Africa through a distant microscope, expressing a marginal interest in the continent's problems while continuing to orbit in the outer regions of space, far away from the concrete realities of our world. If the present socio-economic crisis is to be overcome, all organisations and institutions must participate in the struggle. The African university must not be content to perch on the periphery but must be at the very centre of this multifaceted and titanic struggle for the survival of our continent. The African university should

serve as a vital component of the multi-dimensional institutional machinery that we have set up to move the wheels of history forward and propel our nations to higher levels of development.

At this juncture it is appropriate to pause and reflect on the nature and functions of the university. I submit that the functions and purpose of the university should ideally be determin-

ed partly by its history and genesis and decidedly by the social milieu and context in which it exists and from which it derives its sustenance. While the African university has its origins in the tradition of European universities and in our colonial past, its nature, functions and mode of operation must in the final analysis be determined by the African environment which nourishes it.



Popularise science and technology

African scholars and heads of academic institutions have correctly identified the three-fold function of the university — teaching, research

and public service. These noble functions of the university have been eloquently articulated and need no further elaboration here. However, I crave your indulgence as I venture to suggest that the quality of what is taught in the African university depends on the substance of what is taught and on the modality of delivery; the value of research depends on the relevance of its findings to the burning problems of the society of which the researcher is a part; while the worth of an individual's service to society can only be measured in terms of its usefulness and application to the concrete problems of our world. By this I mean that it is not enough to formulate and articulate sound policies and make declarations of intent. What is more vital is to translate these policies and declarations into concrete action in the context of the actual reality in which we live. African universities must therefore conduct their affairs in the context of Africa's priorities. Their curricula, research interests and outlook must have a demonstrable relationship with the concerns and problems of the African people. If Africa is to achieve the objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, it is imperative that our institutions of higher learning redouble their efforts in human resource development, in promoting scientific and technical skills and know-how, in conducting meaningful

research in such areas as rural and water development, drought, desertification and the efficient management of our economies.



Scientific methods in the production of eggs and chicken should be used to raise levels of production

Human resource development is vital to our stated goals of self-reliance and self-sustained growth. Such a goal cannot be attained unless we develop the capacity to depend on our own expertise and to generate ideas and strategies that are relevant to our environment and consonant with our objectives. Let me hasten to add that the goal of self-reliance can only be reached when African universities have learnt to disengage from the current overdependence on institutions of the North for inspiration, ideas and manpower. The tendency to feed our young intellectuals on a diet of ideas and materials designed for other lands inevitably leads to intellectual atrophy and *ideological bankruptcy* and has resulted in the anomalous situation in which our universities continue to churn out a product who use a foreign environment as his frame of reference and is incapable of applying the knowledge he has acquired to the problems of his own society. Ideas produced in foreign lands for foreign consumers will, like foreign experts, continue to be of maximum benefit to the environments in which they are manufactured and of little or no value to us. This is by no means to say that there are no ideas and principles that have a universal application, but to emphasize the need to adapt knowledge and make it relevant to the African world. The African university must take a hold leap and break away from the strange atmosphere in which it was born so as to enter the orbit of the African

planet to which it properly belongs. In this way its products will be of greater use to the African people.

The vital importance of the development of a scientific and technical capacity by any nation that seriously contemplates modernization and industrialization is a challenge for our institutions of higher learning. The African university will have failed in its duty if it does not help African nations to achieve rapid growth in science and technology. And as no meaningful development can take place without involving the mass of the population, the university must eschew its traditional view of scientific knowledge as the preserve of a small educated elite and instead help to devise means and ways of popularizing science and technology so that our people can adopt a scientific attitude and learn to discard superstitious beliefs and practices which are detrimental to progress. This point has an important bearing on the issue of curriculum design and reform and that of the quality of the graduates we produce in our academic institutions. The colonial university, like the colonial school system, was characterized by a heavy emphasis on the humanities and on academic subjects at the expense of science and technology in general and practical subjects in particular. Let me hasten to add that the arts and social sciences are a vital component of the curriculum of an academic institution; they are in fact the soul of academic institutions because they

conscientize the learner and provide the ideological framework within which such institutions operate if they are to conduct their affairs on a principled basis.

The place of the arts and social sciences in the university should therefore be guaranteed, and woe upon that nation that ignores them, for no nation was built on science alone. The point must be made, however, that the colonial system of education put a premium on academic subjects, especially the arts, and underrated the importance of science, technology and practical subjects. This has to be changed if Africa is to embark on the path of meaningful development and self-reliance. Sufficient emphasis must now be put on science, technology and practical subjects, and on producing an individual who possesses both intellectual capabilities and practical skills, a man or woman who combines theory and practice, a thinker and a doer.

The last point above is important because cadre-formation is a vital aspect of the functions of a university. Social development depends on the transformation of people who are the agents of change. Social transformation is a consequence of the transformation of individual human beings. Unless we produce a cadre of men and women with a sound understanding of the problems of their continent, patriotic sons and daughters of Africa who are dedicated to the development of their motherland, much of our effort will have been wasted in vain. We cannot therefore teach and do research in an ideological vacuum and hope to achieve our goal. University students must be given a clear understanding of the world they live in. They must know why we are where we are and how we can escape from our present predicament. Dry knowledge, devoid of theory and mechanically delivered, is not effective in cadre-formation.

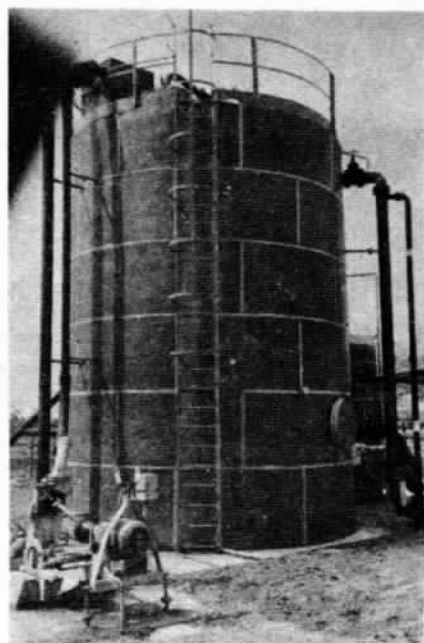
In this connection let me point to the need for university curriculum designers to be conscious not only of national policies and objectives, but also of the aims and objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action. I would not be surprised if many of those academics who know about it regard the document as none of their concern, as a document for governments and

politicians which is of no particular relevance to the proper function of a university. This is erroneous because if universities are to reorientate their programmes in an effort to participate fully in the struggle for an independent, self-reliant and industrialized Africa by the year 2008 they cannot afford to ignore the Lagos Plan of Action. When we say that the African university should derive its inspiration from the African environment and move with its feet firmly on African soil we mean, in part, that its priorities should be determined by the priorities of individual African states and those of the Organisation of African Unity and its regional constituents. To ignore these priorities is to court the temptation to climb the ivory tower, to hover like a planet that has wandered away from its orbit and is in danger of getting lost in outer space. By keeping in mind the priorities of the nation in which it is situated and those of the Organisation of African Unity as articulated in the Lagos Plan of Action the African university will, I believe, find its orbit again and avoid the risk of becoming a lost and forgotten meteor, a star which, instead of guiding the mariner, misses its path by reason of its relentless search for the glories of outer space. The mariner has no need for such a star just as we cannot brook the existence in our midst of institutions whose preoccupation is to pursue and dispense knowledge that has no bearing on our development objectives.

No doubt academics will raise an outcry here and insist on the principle of autonomy. My response is that in order to discharge their duties properly in an academic atmosphere, universities must indeed be granted autonomy, but autonomy should go hand in hand with a sense of responsibility. Genuine academic freedom must be coupled with a spirit of patriotism and service to the community.

Allow me at this juncture to turn to the subject of inter-university cooperation. I believe this is a matter you have discussed exhaustively at previous meetings both within the context of the Association of African Universities and at sub-regional levels. At the South-South Con-

ference held here in Harare in 1985 mention was made of the progress that has taken place in Africa in the area of South-South cooperation among universities. Let me nevertheless reiterate the point I made at that Conference that in a world which is dominated by the North at the expense of the South, South-South



A biogas plant used to cut down on electricity consumption. Scientific research should be instrumental in changing the face of the rural areas

cooperation is imperative as it is a means to the enhancement of our own capabilities and potential to the mutual benefit of our countries and peoples. The economic and political predicament in which Africa has found itself is partly a result of the domination of our economies by the North so that one of the conditions for our recovery is the creation of a new international economic order, a more equitable economic order which benefits both the North and the South. But before the South can realistically and successfully take on the North in a bid to bring about this new order, it is important for us to achieve the greatest degree of understanding, unity and cooperation among ourselves. Such cooperation is more urgent here in Africa than anywhere else. Inter-African cooperation is a necessary complement to national self-reliant develop-

ment efforts. *For Africa to achieve its goal of relative self-sufficiency and industrial take off by the year 2000 regional and sub-regional economic cooperation is fundamental — hence the formation of ECOWAS, SADCC, PTA and other groupings. If African universities are to make an effective contribution to this planned growth institutional cooperation is vital.* Individually their resources and capabilities are limited, but collectively and with determination, serious planning and the pooling of resources, they can become a formidable force. It is therefore gratifying to note that the Conference of Rectors, Vice-Chancellors and Presidents is going to focus on inter-university cooperation as a means of solving Africa's development problems.

I hope that in their deliberations on this topic the leaders of our academic institutions will endeavour to come up with concrete proposals on the burning issue of reducing Africa's dependence on the North. It can be argued that the dependence of African governments on experts from the North is an indication that the African university is still wading in the backwaters of underdevelopment. Indeed is it not an anomaly that with so many African universities churning out so many graduates annually we still continue to hire consultants and technical experts from the North? And is the situation going to continue into the twenty-first century? Academics and university administrators may argue that the fault lies with African governments which insist on hiring foreign consultants at very high cost ignoring the expertise which is readily available in their own national universities. This may well be true, and if it is, African governments must take their share of the blame. Even so the question still arises as to why African governments should find themselves in this invidious position. Is it not symptomatic of the African university's failure to win the confidence of its own people? It is not perhaps a concrete demonstration of the fact that African scholars have failed to come up with original ideas, have perpetuated their intellectual dependence on Western scholars and

continue to display a lack of confidence in their own capacity to generate ideas and insights that lead to genuine solutions of our problems, and to devise curricula that are of direct relevance to their own environment? Forgive me for making these observations if my assumptions are false, but it is my earnest hope that come the Year 2000 there will be no need for Africa to depend so heavily on foreign brain power and borrowed skills. I have no doubt that the collective efforts of our institutions of higher learning can help us realize this dream. By pooling their resources they should be able to provide an alternative to our almost complete dependence on the North for skills and technical know-how.

Before I conclude my address allow me to indicate what I see as the challenges of the next few days. At your conferences you called for cooperation between the universities of the continent which will maximize the utilization of their resources in a manner that has a direct bearing on the social, economic and political problems of Africa. The joint Conferences of the Association of African Universities and the Economic Commission for Africa represent a landmark in the development of the African university particularly in relation to the issue of relevance. We hail the Mbambane Programme of Action in which, among other things, you resolved to review your curricula; to strengthen your research efforts in such areas as science, technology, agriculture and industry; to place your expertise more effectively at the disposal of our national policy makers; and to increase your contribution to the effectiveness of the educational systems of African nations. You committed yourselves to these and other projects as a demonstration of your determination to participate fully in the current efforts to resolve the present crisis and help put your continent on the road to development. The Mbambane Programme of Action is a noble declaration and we commend you highly for it.

However, you know as well as I do that the value of resolutions lies, not in their articulation, but in the actions that result from them. The articulation of principles and the sharing of ideas must be followed by positive action aimed at putting those principles



Unless we produce a cadre of men and women with a sound understanding of the problems of their continent much of our effort will have been wasted in vain

into practice. This, let me humbly suggest, is one of the challenges of the next few days. Since 1982 you have articulated noble principles on the role of the university in meeting the challenges that face Africa today. You have stated your belief in the overriding importance of inter-university cooperation as an instrument of development. You have, no doubt, deliberated on the means and ways of making such cooperation feasible and tangible and have come up with concrete proposals. Your first task this week, I suggest, is to reflect on the degree to which you have succeeded in meeting your goals, to identify the hurdles and stumbling blocks that lie in your path, and to find effective means of removing them so as to move swiftly forward.

It is also my hope that the occasion will provide you with an ample opportunity to look back and reflect on the performance of the African university during the last forty or so years of its existence. What, in particular, has the African university achieved since independence? Has it lived up to the expectations of those who set it up? If not, why not? Have the goals of the Association of African Universities been realized since its formation? If not, why not? I contend that this backward look to the past is necessary if we are to peer fruitfully into the future and chart a new path for higher education in Africa. What the African university is today was partly determined by its

history which goes back to our colonial past. *If we do not reflect upon the past and examine it critically, the colonial hangover will continue to haunt us and that albatross, the colonial system of education, will continue to weigh heavily on our shoulders, preventing us from breaking free from the mould in which our former rulers left us.*

I submit that in order to influence the course of African history you must proceed on a principled basis which involves a critical examination of what has gone wrong in the past. You need to be men and women of vision who know why they are where they are and how they are going to proceed to their destination. But vision alone is not enough. For a man of vision to realize his dreams he must also be a practical person, a person who knows how to go about achieving his goal. This involves the identification and adoption of effective strategies — it involves planning; it involves the effective use of all the resources at one's disposal. The adoption of suitable strategies must, in turn, be complemented by the will to complete the task whatever the cost. The struggle for economic survival is like fighting on the battlefield. Once you have engaged the enemy you cannot afford to lose. Giving up the fight is suicidal because it results in capitulation, and capitulation brings bondage in its trail. The struggle must continue until final victory.

ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES MEETING

The end of the Third joint conference of the Association of African Universities and the Economic Commission of Africa ended with a pledge to commit their resources to Africa's economic recovery, reconstruction and development.

The first such Conference was held in Mbabane, Swaziland in February, 1985. It reviewed the causes, nature and importance of Africa's economic crisis and identified the AAU's contribution to national Government's efforts to mitigate it.

Recognising that learning in Africa currently faces a crisis of image and confidence, the scholars felt determined to identify with the aspirations of African societies and contribute their quota to the solution of the present crisis being faced by Africa. The Conference made proposals for economic development. Following are the proposals.

At the National Level

- 1 Institute special programmes of education and training to meet the priority needs for recovery in our economies as defined in both APPER and the UN-PAAERS.
- 2 Popularize the Recovery Programmes through the conduct of lectures, seminars and workshops for students, public servants and businessmen to make them more appreciative of the gravity of Africa's recovery and development.
- 3 Give greater attention to resources in education, training, research and consultancy in economic management in general and external debt management in particular.
- 4 Draw up programmes of research in support of the priority programme, specifically designed to respond to the areas of priority identified by our Governments, i.e. food and agriculture, drought and deser-

tification control, other sectors in support of agriculture (transport and communications, trade and finance, marketing, storage distribution), technology development and adaptation and human resources development.

- 5 Endeavour to reduce our total dependence on Governments for funding, by strengthening our capabilities to generate resources from our services and production activities.
- 6 Make more readily available to governments, regional and international organisations our expertise and capabilities through consultancies and research on project formulation, appraisal and implementation, evaluation of economic development policies especially their fiscal and monetary aspects, improvement of the performance of the public sector and parastatals etc.
- 7 Involve our staff and students more intensively in working with and learning from the communities in which we live and which surround us so as to lend more effective support to the solutions of their problems of poverty, and underdevelopment.
- 8 Regularly inform the governments and the public about our activities, projects and programmes so as to promote greater understanding of the role of the Universities in national economic recovery and development and mobilize their support to this effect.

At the Sub-regional Level

- 1 Harmonize our approaches to

the search for solutions to problems which constrain our common development as a sub-region, especially the problem affecting countries in the arid and semi-arid zones of the continent, problems facing land-locked, island and least developed countries, and problems of the countries neighbouring the racist regime of South Africa.

- 2 Establish a mechanism for working out strategies for formulating common research and training programmes, and pool more of our teaching and research facilities.

At the Continental Level

Intensify the implementation of the Mbabane Programme of Action which we adopted in 1985 in support of measures to mitigate the effects of the social and economic crisis in Africa.

- 2 Accelerate the process of reviewing the curricula, research emphasis and priorities and learning methods within our institutions with a view to bringing them in line with the present needs for recovery and development.
- 3 Strive to reduce our reliance on external forces and factors for the provision of the greater part of our teaching and research materials and equipment, by beginning to produce some of these inputs with our own efforts and resources.
- 4 Rationalize our programmes and harmonize our efforts by strengthening existing networks for research and teaching and creating new ones so as to achieve greater cost-effectiveness to the mutual advantage of all our

institutions.

- 5 Intensify our efforts to develop through cooperation our post-graduate programmes more speedily to respond to the call for more high-level manpower for development and to reduce our costly dependence on countries of the North to do so for Africa.
- 6 Strengthen our cooperation within the continent and with other regions of the Third World in the areas of research, teaching and production of teaching materials.
- 7 Considering the importance that the ECA/PADIS and the Universities attach to the utilisation of information in the development process of Africa the efforts that are being made by the Economic Commission for Africa in organising information services of African Universities produce, the institutions undertake to make available to ECA/PADIS all these and dissertations that have so far been produced on development questions and set up mechanisms for cooperation in the training of information and documentation personnel in our Universities, in cooperation with ECA/PADIS.



Self-Sufficiency as a Relying Point for Economic Independence

ECONOMIC independence should not be viewed merely as a political issue but too and strongly so as a social aspect. Many revolutionary scholars such as Walter Rodney have reflected on this topic and traced the root of economic dependence into the days of slavery. Dependence became built in, since the industrial base in Europe continued to be used to underdevelop African states, who in due course were discouraged by the imperialists from establishing their own industrial base as the imperialist could always provide the required materials and worn out technology.

However, to talk of economic independence one should also talk of self-sufficiency internally. This entails the use of local resources in the production process. It was reported in the January issue of the Nigerian newspaper, the *African Guardian* that the Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Company, instead of using local pines as well as investing in them, chooses to import from Europe. The Nigerian newspaper industry is presently facing a newsprint crisis.

What this illustrates is the bankruptcy of company policies in the developing nations. It is true that this situation is not peculiar to the Nigerian paper industry only but indeed to many industries in Africa.

To invest in local raw materials would help the confidence of the industries. But the situation where companies refuse or are reluctant to do so, will not help nations achieve economic independence at any future date.

One aspect that should be examined though is that while companies involved in manufacturing, mining and agriculture continue to exercise their bankrupt policies, investigations should be

technology unsuitable to the level of industrial development, which results in uncoordinated technology and a gap in the developing nations industrial base. However research into the side of this strategy of acquiring technology without the development of indigenous technology that recognised the socio-economic stage of the underdeveloped country is not instituted.

On another level the writer does not advocate for a suicidal policy of ignoring technological developments, which are crucial to certain of developing countries industries, but of a sober analysis of the existing problems for their clear tackling.



Regional economic groups enhance the chances of self-sufficiency. Here Comrade R.G. Mugabe meets the current Chairman of the Preferential Trade Area group (PTA) Comrade Haile Mariam in Addis Ababa

made into the fact that they might be in complicity with international companies when they turn about and claim that investment into or the use of particular local raw materials is not in commercial interest. This argument can only be used to strengthen the dependence in the economic systems of Africa. The capitalist money landing institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, have never proposed or offered a loan for investment into the development of local raw materials.

Continually bi-lateral trade agreements "benefit" underdeveloped nations "old technology" or finished products, either this or with

It is true that some so called economic advisers from the West who advise at international fora like the United Nations, or even African Governments do an about turn and tell the Africans that they should develop local raw materials for their industries while they are at the same time advising that immediate economic problems are best tackled through the importation of either finished products or particular technology from their own capitalist countries, stalling active plans for such a policy on raw materials. The "Chicago" boys who "advised" Chile, before the CIA killed Ellende through the activities of an American multinational company, threw the coun-



Without the people's consciousness to be masters of their own destiny Third World economies may not become self-reliant.

try into economic disarray.

And in many failing African economies it is as a result of these advisers, who go in through the backdoors of African policy makers. Perhaps the Leninist question should be asked, "What is to be done now?" Capitalist claws will not relinquish their control on African economies as they have not yet finished exploiting African labour.

Therefore African policy makers should urge indigenous capitalists to invest in local raw materials, and make it compulsory to existing capitalists, whatever their origin not to import raw materials when they are already available. The imperialists developed their industries from African raw materials and they still do, then they sell us the finished product at inflationary prices, why should African countries export cotton, when they have to buy the product at unaffordable prices? If the Democratic People's Republic of Korea could build its industry to its present level of quality, can't the African industry upgrade and develop technology to a level where it exports quality finished goods?

Self-sufficiency as a social aspect is therefore a tool for permanent economic independence. The question need not be that of technology only because technology is merely the vehicle for the achievement of self-sufficiency. Many economic analysts have looked at the African economic crisis from the view of its starving masses, from

the view of natural disasters, from the view of refugees, is it sincere to regard the African economic crisis from such a view? The capitalists are trying to hold Africa to ransom because of these problems which do not have a natural solution but where capitalists paternalistically and hand over (aid) tit-bits for these situations.

In spite of this Europeans cannot help us straighten their own mess which they are still proud of. They can't afford an economically independent Africa, and worse, one that is self-sufficient. Such efforts make imperialist and CIA organised coups in non-revolutionary and none planned economies, as what happened in Granada in 1983 when the United States staged a counter revolutionary act and killed Maurice Bishop. The difference here is that the imperialist strategy of interference has taken on another direction, as more and more countries in the Third World choose the revolutionary path, towards controlling their own destiny. In these countries forces of counter-revolution, in Angola, in Nicaragua, in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, counter-revolution is being sponsored by the United States. Countries that became independent through the colonial forces leaving, have not found it easy to chart a revolutionary path, and many a leader that tried to do so was seen to be a threat to imperialist interests. Patrice Lumumba for example. So the "gutsa ruzhinji" path is always under threat from imperialist

counter-revolutionary intentions.

Today, Third World economies are on the periphery of a western industrial centre which means that if and when there are upheavals in that centre as what happened in Europe during the great Depression in the 1930s, and in the 80s the developing economies will probably fare much worse. Since then, the United States economy was the strongest, meaning that European economies were dependent on the United States, since then, European economies have strengthened against this background, through all economic tricks written and unwritten.

Today these economies cannot allow one currency, to over strengthen for fear of upsetting the rest of the economies. The rise of Japan as a major industrial power, has ensured a favourable economic equilibrium in the western imperialist countries.

No western imperialist economy is suffering dependence and underdevelopment. Most have achieved self-sufficiency, albeit through exploitation and unequal trade relations with dependent and underdeveloped Third World economies.

However, it cannot be said that the Third World economies cannot become a centre on their own for they are already a centre of raw materials for industrialised economies. It is their strongest bargaining position. This and unity of industrialisation, within their own regions more regional cooperation and more intra trade based on the principle of none duplication of projects. Comecon countries after the Second World war were able to build their industries based on this principle, and their industrial base strengthened with each country developing the technology for the production of particular products needed by another member country. The Third World countries can not afford to leave their economies at the mercy of market forces, as this may result in a lopsided development where the needs of the people

suffer at the expense of profit making, planned economy is therefore essential as it recognises economic and social needs and meets particular goals, stipulated by both the Party and the Government, for the achievement of economic independence through self-sufficiency.

Intra-Africa trade can boost both development and self-sufficiency, Trade-Fairs are a shop window exposition of each others products.

The Host Comrade R.G. Mugabe with President Bagaza of Burundi at Bulawayo Fair — 86



Jordan, the US and Israel Plans for the West Bank and Gaza Strip a False Programme to Isolate the PLO

An international conference for the development of the West Bank and the Gaza strip held by Jordanian, US and Zionist Israel last November is an imperialist plot to isolate the Palestine Liberation Organisation from the people of the occupied lands.

It will be recalled that the PLO and Jordan established a joint action formula to deal with the development of the occupied lands in February, 1985. The Joint Formula was to chart the economic and political advancement of the peoples of the West Bank and the Gaza strip. The fact that Jordan has now played into the hands of the enemy at the exclusion of the PLO shows how the US and Israel have used the Authorities to isolate the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people. There can never be any political ad-



The current Chairman of the NAM Comrade R.G. Mugabe and the Chairman of the PLO Brother Yasser Arafat when the PLO Leader visited Harare before the NAM Summit last September

vancement of the people of the occupied lands without the involvement of the PLO. The execution of the lone plan by Jordan



The inhabitants of the occupied territories live through the nightmare of rampant Zionist terror

with a one thousand two hundred million dollars from the US and other Zionist forces shows clearly that the forces of reaction are at work to thwart the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO. The Jordanian Authorities have now agreed to work hand in glove with the US and Israel in the name of improving the well-being of the people of the occupied territories.

Zionist Israel Propaganda Against the PLO

The current developments in the middle East show that the imperialists are playing the game of politics of occupation with promises of opening branches of the Cairo-Amman Banks for the future development of the occupied lands. Zionist Israel is said to have promised the Jordanian Authorities permission to visit the occupied lands and make an assessment of the needs of the peoples of the occupied lands, so-called commit-

tees to study and report on their masters.

Information that has reached many capitals reveal that the mayors of all towns approached requested the inclusion of the PLO or else there would be no solution to the question of the occupied lands.

The Jordanian Authorities are also working directly in the occupied territories to create an alternative leadership of the PLO. An Israeli official said that Jordan is pressing for the removal of certain pro-PLO Mayors and the imposition of Moderate ones on the people of the cities of the occupied lands. King Hussein is said to have promised more aid under the Jordanian plan to the mayors who cooperate with this plan.

At the exclusion of the PLO, the Jordanian Cabinet is said to have approved a five year development plan for the West Bank, whereby 1.4 billion dollars

supplied by the United States will be displaced by the Jordanian regime. Of this amount, only 0.25 billion will be spent on services which means that the Palestinian people will be further exploited. The billions so advertised is meant to bribe the people of the occupied lands and a creation of moderates that will support the 1982 Reagan Plan. This also means that the occupied lands will be appendages of Jordan in the form of Bantustans under apartheid.

The Amman Authorities are also known to have started paying salaries of employees that worked in the public sector before the 1967 occupation. What a Zionist plot to woodwink the people of Palestine and all progressive forces who support the establishment of an independent state of Palestine.

It should be remembered that when the surrogate states of the Middle East tried to negotiate the Palestine solution at Camp in 1984 excluding the PLO, the accord failed.



More than 30 thousand Palestinians have been incarcerated in Israeli prisons in the last seven years. According to the 1978 National Lawyers Guild Report, hundreds of Palestinians are in Israeli jails without trial, under "administrative detention."

There is no doubt that the recent plan to isolate the PLO from the Palestinian people is denying the people of the occupied lands their right to self-determination and a Palestinian Homeland. This plan will not succeed because the people will not agree to be subjugated under the guise of advancement.

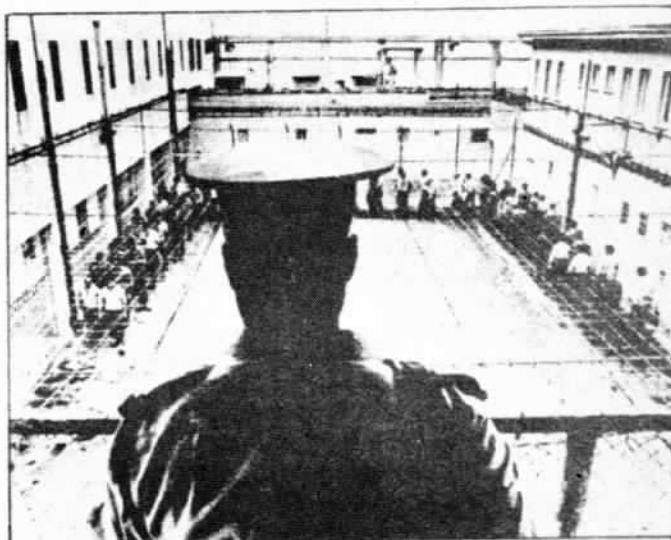
Joint Economic and Political Formula

The people inside the occupied territories regret the Jordanian approach to their problems, it is only the PLO representing them that their desire for freedom and independence will be served. It is true that it is only the joint action programme that will bring an alternative for the advancement of the peoples of the occupied lands as recommended by the Arab League, which in the first place initiated the joint Formula. It is known that the economic and political situation in the occupied lands can only be handled by the Joint Committee.

While the Jordanian Authorities were holding the so-called international conference in Amman, the PLO representative issued a statement in Tunis which states that:

1 This Plan ignores and surpasses the Joint Palestinian-Jordanian Committee decided by the Baghdad Arab Summit Conference (107) (1978) to back the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. That decision confined within the realm of this Committee all Plans,

The 1978 US State Department Report admitted that Israel has violated the civil and human rights of Palestinians in the occupied territories



Measures and Programmes related to this aspect.

2 This Plan which is orchestrated by the US and Israel will inevitably lead to the normalization of relations adopted by Israel, thus imposing the Status-Quo Peace. "De Facto" imposed peace contra to Palestinian National aspirations.

3 The Palestine Liberation Organisation, while wishing that our brethren and friends anticipate and comprehend this Plan, reaffirms that the Palestinian people in the occupied territories are in foremost need of intensive friendly and brotherly support, thus assisting them to stand

steadfast and resist the Plans and schemes of the occupying forces, backing and consolidating their just struggle, and forging the Pan-Arab and National guide-lines that the Arab Summit Conferences aimed at. These Resolutions and Plans which outlined and charted the features and characteristics of their future, enabling them to put an end to the Israeli occupation and the implementation of their national and inalienable rights of:-

- Return to their homeland;
- Right to Self-Determination;
- Right of establishing their own independent and sovereign State.

SOUTH AFRICA'S DESTABILIZATION POLICY

Hasu H. Patel, Professor, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zimbabwe

Paper submitted to the Southern African Universities Social Sciences Conference (SAUSSC) — Zimbabwe Chapter Special Seminar on Namibia held under the auspices of the United Nations Council for Namibia, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, August 18 — 20, 1986.

In the last few years South Africa's destabilization policy has received increasing attention and so there might be the impression that the apartheid state's

destabilization policy is of recent vintage. This is not so because the facts speak otherwise. The destabilization policy is at least ten years old, if one takes note of

Pretoria's 1975/76 invasion of and debacle in Angola when it together with the USA, unsuccessfully tried to defeat the MPLA and ensure a UNITA/FINLA government in Angola by the time of Angolan independence in November 1975. Further if one takes into account Pretoria's economic, political and military support of rebel Rhodesia, its illegal occupation of Namibia (in which South Africa's mandate was terminated by the UN

General Assembly in 1966, wherein South Africa's was proclaimed to be an illegal occupation by the UN Security Council in 1969, and the International Court of Justice declared South Africa to be in illegal occupation of Namibia and confirmed the SC's 1969 call for its withdrawal), then clearly South Africa's regional destabilization policy goes back to the mid-1960s. But it goes back even further in time if one takes a continental view of destabilization, because of South Africa's military and economic support for the Tshombe succession in Katanga in 1961 which line of action continued with support for the Biafra secession during 1967 — 70.

What is destabilization? In part the answer is embedded in the above paragraph and the point made here is that destabilization even at the regional level should be seen in a more comprehensive conceptual way than what appears to be the case in some scholarly analysis. e.g.

- (i) One line of thought separates destabilization from neutralization, the former seeking to replace regional governments deemed by Pretoria to be hostile to it while the latter seeking to change the policies of existing regional governments, and both destabilization and neutralization seeking the same basic goal of changing regional governmental policies towards eliminating white rule in South Africa.
- (ii) another line of analysis seems to imply that destabilization is an activity directed only against independent regional African states, i.e. this kind of analysis leaves out states such as Namibia which is being "prepared for destabilization" after its formal independence at some future date.

The formulation here is that destabilization is a complex of political, economic and military activities, separately and combined, short of a formal declaration



This is the result of destabilisation, human displacement and suffering

of war used by South Africa against independent African states and states which should be independent but are illegally occupied by South Africa such as Namibia. Thus South Africa's regional destabilization policy is a policy of war by another name; it is an "undeclared war" but war nevertheless, it is an act of state terrorism by the apartheid state against its neighbours, complimented as it is by state terrorism inside South Africa against the people of South Africa, who since late 1984 have increasingly mobilized and shown, if proof was ever needed, even more poignantly that the apartheid state is fundamentally illegitimate and brutal and has to be done away with.

What are the methods, aims and results of this undeclared war and what can the Frontline states, the SADD states and indeed the world do about it?

This is not the place to go into a detailed cataloguing of the variety of methods used in this war. Suffice to say that the methods used in the destabilization policy include:

disinformation (e.g. hundreds of letters and anti-government leaflets sent to Zimbabwe in 1983 and 1984), long-term invasion/occupation (e.g. Namibia since 1966 and Angola since 1975-76)

attempted assassinations of Prime Ministers and senior government/party members (e.g. 18 December, 1981 bomb attack on ZANU Headquarters in Harare)

assassinations/murders of liberation movement leaders and other personnel (e.g. Maseru, Harare, Muputo, Lusaka, Manzini, Gaborone during 1981-83)

attacks on military installations (e.g. Inkomo Barracks and Thornhill Air Base in

Zimbabwe, 16 August, 1981 and 25 July, 1982 respectively)

attacks on oil installations and routes (e.g. in Mozambique, Angola, and Lesotho since 1980)

training, supplying and directing surrogate armies in neighbouring states (e.g. UNITA in Angola, MNR in Mozambique, LLA in Lesotho and Super ZAPU in Zimbabwe)

attacks on transport routes (e.g. closures of the Benguela Railway in Angola, the Zimbabwe-Maputo line, the Malawi-Nacala line, the Malawi-Beira line, and attacks on the Zimbabwe-Beira road/rail line, during 1975-1980)

port/border inspections of cargo, harassment of transport personnel, import licence/levy requirements (e.g. for Zimbabwe and Zambia in 1986)

According to Hanlon, during 1981-83, the following:

- Limiting the use of South African railways, for example by manipulating the availability of railway wagons'. (Done to Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Zambia).
- Restrictions on migrant labour. (Done to Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho threatened).
- Border closures and restrictions. (Done to all immediate neighbours; Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique).
- Curbing imports from neighbouring states. (Done to Zimbabwe, and Swaziland).
- 'Regulating the export of goods to black states', especially 'food and oil' to Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe).
- Cutting electricity supplies. (Done to Lesotho and Mozambique).
- Restricting South African tourists. (Done to Lesotho and Swaziland).
- Violating the customs union

agreement. (Done to all three other members: Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland).⁴

The above is intended to be an illustrative sample of the variety of ongoing activities of the apartheid state either directly and/or indirectly through its surrogate armies in the region. It is a catalogue of death and destruction being littered on the Southern African landscape for so long and is likely to continue for some time to come, i.e. until the apartheid state is abolished and replaced by a majority rule state.

The aims of the destabilization policy may be analytically broken down into many dimensions but the fundamental aim has been and will be the perpetuation of white settler rule in South Africa. For those who tend to see some change in the 'sanitization of apartheid', some movement towards constitutional tinkering with the visible symbols and apparatus of apartheid, the aforementioned illustrative sample of destabilization should save them from their folly and phantasy. The question in South Africa has not been merely one of cosmetic change to the apartheid apparatus nor of removing apartheid, but has always been one of the transfer of power from the

white settler minority to the black indigenous majority. It is a question to which the settler colonialism has never positively addressed itself, nor will it ever willingly concede to majority rule.



T.N.T.

Historically and realistically, all the talk about outward policy, dialogue and detente have been nothing more than masks for the perpetuation of white minority rule. The Regan/Crocker policy of constructive engagement has simply given more time for the apartheid state to portray itself as willing to change while affording it the licence to continue its destabilization policy. The partition of South Africa through the creation of Bantustans has continued and the search for buffer states against the continental unfolding of majority rule is an ongoing exercise. Initially the search was for buffer states such as Rhodesia and colonial Angola and Mozambique, now the search is for the creation of buffer states



The use of puppets for counter revolutionary activity is an age old imperialist ploy. Here representatives of reactionarism smile together, Pik Botha from the Apartheid regime and Jonas Savimbi of the UNITA bandits

in Namibia (with its internal settlement, and the laying off on military/economic/administrative structures for a neocolonial dependent state if Pretoria and its Western allies ever agree to remove the issue of Namibian independence from its linking with the Cuban presence in Angola in Lesotho especially after the January 1986 coup, and the acquiescence of Swaziland after the 1982 security pact with South Africa. Even a cursory glance at the map of Southern Africa will indicate that a "white laager" ringed by Bantustans, Namibia, Swaziland and Botswana is being created, the better to protect it against any eventuality, or so the ambition of the apartheid state runs.

Destabilization plays a very important part in the above fundamental aim, i.e., of preserving white minority rule in South Africa, however bifurcated it might look on the map.

Destabilization is an essential component of the Total Strategy evolved in 1977 by the South African military, carried forward into high state policy with the assumption to power of P.W. Botha and his military personnel especially in the State Security Council. Destabilization represents the "outward move" of the militarized state even while it continues to suppress and oppress the majority of South Africans and indeed destabilization is the perfect linkage between the apartheid state's domestic and foreign policies.

The Total Strategy is Pretoria's response to the post-Soweto 1976 uprising, the collapse of the detente exercise, the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Africa after the April 1974 coup, the onset of economic recession, the growing hostility and isolation of South Africa, even from its major allies because of the rise of concern about majority rule and sanctions. It was based on some domestic "liveralization" (e.g., tricameralism) to contain domestic unrest and to give a "humane face" to apartheid capitalism, on overt and covert regional intervention to create

greater dependencies on the part of neighbouring states ultimately leading to a Constellation of Southern African States (so subverting the move towards SADD, which was meant to lessen dependence on South Africa) which would include the "independent" Bantustans so affording a measure of diplomatic recognition to the "homelands" and South Africa, and on the creation of a ring of pliant states by military means if necessary (e.g., attempts against Mozambique and Angola especially, but also including Lesotho and Zimbabwe) but including "carrots" (e.g., to Swaziland by rerouting rail links to Richards Bay instead of to Maputo, with finance and a land settlement) who could be made to see that support for liberation movements such as the ANC, PAC and SWAPO, and support for sanctions against South Africa did not pay.

Economic rewards and inducements are used by South Africa to make her neighbours realise that there are economic benefits to be gained by them in a dependent and pliant relationship with South Africa, where the latter is the only real "saviour" they have (e.g., through the Customs Union membership, through investment funds, land deals etc. as in Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana).

Economic and military pulverization of neighbouring states is meant to expose their economic/military vulnerability in relation to the economic/military "regional giant", to ensure the validation of South Africa's self-proclaimed status as the regional hegemonic power, by whose grace only can the neighbouring states live in economic/military security. Additionally, this pulverization is meant to humiliate radical states such as Angola and Mozambique into signing the February 1984 Lusaka Accord and the March 1984 Nkomati Accord, respectively, which perversely is meant to imply not only economic/military insecurity, some kind of recognition of South Africa, but also where the attempt has been to

force MPLA to have power with UNITA, and to force Frelimo to share power with the MNR, and if deemed necessary and possible, to overthrow these radical governments of Angola and Mozambique and replace them with more "accommodating" governments — witness the continuing South African support for the MNR and the footdragging by South Africa on her troop withdrawal commitments in Angola and the continuing support of UNITA, now buttressed by Reagan's US\$15 million for the UNITA. In Zimbabwe, the incoming Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, the primary aim is to humiliate the radical government and to deflect it from its highly successful reconciliation policy, which serves as a shining but inconvenient and irritating example of harmonious multi-racialism after a bitter armed struggle for the future multi-racial independent majority rule South Africa and which example thus puts the lie to Pretoria's nightmare of the non-existence of a white future in a legitimately independent South Africa.

Destabilization, by diverting funds from development to defence and survival is meant to show up the bankruptcy of socialism, if it can be shown, however inaccurately, that shortages of essential commodities such as food and fuel are not the handiwork of destabilization but are the consequences of socialist rather than capitalist policies, which can then create a legitimacy gap between the people and their governments.

The Total Strategy, of which destabilization is a central component, was falsely claimed and articulated by Pretoria as a response to "total onslaught" — the view that South Africa was under threat not from the majority of its own dispossessed people who are progressively fighting for their legitimate revolutionary and nationalist aspirations, but that South Africa was under seige by a Marxist or Soviet-led communist conspiracy to which her neighbouring states, especially the radical ones such



▲ A railway line in the south of Angola sabotaged by airborne South African Commandos in 1979

ANGOLA: ECONOMIC DEVASTATION



▲ Luanda oil refinery blasted by South African commandos



▲ On the front line: clinic at Cahama destroyed by aerial attack



▲ Angolan road bridge destroyed by South African bombing

The human misery resulting from South Africa's war against Angola cannot be measured in economic terms, but the destruction and damage inflicted on factories, schools, hospitals, bridges, roads, railways and industrial plant, including the Luanda oil refinery, as well as the setbacks to production and the effect on the social, administrative and health services, has been estimated to total at least \$10 billion for the period 1975-1982.

In addition, a further price has been paid by Angola because urgently needed resources for development projects have had to be diverted for military purposes. As a result of South Africa's undeclared war, over 50% of the Angolan Government's budget is now spent on defence.

In fact, Angola's natural resources include oil, uranium, gold, diamonds, iron and phosphates, and thus it is in a better position than many other states in Southern Africa to be economically independent from South Africa. This factor, combined with Angola's support for the freedom struggle in Southern Africa, makes South Africa single out Angola as a special target for attack.

APARTHEID: A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

NON-WHITES
NIE-BLANKES

WHITES (ONLY)
BLANKES (ALLEEN)

Apartheid is a unique system of legalised racial discrimination. A white minority, less than one-fifth of the population, rules over the black majority. The apartheid regime, committed to the maintenance of white supremacy, denies all fundamental rights to the Black majority. 87% of the land has been designated "white" and Africans are

being forcibly removed from "white areas" to live in the "bantustans" or "homelands" in the remaining 13% of the land, much of which is barren. These "bantustans" are in reality reserves of cheap labour for the white economy. The South African authorities are declaring these "bantustans" "independent", with the intention of depriving all Africans of the citizenship of the land of their birth. It is estimated that 3½ million people have already been forcibly removed from their homes.

Africans are treated as "labour units" vital to the white-owned mines, farms and factories. Every African must carry a Pass Book and obtain a permit to be in a "white area" for more than 72 hours. Many Africans working in the "white areas" are not permitted to have their families with them. The elderly, unemployed, women and

children, are officially considered "superfluous appendages".

South Africa has occupied the neighbouring territory of Namibia since 1915 and imposed its own racial policies on the population. This occupation was declared illegal in 1966 by the United Nations General Assembly and in 1971 the International Court of Justice upheld this decision. In defiance of all the governments of the world, South Africa has maintained its military occupation with an estimated force of 100,000 men. Namibia is important to South Africa because it profits in particular from the mining and sale of its mineral resources, especially uranium. The territory has been transformed by South Africa into a springboard for its acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent states of Angola, Botswana and Zambia.



▲ Life in Soweto, South Africa



▲ Paramilitary police in Windhoek, Namibia

as Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, were a party.

Thus South Africa has sought to exhibit herself as the victim of international communist intervention/aggression and has tried to portray herself as acting in self-defence against its victimizers—a twisted logic where the victimizer claims to be a vic-

tim, the perpetrator claims to be the perpetrated, the destabilizer claims to be the destabilized: In this manner South Africa has sought to convert an essentially domestic nationalist uprising and yearning for freedom, especially since Sharpeville 1960 and Soweto 1976, into the external intervention requiring the full sup-

port of its anti-communist Western allies — a position vividly demonstrable as false but to which the USA especially after Reagan since 1981 is wedded; and it helps considerably if one can use the arguments of protecting the seafarers and strategic minerals on behalf of and for the West.



NAM "Africa Fund" Action Plan Agreed in New Delhi



The Eighth Non-Aligned Movement Summit held in Harare last year set up the (Africa Fund) action for resisting invasion, colonialism and apartheid fund under the chairmanship of Rajiv Gandhi of India. The people's fight for freedom is irreversible.

A plan of action designed to help Frontline states to protect their economies against retaliation by South Africa when comprehensive economic sanctions are imposed against that country was adopted at the two-day Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) "Africa Fund" summit held in New Delhi on January 24 and 25, 1987.

Details of the plan are contained in a Report released in Harare after the Delhi summit. Among other things, the plan lays down urgent measures needed to meet shortages of

essential goods in Frontline States following sanctions against South Africa and retaliation by that country. In specific terms, the Delhi plan contains a package of measures involving expenditure of about \$1 000 million to stockpile and airlift emergency food supplies, build up transport corridors to divert trade traffic from South African ports, set up a Frontline regional task force, support liberation movements and create a group of eminent persons to monitor the Southern African crisis.

The "Africa Fund" — known by its full title as the "Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund" — was set up at the eighth summit of NAM held in Harare last September.

150 000 tonnes of grain.

Development of a reliable and efficient transport system is given top priority under the plan. Traffic handled through Beira and Maputo ports in Mozambique and Lobito in Angola has been greatly reduced because of attacks by MNR and UNITA bandits on railway lines and roads connecting the hinterland. The Tanzanian ports of Dar es salaam, Tanga and Mtwara and the connecting railroad networks have been facing a number of infrastructural problems. SADCC has identified an elaborate programme of the transport corridors.

"The overall financing gap is quite large, but there are some critical projects which need to be undertaken

Speaking at the closing session of the two-day summit, Comrade Mugabe said the people of Southern Africa had high and legitimate expectations. He said that the non-aligned countries had been looking on the New Delhi meeting to take positive action to eradicate the apartheid system. He urged the international community to associate itself with "this crusade for unity that we have launched".

"If they still have economic, political or moral excuses for not imposing sanctions against the racist regime in Pretoria, they should not baulk at joining concerned humanity's vehicle for expressing concrete solidarity with the victims of apartheid."

Comrade Mugabe said the appeal launched at the summit was a "clarion call" to the entire membership of NAM to fulfil moral and political obligations arising out of their own well considered and carefully weighed decisions.

He said the plan of action for the "Africa Fund" adopted at the New Delhi summit was a blueprint for the positive utilisation of the fund.

"It presupposes success in the resource mobilisation scheme that we have agreed to," he said. Comrade Mugabe reminded members of NAM that the "Africa Fund" was their own "baby".

"The time has now come for non-aligned countries to acquit themselves on any possible importations of levity or cynicism in taking decisions that affect the destiny of millions of humanity," he said.

"It behoves us who are assembled here this morning to give the lead to the rest of the non-aligned membership."

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said it was incumbent on the international community to institute appropriate measures aimed at implementing the plan of action which the New Delhi summit approved. Dr Kaunda, who is Chairman of the Frontline states, said the implementation of the plan of action would "undoubtedly entail a lot of sacrifices in terms of human and financial resources as the apartheid regime and its surrogates in Angola and Mozambique are likely to intensify their banditry activities."



The current Chairman of the NAM Comrade R.G. Mugabe, addressing the Africa Fund Summit in New Delhi recently

It is noted in the Report that a \$33 million reserve of 150 000 tonnes of grain would remove dependence on food imports from South Africa for at least one year. In 1984-85 the Frontline States received 876 000 tonnes of grain through food aid programmes and imported 961 000 tonnes commercially, 15 per cent of which was from South Africa.

The plan envisages the construction of emergency warehouses to stockpile strategic reserves of grain and other essential goods at an estimated \$125 million. This would provide fifteen 10 000 tonnes silos spread over different Frontline states at a cost of \$8,3 million each to store

most urgently in order to reduce the vulnerability of the Frontline states," observed the Report.

Countries represented at the Delhi summit included Algeria, Argentina, Congo, India, Nigeria, Peru, Yugoslavia, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe was represented by the Prime Minister, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, who is also Chairman of the 101-nation Non-Aligned Movement.

"We have only begun the battle. We have thrown the gauntlet. This is a challenge to ourselves and to yourselves and to the world at large," declared Comrade Mugabe at the end of the summit.

President Kaunda appealed to the international community to provide assistance generously to the Africa Fund as it was the "only way that the effects of retaliatory actions by the Pretoria regime can be minimised."

India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi announced a collection of US\$70 million to the fund — with India's share of US\$40 million — on the concluding day of the two-day summit.

President Chadli Benjedid of Algeria said the fund had become a concrete reality, a wide-ranging and effective framework for mobilising the international community in order to eradicate the system of apartheid.

"The task is an enormous one. But, however immense, however arduous, it is not a task that is beyond the international community provided that it accepts its responsibilities and finally decides to assemble the necessary means to carry out the salutary action that is required," he said. "Our brothers in Southern Africa must not feel that they are alone. Their struggle is our struggle."

President Denis Sasou Nguesso of Congo, who is Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, said the "Africa Fund" was an "important step forward", in strengthening and consolidating NAM.

Describing the Africa Fund as a "giant step forward", President Alan Garcia Perez of Peru said it reflected

what he termed "voice of the future." President Perez said the fund showed "what little we have we will share it".

Argentina's External Minister, Dante Caputo, echoed Prime Minister Gandhi's statement that "we shall force Pretoria to yield."

Yugoslav President Sinah Hasanin expressed confidence that the appeal would stimulate the broadest response across the world.

Nigeria's Chief of General staff, Rear Admiral Augustus Aikhomu announced US\$15 million as his country's contribution to the fund. He said the contribution would be in addition to Nigeria's bilateral assistance to each of the Frontline states.

Nineteen projects to improve regional transport networks and airports for immediate "Africa Fund" action total more than \$750 million. It includes provision of silos, a cotton depot, cold storage facilities, a tobacco depot, a sugar and cereal terminal, freezer truck and freezer truck and freezer railcar.

SADCC has identified a number of railway, port and other projects costing a total of \$311 million for rehabilitation of the Lobito Corridor. Urgent repair and maintenance was also needed to rehabilitate the Benguela railway.

Other major railway projects in

need of rehabilitation include the Beira — Machipanda line, Maputo — Chicualacuala (Limpopo) railway, the Maputo — Goba line and assistance to the Mozambique railways to repair wagons, spares for locomotives and telecommunications improvements. About \$35 million would be spent on improving the Machipanda — Beira road.

Nearly \$166 million will go toward supplying new locomotives, repowering 16 Chinese locomotives and supplying 821 wagons and materials to improve the capacity of the Tazara railway, which runs through Tanzania.

Emergency plans also include improvements in port facilities at Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Mtwara, rehabilitating Tanzania roads, improving Tanzanian and Zambian railway and road traffic facilities.

"If the Frontline states were to pool their resources and set up a regional protection force with the objective of guarding vital installations against sabotage by South African sponsored bandits, assistance would have to be extended to this force as well," said the Delhi Report.



Tambo Meets ZANU (PF) Central Committee

A delegation of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (SA) which has been visiting Harare held highly successful discussions with members of the Political Bureau of ZANU (PF) as well as with members of the Central Committee of ZANU (PF).

In the course of these talks, the ANC delegation briefed extensively the ZANU (PF) leadership on the current situation in South Africa as well as on the



The people's fight for freedom is irreversible

strides that the South African Masses have made in their daily confrontation with the racist regime. Our delegation also took the opportunity to discuss and benefit from the immense experience of ZANU (PF)'s struggle for liberation, a struggle that is full of many useful lessons for the people of South Africa still locked in a bitter struggle against the apartheid regime. For us, it was especially useful to listen and note the successful

strategies and tactics employed by ZANU (PF). Our delegation thus found the discussions both fruitful and enriching.

Our discussion took place in a most comradely climate and we were greatly impressed by the deep commitment of the ZANU (PF) leadership in its support for the struggle in South Africa.

The ANC delegation took advantage of the meeting to convey to the party and the government

the deep appreciation of the ANC and the people of South Africa for the supportive role of the party, government and the people of Zimbabwe and we express our confidence that the Zimbabwean people under the leadership of ZANU (PF) including in particular the Women and the Youth will stay with us in the firm trench of struggle right up to the day of our common victory.

Housing

Comrade Simbarashe S. Mumbengegwi, ZANU (PF) Deputy Secretary for Information and Publicity, Minister of Public Construction and National Housing recently Officially Opened the Cold Storage Commission, employer assisted homeownership housing scheme at Tshabalala, Bulawayo.

He Delivered the following Speech

Housing for all by the year 2 000 is a priority program in Zimbabwe and indeed in all Third world countries, in the thrust towards providing shelter for all citizens by the turn of the century.

With a current shortage of 965 000 units and an increasing population, all efforts should therefore complement the national goal. Private companies, institutions and parastatals, when they start providing housing for workers in their establishments should be commended, as their programs become identified with those of the Party and the Government. Recently Comrade Simbarashe Mumbengegwi, the Minister of Public Construction and National Housing officiated at the Cold Storage Commission's employer assisted home ownership housing scheme, one of other such schemes by the company. Following is the speech he delivered on the occasion.

I am delighted to have been invited to officially open yet another Cold Storage Commission employees houses. About six months ago in July, 1986, I was invited to officially open this company's employees houses at Mushandike Ranch in Masvingo. These houses have been built under the Cold Storage Commission's employer assisted



Comrade Mumbengegwi cuts the ribbon to mark the official opening of the housing scheme. Also in the picture is Dr. Joshua Nkomo

homeownership housing scheme.

I am told that the target group for this housing scheme are Cold Storage Commission employers working here in Bulawayo earning over \$400 per month.

The beneficiaries were given loans from the Cold Storage Commission of up to three months salary to secure serviced plots from the Bulawayo Municipality, repayable to the Cold Storage Commission over a 24 month period with 13% interest. The provision of bonds for this scheme by Founders Building Society means that all the three building societies are now participating in financing of low income housing.

Also the co-operation of the Bulawayo Municipality in providing the Cold Storage Commission with serviced stands for its employees cannot go without being mentioned. This collective effort by employers, financing institutions, and the beneficiaries is indeed an encouraging sign that the drive towards housing for all Zimbabweans is getting serious consideration from all sectors.

It is pleasing to note that more and more employers are responding to appeals by government to participate in the provision of housing as demonstrated by this employer assisted homeownership housing scheme.

I understand the Cold Storage Commission was among the first group of developers to come forward with an application to buy stands from the Bulawayo Municipality followed by various other firms who are already constructing houses for their employees or are in the process of acquiring serviced stands from the municipality for development.

Mr. Chairman, it is also encouraging to note that this employer assisted housing scheme, for the Cold Storage Commission employees is the company's first phase of its employees housing programme in Bulawayo since the Cold Storage Commission was granted authority to utilise its own resources for the creation of a revolving fund for this purpose. I understand that the level of the revolving fund is approximately half a million dollars and that the company has plans of having 50 houses constructed during the first half of this year using aided self-help strategy as a pilot scheme. I am advised that the Cold Storage Commission will extend the housing programme to other centres where the company has factories such as Harare, Kadoma, Marondera, Chinhoyi, Mutare, Masvingo and Gweru with the ultimate intention of providing houses for all Cold Storage Commission employees.

Other developers have also bought stands from the Bulawayo Municipality for the development of low cost houses.

As more and more companies are purchasing serviced stands for housing development for their employees, may I take this opportunity to call on local authorities to co-operate in this matter and allocate serviced stands to employers who wish to assist their employees to acquire houses for themselves in order to ensure that the enthusiasm so generated be maintained.

I would also like to urge companies who have not embarked on housing programmes for their workers to consider the issue seriously. To those companies which are already implementing such housing schemes for their workers, I say please keep up the good work.

I am fully aware of the current shortage of serviced stands nationwide. This is an issue where central government, together with local authorities must put their heads together with finance institutions, developers and private contractors to come up with workable arrangements for the rapid cost-effective production of serviced stands to meet the current demand in shelter solutions.

Mr. Chairman, I would also like to

take this opportunity and remind all our people that this year, 1987, was designated by the United Nations General Assembly as the International year of shelter for the homeless (IYSH). The purpose of this international year of the homeless is for all of us to rededicate and commit ourselves to the plight of the homeless by concrete actions to resolve the housing problem.

I therefore call upon all sectors of our society to support the international year of shelter for the homeless by coming up with viable housing solutions which would enable us to fulfil our goal of housing for all.

Finally to both the Cold Storage Commission and Founders Building Society, I say congratulations and keep up the good work you have started, and to the Cold Storage Commission, I wish you every success during the second phase of your housing programme.

On this note comrades and friends it is my pleasure to declare these houses officially open. ■

What are Social Classes? Part I

By N.C.G. Mathema

Classes in society are groups of people. But we do not call any group of people a class. Classes in society are groups of people who differ from each other according to their wealth and standard of living.

What does this mean? This means that classes are groups of people differing from each other according to whether they own land, factories, mines, banks, shops, buses, lorries, and so on, or they own nothing. These are called means of production. People use them to produce food, clothing, shelter and so on.

There are different classes: bourgeoisie, workers, peasants, etc. Workers or the working class and the proletariat are people who do not own any means of production. These people live by selling their labour for wages.

Capitalist (or bourgeoisie) are people who own means of production but employ others to

work for them. Capitalists live by exploiting the labour of others. To exploit means to enrich yourself when others remain poor. Workers are exploited by capitalists.

Peasants are people who own or use small subsistence farms. They live by working for themselves. But some become very rich. When they become very rich, they start employing workers. They become big peasants, or small capitalists. Some of these big peasants end up being capitalist as well. In the past Zimbabwe peasants used to work for chiefs and kings who owned the land. The peasants were exploited by the chiefs and kings.

The peasants were forced to work a certain time for themselves, and another time they work on the land belonging to chiefs and kings without pay. Chiefs and kings were feudalists.

Many small-shop owners work for themselves with their families in their shops. They do not make enough money to employ wage workers. But almost all of them in Zimbabwe employ one kind or another of part-time workers every now and then. The biggest small-shop owners employ full time workers who work side by side with the shop owner and members of his or her family. Some of these small-shop owners end up being capitalists employing workers.

The exploiting classes are always the minority in society, while the exploited poor class is the majority. The few exploiting classes own the wealth in a society. They control the economy and politics in the society they dominate. The exploiting classes do things in such a way that if it were possible everything done in society must satisfy what they want. Even ideas, the law, the army, schools, the police, parliament and government work for what the exploiting class wants.

The exploited blacks in Zimbabwe before independence were always fighting against colonialism and exploitation. They fought until they won independence in 1980. This happened in other countries such as Mozambique, Angola, Ghana, Tanzania, Malaysia, India, Cuba, Vietnam and so on. The oppressed and exploited people of South Africa and Namibia are fighting to free themselves from colonialism and exploitation. They will fight until they are free. The contradictions between the exploited and the exploiting classes will continue until the exploiting classes are defeated.

Classes in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe we have many classes. We have a working class, capitalists, peasants (or peasantry), small-shop owners and those who make things like wooden

stools, who mend shoes, who make baskets and other things for a living. The comprador bourgeoisie are those Zimbabwean who are managers and directors of big multinational companies capitalist from countries like Britain, South Africa, the United States of America, France and West Germany.

The largest class in Zimbabwe is that of peasants. Most of our peasants live in the communal lands. The land they cultivate belongs to the government of Zimbabwe. They are allowed to live on it and use it for as long as they want. But they cannot sell it because it is not theirs. But what they produce or rear on it is theirs to eat, sell or keep.

Peasant farmers cultivate land for themselves. They keep animals like cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys, which they look after, usually assisted by members of their families. Most of our peasants do not exploit anybody because they do not hire people to work on their farms. But there is a small number of our peasants who employ one or two workers part-time or fulltime to work on their land or to look after animals. These peasants, big peasants, have become exploiters.

The working class in Zimbabwe work in factories, mines, farms, shops, hotels, transport companies and other areas, earning a wage or salary. Many of our workers still have land and livestock in the communal lands and that is where they have their wives and other family members. These workers are not pure workers, and they are not pure peasants either; they are both workers and peasants. They are worker-peasants. These people are employed as wage earners to earn extra money for their families in the communal lands. But as time goes by more and more peasants will become proper workers. A worker is somebody who lives from his wage. He or she is somebody who owns no means of production like the peasants and the capitalists do.

The capitalist class in Zim-

babwe is divided into two main parts. One part is made of the local (Zimbabwean) capitalists. The other part is made of capitalists of other countries. The capitalists of other countries own big companies like Lonrho, Barclays Bank, Anglo-American Corporation, Rio-Tinto and many other big foreign companies. The foreign companies own more capital and assets than anybody in Zimbabwe. They own more than our government.

There are black and white local capitalists. They exploit the wage workers. Exploitation has nothing to do with the race of the exploiter or that of the exploited.

We too have the class small-shop owners and other small land holders, the class of the petty-bourgeoisie. They too belong to all the races and nationalities in Zimbabwe.

We also have the comprador bourgeoisie in Zimbabwe who are managers and directors of the big foreign companies. They belong to all the races and nationalities too.

As we said earlier on, the chiefs we have today in Zimbabwe were considered traditional feudal heads when the country was not yet colonised. These people used to own the land and forced their subjects to work for them. The chiefs of today are no longer as powerful as chiefs used to be, even the land they use does not belong to them anymore. The king was the highest, richest chief selected or accepted by other chiefs to rule over them. All kings over the world are like that.

The other group is the intelligentsia. This group is made up of teachers, lawyers and other people who are professionals, in other fields. This group is described as petty bourgeois because its income makes it live in splendour. Most of these people own no means of production, they are employed and earn a high salary.

Where did classes come from?

Classes have not always existed.

They only came into being when capitalist society reached a certain stage of development. In some countries there are still societies that have no classes. In Botswana, for example, we have the San people who have no exploiters and exploited. We have similar people in some countries in South America. These people live by hunting wild animals and fruits as small family groups.

Classes came into being when some people became richer than others. These rich people then started using others to work for them. The first people to be used like this were slaves. The slaves and the slave owners were the first classes to appear in society. Then came the feudal chiefs, kings and serfs. Then came capitalists and workers. Each new set of classes meant a new society and a new way of life. A new way of life comes about as a result of changes in production, tools, machines and people who use these things. Classes came from within society itself, not from outside it.

Where did classes come from in Zimbabwe? Part 2

Zimbabwe has had classes from many hundreds of years. These classes came from within society itself. At one time Zimbabwe was populated by the San people, who painted the rock paintings which we see all over the country. The people, as we have said, had no classes and they still do not have classes.

Classes existed among the Shonas and Ndebeles before colonialism. These classes were the feudal chiefs and kings on the one hand, and the peasants on the other. The chiefs and kings owned the land and minerals. The rest of society did not own the land. They used whatever land was given to them by the chiefs as long as they were willing to work for the particular chief. Kings used to have palaces all over their kingdoms. Each palace had a farm. To each palace an ordinary person had to contribute by working a certain number of

days a year. In addition, chiefs and kings used to receive different kinds of gifts from their subjects. The gifts included daughters who were given away as wives or chosen to be wives by the chiefs and kings. If an ordinary person refused to work for the chief or king, he was punished by the army, or was forced to pay a certain amount of grain or a number of livestock or was driven away into exile.

When the country got colonised, new classes emerged. This country was colonised by the capitalists from Britain. These capitalists took away the rich land, livestock and minerals from the people of Zimbabwe. They took away these things by force and by killing thousands of people. The land, minerals and livestock taken away from the people of Zimbabwe became capitalist property. The people were driven into land which was not good for cultivation and livestock. This land was called the African Reserves such as Gwaai, Bulilimangwe, Matopos, Gokwe, Chiduku, Weya, Gurue, Makoni, Murewa, Mudzi, Mangwende, Chiota, Chiweshe, Wedza, Seke, Chinamhora, Goromonzi, etc.

Some of those driven out of their land were forced to become workers. The colonialists did not want to take away the means of production. They took them away in order to make profit by employing workers. The African Reserves were places for cheap labour to work in their farms and mines. The people refused to work for the colonialists. So the colonialists used their army and police to force people to work for them at very low wages. Taxes was also introduced to force people to go and work. Because the African Reserves were very poor, people were forced to work for the colonisers. But the number of Zimbabweans who were forced to go and work for the colonialists was not big enough and those who went to work did not stay on their jobs for long periods; they left as soon as they had earned enough to pay their poll tax for the year. So the colonisers

brought in people from countries like Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia to come and work on the farms and mines plundered by the colonialists. Living conditions and working conditions for all black workers were horrible, and the wages were very little, but whatever they produced made the colonialists plunderers very rich.

As time went by, towns grew. In towns capitalist factories and other businesses were built. Again African Reserves were reserves for labour for these businesses.

Meanwhile, those blacks who had enough money could buy land in what were called the African Purchase Areas. These areas are now called small-scale commercial farming areas. These blacks were teachers and priests i.e. the educated blacks. They employed a few wage workers to work on their farms.

Some whites came into the country as wage workers from Britain and South Africa. Small shop owners and other small owners in towns and administrative centres also came into being.

This is how Zimbabwe became a capitalist country. Capitalism in Zimbabwe and in all the colonies were introduced from outside the country and was serving the interests of foreign multinational capitalists. Capitalists were interested mainly in the production of raw materials like minerals and crops which went to Britain and other countries of Europe and South Africa.



The Current Crisis in Mauritius



The island republic of Mauritius is going through a political crisis just now. The crisis has been brought about by the disintegration of the governing multi-party coalition of the Prime Minister, Mr. Aneerood Jugnauth; and the growing challenge from the socialist party in opposition, the MMM led by Comrade Paul Berenger. The MMM is preparing for the pending general elections in April or September, 1987. If it wins, it will intensify relationships with SADC and PTA states, and reorient its trade away from South Africa.

What is MSM?

The MSM — Socialist Movement of Mauritius is Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth's party, which was created on the eve of the general elections of 1983.

The MSM was created by the merging of a split group from the MMM (split that occurred in March, 1983) and the PSM (Socialist Party of Mauritius) led by Mr. Harish Bhoodoo. The PSM was itself a split group from the labour party then under the Leadership of the late Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. The PSM was in 1982 the junior partner of the MMM in the 1982 government.

In the August 1983 general elections, the MSM under the Leadership of Mr. Aneerood Jugnauth went to the polls in alliance with (a) the Labour Party,

(b) the PMSD (Social Democratic Party of Mauritius) led by Sir Gaetan Duval and (c) the FTS (Socialist Workers Front). The platform of this alliance was essentially based on ethnicity i.e. playing the tune that MMM and Paul Beranger is anti-Hindu.

Results were as follows

(a) *in terms of percentage of votes:*

MSM-PMSD — Labour Party and FTS alliance: 52 percent
MMM — 46 percent

(b) *in terms of seats in Parliament:*

MSM ...	28 seats
Labour Party ...	12 seats
PMSD ...	5 seats
FTS ...	2 seats
	47 seats

MMM ...	21 seats
OPR ...	2 seats

(The OPR — Organisation of People of Rodrigues is a small party proper to the Island of Rodrigues which is a constituency in itself, having two seats in parliament).

Highlights Of Government Policy.

(a) Capitalising on unpopular economic measures taken in 1982 by the MMM which yielded the expected positive results since 1985, the overall economic situation of Mauritius also favoured by falling oil prices, falling of the dollar, falling price of rice and cement (these two weigh heavily in import packet) and the oil supply term of contract initiated with the KPC, is rather good.

However, the general approach in economic strategy has been very compradorial.

(b) The foreign policy of the Government has been its most reactionary expression:

(i) playing very low key on the issue of Diego Garcia and demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean. In fact, since 1983, the government has resumed the sending of Mauritian manual workers

on contract to work on Diego Garcia.

Infact, the US has firmed up its grip on Mauritius since 1983, mainly by increasing bi-lateral aid five to six fold, by becoming the main market for Mauritian garments and knitwear, and by strengthening its lobby inside the government;

- (ii) down playing the PTA, even announcing early this year a decision to withdrawn Mauritius from the organisation;
- (iii) *Strengthening Mauritian ties with South Africa.* The South African lobby in the cabinet, led by Gaetan Duval (Vice P.M.) tried to obtain that Mauritius recognises the Bantustans, it was also under pressure from this lobby that withdrawal from PTA was announced. The government has allowed and welcomed all moves to build Mauritius into a base for sanctions-busting. South African businessmen are being encouraged to form joint ventures with Mauritian companies for that purpose. The Prime Minister himself has officially welcomed a delegation of South African businessmen coming to Mauritius;
- (iv) allowing Taiwan to set up

a diplomatic antenna in Mauritius;

- (v) moves are gradually being made to link up with Israel;
- (iv) the *International Anti-Communist League* was allowed to hold its congress in Mauritius last year. The congress was under the chairmanship of Taiwan and counted among its delegates, representatives of the "opposition" from Seychelles and Mozambique. Gabon also had representation.
- (vii) The "New Endowment for Democracy" unknown for being CIA sponsored was also allowed to hold a conference in Mauritius last year.

Since 1983 Mr Jugnauth's Government has been plagued with scandals and high level corruption, implications with drug trafficking.

- (i) Corruption has been practised since 1983. The latest and biggest scandal presently relates to a 500 million rupees (about 65 million Z\$), contract granted to the British Company Plessey without any tendering.
- (ii) Drug trafficking issue has dominated the scene throughout 1986. Following the Amsterdam affair (MPs caught with 21kgs of heroin in Amsterdam), Mr Jugnauth was forced by

Parliament to set up a Commission of Enquiry and nominated a retired chief Justice to head it.

- (iii) Between August 1983 and December 1986 Mr Jugnauth alliance government has known regular splits resulting into the following situation in assembly:

MMM . . . 21 seats FTS . . . 2 seats (they have split from the alliance and joined the opposition side).
OPR . . . 1 MP on opposition, 1 MP government side. PMSD . . . 5 MPs
Labour Party 1 MP still with government 2 MPs on opposition 9 MPs have split away and created a new party called RTM and supporting government.
MSM . . . 20 seats

Dissidents from the MSM

Mr Aneerood Jugnauth no longer commands a majority and presented with a motion of no confidence from the MMM, he adjourned parliament until early this year (1987). He is likely to call for fresh elections in April or in September this year.



We speak
your
language

ZIMBABWE INSURANCE BROKERS

Talk to them before you buy any insurance. Insurance is a complicated business and the Insurance brokers at Zimbabwe Insurance Brokers will guide and advise you on all aspects of insurance at no cost to YOU.

Your ZIB broker will negotiate the best deal for you; he doesn't deal with just one insurance company, but knows exactly what each company has to offer you. He can get existing policies changed to EXACTLY cover your needs.

Should you need to make a claim, your broker will be there to save you time and frustration. He will sort everything out and get your money for you quickly. He will become your insurance advisor.

If you would like more information about ZIB write to us, or better still phone us and talk to one of our friendly, professional brokers. He/she will set an appointment for you to come and chat to him/her about your insurance needs.

P.O. Box 3413,
Harare.
Tel: 729651

P.O. Box 2286,
Bulawayo.
Tel: 78641/5



Subscription Form For ZIMBABWE NEWS

Please send

☐ 12 issues (1 Year) Z\$8,40 ☐ 6 issues (six months) Z\$4,20

☐ A subscription form for other countries than Zimbabwe to the undermentioned person:

Name: _____
(Please Print)

Address: _____

Signature _____

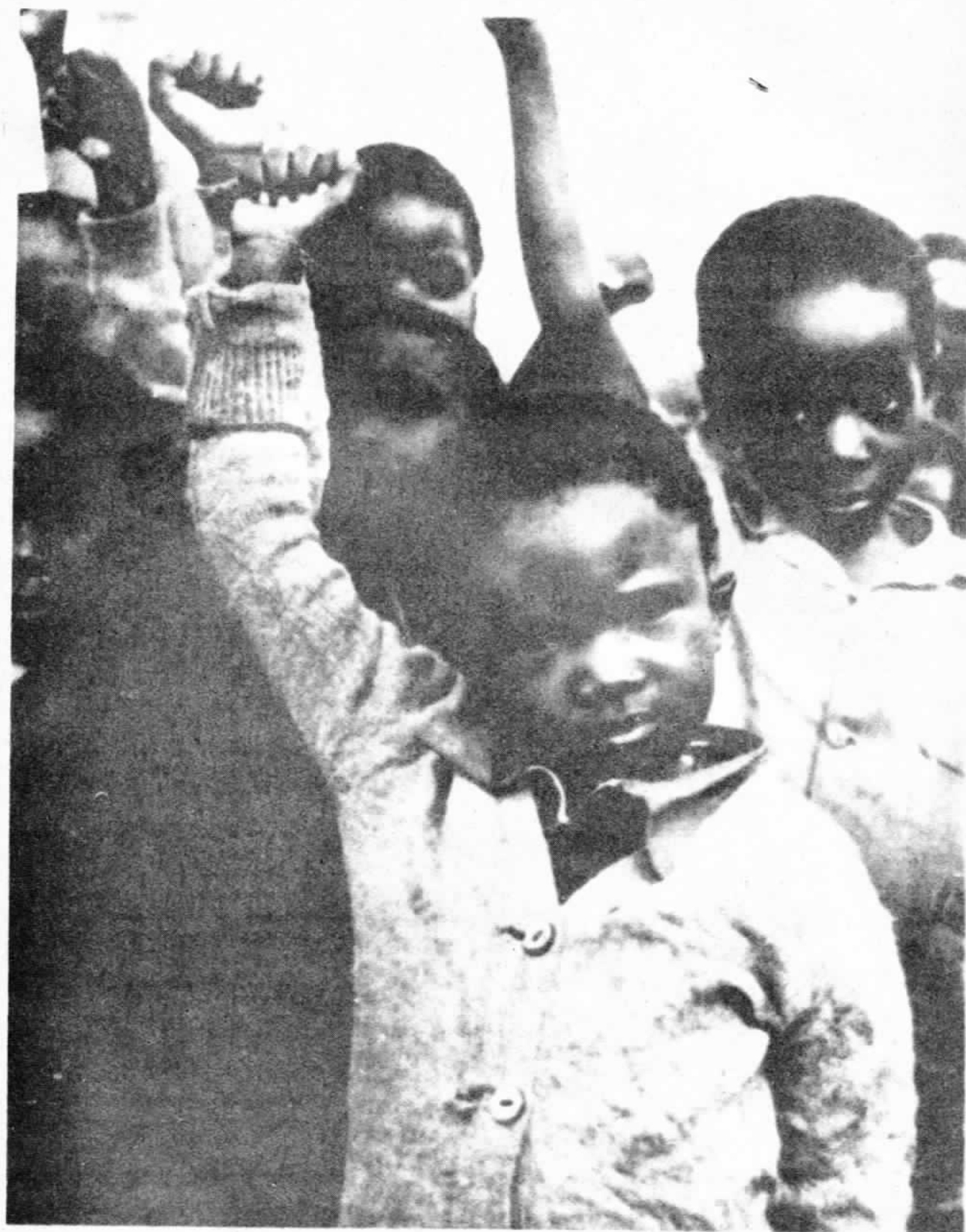
The Rates Include Postage and Handling.

I enclose my cheque/postal order for the amount indicated above.

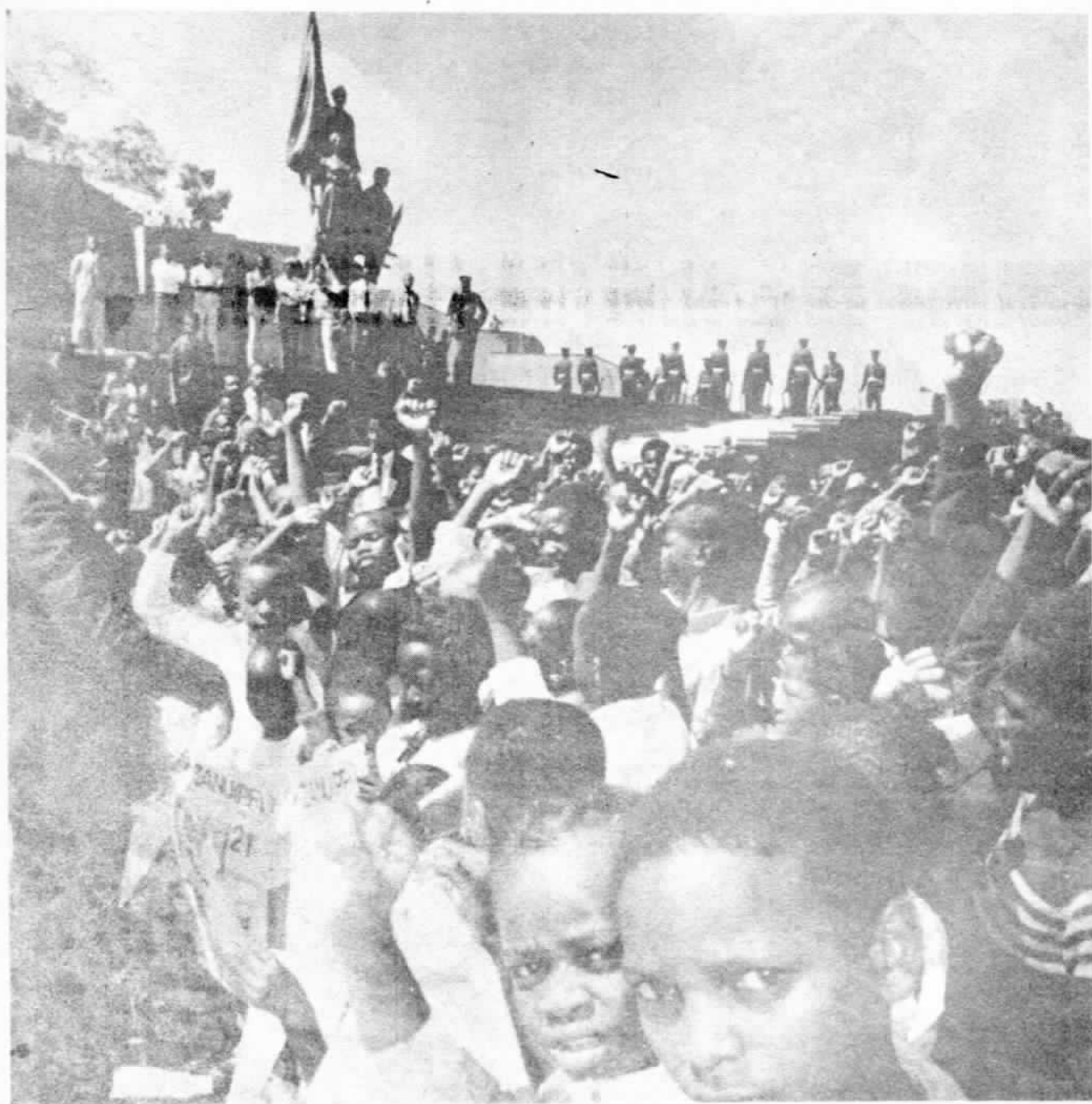
Mail to

*The Sales Officer/Zimbabwe News
Jongwe Printing & Publishing Co.
14 Austin Road
Workington
HARARE
Zimbabwe*





THE CONTINUING STRUGGLE



Congratulations to you, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF), Patron of the 21st February Movement, on the occasion of your 63rd Birthday.

Your resounding guidance will eternally inspire the masses especially the youth of Zimbabwe towards the building of Socialism.

GRASSROOTS BOOKS

Zimbabwe's Progressive Bookseller

Revolutionary Literature Available From Grassroots!

The Land question and the fight for freedom by Lenin \$2,84

This collection of Famous articles by Lenin shows with great clarity the problems which confront the peasantry in their struggle against capitalist exploitation, against capitalist landowners and against rural poverty, backwardness and misery — for land and freedom. It shows that this struggle can only be effectively waged as part of the overall struggle (of the working masses) for socialism in firm alliance with the working class.

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism by Lenin \$1,65

An essential work by V.I. Lenin written in 1916 which is still fresh and relevant today. In it Lenin explains the development of monopoly capitalism and shows the true nature of imperialism — as the stage in which capitalism becomes a parasitical, decaying system; the stage when capital and power is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands.

The Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels \$1,20

Written in 1848 this truly revolutionary work continues to find millions of readers in every country. The first Communist programme ever devised, it explains in simple and convincing terms the truth of capitalist exploitation and hypocrisy, of 'wage slavery' under capitalism and the misery it brings to the working masses. It also points to the communist future of mankind and explains scientifically how socialism will be achieved through inevitable class struggle and socialist revolution.

Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Theory and Tactics of Revolutionary Parties \$12,56

Recently published, this work substantiates the basic tasks confronting all truly revolutionary parties. It shows the dangerous course imperialism is taking, especially the massive preparations for war in the west and the criminal acts of the imperialist powers against developing countries in carrying out their strategy of neo-colonialism. It convincingly shows the vitality of anti-imperialist unity in the current period.

Problems of Africa Today by Manchka \$7,18

An important new publication which traces the process of transition in Africa from national liberation to anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle — the struggle for socialism. Significant lessons are drawn from the totality of the African experience.

A New Information Order or Psychological Warfare? \$4,19

Journalists, writers, media workers and all those interested in the information world will find this book useful. Imperialism is making maximum mileage out of psychological warfare against the forces of peace and progress. A barrage of half truths, cover ups, lies about socialism, distortions and fantasies of all kinds is being hurled at us through the Western mass media. To be able to fight your enemy, you must first know your enemy — hence this book.

What is Philosophy? \$3,60

What is Scientific Communism? \$3,60

What is Surplus Value? \$3,60

What is Dialectical Materialism? \$3,60

What is Historical Materialism? \$3,60

A new series of popular political literature called "*The ABC of Social and Political Knowledge*". These books explain in simple language and easy to understand terms exactly what is meant by the science of Marxism-Leninism, in theory and in practice. Excellent for beginners and all those keen to understand about real socialism — its philosophy, ideology, politics and economics.

Wherever you are in Zimbabwe we can supply you! Simply send your order. We send the books to your nearest Post Office via the Post Office C.O.D. system. Your Post Office informs you when the books arrive. You pay them, take your books, and that's that.

Prices include sales tax. Prices do not include postage.

Don't forget Grassroots has a complete selection of all the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Also a stock of thousands of socialist and progressive books. Whatever your particular interest — from apartheid to Nicaragua, from historical materialism to political economy, Grassroots has something for you. Socialist knowledge is real power! Power to struggle for world peace, justice and socialism. People's power! Come to Grassroots and see a new world in books. Forward with anti-imperialist unity!!

Visit our shops at:-

"Africa House", 100 Stanley Avenue, Harare. Tel: 792551
125, Fort Street, (Corner 13th Avenue), Bulawayo. Tel: 67543

APARTHEID'S WAR AGAINST AFRICA

With the collapse of the unholy alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, which dominated the region until the mid-1970s, South Africa is today trying to re-impose its will on the peoples of Southern Africa by the creation of a "Constellation of States". To reverse the gains of the cause of African freedom, South Africa is today using a combination of military might, political destabilisation and economic sabotage in order to dominate the region. This is apartheid's war against Africa.