



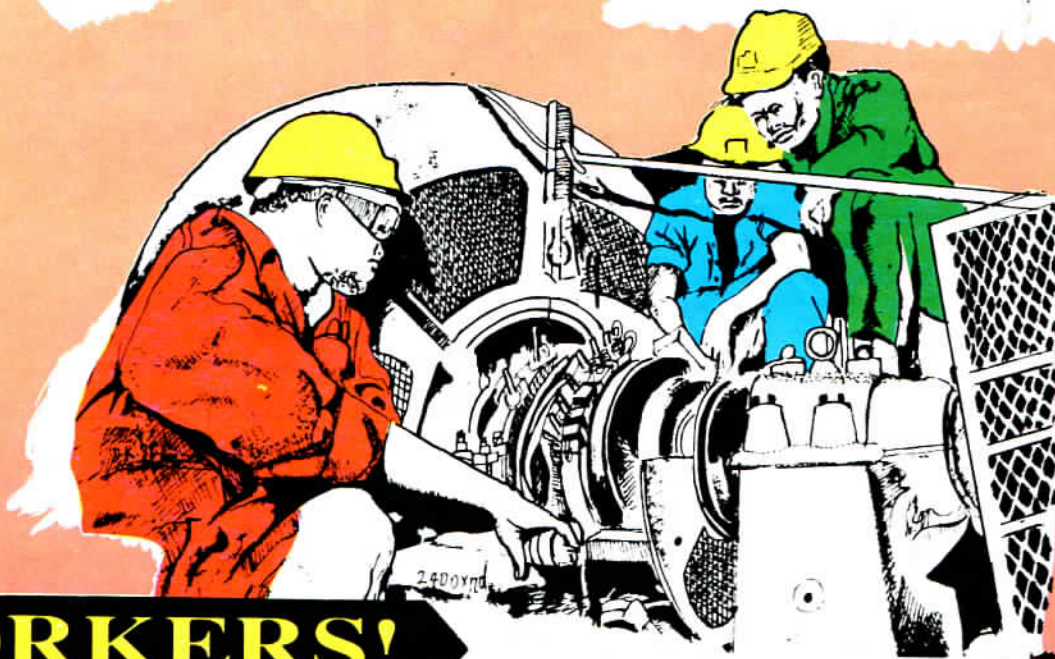
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# Zimbabwe News

## Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

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# WORKERS!

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## Workers — Prospects and Development

The First Secretary and President of the Party Comrade Robert Mugabe, His Excellence President of Zimbabwe, addressed a record attendance of workers during the May Day Celebrations. The First Secretary and President noted that the worker does not yet enjoy parity of strength which enables him to enter into meaningful collective bargaining exercise. . . page 8



The President of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Comrade Jeffrey Muta-dare chats with Comrade Mugabe at the May Day celebrations

## Planning for Socialist Zimbabwe

The idea of national economic planning in Zimbabwe was conceived as a direct necessity to transform the socioeconomic conditions of the broad masses of the people. It will be recalled that before independence the country had one ministry which dealt with finance and economic issues. The Ministry of Economic Planning was a post independence creation. . . page 19

## Road to Socialism Needs Clean Leadership

The leadership code is meant to be a crystallization of socialist morality as it pertains to the leadership and cadre without which socialist transformation would be a pipe-dream, the Senior Minister of Political Affairs, Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo said while addressing trainee diplomats in Harare on March 31. Comrade Nyagumbo said instituting a leadership code was an active step meant to assure the advent of socialism in Zimbabwe. . . page 13

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# EDITORIAL

## WORKERS STILL STRUGGLING

The recent increases in the basic wages of workers brought to an end the freeze that was put on them for a long time. These increases were long over-due. The wages freeze had taken a severe toll on the economic conditions of the working classes. Over the years, the workers and peasants of this country have suffered a lowering of their standard of living. The recent wage increases have partially compensated for this loss in their standard of living, but not fully yet. In real terms, the workers today are earning less than they did five years ago.

Thus, whilst the monetary wages of the workers have increased, mainly as a result of intervention by the Government, because of the escalating prices of things, the purchasing power of this money has actually gone down. The Government has tried to control the prices of some of the things on which the workers spend their income, especially bread, but it has not been possible to control all the prices. One of the major items of expenditure for workers is transport. Over the last five years, transport costs for workers have nearly tripled. Hence, the increased monetary wages of the workers have, in general, fallen short of compensating for the inflation, with the result that the workers, in effect, are poorer today than a few years ago.

What this means is that the two basic objectives of Government's overall policy has not yet been achieved — namely:

- a) narrowing the gap between the poor and the rich; and
- b) giving every worker a living wage and basic social services.

One of the major achievements since independence has been to increase social services for the people, especially in the fields of education, health and housing. But the results achieved are still far from the desired targets. As a result of the slowing down of the growth of the economy, there has been emphasis placed on the productive sectors of the economy. The Government has not been able to maintain the social services at the levels necessary for people, especially in the rural areas, to maintain a decent standard of living.

We mentioned earlier that it has not been possible for Government to control all price increases. One of the reasons for this is that most of the manufacturing is in the hands of foreign companies whom it has not been easy to give directives on prices. They are now pressurising once again to lift the price freeze. One of the arguments they are putting is that devaluation has increased the cost of their inputs imported from outside and they are not therefore able to work on the basis of old prices. But as it was recently discovered on the issue of the importation of spare parts for buses, the prices at which our importers have been bringing these goods in the country have been exorbitantly high — far above anything that might be justified on grounds of currency devaluation. It is clear that the importing companies have "transfer price" arrangements with companies from which they are importing these items.

Government must establish some kind of superintendence which would act as a watch-dog over the prices of equipment imported from outside, especially capital equipment and spares. Above all, Government must resist the pressure from the manufacturing sector for the removal of the price freeze, for if this were to happen its effects on inflation will be negative,

and the effect of the recent rises in wages will be immediately nullified.

All this goes to show that the workers have still a long way to go to consolidate the gains of political independence and to turn these to their advantage in the economic field. Their struggle against capital is still far from over.

Two developments in recent years give hope that the situation with respect to the trade union movement in Zimbabwe may be improving. The first is that the unions appear a bit better organised than they were a few years ago, and the second is the recent unity accord between the two major parties — ZANU and ZAPU.

In 1980, following independence, there were a number of strikes in the industrial and service sectors of the economy. Most of these strikes were unofficial. The unions seemed not to know what direction to give to the workers. There was indeed no focal point to the labour movement since there was more than one centre. The ZANU Party became concerned that the trade unions were not giving direction to the workers. There seemed to be lack of contact between the unions and their rank-and-file members. It was felt that government had to move in to put the house of the trade unions in order since they seemed not to be capable of doing so on their own account.

Furthermore, stories of corruption, embezzlement, maladministration and nepotism multiplied as evidence came to the fore of the dependence of a number of unions on external financing. Steps were taken therefore to create a single labour centre. The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) eventually emerged as the sole national labour centre. Also Government set out to intervene in setting out the minimum wages for the workers. It set an important precedent of minimum wages for the workers. It set an important precedent on Government intervention in wage-setting. The Government then set out to define a more appropriate labour law to replace the colonially-derived oppressive and racist Industrial Conciliation Act.

In the concrete circumstances of Zimbabwe after independence the Labour Relations Act (1985) is a step forward from the previous industrial relations regime. It also made a radical departure from previous legislation, in that the fundamental rights of the working classes were formally spelled out and guaranteed. Nonetheless, the Act must not be seen as putting the responsibility of workers' struggles from the hands of the workers themselves into the hands of the Government. That will not be right. The workers must organise themselves to fight their own battles against capital.

The second positive development is the Unity Accord between ZANU (PF) and ZAPU. The workers can no longer be victims of the politics of division and ethnicism, which had hitherto weakened their efforts at concerted action. The political unity of the parties should become a basis for the unions too to unite their efforts in a single workers organisation to provide the working classes of Zimbabwe with a clear leadership and direction in the long struggle for economic independence for which the country is now poised.



# May Day Rallies, Some Disappointments

*By Our Labour Correspondent*

There were three disappointments about May Day celebrations this year. Firstly, we were disappointed by the poor attendance at many of the May Day rallies throughout the country with the exception of Harare. In all other centres the attendance was poor. It appears that workers are not conscious of the importance of this day in their own advances. It is a day they show support with enthusiasm their achievements during the year. In fact, most of the workers decided to go drinking or remain at their homes instead of going to the meetings.

Secondly, one of the reasons for the poor attendance is a reflection of the poor organisation of their national workers' organisation. The ZCTU is not organised. It has limited support of the workers. It does not have the machinery for bringing workers to the meetings. The Minister of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Comrade John Nkomo spoke about the weaknesses of ZCTU. Some of the officials of the

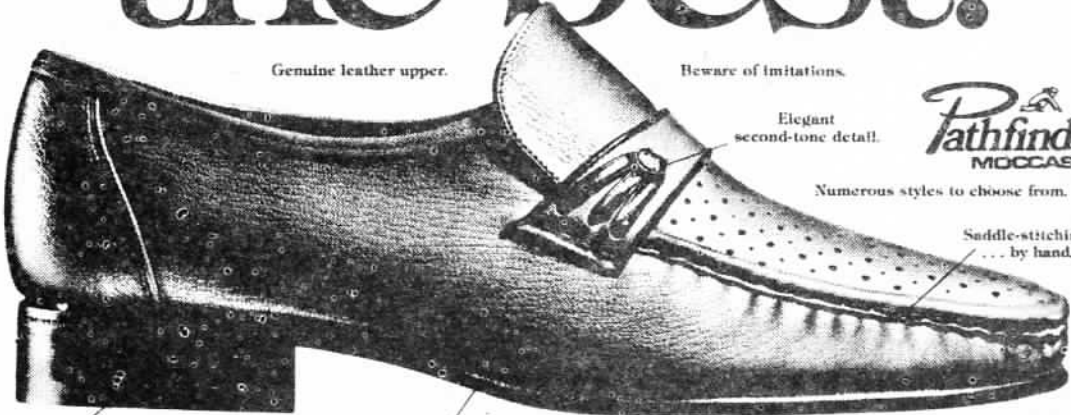
workers' body have amassed all funds intended to be for the advancement of the workers. Some of them are behind bars in jail. We deplore the fact that leaders that have been chosen by the workers to do the important work of the unions used that opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the same workers. Clearly the weakness of the ZCTU and the confusion and maladministration is a contributory factor to the poor attendance.

Thirdly, the officials of the Ministry of Labour are not working closely with officials of ZANU (PF). In some areas they try to organise May Day celebrations themselves without informing or seeking the support of the Party. These officials should be told by the Minister of Labour that the only organisation capable of organising masses in this country is ZANU (PF). If they do not go through the Party they will not get through to the people — the peasants and workers. Some of these officials are not

members of the Party and they represent backward boundary elements in our society. They should be told that they cannot organise workers without the support of the Party.

The speech of Comrade Mutandare, President of the ZCTU pointed out the problem of declining earnings for the workers (see editorial). This is a view point which we share and we think Government should do something about it. The continuing devaluation of the dollar as well as the rising prices is a serious factor in our national life. It reduces the earnings of the workers all the time. The dollar which was earned in 1982 is today worth 38 cents. Government should take immediate steps to reduce the prices, as well as fix the exchange rate of the dollar. The present system of the wetted baskets of currency is just not working. It is leading to a steady decline of the dollar.

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# Achievements a

*In his address to the nation on the occasion of the 8th Independence Anniversary the President and First Secretary Comrade Robert Mugabe, outlined the national achievements and problems so far. He noted that much of what were the demands of the Patriotic Front at the Lancaster House Conference were progressively being achieved, constitutionally at the same time as obnoxious ones were revolved. The President also spoke at length on the state of the economy as well as on such essential issues as housing. He also denounced the South African apartheid regime for its inexcusable racial and militarist policies in the region. We reproduce the full text of the speech, delivered at Independence Day, 18th April.*

**T**oday, we gather to celebrate the eighth anniversary of our Independence in a radically changed constitutional and political milieu. The year 1987 saw Zimbabwe shaking off and interring many of the burdensome aspects of the Lancaster House Constitution in what was nothing short of a major constitutional overhaul. In 1987 a significant political achievement came about with the amendment of the Lancaster House Constitution to remove the offensive element of racial representation in Parliament and to usher in the Executive Presidency that the Patriotic Front had called for at Lancaster House.

Today, we gather to celebrate the eighth anniversary of our Independence in a radically changed constitutional and political milieu. The year 1987 saw Zimbabwe shaking off and interring many of the burdensome aspects of the Lancaster House Constitution in what was nothing short of a major constitutional overhaul. In 1987 a significant political achievement came about with the amendment of the Lancaster House Constitution to remove the offensive element of racial representation in Parliament and to usher in the Executive Presidency that the Patriotic Front had called for at Lancaster House.

In addition to these constitutional changes and, as if to crown it all, there came the signing of the Unity Accord between ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU on December 22, 1987, which heralded the dawn of a new epoch of strengthened nationhood, peace, brotherhood and prosperity. Today, ZANU has been transformed into an even more national party and one that is synonymous with Zimbabwe itself. It is this phenomenal development of political unity, that makes our eighth independence anniversary even more meaningful, and all embracing. We are celebrating as a reconciled, united, and progressive people, cherishing peace, stability and development in our country.

## Unite and Co-operate To Counter Destabilization

We enter our 9th year of independence with a mandate to consolidate our unity by en-

suring that the party integration process which is the second phase of the Unity Accord is implemented without delay. Each one of us must therefore ensure that this spirit of nationhood and oneness is indelibly ingrained in our national character.

We should appreciate that with the advent of unity, security within our borders has improved remarkably, with a discernible fall in cases of lawlessness and armed banditry. The new environment of peace and unity has severely weakened and even discouraged enemies and Would-be enemies of our country. It is most gratifying to note that every citizen today sees it as his or her duty to cooperate with Government and the Security Forces in the interest of our peace and progress.

In fact, the Defence Forces have nearly completely brought the bandit menace under control, for there are now less than one hundred bandits still at large. I call upon the remaining bandits to surrender and join other patriots in the consolidation of our unity as it is now evident that those who refuse to heed this call shall continue to suffer the ruthlessness not only of the Security Forces, but of the civilians as well. Regrettably, apartheid-ruled South Africa remains more than ever determined to export instability to, if not to overthrow, democratically ruled independent African States that share borders with it. 1987 saw an upswing in the destabilisation and aggressive activities of this beleaguered regime. Unable to contain the struggle for democracy and non-racialism within its borders, the regime has made recourse to dirty tactics of invasions, raids, bombings, clandestine operations and, worst of all, aiding and abetting puppet organisations such as the Renamo bandits whose activities create and instil a sense of insecurity and pandemonium within our borders.

## Bandit Atrocities

The past year has seen the onset of raids by RENAMO across our eastern border in which a considerable number of innocent civilians either lost their lives, were mutilated, assaulted, abducted or robbed, and valuable property maliciously destroyed.

## 8 Year



Our defence forces — dealing telling blows on the



The Police — an agile and disciplined people's force



# and Problems rs Later



proxies of apartheid



Inside Mozambique itself, the escalating conflict has created a human tragedy with thousands of Mozambican civilians having to seek sanctuary in Zimbabwe and other neighbouring countries where they are being cared for by the respective Governments and International Relief Organisations. Against these threats and cowardly acts, our Security Forces have remained steadfast, dealing telling blows on the proxies of apartheid, both within and outside Zimbabwe.

## Material Help

In carrying out their heavy responsibilities, the morale of our Defence Forces has been maintained not only as a result of their patriotism and loyalty to the Government, but most importantly, due to the material and financial donations which they have time and again received from ordinary citizens, companies and non-government organisations. In that regard, I would like both to thank all our people for their patriotic spirit and to urge that this relationship between the Defence Forces and the public forms part of a permanent ethos of our nation.

## Police Force — People's Force

Also deserving mention alongside the Defence Forces is our Police force which, despite numerous constraints, has remained an agile and disciplined people's force, totally committed to the elimination of crime in our society. More criminals have been apprehended as a result of increased confidence and cooperation between the people and their local Police officers. As we move away from the image of the police as enemies of the people inherited from colonial days towards a people-oriented force, it is my wish that we soon achieve a situation in which the policeman or woman and the civilian compliment each other's efforts.

## Economic Constraints

The year 1987 was not particularly good for our economy. The Government is well aware that all our sectors have not done as much as they could, owing to a combination of local and international constraints that were in most cases beyond our control.

Agriculture, our mainstay is just beginning to recover from a long spell of drought that has dogged us for the past few years. The 1987-88 season has in the end proved very satisfactory with abundant rains. It is pleasing to note that, notwithstanding the dry

spell last year that adversely affected our beef industry, maize and tobacco crops, we still have managed to make major scores in oilseed crops such as soyabeans and sunflowers, each with a record 102 000 tonnes and 23 000 tonnes respectively. Even our beef industry, which operated under difficult conditions, still managed to net Z\$35,5 million in its exports to the European Economic Community between January and September, making Zimbabwe the only ACP country to have fully met its beef export quota.

## Solution

However, for as long as our agriculture continues to depend on rainfall, we will experience mixed and unpredictable fortunes. In recent years the regional weather pattern has been most mercurial with cases of too little or no rain being the order of the day. A more stabilised food production pattern can only be assured if the agricultural industry is weaned away from excessive dependency on weather patterns through building of dams for irrigation, and farmers taking to establishing irrigation schemes in their localities.

The Government has thus embarked on an expanded programme of borehole sinking and dam construction to meet the nation's water needs. To date, four large dams: Insukamini, Mazwikadei, Clifton Off-River Storage dam and Bangazaan have been completed. Seven more dams are under construction — a commendable development pace, given the scarcity of human and material resources at our disposal. Some of the smaller dams were constructed during the drought, as part of the food-for-work programme.

Notwithstanding the good rains and the anticipated good harvest, it is the intention of Government to continue the public works programme to the extent that funds allow in order to hasten development in communal areas.

## Land

To date, 126 952 hectares of land was purchased for the resettlement of our people at a cost of \$6,8 million. This brings to 2,7 million hectares, the total land bought since Independence, and on which more than 40 000 families have been resettled.

True, the land question remains unresolved as the pace of purchase has not been as fast as we would like it to be. Scarcity of purchase funds as well as high price of land have tended to slow down the exercise.



**Agriculture must not depend on weather patterns**

My Government will continue to look into new options of expediting the process of land acquisition and redistribution so as to expand the agricultural productive base.

I would like to urge farmers in resettlement areas to boost production because land resettlement at the expense of production and good land husbandry is the surest recipe for hunger, starvation and impoverishment. It is, therefore, important that we ensure that land is allocated to conscious, industrious and dynamic producers who value land maintenance and utilisation for us and for posterity.

Equally, the land re-organisation programme within the communal lands will be planned and implemented with the view to ensuring maximum utilization and productivity in communal lands.

## Industry

Though in manufacturing growth has been constrained by the shortage of foreign currency, the volume of the output rose by 3.1% in 1987 and the Government has and continues to explore ways of alleviating the crippling foreign exchange shortage. These include commodity import programmes and barter deals, import-substitution as well as pushing up export levels to ensure a greater volume of foreign exchange inflow. A bonus scheme has been instituted to allow exporting companies to retain part of their incremental foreign currency earnings for the purchase of inputs for the domestic market. It is my hope that companies will take advantage of this reprieve and boost their exports to the level of making their quotas supplementary to their bonus earnings. These heights can only be attained when companies make conscious efforts to maximise their production capacity.

Government organisations involved in the promotion of the manufacturing base are expected to render more efficient and enterprising services in order to boost industry as a whole. Towards this end, the Industrial Development Corporation Act has been amended to enable the Corporation to play a greater role in the country's industrial development. The IDC will increasingly assist small-scale industries and manufactur-

ing cooperatives development by providing them with the necessary techno-economic and management consultancy services, thus complementing assistance rendered by the Small Enterprise Development Corporation. The Industrial Development Corporation Act is to be further amended to enable the Corporation to go into joint ventures with foreign enterprises, especially in the neighbouring countries with a view to enhancing regional cooperation in the context of both the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

## Mining

The mining sector performed well beyond expectations with a record output of \$815.3 million excluding steel and ferrochrome, an increase well in excess of 17% over the 1986 production levels. This sector as a whole has done exceedingly well given the numerous constraints such as shortage of spares and the rather unusually high turnover of professional personnel which has continued to hamper sound operation.

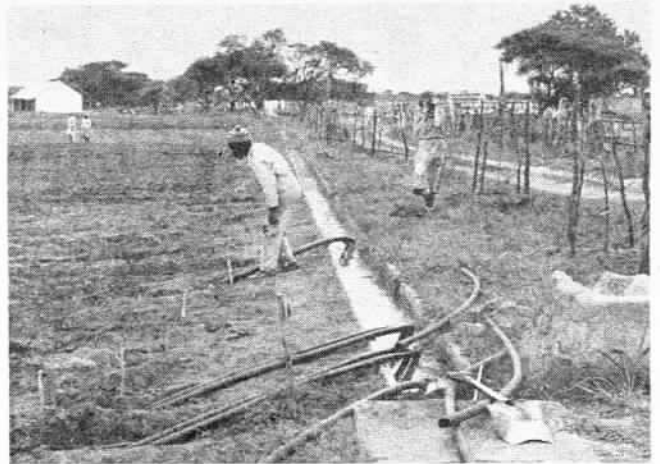
Gold alone accounted for \$350 million or 43% of the total output. Copper and nickel

production recovered from a gloomy spell as prices rose dramatically during the second half of the year. Other minerals and mineral products such as asbestos and ferrochrome maintained steady production levels.

The Hwange Coke Ovens were successfully refurbished and commissioned during the latter part of the year. This will ensure self-sufficiency in coke and other by-products, and will ensure that the country satisfies the external demand of our coke by neighbouring countries.

## Ensure economic expansion

I, therefore, appeal to all industrialists to increase reinvestment of profits to ensure that our economy continues to expand so that every able-bodied Zimbabwean is guaranteed a chance to absorption into some form of gainful employment. The unprecedented expansion of the educational sector since Independence has given rise to spiralling unemployment of school leavers as the formal sector, long arrested by several constraints, school leavers can no longer fully absorb the product of our education system. As a result, expectant young men and women, armed



**The Government's borehole sinking and dam construction scheme — part of the strategy for agriculture's flourishing**



**Both private and public sectors need to redouble efforts for growth and employment opportunities**





**The educational curriculum should strike a balance between technical and theoretical training**



**Housing — community based approaches help overcome the housing backlog**

with certificates, swarm the streets looking for employment.

Fellow Zimbabweans, this is a national problem calling for a well coordinated national response. Therefore, both the private and the public sectors need to redouble their efforts in order to generate growth and more employment opportunities for all our people.

### **Seek unemployment solutions**

The unemployed, too, should explore all possibilities of self-employment so that they not only depend on the formal sector which now has a very limited labour absorptive ca-

capacity. Thus, this calls for a fresh outlook in which stress should be more on creating employment than hunting for it. The Government is more than ready to provide assistance in individual or collective employment initiatives. I, therefore, call upon all youth to be more aggressive and experimental in their search for employment. My Government is geared to rendering the technical know-how to cooperatives in order to eliminate those management shortcomings that lumbered and even grounded cooperatives in the past.

The education curriculum is undergoing a radical revision with the view to establishing a balance between the vocational/technical and the theoretical training. The new

content and structure of education addresses the need to incorporate into the school curriculum real employment opportunities, the creating of jobs on an individual or cooperative basis, while at the same time preparing some students for further academic or skills training. Thus, future school leavers should have the ability to create employment for themselves rather than depend on established institutions for jobs.

### **Transport**

In an effort to reduce Zimbabwe's dependence on South African transport routes, the National Railways of Zimbabwe and Mozambique Railways undertook the rehabilitation of the Machipanda-Beira and the Limpopo Railway lines, and I am glad to report that this has increased considerably the operational capacity of the lines.

Air Zimbabwe has opened new regional routes following the acquisition of three B737 and one BAe 146 Aircraft. This increased capacity of the airline should enable it to offer competitive services on all regional routes and double its takings.

Regarding roads, the achievements are not as spectacular but all the same they are very real. To name but a few roads that were completed in the past year: the Nyanga-Nyamaropa road, the Nyazura-Chivhu road, that will link the Midlands with the eastern districts, the Chivhu-Gutu, Gutu-Zaka, the Birchneough-Bikita road, the Kwekwe-Gokwe road, the Mutare-Chiredzi road, while the Mvuma-Gweru road is due to be completed soon.

### **Housing**

The housing industry presents a grim picture with an ever growing housing backlog in all major urban centres and low pace of construction of modern housing units in the rural areas. My Government considers shelter provision as a basic right for everyone, perhaps coming second to life itself. It is, however, gratifying to note that the Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing continues to make headway despite difficulties and constraints. In 1987, 33 shelter projects were embarked upon throughout the country and these are at various stages of implementation. I would like to stress at this point that whilst government assistance is expected in most cases, it may not suffice to meet the burgeoning housing problem. More emphasis should therefore be placed on community-based approaches that seek to enlist the active participation of the public, as a way of overcoming the housing backlog.

These are but a few areas in which Government has either acted decisively already or is poised to do so, with the support and cooperation of all our people. Our 9th year of Independence should see even greater strides being made by us all to overcome all obstacles to our development and prosperity. With the national unity we have achieved, we cannot but succeed in all our endeavours. □

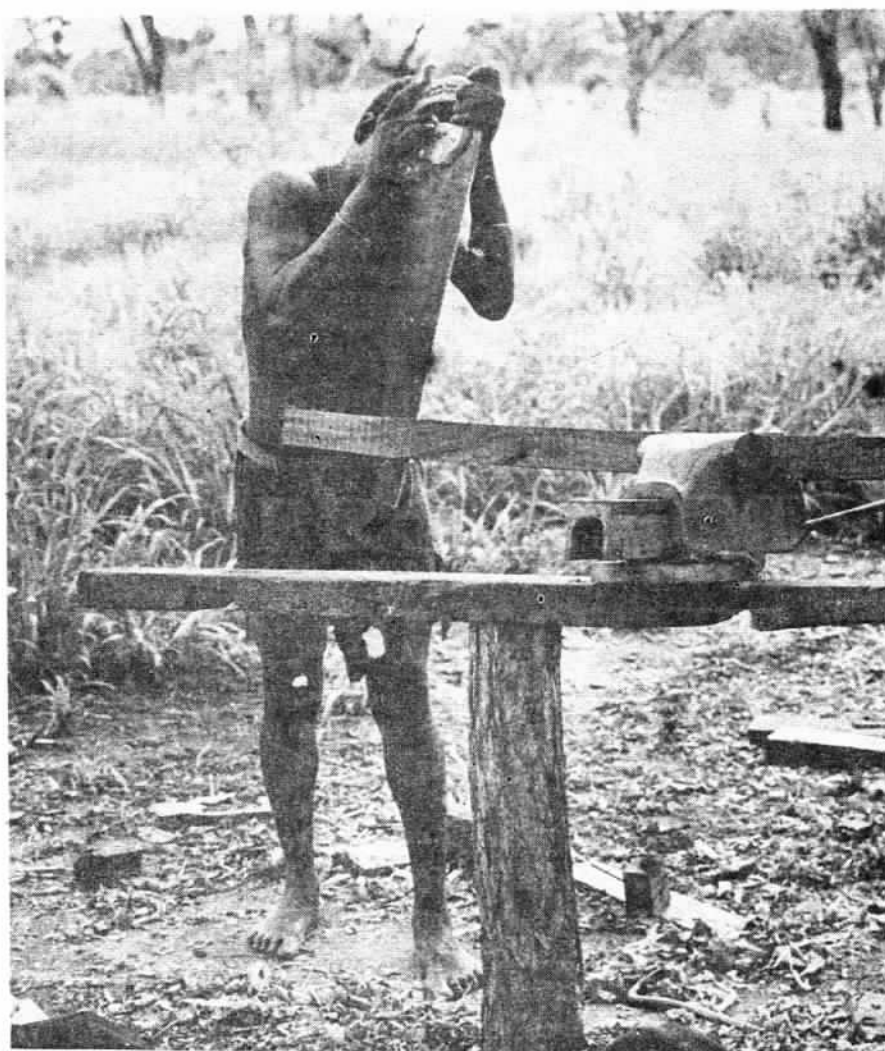
# WORKERS — PROSPECTS AND DEVELOPMENT

The First Secretary and President of the Party Comrade Robert Mugabe, His Excellence President of Zimbabwe, addressed a record attendance of workers during the May Day Celebrations. The First Secretary and President noted that the worker does not yet enjoy parity of strength which enables him to enter into meaningful collective bargaining exercise. He also noted that wages have to be linked to production and the general performance of the economy. He also informed the workers that the Government has now approved a single National Pension Scheme since the existing system tended to exclude some workers and had other shortcomings. We reproduce the President's speech in full delivered on May 1.

**I**t is a great honour and privilege for me to be with you once again and to participate in our country's commemoration and celebration of the achievements of workers throughout the progressive world. I have reminded you on nearly every MAY DAY occasion that the day became an annual event in Europe in the nineteenth century, in recognition of the successful struggles by the working classes. It has since been celebrated in solidarity with the working people throughout the world. This is why MAY DAY is also the occasion for Zimbabwe to honour the immense contribution of our workers, dead and living, to the development of our country. It is moreover the occasion on which we must all pause to reflect on issues affecting our commitment to the consolidation of the status, conditions, and well-being of our workers.

The ideological principles of the Party and Government impel us to recognise the fact that our workers are not only the country's most valuable resources, but the ultimate owners of means of production. Hence the role of the worker is a very important one. He should be regarded as the prime mover, the principal means and the object of all production activities and socio-economic development. Our workers, therefore, occupy the most important position in the development process. Hence their well-being must be of paramount importance in every society.

Who doubts that workers create wealth which is the lifeline of society? They produce surplus wealth which can be reinvested to create more wealth and generate employment.



**Workers occupy the most important position in the development process**





**The President of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Comrade Jeffrey Mutandare chats with Comrade Mugabe at the May Day celebrations**

Because of its recognition of the crucial role played by the worker in development of the country, Government has over the years since Independence taken measures to promote and improve the working conditions and the standard of living of the workers. We have in the past made reference to the various measures taken by Government in this regard.

### **Wages**

One of the first measures, as you will remember, was the Statutory Minimum Wage, which was introduced in 1980 and which was aimed at raising the standard of living of the worker. Since then, Government has consistently reviewed the minimum wage levels in all sectors of the economy, again to ensure that the workers' lot does not suffer detriment from the continual rise in commodity prices.

The continued fixing of minimum and maximum wages by my Government is neither a deviation from nor the negation of the spirit and letter of the provisions of the Labour Relations Act, nor will this practice go on ad infinitum. The exercise of fixing wages is still being handled by the Government simply because the worker does not yet enjoy parity of strength which could enable him to enter into a meaningful collective bargaining exercise. The collective bargaining exercise presupposes a relative equilibrium in the strength of the parties which enter into negotiations, be it for better wages or improved conditions of employment. It must also be appreciated that the Government, in fixing the minimum and maximum wages, does not act unilaterally, a phenomenon which could otherwise stifle the development of trade unions and employer organisations as negotiating mechanisms. On the contrary, Government takes full cognisance of the existence of these parties, and before it decides and legislates on wages, all interested parties are consulted

and their input assessed and credited, hence invariably my Government calls on Employment Councils and Employment Boards to submit their suggestions on the minimum wages. It is, therefore, not Government's intention to be dogmatic and paternalistic in the exercise of stipulating minimum wages as Government realises the need to link wages to production and the performance of the economy in general. It was as a result of this realisation that Government made provision in the Labour Relations Act (1985) for employers and workers to enter into negotiations pertaining not only to wages but to conditions of employment as well. This promulgated legislation which facilitated the creation of Employment Councils and Employment Boards, I have referred to above, endeavours to lay the basis for a national and harmonious industrial environment, so vital for overall national development to which we all aspire. It is Government's desire to promote and assist in the creation of Employment Councils forming the basis of the collective bargaining exercise.

### **Joint Workers — Management Participation**

To this end, we must move towards a situation where Government will allow the negotiation process stipulated in the provisions of the Labour Relations Act to take effect.

Through the Labour Relations Act, 1985, Government sought to protect the inviolable rights of the vulnerable segment of our production sector, the workers. The Act defines the rights of both the worker and employer, just as it also defines the conditions of employment.

The Labour Relations Act further enhances the development of Institutions

which represent workers' interests, for example, by encouraging the formation of Workers' Committees at the work place. As channels of communication at enterprise level, Workers' Committees have done a sterling job in building up trust and confidence between workers and managements.

Government has also encouraged the formation of Works Councils at enterprise level for the purpose of promoting joint participation of both workers and management in the decision-making process relating to production.

Through the Department of Occupational Health, Safety and Workers' Compensation, my Government has promoted favourable occupational health conditions and safety at work.

Much has been done to educate workers and employers on safety and health at work through seminars and publications in order to reduce the frequency of accidents at work. For those injured at work, Government provides rehabilitation services and compensation. We have been extremely concerned about a situation where workers do not have income protection at the end of their working life. In its First Five Year National Development Plan, Government set out to establish a single national Pension Scheme or Social Security Scheme. I wish to inform you that Government has now approved such a scheme and that it will be introduced for the country's workforce as soon as possible. In approving the proposed scheme, Government takes note of the short-comings of the existing occupational pension schemes which do not cover all workers and fail to allow transferrability of benefits when workers change jobs.

### **Increase Productivity**

Though the proposed social security scheme will provide limited benefits, for example, retirement pensions, and benefits relating to invalidity, survivors, sickness and maternity, it was necessary that only those benefits which our economy could sustain are provided for, with the hope that these could be improved in future.

A total contribution rate of 8 per cent of the employees' monthly wage, shared equally between employee and employer, has been approved by Government to finance the scheme. The Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare will now prepare the details of the scheme for implementation. I would like to urge both employers and employees to be cooperative as we implement this programme.

As you will vividly remember, Government instituted a freeze on Wages and Salaries and Prices in July 1987. Let me now commend the workers for the tremendous sacrifices which they made during the past year which was characterised by economic hardships that led to the sudden decision to freeze wages and salaries as well as prices. These are sacrifices that you will be called upon to make in future, as you are the backbone of the economy and the guarantors of a brighter economic future.

# MEDICAL AID COMES IN MANY SHAPES AND SIZES

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*Our Primary, General and Private Hospital Schemes fulfil the medical aid requirements of most Zimbabweans, but in certain cases unique needs have been identified which fall outside the parameters of these schemes.*

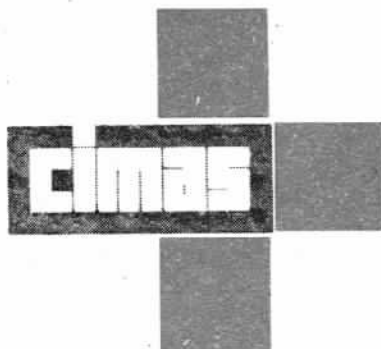
*In 1971 the Hippo Valley Estates were the first organisation to approach us for a tailor made*

*medical aid package that would suit their special requirements.*


*Since then CIMAS has successfully set up special schemes for students at the University of Zimbabwe, The Wankie Collieries, Bank employees and many other organisations.*



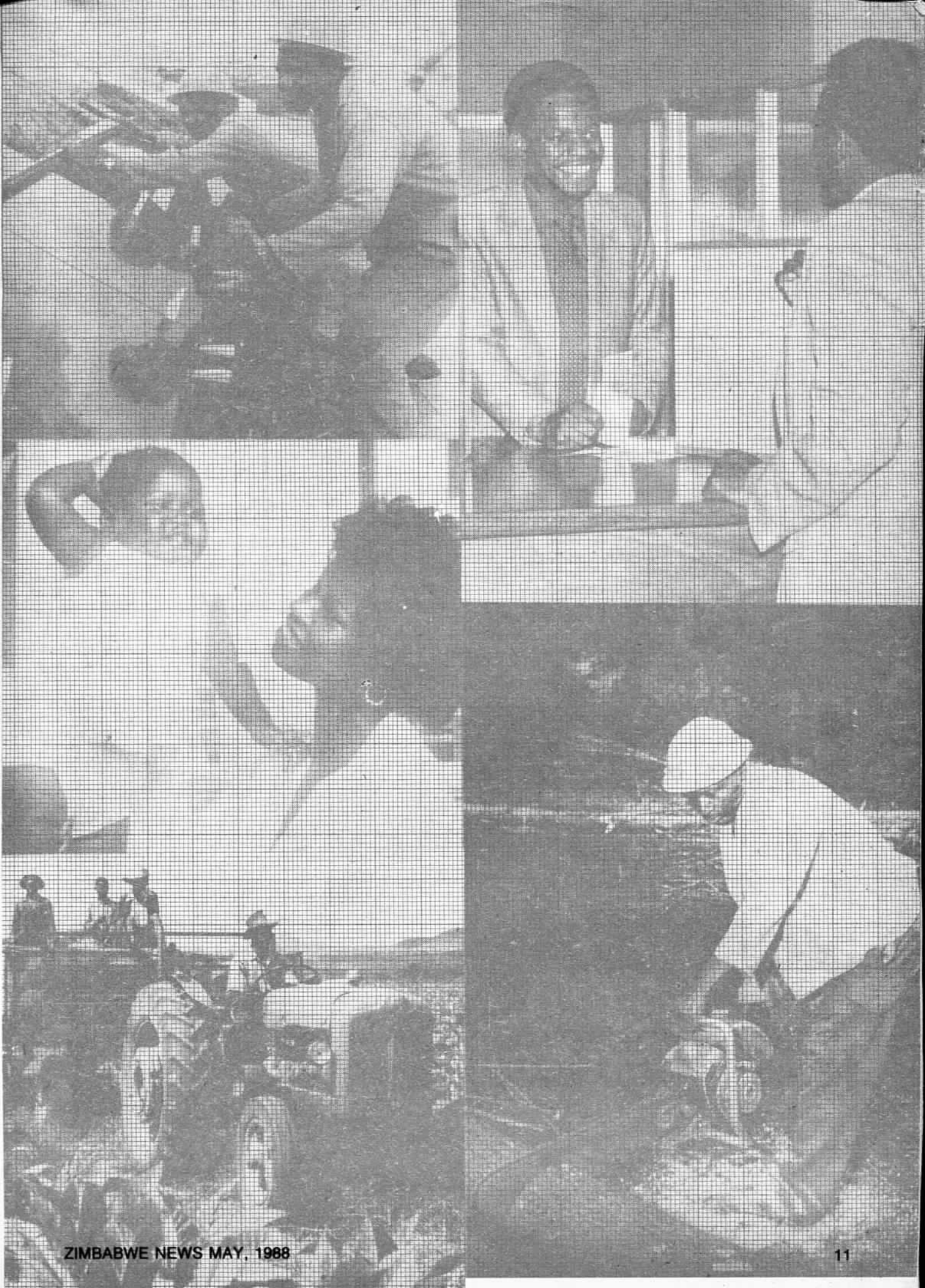
*We don't however want to rest on our laurels. If you are in the position of having a large workforce which has special medical aid requirements we'd like to talk to you about establishing your own personal scheme for your employees. Because at CIMAS, we believe in giving people what they need and you can be sure that we will continue to lead the way in the provision of medical aid cover for all Zimbabweans. The creation of packages to suit your individual requirements is just one of the ways in which CIMAS is able to offer Zimbabwe the best in medical aid care.*



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If I might now refer to your performance, I would like to appeal to our workers to put more effort and increase productivity in their respective enterprises. An increase in your productivity would in turn increase our output, our exports and export earnings.

This would in turn, increase our foreign exchange reserves and create a surplus for investment, which will, as you know, increase employment opportunities for some of our unemployed workers.

Government views the question of unemployment with great concern. However, the problem cannot be solved by Government alone, for it requires inputs from the public sector, private sector and the workers themselves. I, therefore, appeal to all these parties to play their respective roles in creating employment opportunities for our unemployed among whom is a growing number of school-leavers, who continuously flood the labour market.

### Solidarity with the Oppressed

As we celebrate this very important day, let us not forget our brothers and sisters who are suffering under the yoke of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. I would like to re-affirm Zimbabwe's commitment to the destruction of apartheid and express our unflinching support and solidarity with the toiling masses of South Africa and Namibia. I wish to assure them that their struggle is our struggle. I call upon our trade unions to give support by including members of the South African and Namibian Trade Unions in their education programmes.

## The Congresses — Achievements and Prospects

ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU have now both convened and successfully concluded their extra-ordinary congresses, designed to pave the way for merger of the two parties under the monolithic umbrella of ZANU (PF).

### Final Test

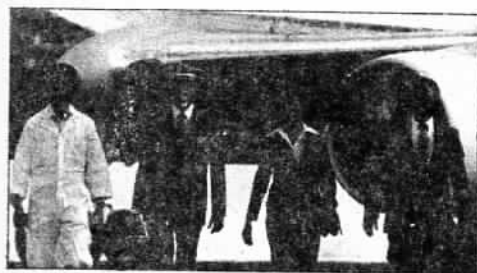
The congresses served as a final test of the popularity and acceptability of the accord signed on 22nd December, 1987 at State House by the President Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe and Dr. Joshua Nkomo on behalf of ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU respectively.

The PF-ZAPU Congress, held on the 2nd and 3rd of April, 1988 and attended by 5 000 delegates, passed a two point resolution which both ratified the December 22 accord, and gave Dr. Joshua Nkomo the mandate to proceed with the task of finalising the merger between ZANU (PF) and his party. It was almost prophetic that the last ZAPU congress in 1984 had passed a resolution empowering the ZAPU Central Committee to proceed with the search for the unity that had now become a reality. It is also significant to note that the approval of the December 22 accord and the mandate for

Dr. Nkomo to proceed with complete merger came only towards the end of the congress and only after PF-ZAPU leaders had fully explained the terms of the accord to the Delegates which the Central Committee had made on their behalf. This demonstrates that PF-ZAPU's congressional resounding approval of the accord and the mandate to Dr. Nkomo were made after a clear understanding of the issues involved and not from mere jingoism. The congress further noted that the political division of the people of Zimbabwe is one of the significant reasons behind the lack of development in areas where dissidents have taken advantage of this state of Affairs.

### PF-ZAPU Congress Approval "A Dream Come True"

Speaking to newsmen after the congress, the ZAPU secretary for publicity and information Comrade John Nkomo said the success of the congress "was a dream come true" and that unity between ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU is the only natural outcome when one takes into account the history of the two parties during the liberation struggle.



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## ZANU (PF)'s Congress

A week after the PF-ZAPU Congress, ZANU (PF) convened its congress, which was attended by over 3 000 delegates at the Harare International Conference Centre.

The ZANU (PF) Congress also gave its unanimous approval to the December 22nd accord after hectic debate during the one day congress, which also reaffirmed the party's commitment to the leadership code and called on the party to discipline leaders who continue to ignore the code. In his closing address, the president of ZANU (PF), Comrade R.G. Mugabe expressed delight at the resounding approval which he said now sets the stage for the complete merger of the two parties. The ratification, the president said put onto the accord, the supreme imprint of ZANU (PF)'s authority.

"What was up to now only the central committee's position of acceptance has become the unquestionable acceptance by the whole party, making the agreement a party agreement."

The President went further to say that the approval had emphasised, authorised and directed the President and First Secretary of the Party working together with the Central Committee to ensure full implementation of the December 22 accord. Comrade Mugabe assured the delegates that he would work to ensure that the will of the congress is put into practice.

### A New and Dynamic Stage is Set

The success of the two congresses marks the beginning of a new and dynamic stage in the process of merging the two parties and the political development of Zimbabwe. Formal and complete amalgamation of the two parties will entice the systematic integration of

the structures of the two parties at all levels, an exercise that will require not only consummate skill in party administration and organisation, but also patience and understanding as the President of ZANU (PF) pointed out at the end of the Congress.

"The Central Committee and I will continue to depend on your fullest support for best results, fullest support in the physical integration task at all the organic levels of the two parties, fullest support by way of your attitude and behaviour towards the members integrated from PF-ZAPU and fullest support in your organising private meetings at the level of cells, branches, districts and provinces and open rallies where possible, but deliberately intended to educate party members and the general public on the unity agreement and help on the unity agreement and help consolidate unity in physical, intellectual and emotional terms."

### Mutual Destruction or Self-less Integration

Genuine supporters of both parties must now seriously take up the challenge that the success of the two congresses thrust upon them. It is now time for hard work and commitment to ensure that the resolutions of the two congresses become a living reality. The alternatives are plain to the naked eye. The one road is strewn with mutually destructive petty wrangles whose sole objective is personal power and seeking office at all costs. The other is paved with a constructive self-less and integrative approach whose sole aim is the creation of genuine political unity. The people, who after all are the makers of history, will be vigilant and will negate all selfish and power hungry individuals and support genuine champions of unity.

As the process unfolds itself the people will be guided by the knowledge that unity

will only read to the great good of the masses. In its wake will inevitably follow peace and security, prerequisites for economic, political and social development. Not only will the people, the Government and other agents of development be physically secure, but resources that would otherwise be spent on wasteful and non productive military expenditure will now be made available for development purposes.

The merger of ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU will by definition, deny dissidents and other malcontents the political base they had hitherto employed to confuse the masses.

The Minister of defence Comrade Enos Nkala, has indicated that already dissident activity has decreased significantly and that the army may soon be withdrawn from Matabeleland.

The merger will also consolidate the cohesion of the Zimbabwean body politics and will greatly enhance Zimbabwe's capacity to defend its sovereignty from South Africa's wanton military destabilisation which has escalated to alarming proportions.

ZANU (PF) has always contended that a scientific analysis of the Political requirements of a society such as this leads inevitably to the conclusion that a single party system that embodies all elements of the democratic process is the only effective means of bringing about the rapid economic and social development that we want to achieve. The merger of ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU coming as it does through the popular will of the masses brings us close to this goal: Zimbabwe is therefore at the threshold for a major political leap-forward.

The dynamic combination of all these factors can only lead to the rapid and general improvement of the broad-masses and the realisation of the cherished goals for which many a son and daughter of Zimbabwe shed their precious blood.

# Leadership Code — Crystallisation of Socialist Morality

The leadership code is meant to be a crystallization of socialist morality as it pertains to the leadership and cadre without which socialist transformation would be a pipe-dream, the Senior Minister of Political Affairs, Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo said while addressing trainee diplomats in Harare on March 31. Comrade Nyagumbo said instituting a leadership code was an active step meant to assure the advent of socialism in Zimbabwe.

Following is the minister's speech:

August, 1964 in Gweru, Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) ZANU (PF) held its first ever congress and enunciated, among other things a socialist vision of a post-independent Zimbabwe. It was not

until almost 20 years later that ZANU (PF) held its Second Congress, this time in as radically changed socio-political environment of an independent and self-determining Zimbabwe.

The intervening period had been a difficult but determined armed push for total independence of Zimbabwe, an exercise that involved transforming the largely political and diplomatic structures of ZANU (PF) into a politico-military outlook that would successfully prosecute a popular armed struggle for the freedom of all Zimbabweans.

It is however important to bear in mind the socio-economic context of the 1980 political victory, as this provides the context

within which the socialist option and its manifestation, the leadership code, have to be seen. Ninety years past had seen the forcible implementation of capitalist economic structures in the country, resulting in a socio-economic formation where black Zimbabweans were summarily pushed to the fringes of Rhodesian economic, social, political and cultural life. The same 90 years saw the evolution and entrenchment of an elaborate superstructure — the state, legal system, arms of coercion and so on that legitimized and defended the unjust colonial mode of production. Often, analysts forget that the superstructure that was the most immediate, most obvious target of the struggle, had arisen and was perpetuated in defence of settler economic interests, the essence and drive of colonialism.

In 1980 the Patriotic forces took over control of the state and ended economic disparities that had necessitated the struggle in the first instance. Since 1980, Zimbabweans witnessed sweeping changes meant to transform the superstructure thus making it serviceable for the achievement of our goals. The abolition of racial representation last year is one of the long awaited goals.

## Paving the way for Socialism

However, these changes would not in any way change the underlying capitalism that dictated our economy until such a time fundamental changes had taken place at the economic level of our society so as to ensure that the economy was responsive to the generality of our people, who, for 90 long years had been denied their rights and were impoverished despite the fact that they were central to the production machinery.

It is in this context that the choice of socialism has to be understood — a way of supplanting entrenched capitalism and its attendant racial, economic disparities and abuses and substituting it with a more egalitarian order where a share in the economy is a right for all and not a privilege open to race or class. In other words the adoption of a socialist philosophy and programme during the two congresses was based on an awareness of the need to overthrow capitalism in Zimbabwe, redistribute wealth and broaden economic participation to ensure that every Zimbabwean benefitted.

It should be borne in mind that socialism, like capitalism is more than mere economics. As a discipline, socialism has a code of ethics which lays the basis for this ideology. Socialism thus implies a firm commitment and tenacious adherence to ethics of liberty, equity, egalitarianism, the sacredness of life and the right to the means of its sustenance. Its realisation therefore, implies moral rectitude, high level morality within a society, and more so amongst its architects. It also means a high level of discipline, sacrifice and self-denial especially in the leadership. Perhaps we need to accept the validity of the classical saying that "money is the root of all evil".

Today, especially in Southern Africa, we witness a callous disregard of life and life-creating values, a disregard that money often inspires. The vicious apartheid system, for example, has arisen in defence of economic interests, status quo of the greedy. Likewise, capitalism in western societies who, for all their loud pretensions to morality, democracy, equity and so on stand indifferent, to the plight of the poor in their countries and the world over. Thus, in capitalism self-aggrandisement seems to have defeated morality and the ability to feel sympathy for other people.

## Leadership Code — Weapon for Socialist Transformation

The leadership code, is therefore meant to be a crystallization of socialist morality as

it pertains to the leadership and cadre without which socialist transformation would become a pipe-dream. Instituting a leadership code was an active step meant to assure the advent of socialism in Zimbabwe. It correctly abhors lax discipline in public, dereliction of duty, vices of tribalism, regionalism, sectionalism, nepotism, racialism, sex discrimination and corruption.

More importantly, it seeks to curb the leadership involvement in private commercial enterprises as this would automatically make it capitalist and therefore in stark contradiction to the socialist vision and programme. I should add here, that this issue of private enterprises had been the most controversial one. The party's position is quite clear: Point eight of the code says "Zanu believes that a leader who concentrates on acquiring property, or who personally engages in the exploitation of man by man, rapidly becomes an ally of the capitalists and an enemy of socialism; and of the masses of the population."

For how can a man who has made accumulations and is therefore, increasingly identifying with a capitalist status quo, identify and support the overthrow and transformation of the very status quo that provides the framework and security for his own establishments? The more one accumulates, the more they identify with the status quo and the less they countenance any change. Private wealth tends to inspire conservatism and is therefore, inimical to a radical philosophy like socialism.



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## Problems Associated with the Leadership Code

It is true that we have faced problems in implementing the leadership code. In fact the President, His Excellence, Comrade Robert Mugabe has never missed any occasion to denounce leaders who violate the code by using their public offices to accumulate wealth. I have also spoken strongly against such tendencies in our leadership. The code has been opposed for the following reasons:

- i) there is no sufficient security in senior public offices and it is often this sense of insecurity which tempts people to start up business.
- ii) the code imposes austerity on a small percentage of the Zimbabwean population whilst it ignores, nay gives an upperhand to, the rest to monopolise control of the economy.
- iii) it does not respect the rights of public leaders as part of the Zimbabwean citizenry. It tends to curtail their freedom by laying down stiff terms on how they should dispose of their earnings.
- iv) it slows down the pace of localization and growth of the economy through individual efforts by excluding a section of our community from economic participation. It subsumes the individual into the collective thereby stifling individual initiative.
- v) another dilemma has arisen as a result

of the quest for national unity and a broad-based leadership both in the party and in Government. It is quite obvious that there are some in the party and Government who have made wealth well before joining the party, in fact well before independence. How are these to relate to the code? How can the austerity of the party code be reconciled with the quest for broad based participation? These are some of the questions that have been raised and it is not my intention to pre-empt discussion by suggesting answers. Suffice it to say that the recent political developments in the country argue for a fresh look at the code.

The fate of the code is closely connected with the fate of socialism in the country. Socialism is what the people have chosen and there is no way anybody can change this goal and direction of development without necessarily going against the will of the Zimbabwean people. It is fundamentally important that commitment to the moral and economic dictates of socialism be upheld and strengthened if our revolution is to realise its goals. Political will is firmly there both in Government and party to ensure adherence to the code as a vital part of our socioeconomic transformation.

### Conclusion

The foregoing, I am sure, has clearly delineated the historical basis, the problems and the prospects of socialism in the coun-

try, as well as situating the code in the broader context and goal of transformation. Without minimising the odds, I can safely say that the code is realisable, infact being realised. After all contradictions are an integral part of reality, indeed of the struggle for socialism. Ours would not be a revolution if it did not have odds. Revolution means transformation; transformation means fighting and superceding odds and dying forms.

Let me end by sounding a word of warning to you our intending diplomats. You are being groomed for the country's leadership, for projecting and defending the country's image. In that sense and for that reason, the leadership code means a lot to you. Shortly you shall be leaving for our missions in different environments, most of them tempting. Tantalizing offers will be made; opportunities will present themselves in succession-perhaps even more tempting offers and opportunities than those we who lead have to grapple with. As a career diplomat tasked to serve your country, how are you going to relate to that juicy morsel dangling before your starving eyes?

To what extent is your lifestyle going to reflect your country's position? In short are you a leader with a code, your country's code or you seek to lead the code itself? As a party and Government cadre, as the upholder and defender of our revolution, we hope you will not ignore the leadership code. □

# ZANU (PF): Reports from Heads of Departments

## (ii) Department of Finance

**L**ike all other organisations, the Party necessarily incurs expenses in order to properly run its affairs. The expenses are met principally out of funds raised from the membership of the Party. Therefore it is one of the main duties of a Party member to shoulder his or her share of the cost of running the Party, since there is nothing else that can replace the efforts of the Party membership in meeting this cost. It is a way of enabling the Party to exercise financial independence in running its affairs. Each member should understand that there is no way of demonstrating that he takes this duty seriously better than by making regular financial contributions to the Party.

Every member is expected to pay subscriptions at least to the tune of the minimum prescribed by the Party except in extreme situations for which he must seek exemption from the leadership of the organ to which he belongs. Membership should un-

derstand that defaulting in the matter of regular subscriptions conveys the message of lack of interest in the Party and what it stands for. That is why defaulting for three months in succession for no reason whatsoever may result in the membership of the member concerned being called in question, if not suspended altogether.

Financial work is one of the most exacting aspects of Party work. Each month the treasurer may have to make visits to every member or treasurer of a lower organ to collect membership fees and subscriptions in order to channel them to the next higher organ for onward remittance to central accounts of the Party. If he slackens the Party as a whole suffers as it can no longer afford what it could have done if he had remained sufficiently active.

Therefore what sort of person must be elected treasurer at any level? The Party needs highly active, honest, reliable and im-



**Comrade E. Nkala**  
**Secretary for Finance**

mentally dedicated persons for treasurers at all of its levels. It must be clear that such a person will not only allow himself time to move about his work. He will be enthusiastic to do so. He must be known to have a high respect for Party property, be it in the shape of money or in any other form. If he can have a sound knowledge of financial matters it will be an extremely important added advantage, but not the be-all-and-end-all of financial work.

## Party Financial Work is Challenging

Party financial work can be very challenging work. A cell/village treasurer must collect subscriptions and membership fees from a hundred or so members, issuing receipts and channeling the money to his branch treasurer every month of his term of office. A branch treasurer has to collect subscriptions and membership fees from five or more cells/village treasurers, issuing receipts and remitting the funds to his district senior. At the same time he must supervise the work of the five cell/village treasurers under him. He must do this every month of his term of office. Likewise a district treasurer has to collect subscriptions from ten or so branch treasurers in his district, issuing receipts and sending the funds into central accounts. Furthermore he has to supervise financial work at branch and cell/village levels. He has to do all these things throughout his term of office. Similarly the provincial treasurer has to ensure that all his district treasurers who may run into scores or hundreds actually get funds into central accounts and he must otherwise supervise financial work in his province throughout his term of office.

Yet it is not infrequent to find that a treasurer does his work as expected of him only in the first few months of his election as treasurer. Thereafter all sorts of erroneous practices start setting in. He may just ignore the work for which he was elected, thereby letting the contribution of his organ to Party funds grind to zero. Worse still he may help himself to part or all of such funds as he may collect at any given time. The mass media have carried stories of Party treasurers who have been imprisoned and otherwise punished for embezzling Party funds. To those can be added others whose stories have not appeared in mass media, but who have no less been punished for similar offences. Rounds after rounds of auditorial work will go on and whoever is caught guilty of misappropriation of Party funds will be effectively punished, whatever his standing in the Party or society.

Being entrusted with Party funds is, and should be regarded as, an honour of no mean magnitude. As such it should be the fervent desire and ambition of whoever is so entrusted to aspire to discharge the responsibility with a high sense of mission. Let it be the motto of every Party treasurer that he/she will do his/her duty as treasurer to the best of his/her ability not only in the first month or two of his/her election as treasurer, not

only throughout his/her current term of office, but for as long as the Party organ needs his/her services as a treasurer.

## Party Members Must Pay Monthly Contributions

Is it really necessary that the treasurer should call at a member's door every month to collect the member's monthly subscription? Yes, if such a member is irresponsible or uninterested in the financial aspect of party work or both. A member with attributes of a true revolutionary is expected to make the task easier for the treasurer by taking his subscription to the treasurer instead of waiting for the treasurer to knock at his door every month for his monthly subscription. If all members of a cell/village did likewise the treasurer's work would reduce to that of visiting only those who fail to call at his place for genuine reasons like being too unwell to do so. Similarly cell/village treasurers should take funds from their members to the branch treasurer rather than wait for him to come for them. In turn branch treasurers should take funds from their cells/villages to the district treasurer and avoid waiting with so much money for the district treasurer to come and collect it. Likewise district treasurers should take funds from their branches to coordinating offices, to the provincial office or deposit it into a central account through a local bank. This is far better than keeping huge sums of money in their homes indefinitely.

In general Party financial work calls for a keen sense of responsibility on the part of every member of the Party. It is one of the very important ways in which members display ardent love for their Party.

## Know Principles of Finance

It is essential for the treasurer to be acquainted with, and respect, established principles of financial administration. One of such principles is that all funds raised by a Party organ, be they membership fees, subscriptions or donations are channelled upwards to central accounts without a cent getting deducted. For use locally each province gets remitted to it by the financial head office in honour of a requisition from the province, a sum of money for use over a specified period, usually a month.

It should be stated as a firmly established principle that a province no longer gets its requisition for operational funds honoured beyond what it has itself remitted to Headquarters in the course of any given month. In general no province is any longer allowed to get the cost of its operations subsidised by other provinces. It need hardly be explained that the principle is intended to make every province pull its financial socks. Such measures notwithstanding, funds from provinces have been on the downward path particularly since last January and provin-

cial treasurers are advised to take full stock of the situation and apply fitting remedies.

Barring a few exceptions like Manicaland and Harare, a chronic disease is that of never sending to Headquarters receipts, invoices, bank statements, cheque counterfoils and related financial documents which help to account for remittances to provinces for use by them in keeping themselves running. It should be stated as a must that provinces send half yearly returns which clearly show funds ever received by them and how they were disposed of.

Where good financial administration has taken place it should be found that all funds received have been properly receipted and sent to the next higher organ without delay instead of being kept indefinitely until they are declared lost. Where funds have been banked into central accounts deposit slips should be carefully preserved to tell the story. Cheque counterfoils should leave one in no doubt as to the use to which cash withdrawn has been put. All receipts and invoices should be properly filed. Payments for which no receipts can be issued as bus-fares should be duly signed for in requisition books or petty cash vouchers. In general it should be practicable to account for every cent that has passed through the hands of every Party organ.

It is the treasurer's work to administer funds on behalf of his organ. Other members of the executive can and should assist by ensuring that the treasurer is doing his work efficiently. They can do so, for instance, by demanding a financial statement from the treasurer every now and then, stating what was received and how he accounts for it.

## Hold Seminars for Treasurers

Provincial treasurers should conduct seminars for treasurers at lower levels to acquaint them with the basic principles in their handling of money. Some money gets lost through ignorance of what to do.

Lastly, the Party is reminded that the long awaited constructional work of the Party headquarters has started. If all goes well it should be completed within eighteen months to two years. The vertical wing is expected to cost eight million dollars. Other facilities like the restaurant and the conference hall with a capacity of five thousand will cost another ten million dollars. Our building fund currently stands at seven million dollars.

Therefore the Party must raise the remaining eleven million dollars without fail and quickly. In short contributions to the building fund must continue to pour in with redoubled vigour, now that building is actually under way. Send your contributions straight to Party Headquarters or through your provinces.



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# Women — Leadership and Development

*It is only when women participate in the political process that national policies can be transformed and reflect both their status and needs.*

*In a recent address to a Women's Seminar organised by the South African Trade Union Coordinating Council (SATUCC), the Minister of Community and Cooperative Development and Women's Affairs, Comrade Joyce Mujuru called on women to be more confident.*

*The Conference running on the theme "women in Leadership and Development" sought to create an awareness of the women about their potentialities. Participants to the Conference came from all SADCC countries. Comrade Mujuru also called for "access to equal opportunities in the various sectors" in the face of numerous socio-economic constraints including the Apartheid regime menace. Zimbabwe News reproduces part of the Minister's Speech.*

Turning to the theme of this seminar which is "women in leadership and development", it is my sincere hope that this (theme) will inspire you to explore effective strategies and plans aimed at improving women workers' leadership skills and capabilities, as this is especially important in the women's struggle for equal opportunities not only in the employment sector but also in all other sectors. In addition, the lack of leadership skills amongst women is cited as one of the obstacles against the promotion and advancement of women.

The majority of our people, development strategists and planners and women included, do not realise and appreciate the extent to which the conspicuous absence of women in leadership and decision-making positions hampers our socio-economic development. This situation is further aggravated by the fact that women constitute half and, in some countries, more than half of our respective populations. Yet their contribution to socio-economic development still remains largely invisible and at the same time indispensable because women are the mainstay of the "hidden support economy" which allows the rest of the economy to function.

## Participate in Development and Politics

This paradox surrounding women's role in development arises from our traditions and cultural practices. The women's role was relegated to keeping the home fires burning. Also women themselves until recently, have not done much to pressurise for the recognition of their invaluable contributions to national development. It is therefore, imperative for women in our respective countries to actively participate in the various

sectors of our national economies so that their role in development can be acknowledged and appreciated. It is particularly important for women to be involved in political processes of their respective countries because all developmental policies originate from political parties and are then channelled to Government.

Therefore, if women want national policies that reflect both their status and needs, they have to actively participate in the political processes that bring about those policies. In most, if not all of the SADCC countries, women are fortunate enough to have Governments which are sympathetic and supportive of policies and programmes which enhance the status of women. Ironically, however, our women do not seem ready and willing to take advantage of this situation and get involved in order to effectively bring about change in their status.

Turning to trade unions, although women are allowed to join them (unions) today, their numbers are still very small and thus their impact is minimal. There are many union officials who go around registering women as members of unions and asking for subscriptions without really explaining to them the purpose of trade unions and how they can derive maximum benefits from them. Women are also known to be content with just being members of a trade union without much interest in participating actively in the union's activities.

This is a sad state of affairs and cannot be allowed to continue. I therefore, urge women trade unionists to be in the forefront in demanding for the recognition of female worker's contribution to national development. Further, within the structures of the trade unions, women do not readily become executive members or full-time officials in the numbers proportional to their general membership. This is in some instances due to the fact that the majority of women workers find that family responsibilities conflict with union work.

Sometimes, women members may not feel that they really belong to the trade union. They may feel oppressed because they are not easily accepted and are not given a sympathetic ear when discussing issues peculiar to working women with family responsibilities. I therefore, recommend that in order to increase women's meaningful participation in trade unions and other labour organisations, there is need for a mass education campaign which informs women on the role of trade unions, the importance of collective bargaining and their general rights as employees.

## Come up with Realistic Recommendations:

A survey to establish the needs of women workers and factors that hinder their active participation in trade unions should be carried out. This is a priority task bearing in mind the inherent problems that women face both at work and at home. In the course of your deliberations you will come up with recommendations that are implementable within our regional means. This is important because if you come up with idealistic type of recommendations, you can be certain that they will prove very difficult to put into practice.

Be innovative in your discussions on the need for effective participation of women in trade unions because as I have already stated, women workers face a barrage of problems both at work and at home which makes it difficult for them to be actively involved in trade unions and other sectors of development. Lastly, I call upon all the participants to this seminar to use the knowledge, information and recommendations that you gain in the course of this seminar to demand for better working conditions for female workers. You should realise, ladies, that unless you fight for rights at your places of employment, nobody will do it for you. You should therefore, work tirelessly for the advancement of women in employment.

In addition, I would like to call upon women in the trade union movement to commit and dedicate themselves to the cause and objectives of the trade union movement.

Without that commitment and dedication, all that I have said and all you hope to achieve as trade unionists will not be fully realised. Women trade unionists should also act selflessly and guard against petty jealousies which can destroy the trade union movement.

I hope that seminars such as these will be held regularly in order to increase co-operation and solidarity amongst trade union movements within the region.



# Planning for Socialist Zimbabwe

With emphasis on the Five-Year National Development Plan

By Comrade Chigudu: Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development

**T**he idea of national economic planning in Zimbabwe was conceived as a direct necessity to transform the socio-economic conditions of the broad masses of the people. It will be recalled that before independence the country had one ministry which dealt with finance and economic issues. The Ministry of Economic Planning was a post independence creation. The desire to strengthen the planning process is further reflected by the proposed setting up of a National Planning Commission, whose nucleus — the National Planning Agency — has already been established and is being developed.

It is, therefore, clear that the plan is seen as an important instrument for the implementation of our economic policy. The experience of planning has not been without difficulties and it is for this reason that we cannot discuss the current Five — Year Development Plan without referring to the economic policy of Growth with Equity enunciated at independence, and the Three-Year Transitional National Development Plan documents which in a way addressed themselves to laying the foundation for the future. Knowledge was gained during the first three or four years of plan formulation and implementation. Some of the learnt lessons have helped us in the drawing up of the Five Year Development Plan while some of the problems remain with us due to certain unfulfilled preconditions for effective national economic planning.

## Defining Socialist Planning

We take it that national socio-economic planning is an intrinsic part of a socialist system, and planned development of the economy is a basic law of socialism. Fundamentally, there are basic preconditions for socialist transformation whose absence cannot only hinder socialist planning, but can make it virtually impossible. It is, however, important to recognise that any country will be guided, and has to take into consideration its concrete social conditions as it charts out its path of development. It is also important to know that planning has a class character and will always be opposed by those whose interests are likely to be prejudiced by transformation of the status quo. The battle for planning is a class battle which can only be won if certain conditions in politics, economics, ideology and culture exist.

Let me briefly single out some of these conditions. Firstly, it is important to have at the helm a political Party, that not only reflects the interest of the working people but is composed of that class. In the economic sphere, a major precondition is the abolition of capitalist property (this can be gradual) or the creation of a state sector and there is need for the assertion of *socialist ideology in the cultural life of the people*. Of particular importance is the composition and status of the planning body itself. The activity of the central planning organ is more effective if it enjoys great political support and is not just a technical, but also an important political body.

## Consider Political and Economic Aspects

Having laid a few basis above, this will hopefully give us some guidance in our experience in planning for socialist Zimbabwe. As stated above, Zimbabwe's management and planning of the economy took cognisance of the political and economic realities of the day and the policy of the Party was concretized in the document "Growth with Equity". Basically, the strategy depends heavily on a dynamic economy and overall expansion which aims "for a rapid expansion of productive sectors than in others without absolute depression of any sector."

It will be noted that at independence the major preoccupation of the Party and Government was the consolidation of political independence and a desire to move away from any adventurist policies that would cause a political upheaval and economic anarchy. Coupled with this consideration was the need to immediately redress the imbalances that existed between "the haves and have nots" by providing basic essential services. In this connection, there was massive expansion in education (both infrastructure and enrolment), health and other social services.

One can say with justification that the Three Year Transitional National Development Plan was ideally meant to facilitate the transition from a war situation to peaceful conditions and it was also meant to set the stage for preparing the transformation of the economy in the following phases of the development process. However, we are all aware that a number of factors militated against change in the intended direction. For example, there was a severe protracted drought during this period which adversely

affected economic performance — there was also the world recession which was equally devastating and of significance is the fact that the ruling Party was trying to find its feet.

Preparations for the drawing up of the First Five Year National Development Plan started before the expiration of the Transitional Plan and, therefore, started from a more realistic note having benefitted from the experience of the first four years in management of the country's economy.

At an institutional level, capacities and capabilities still had to be built and improved in order to facilitate planning. It is common knowledge that the TNDP was never a popularised document and that the masses had not actively participated in either its formulation nor its implementation. No development structures existed to carry out plan tasks.

At the central level, the planning Ministry, in addition to not being decentralised had been re-emerged with the Finance Ministry and as the President stated in January, this arrangement tended to dominate and weaken the planning division. The decision to form a Planning Commission and the setting up of planning structures at all levels such as the VIDCO, DDC, PDC created a more meaningful basis for democratic planning.

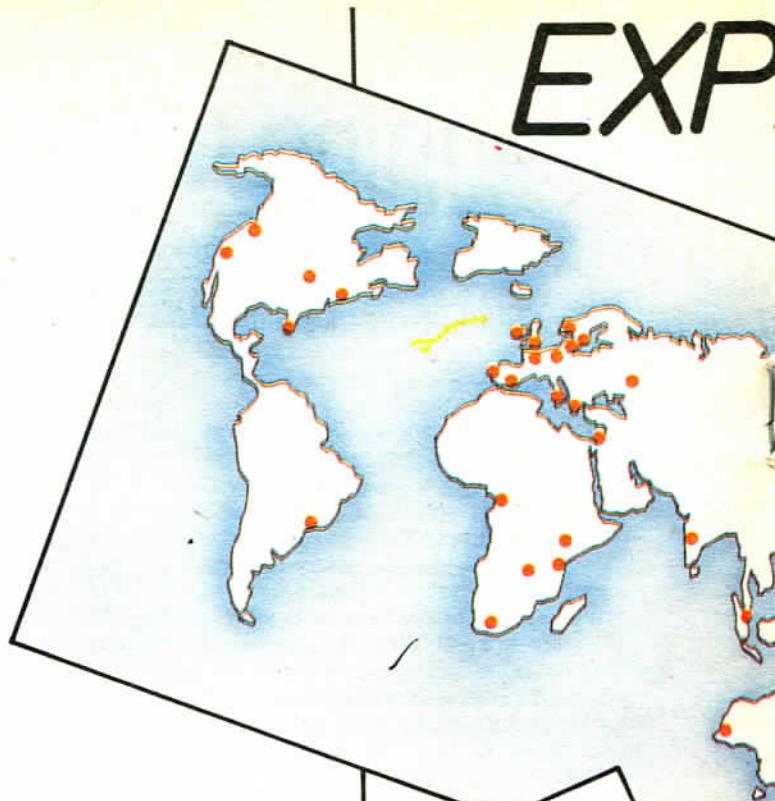
## Economic Transformation and the 5 year National Plan

The need to correctly handle the contradictions within the economy remains paramount. Decisions and strategies for the attainment of our objectives are carefully chosen and they are often based on the level of political maturity (mobilisation) of our people; our current economic commitments both internally and externally, our regional position particularly within SADCC and the international economic climate generally. It would be interesting for us to know that as the Five Year Plan was being formulated a number of scenarios or options were envisioned and each of them thoroughly discussed considering its pros and cons at that point in time.

The 1986–1990 plan put as its primary objectives a number of tasks many of them not different from the previous plan, but some showing a shift in emphasis. The issue of economic expansion remained cen-



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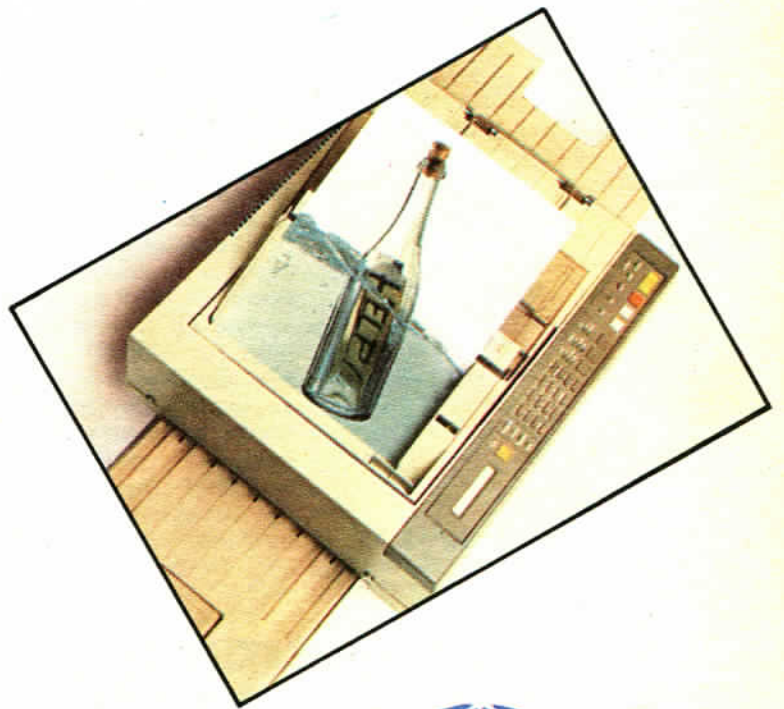


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tral and a target average annual growth rate for the five-year period as a whole was set at 5%. With reasonable resources having been poured into the social sectors, there was a deliberate decision to support the productive sectors more, relative to the social sectors.

## Objectives of the Plan

Six broad objectives are being pursued and these objectives also help in the creation of a technical and material basis for the construction of socialism. Briefly they are:

- a) Transformation and control of the economy and economic expansion. The major thrust in this area is the creation of a state sector and the localisation or creation of national capital. A large part of the capital in the country is foreign-owned and this makes the country not only vulnerable but lose a lot of resources to the centres of multinationals. Various strategies for the attainment of our objectives are spelt out in Volume I of the Five Year Plan. One thing that is clear is that there is less emphasis in socialising the means of production as the conditions are not conducive.
- b) The second objective is the speeding up of land reform and the promotion of efficient utilisation of land. This involves establishment of state farms, cooperatives and the training of farmers so that they can be more productive.
- c) Thirdly, government has as its internal goal raising the standards of living of the entire population. This thrust which started in earnest immediately after independence continues to get priority and cannot be prejudiced by external pressures or any form of conditionality that seek to cut expenditure on the social sector. Programmes in housing, health care services, education, etc. continue to be expanded and the area where the larger population of the poorer is top priority.
- d) Fourthly, and probably one of the most difficult areas is employment creation and manpower development. Employment creation is a function of economic expansion and this is influenced by the level of investment in the country. Through conscious effort, government is channelling resources to those areas that have potential for creating employment.

This bias is already being reflected by the projects and programmes that are now being admitted into the annual Public Sector Investment Programme. Manpower development ranks high in the Plan priorities. The National manpower survey carried out in 1981/82 clearly revealed the level of skills in the country and the need to train and provide such skills for better management and running of the economy. Complementary to this effort is the imparting of progressive political consciousness among the workers through the Congress of Trade Unions and Workers Committees at the various places of work.

- e) The development of Science and Technology is at the base of the advancement of any society. The major weakness of most of the developing countries is heavy reliance on foreign technology. This creates dependence and loss of foreign currency through imports. The plan has, as its objective, promotion of scientific research in order to develop endogenous technology. A characteristic of a neocolonial economy is the absence of linking of extractive industries to the manufacturing sector. The creation of an integrated economy is an important stage in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.
- f) Lastly, the plan considers the preservation and management of its natural resources as primary as it is a heritage for the prosperity of the country.

## Pre-conditions for the Success of a Plan

The various strategies being employed for the attainment of the above objectives may be questionable as we may not guarantee the successful implementation of the Plan. A Plan is only good and will have served its purpose if it can be implemented successfully. The tasks of plan implementation is an obligation of all participants in economic activity. History and experience show us that there are certain important preconditions that should be fulfilled if the plans have to be realized. These experiences are being realized and taken into consideration as we try to build and improve our national planning machinery. It is necessary to briefly mention some of these.

- i) There is need for effective instruments of Plan implementation. There is need for adequate financial resources, and central to this one is our taxation policy (for accumulation purposes), and our utilisation of "aid".
- ii) Productive state investments constitute the most direct measure at the disposal of the government in plan implementation.
- iii) There is need for use of indirect incentives and regulators to stimulate certain activities and regulate others. Fiscal, customs, credit, wages and prices, policies are some of the instruments. Their effectiveness tends to work in market economies.
- iv) Also important is the formulation of annual plans as these should be used to monitor the medium plans. Secondly, the plan cannot be formulated in the context of the state budget. The budget cannot be mixed up with the plan nor can it be substituted for the plan.
- v) Lastly, one of the major weaknesses as observed in plan implementation is lack of relevant and effective supervision. There are also strong monopolies which tend to frustrate planning efforts.

We consider the planning process as one that requires continuous improvement as we live in a dynamic situation. The contents of plan and the techniques of planning can change as we professionally and technologically improve but the goals remain the same. The experience in the socialist countries which have been planning their economies for decades now, tells us what we can expect.

The successful implementation of the Five Year Plan will definitely depend on a number of factors such as political stability in the country and loyalty to the plan objectives on the part of all actors in the development process.

One would say the Plan is basically not socialist in character but it tries to build the foundation for socialist construction. It aims at reducing foreign dependence, and is largely financed through local resources. The parastatals, which form part of the public sector, are being strengthened in order to direct the economy and the social and economic differences between the urban and countryside is being abolished. Such a democratic process is a prerequisite for socialist transformation.

## Dhlakama in South Africa

The traitor Alfonso Dhlakama, the so-called leader of the MNR visited South Africa last month. He had gone to get instructions from his bosses on how to continue the man slaughter of the Mozambiquan population by the MNR bandits. Dhlakama is not in control of the MNR. He is just an agent of South Africa.

He is an agent with serious problems because the bandit organisation has little international strength and national strife. This month one of the main bandit leaders, one time Secretary General of the MNR, Mr. Ivo Fernandes was murdered in Lisbon. Last month two officials of the same organisation were murdered in Malawi. And Dhlakama

himself is being hunted by the other faction within the MNR. They want to kill him.

The report given to the public by a former official of the MNR, MR. P. Oliveira is revealing. He has now defected to the government in Maputo and has revealed the national strife in the organisation, the South African BOSS (Bureau of State Security) as well as the American CIA and the Portuguese PIDE. As a result there is severe clash of personalities and countries which result in assassinations.

The MNR are now seriously demoralised and are now looking for protection from FRELIMO solidiers. FRELIMO solidiers give them that protection and that support they need to be rehabilitated into the community.



# OCCZIM and National Transformation of the Economy

By Johannes Chitewo



**Hard work**

The Organisation of Collective Co-operatives in Zimbabwe was formed on 3rd and 4th September 1983 by 77 collective co-operatives. This came about as a result of various problems, interests and co-ordination difficulties that emanated from all collective co-operatives of various economic sectors that had established themselves since independence in 1980.

Predominant problems were as follows:

- a) Lack of access of financial institutions both government and non governmental.
- b) Lack of experience and managerial skills.
- c) Lack of both formal and informal education.
- d) Lack of publicity and information on co-operatives among co-operatives themselves as well as nationally.

With these set-backs, collective co-operatives decided to unite and form a representative body, at national level with the objective of:

- a) identifying and collectively sectionalise all problems of co-operatives and find collective solutions to them.
- b) represent and work as a mouth piece

on behalf of the collective co-operatives.

- c) Lobby with government and non-governmental organisations.
- d) Assist Co-operatives to form district unions and strengthen the co-operative movement.

## Objectives

All these problems mentioned above and many others were tackled and are still being pursued to try to make the co-operative movement achieve sooner or later three main objectives:

- a) to assist and improve the socio-economic standards of co-operative members through collective production.
- b) Collective co-operatives to contribute to and to take over in the long run, the national production on all economic sectors on collective bases.
- c) Setting and projecting the road and direction to socialism as a national policy.

This is not an easy task since a lot of field work, mass mobilization, conscientisation and funding are of paramount necessity.

OCCZIM has now formed District and Provincial Unions to strengthen the co-operative structures to increase the proficiency of the organisation at primary, secondary and national levels. OCCZIM has gone further and produced a 5 year National Plan to be able to identify developmental stages and evaluate work data and objectives in co-operatives and recommend them to the government for joint approach to national issues concerning collective co-operatives and possible financial, infrastructural and extension resources. We envisage the creation and combination of the Ministry of Community and Co-operative Development and Women's Affairs, — as a very positive gesture by our government towards achieving the socio-economic standards of the co-operatives and most importantly the creation of a socialist through collective production in all economic sectors.

The organisation has grown from 77 in 1983 to about 611 today. OCCZIM shall continue to ensure that the above mentioned objectives are realized by eroding capitalist structures and build a socialist mode of production and enhance socialist economic atmosphere and to develop socialist mentalities throughout the whole country.





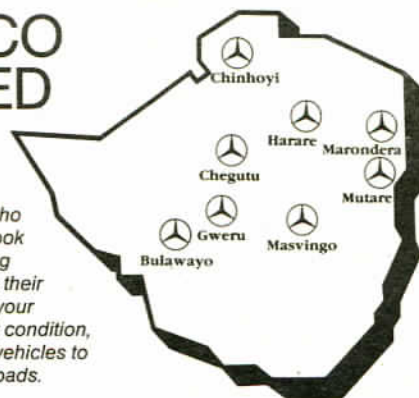
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# In Defence of the Civil Servants

By Torongo H. Torongo.

## TALKING POINT

If you hear of corruption, recalcitrance, laziness, arrogance, anarchy, or delays in the name of red-tape, then someone is talking of the Civil Servants. These citizens, my heart bleeds for them sometimes, are attacked, abused and labelled all sorts from left right and centre. They are accused for having done everything wrong or for not having done anything at all.

People say "there is no smoke without fire" and yet we must remember that we can have fire with no smoke at all.

Now — what is the justification for all the allegations and accusations levelled against the Civil Servants? What is the role of the Civil Servants in society and in development? Although everybody knows that generalisation is wicked some people seem to enjoy to paint the Civil Servants with the same contaminated brush whose paint is so corrosive that the faces of all these people have been dismembered. Why?

Perhaps it helps as it will keep them on their toes but the danger is human beings become so hardened to a point where they might risk adopting a laissez-faire attitude at the peril of their occupations.

An objective analysis of the situation, the truth nothing else but the truth will reveal that:-

1. Some Civil Servants fought for Political Independence now together with others who inherited independence they are fighting for Economic Independence.
2. Civil Servants are the agents for change; catalysts that should help accelerate the developmental process and transformation of society.
3. They are involved from Birth to Death of all the citizens of the country i.e. at birth — Nurses and Doctors assist — then a Birth Certificate is issued — who is there? The Civil Servant. As the child grows it goes to school and another Civil Servant is there to take care of business of educating and making the young Zimbabwean a full citizen by giving the child the knowledge, the skills and moulding the attitudes towards the acceptable ways of life. The child might go on up to University. He/She will one day get married — someone will issue the Marriage Certificate and finally at Death — the final Certificate is issued.
4. Civil Servants are not just *pen pushers* as other people might want to believe, they *help* formulate policies for the state, they translate those policies and finally implement them.

## Civil Servants and the Five-Year National Development Plan

Because of the role played by these people the Development Plans, in particular the 5 Year National Development Plan should be the Bible for all Civil Servants. Each and everyone of them should ask:

- a) Who am I?
- b) Where I am going?
- c) What have I achieved since joining the service? What is it that is attributable to my efforts that has been successfully realised by my organisation, ministry or department?
- d) How can I best do my work to efficiently achieve those objectives of the government?
- e) Am I the ideal Civil Servant. One who is a loyal citizen dedicated worker and committed Zimbabwean socialist.

Indeed everybody needs the Civil Servants — whether they be Politicians, Peasants/Workers and Employers, even the fauna and flora need a helping hand from these people!

- Having said all that one finds regrettably that at implementation stage one comes across the (nhinhi's) cogs-in-the-whole-works. Few in numbers they may be these cogs spoil the broth.
- Unhappily sometimes one finds people with no commitment and no conscience.

They see themselves as Masters rather than servants, they compete instead of cooperating, they abscond from work but still demand a 100% pay packet. Bureaucratic dictatorship, and better-than-you attitude are the order of the day in these filthy camps — What next?

## The Party to Direct Civil Servants

People must be vigilant against such reactionaries, the People's party ZANU (PF) should also have some mechanism to check who is working where and how? Corrupt officials must be weeded out, uprooted completely and thrown away where they will be forgotten.

The people, the Party and Government must have their cadres to work for them, only ZANU (PF) cadres.

This calls for stock-taking of all those who are in the employ of government. If they are not members of the party then how can they promote the philosophies, ideologies and aspirations of the government? It would appear we have now reached a stage where it is not the question of whether or not we should have a one ZANU (PF) party Civil Service but when this will be implemented.

The time has also come for peasants to examine the civil servants that work in their respective areas.

Some Headmasters and teachers have been known to be away from their schools and pupils. Children have failed and are failing because of lack of guidance. (I said some not all Headmasters and teachers). Now parents cannot take any recourse to anyone because the same teachers are the councillors and also are in the Political leadership for our party ZANU (PF). Besides these two portfolios they might have some business concerns in the areas they operate. Now, no matter how hard working one is how can one person be, a businessman, a councillor, a political leader at various levels and a teacher? How does he manage? The peasants themselves vote in these characters who end up under-developing their areas. Maybe the time has also come for the party machinery to investigate who is who, where and what is being done where and how. If this situation is not checked some rural areas will remain under-developed.

The said teachers and some of their kind are often seen drinking liquor during working hours. Maybe I have been a bit unfair to those hard working civil servants in the rural areas who are indeed combatants for development, but all I am saying is those that are not what they should be — should be reported to the appropriate authorities who should rid our vital resource base of such ingrates. They should not be like thieves who want to reap where they never sowed.

To the rest, keep up the good work. Working for a stronger Zimbabwe with dedication, loyalty and commitment to the People, the Party and the Government.



# Disarmament and Development

*By Our Defence Correspondence*

**P**resident Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev are going to meet again in Moscow on 29 May to 2 June 1988. They will be discussing the crucial question of disarmament. At their meeting last December, they agreed to destroy medium range nuclear weapons. They are now going to discuss and possibly agree on the destruction of fifty percent of the long range nuclear weapons. They are still to discuss the short range as well as the conventional weapons. The super powers have amassed billions upon billions of dollars worth of weapons that are capable of destroying the whole world. After storing these lethal weapons, and spending billions of dollars on them, it appears that common sense is beginning to have an effect. The voices of people who have been calling for disarmament since the 1930s are beginning to be heard. Also, the voices of the Non-Aligned Movement as well as the masses of people in the Third World are also beginning to be heard. The Agreement of last December provides for destroying five percent of the nuclear weapons that they have. It is very small but an important step forward. At least, instead of killing some innocent hu-

man beings in the Third World, some weapons will actually be destroyed and thrown away. We wish the Moscow summit all success.

If the super powers agree to stop producing arms, as well as destroy those they have already stored away, there are many implications both for them and for us. The first implication is what to do with the factories that have been set up to produce these arsenal of arms. What to do with the personnel — the scientists, the physicists, and all those people who have been engaged in the armament industry. And furthermore, what will be done with the raw material, largely from the Third World, that have been used in the production of these arms. We all know that the uranium and the steel that is used in making weapons comes from Africa directly or other Third World countries. What will happen to these factories, these men, and these raw materials. The technology that has been developed over the years is immense. It includes work that is being done in universities, in research institutions, and in various departments of government. If this work all comes to a stop, the facto-

ries and the men who work in them have to be re-directed towards other more useful purposes. This is a big challenge to the modern world.

## Direct the Money for Useful Purposes

In our view, it is absolutely necessary to set up a special fund for disarmament and development which will be responsible for re-directing the money and resources that have been going into the war machines into development purposes. The words "turning swords into plough shares" appear to have real meaning to the world at this particular time. A fund of this kind could be controlled by the super powers themselves and the Non-Aligned Movement, or be channelled through the specialised agencies of the United Nations. It would give impetus to the work of organisations such as FAO, WHO, UNESCO, and UNDP. Mechanisms could be set up to ensure that the money does reach the poor people in different parts of the world.

The view of many sceptics in Africa is that the disarmament process will not benefit the

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Third World generally or Africa in particular by one iota. It is felt that any savings will be diverted to other military purposes in the industrialised world, or to their own development there. While this view is based on many historical experiences, we can take seriously the statements of General Secretary Gorbachev that he would like to democratize the international system and to distribute more equitably the wealth that exists in the world. The commitment of General Secretary Gorbachev to new thinking and a new order is the single and strongest new factor in this situation.

## Discussion of Regional Conflicts

The second factor we would like to see dis-

cussed fully at the Moscow summit is the regional conflicts. The regional conflicts in the Third World are causing much suffering to innocent people and loss of much needed financial and economic resources to poor countries. We have in mind conflicts such as Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Middle East, Iran and Iraq, the Central American region, and of course Southern Africa. These conflicts should be a point of major concern to the super powers because they are responsible for the origins of the conflicts in some of these countries. Indeed, many of the conflicts listed above are continuing because the super powers are giving weapons and resources to opposing sides in the conflicts. If it were not for the activities of the super powers, some of these con-

licts could have been resolved a long time ago. So, we would like to see a thorough discussion of the regional conflicts and a resolution of them. But of course, no resolution of these conflicts could take place or could last without the support of the Non-Aligned Movement in the disarmament discussions. It is also important to involve the United Nations, leading up to a resolution of the Security Council which would take the form of a covenant or a solemn charter committing all nations to the destruction of all lethal weapons. Involvement, as well as all the small powers of this world is absolutely important if the agreements struck by the super powers are going to have a long and lasting effect of bringing peace and security to the world as a whole. □

# Africa Tomorrow

By Edem Kodjo (The Continuum Publishing Company, 1987)

## BOOK REVIEW

"Today Africa battles it out. Its destiny appears uncertain and its future precarious. It is part and parcel of this world, yet it appears to be left out. To revive it, and put it back in the forefront thus becomes our duty. We believe it necessary to secure its recognition by all nations." These are the opening words in Edem Kodjo's groundbreaking book — *Africa Today* — which was first published with great acclaim in France in 1985.

Kodjo views Africa as a continent of paradox. Immense and placed at the dawn of the universe, Africa occupies one-fifth of the earth's surface — and yet suffers an "intolerable absence" in world affairs impinging on its own destiny. Today more than 35 million Africans are threatened by horrible famine — and yet there are more than a billion acres of arable land that could be developed to help feed other parts of the world as well as Africa's own people. The continent contains fabulous resources, great peoples, underground treasures — but at the same time the greatest numbers of least-developed countries. To break out of this predicament, Kodjo boldly proposes that the continent should be unified.

*Africa Today* begins with an illuminating analysis of African history, the genesis of Africa's economic development, its relations with other nations throughout the colonial and post-colonial eras, and makes valuable historical comparisons between Africa and other continents and countries today in order to formulate its courageous solution, its alternative to despair. Kodjo's important proposals for a rationalized pan-Africanism

and unity for survival are premised on both history and present realities.

Unification has served to transform many peoples into powerful nations, and Kodjo shows how history is abundant with examples that Africans can contemplate to their advantage: the USA, USSR, Germany, France, Great Britain, and China. Even today, the European Economic Community is testimony to the fact that in the face of resurgent conflicts and outside forces, unity is the surest guarantor of salvation. "The difficulties that beset contemporary Africa are principally rooted in the territorial shredding of the continent, the nefarious consequences of which take the form of national economies incapable of developing because of geographical, economic, and political reasons," he asserts. "To accept this truth, and to strive for territorial unification, is the prime duty of those who dream of the rebirth of an African power, all the more so as we could draw inspiration from the very recent history of the big powers."

In a chapter dealing with what he terms "The Paradox of Independence", Kodjo makes some sobering observations. The African peoples, he maintains, fought for independence to remove foreign domination. They believed that the departure of the colonizer would herald the regeneration of Africa. This was the reason why on the morrow of independence the leaders of the national liberation struggle prepared modern programmes for the revival of their countries. Because independence was incapable of operating that indispensable self-refocusing, as compared to the orientations

in force during the colonial era, the African states, within the prevailing international context, seem to be ever more dependent.

"Everywhere in Africa disillusionment has surely set in," says Kodjo. Having forgotten the tribulations of colonization, people wonder: how long will independence last? Since 1960, in spite of several initial good performances, the African continent has sunk into poverty, to the extent of being considered by one and all, including Africans themselves, as the continent of poverty."

## Population Question

Edem Kodjo is perhaps at his most controversial when he deals with the population question. Against all conventional views on population which emphasise the need for controls in Africa, Kodjo says: "In spite of the problems besetting the continent, the present African population can in the final analysis become a force that could be judiciously used to harness optimal human resources, not only in terms of the present, but in terms of those to be developed tomorrow... Population growth is an investment in the future. It is clear that, whatever certain international organisations proclaim, the Malthusian thesis should be taken the other way around: it is not population that should be reduced, it is economic policies that should be reformed."

Kodjo questions the motives of those from the West who advocate population control in Africa. "To preach the demographic renaissance of the industrialized world on



the one hand, and advocate the limitation of population growth in the rest of the world on the other, indeed seems suspicious."

## Sociopsychological Factors

Although some reviewers have said that the originality of *Africa Tomorrow* lies in its daring proposals to unify the great diverse continent "where history began", there is another aspect which makes Kodjo's work unique. Unlike the majority of books on Africa's plight which stress the economic

dimension in their analyses, Kodjo emphasises sociopsychological factors.

"For contemporary African society to move itself into the modern world, it needs to undergo an absolute metamorphosis on the philosophical plane. This means an integration of the concept that Africans have of the world, the idea they have of nature and life, and the generative aspects of the Promethean vision of man. This implies a real intellectual and moral revolution, squarely geared to creating a new personality, a new mentality that prepares Africans to master the world. Rather than constantly contemplat-

ing self reclusion, which is nothing but destructive venerability, the African owes it to himself to come to grips with surrounding nature to get the best of it, without at the same time succumbing to noxious imitation in the process of development," says Kodjo.

Edem Kodjo, who served as Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) from 1978 to 1983, after a distinguished career as Finance Minister and Foreign Minister of Togo, now lives in Paris where he lectures on development economics at Sorbonne, and is recognised as one of the world's leading authorities on Africa.

# Regional Conflicts of the World

By Our Correspondent

## A) The Afghanistan Problem

The problem in Afghanistan goes back to 1979 when the Soviet Union sent in its troops into Afghanistan, ostensibly to prevent Afghanistan falling into the American sphere of influence. At the time there was an apprehension on the part of the Soviet Union that after losing Iran, the Americans were intent on using Afghanistan as a rear base to watch events in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union did not approve of a United States controlled government in Kabul on its door-step.

Since that time the war in Afghanistan escalated and became bitter. Soviet troop contingent in Afghanistan has since swelled to over 100 000. The cost of the war has become unacceptably high for the Soviet Union. Over 25 000 Soviet troops are said to have died in Afghanistan since the invasion began. In addition reports of mutinies and desertions in Soviet battalions serving in Afghanistan have filtered through.

The majority Afghanists appear to be against the Soviet involvement in their country. Over three million Afghan nationals are refugees in Pakistan. They have formed a national resistance movement, Mujahedeen, based in the Peshawar region of Pakistan. The mujahedeen guerillas have successfully carried out an effective guerilla war against Soviet troops in Afghanistan. There have been reports that the Mujahedeen control about three quarters of Afghanistan. Of course, the United States and Pakistan governments have aided the Mujahedeen with material assistance running into billion of dollars over the past eight years.

There has been almost total condemnation of the Soviet Union for its invasion of Afghanistan from the international community. The new leadership in Moscow headed by Secretary General Gorbachov is now convinced that now is the time for the Soviet Union to cut its losses in Afghanistan. In-

deed the Soviet Union recently announced that it intends to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan from May 15, 1988 if the proximity talks in Geneva between itself and Pakistan lead to a signing of an agreement by 15 March 1988. At the time of writing, agreement had not been reached in Geneva mainly due to Pakistan's insistence that a coalition government that includes the Mujahedeen should be installed in Kabul to replace the Najibullah government in Kabul. To underline its seriousness of purpose, the Soviet Union has just declared that even in the absence of a peace agreement being reached in Geneva, the Soviet Union will pull out its troops from that country as planned.

Pakistan appears to be worried if not concerned that if the right conditions are not created for the return of the three million Afghan nationals presently in Pakistan to Afghanistan, it might be stuck with the refugee problem indefinitely. Pakistan argues that unless the Majahedeens are involved in the present peace process in Afghanistan, it would be naive to expect the opposition groups to honour the provisions of any signed agreement. Pakistan is also concerned that should a civil war break out in Afghanistan, that situation would be bound to affect adversely the security of Pakistan. The Soviet Union on the other hand appears to argue that after removing its troops from Afghanistan, the Afghans should be in a position to sort out their domestic political arrangements in peace because external influences will have been removed from the scene. As matters stand, it appears that it will take several years before Afghanistan has a properly constituted democratic government that guarantees peace for everyone.

## B) The Middle East

The Middle East question evolves around the question of Palestine. When the state of Israel was created in 1948 in the then Pales-

tine, the Jews took all the land and drove out the Arabs and made them stateless people. Over the years there have been wars fought between Israel, supported by the United States mainly, and the Arab countries in the region on this question of a homeland for the displaced Palestinians. There was a war in 1956, another in 1967, and the last one in 1973. During these wars Israel has occupied more Arab territories and displaced even more Arab nationals. For the Arab nationals living in Israeli controlled West Bank and Gaza Strip, life has been tough and harsh due to Israeli brutalities and oppression almost along the lines of apartheid South Africa's repression against the black population.

Since its formation in 1969, the Palestine Liberation Organisation PLO, under the wise leadership of Comrade Yasser Arafat has been at the forefront to try to regain the homeland for his people.

The majority of the international community is agreed that the only way to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict is to convene an International Peace Conference. Israel refuses that such a conference be convened under the auspices of the United Nations. The United States, although it has not opposed the idea of the conference, considers that bilateral negotiations between individual Arab States to be the most useful way of resolving the Palestinian problem. The PLO of course would not entertain any basis for negotiations which do not address the issue of a creation of a Palestinian state.

Israel's policies and practices in occupied territories are criticized because it violates the relevant Geneva Convention on prisoner status in the treatment meted to civilians in occupied territories. Human rights violations on an extensive scale have been a feature of Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza in recent months. In response to Palestinian protests and unrest, Israeli armed forces have used lethal force and indiscriminate beatings on demonstrators and



others in occupied territories opposed to continued Israeli administration. Leaders of the Palestinian community have been detained or deported to Lebanon. Demonstrators and other protesters are handed before military tribunals, summarily tried and sentenced to prison terms.

## C) Central America

### (i) Nicaragua

The United States government's involvement in Nicaragua goes back to 1909. In 1933, the United States marines withdraw from Nicaragua but left behind a disciplined National Guard trained, armed, financed and maintained by the United States. The Somoza family oligarchy then ruled Nicaragua until they were overthrown in 1979. The Somoza dynasty was characterised by gross corruption and violations of personal liberties.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front, formed in 1962, became increasingly active in the 1970s and by May 1979 it had formed a Junta of 5 members. After the defeat of the Somoza regime, executive power was vested in a 3-man Junta with Comrade Daniel Ortega Saavedra as coordinator. The Junta was assisted by an 18-man council of Government.

Soon after taking power, the Junta issued a statute providing for basic personal freedoms and abolishing the death penalty. It nationalised 40 percent of the country's industrial capacity, introduced agrarian reform and raised literacy.

There were opposition protests in 1981 after elections were postponed. Over 2 000 ex-National Council members started operating from Honduras, marking the beginning of a violent counter-revolutionary activity.

Elections were finally held in 1984 and Comrade Ortega assumed office in 1985. The government declared that it is committed to establishing a mixed economy and seeking a peaceful solution to the conflict in Central America.

The majority of the people appear to be behind Comrade Ortega's government despite serious economic hardships and problems as a result of military activities of counter-revolutionaries (contras) and the military and economic pressures exerted by the United States of America.

## Hostile USA — Nicaragua Relations

Relations between Nicaragua and its neighbours — Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador — are tense as a consequence of the hostile US-Nicaraguan relations. Both Honduras and Costa Rica harbour and provide bases for the CONTRAS and cross border incidents between these countries have been a source of tension and instability in Central America.

The difficult relations and mistrust that exists between Nicaragua and the United States, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica has bogged down the Contadora peace initiative spearheaded by Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Columbia. While Nicaragua

agreed to sign the agreement for Peace and Cooperation in Central America presented by the Contadora Group, Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica, at the instigation of the United States, refused to sign the document. The international community is behind the Contadora peace initiative. The United States is only interested in overthrowing the government in Managua.

United States policy towards Nicaragua is intended to destabilise the economy, generate economic difficulties in the hope of provoking domestic discontent with the government with the objective of overthrowing the Sandinista government. United States opposition stems from its obsessive fear of communism and its determination to frustrate appearance of a second "Cuba".

Besides denying bilateral financial aid to Nicaragua, the United States has also pressured multilateral financial organisations to deny aid to Nicaragua. United States economic, commercial and financial pressures have culminated in the trade embargo in effect since 7 May 1985.

The United States has also financed and aided the contras by providing \$10 million in 1981, \$19 million in 1982 and last year \$27 million was granted to the contras for "non-lethal" purposes.

Nicaragua must have been relieved recently when Congress voted to cut off all forms of aid to the contras. But President Reagan has not given up his campaign to arm the contras. At the time of writing over two thousand US troops were rushed to Honduras to beef up the contras. US troops have played a major role in the air raids being carried out on Nicaraguan territory from Honduras.

## The Ceasefire Agreement

The Nicaraguan government has continued to pursue direct negotiations with the representatives of the contras. Ceasefire negotiations have proved successful. Both parties agreed to suspend offensive military operations throughout Nicaragua for 60 days commencing 1st April 1988. During the period, comprehensive negotiations towards a permanent ceasefire will take place and implemented jointly with other commitments contemplated under the Central American Peace Accords to end the war.

### ii) Panama

Manifestations of United States imperialist manoeuvres are also evident in the present political crisis in Panama. Panama has been living in a crisis since 26 February after President Eric Delvalle's aborted attempt on 25 February to dismiss General Antonio Noriega. The action ended in Mr. Delvalle's own removal by the Legislative Assembly after being accused of violating the constitution. Ex-Minister of Education, Solis Palma is now the acting Head of State.

The United States government has not accepted the call by Mr. Palma to maintain normal diplomatic and trade relations with Panama and respect his country's sovereignty and dignity. Instead, the Reagan administration has imposed a series of sanctions to force Noriega to resign and

leave Panama. The United States placed \$6.5 million in monthly Panama canal fees in escrow, put a freeze on user fees for a trans Panama pipeline, an end to special trade pact for Panama's exports to the United States, and stricter checks for drugs and money on Panamanian travellers arriving in the United States.

## US Imposes Sanctions

The sanctions have set off a wave of strikes and demonstrations against the government of Panama. Civil servants are going unpaid and Panama is finding it difficult to meet its bills and other obligations. There has been an attempted coup against the Noriega government. The times are difficult for Noriega but so far he has ridden the storm against pressure to remove him from office. The military is by and large behind Noriega.

Noriega has rightly accused the United States government of violating the Canal treaties by imposing the sanctions. Over the years General Noriega has been at odds with Washington. He was indicted by federal courts on drug trafficking and racketeering charges. At the time of writing there are reports that the charges were dropped on foreign policy concerns. Washington must have felt embarrassed by the charges and yet putting pressure on Noriega to resign.

## D) Angola

Closer to home in Angola, United States imperialist designs are also causing untold suffering and hardships for the people of Angola. Since the United States announced its constructive engagement policy several years ago, the fighting in Angola has intensified and become even bloodier and worse — the prospects for a negotiated settlement have even become more remote.

The linkage of the removal of Cuban troops to the attainment of Namibian independence has complicated the war and negotiation process supposed to bring peace to Angola. South African troops continue to invade and occupy Angolan territory at will.

At the time of writing there are reports that Angola has proposed to the United States that Cuban troops deployed in Angola can be moved northwards to the 13th parallel provided that the South African and United States governments cease their military support to UNITA. A flurry of diplomatic activity is in progress to consider this proposal. Foreign Minister Pick Botha and Chester Crocker of the United States met in Geneva. From the Angolan point of view, the proposal, if accepted, does not appear to change much the situation on the ground. It appears fair to say that without South African and United States involvement in Angola, national reconciliation should have been achieved in Angola. UNITA cannot stand on its own if it were not for the backing of South African troops and United States military aid and assistance. South Africa has rejected the latest Angolan peace proposals underlining the point that the racist regime is not interested in participating in serious negotiations that should eventually lead to its pulling out of Namibia and Southern Angola.



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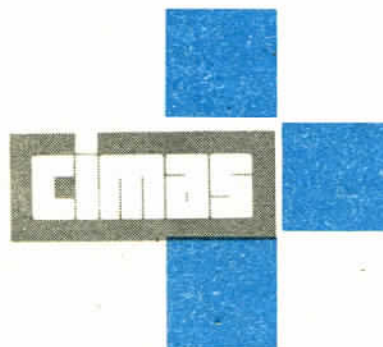
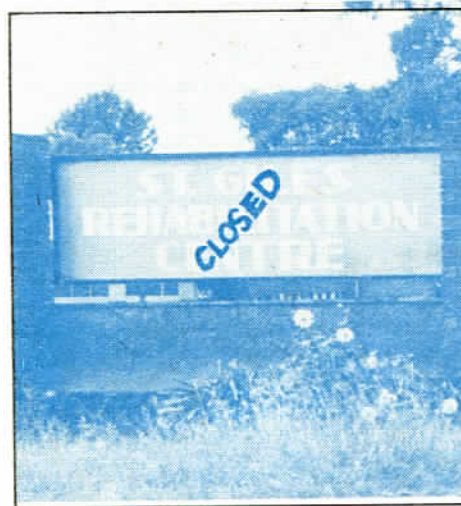
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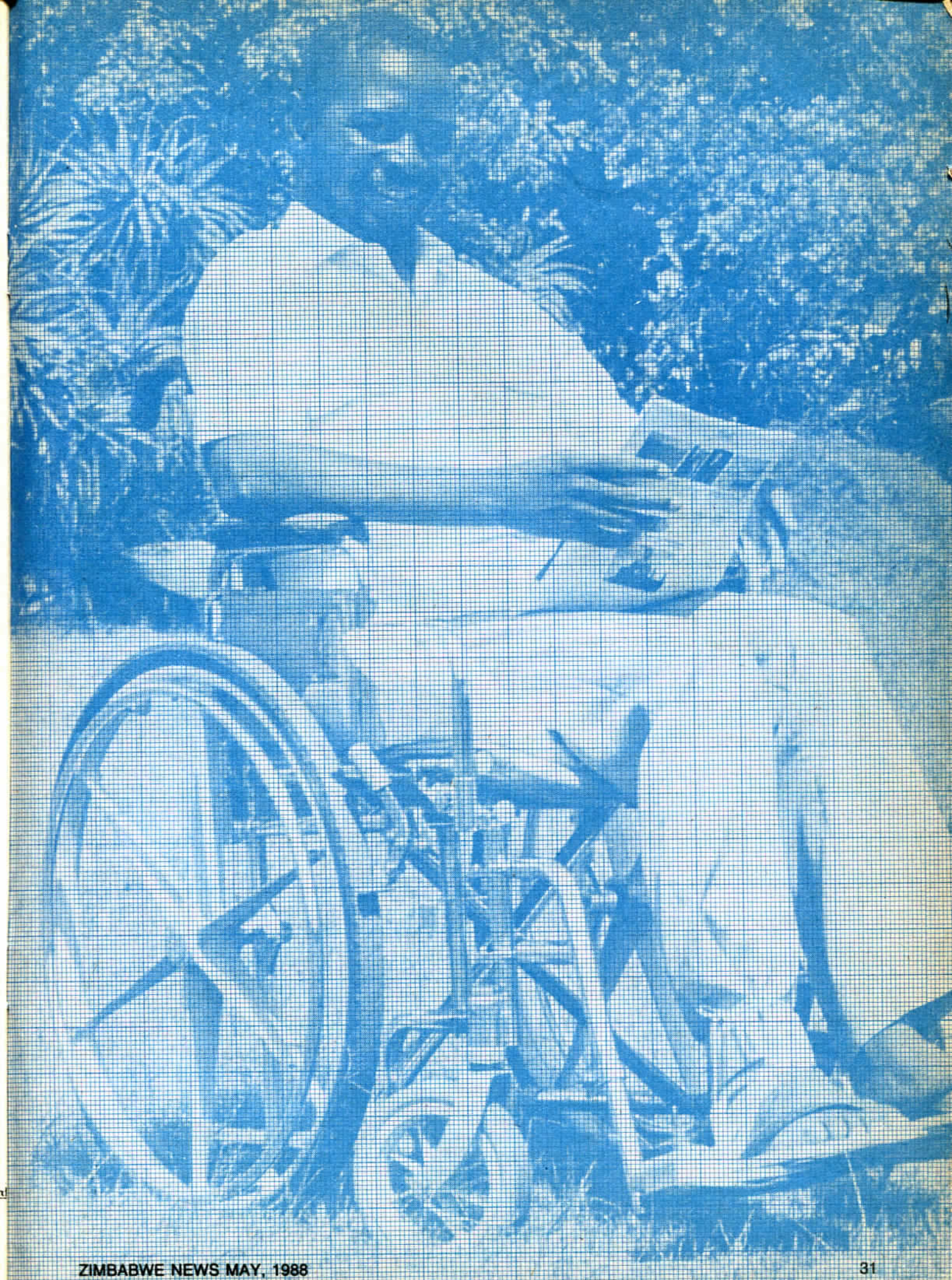
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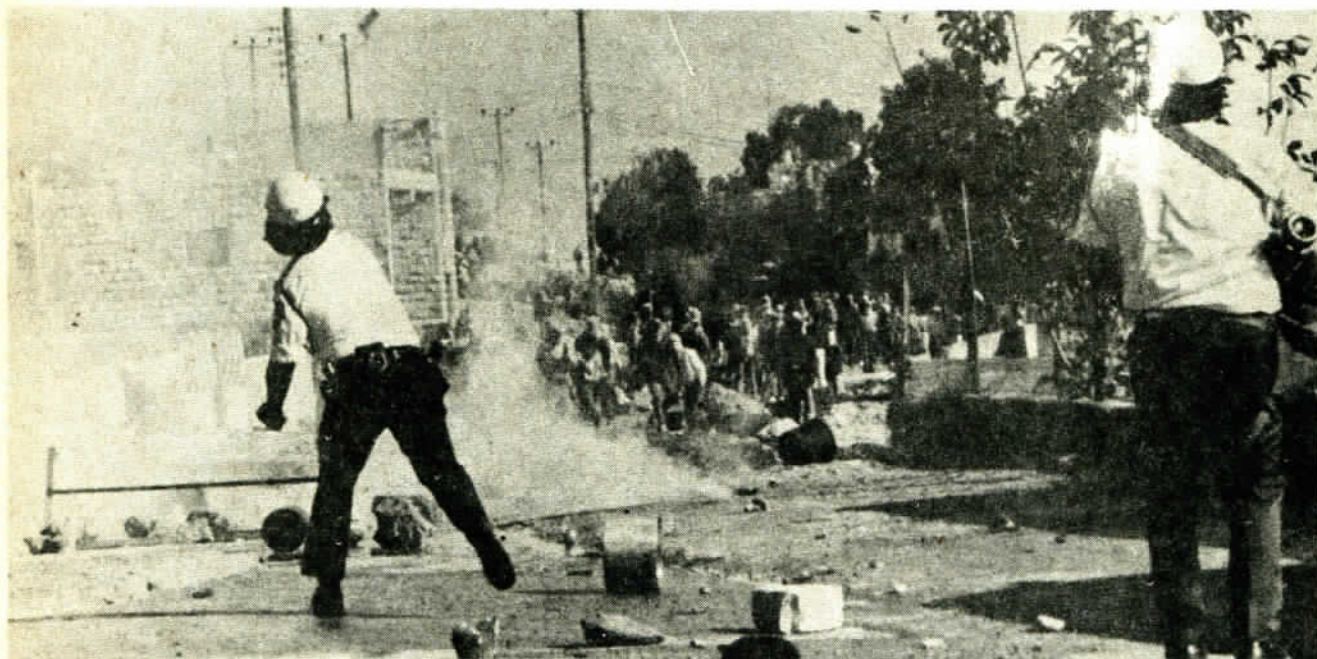
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# Palestinian Struggle: The Call for an International Conference



Israeli police throw teargas and shoot into crowds of unarmed Palestinian civilians

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), through its Chairman Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, recently called on the world community to convene an international conference to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and restore the rights of Palestinians in their homeland. The call was made in a letter addressed to Dr Javier Perez De Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations, appealing through him to the international community "to take effective steps to bring an immediate halt to this campaign of terrorism against innocent Palestinians."

The NAM intervention highlighted the growing world concern and sense of outrage over the rising tension in the Middle East, and the need for effective action to find a solution to the conflict acceptable to all sides. This article looks at the diplomatic moves aimed at resolving the dispute now under way, and assesses their chances of success.

The British journal *The Economist* carried an article on the Middle East in one of its recent editions which said the area was witnessing one of its "slow bicycle races", an event that takes place when the Americans come along with a "worthy peace initiative" nobody really likes. "The trick is to pedal as slowly as you can without toppling over, in the hope that another contestant will fall first, and so get America's blame for blocking the initiative."

The article was referring to the latest peace plan put forward by Mr. George Shultz, the American secretary for state, and the slow, unenthusiastic response which it received from Jerusalem and Arab capitals. Mr. Shultz's plan was spelt out in a brief letter to Israel and its neighbours. The plan calls on Israel to start talks with its neighbours soon — perhaps at the beginning of May this year. The most important talks would be those between Israel and a joint delegation of Palestinian and Jordanians. The two sides would be asked to agree, within six months, on "transitional arrangements" giving the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza a measure of self-government for a period of three years. Within seven months they would have to start talking about how much occupied land Israel will eventually give up, and then to whom.

## American Plan disregards PLO

The American plan contains some strange elements. While calling for negotiations between Israel and "each of its neighbours which is willing to do so", the plan says the talks should be preceded by an international conference to which all five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council would be invited. The international conference envisaged by the Americans, however, "will not be able to impose solu-

tions or veto agreements reached." Put in more direct language, the Americans — who have opposed the idea for a long time — are now including the element of an international conference to appease world opinion, but without any intention of seeing it playing a meaningful contribution. The American plan stresses the primacy of bilateral talks between Israelis and Arabs.

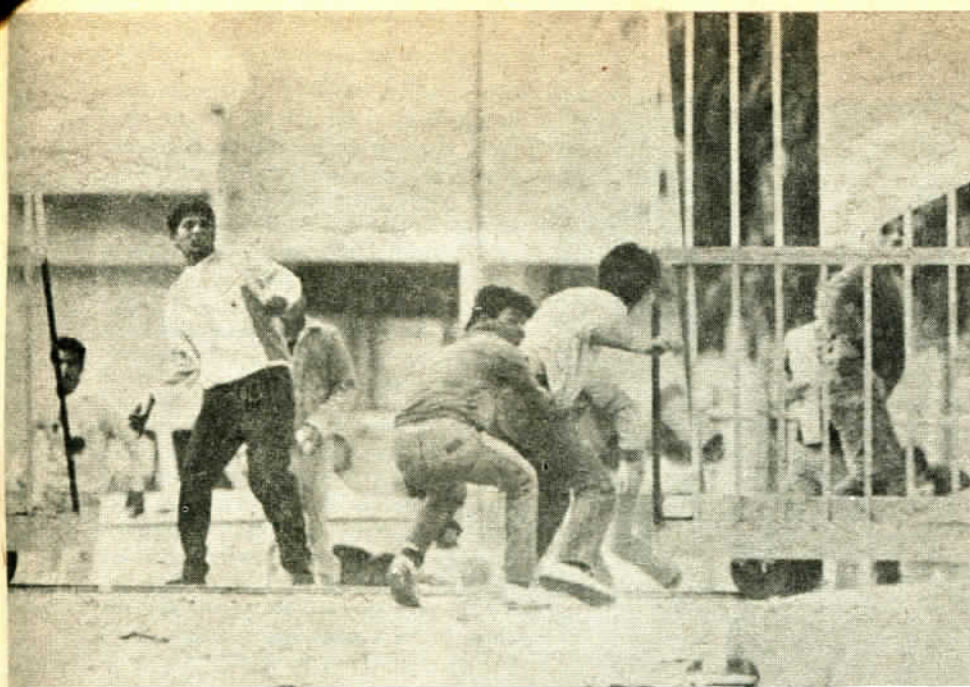
Another peculiar aspect of the American plan is that it does not envisage the Palestine Liberation Organisation's direct participation in talks. It also does not favour full independence for the West Bank and Gaza. With all these serious shortcomings, it's not surprising that the Arab response has been cool. President Hafez Assad of Syria, for example, has dismissed the American plan as nothing new. "If we are unable to achieve victory today," he asked fellow-Arabs, "why this rush to impose defeat on ourselves." The Chairman of the PLO, Comrade Yasser Arafat, called the American initiative "a dead duck".

## Dilemma

On the Israeli side Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, has already rejected the American plan — even though it falls far short of even the minimum demands of the Arabs.

The history of American peace initiatives in the Middle East has not been an impres-





**The rise of militancy in the occupied territories is paving the way to Palestinian liberation**

sive one. During a visit to Jerusalem last year, Mr. George Shultz floated a plan which caused a considerable stare: at their upcoming summit, Mr. Ronald Reagan and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev would call for direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan to settle the Palestinian issue; Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and Jordanian King Hussein would then jet to Washington, where the dramatic spectacle of the four statesmen bargaining together would breathe new life into the comatose peace process. Shamir agreed to consider the scenario, but Hussein rejected the idea.

Shultz's proposal thus joined the scrap heap of initiatives to solve an intractable dilemma: how to give the Palestinians a homeland and at the same time appease Zionists who are inclined not to give up a single inch of seized territory.

Compromise appeared possible in 1978, when Anwar Sadat, Menachem Begin and Jimmy Carter signed the Camp David accord. The agreement envisioned a five year transitional period of Palestinian self-government while new negotiations began on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The autonomy plan collapsed after Israel annexed the Arab section of Jerusalem. Reagan's 1982 Middle East peace plan sought a self-governing Palestinian entity, linked to Jordan, in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This plan had its flaws, and was rejected by the parties to the dispute.

## Peace Efforts Fail

With Reagan's plan moribund, the Palestinians and some Israelis began to favour an international conference as the vehicle for negotiations. But the two sides disagreed sharply over the makeup and aims of the conference. Comrade Arafat wanted UN talks, with broad Arab participation, that would fulfil Palestinian hopes for an independent homeland. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres advocated an um-

brella conference excluding the PLO that would permit Israel and Jordan to reach a bilateral compromise over the occupied lands. But Hussein is wary of a separate peace with Israel at the expense of the PLO.

As peace efforts in the Middle East continue to fail to yield significant results, there are now signs of increased polarization of society in the region.

Repression in Palestinian camps and towns of the West Bank and Gaza has been going on since 1967, when Israel seized control of the territories after winning the Six-Day War. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Israeli troops waged a tough struggle with the PLO, whose fighters killed many soldiers in the occupied territories. The Israelis eventually contained the situation, helped in large measure by King Hussein's 1970 campaign to drive PLO forces out of Jordan.

Since the mid-1970s the Israeli military, which runs the territories with a combination of soldiers and civilian administrators, has kept Palestinian rebellion in check with a brutal system of control and surveillance. Over the years of the Israelis have violated even the most basic civil liberties of Palestinians.

## Human Rights Violated

In the occupied territories, Palestinians are almost completely disenfranchised. All mayors are appointed by the Israelis, although most of the 17 000 civil servants who work for them are Arabs. Israel tried twice, in 1972 and 1976, to sponsor municipal elections in the West Bank and establish a measure of self-rule. But when candidates who openly declared their allegiance to the banned PLO were elected the Israelis aborted the process. In 1976 the PLO won a smashing victory, electing its representatives as mayors of the major towns and villages. The Israeli response was to

declare some of the contests invalid and to deport some of the winners. There has been no balloting since then.

Today most political activity in the territories is banned, and membership in political organisations is severely restricted. This has helped spawn underground nationalist and religious movements that favour radical solutions. Paralleling the clampdown on political thought is a policy of strict, often arbitrary censorship of all newspapers, magazines and books that circulate in the territories.

Israeli soldier and border police can enter Arab homes without a warrant. Palestinians are routinely stopped and required to show identification papers. If they are suspected of illegal political activity, they can be confined to their homes or forbidden to leave their towns or villages, a punishment called "town arrest." Arabs can be detained for up to six months without trial. Their homes can be sealed up or demolished on suspicion that a member of the family is engaged in "terrorist" activity. They can be arrested for dozens of offences which do not exist in Israel, including flying the Palestinian flag, reading "subversive" literature or holding a press conference without permission.

## Growing Political Resentment

The territories' forced economic dependence on Israel has only increased political resentment, especially in Gaza, where almost 70 percent of the inhabitants have been living in refugee camps for 40 years. Out of a population of 1.4 million in Gaza and the West Bank, more than half are under 20 and have lived their entire lives under occupation.

Like a growing number of other young people in the Middle East, many Palestinians have begun to turn to Islamic fundamentalism for their ideological sustenance. The fundamentalists are especially strong in Gaza, where the teeming refugee camps have become a fertile breeding ground for the message of the Islamic sheiks. Islam is also gaining strength in the camps and universities of the West Bank.

The Israelis, ironically, had until recently raised no objection to fundamentalist activity, hoping it would turn the youth of the territories away from the PLO. In Gaza the military allowed the fundamentalists to establish kindergartens, youth clubs, sports organisations and, in 1978, an Islamic college. They also permitted the building of mosques, whose number in Gaza has risen from 70 in 1967 to nearly 180 today. They even allowed the Islamic sheiks to bring in money from abroad to support their activities.

Having allowed fundamentalist activity to take root, the Israelis do not now know what has hit them. Islamic teachers have been some of the strongest voices calling Palestinian youths to the streets, blaring their call to resistance from loudspeakers attached to mosques in Gaza, the West Bank and East



Jerusalem. They substitute Islamic slogans for the old PLO themes, chanting, "Allah helps those who help themselves" or "Palestine is our Holy Land." Their call to the varricades is made more effective by Islam's reverence for martyrdom.

## Fundamentalist Activity Causes Uneasiness

The rise of religious fundamentalism in the Islamic world is being viewed with unease in many Arab capitals, although its contribution to the Palestinian struggle for freedom is acknowledged. This unease is particularly evident in Jordan, a country which has been playing an increasingly prominent role in the search for peace in the Middle East. An indication of this concern was evident in a speech to an Euro-Arab Conference in Amman on November 29, 1987, by the Crown Prince of Jordan, Hassan Bin Talal, who said that "the insidious perils of fragmentation and radicalisation entailed in the fundamentalist religious campaigns undermine the very fabric of the sovereign state system in the Middle East."

In the case of the West Bank and Gaza, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is directly attributable to the excessive brutality which the Israelis have been exercising on Palestinians. Although non-progressive in its outlook on many socio-economic questions, it is providing a useful political vehicle in a



**The killing of Abu-Jihad — PLO Commander fuels the fire of revolution**

situation where all other channels have been closed by the Israelis.

Jordan is one of the Arab states where radical Islamic fundamentalism has no real power base. Its rulers, namely the Hashemite dynasty headed by King Hussein, are seen by some observers as spearheading a Pan-Arab drive to contain the sectarian element of society.

King Hussein is emerging as one of the

key players in efforts to convene an international peace conference to solve the Palestinian question and to bring to an end the murderous war between Iran and Iraq. These efforts resulted in the convening of an Arab League Summit in Amman late last year at which Arab leaders' priority was to adopt a united stand towards Iran. At the end of that summit, King Hussein confidently claimed that he had managed to end Arab difference — a reference to the rapprochement between Syria and Iraq.

Towards the end of 1987, King Hussein visited Moscow where he discussed the Gulf War and the Arab-Israeli conflict with the Kremlin leadership. The King has also played a major part in efforts to reintegrate Egypt into the Arab world, both through his own example of restoring Jordan's diplomatic relations with it in 1984, and through his moves at the Amman summit which adopted a decision leaving the way open for Arab states to re-establish relations with Egypt on a bi-lateral level.

Most observers around the world now believe that meaningful negotiations to resolve the Palestinian issue can only be held within the context of an international conference. It is for this reason that the call by NAM for this conference was widely welcomed.

As the search for peace in the Middle East continues, one country which is likely to play a key role is Algeria. □



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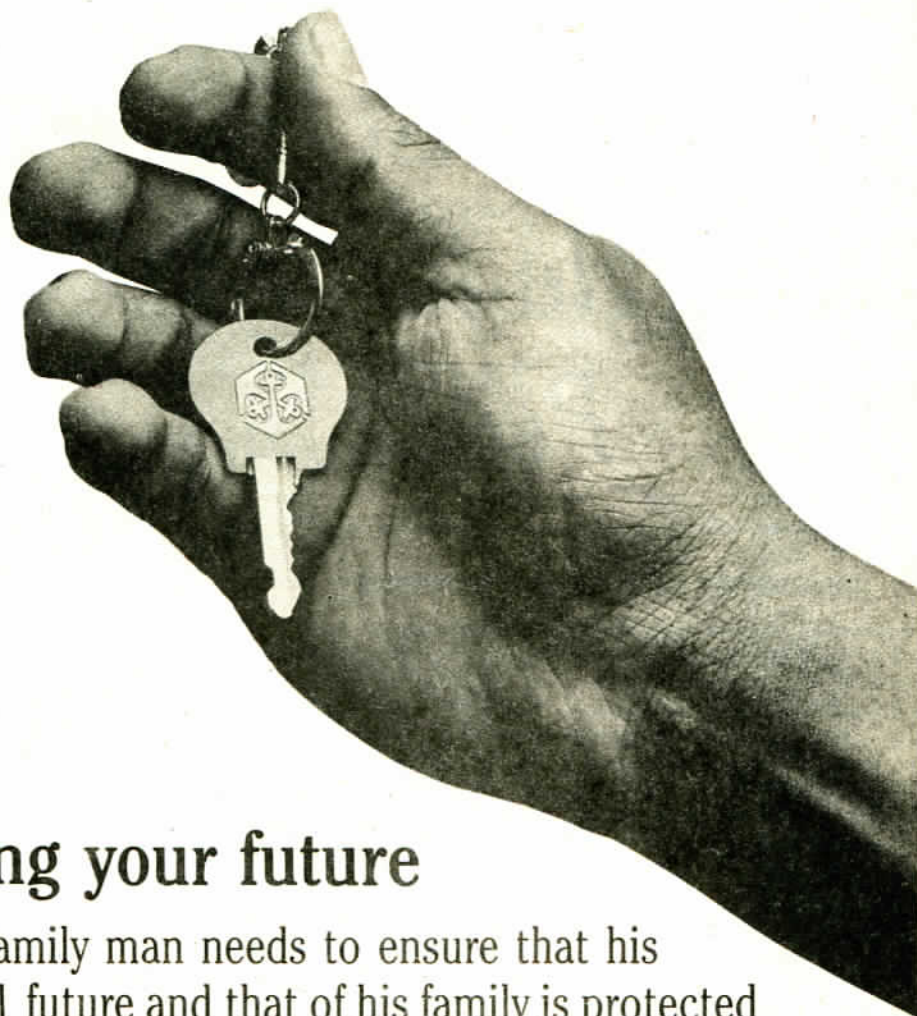
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# *Sandinista Rededicates to the Just Struggle for Peace*

**Comrade Daniel Ortega President of Nicaragua**



**T**he National Directorate of the FSLN and the Sandinista Assembly met on March 12 and 13 to appraise the current situation and its perspective in the areas of military, economic, and political-diplomatic defence. The meeting also assessed the position of Sandinista members, mass organizations, and social organisations in defense of those strategic interest of the Nicaraguan people.

Taking into account the insistence of the US Administration to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution by utilizing the mercenary forces as the main instrument in this effort and their using of parties, political groups, communications media, associations and labour unions that try to exploit increased political opening to destabilize the Revolutionary Process as complementary instruments in this effort.

Considering that, in spite of the fact that funds were not approved in the US Congress, and in open disregard for the Esquipulas II Accords that prohibit such financing, the United States Government insists on demanding new funds for the mercenary forces.

Considering the outbreak of terrorist acts that bring with them the murder of civilians, including children, and the kidnapping of citizens and foreign cooperants, as well as attacks on the country's economic infrastructure.

Considering that the document signed by the Central American Presidents on January 16 in San Jose, Costa Rica calls for all Central American Governments to take the necessary steps to comply with the Esquipulas Accords.

Considering that the US Administration does not recognise the just demands of Latin American and Caribbean Governments with regards to self-determination and independence of peoples and to establish a new type of relation in the political, economic, and financial order.

Taking into account the attitude of the US Government of promoting and exacerbating conflicts in different world regions.

The National Directorate of the FSLM and the Sandinista Assembly resolve:

1. To support all the military, economic, political and diplomatic measures taken by the constitutional Government of Nicaragua.
2. To continue strengthening the military defence of the Revolution, particularly with the mobilization of the armed people in order to accelerate the total defeat of the mercenary forces.
3. Call on all Sandinista Members and working people to defend anywhere and anytime the rights won by the people on the 19th of July of 1979.

At the same time, to exhort parties, opposition groups, unions and communication media to stop provoking situations that cause popular indignation to explode.

Consequently, we invite them to assume a patriotic attitude, resuming the national dialogue to which they were invited by the Government, so that there, in a serene manner, all political issues that are of concern to the parties and civic opposition groups, be discussed.

4. Reject any approval of funds by the US Congress, as this would seriously affect the peace process and would ex-

tend the military confrontation.

5. Strongly defend the compliance of the economic measures that are being implemented since the monetary reform carried out on 15 February.
6. Support the new negotiating effort that within the framework of the Central American Accords and in order to reach an effective cease fire, is set to take place in the border town of Sapoá, Nicaragua on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of this month. Commander of the Revolution, Humberto Ortega has been assigned as head of the delegation of the Nicaraguan Government.
7. Call on all the Central American Governments to take the necessary steps, as ratified on 16 January in Costa Rica, so as to comply with the Central American Accords. Lack of compliance provokes loss of lives and material resources of our impoverished region, in detriment of the respect for human rights, social justice, democracy and peace that our peoples demand.

We demand that in compliance with such Accords, the proposals to initiate dialogue, made by the revolutionaries of El Salvador and Guatemala, be accepted.

8. Express our condemnation of the interventionist policy of the United States against the national interests of the people of Panama and denounce the military manoeuvres of the United Kingdom in the Falkland Islands, territory of Argentina.

These actions not only threatened the self-determination, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the sister peoples



of Panama and Argentina, but also of the Latin American and Caribbean community as a whole.

9. Support the Accords of the Group of Eight, signed on 27 November, 1987 in Acapulco.
10. To express our total support to the struggle for liberation of peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and particularly the heroic resistance of the South African and Palestinian people.
11. To ratify the support of the FSLN to the Non-Aligned Movement as representatives of the interests of peo-

ples who defend self-determination, independence, sovereignty, national liberation, democracy and peace.

Upon concluding this special meeting we extend our recognition to the heroic combatants of the Sandinista Popular Army, Militias, Army reserves, combatants of the Air Force and other special forces, who along with the heroic combatants of the Home Affairs Ministry and men and women of the countryside, are defending the national interests with arms in hand and with their own lives.

This message of solidarity is sent to the most intricate combat zones, where Sandino's Cubs pull the people's murderers from their burrows on behalf of the National Directorate of the Sandinista Front, Sandinista Assembly, Sandinista Membership, and working people, who are ready to assume all tasks that the defence of our Revolutionary process demands.

With the example of Sandino, Rigonerto and Carlos we will defeat the war and conquer peace.

1988: For a Dignified Peace, Free Homeland or Death

## Bulgarian Progressives Call for Unity and Solidarity Against Racism and Apartheid

Recently in Sofia, capital of Bulgaria, the national council of the Fatherland front of Bulgaria, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Youth League, the Committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement and the Committee for solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America issued a statement of international solidarity condemning the recent action of the South African authorities to ban the activities of 17 mass democratic organisations and movements, including the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) which disposed of the international admiration and reputation. This is yet another act of suppression and cruel violation of the elementary democratic rights of the native African population of RSA. It aims at crushing further consolidation of the mass democratic front of anti-racist democratic forces inside the country and finally to help the survival of the apartheid regime. Meanwhile, the authorities there openly display tolerance towards the activities of the rightist and neo-fascist organisations which are used as instruments of repression against the democratic organisations of the African community.

Now that the peoples all over the world hopefully expect their governments to manifest political reasoning on the basic problems of the present day, the Pretoria regime still preserves the policy of brutal suppression of the basic human rights and freedom. The constant destabilisation and aggression against the neighbouring countries and the continuous refusal to stop the illegal occupation of Namibia are evidences of the negative approach of South Africa towards the recent positive changes in the

world and neglectance of the appeals of the international community.

The imposed ban was met by rigorous protests of the 17 organisations and movements and the majority of the population of South Africa which reaffirmed their resolute readiness to unite on an even broader basis in their struggle to do away with the apartheid regime. The international community condemned the actions undertaken by the regime and once again reassured in its full support for the progressive forces in South Africa.

The acts of the South African authorities enjoyed the practical approval of the US administration and the British cabinet which posed veto on the last draft resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations condemning the repressions and appealing towards the imposition of mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

The public organisations in the People's Republic of Bulgaria observe the increase of Pretoria regime's suppression against the democratic anti-apartheid forces with growing suspense and decisively condemn it. They assure in their unswerving solidarity with those fighting for human rights and freedom in South Africa and address the progressive and democratic organisations worldwide to unite against racism and intensify their joint interaction for political isolation of apartheid.

We appeal to the international community to impose mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime to achieve final destruction of apartheid and establishing a lasting peace in the region which corresponds to the sacred interests of the peoples of Southern Africa. □

### Poetry

#### Economic War

Yesterday  
it was the AK  
I carried  
the bazooka  
I fired  
the mortero  
I shelled  
it was war  
One battle won  
Today  
it is the hoe  
I carry  
the pick  
to dig, to mould  
the hammer  
to hit, to shape  
the axe  
to cut, to build  
It is war  
Another war  
The other Battle Begun!

By Comrade Ducus Fabai Mwanaka

#### Detembo raMagamba

#### Mujibha naChimbwido

Mujibha naChimbwido  
kuti kwati negwenzi  
mausaonekwa maendero  
svikei mugomo  
phocho phocho  
mbiru dhi dhi  
meso kwese kwese  
rwaivhi ruye  
runechivindi  
setsuro dzegan'a  
zama noto  
havoo pote  
Mujibha naChimbwido  
vanamukoma nzeve nga  
A! ngororombe!  
Chinzwa . . . dhuu! dhuu!  
Ona chimhute kusinganayi  
A! mabhunu muzvambarara!



# ILO Tripartite Conference Tasked on Action Against Apartheid

The First Secretary and President of the Party His Excellency, the President of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe told the Tripartite Conference on Action Against Apartheid to "conduct a comprehensive review of all aspects of action to be taken against apartheid and the continued illegal occupation of Namibia". Further, the President said the Conference should "prepare for the updating, by the International Labour Conference in June of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa."

The Tripartite Conference is composed of representatives of Governments, Employers, and Workers, internationally. The Conference which Comrade Mugabe said is being held, "At a time when the struggle to eliminate apartheid is intensifying" is also being attended by representatives of liberation movements. The President urged the ILO to help bring about the downfall of the apartheid regime.

We reproduce the full text of the President's speech delivered on the 4th of July.

## ILO Tripartite Conference Tasked on Action Against Apartheid

That the International Labour Organisation has chosen to convene its Tripartite Conference on Action Against Apartheid in Zimbabwe can only be a source of gratification and pride, not only for all Zimbabweans but also for the peoples and Governments of the other Frontline States, who share with the ILO a deep conviction in the overriding values of social justice and a determination to rid mankind of the abhorrent apartheid system whose existence is an affront to those values.

### Racist Tyranny

This Conference is being held at a time when the struggle to eliminate apartheid is intensifying and the racist regime is launching a total unholy war inside and outside South Africa. Recently, the racist regime has executed or threatened to execute freedom fighters regardless of the international pleas to spare their lives. There have been mass arrests of innocent people under the repressive emergency regulations; and the world has also witnessed the torture and massive detention of children inside South Africa. The regime has also embarked on international terrorism as demonstrated by the recent murder of Comrade September in France; the car-bomb attack on Professor Sachs in Mozambique and the murder of innocent and defenceless Botswana citizens

and South African refugees in the Republic of Botswana.

The Front States are continuously experiencing the racist tyranny of destabilization of their democracies. The unprovoked invasion of Angola, bandit activities in Mozambique and Zimbabwe and constant threats to Zambia demonstrate that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be dismantled completely.

Mr. Chairman, I understand that this Tripartite Conference on Action Against Apartheid brings together representatives of the ILO's constituent governments, employers' and workers' organisations. It thus provides a golden opportunity for all of these to act vigorously together against apartheid alongside other progressive organisations from Africa and elsewhere, including, naturally, the national liberation movements — SWAPO of Namibia, and the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress both of South Africa. Moreover, this Conference is convened at a time when there is an ever greater need and reason to show solidarity with those of our brothers and sisters who bear the brunt of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia, and with the gallant forces of the national liberation movements who are leading the struggle against apartheid.

### Apartheid — An Affront

Mr. Chairman, it is important to remind this Conference that, at numerous international meetings, we in this region have expressed our indignation and dismay at the fact that certain nations, including former victims of fascist and NAZI aggression, during World War II, continue to aid and abet apartheid economically, politically, diplomatically and militarily. Our earnest desire is that the international community take urgent action in the form of the application of comprehensive and mandatory economic and other sanctions aimed at curtailing the wanton destruction being carried out by South Africa, and also at contributing to the ultimate elimination of the cancer of apartheid.

Mr. Chairman, based on its programmes, it is evident that ILO is on the side of the victims of apartheid. We believe that ILO could be assisted to be even more responsive to the challenge of eradicating apartheid and of evolving a definite plan under which ILO could contribute to the training of the South Africans and Namibians in preparing them to build new and democratic Institutions in their countries.

Mr. Chairman, over a period of many years now, the ILO has shown quite clear-

ly that apartheid is not compatible with the fundamental precepts on which the Organisation is based. It is nearly twenty-five years since the ILO's *Declaration Concerning the Policy of Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa* was adopted by the International Labour Conference. That statement of principle, adopted in 1964, was and remains, a clear indication that there can be no place for a South Africa which practises apartheid in the ILO.

### ILO Supporting the Struggle

A valuable element in the entire strategy for combating apartheid also resulted from the Report issued annually by the Director-General of the ILO which provides detailed information on the situation regarding labour under apartheid. It has shown, year after year, the many ways in which the basic entitlements and liberties of workers have been violated under apartheid. The Report has been clear, among other things, about the following:

- the way in which apartheid, through law wages and indefensible working conditions, has led to the immiseration of the black population in South Africa and Namibia;
- the growth in unemployment among blacks which has continued unchecked, while the cynical application of various apartheid regulations have deprived the black majority simultaneously of their citizenship, their rightful entitlement to land and access to adequate job opportunities;
- the sustained inequalities in wages, in educational opportunity, in social security benefits and in housing which have remained endemic within the system applied to black workers; and
- the absence of, or interference with, fundamental trade union rights to organise and to bargain collectively in full freedom, to say nothing of the physical attacks on trade union leaders and premises which have featured much more frequently in more recent reports on these matters.

All this, and much more, has been carefully documented by the ILO against a background of diminishing political rights under the so-called State of Emergency. Apart from the detention and imprisonment of anti-apartheid activists under that "Emergency", legislative measures have also been taken to break the power of the independent trade union movement which has developed in strength and determination over the years. Restrictions have, for example, been placed



on the largest trade union federation, COSATU. These seek to limit its role and effectiveness as a force for change in South Africa.

The growth of the independent trade union movement was recognised when the ILO's Declaration was brought up to date in 1981. That updated Declaration introduced a basis for support from the ILO to these trade unions, and also established the foundations for a new range of ILO activities designed to provide various forms of technical assistance to the national liberation movements and the Frontline States.

## Tasks

The ILO has also been able to address wider

issues relating to the means of action which can be deployed against apartheid. In doing so, its tripartite character has been a feature of very great importance, for the action in question has not been confirmed to governments, but also to the employers' and workers' organisations which are such an important and invaluable part of its unique structure.

As we see it, the purpose of this Conference is two-fold. Firstly, it should conduct a comprehensive review of all aspects of action to be taken against apartheid and the continued illegal occupation of Namibia, including sanctions and assistance to the Frontline and other neighbouring states. Secondly, it should prepare for the updating,

by the International Labour Conference next month, of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid in South Africa.

These two tasks, I trust, will be tackled with the necessary imagination and seriousness at this Conference. The suffering, pain and agony of the people of South Africa as a whole cannot be allowed to continue unabated due to lack of concerted international action against the monster that is apartheid.

I am sure that your deliberations at this Conference will result in the sustaining and strengthening of the means of action available within the international community in order to bring an end to apartheid.

## From each according to his abilities...

The success of any progressive social entity depends on an enthusiastic application of this historic Marxian postulate.

From each according to his abilities...

We, at Matthewman, Banks Advertising (MBA), believe this to be particularly germane in the complex field of communications. Because an advertising agency is essentially a pool of specialists — representing a comprehensive syllabus of social disciplines — each depending on the input of the other in achieving a successful end result.

And that result is communication. Be it an educational campaign on the dangers of mis-using electricity, encouraging people to plan a better future by planning their families, or by extolling the benefits of Zimbabwe's rich dairy products.

MBA is a totally-owned Zimbabwean advertising agency with a totally Zimbabwean staff. Sir Athol Evans chairs a directorate which includes Maurice Matthewman and Ray Banks, joint founders and owners of the organisation, together with Lawrence Vambe, Ronnie Lotz, and two staff representatives.

### PARASTATALS

Having recently absorbed the staff and business of Direction Advertising, MBA has added considerably to its client portfolio. In addition to quasi-government business (Dairibord, ZESA, State Lotteries, and certain IDC companies), the agency handles the advertising for Reckitt & Colman, CABS, Willards Foods, B.A.T., G & D Shoes, Zambia Airways, PG, and many more national clients.

### CREATIVE STRENGTH

If successful advertising is measured by creative awards, (which is arguable!), then MBA certainly produces successful advertising. In the 1987 AAZ presentations, MBA and Direction Advertising between them achieved eleven firsts (8 + 3 — including a Campaign Award for Family Planning), maintaining a continuing success rate over many years.

MBA's creative achievements owe nothing to popularly-conceived instantaneous flashes of brilliance. Rather like the description of genius, they are achieved by ten per-cent inspiration and ninety per-cent perspiration, with all concerned — including the client — working as a closely constituted unit.

Thus personal client involvement with the various creative groups is an

imperative which proves invaluable in the creation of successful, cost-effective advertising.

In achieving this end, the agency has instituted a series of checks — though not reins — on the whole creative process. This involves internal reviews of the initial promotional strategy (previously agreed by client), through to the final product — which even then is often subject to further attitudinal testing by the agency's research department.

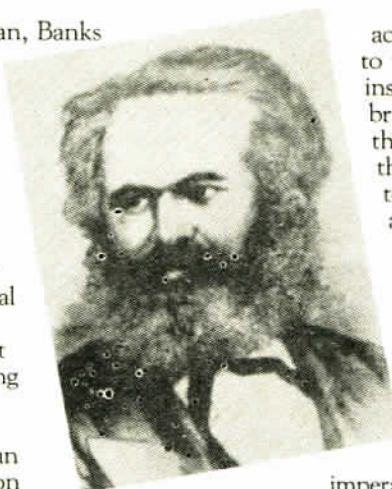
### FULL SERVICE

MBA is a full-service agency, whose specialised departments cover client service; research and marketing; media; press, radio, television and below-the-line production; as well as creative and finished art.

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When the abilities are natural and talented, when they're offered with enthusiasm and flair, you'll find they more than satisfy your needs.

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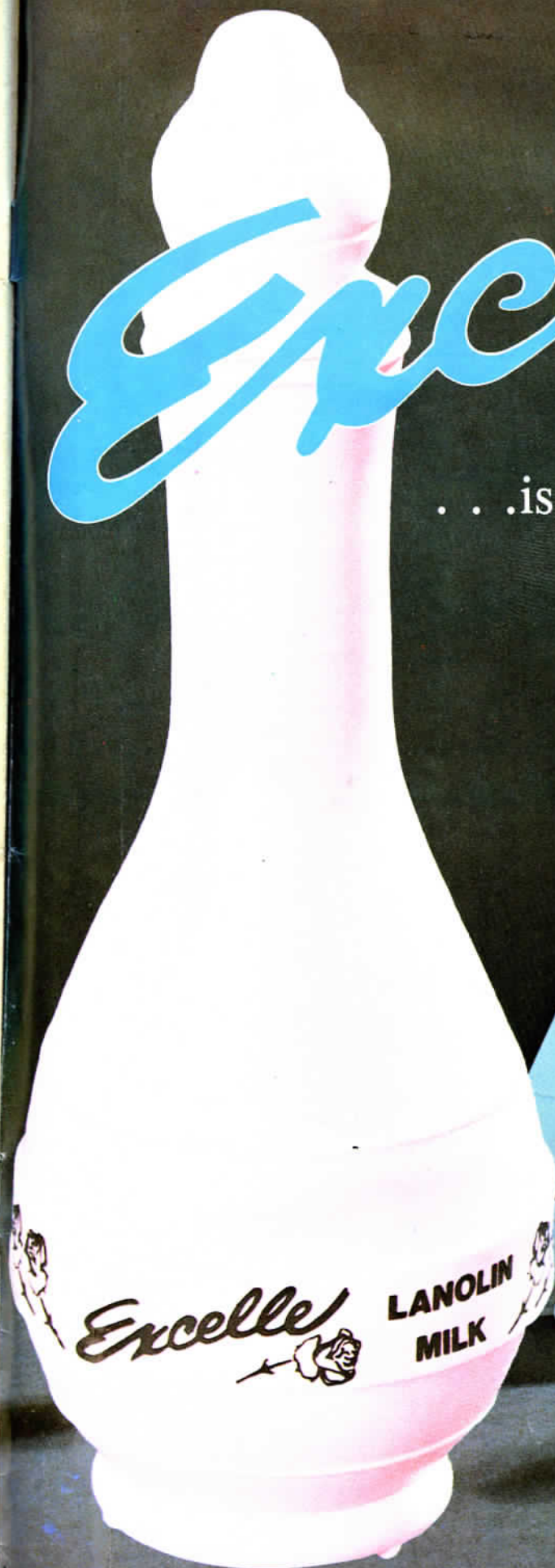
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## LONRHO, PART OF THE STRENGTH OF ZIMBABWE

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This is the underlying theme in all Lonrho's many activities within Zimbabwe. Originally a mining company, Lonrho has diversified extensively into fields as varied as forestry, agriculture, textiles and engineering, in addition to mining. All are contributing significantly towards Zimbabwe's drive for much needed foreign exchange.

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### MINING IN ZIMBABWE

Lonrho produces over one third of the Nation's gold and constant investment enables the Company to look forward to increased output in the future.

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### THE WATTLE COMPANY LIMITED

Z\$11 million exports of wattle extract and coffee.

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### LONRHO RANCHING OPERATIONS

58 000 prime cattle on six ranches — helping the C.S.C.'s beef export drive.

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### DAVID WHITEHEAD TEXTILES LTD.

Exported over Z\$16 million worth of products in 1987.

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### CRITTALL-HOPE LIMITED

Steel windows and doors for construction projects, both local and in SADCC.

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### LONRHO MOTOR INDUSTRIES LTD.

Assemblers of commercial vehicles and agricultural tractors. Manufacturers of vehicle components and parts.

Our purpose — self sufficiency in Zimbabwe through development and improved technology.

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# LONRHO

## PART OF THE STRENGTH OF ZIMBABWE

