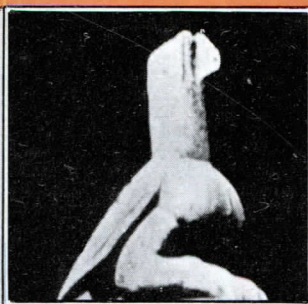
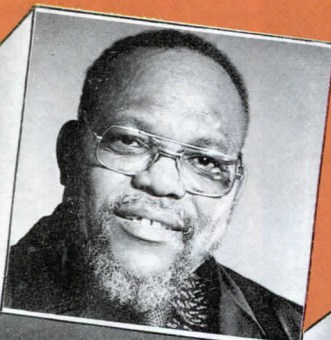


# Zimbabwe News

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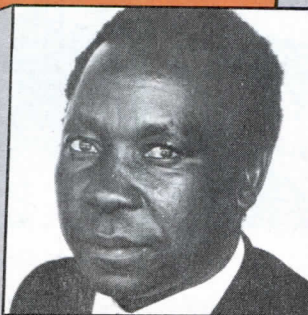
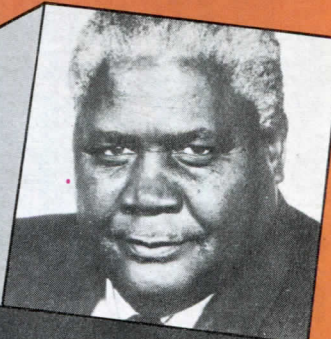
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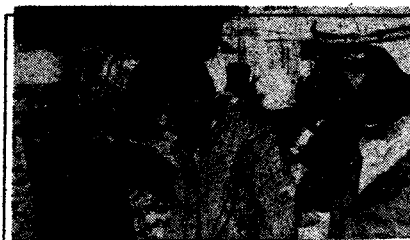
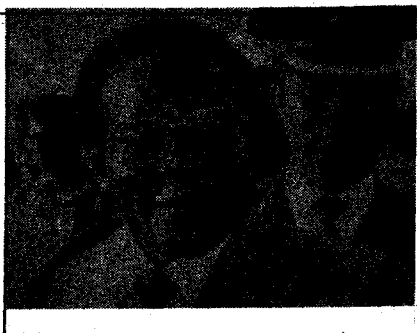


### DAVID WHITEHEAD TEXTILES



## RESTRUCTURING THE PARTY

Subscriptions had gone down, inflated figures, of cells, branches and districts continued to be reported by Party officials there. Party activity had slumped. What was happening? Zimbabwe News reports . . . *page 11*



## PRISONER NO 220/82

A suspended sentence was passed on him in 1952 for organising a disobedience campaign in protest against apartheid laws. On December 11, 1952, that sentence was followed by the deprivation of civil rights and restriction to Johannesburg . . . Read about Nelson Mandela . . . *page 21*



## PALESTINE

It is surprising to note that even Israel's god father the US was clearly shocked by the carnage being dropped in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to paralyse Palestinian protests against occupation . . . *page 16*



## WAY TO INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA

The International Court of Justice specially declared the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa illegal and violation of International Law. Since 1986 the United Nations, the Security Council and other UN agencies have passed scores of resolutions calling upon South Africa to end the illegal occupation of Namibia . . . *page 23*

## CONTENTS

Editorial.....	2
Enter President Mugabe.....	3
Restructuring the Party.....	11
The Role of the Frontline States in Liberating South Africa.....	13
Summit Achieved Treaty but faltered on Regional Conflicts.....	14
Palestine — Convene an International Conference Now.....	16
Pretoria Remains on Treacherous Road.....	17
Political Profile: Prisoner No. 220/82: Boris Asoyan.....	21
Way to Independent Namibia: Chakanyuka Karase.....	23
Dangerous Consequences of Israel and South African Military and Economic Cooperation: Alfred Babing.....	26
"Peoples of the World Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa" Arusha, Tanzania 1 — 4 December 1987.....	28
Food for thought: N.C.G. Mathema.....	32
News in Brief: Non Aligned Movement welcomes INF Treaty.....	32
Film in Zimbabwe: Bev Tilley.....	35
Talking about Problems of Constitutions in Arts Organisations! Sheila Cameron.....	36
Cooperatives.....	39
Poetry.....	39
President Nicolae Ceausescu Turns 70.....	40
Barclays Bank : Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Limited Rural Banking.....	42



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# EDITORIAL

## *Stop and End The Arms Race*

Progressive political parties everywhere in the world should endeavour to stop, and if possible end, the arms race. It does not benefit anybody, except the manufacturers and dealers in weapons and arms. The industrialised nations spend billions of dollars on a race they cannot win. The developing countries have also joined what has been called an arms war, which they also cannot win. They continue to spend their limited financial and economic resources on more and more arms, while some of these countries are plagued with drought, hunger, and death of their citizens.

The new year 1988 has started on a positive note following the signing last month of a historic treaty in Washington. The treaty binds the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR, to destroy a whole class of medium-range nuclear weapons. It also provides machinery for inspecting and verifying that no one breaks the rule, or the agreement. It also sets up several committees for implementing the different clauses of the treaty. It is a very comprehensive and detailed document running into several hundred pages. This treaty has one immediate advantage for us today and one important lesson for the future. The advantage is that 4 per cent of the nuclear weapons manufactured by the USA and the USSR will be destroyed. Although this is not a large quantity of nuclear weapons, it is a good beginning. It is the first time in history that weapons already in hand, have actually been destroyed. The lesson for the future is that a very difficult question such as disarmament can be agreed upon, a treaty signed, and machinery for inspection put in place. Surely the same could be done in the Middle East, in Southern Africa, in Central America, and in South-East Asia. Hard and serious negotiations on these regional conflicts could produce results.

The disappointing aspect of the Summit meeting is that President Ronald Reagan of the USA refused to discuss the regional conflicts seriously. President R.G. Mugabe, Chairman of NAM had urged both President Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to discuss them seriously. The support being given by the USA to bandit organisations in these regions has endangered world peace and security. Reagan refused to give his support to the proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East in which the PLO would participate. On our region, Southern Africa, he also refused to withdraw support from the racist Republic of South Africa, and from the bandit organisation in Angola, called UNITA. In

Central America he has consistently opposed the peace initiatives of the Presidents in Central America in the famous Guatemala Declaration. Again Reagan supports unrepresentative bandit organisations in Nicaragua.

In spite of the failure to make progress on the important regional conflicts, we hope the superpowers will make progress on the road to disarmament in 1988. The four areas that require serious and urgent attention are: 1) The short-range nuclear weapons (with a range below 500 km); 2) the long-range nuclear weapons (with a range above 500 km); 3) the strategic weapons; and 4) the conventional weapons (which are now more sophisticated than those used in World War II) and capable of massive destruction).

Any one of these items is a major in world politics. For the proposed second summit in July, this year, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev has suggested the reduction and destruction of half the weapons in (1) and (2) above. The negotiations for such a treaty are now in progress and will be complicated and difficult. Given the political will to end the futile arms race (or war in Africa), and to establish favourable conditions for peace, it can be done and this should be in 1988.

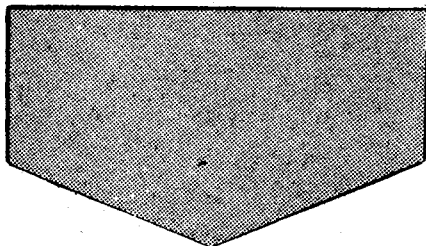
On conventional weapons, the Warsaw Pact countries have far more weapons (especially in tanks and artillery) than the NATO Countries.

It appears to us that the first steps to an agreement on this issue is to reduce the number of weapons of Warsaw Pact countries to the levels of NATO countries and not vice versa. The call for the rearmament of NATO powers made by some reactionary capitalist newspapers in Western Europe is a dangerous table that could precipitate a world war. If the ultimate goal is in the direction of complete disarmament, it does not make sense to attempt to rearm NATO powers simply for the sake of achieving an equilibrium with Warsaw Pact countries, and then negotiate to destroy the same arms. What does make sense is to reduce the weapons now in the hands of Warsaw Pact countries to the same levels as the NATO powers have.

African countries do not have the means and therefore cannot join the arms race of the big powers, or start an arms walk among themselves. We do not need sophisticated weapons for mass destruction. The only exception is those weapons we need for fighting the enemy in the racist Republic of South Africa, and in Namibia.



# Enter President Mugabe



Address delivered by Comrade R.G. Mugabe at his Inauguration as the First Executive President of the Republic of Zimbabwe at the National Sports Stadium, Thursday 31st December, 1987 from 09:30 — 13:25 hours



The First Executive President is installed

*May I begin by thanking you for coming in such large numbers to this historic event of the Inauguration of our first Executive President. On your behalf and on behalf of the many millions of Zimbabweans who would have desired to be here, may I welcome our Guests of Honour from the Frontline States, Ethiopia and Uganda. Their presence here indeed lends magnificence to our historic occasion, but more than that affirms the close relations of friendship, brotherhood, and solidarity between them and ourselves. We all wish them an enjoyable stay in Zimbabwe.*

**T**oday our Nation celebrates an historic event, a landmark in the unfolding historical process of the development of its people. It was exactly in the year 1890 that our country was colonially occupied by a group of settlers, sponsored by Cecil John Rhodes under the Chartered British South Africa Company settled here in Harare setting the British flag on the City's Kopje as Fort Salisbury was created. It was around this citadel that settler colonial power progressively grew and from it that the rest of the country, for nine decades known as Rhodesia, was kept under control. Fort Salisbury became the anchor of imperial and settler colonial power in the country, consolidated first in 1923 as the right of self-government was granted to the settler community, then in 1953 with the imposition of the Central African Federation and in 1965 with the treasonous act of UDI, the unilateral declaration of independence.

In any situation of great deprivation, immorality and injustice,

especially one confounded by illegality, the human pugnacious forces of antagonism, rebellion and resistance, readily unleash themselves as the oppressed people's quest for political, social and economic justice grows. The Second Chimurenga which ZANU and ZAPU fought side-by-side was a modality for achieving such justice, with clearly stated objectives.

Firstly, we fought that war to overthrow settler political power which for 90 years had negated our people's right to self-determination so we could become masters of our own destiny.

Secondly, we were cognisant that political power once acquired would become an instrument for restoring our lost property rights through people-oriented socio-economic policies based on socialism, aiming at transforming the neo-colonial economic system in such a way that the people would once again become sovereign owners of their economic resources and productive means.

When, at the 1979 Lancaster House Conference, our protracted negotiations yielded the present Constitution, which created the Republic of Zimbabwe, some people might have felt that the battle for our political sovereignty as a nation had been fully won. I am afraid, political victory at that stage was not that total, for what emerged was a Constitution which seriously compromised and variously derogated from our sovereignty as a nation. We, for example, accepted clauses, insisted upon by Britain and the internal settlement coalition, that prescribed the principle of racial representation held as repugnant by the Patriotic Front. As if this was not enough vitiation of the democratic process, the racial representation prescription in question was so outrageously weighted in favour of the white community that it lacked any basis of morality. Surely, we could not, as human beings, have been expected to continue to bear the indignity of this immorality and injustice for too long.

Other limitations on the free exercise of our sovereign power by the Lancaster House Constitution included the entrenched clauses contained in the Bill of Rights which had to do with the acquisition of property and which prescribed an impossible amendment procedure, requiring an affirmative vote of a hundred per cent.





The achievement of Unity is an occasion of happiness

## I am Your Wish

In effecting the series of amendments which have culminated in our abolition of racial representation and the creation of the Executive Presidency, we have done nothing more than act in accordance with the true wishes of our people. I happen to be the individual you have chosen to lay your full trust in and confer upon the historic and singular honour of being the First Executive President of our young and blossoming Republic. May I, in the same warm and full-hearted spirit in which you have, through the Party and your Representatives in Parliament, chosen me as your pioneer, thank you for your great confidence in me. I am your wish who shall always endeavour to fulfil your wishes past, wishes present and wishes future.

I am glad to say that this occasion has been made more historic and auspicious by the Unity Accord recently signed between ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU which by bringing our people together has created a new hope for the future. I wish to appeal to all Zimbabweans, whatever their tribe, race, colour, region or religion, to stand behind this unity accord and promote it in word and deed wherever

you are and whatever you are doing. The unity is, indeed, a second phase in the development of our policy of national reconciliation begun in 1980.

Earlier on I made reference to the second objective of our National Liberation War as the restoration of our lost property rights through an economic reconstruction, rehabilitation and land resettlement programme, to be followed thereafter by a socio-economic programme of socialist transformation. Our eight years of Independence have certainly witnessed positive attempts by the Party and Government aimed at achieving this objective.

I can assure you that the Party and Government will remain cognisant of the fact that political power without economic means is hollow and deceptive. This is why, throughout the period of the past eight years, Government has embarked, firstly, on the Three-Year Transitional National Development Plan and secondly on the current First Five-Year National Development Plan (1986 - 1990). The first of these Plans concentrated on efforts to effect those socio-economic adjustments which became necessary because of the

protracted national liberation struggle and the damage it wrought both to our people as communities and to their infrastructure.

The main thrust in those early years thus lay in the resettlement of displaced people, a task which was achieved practically within the first year of our Independence as homes and agricultural fields, seed and implements were found for most of them. At the same time a land resettlement programme for the redistribution of the land was begun, while, infrastructurally, damaged roads and bridges, clinics, schools and other communal facilities were reconstructed and rehabilitated. In our belief that a meaningful and systematic development of our economy depended on the education and training of our population, a vigorous educational thrust was begun during the first year of our Independence and has since been successfully maintained under the First Five-Year National Development Plan. In general, however, the Three-Year National Development Plan encompassed all sectors and thus made a comprehensive transitional impact upon which it became possible later to find the current Plan.



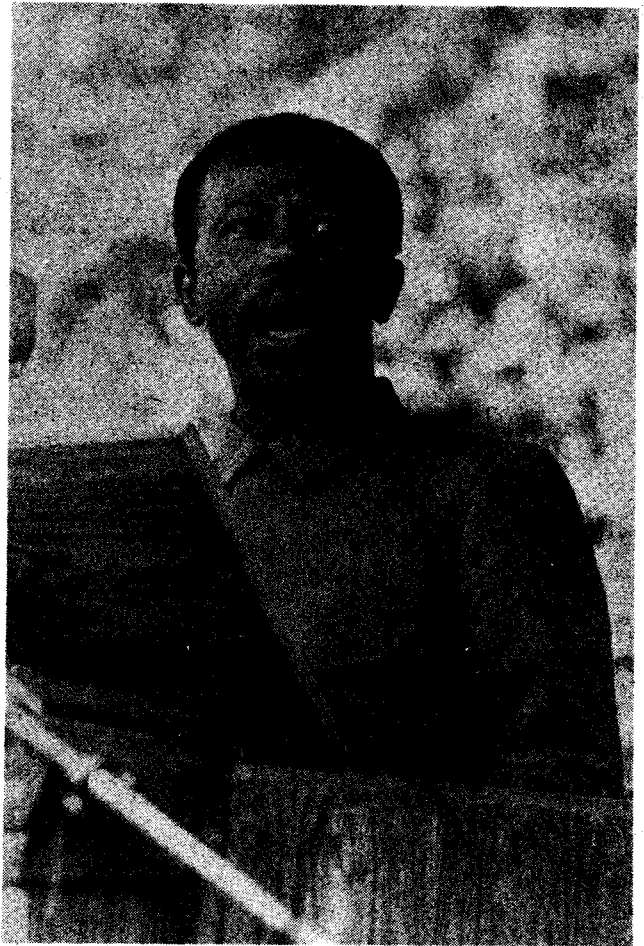
## Recession — First Five-Year Plan

During the operational period of the transitional Plan, our Gross Domestic Product in 1980 grew by 11 per cent in real terms, followed by 13 per cent in 1981. The following two years, however, witnessed adverse conditions caused by world recession and drought, and hence our Gross Domestic Product was a negative 2 per cent in 1982, and a negative 3 per cent in 1983. In 1984, however, the economy began showing signs of recovery continuing up to 1985, by which year the average growth rate since Independence in 1980 had now stood at 2,4 per cent. Our export trade which, in 1980 and 1981, had reached the level of nearly \$1,5 billion respectively also started declining in the difficult years, dropping to about \$1,2 billion in 1983 and 1984 respectively, but picking up again in 1985 and rising to over \$1,2 billion as the economy began performing better.

It is against this background that we must judge our national economic performance. If we realise that in 1980 our GDP at Factor Cost was only 3,2 billion dollars, then its rise to 7,3 billion dollars in 1985 and to 8,2 billion dollars in 1986 was no doubt phenomenal in terms of the value of the goods and services we produced between 1980 and 1986 respectively. However, unless the growth in the production of such goods and services creates within it a progressive increase of our country's export quota, then whatever GDP we register is merely one which enhances our consumption, a situation which is bound to aggravate our balance of payments position if, at the same time, our imports continue to grow.

The 1986 – 1990 Plan stipulates as the principal socio-economic goal of Government "the establishment and development of a democratic, egalitarian and socialist society." For this goal to be attained it is as necessary to develop our human resources by enhancing their mental and cultural faculties as it is to aim at the efficient production of goods and services, so the living standards of all Zimbabweans could be raised. Determined efforts under the Plan are, therefore, being made to transform, control and expand the economy, to effect land reforms and efficient utilisation of the land, to raise the standard of living of our entire population, with particular emphasis on that of the peasantry, to create more employment opportunities and increase manpower

Congratulations your excellency President Robert Mugabe — two of the Heads of State invited to the inauguration ceremony



development, to develop science and technology and, finally, to maintain the correct balance between the environment and development. Programmes and projects within the sectoral and provincial plans which were merged under the overall First Five-Year National Development Plan, were all aimed at these broad objectives. A total investment of \$7,1 billion, in form of gross fixed capital

formation, was planned for the whole of the Plan period, with \$1,8 billion being the expected contribution from the Private Sector.

The material productive sectors, (that is, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, electricity and water, construction, the distributive sector, transport and communication,) were to receive \$5,3 billion or 74,3 per cent





Government policies have been Party policies translated into operational reality

of this investment, while the social service sectors like housing, education, health, etc. were to get \$1,8 billion or 25,7 per cent. These levels of investment are yet to be attained, and the difficult economic conditions we have been experiencing might cause a revision of the Plan targets.

All in all, our hope was that we would finance 60 per cent of our investment programme by using our own domestic resources and 40 per cent by way of foreign resources. This hope has not yet been sustained as foreign capital inflows have not been readily forthcoming. On the contrary, our country has been growing into a net capital exporter through the payment of external debt service repayments, dividends and profits.

The year 1987, just ended, has been the second year of the Development Plan scheduled to last for five years. On the whole, the year has experienced mixed economic performances. During the first half of the year, the performance was very depressed due to low investment levels, depressed commodity export prices, high debt service repayments, higher inflation stemming mainly from a large budget deficit, supply constraints due to the drought, and reduced import allocations. But during the second half, positive measures implemented by Government aimed at promoting exports, stimulating investment and generating employment, together with a slight recovery in commodity export prices, have assisted a positive growth rate. The Govern-

ment measures have thus succeeded in reversing the earlier negative trend, even though they have created no more than a standstill position.

The report I have received is to the effect that there has been a very



Our Sovereignty has never been and can never in future be for sale — we remain strictly non-aligned and refuse to put to auction our national sovereignty for a bag of foreign currency

positive response by the private sector to our initiatives and a considerable number of new major investment projects have been initiated over the year, some of which are in the mining sector, the tobacco industry and other manufacturing areas. The viability of a country's

economy, despite adequate resources and favourable domestic, regional and world markets, always depends on the determination of its people to achieve their highest possible performance. Whatever resources we might have, therefore, need our full energies to exploit so they can yield for us the requisite volumes of those goods and services we need for both the domestic and external markets. Hard work is what I call upon our entire nation to offer!

## Regional Anti-Apartheid Stance

Your Party and Government fully realise that our socio-economic environment exists, not in vacuum, but in a given wider geographical and political environment with its own objective and concrete realities. Over the last eight years of our Independence, these realities, in some cases economic and in others political, have impelled us to recognise the need for us to enter into and become members of a number of organisations such as the OAU, SADCC and the PTA, in all of which we have maintained an active membership. In all of them, the question of apartheid in South Africa, the

illegal occupation of Namibia and the destabilisation of Frontline States by South Africa, have always received full attention. In the regional economic organisations, SADCC and the PTA, we have, alongside other members, helped to promote our trade and economic co-operation in

the region so we can reduce our external economic dependence, in particular that on South Africa. We pledge ourselves to continuing vigorous efforts for the success of our cooperation under these organisations and the establishment, therefore, of meaningful economic relations between us and our well-intentioned neighbours and other partners.

Our attitude to South Africa over these years has been guided by our rejection and condemnation of the inhuman and revulsive system of apartheid in that country. We are glad that practically the whole world has condemned the evil system and given its support to the just struggle for its dismantlement and the creation, in its place, of a true democratic order. Accordingly, alongside other Frontline States and under OAU, we shall continue to give moral and political support to the liberation struggle being waged for freedom and democracy in South Africa. Similarly, in Namibia we have over all these years of our Independence, given unstinting support to SWAPO's legitimate struggle for the liberation of Namibia from the illegal occupation it has been under for so long. We reject now as we have done before, the linkage extraneously contrived between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

In solidarity with our Frontline brothers, most of whom have suffered from South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilisation, we continue to condemn South Africa's lawlessness in the region and demand the immediate withdrawal of its troops from Angola. In a much more practical way, we have pledged our own armed forces to the defence of Mozambique, partly to ensure the security of our own routes to the sea through that country and partly to help defend Mozambique's sovereignty against South Africa's evil strategy to overthrow its legitimate government.

## International Relations

On the international forum, not only have we been active members of the United Nations, and its Agencies, the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement, we have also had the honour and privilege of being made Chairman of NAM. Our economic and political horizon has been greatly broadened and transformed from that of an insular and inward-looking lit-



The private sector has responded well to Party and Government initiatives

tle Rhodesia we found in being at the time of our Independence, to that of a country whose dimensions of association are as wide as the world. Our moral perspective which enables us to have friends both in the socialist and capitalist worlds also impels us to be rational and objectively critical of the international policies of the Super Powers whenever we judge them wrong. We remain strictly non-aligned and refuse to put to auction our national sovereignty for a bag of foreign currency, no matter the economic problems and difficulties confronting us. Our sovereignty has never been and can never in future be for sale. It just is not a negotiable commodity! We cannot export it! It is a supreme phenomenon of our national being which gives us the absolute right to determine the direction of our policies and infuses us with courage to stand firm on matters of principle.

On regional issues, we have thus always clearly expressed our

policies. We condemn Israel for its genocidal policies against the Palestinians, and strongly advocate their right under the PLO to a home in Palestine. We have supported the Contadora peace process recently enhanced by practical peace modalities concluded in Guatemala. Accordingly, we wish to applaud the ready response which Nicaragua has given to the agreed measures setting the internal and regional peace process in motion. We condemn any interference in the internal affairs of that country.

We also take note of the negotiations currently taking place on the disturbing situation in Afghanistan and trust that the foreign forces in that country will soon be withdrawn so its people can be left free to solve their internal political differences without interference from any quarter. Similarly, we urge the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and appeal for the respect by all its neighbours of its





The President thanked the nation, for the hard work over the last eight years

sovereign status and territorial integrity.

The situation in the Gulf continues to give us concern as nothing appears to ameliorate it. We wish to appeal once again to both our brothers of Iran and Iraq to look for a peaceful solution to the bloody conflict between them. We express the hope that the United Nations initiative will lead to peace in the Gulf.

## Tribute to the Nation

Comrades and Friends, I wish now to pay tribute to you all Zimbabweans in whatever walks of life you find yourselves, for the outstanding achievements of the last eight years that stand aloft across all our sectors. We have toiled hard, very hard indeed, in adverse circumstances to produce not only enough food for our population and region but several other cash crops. Thanks to the farmers, big and small! We have manufactured volumes and volumes of secondary goods for the home and external markets. Thanks to our manufacturers, big and small! We have extensively and strenuously dug our earth for a wide variety of minerals, in part for our own use, but mainly for the export market. Once again, we thank our miners, big and small! The commercial sector with

its big and small entrepreneurs performed a wonderful job of distributing our products. We thank them all. But distribution would have come to a halt without the infrastructural services offered by our road, rail and air networks, and the energy sector. Many thanks to all those involved.

But what of the arms of the State, the ministerial areas which gave us so many schools and educational facilities, hospitals and clinics and housing projects, and improved the status of the worker, fed the starving masses, developed and improved roads and bridges, cared for and protected our game especially the rhino, ran our pre-school, literacy, women and youth programmes, and made financial provision for them all? We thank them all, from Ministers down to the messenger and cleaner.

Other equally important arms of State are our security forces, all told, who ensured our peace and security, law and order, and the safe custody and punishment of all criminal offenders. Thanks to them all, and for the sterling service in keeping our routes through Mozambique open.

Our State institutions, Parliament and the Judiciary, have performed excellently. Many many bills have been enacted into law since 1980 including

recent Constitutional amendments. So have many judgements been passed in our courts in interpretation of the law, the condemning of criminals and exonerating the innocent. We thank all those involved. To our local authorities, for their various community services, to the Chiefs and Headmen for their social and cultural role, we say thank you.

To the toiling worker, we say well done, keep up the discipline of hardwork!

The direction of the policies followed by Government derive from the Party, your Party, ZANU (PF). Twice in the last eight years you expressed your full confidence in it by giving it a majority verdict to rule. Government policies have, therefore, been Party policies translated into operational reality.

I am sure you would like to join me in thanking the Party, its full leadership (viz the Central Committee), its Women's League and Youth League as well as all its provincial, district, branch and cell organs, for successfully acting as the people's political vanguard and paving the way for the successful development of our Nation. Thank you ZANU (PF)! Keep it up!

Last but not least, I wish to pay lasting tribute to the one man who, though small in body, is yet great in mind, soul and spirit, who as our Head of State for the last eight years, performed many an important function. All of us who have been Ministers were his Ministers, appointed by him, though of course on the advice of the Prime Minister. Without him, our task as Government would have been well-nigh impossible. Never did I on any single occasion differ with him on any fundamental issues. It was always his lot, supported naturally by me, to receive other Heads of State and entertain them. Every year, as you will recall, he was called upon to open a new Session of Parliament, this in addition to numerous ceremonies which he was expected to conduct. He visited many homes of the disabled and handicapped, many homes of orphaned or destitute children, and of the aged.

He joined many young couples in holy matrimony. Who does not know about his pioneering educational work as he strove hard to establish Kushinga Phikelela at Marondera? Let us not forget State House Tornadoes, the football club he founded and whose team is now in Division One. Over and above these time-

consuming pursuits, he still found time to write a number of books on extremely relevant subjects. His last great act was to ensure the unity of ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU. Today, Comrade Banana has retired from the Presidency, we all admit, with magnanimity. On behalf of the Party, the Government and the whole Nation I say to you, Comrade Banana, well done! You have served the Nation truly, honestly, loyally and faithfully. You have seen us emerge as a nation, single, united and consolidated. We shall always admire you for the outstanding national role you have played. No doubt, we shall constantly be calling upon your talents in future so you can use them in spheres where your service will still be required.

To the toiling worker  
keep up the good  
work



And to Mai Banana, may I say how grateful we are for your own role as the First Lady which demanded that you go about fulfilling several State and allied functions, ranging from playing host to our V.I.P. guests, visiting children and the handicapped, and working together with women in various spheres. Well done! The support you gave to Comrade Banana as our first President enabled him to accomplish his functional role to the great satisfaction of all of us. We say to both of you, Thank you, thank you and thank you again! Tinotenda, tinotenda, tinotenda narinhi wose! Siyabonga, siyabonga, siyabonga lakusasa!

Finally, may I assure our whole Nation and the Party, that I shall continue, as before, to be guided by the principles of the Party and to regard the interests of the Nation as paramount. Executive power can never rightly be a one man's show. Ours is and must always remain a people-oriented revolutionary path guided by

socialist principles. It is the people as a whole who are our concern and to whose collective interest individual interest must subject itself. If I am to succeed in leading you along our defined socialist path towards common and national developmental goals, may I ask for your support, your support as individuals, as families, as the Party, as Government, as the Church, nay, as the Nation. I remain, forever, one of

you; one of you as much by birth as by a common struggle and a common destiny.

It is our country together and together let us develop it.  
It is our nation together and together let us build it.  
It is our freedom together and together let us defend it.  
It is our unity together and together let us consolidate it.



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# Restructuring the Party



President Mugabe

A new era has opened in the political reality of Zimbabwe with the merging of the two main political Parties, ZANU (PF) the majority party and PF ZAPU which up to now has held less than 20 seats. However the days of political confrontation have been replaced with the opening of a more glorious and historic era as the President becomes Zimbabwe's first Executive President and this just after the historic agreement for unity had been concluded. In 1978 October 7, answering a question on unity with PF ZAPU in an interview with two western journalists Comrade President Mugabe replied, "We would like to merge, starting from the grassroots. If in one area you have a ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU branch, the two branches must be brought together and the people choose a new executive, and we proceed that way throughout the country, up to the district level, then to the provincial level then you go to the congress."

Ten years later that political aspiration is about to concretise. In

September of 1987 the restructuring programme started throughout the country. Members of the Politburo were tasked to go and ascertain the state of the Party.

Subscriptions had gone down. Inflated figures of cells, branches and districts continued to be reported by Party official there. Party activity had also slumped. What was happening? The Gweru Seminar of 1987 which was attended by the Secretary of Administration Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo and his deputy Comrade Frederick Shava, the Secretary of Finance, Comrade Enos Nkala, Deputy Secretary for the Commissariat Comrade Nelson Mawema, Secretary for Security, Comrade Emmerson Mnangagwa, Secretary for Transport and Social Welfare, Comrade Sidney Sekeramayi explored the state of the Party and passed recommendations. It is well known that when ZANU (PF) swept to power in the 1980 elections many members of minority parties joined the Party. It was never found out whether they had genuinely join-

ed the Party or they were after a cosy place. However several such opportunists were even voted to positions of influence within ZANU (PF) at various levels. They introduced lethargy into the Party with their resistance to change. They introduced their own code of discipline, which was not ZANU (PF), their own modus operandi, which was not ZANU. In other words they infiltrated the Party, and tried to make their aim concrete, that of making a dynamic organisation dull, where its main function would be to serve the interest of power hungry individuals.

Why were officials of the Party calling a structure with 20 people a cell, a structure with 200 people a branch and a structure with 2 000 people a district? This was an affront to the constitutional requirements of Party structures laid out at the 2nd congress at Borrowdale in 1984. This is why the leadership went to investigate as well as perform the task of restructuring those particular structures standing.



According to the constitution a cell must have 100 members, a branch must have 500 members a district must have 5 000 members. These would be properly constituted structures. This is what is called restructuring, building the proper Party structures as laid out by the Party Constitution endorsed by the 2nd Congress.

While speaking to *Zimbabwe News* Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo, the Secretary for Administration and Acting Secretary for the Commissariat said the restructuring exercise will now have to take cognisance of the Unity agreement with PF ZAPU. This was what Comrade President Mugabe said to reporters in 1978 that where there exists a ZANU (PF) and a PF ZAPU branch, a single unit must be created where the people choose a new executive. This will then unite the people from the grassroots upwards.

As the two Parties' Central Committees must sit separately to ratify the agreement, the masses must now start looking ahead and thinking unity, walking unity, sleeping unity and realising unity. Comrade President said the agreement makes it clear that the guiding principles would be based on Marxism/Leninism towards the creation of socialism and that this policy would guide the One Party that has been agreed upon and which would come into being in 1990 after a single congress has been

held, a united congress that would see the culmination of a one Party State with the composition of the two Parties ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU.

PF ZAPU would be the first to hold its urgent congress in March/April then ZANU. At the same time the Party activity would not stop but would continue with even more vigour since this agreement invigorates Party activity, dedication and commitment in the same way as did the historic Central Committee meeting at Chimoio in September 1977, following the demoralisation suffered after the Detente exercise.

Some described the Unity agreement as a Christmas gift some as a New Year gift but we say it is a further manifestation of the dialectics of our revolution as this revolution more and more meets the existing contradiction squarely, triumphs and qualitatively transforms.

As per Comrade President's 1978 words, the way is now poised for the Congress. As the grassroots unites into single structures all Provinces will, according to the Secretary for Administration hold their own Congresses. This is after the existing Provincial executives have dissolved in May this year as ruled by the 4th Ordinary Session of the Central Committee. Thereafter the Congress would elect a new executive which will go to the National Congress in 1990. According to the constitution the provincial executive dissolves

after 4 years and the Central Committee dissolves after five years. Asked when he thinks the restructuring exercise would be said to be accomplished, Comrade Nyagumbo said he hoped by next September or October all the provinces would be concluded and ZAPU Structures would be part and parcel of ZANU (PF).

On the question of politicisation, Comrade Nyagumbo conceded that the bigger number of Political Commissars at grassroot level was still not learned in Marxist and Leninist principles. "The Commissariat Department is going to organise seminars, pamphlets and relevant visits to the provinces to educate the people". He however warned, "The process may take a bit long restructuring and ideological training at the same time is a bit difficult". Comrade Nyagumbo still recognised the need for this ideological training now, "We sent cadres to socialist countries for ideological training — these are going to be tasked to carry out ideological work, having the rest of the membership trained. In this regard Provincial workshops would be held where senior district officials would be invited to participate.

Ideological training would be an ongoing exercise as, "You can't say you have done enough ideological training, the masses will continue to need it".



Restructuring — putting together party structures in accordance with the constitution

# The Role of the Frontline States in Liberating South Africa

*By Our Diplomatic Correspondent*

To begin with I would like to state that the Frontline States have no desire to be the liberators of South Africa and Namibia because no one country can ever free another. And no people can be given liberty from outside its borders. They can only be assisted in obtaining freedom for themselves through their own efforts. Equally, however, a people cannot ultimately be denied liberty. Sooner or later, by one means or another, they will fight for their own freedom and for the liberation of their country from foreign domination.

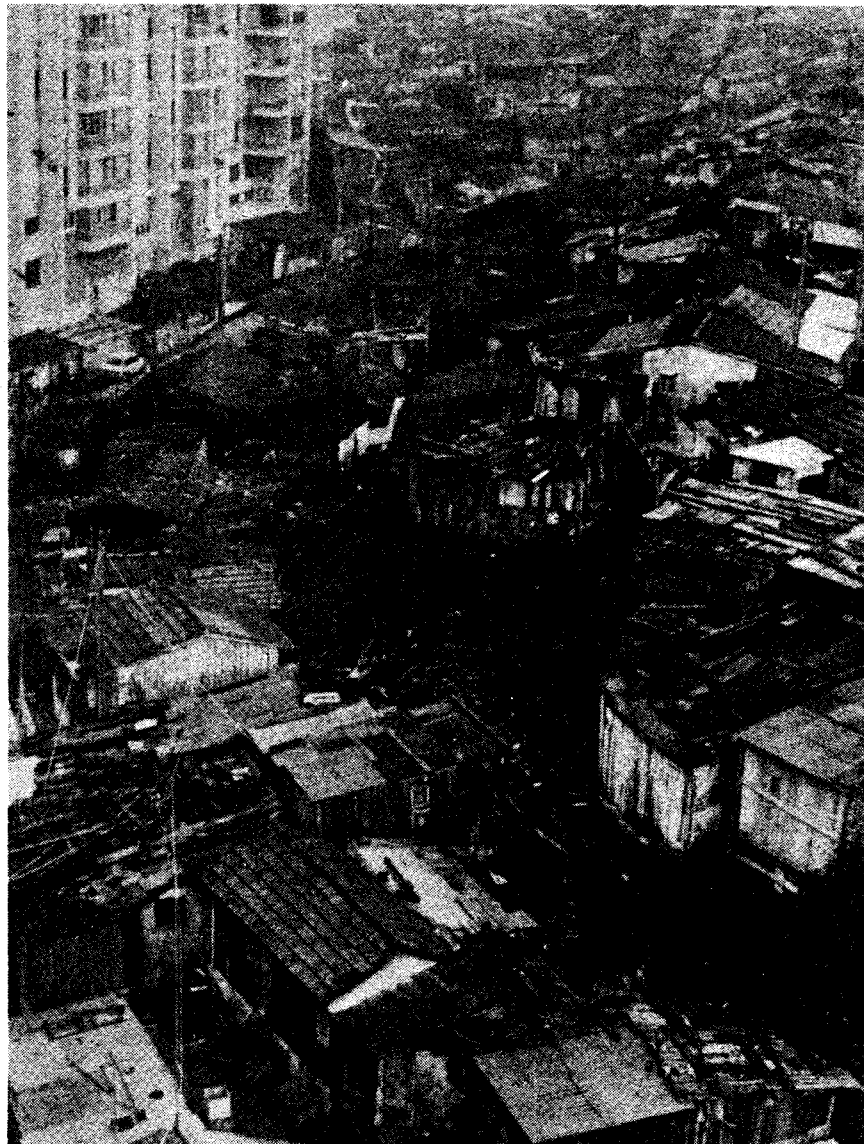
The Frontline States were created by the OAU as an instrument to help solve the problem of Rhodesia. Their role was to give material and diplomatic assistance to the Zimbabwean liberation movements in their struggle for independence. With the achievement of independence for Zimbabwe in 1980, the Frontline States now deal with the problems of South Africa and Namibia.

The Frontline States is a Committee of the OAU specifically set up to give immediate diplomatic support for liberation movements and co-ordinate bilateral and multilateral material assistance to them. As they did in the case of Rhodesia, they act as the ears and eyes of the OAU at any discussions or talks between the liberation movements and representatives of the regime. But, the Frontline States have a direct interest in the ending of Apartheid also. It is not possible to confine the conflict spawned by apartheid to South Africa and Namibia, it is also felt throughout the Frontline States themselves. The end of Apartheid would make it possible for them to consolidate their independence.

## Military and Material Support

Support for the Southern African Liberation Movements is on two levels. The first one is the military level through financial contributions to the Liberation Committee based in Dar-es-Salam. The liberation movements have launched fierce armed struggles inside Namibia and South Africa.

The second level takes the form of material and diplomatic assistance. At the UN, the Commonwealth and other international fora, the Frontline States con-



The problem of apartheid . . . squatters

sistently call for the total isolation of the racist South African regime and the imposition of mandatory economic sanctions against it. They join forces with the Namibian Council of the UN to call for the end of South African occupation, and the implementation of Resolution 435.

Whilst two of the Frontline States host the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, refugees from these two countries are looked after by all the member states of the organisation.

In addition to give material, and diplomatic assistance to the ANC, PAC and SWAPO, the Frontline States provided information and publicity to these organisations. Daily radio broadcasts are beamed to their people at home and made from some of the Frontline States by the ANC, PAC and SWAPO. Besides these broadcasts, the southern African liberation movements' political programmes and activities are widely publicised in the major newspapers of the Frontline States. These papers also continue to expose the





Still from the film . . . Cry Freedom . . . apartheid troops gun down innocent and unarmed black children and workers

evils of apartheid and to record the heroic efforts of the people inside South Africa and Namibia in their day-to-day struggle against oppression.

One era of support by the Frontline States, the call for mandatory sanctions, has aroused much debate on whether sanctions are effective or not. Our own

experience during Smith's UDI shows that a combination of economic sanctions and a guerrilla war can be very effective in bringing an obdurate colonial government to the negotiating table. Indeed at the Lancaster House Conference, the major topics on the agenda were how to end the war and how to lift sanctions. Everything else that was discussed flow-

ed from these two major concerns. Sanctions are an effective instrument for diplomatic isolation of the regime, and mobilising support in the international community.

## Summit Achieved Treaty but Faltered on Regional Conflicts

*By Our Defence Correspondent*

*The Reagan-Gorbachev Washington Summit covered four broad areas: the INF Treaty, Strategic arms, regional conflicts and human rights. The Summit was reported as a success on the question of disarmament, but it was a flop on regional conflicts that are of major concern to us and other NAM countries. President R. Reagan of the USA refused to*

*withdraw support from South Africa — his main ally in our region — and to give an impetus to the Middle East International Peace Conference so strongly advocated by NAM.*

### The INF Treaty

At 1.45 p.m., December 8, 1987, President Reagan and General Secretary Gor-

bachev signed a treaty that will, for the first time, eliminate an entire class of nuclear missiles.

*Weapons Covered* by the Treaty are all missiles, deployed and in storage, with ranges between 300 and 3 300 miles, i.e. 429 deployed US Pershing II and Cruise missiles and 857 deployed Soviet SS-4, SS-5, SS-12, SS-20, SS-23 missiles; plus 420 US and 895 Soviet missiles in storage.



**Signing for Peace or for War? The progressive world wishes to develop in peace**

This gives a grand total of 2701 missiles to be destroyed within three years of the ratification of the treaty.

*Verification* will be ensured by the placing of US and Soviet inspectors at each other's sites, who will be allowed short notice visits to inspect installations.

*Europe's Independence Nuclear Missiles* will not be affected. West Germany will scrap its Pershing 1a missiles but France and Britain will keep their nuclear missiles.

*Ratification* Although the INF Treaty is expected to be easily ratified in the USSR, big problems are forecast in the US Senate's ratification. Senate leaders predict that the treaty could be ratified by mid-April next year but ultra-right wing Republicans may sneak in amendments that could force the treaty back to the negotiating table.

## Strategic Arms

A working group on Strategic arms reduction was appointed on December 8 and Reagan and Gorbachev will discuss their recommendations on December 10, 1987. These revolve around a possible Gorbachev-Reagan Summit this year in Moscow to sign a treaty reducing strategic nuclear arms by 50 per cent.

The Soviets say their aim is to cut all strategic weapons to zero by the year 2 000.

Two major stumbling blocks are SDI — Reagan is, so far unwilling to compromise on this — and ratification by the US Senate — ultra right — wing Republicans say the INF treaty will be ratified but vow that a treaty on strategic arms reduction will never be ratified.

## Regional Conflicts

The regional conflicts that are of crucial concern to the NAM and Africa, were discussed but little or no progress was made. The regional conflicts were referred to a working group on December 8 and Reagan and Gorbachev discussed the

recommendations on December 9, 1987. Areas on the agenda were Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, Southern Africa and Central America.

Reports we have received show that President Reagan dug in his heels on three of the four issues, but was willing to have an extended discussion on Afghanistan where he felt the USSR's case was rather weak.

## Human Rights

The two leaders discussed human rights problems on December 8 and referred the



**General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — Michail Gorbachev working for peace through an active disarmament policy**

**REAGAN! The solution?**  
The new elections which constitute a new direction, the end of militarization and the cessation of aid to the Bandits

**ORTEGA! OK what will you begin with?**



**Ronald Reagan! Destabilisation Specialist — B.A., M.A. PHD. Actor — Hollywood**

issue to a working group as well. No breakthroughs were reported or expected. The steps taken by Comrade Gorbachev to open Soviet Society to release detainees, and to allow Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel if they so wish, removed the rug from under the feet of Mr. Reagan.

### Comment

The INF Treaty, taken in conjunction with a possible Strategic arms treaty next year, will make a very big impact on the economics and politics of the two superpowers. Both have their economies in a big mess. They can now cut military spending

and divert resources to economic development. Reagan can now reduce the budget deficit, develop high-quality industrial production that would make American products competitive on the world markets and thus reduce the trade deficit. Mikhail Gorbachev will be assured of the economic resources to fuel his forward-looking "perestroika" and "glasnost" policies. (See the December issue for an analysis of these policies).

In the USA the INF treaty is already having a political impact. Ultra right-wingers, who call themselves "Conservatives", are in disarray and on the run. They brought Mr. Reagan into power on an anti-communist ticket. But their balloon

has been burst by the progressive policies of Comrade Gorbachev who is seeking real peace for all mankind, under conditions of self-determination, not domination.

The ultra right-wingers, such as Senators Larry Pressler, Jesse Helms, Robert Dole, and others want to block peace initiatives, and continue to support bandits in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

## Palestine — Convene an International Conference Now!

Zionist Israel's barbarism and inhumanity being perpetrated against the Palestinian people in its desperate bid to stem the tide of the revolution must be deplored and mankind should fully give support to the PLO. The rights of over four million homeless Palestinians struggling against Israeli military occupation and repression since 1948 should be realised. This is the strong belief held by the PLO Ambassador to Zimbabwe Comrade Ali Halimeh.

Talking to *Zimbabwe News* recently Comrade Halimeh denounced the recent criminal campaign of murder

and terror against defenceless and innocent Palestinian civilians. Referring to the genocidal position of the Zionist regime the ambassador said, "The intensification of the Zionist campaigns of repression uncover the amount of dilemma in which the enemy leadership have fallen into," said Comrade Halimeh.

The driving force behind recent unrest in Israel's occupied territories is a generation of Palestinian teenagers, born under occupation who see no way out of their plight but violence. The same young Arabs have been the victims of the unrest. Israeli

troops have killed several of them in what has been the most violent period since Israel seized the territories in 1967.

Israeli authorities have admitted that Palestinian youths were fighting back with stones, petrol bombs, burning of tyres, building road blocks and chanting anti-Israeli slogans in retaliation against Israeli raids and expulsion of nine Palestinians. It is the young people who are leading this outburst against the Israelis. They have demonstrated their anger and higher stage of revolutionary spirit, with deep hatred and despair



by becoming more explosive as a vital means of self-expression of their rights.

Most of the deaths have occurred in the Gaza Strip, one of the most crowded areas in the world with more than 650 000 people, most of them impoverished refugees, teeming in a 364 square kilometre of land.

"The use of live gunfire to quell protestors has only been practiced by Zionist Israel and Apartheid South Africa the World over and this is why," went on Comrade Hallmeh, "the new generation has become better organised and becoming better equipped than its predecessors."

In clash after clash during the unrest youths have been seen lobbing not just rocks at soldiers, but also firebombs. They attacked patrols not merely with sticks, but with axes and sharpened steel rods. This is how the most popular BZ University was liberated recently by PLO students who took over the resistance by demonstrating and confronting the Israelis."

"The United States has had its objectives based on denying any rights which the PLO should enjoy. But from the other hand the US administration with its traditional role in the region has demonstrated its policy which is directed at supporting the Israelis and their policies," said Comrade Hallmeh.

It is surprising to note that even Israel's godfather, the US was clearly shocked by the carnage being dropped in West Bank and Gaza Strip to paralyse Palestinian protests against Israeli occupation.

On the other hand the protests can

also be viewed as aimed against the International Community for failing to bring about a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. For decades Palestinians in occupied territories had faith in the ability of the United Nations to free them from the frustration of watching, what little is left of Israeli annexation of their homeland. But as the years go by, so their hopes become frustrated.

Instead of withdrawing, Israel has embarked on a massive programme to annex the occupied lands completely. While Zionists are being encouraged to settle in Palestine the indigenous Palestinians are being systematically harassed and driven off their land. The frustration of watching what little is left of their country being swallowed up by Israel with the international community playing the role of a disabled spectator is what has finally brought the youth out on to the streets. The politicisation of eventual radicalisation of the Palestinian youth can easily be attributed to Israeli intransigence and the taking of the Arabs for granted.

In a speech to mark the 23rd anniversary of the start of the Palestinian revolution, Comrade Yasar Arafat blamed the United States for conniving with Zionist Israel in liquidating Palestinians in Lebanon. "The American-Israeli scheme aims at carrying out the partitioning of Lebanon into sectarian mini-states," he said. The PLO leader said the death of many Palestinians and the suffering of detainees are a great incentive for the revolution.

Commenting on the stance of Arab community during the interview, Comrade Hallmeh said, The Arab position was demonstrated by the

Arab League which took place in Tunisia recently where all Arab countries praised the resistance of the Palestinians against Israeli occupation forces.

The PLO Ambassador said the visit of the British junior Foreign Office minister David Mellor demonstrates a sincerity towards the Palestinian people. Britain was the first Western country to condemn Israeli aggression against innocent Palestinian people. "Other western countries should learn from Britain's example. It is encouraging if people start to see the objective reality and we are hoping that other western countries will follow suit," he said.

Whilst in New York recently, the United Nations General Assembly issued a new call for a United Nations sponsored Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of five permanent members of the Security Council and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The resolution, one of the several on the Middle East situation and similar to one recently adopted on the question of Palestine, was approved by a vote of 124 to 3 with 22 abstentions. The negative votes were cast by Israel, the United States and Honduras.

As the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, President Robert Gabriel Mugabe said recently in a message to the leaders of the super powers in response to the murders in the occupied territories, "Only an immediately convened international conference on the Palestinian question is likely to come up with a permanent solution to the problem."

## Pretoria Remains on Treacherous Road

Pretoria has remained gripped by strong black resistance and increasing white defection from the racial segregation system.

The past few years have seen wave upon wave of violent black strikes, demonstrations and boycotts of classes and white shops to protest against the racist policy. To halt the black struggle, President P.W. Botha's regime initiated some token reforms while resorting to relentless repression.

A parliamentary election was held on May 6 two years ahead of schedule, to seek a mandate from white voters for what the Botha government calls apartheid reform.

However, the black majority, which accounts for 73,8 percent of the country's population was as usual excluded from the whites only election.

And as could be expected, the election prompted bitter attacks from blacks as well as sympathetic whites.

The largest anti-apartheid alliance the United Democratic Front (UDF), denounced the election as a "time-wasting blockade of the real challenges." The 2 million-member alliance rejects the white government and parliament as unlawful.

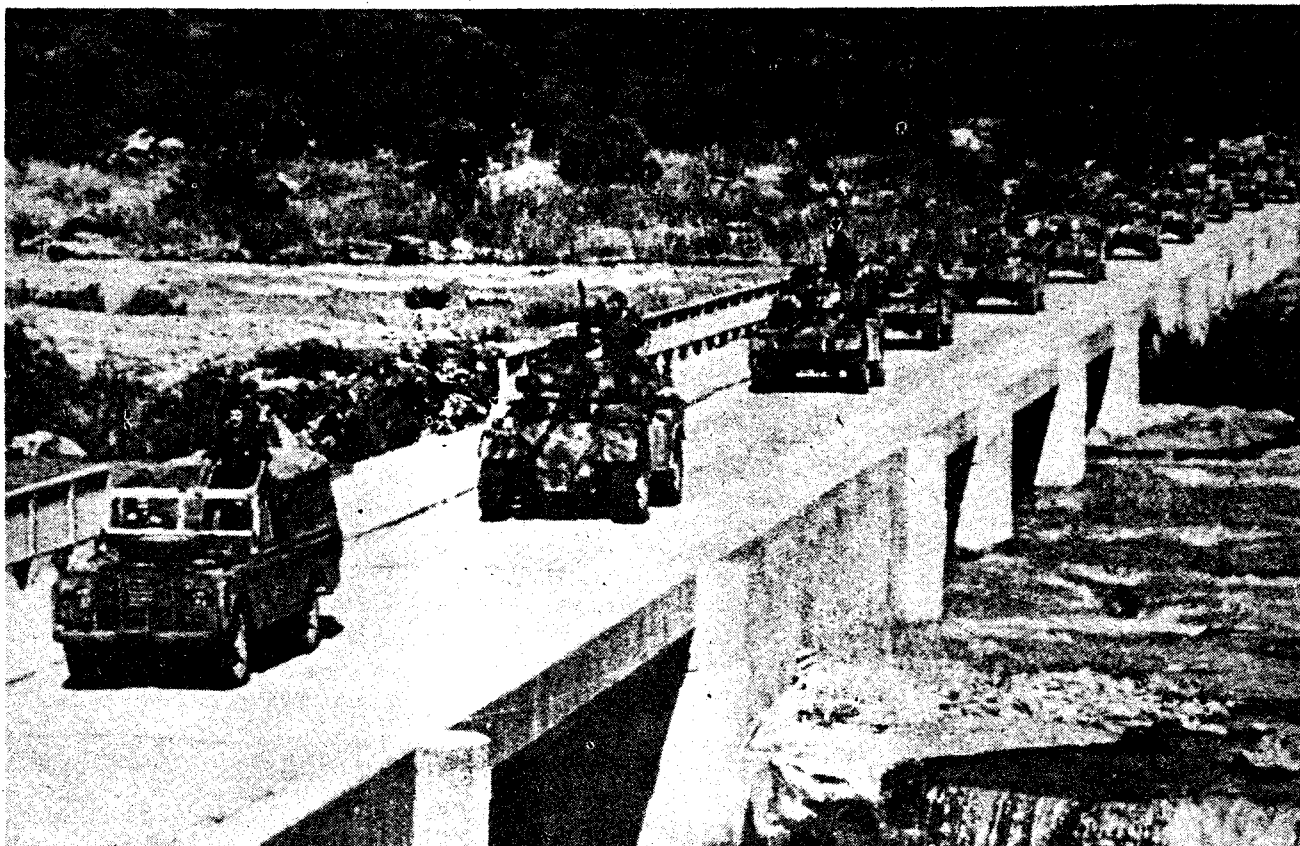
Just before the election, former South African ambassador to Britain, Denis Worrall and some other members of

parliament from Botha's ruling National Party (NP) quit the ruling party and ran as independents against NP candidates. Worrall accused the NP's reform of being "sham, flimsy, hypocritical and bankrupt."

At the University of Stellenbosch, a group of 330 lecturers and researchers and another group of 27 academics signed statements calling for the elimination of all racially discriminatory laws.

The move embarrassed Botha, who is chancellor of this academic bastion of the NP.

Several other high-ranking NP officials resigned this year to protest Botha's unwillingness to end apartheid.



**Defeated South African forces returning from Angola, March 1979**

The defections pose the sternest challenge to the ruling party since it took power in 1948.

In reaction to the whites-only election, opposition Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Colin Eglin accused the Botha government of remaining wedded to apartheid.

"Today, the objective of all South Africans who care for their country is to not try in vain to get the government to change, but to change the government," he said.

More than 1 million blacks stayed away from work and hundreds of thousands of students boycotted classes on election day and the day after to protest against the voting.

Black workers demonstrated their strength this year by sharply increasing strikes.

In August, 340 000 black miners staged the biggest and longest strike in South African mining industry for higher wages and better working conditions. The three-week strike by more than half of the nation's 600 000 black gold and coal miners paralyzed production at 44 mines. The losses affected two-thirds of the nation's major mines and cost the mine owners US\$135 million.

In the end, the 30-percent pay hike demanded by the country's largest trade



**Miners against apartheid**

union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), was not obtained. But the mine owners did increase vacation pay by 10 percent and death benefits by 50 percent, from an equivalent of two years' wages to an amount equal to three years' income. These improved benefits accompanied wage increase of 15-23 percent.

"We will continue our fight for a living wage until all our demands have been met, and 1988 is the year the NUM will

receive what is demanded," NUM General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said.

The mine walkout was the third major strike this year by an affiliate of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

Hundreds of thousands of transport, postal, brewery, retail and metal workers separately went on strike this year to protest against apartheid and demand higher wages.



The strike by 18 000 black transport workers lasted six weeks and cost the state-run South African transport services millions of US dollars.

The strikers demonstrated that black workers must be reckoned with in the fight to end apartheid and improve the political and economic positions of South African blacks.

Meetings between liberal whites and the African National Congress (ANC) increased despite the government's efforts to block contacts between South African whites and the organization which has been fighting a guerrilla war to topple South Africa's racist government rule since the early 1960s.

A group of more than 50 politicians, academics, farmers, businessmen, artists and sports figures led by former PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, met ANC leaders in Dakar in July to discuss ways of dismantling apartheid.

Both sides agreed to try to remove apartheid and build a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The two sides favoured a negotiated resolution of the apartheid problem and called for the unconditional release of all imprisoned and detained political leaders and an end to the banning of organizations as fundamental prerequisites for such negotiation.

But Pretoria did not soften its high-handed policies this year. The NP made

it clear after it won the May election that it would stick to its apartheid policy and intensify its battle with the black opposition.

In June, President Botha renewed the year-old state of emergency, which allows unlimited detention without charge and gives the government broad power to control protests and restrict freedom of speech, the press and assembly. During the first year of emergency law, 30 000 blacks were detained without being charged.

South Africa this year allocated about 43 percent more money to the police and 30 percent more to the armed forces at the expense of creating jobs for the black majority.

Petitions and statements calling for the release of detainees were prohibited and attendance at rallies in support of detainees was barred. Dozens of foreign reporters were arrested or expelled for covering the black unrest as a result of the imposition of stricter press curbs.

And the offices of anti-apartheid organizations and black trade unions were often bombed, robbed or raided and their leaders arrested by police.

Pretoria's intransigence has triggered worldwide condemnation and economic sanctions. Tens of thousands of people have demonstrated in London and Paris. Frankfurt and Amsterdam to protest against apartheid. Finland, Norway,

Sweden and Spain have imposed trade sanctions against Pretoria. Even South Africa's close ally Israel decided in September to impose sanctions. As the year end, Pretoria is finding itself more isolated from the international community as pressure from within mounts.

South Africa continued its destabilization policy in Southern Africa this year by frequent raids and bombing incidents as well as support for anti-government forces in neighbouring countries.

On May 29, South African commandos raided the Mozambican capital of Maputo killing three people.

Besides direct raids, Pretoria recruited trained and armed anti-government forces of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement, which targets rail lines, bridges, roads, oil pipelines, factories and other economic facilities, and assassinates government officials and civilians.

In October, the MNR rebels ambushed a bus convoy escorted by government troops 80 km north of Maputo, leaving 278 people dead. It was the latest in a series of mass killings by the MNR, including the massacre of 92 people in August and 424 in July.

The chief of South Africa's army, General Jannie Geldenhuys, announced on November 11 that South African regular troops had entered Angola to support the anti-government forces. The in-



cursion into Angola was one of Pretoria's biggest in the 12 years since Angola achieved independence.

In Zambia, South African forces raided Livingstone in April killing five people.

South Africa was held responsible for three bombing incidents in Zambia between September 30 and October 16, in which six people were killed.

In Zimbabwe, 18 people were injured in a car bomb blast in Harare. Zimbabwe

blamed South Africa for the worst blast in the country since its independence in 1980.

South Africa also sent agents to infiltrate refugee camps in African frontline states and sabotage the work of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the ANC. SWAPO is fighting for Namibian independence from South Africa.

In July South African agents assassinated an executive member of the

ANC Central Committee and another senior ANC official in Swaziland, bringing to 11 the number of ANC members killed by South Africa in Swaziland this year.

It is estimated that South Africa's sabotage cost its neighbours US 2 billion.

## 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.

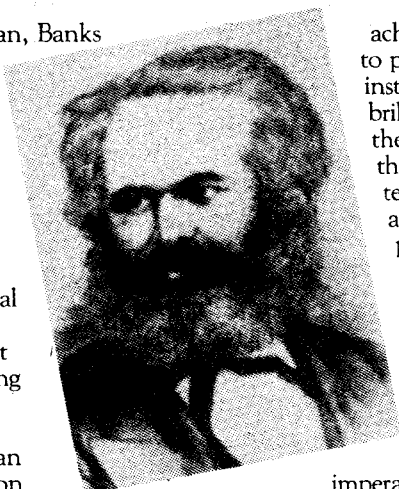
MBA is a totally-owned Zimbabwean advertising agency with a totally Zimbabwean staff. Sir Athol Evans chairs a directorate which includes Maurice Matthewman and Ray Banks, joint founders and owners of the organisation, together with Lawrence Vambe, Ronnie Lotz, and two staff representatives.

### 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.

From each according to his abilities...

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

\*Such is MBA.



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# Political Profile

## Prisoner No. 220/82

### Boris Asoyan

*Efforts to erase his name from the popular memory have been futile. Not even the thick prison walls behind which Africa's hero Nelson Mandela has been held for a quarter of a century have been of any use.*

Nelson Mandela was destined to be a legend in his lifetime, a symbol of the liberation struggle of millions of black people, and set an example of boundless dedication to the ideals of justice, of almost martyr-like self-sacrifice. People of his kind were described by Herzen as single-minded, totally committed, "motivated by one great idea, possessed of one great goal, people with gentle hearts and wills of iron."

Esteem for the fighter for justice grew throughout the years he spent in prison. When deputies to the "white" parliament were elected in South Africa in 1987, the newspaper Sowetan, which appears in Soweto near Johannesburg with its population of two million, suggested that its readers compile their own list of presidential candidates. Most named Nelson Mandela.

Mandela also commands great respect in the white community. Some regard him as the only person capable of arresting the violence and launching the process of South Africa's peaceful transition to justice. He is our last hope, Helen Suzman, who represents the opposition Progressive Federal Party in parliament, once said.

### Sharpeville Shooting

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in Transkei on July 18, 1918. The boy's path in life seemed predetermined: a missionary school after his initiation rites, Fort Hare College which admitted Africans, marriage and the pursuit of the affairs of his tribe. His life would have taken this course had it not been for his wilful and independent nature.

He complied with 50 per cent of his father's request, and entered Fort Hare College, although he did not study there for long. He was expelled for organizing a student boycott. Another student, Oliver Tambo, was expelled along with him. Since then Oliver Tambo has been his associate in the liberation struggle and was later to be elected president of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

Nelson Mandela joined the ANC in 1944 and soon became one of its leaders.

Many might have thought that this

young giant, self-assured, obstinate and impetuous, always inventive, was no more than the frivolous and spoiled son of a chief, who would sooner or later have done with his youthful follies and come to his senses. But his unflinching and passionate determination to achieve his goal was already evident. The goal for the sake of which he chose the path of extreme hardship was the freedom of his people.

The extraordinary qualities of the young leader won him friends, and at the same time attracted the attention of the authorities, who tried to do their utmost to reduce him to silence.

A suspended sentence of nine months' imprisonment was passed on him in 1952 for organizing a disobedience campaign in protest against the apartheid laws. On December 11, 1952, that sentence was followed by the deprivation of civil rights and restriction to Johannesburg. In September 1953, his deprivation of civil rights was extended for another two years. He wrote this in his notes at the time: "I found myself restricted and isolated from my fellowmen, trailed by officers of the Special Branch wherever I went . . . I was made, by the law, a criminal, not because of what I had done, but because of what I stood for."

Those were the years when former colonial empires were losing their possessions in Africa, one after another. The wind of freedom was blowing ever stronger, and fresh hope was being kindled in the black people. The apartheid state constantly introduced new discriminatory laws, and reprisals became increasingly brutal. Their culmination was the use of live ammunition by the police against a peaceful demonstration of black people in Sharpeville in June 1960. As many as 69 people were killed and 176 wounded.

By the time the ANC had the experience of nearly 40 years of non-violent resistance, stemming largely from Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy. But such methods of struggle could not halt apartheid.

Violence had become the government's standard practice.

And Africans had to counter it with violence.

"In my mind, we are closing a chapter



Comrade Mandela the day before his last arrest now he is 69

on this question of a non-violent policy," Mandela declared on May 30, 1961.

And six months later the South African newspapers raised a storm over what had hitherto been unheard-of: raids on government officers and production facilities, destruction on a considerable scale. The previously unknown organization, Umkhonto weSizwe (the Zulu for "Spear of the Nation"), claimed responsibility. Nelson Mandela had commanded units of raiders.

For two years he evaded arrest. He became as skilful in the use of make-up as a professional actor. Sometimes even his wife Winnie failed to recognise him. In that period he illegally went abroad and travelled in several countries, Europe included. Everywhere he asked for support, funds and arms.

His requests went unanswered in the West.

On August 5, 1962, Nelson Mandela was arrested in Natal Province on a tip-off from the US Central Intelligence Agency. On that day he was heading for

the town of Howick in the guise of a white's chauffeur. A CIA agent working under cover afforded by the US Consulate in Durban had information about his itinerary. Having consulted Washington, he proposed a deal to the South African police: information about Mandela in return for information about the structure of the bantustans. The authorities promptly agreed as the information sought was not classified and was to be made public shortly. The court sentenced Mandela to five year's hard labour on Robben Island, in the most horrible prison in South Africa.

A new trial was held a year later. Mandela and his associates were charged with high treason and sentenced for life.

Life imprisonment plus five years Nelson Mandela was 69 last July. Thirty-four years ago he was deprived first of civil rights and then of freedom.

### **"I care for your freedom"**

It was quickly discovered that Mandela in prison was no less formidable an adversary than Mandela at large. Pretoria has repeated the mistake of the colonial regimes that sought to deprive people of their leaders.

The regime landed itself in a very complex and awkward situation. On the one hand, Mandela's liberation is constantly demanded by virtually all countries, including South Africa's main trading partners, and South Africa can ill afford to ignore their demand.

On the other, to release Mandela and commute his sentence would amount, at the very least, to admitting to judicial error and, at most, to recognizing the illegality and arbitrariness of the apartheid system. Such a decision would almost certainly cause an intensification of the actions of the right-wing extremists in the white community, whose influence has already increased dramatically following the May 1987 elections to the "white" parliament.

And another thought is constantly gnawing at the Pretoria rulers: Mandela is advancing in years. And the law formulated by the Danish philosopher Kierkegaard will immediately go into effect if he dies. "When a tyrant dies his rule ends, when a martyr dies his rule begins."

In 1969, attempts were made to persuade Mandela to give up the political struggle and reconcile himself to a quiet

life in Transkei bantustan, where he would enjoy freedom. Such proposals were made to him more than once. After another such attempt in 1985, Mandela dispatched a letter from prison, calling on the people to continue the struggle and refuse to be taken in by the rumours that he was about to come to terms with the authorities.

"I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom . . . Your freedom and mine cannot be separated," he wrote.

After each refusal by Mandela, the authorities invariably displayed extreme irritation and sometimes, going too far, made irresponsible statements. P.W. Botha made the following remark at a reception for diplomats in February 1987: "For all I care, Mandela can rot in prison till he dies, or till I die." These words found their way into newspapers and caused an uproar, and the President's office had to issue a denial.

Prominent American journalist Joseph Lelyveld is of the opinion that what is involved for Botha in this case is geography, not ideology. Had Mandela been born in another country, it would have been a different matter altogether.

### **Better late than never**

But then, in August 1987, there was a report from Pretoria that Mandela might be unconditionally released. As if to confirm the authorities' new approach, a supporter of Mandela, Govan Mbeki, 77, was released from prison early in November after serving 24 years under the same sentence.

All this looks like an attempt to earn indulgence, avoid responsibility for the lawlessness and arbitrariness reigning in South Africa, and "let off the steam" from the boiling cauldron of the people's wrath.

Perhaps the ruling circles are now mainly motivated by fear that the generation of South African revolutionaries following in Mandela's footsteps will be less inclined to talk and will favour armed struggle against the aggressors.

The ANC has always been the force that sought to check the uncontrolled violence in black townships, and preclude actions that objectively conflict with the aims of the struggle against apartheid, reducing it to racial hatred.

It should be noted that fanaticism and an uncompromising stand are characteristic of those living in African

townships in South Africa. The slightest deviation from the struggle for the rights of the native population is viewed as treason, and brutally punished.

It can be said that traitors to revolutions have always been punished. But we also know of examples when revolutions veered from their course as a result of unrestrained violence.

Incidentally, Nelson Mandela foresaw this danger a quarter of a century ago. He said that without the guidance and control of the ANC "there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war."

Back in 1961 he came up with the idea of a National Convention. "Such a convention would discuss our national problems in a sane and sober manner, and would work out solutions which sought to preserve and safeguard the interests of all sections of the population." It would work out "a new non-racial and democratic constitution."

25 years ago Mandela said that there should be no fears of "black racism," and that equal political rights should be granted to the black population. He stressed that this is the only course that guarantees racial harmony and freedom for all.

International prizes are being awarded annually to Nelson Mandela, prisoner No. 220/82. The world's greatest universities have conferred honorary degrees on him. Streets are being named after him. Several books and a multitude of articles about him are published yearly. His name sounds increasingly often in the most important official premises in the world. A recently discovered particle of matter has been named after him.

Stevie Wonder, the popular American singer and composer, in a song dedicated to Mandela, demands that his jailers release this great son of Africa, and tells them that this is their chance of salvation.

It is immaterial whether the leaders of the white minority decide to take that chance or are compelled to do so. It is obvious that they have lost the battle against Nelson Mandela on every count.

**A luta continua!**



# Way to Independent Namibia

## Chakanyuka Karase

*An Analysis of the Liberation Struggle in Namibia Twenty Years after the Termination of the Mandate*

**F**OLLOWING SOUTH Africa's dismal failure to fulfil the terms of the League of Nations mandate to prepare Namibia for eventual self-determination, the United Nations, General Assembly, successor to the League of Nations, terminated South Africa's brutal rule over Namibia in 1966. Namibia became the direct responsibility of the United Nations and to this end the United Nations established a special Council for Namibia to administer the territory until independence. This termination of South Africa's mandate was endorsed by the United Nations Security Council, the International Court of Justice sitting in the League and by all progressive international organisations. The International Court of Justice specifically declared the continued occupation of Namibia by South Africa illegal and violation of International Law. Since 1966, the UN, the Security Council and other UN agencies have passed scores of resolutions calling upon South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia. One of these is Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 which envisages the modalities of a final plan for Namibia's transition to independence a date for the cessation of hostilities and the stationing of United Nations forces to supervise general and free elections. But South Africa has ignored all these calls and contemptuously continues, through the use of massive military force, to frustrate the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and its military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), in their just struggle for self-determination and independence. With total disregard for all norms of International Law, the South African regime has used Namibia as a springboard for aggression against the African frontline states of Angola, Botswana and Zambia. Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho have also been victims of South Africa's co-ordinated efforts to destabilise the governments of neighbouring countries through military aggression, economic sabotage and tactics of intimidation, subversion and harassment.

Twenty years after the termination



The President of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, on a visit to a liberated area in Northern Namibia in 1978

of South Africa's mandate over Namibia, the Namibian problem still remains. How is it that South Africa has defied international opinion for the past twenty years?

It should be remembered that the United Nations Security Council, in accordance with the UN Charter, calls for international collective measures including the use of force, against a state which threatens peace and commits wilful aggression. The apartheid regime of South Africa represents one of the greatest threats to international peace and security today. In spite of its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and naked aggression against African frontline states, South Africa

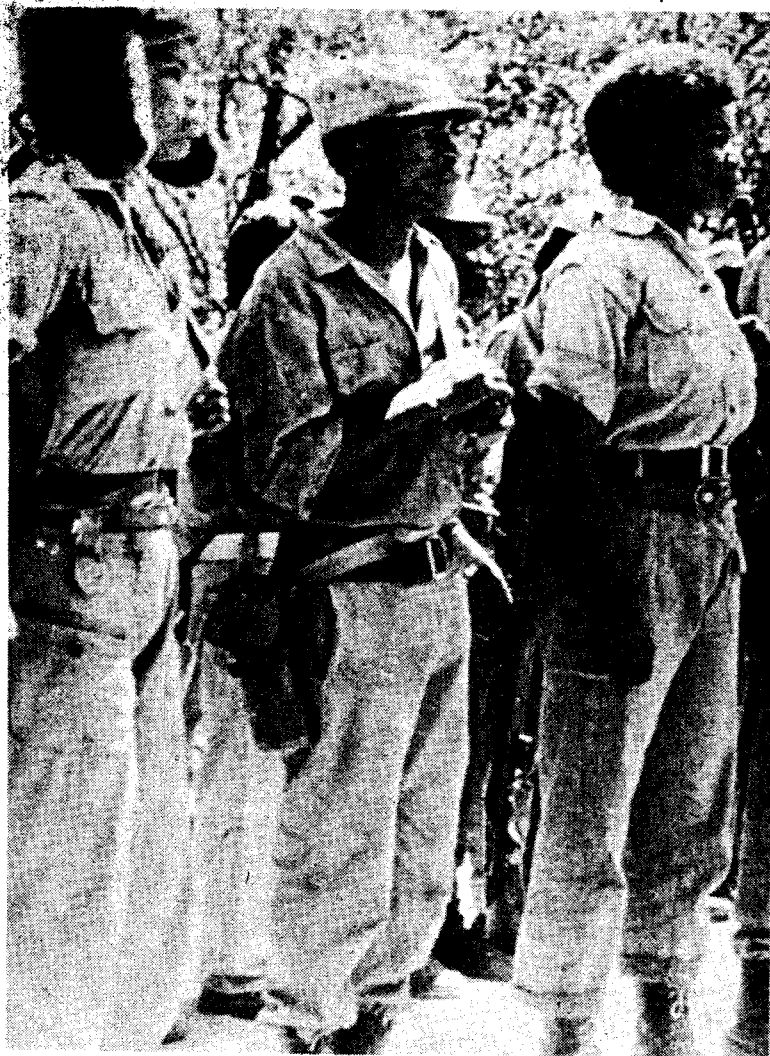
has been immune from international collective measures because of the protection it enjoys from its patrons, the United States and Britain, in the Security Council. The efforts of the international community to counter the threats posed by the apartheid regime have been persistently frustrated by the United States and Britain. This American and British patronage of racist South Africa has only served to encourage the regime into more state terrorism and more aggression.

The apartheid regime of South Africa could not have defied international public opinion for the last twenty years had it not been for the extensive political, economic and

military support that it gets from the United States and Britain in particular, and other Western European states in general. The United States and its allies have ignored the UN General Assembly's call to isolate South Africa politically through the termination of all diplomatic and consular links. It is no secret that the economy of South Africa would crumble tomorrow if Western multinational companies and banks withdrew their support. One of the key areas of collaboration between South Africa and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) alliance is in the form of continued supply of weapons, spares, components and ammunition to the South African army. Despite the existence of an international arms embargo against South Africa, the regime gets its military supplies from the United States, Britain, France, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and Italy. This military support that the apartheid regime gets from NATO is not accidental: NATO has land and naval bases in south Africa and works in close liaison with this out-cast regime. This close working relationship with the apartheid regime thrives because NATO considers South Africa to be strategically and militarily essential to Western interest of hegemony in the South Atlantic. Again, while the oil-producing states have imposed an oil embargo against the apartheid regime, Pretoria still gets all its oil requirements largely through Western European oil companies and tanker fleet owners.

While the International community has sought to isolate the South African regime for its inhuman and repugnant policies, the United States has through its policy of constructive engagement bolstered South Africa and by its actions given legitimacy to South Africa's racist, and expansionist policies. The Reagan administration has sought to turn the question of Namibia's independence into a regional security problem tied to the East-West conflict. Thus the United States arming of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) bandits in order to contain what it views as the expanding influence of the East at the expense of the West, has served to encourage South Africa's policy of aggression against SWAPO and the frontline states.

One of the most ridiculous obstacles to Namibian independence imposed by the United States/South African alliance is the insistence on linking the withdrawal of Cuban



Many Namibian women have joined SWAPO's armed wing to fight for their country's freedom

troops from Angola as a pre-requisite for the solution of the Namibian independence issue. In line with this linkage doctrine, the sovereign state of Angola is not supposed to conduct its own foreign policy as well as seek assistance from Cuba in defending itself against South Africa's aggression. By making the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola a precondition in the negotiation process, the United States and the apartheid regime of South Africa have attempted to transfer the moral responsibility for Namibia's independence to Angola and further demonstrate their mutual opposition to Namibia's independence.

Given these external obstacles to Namibia's independence, the natural question is: What is to be done? Appealing to the United States and British Governments, which clearly bear the moral responsibility for Namibia's independence, has not been very useful in the past twenty years.



A unit of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) — SWAPO's military wing

Such appeals would even be more futile now given the general disregard by the Reagan and Thatcher administrations of the international community. Efforts by the international community should be geared towards appealing directly to the American and British people who, as the events of the last year or so indicate, are clearly against the inhuman system of apartheid and are on the side of the oppressed South

African and Namibian people. It is these American and British people that could ultimately force the Reagan and Thatcher administrations to be as one with the people of South Africa and Namibia in their just struggle for democracy and justice, freedom and independence.

It is therefore proposed that the international community in government and non-governmental organisations should condemn, in

the strongest terms possible, the American and British alliance with the apartheid regime of South Africa. It is further proposed that the Council for Namibia and other UN agencies should double their efforts in disseminating information on Namibia, more especially in North America and Western Europe.

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# Dangerous Consequences of Israeli and South African Military and Economic Cooperation

**Alfred Babing**

*This article is based on the paper contributed by Dr. Alfred Babing to the Seminar on "The Collaboration between Israel and South Africa in All Aspects and Forms" held under the auspices of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation, in Helsinki, Finland in May 1987. Published here are extracts from the paper dealing with major levels of military-nuclear and economic cooperation between Israel and South Africa.*

**T**he cooperation between the South African apartheid regime and Israel has been followed up with the greatest concern by the international public for more than a decade. Yet, preoccupation with this subject has grown considerably only in recent times. This has been reflected in meetings and documents of the United Nations as well as of many other international bodies and numerous conferences.

Of varied aspects and forms of this cooperation, we ought to focus particular attention on its extremely dangerous consequences for world peace and international security.

This alliance between Pretoria and Tel Aviv is directly aimed against the security interests of neighbouring countries in both regions and is likely to jeopardise security of all nations.

Their cooperation, most of it kept secret, dates back to the fifties, when a secret agreement had been signed on nuclear cooperation. More formal agreements followed in 1976 and 1985 which were belittled to the public as "contribution of joint nuclear research". As a result, all observers have had to assume that both Pretoria and Tel Aviv are already in possession of nuclear weapons. Obvious symptoms, in that context, were recorded by both the USSR and USA. The Soviet Union informed Washington on 6 August 1977, that it had taken satellite pictures which indicated nuclear activities by South Africa in the Kalahari desert. The observation was confirmed by the

USA and findings of the same kind were made by Western intelligence services and reported from France, the United Kingdom, and the FRG. In the night from 22 to 23 September 1979, a photo flash was recorded from above the Cape of Good Hope by the US spy satellite "Vela". That observation was interpreted as another manifestation of a nuclear test undertaken by Pretoria, according to comments made by scientists of Western countries. That "tactical nuclear explosion" was described also in a 500 page secret report prepared by the CIA for the US National Security Council. Pretoria, according to most recent information, is preparing another test ground for nuclear arms explosions on the Marion Island in the Indian Ocean, with involvement of Israeli experts.

## Western Supply of Arms to South Africa

This nuclear cooperation is being supplemented by a variety of military activities in which numerous Western countries continue to be involved.

On 2 April 1987, US Secretary of State Shultz submitted a report to Congress stating that weapons worth between 400 and 800 million (FRG) Marks had been supplied from Western countries via Israel to South Africa in 1986 alone in violation of the UN arms embargo. Allowance had to be made for the fact "that information on the breach of the embargo was incomplete, since suppliers and recipients undertook all sorts of attempts to cover up the transactions". The report also stated that com-

panies from France, Italy, Israel, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the FRG were involved and that South Africa had thus been in a position to develop its own "substantially mature" arms industry.

This, of course, must again give rise to the question about the purpose of more than 3 000 million US dollars annually granted as military aid and loans to Israel by the USA. It is a fact that South Africa's arms build up programme also benefits from US aid to Israel.

Two "Boeing 707" planes for mid-air refuelling have come to South Africa via Israel. They have substantially expanded the range of South Africa's air force. Both aircrafts, according to a West Berlin paper, have been used in simultaneous South African air raids on Harare, Gaborone, and Lusaka.

Cooperation along similar lines was involved in the manufacture under license of the Bell helicopter, the Israeli Kfir S-2 fighter bomber (which had been used against Angola as early as in 1982), as well as in the manufacture of Types "Jerichow", "Harpoon", and "Gabriel" missiles or in the South African remanufacture of Type "Scorpion". For numerous categories of weapons South Africa has benefited through Israel from the military research and production potential of the USA.

Jane Hunter, an American journalist, has described those complicated relations in a book published in 1986 with the revealing title of "Undercutting Sanctions: Israel, the US and South Africa."

A joint venture for arms manufacture is being run by South Africa and Israel, partially funded from the above US sources. The name of that company is Iskoor. Located in the vicinity of Tel Aviv, it is partially owned by the South African Steel Corporation holding 49 per cent of shares and by Koor, an Israeli company holding 51 per cent. Koor is backed up by the Histadrut Company, revealing the ties to the trade union confederation of Israel, the second largest employer of that country.

South Africa is contributing funds, raw materials, and above all high-quality armour steel plates, while Israel supplies primarily know-how and skilled labour.

Israeli licences or other technical documents essential to arms production in South Africa make for another

Important area of military cooperation. South Africa, as a result, has become capable of remanufacturing military vehicles, weapons, and other military hardware, including a 105-mm gun for the Centurion tank, fragmentation mines, the "Colli" Sten gun, Reshel and Aliya Class assault boots, and a 155-mm artillery gun which can fire nuclear theatre warheads.

## Nuclear-Propelled Submarines

The production of various types of submarines is a highly dangerous chapter in that cooperation, among them nuclear-propelled submarines. It has certainly not been accidental that through absolutely criminal manoeuvres highly classified submarine design documentation has found its way from West German shipyard strongrooms into the hands of the South African racist.

Joint activities of Pretoria and Tel Aviv against the national liberation movements provide for another extremely dangerous aspect of their military conspiracy. The entire military potentials of both countries are actually utilised for that purpose or are kept in permanent alert. They are additionally buttressed by specific anti-guerrilla arsenals which are continuously used and expanded by both allies through joint action. Included are electronic shelters, night visibility units, microwave transmitters and man mines.

There have been repeated reports according to which Israeli military personnel have participated in "anti-terrorist" campaigns in South Africa and Namibia. Yet, they have been unable to prevent the anti-apartheid liberation struggle from being continued and intensified.

## Dimensions of Economic Cooperation

With all priority attention to military cooperation, one must not ignore the existence of common economic interests between Pretoria and Tel Aviv. These interests exist not only in the military areas, already mentioned, but also, and to a far greater extent, at civilian levels.

There is one and the same basic pattern in almost all cases: South Africa is in control of tremendous mineral deposits and liquid capital and tries to undercut its own international isolation. Israel is in urgent

need of raw materials, including steel, uranium, and other strategic commodities, and, of course, South African pit coal, and receives all of them at preferential prices. It offers, in exchange, know-how and is opening secret doors for South Africa to get access to Western markets.

Two important foreign trade settlements are primarily abused, in that context, the free-trade agreement of 1984 between the USA and Israel as well as Israel's links to the European Common Market providing privileges similar to those granted by the US (exemption from duties). (The remaining EEC customs barriers will be lifted for Israel in 1989).

## Israel: Go Between Station for South Africa

Sizeable amounts of South African products have been flowing through those channels, rendered possible by simple manipulations. Israel is permitted under the above agreements to export commodities of which at least 40 per cent have to be produced by itself for the EEC and only 25 per cent for the US market. South African semi-finished products can thus be moved on via Israel as a go between station.

The fraud is complete, when it comes to agricultural produce where only labels are changed. Outspan oranges which bear the stigma of worldwide boycott are simply marketed as Israeli fruits. The same applies to many other agricultural products.

Nevertheless, some important relationships have become known. For example, foreign trade has gone up remarkable at tempestuous rates, from seven million US dollars in 1965 to 71,8 million in 1974, 170 million in 1983, and 249 million in 1985. Some of the key data are of particular interest, for example, two-thirds of Israel's officially recorded African trade is with South Africa, with about 50 per cent of Israel's steel import being handled via the joint Iskoor company. They account for some 245 000 tons of steel coming annually from South Africa. Included in unrecorded transactions are not only the highly profitable arms deals but also covert business with precious stones, primarily diamonds. South Africa is the world's most important supplier of ornamental diamonds, and Israel is considered to be the most important processing centre, with 15 000 workers being employed with that particular industry. Yet, raw diamond

trade is handled through the London and New York commodity exchanges. While no positive information is available on its volume and profits, it is correct to say that this covert trade is of extremely high economic benefit to both Tel Aviv and Pretoria and helps them to finance a substantial part of their military arms buildup programmes.

## TNCs Undercutting UN Boycott of South Africa

It should be born in mind, last but not least, that the international monopoly capital, primarily transnational corporations and banks, play an extraordinarily great role in that conspiracy and draw from it enormous profits.

New manoeuvres, also, have been under taken most recently by transnational corporations to undercut the UN boycott on South Africa. It is true that some of them have sold their subsidiaries to South African or other firms, but they have continued to find ways and means to properly place their products on the South African market. More details of these manipulations may be seen from most recent studies undertaken by the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations.

South Africa has become a growingly important financier to Israel in recent years. Yet, it is also known that a year ago the apartheid regime was finding itself engulfed in acute payment and financing problems due to the growing and mounting internal and external resistance and its own associated severe crisis. However, those who draw extra profit from apartheid, the leading circles of international finance capital, are coming to the aid of the racists to help them out of their economic dilemma.

In the spring of 1987, a rescue operation for the apartheid regime was organised by a consortium of 34 private banks. Re-scheduling was granted without any increase in interest for overdue repayment of debts amounting to more than 1 000 million US dollars. The decision is a scandal, since everyone knows that those tycoons have never been as generous to developing countries. It has become common practice that those debtor countries are immediately pressed into higher interest rates and are additionally exposed to humiliating conditions. This shows clearly that the Pretoria-Tel Aviv axis had continued to be primary

ly supported by the camp of imperialism.

That is why verbal condemnations by those circles of racism and apartheid should be cautiously and sceptically scrutinised.

## **Sanctions Now against Apartheid Regime**

The experience so far recorded from

developments of the alliance between South Africa and Israel and its support by the imperialist camp seems to justify the assumption that cooperation will be continued and further expanded and that it will be accompanied by more attempts to conceal facts and details.

This, however, should prompt all progressive forces to insist more strongly and persistently on sanctions against the apartheid regime.

**Smash apartheid  
Forward with the  
revolutionary masses  
Aluta Continua**



# **"Peoples of the World Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa" Arusha, Tanzania 1-4 December 1987**

*Despite the unrelenting resistance of the people of South Africa and the effects of the international community, the apartheid system continues to exist. Indeed, with each passing day, the situation in Southern Africa continues to deteriorate. This demands urgent action by the people of the world to hasten the end of the apartheid system as a necessary condition and pre-requisite for the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country. Conference therefore calls on all governments, organisations and all men and women of conscience throughout the world to implement the following programme of action, as the only means available to the international community to minimise the amount of bloodshed in the struggle to free the people of South Africa, Namibia and the Frontline States.*

## **Measures for Effective Economic Sanctions**

Conference recognised the urgent need for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions to be imposed on the apartheid regime. It was agreed that all sections of the international community should intensify their efforts to achieve this through concerted as well as unilateral action.

Specifically the Conference discussed particular means by which these sanctions can be achieved and did so in three areas:-

- implementation
- monitoring
- response to sanctions breaches

## **Implementation**

- \* All governments must be persuaded to impose sanctions. This will be greatly assisted by raising public consciousness on apartheid and the sanctions question.
- \* All financial loans to the regime should be denied and Conference calls upon the

IMF to ensure that there are no further loans to South Africa. Member countries of IMF must be encouraged to pursue this within the organisation. In addition outstanding loans to the regime should not be rescheduled.

- \* Conference called for the strict observance of the ban on the import and sale of Krugerrands.
- \* Trade in gold and precious metals, metals and metal alloys, iron steel and uranium should be terminated.
- \* In particular, the coal boycott should be intensified.
- \* All sanctions legislation must be monitored carefully by NGOs and MPs to ensure the wording of all legislation and regulations do not have loop-holes.
- \* Small countries should be encouraged to build alliances and co-operate in concert with others in their region for sanctions (e.g. cricket boycott).
- \* Conference calls upon the international community to convene workshops on people's sanctions as a

follow-up to this conference.

## **Monitoring of Sanctions**

- \* There is a crucial need for concerted international action to ensure effective monitoring of all sanctions imposed.
- \* Re-labelling to disguise the country of origin must be carefully monitored to ensure effective implementation.
- \* Governments and NGOs are urged to supply the necessary information to the United Nations Sanctions Monitoring Committee.
- \* A special responsibility rests on Africa and non-aligned countries to assist in strictly monitoring the imposed sanctions.

## **Response to Breaches**

- \* Internationally co-ordinated action should be taken against those companies and governments that breach and or encourage the breach of agreed sanctions.
- \* Action should be taken against those companies that fill the vacuum created by disinvestment.
- \* Action should also be taken against companies that engage in bogus disinvestment;
- \* Urgent international action is required by governments and individuals to persuade the UK government not to undermine sanctions imposed by local authorities and popular actions.
- \* Conference dispatches an urgent appeal to the UK government not to proceed with planned local government legislation aimed to preventing local councils from imposing sanctions.
- \* The UN Arms Embargo must include all equipment which can be used for military purposes, e.g. communications radar, planes and computer equipment.
- \* Action should be taken to ensure that the UN Arms Embargo is supported by national legislation so that breaches should invoke severe penalties.
- \* Licences for manufacture of military equipment in South Africa should be terminated and cancelled. Exports to South Africa of spare parts and similar equipment for military use must also be terminated and cancelled.
- \* Action should be taken against any coun-



try that purchases arms from South Africa. This measure should be incorporated in the UN Mandatory Arms Embargo.

## Nuclear Collaboration

Action should be taken to ensure that:

- \* governments and the private sector prohibit the recruitment, training and exchange of scientists involved in nuclear technology.
- \* The importing of uranium from Namibia and South Africa must be prohibited
- \* the delivery of enriched uranium to South Africa must be prohibited.
- \* a mechanism should be set up to monitor nuclear collaboration with South Africa so that it can be stopped.
- \* South Africa should be expelled from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1988. Concerted international action should be organised to ensure this.

## Oil Embargo

Action at international, governmental and NGO levels is necessary to stop the fuelling of apartheid.

- \* We urge the Security Council to make the oil embargo mandatory.
- \* Pending action by the Security Council, governments should enact legislation which effectively imposes an oil embargo.

End user clauses which are not accompa-

nied by vigilance and enforcement machinery with penalties, serve only to monitor oil supplies, not to stop them. Experience has shown that it is necessary to place full contractual liability on the initial purchaser who must be held accountable for any resale that results in oil reaching South Africa.

- \* NGOs and governments should take action such as confiscation, prescription and boycotts against all those who violate the oil embargo and continue to fuel apartheid.
- \* Existing sources of information such as Shipping Research Bureaux, Kairos the Maritime Unions against Apartheid should be used extensively in order to expose the attempts of the South African regime to circumvent the oil embargo.
- \* National monitoring mechanisms should be set up in every country.
- \* Action must be taken to ensure the termination and cancellation of existing contracts with apartheid South Africa in such fields as exchange of personnel in the conversion of coal into fuel.
- \* The Shell campaign should be intensified internationally.
- \* African countries and the people of South Africa and Namibia should actively join the campaign against Shell.

## Academic and Cultural Boycott

As a natural consequence of the develop-

ment of the mass democratic movement and the emergence of an alternative democratic power within the country, a new situation has arisen in relation to the academic and cultural boycott.

\* Therefore conference calls upon the ANC to initiate as a matter of urgency consultations with the democratic forces inside the country and the world anti-apartheid movements in order to establish the criteria and mechanisms to continue to intensification of the academic/cultural boycott of the illegitimate regime while strengthening support for the academic/cultural forces of resistance.

## Mobilisation for People's Sanctions

Grassroots action involving the people in every country is vital to the success of the sanctions campaign. Through a concerted people's sanctions campaign even the most intransigent opponents of sanctions can be compelled to reverse their position.

## Trade Unions

Conference noting the important role of workers in the international solidarity movement urges workers to play an ever greater role in the various campaigns against the apartheid regime.

- \* Workers must be mobilised to refuse to handle goods and traffic to and from

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### South Africa.

- \* Stop communications with South Africa which serve the interests of the apartheid regime.
- \* Conference requests trade unions in every country to extend even further their education work amongst their members and others on the evils of apartheid, the conditions of their fellow workers in South Africa and the necessity for sanctions.
- \* Trade Unions of teachers are called upon to encourage their members to educate their pupils about the evils of apartheid and resistance to it especially amongst young people in South Africa.
- \* Trade unions should encourage their members to become actively involved in the broad anti-apartheid struggle.

### Youth

Conference calls upon the youth and students of the world to:

- \* harness the enormous potential amongst young people for actions against apartheid.
- \* help to intensify the academic and cultural boycott.
- \* help to intensify the divestment campaign by universities.
- \* mobilise young people to strengthen the sports boycott.

### Women's Organisations

Conference requests women's organisations in every country to

- \* further the understanding of their members and men about the triple oppression of women in South Africa.
- \* do everything in their power to enforce people's sanctions particularly in those trades and industry in which women are employed.

Religious and Faith-Based Organisations Should:-

- \* Educate their members about the inhuman apartheid system and the call by the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia for the imposition of people's sanctions.
- \* withdraw their investments and deposits from banks and corporations which have links with apartheid South Africa.
- \* use their moral standing to oblige government to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

### Local Authorities

- \* strive to break all economic links with South Africa and Namibia;
- \* use publicity and their buying power to exclude all apartheid goods and those of companies that have economic relations with South Africa and Namibia;
- \* use economic, political and any other

means to pressurise companies to end collaboration with racist South Africa;

- \* oblige all companies bidding for local authority business to notify the authority of any links they may have with apartheid South Africa.

- \* prevent the exchange of trade missions, advertisements and any other activity aimed at promoting economic, military and other ties with the Pretoria regime.
- \* withdraw their funds from companies and banks that have economic relations with apartheid South Africa.
- \* refuse to participate in, and give support to, any event which is inconsistent with the cultural, sports and academic boycott;
- \* persuade institutions in the locality to implement the above programme/policy;
- \* get their legislatures to legislate for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions;
- \* work with their fellow parliamentarians and legislators in other countries to the same end.

### Conference Call on the Business Community to

- \* become a part of the growing world wide movement for the total isolation of racist South Africa.

### The Media

The Conference discussed the role of different interest groups and the media and makes the following recommendations:-

- \* Since the international community has been rendered a serious disservice through the muzzling of the media by the regime, Conference calls upon the international media to find ways of keeping the people of the world informed.
- \* The international community should strengthen its links with the alternative media including the ANC and SWAPO's Department of Information.
- \* The international community should assist in increasing the capacity of the liberation movements together and disseminate information on South African and Namibia through material, technical and financial support.
- \* Conference calls on the media itself and the rest of the international community to defend all media workers and organisations which fall victim to apartheid repression.
- \* Conference demands the immediate release of Zwelakhe Sisulu and all other media workers.

### Religious Bodies

- \* Religious organisations should be per-

sueded to disinvest from South Africa.

- \* The essential right-wing political nature of some fundamentalist Christian groups operating in South Africa but based in the USA should be exposed.
- \* The legitimacy of the ANC and the illegitimacy of the racist regime should be spelled out in theological terms.
- \* Wherever possible, religious events, conferences and statements should include an anti-apartheid aspect.
- \* Religious bodies should encourage and support war-resisters in South Africa.

### Professional Bodies

- \* Professional bodies should be encouraged to establish contact with the professional bodies of the ANC and the democratic movement inside South Africa. The latter should be done in the ANC.
- \* Assistance in the form of scholarships, work experience and equipment should be provided to the liberation movement by professional organisations.
- \* **Minority Groups** should be encouraged to identify with and actively participate in the board anti-apartheid struggle.

### Trade Unions

Trade Unions throughout the world must be mobilised to:

- \* Disseminate information on apartheid, on the workers' struggle in South Africa and the liberation struggle as a whole.
- \* Encourage trade unions to be actively involved in the broad anti-apartheid struggle.
- \* Provide material and financial assistance to COSATU, SACTU and the ANC.

### Coordination

Conference recognised the need to coordinate the activities and actions of the international anti-apartheid movement.

### Pretoria's Regional Policy

- \* Conference emphasised the principle of mass mobilisation in every part of the world as the essential ingredient in generating effective action at government level.

Recommendations are:

- \* Severance of all ties with the apartheid regime.
- \* Aid to the frontline states is essential, but is not an alternative to sanctions. Rather sanctions and support for the frontline states should be seen as inseparable elements in a package of international action against apartheid.
- \* In view of the criminal and terroristic nature of the apartheid regime's assault on neighbouring states, aid to the victims of

destabilisation must be mobilised. This aid cannot be restricted to economic assistance, but should also be directed towards reinforcing the defensive capacities of these countries to enable these states to effectively repel Pretoria's aggression. Aid need not be restricted to government action. People-to-people aid mobilised at grassroots level can also make a major contribution.

- \* The international community must act to enforce the recent UN Security Council Resolution calling for the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola. Failing compliance therewith, we call on the Security Council to take action against Pretoria in terms of Chapter 7 of the UN Charter for breaching peace and security of the region.
- \* We call for the immediate implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and for recognition of Walvis Bay as an integral and inseparable part of Namibia. We also call for the implementation of UN Council on Namibia Resolution 1 calling for an end to the plundering of the wealth of Namibia by South Africa and multi-national companies.
- \* We call on all Western and African governments to withhold all facilities to, and to prohibit any activity on the territory by bandit groups like RENAMO and UNITA.

- \* We urge Western governments to take action against any of their passport holders fighting in the SADF. At the same time we call on all governments to provide residential and/or transit facilities to war resisters, refugees and, indeed, combatants of the ANC.
- \* All political prisoners should be released immediately and in any event, during any period of incarceration should be accorded Prisoner of War status. All trials under security legislation should be terminated forthwith.
- \* Immediate steps must be taken to organise a massive campaign in the US against the US Administration's policy in Southern Africa and most particularly, its support for South African based bandit forces operating in Angola. This campaign must be complemented by related international campaigns. These campaigns should include the demand that the US government recognises the government of Angola.
- \* We demand an end to all forms of military and nuclear cooperation between Israel and the apartheid regime.

litical, financial and material support to the ANC and the South African mass democratic movement as a vital part of its contribution to the struggle for the birth of a democratic South Africa.

- \* Conference recommends governments and non-governmental organisations to inform the public in their respective countries on the aims and objectives of the ANC.
- \* Conference calls on governments and non-governmental organisations to provide financial assistance to the ANC missions in their countries.
- \* Conference calls upon governments and non-governmental organisations to provide educational facilities and scholarships to South African students in consultation with the ANC and the democratic movement.
- \* Conference calls upon all governments, international organisations and anti-apartheid movements to campaign for the expulsion of apartheid South Africa from the UN.
- \* Conference calls upon the international community to extend assistance to all victims of apartheid in consultation with the ANC.

## Support for the ANC

Conference calls on the governments and peoples of the world to render direct po-

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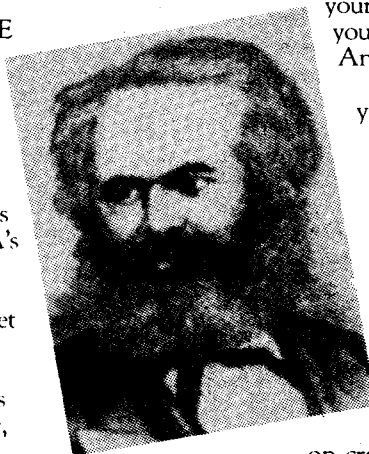
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# Food for Thought

By N.C.G. Mathema

One cannot but welcome the merger between ZANU (PF) and (PF) ZAPU on December 22, 1987. The unity between the two parties has been one of the greatest achievements since independence. The occasion laid down the foundation for economic independence and a democratic socialist society under one umbrella — Patriotism among all Zimbabweans.

Unity therefore means that the Party needs reorganisation and restructuring at all levels in order to turn it into a veritable instrument that knows no tribe or race but create a cadreship of high consciousness ideologically and politically. In other words, political and ideological education within the party ranks should be intensified, to establish a vanguard Party. To belong to the Party must therefore mean that one should be a true revolutionary, a conscious citizen of Zimbabwe with no tribalistic and racist mentality. It is therefore important that the party should institute an educational programme by appointing professional full-time propagandists right across the country to educate the masses on ideology and socialist goals under one umbrella.

The Party's head offices will need to be manned by stalwarts of national democratic revolution and not anybody picked from the streets from one's region. Without a head office of professional revolutionaries, the Party will be abused and misused by opportunists and reactionaries for their personal gain and this will make it difficult, if not impossible for the party to achieve its objectives and fulfill its programme.

Each head office, department or section be it publicity, commissariat, finance, administration, production, youth, women's affairs, security, foreign affairs etc. should be run and manned by professional democratic revolutionaries with skills in research. This should apply in all offices across the country.

Our publicity department will have to produce revolutionary propaganda based on research and objective analysis. The information should appeal to all Zimbabweans reflecting the needs, problems and successes of workers and peasants in clear simple languages i.e. Shona, Ndebele, Khalanga, Tonga and Venda. The literature should not be the domain of a few intellectuals who can speak and read English only.

The commissariat department will need to run educational programmes in a revolutionary and scientific manner. This means that a party ideological college must be built as soon as possible.

Our security department will have to operate, professionally in conjunction with government security personnel. This will entail hard work from cell to national level. The effectiveness and efficiency of Party security at cell level as our first line defence will strengthen the party from infiltrators hence the need for training in security matters is of paramount importance.

The party's transport department must be efficiently run and should be able to provide the necessary transport whenever this is needed. Because of the reorganisation programme, this means that more

vehicles will be needed to execute all party duties throughout the country.

All party organs must be veritable examples to the government and citizens of this country. The party must produce a programme which will guide all Party members and the government. Party congress resolutions and documents must be adhered to by all members and anybody who does not comply with the Party's resolutions must be sacked otherwise the Party will be compromised and eventually hijacked by agents of imperialism. Party cadres must actively participate in all party affairs with the concept of criticism and self-criticism. People should have an open mind, they should criticise and also accept to be criticised. Majority decisions must be adhered to with all the zeal it deserves. There should be freedom of expression to strengthen the party by making it the highest and strongest body. So as to achieve our desired socialist goals.

The Party must take seriously the sychophants in all its ranks. It must reject those who do favours or praises where this is not due. The party must reject spineless people who are agents of imperialism.

All government ministries and parastatals must have party stalwarts who should be true revolutionaries prepared to transform our society towards socialism by implementing the five year national development plan.

The Party should make sure that the trade unions, governmental and non-governmental organisations, must have true representatives of the people so that no imperialist agents should infiltrate our ranks.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT WELCOMES INF TREATY

*The President of Zimbabwe and Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Comrade Robert Mugabe, has warmly welcomed the INF treaty signed on December 16, 1987, between the two super powers.*

In congratulatory messages sent to President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, Comrade Mugabe also urged the two leaders to help settle regional conflicts in Southern Africa, Central America, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan.

The Non-Aligned Movement's 8th Summit which was held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in October 1986, sent identical to the lead-



ers of the two super powers appealing to them to reach agreement on ending the arms race, on disarmament and on stopping an arms race in outer space.

## Zimbabwe Honours Its Debt

Although Zimbabwe's decision not to reschedule its US\$1,5 billion international debt is imposing a painful repayment regime for the next year or two, the country's credit-worthiness is, nevertheless, being enhanced. President Robert Mugabe reiterated last November that Zimbabwe would meet on time in full all its international obligations.

France last November extended to Zimbabwe a US\$70,2 million soft loan to be used to rehabilitate the iron and steel industry and for the French commodity import programme. Two London commercial banks, the Standard Chartered Bank and Barclays Bank gave Zimbabwe a US\$127 million loan last April.

Zimbabwe should, thus, enter the new year (1988) on a financially and economically sounder ground than other developing countries which are rescheduling their debts.

## Economic Upturn Forecast

Zimbabwe should experience a modest economic

upturn this year if the rainy season remains good, according to the economic bulletin of the Standard Chartered Bank released in November. The GNP, currently growing at about 0,2%, is forecast to grow by about 3,5% in real terms.

Negative external factors constraining the country's economy include South Africa's military and economic destabilization, a sluggish world economy, depressed commodity prices and adverse weather conditions.

## USA Aid to Zimbabwe

This is the wording of an amendment by the Republican from the state of Indiana, USA, Mr. Dan Burton which he attempted to attach to the 1987/88 Appropriations Bill:

"Foreign assistance may not be provided for Zimbabwe for fiscal year 1988 and 1989 until the Government of the United States has received from the Government of Zimbabwe an apology to the American people for the unjustifiable and slanderous anti-American public remarks made by a Zimbabwe government minister at the United States embassy in Zimbabwe on July 4, 1986".

Although the amendment was defeated in the House, December 10 1987, two inferences could be drawn from it:

- the restoration of aid to Zimbabwe seems to be becoming a real possibility;
- ultra-right — wing Republicans are still

smarting from our refusal to apologize to Reagan. They also accuse us of being Marxists and anti-American. We have apologized to Mr. Jimmy Carter, former USA President, for any embarrassment he may have been caused as a guest to our country, but we have no intention of apologizing to any government for the views we hold; which views have been expressed on many other occasions, and international fora. There was nothing new or different said on July 4, 1986. The USA must have other motives for its stance against Zimbabwe.

## South Africa Recruits Lavi Technicians

It is reported that the racist Republic of South Africa has recruited 50 Israeli aircraft engineers and technicians made redundant by the recent cancellation of the Israeli dream jet fighter plane, the Lavi. They will upgrade the Cheetah and build a new jet bomber — a scaled-down version of the Lavi. The Republic continues to arm itself to the teeth for purposes of destabilising its neighbours, and killing the local black population inside South Africa itself, with the active assistance of other racists right-wingers in Israel and the United States of America.

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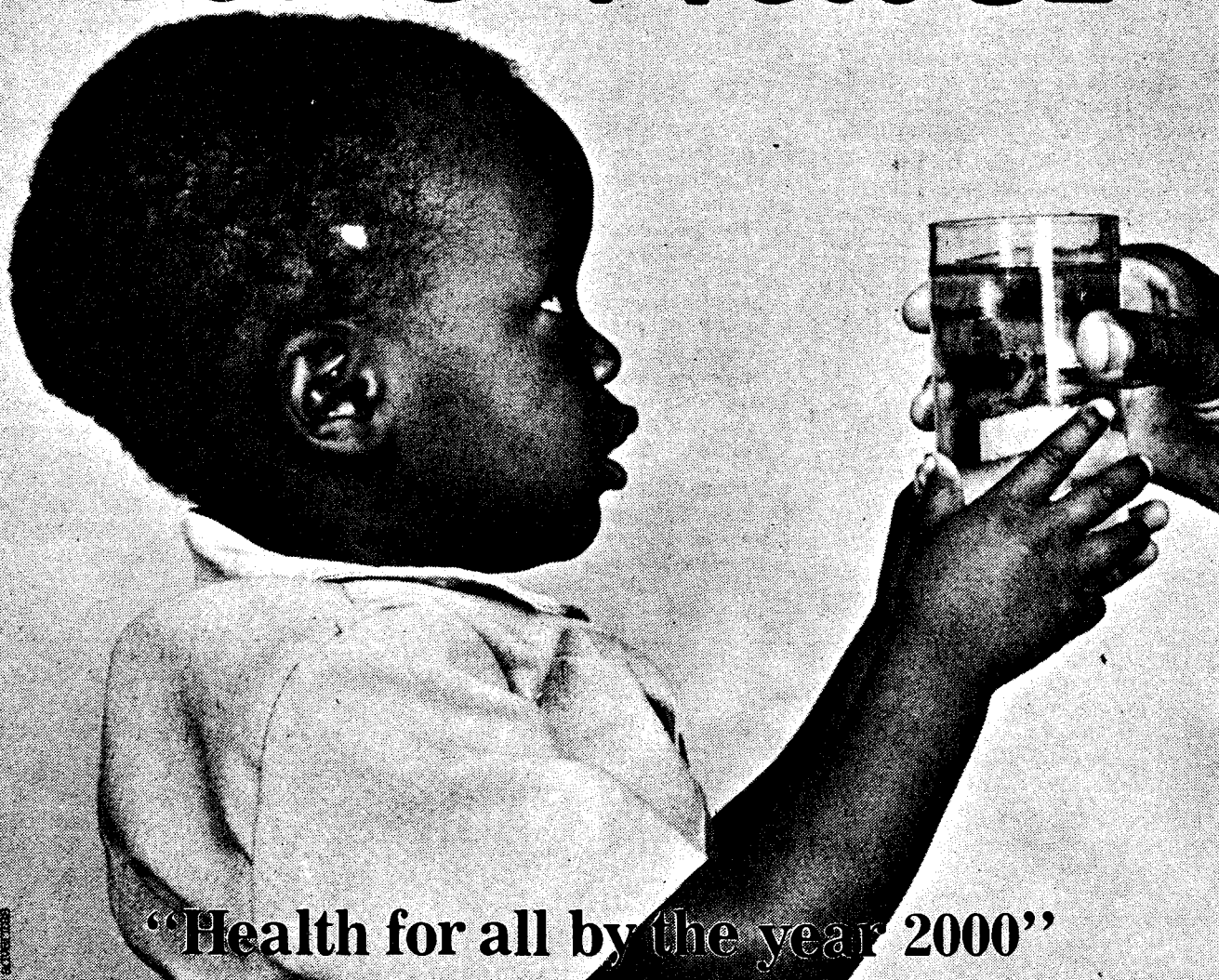
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SEVENTY YEARS OF SPECIALISATION

# Film in Zimbabwe

By Bev Tilley

**T**he premiere of Sir Beutlley Richard Attenborough's film "Cry Freedom" was significant in many ways: the opening up of a new front in the anti-apartheid struggle now that cinema is portraying the horrors of the Botha regime; the launching of the Zimbabwean Government into the world of film finance (and by all accounts, this will be a very profitable venture) via its partnership with Universal Pictures to finance "Cry Freedom", and the revelation of all that Zimbabwe has to offer film-makers. Our beautiful country showed itself to magnificent advantage in Attenborough's sweeping panoramic shots, ranging from a golden-grassed Mazowe valley to the breathtaking grape purples and greens of the Vumba mountain range. The wide streets, flowering trees and gracious architecture of Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Mutare and Shurugwi also made an impact — and who could have guessed that the treacherous and choppy Telle River, through which the film's Donald Woods had to make his way, was really our very own Zambezi, above the Falls?

As the credits at the end of "Cry Freedom" rolled up, it was another proud moment — out of a total crew of 293, 197 had been Zimbabweans. Tens of thousands of Zimbabwean extras were also employed, of course.

Little wonder, then, that Zimbabwe has suddenly become the Hollywood of Africa. Whereas in 1983, a script was received perhaps once every three months by the Ministry of Information and PTC, the rate today averages three scripts per week. Not all are granted authorisation; anything derogatory to the Third World in general and Africa in particular is right out; even mild porn is inadmissible; and scripts glorifying violence for the sake of violence, and international terrorism, are not welcome either. However, this leaves room for much else, and the line-up for 1988 is an exciting and varied one.

"A Dry White Season", based on the Andre Brink novel, is the first scheduled for production in Zimbabwe. Set in South Africa, it is likely to be as impressive and moving as "Cry Freedom". Donald Sutherland has been signed up for the main role, and the film will be produced by MGM. They intend to start up pre-production in late February, and begin shooting in April.

1988 will see the release — probably at the Kines Film Festival — of "A World Apart", shot in Bulawayo last year by the British company Working Title. Producer Sarah Radclyffe can be likened to the Attenborough of the future; although in her late twenties, she and her partner Tim Bevan have already notched up some signal successes ("My Beautiful Laundrette", "Caravaggio", "Wish You Were Here", "Personal Services" etc) but those in the know say that "A World Apart" will be the team's best yet. Starring the famous Barbara Hershey, it's the story of the South African martyr Ruth First, her husband Joe Slovo and their children, seen through the eyes of the eldest girl. The script was written by their daughter, Shawn Slovo, and if you shed a tear over "Cry Freedom", take along a full box of tissues to this one.

Sarah will be returning to Zimbabwe — to the delight of local film-makers, with whom she was immensely popular — in April with a new film, "Jamie", the story of a young, sensitive boy growing up in an Afrikaans environment, and how this gradually affects him.

Claude Lelouch is arguably France's most famous director (remember "A Man and a Woman"?). He will be bringing a comedy, "L'itineraire d'Enfant Gate" (roughly translated, the diary of the spoilt child) to Zimbabwe. Starring Jean-Paul Belmondo, it will provide an exciting opportunity for Zimbabwean film-makers to work with a top French crew.

Other scripts which have been authorised include an adventure story, "Flamingo House" from New Century (Cannon), which stars the first-ever on-screen African detective; "Options", a comedy involving hot-air ballooning over Africa, from Silver Lion, a Los Angeles company; "Blue Moon Hotel", a Somerset Maugham type movie, and a Walt Disney feature film as yet untitled, about a cheetah and a family who have to repatriate it to the wild. "Homeland", a striking and meaningful script set in Venda which indicts the iniquitous bantustan system, is under consideration, as is "Drum", which deals with the famous publication of that name and its persecution by the South African regime.

One of the most heartening spin-offs of the current influx by foreign film companies is the shot in the arm it has given to indigenous film production. Zim-

babwe's first mini-feature film, "Consequences", about the teenage pregnancy problem, was produced here late last year by Development Through Self Reliance, with an all-Zimbabwean crew, and directed by Olley Maruma. The same company is now working on a feature film about AIDS, to be directed by Edwina Spicer of Triprod Productions. Film fans will recall the latter's impressive documentary, "Breaking the Silence" (together with Capricorn Ltd) on Biko, which won a special prize in the First Non-Aligned Film Festival in September 1987.

Chris Austin, best known here for his documentary on Dambudzo Marechera ("House of Hunger") has recently completed a documentary on the musician Dollar Brand, called "A Brother With Perfect Timing", and is now planning his first feature film, which will be titled "Love Songs in a Bad Time." Olley is also working on a feature film script.

There's always a documentary film on the go somewhere in Zimbabwe, at any given time. Applications flood in weekly from all over the world — the USA, Britain (notably Central Television and the BBC), France, West Germany, Austria, Sweden, Finland and Switzerland have been our most frequent visitors in this regard, but there have been an increasing number of applications from further afield, such as Australia and Japan. Naturally at present, Natural Resources and Tourism's magnificent rhino conservation campaign is top of the pops; environmentalists and conservationists worldwide have been impressed and intrigued by it, and many documentary films on the subject — all having obtained the authorisation and co-operation of that Ministry — have been made.

Local film-makers are also producing an array of "docos" as they are known in the trade. Recent subjects have ranged from SADCC and the Beira Corridor, the plight of Mozambicans under attack, the transition of Zimbabwean music from traditional to Chimurenga to the unique evolution we have today, and the music of Thomas Mapfumo, to the day in the life of a pre-school child. Several have been screened on Britain's prestigious Channel Four. Olley Maruma's new documentary on Zimbabwean literature and writers is almost ready for release and should be impressive.

It's going to be a bumper year for Central Film Laboratories too. Thanks to the wise and skilled management by Comrade Charles Ndhlovu, who had to resign from the managing directorship upon his appointment as Deputy Minister of Youth, Sport and Culture, CFL has evolved from laboratory provid-

ing limited services to an all-purpose film centre whose services and facilities are unique in Africa, and which is now attracting attention overseas as well.

CFL facilities up until the end of 1987 were spectacular enough: 35mm and 16mm motion picture processing and post-production, film duplication, film video special effects, film equipment hire, film editing hire, video, commercial and documentary production, 1" Beta-cam and 1" C format, high band U-matic, A/B Roll editing and slow motion freeze, computer effects, studio facilities, sound recording, video to film transfer, film to video ditto, tape dupli-

cation VHS/BETA/U-matic, and a record library. Now its complement of new equipment — \$2.8 million dollars worth — has arrived, the sky's the limit for CFL. The new equipment includes HMI lighting up to six kilowatts, editing tables, rock and roll sound system, wet-gate printing, new cleaning machines, a de-polishing machine (the first of its kind in the country), and printing machines.

Within the course of the next 12 months, CFL hopes to acquire Arriflex BL4 cameras and new processing machines. Another studio is under way. The lab has moved into film production

in great style; it cut its teeth on a number of commercials which were widely acclaimed (that ad for hair-removing cream showing the seductive ladies' legs, wasn't shot on some tropical beach but in CFL's back yard!) and in mid 1987 there came a different challenge. "Thank You From Africa," the video incorporating many of Africa's top musical stars, was all produced and shot by CFL, and is making a big impact in Europe now.

All in all there seem to be blue skies ahead for our Zimbabwean film industry.

## Talking about Problems of Constitutions in Arts Organisations

By Sheila Cameron

Many organisations in the Arts are suffering serious problems in following their Constitutions. These documents are required by any organisations that wish to be registered with the District Arts Councils and thus become eligible to receive funds from them and participate in their activities. All too often the Constitutions are unworkable for one reason or another and are soon filed and forgotten. In practice it seems possible to manage nicely without reference to the written document for the first few months or even years, just as long as the founder members remember the gist of their original ideas. The majority do not see it as a serious problem but indeed it will become an increasingly serious problem, although this may not be apparent until disappointed members challenge the executive officers instead of merely drifting away, or new members with new ideas become active.

"A badly constructed, inaccurately worded, contradictory or inappropriate Constitution *has* to be ignored if the organisation is to get on with its activities" — so might the executive officers justify themselves. This might enable them to solve short-term problems but the consequences can be disastrous. Perhaps the most serious result is the least obvious — it becomes *socially acceptable* to ignore the rules. This opens the door to chaos and corruption. A person asking that the rules be followed is made to feel foolish or pedantic or aggressive. No one wants the bother of resolving the basic problem, that is the failure of the Constitution to serve the needs of the organisation. One irregular solution leads to another problem, another unconstitutional solution; and so it continues with the organisation becoming more and more dependant on

the bad habits that have become routines, and it works to the satisfaction of those that make the decisions. But now any discontented member can rightly claim that the executive has proved unreliable and worse. Interpersonal problems arise, including perhaps lack of confidence in the committee by the members generally, personality clashes and power struggles within the committee. Individuals or groups under pressure begin to cover up their mistakes deliberately and the organisation sinks or splits or dies.

We should have, and abide by, a Constitution that (like traffic robots) ensures that all members rights are respected and our goals achieved. To ignore the Constitution is to be contemptuous of the rights of our fellow-members at heart. If it is unsatisfactory it should be amended; any Constitution *must* include provision for its own amendment, and though it is a boring chore it must be done as necessary, to respect and serve the people and the aims of the organisation. There are two main reasons why amendments may be needed — either circumstances have changed and the organisation wants to adopt its aims or methods, or the Constitution was inadequate in the first place and hinders rather than helps the organisation to proceed smoothly towards its goals. Unfortunately, the mental inheritance of colonialism includes unhelpful attitudes to bad rules — since then they could not be changed by the majority of the people they applied to, it became a virtue and amusing to find ways of evading them! This attitude is damaging us still.

To suggest that many organisations should look again at their Constitutions is not to say that the people who drew them up acted in

bad faith. Many were young and inexperienced; most were not able to find a variety of models to select from; some may have used a model for the organisation they hoped to create, far-sightedly providing a structure that would suit a membership of thousands but not only a couple of hundreds. Language has been another problem and will continue to be so. Constitutions have generally been drawn up in English and accepted by a membership whose knowledge of this language was not up to the legal jargon involved. There is not always full enlightenment from translation into Shona or Ndebele since, as we see from the bible, no translation exactly replicates the original meaning. Indeed, it can deviate *very* widely if the translator had any problems of comprehension in the first place. A further cause of misunderstanding is that some of the ideas enshrined in a Constitution may be very alien to the listener or reader culturally, so the implications may be lost even if the words are correctly translated. Many of these factors are likely still to be true but if they can be identified then the work on amendments stands a better chance of succeeding. Another approach could be to substitute 'interim' clauses for the ones that have utterly failed but which cannot yet be resolved. For example, if an AGM has not been held at all for 2 years and the Constitution says it will be held in December each year, where is the problem? Is it that the Secretary didn't know it was her job to call it? Or it was the Chair's job and was neglected? Or was a meeting planned but not advertised to the members? Or were all the members unable to come at that time? Or so fed up that they didn't bother? Should the clause be amended permanently to 'An AGM will be held annually in April'. Or will the present time of growth and development be better served by 'An AGM will be held once in each calendar year, not less than ten months and not more than fourteen months after the previous AGM? Should the rule be rigid or flexible, and why? Should it include a specific instruction about review . . . 'This clause to be reviewed after two years i.e. in 1990.' While this might seem





**Dance is a form of artistic expression**

pointless, since any item can theoretically be reviewed as often as you like, it could save a hassle at the *start* when to lay down a lot of rigid rules may be very frustrating for future action; yet some framework is essential.

Even with a well-designed, appropriate Constitution an organisation cannot be strong over a long period if the members do not know what it says and do not enforce it. At this time many people still do not have the confidence to speak, especially in disagreement with someone who, in other social contexts, may have unquestioned authority. How many women will risk being labelled 'unwomanly' for speaking forcefully against a man's opinion, knowing that both her ideas and her manner will

isolate her? How can a young person convince an older one who hardly accepts the young one's right to speak for himself? There is another result of this lack of confidence — a tendency to allow the executive officers to make decisions that are properly the work of the whole committee, a reluctance to ensure that a vote is taken on contentious issues. In this situation the officers are likely to be forced to remain as reactionary authority figures (which they often enjoy!) instead of seeing themselves as servants of the organisation. Each member should know and accept that they are equally involved, equally responsible for the committed by the decisions that are made. In a time of social and political transformation, from rural to urban, tradition and colonialism to socialism, from illiterate to literate,

it is the Constitution that will protect the members rights individually and collectively within the organisation and enable them to remain true to ideals and active purpose. Otherwise each strong personality, each loud voice, each respected elder, each political dogmatist can change the direction and ethos of the organisation, right or wrong.

A bad Constitution is an agent of confusion, disunity and injustice. A good Constitution is uplifting in its statement of aims, effective in its regulation of management, strong in its survival as individuals come and go. Time is well spent on getting it right, in language the members understand.

# If you're starting to look like this, we suggest you look in on...



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## Cooperatives

The structures established for socialist construction which are in existence should be consolidated and they should succeed, "It is a must" said Comrade Nyagumbo in an interview with *Zimbabwe News*.

He pointed out that it is not — in the long run capital investment that matters most for the success of cooperatives and production units based on collective and cooperative efforts, "The important thing is training, both ideological and capability training".

"What is needed is people who are capable of doing the right thing at the right time". The question of discipline, he said, is of paramount importance. People involved in the agricultural sector

of cooperative production and indeed in any other sector should task each other, so that they could say to each other and say at 6 a.m. one should be doing this and they should do the other thing at the other time. Discipline is prerequisite for each member cadre in the cooperative. There should be time for everything, time to receive visitors and time to have meals. You don't expect to have visitors every-day but at particular times. Lack of discipline results in loss of production hours. We may have lots of money but without discipline there is no production and therefore this threatens the whole cooperative movement. However a lot of progress has been made in establishing the cooperative movement.

On the question of whether the move-

ment is not under threat from capitalist sharks who seek to monopolise marketing of goods and services as well as their production in sectors where there is cooperative activity, Comrade Nyagumbo said in fact he believed in the healthy competition of the sectors, "I would like to see competition between the private sector and this sector of cooperative production, it is healthy as it tends to threaten the existing one man business."

Comrade Nyagumbo praised such cooperatives as the Mining Cooperative in Ngezi, whose discipline he said was outstanding, resulting in increased production.

However there is need for increased cooperative production overall.

## \* POETRY \*

### Towards Free Education

*(By Kushinga Primary School pupils, Mazowe)*

For almost a century we were in  
trouble  
We could not make our own laws  
We could not step freely on most  
parts of our soil  
We could not enjoy our ancestors'  
heritage  
In short, we were not free — not free  
at all.

The oppressor had his job  
To oppress us and colonise our minds  
As a result we became the drawers of  
water and hewers of wood  
They said we did not need a lot of  
money, but a lot of work  
Comrades, we were not free at all.

At last we decided  
The gun was going to be our  
mouthpiece  
We were going to fight to the last  
man  
No bullet was going to be wasted  
"One bullet one enemy."  
Surely, comrades we were not free,  
not free at all.

At last we managed  
We broke through  
Victory was on our side  
On the 18th April 1980 the cock  
crowed  
It brought independence, equality,  
reconciliation, unity and education  
for all  
At last we were free — completely

free.

But freedom does not mean sleeping  
all day long  
Freedom does not mean manna from  
heaven  
Freedom does not mean dosing nights  
away.  
Freedom does not mean loafing  
Freedom, comrades, means hard work  
in a free Zimbabwe.

Hard and good work needs educated  
people  
Let me tell you how much I gain at  
school  
How much I share with my  
schoolmates  
How much my face glitters when I see  
books  
Books, comrades, are my friends  
I love to be called a "book-worm".

Why in a free Zimbabwe?  
Why when the government is spending  
millions of dollars on education?  
Why when Comrade Mutumbuka an-  
nounced the policy of free educa-  
tion for all?  
Why when a beautiful school, like  
Kushinga, is here?  
Come comrades! Come, come and  
have education.

*(By Kushinga Primary School pupils,  
Mazowe)*

# President Nicolae Ceausescu Turns 70

Nicolae Ceausescu President and General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party celebrated his 70th birthday on the 28th of January.

Romania an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-colonialist country has played a very significant role in people's struggles against these evils. It has supported the struggles carried out by the oppressed peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. President Ceausescu has pursued a policy of favouring the maintenance of peace in the world, the implementation of the goals of disarmament, and strengthening mutual understanding between peoples.

Under the leadership of President Ceausescu Romania has over the last 20 years registered an intense development rate, surpassing the stage of underdeveloped agrarian state. Romania iron and steel industry and machine building industry has become very powerful accounting for over two thirds of the gross national product.

The development of the machine building industry has been prompted by the country's agricultural needs where such machines, tractors, combines, sowing machines are of immeasurable significance in helping the raising of production levels.

President Nicolae Ceausescu has made it known that, "Socialism is the only alternative to the society decided into exploiting and exploited classes, the only way to socio-economic progress, to building a better and more just planet."

## Harmonious Development of the Country

**O**ur party and its General Secretary's vision tightly correlates the multilateral development of production forces, industry, agriculture and other sectors of material production with their rational territorial distribution. The two constitute inseparable aspects of the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society. Says President Nicolae Ceausescu, "In view of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the development of production forces is the chief lever for the progress of any society — so much the more so with respect to the socialist society and creation of conditions for communist construction, we have at-



President Nicolae Ceausescu

tached special importance to the multilateral development of production — of industry, agriculture and other branches of material production. On the other side, we have granted particular attention to a rational territorial location of production forces to ensure conditions of work to working people everywhere in the country and socially, the presence of the working class in every country. After all, the question of development of all countries, of all regions of the country is not only theoretical, but also practical".

**S**uch a way of approaching the development of administrative territorial units from an economic, political and social perspective provides a complex structural configuration integrating industry, agriculture and the other branches of material production into a harmonious entity ensuring the conditions for efficient reproduction and integrating the former into the national structures. In addition to material production growth, territorial units have to take steps to promote research, education, cultural and artistic activities, to



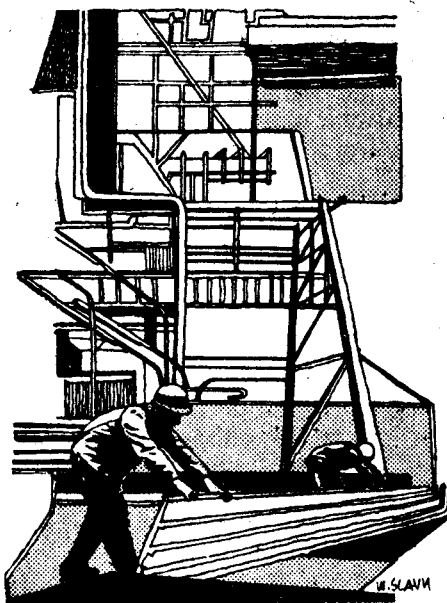
improve health protection standards, to provide conditions for the development of human personality and for the people's active participation in economic and social life.

Likewise, the concept of multilateral development also implies harmony between the components of production forces — work means, object, science and manpower, while they become increasingly interdependent. Harmony between these elements and an adequate structure of production forces from the angle of these components represent a basic requirement for production forces to discharge their mission of promoters of progress and civilization. High-standard means of production are not sufficient by themselves, it is necessary to update them in keeping with the tendencies and achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, to ensure the necessary supply of raw materials and skilled labour.

Multilateral development of production forces in every country and a dynamic equilibrium between economic branches, chiefly industry and agriculture, with a view to transforming the whole economic structure on harmonious bases should eventuate in economic homogenization nationwide, — the objective fundament of social homogenization.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of economic and social homogenization at county level scientifically substantiates the optimal relationship between population size and development level — decisive element in ensuring a rational territorial location of production forces, best utilization of natural and human resources and the economic and social uplifting of all regions and settlements in the country. Taking into account both the differences between counties from the view-point of economic potential and population size and the requirement of economic development at county level, the 12th Party Congress set the task of at least 70 000 lei gross production per capita in every county in the 1981 — 1985 quinquennium. Such a level, above that established for the previous five year plan — about 10 billion lei industrial output in every county — laid the groundwork for bettering the structure of the local economies and achieving a better equilibrium of territorial structures.

The sweeping progress of production forces and their harmonious territorial distribution, the quantitative and qualitative transformations in the



development of industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy brought about significant social changes which led to the attainment of one of our socialist society's major goals — work and income opportunities for all people, equal conditions of work and life to people in all regions of the country.

Changes in labour occupancy and structure in all of the country's regions should be retained in the first place. Special attention was granted to increasing the size of working personnel in the formerly underdeveloped counties with an inadequate labour occupancy structure. Growth rates above the national average have been registered over the past two decades in such counties as Salaj, Gorj, Bistrita-Násáud, Olt, Buzáu, Botosani, Covasna, Giurgiu, Vilcea, Dimbovita, Vaslui, Constanta, Satu Mare and Mehedinti.

The consistent orientation to complex utilization of resources in every county, to balanced development of all regions and settlements in the country also reflected in a significant improvement of professional structure and personnel training, as well as in generally higher incomes of working people, in higher standards of physical and moral progress of the entire population. Optimal correlation of material and human resources led to a better relationship between the population employed in agricultural branches and that in non-agricultural branches, a higher percentage of the latter being registered in all countries over 1965 — 1985.



Impetuous economic development nationwide and location of economic units everywhere in the country generated a vast process of urbanization developing in conformity with a unitary vision of urban and rural redevelopment. Over the socialist construction years, chiefly after the Ninth Party Congress, 54 settlements have become towns which now count 237 up from 148 in 1946 and 183 in 1965.

Not only the number of towns has increased, but the urban population has grown larger, important shifts being noticed in the configuration of urban settlements according to their population-strength.

The growth of the urban population — more than half of the total, up from 22,8 per cent in 1945 — points to a sweeping process of urbanization, more marked in such counties as Gorj, Harghita, Maramures, Covasna, Bistrita-Nasaud, Caras-Severin, Alba, Salaj and Lalomita.

Following the location of industrial activities in specifically-delimited areas, better solutions could be found to problems concerning water and fuel supplies, sewerage, central heating, public transport, water purification, etc. as well as the physical planning of residential, industrial, administrative, cultural and educational, trade and recreational areas.

Updating the territorial location of production forces takes a tremendous volume of material, financial and human resources; it represents a permanent process which is direct-

ly dependent on the progress of production forces. Variations in scope, quality and efficiency become visible in this or that of its stages.

Important goals were set in this regard at the 13th Party Congress. The Congress Directives for the current quinquennium stipulate firm continuation of the policy of rational distribution of production forces nationwide — basic requirement for implementation of the RCP Programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

In keeping with the stipulations set for the current five-year plan period, at least 80 000 lei worth volume of economic activity per capita of which 50 000 lei in industrial activity will have to be attained in every country by 1990. Moreover, the national programme of urban and rural redevelopment stipulates increased housing construction. 750 000 more dwellings will be built, 100 000 of them in the village; rural redevelopment will be given renewed scope — concentration of scattered rural settlements and farmsteads in

large villages, limitation of the settlement radius and construction of 2 — 4 storeyed houses in the village being a principal orientation in this process.

The programme-directive of territorial economic and social development in the current five-year plan period represents — for the rates and goals laid down — a higher stage in the resolution of the complex questions entailed by improving territorial economic and social structures. This programme, successfully being carried out, offers one more indication of the scientific and realistic vein of President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept in the field, central to which stays the idea of ensuring ever better conditions of work and life to all of the homeland's citizens — without any distinction as to nationality, to the entire people.

**Nicolae Lonescu**

*Director-General, the Central Statistics Department.*

## BARCLAYS BANK FEATURE

# Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Limited Rural Banking

Barclays Bank of Zimbabwe Limited was locally incorporated in 1981 but remains a member of the Barclays Bank plc Group.

Barclays in Zimbabwe through its membership of the Barclays world-wide network is thus able to offer more diverse and unrivalled international services both to the corporate and personal sectors. In Zimbabwe the benefits to the public have become increasingly evident as the bank is able to incorporate the most modern methods in banking and to take advantage of information gained from the group's world-wide network.

Up till Independence meaningful commercial development was along the main railway line, running from Mutare to Plumtree. This means that the communal areas were generally left undeveloped commercially apart from a few centres such as Mutoko, Murehwa, Murombedzi, Gutu etc. which were served by mobile agencies. The service to these centres was

brought to a halt during the years of the Liberation war.

At Independence in 1980, Government adopted the policy of rural reconstruction and development which entails huge amounts of money being channelled into the communal areas. That same time Government started encouraging the communal folk to expand the agricultural output. The pricing policy which went with this encouragement was enough incentive to induce greater agricultural production. The resultant surplus crop found their way to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and Cotton Marketing Board (CMB) which led to the huge amounts of money being channelled to the communal areas. This move by Government is an attempt to draw these communal folk into the monetary economy and thereby eliminate the characteristic dualistic development of the economy.

This resumption of commercial business activities to the rural areas led

commercial banks to resume servicing centres to which operations had been suspended during the war. The bumper harvest of 1984/85 brought to the communal farmers about \$54 million and highlighted the need for improved rural banking services as the rural farmers were forced to travel to the cities or towns to cash their cheques.

In September 1985 Government, through the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe requested the commercial banks to service some 54 Government designated growth points and rural service centres.

Barclays which had already started servicing Gokwe saw the new Government request as a challenge. Before the end of 1985 Barclays had carried out feasibility studies and started representation at ten growth points and service centres, namely Magunje, Murombedzi, Hauna, Mutasa, Birchenough Bridge, Nyanyadzi, Chisumbanje, Wedza, Tsholotsho and Bumi Hills. In 1987 Barclays extended its

services to Bonda Mission Hospital in Manicaland. Also in 1987 the Provincial Governor for Mashonaland East approached us with a request to make representation at Macheke. We also extended our services to Middle Sabi during 1987.

premises at the rural growth centres. The first such building has already been completed at Magunje and the second one will be completed shortly at Wedza growth point.

These two will initially operate as growth point agencies reporting to the

system. Barclays Bank appreciates this mistrust and has some long term plans to get established in these centres.

Education of the rural folk in the General Principles of Banking is viewed by Barclays as important. To this end,

## Rural Representation Table

NAME	PARENT BRANCH	REPRESENTATION DAY	TIME
1. Bonda Mission	Mutare	Tuesday	12 noon — 1.30 p.m.
2. Hauna	Mutare	Tuesday	9 a.m. — 11 a.m.
3. Nyanyadzi	Chipinge	Monday	9 a.m. — 10 a.m.
4. Birchenough Bridge	Chipinge	Monday	10.30 a.m. — 12.30 p.m.
5. Chisumbanje	Chiredzi	First & last Tuesday monthly	10 a.m. — 1 p.m.
6. Murombedzi	Chinhoyi	Friday	9.30 a.m. — 12 noon
7. Magunje	Karoi	Tuesday & Thursday	8.30 a.m. — 12 noon
8. Tsholotsho	Main Street	First Friday after Ministry of Education Pay Day	9 a.m. — 12 noon
9. Wedza	Marondera	Tuesday	9.30 a.m. — 11.30 p.m.

As part of its expanded services, Barclays have built a new permanent branch with four staff houses at Gokwe. The branch was officially opened by the Vice President, Cde. Simon Muzenda on the 16th October, 1987. Also present at the official opening day were Cdes. Makombe, the Provincial Governor of the Midlands, Richard Hove, the Minister of Mines and Chairman of the Midlands Province and Justin Nyoka, the Secretary for National Supplies. At least \$500 000 was spent on this development.

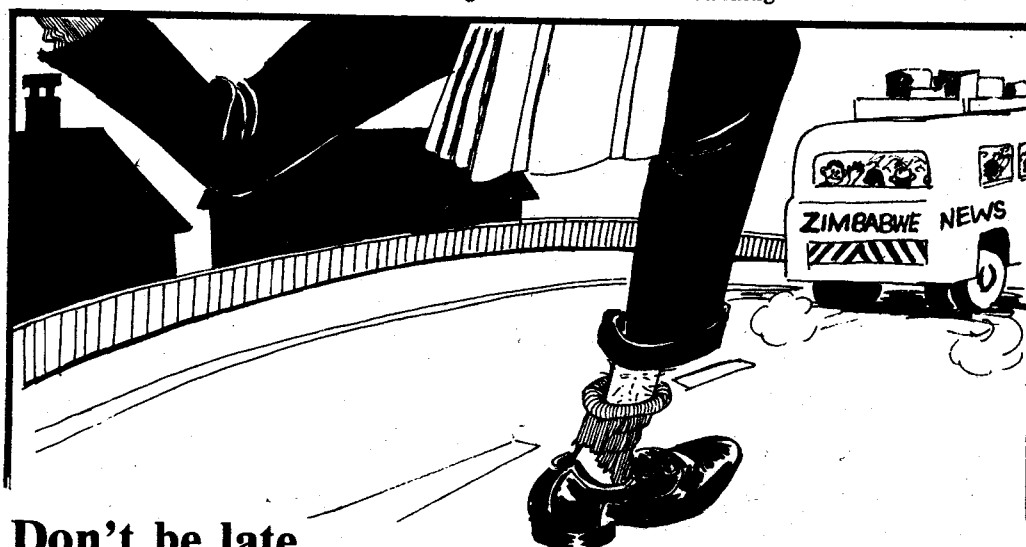
Barclays is determined to see the monetary integration of the whole economy go through. As part of the Bank's ongoing rural banking exercise, the Bank has embarked on a countrywide building programme to construct its own

nearest branch. We will keep reviewing the growth of the growth points with a view to upgrading these agencies to branches. This was the strategy adopted for Gokwe.

At the start of this rural representation exercise, communal folk merely used the banks to cash cheques in which case it was virtually uneconomical to continue with such an exercise. Experience in the last two years has shown a steady increase in the number of rural people opening accounts at the rural centres. Several thousand new accounts have been opened at these growth point centres.

The problem with these mobile agencies is that the majority of the communal folk still do not understand the principles of banking and thus mistrust banking

Barclays has distributed information pamphlets on savings accounts at all growth points it is serving. Barclays' aim is to help in resource mobilisation in these communal areas. It is the Bank's belief that such money resources if mobilised, can go a long way in financing national development programmes and thus cut down on foreign borrowings which greatly affects our balance of payments position.



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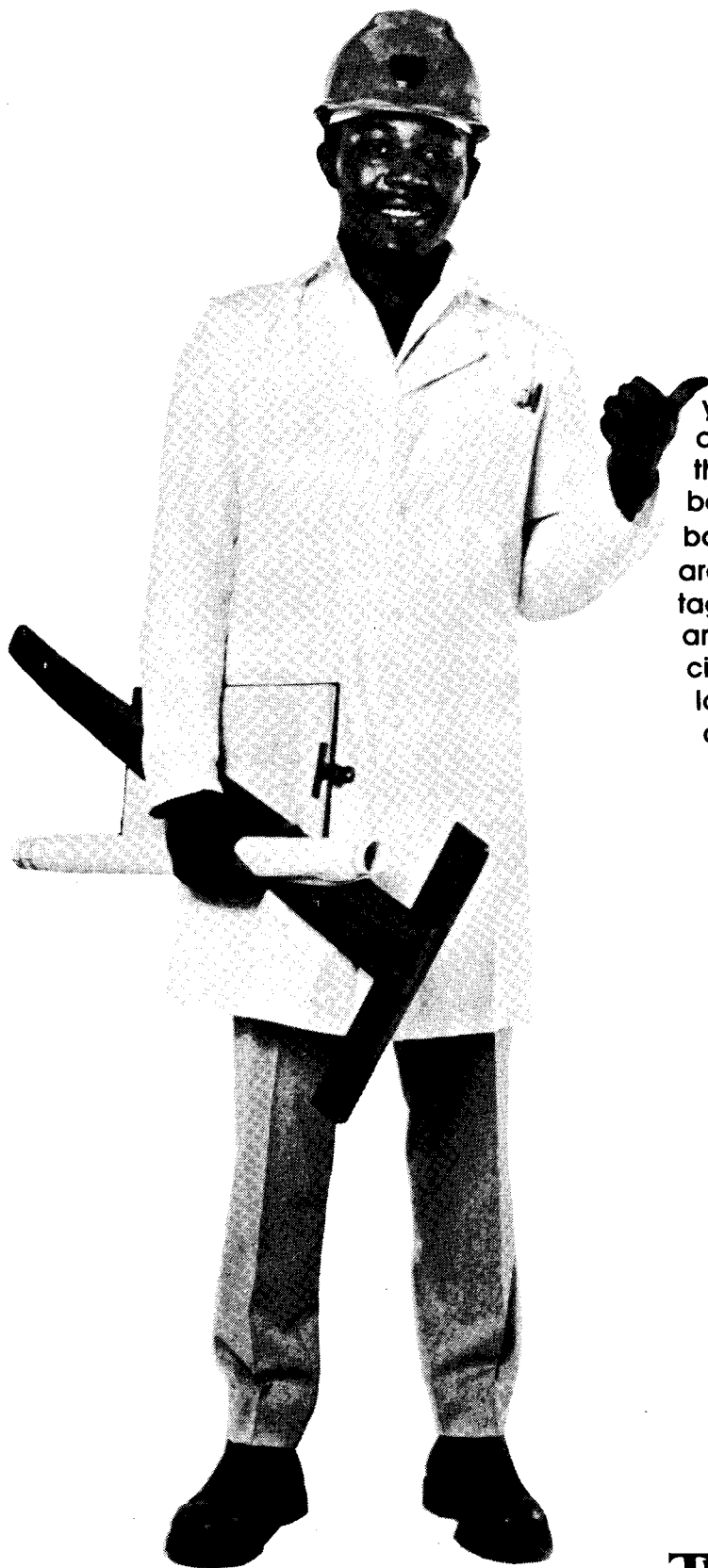


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