

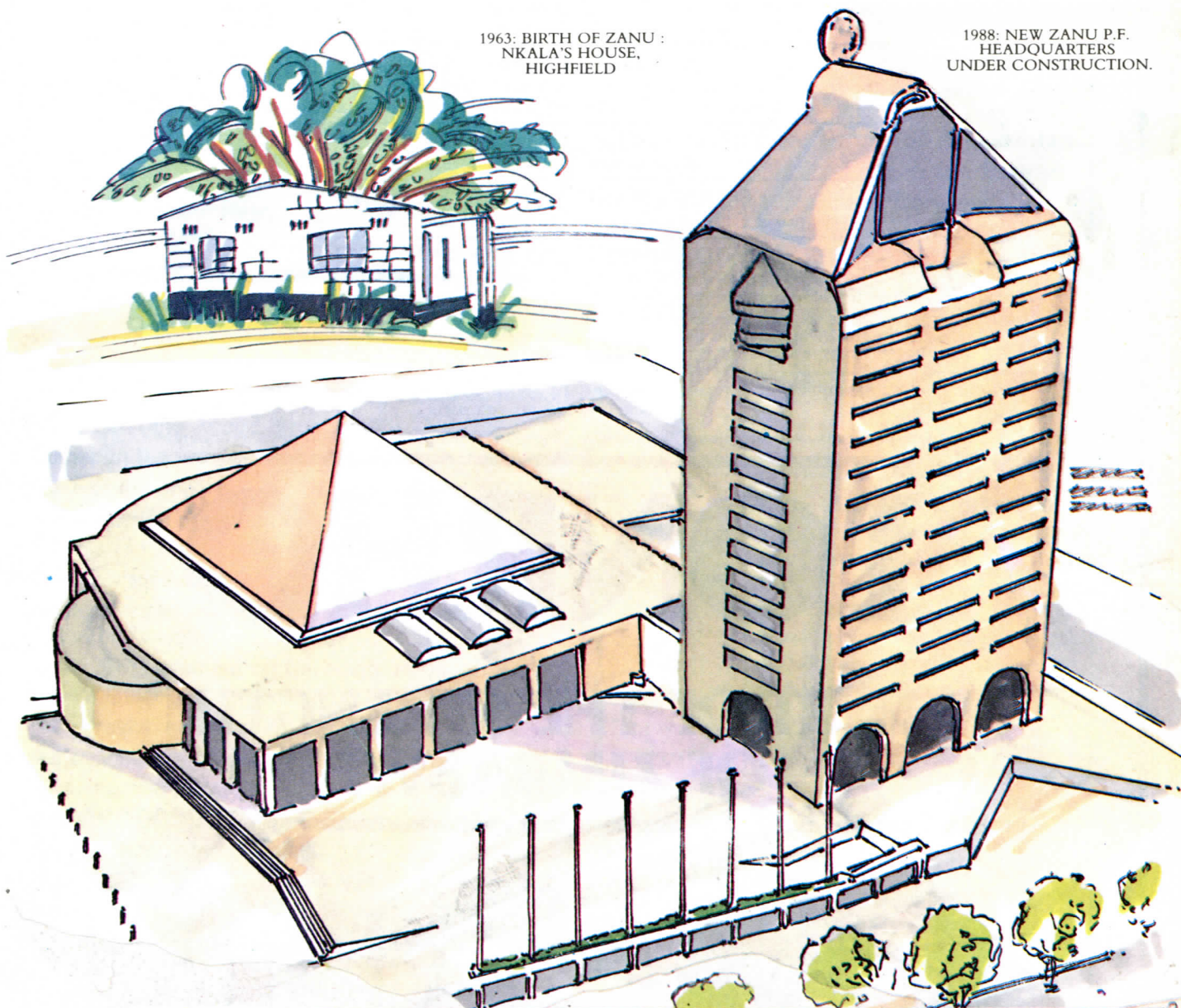


# Zimbabwe News

## Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

Department of Information and Publicity, 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare  
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1963: BIRTH OF ZANU :  
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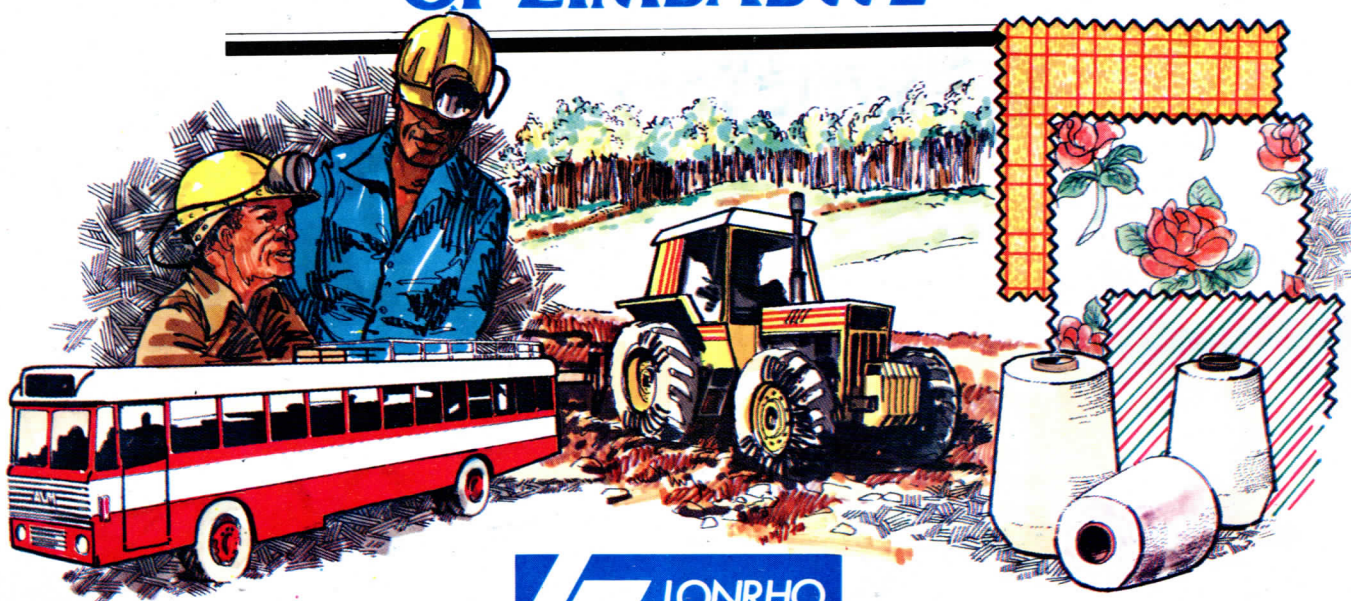
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# LONRHO

## PART OF THE STRENGTH OF ZIMBABWE

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## Formation of ZANU

On the 8th of August, 1963 at Comrade Enos Nkala's house in Highfield, Harare, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was announced. A group of leading Comrades who had wearied of the then existing ineffective means of waging the struggle for national liberation and independence decided to launch a new political party. . . page 5

## An Account of the Nationalist Movement

It needed dedication, bravery and courage to confront the enemy for one to be a leader in ZANU during its formation. Comrade Enos Chikowore clarified this when he was giving a detailed account on the formation of ZANU on August 8, 1963. . . page 7

## Women in the Struggle

Comrade J.T.R. Mujuru is one of the prominent figures in Zimbabwe Politics. She is able to tell the nation the history of ZANU, particularly of the armed wing of that party since she was directly involved in the armed struggle. In this issue of *Zimbabwe News*, we want to draw her to specific questions dealing with the role of Women in the struggle. . . page 41

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## The People of Afghanistan Have Chosen the Path of National Reconciliation

More than ten years have elapsed since the victory of revolution in Afghanistan. Its goal was to wrest Afghanistan from age-old backwardness and put it on the road to social progress. . . page 86

## Romania: December 1, 1918 - A Day for Eternity

The making of the Romanian national unitary state, was a process which lasted for more than a thousand years. The pleasant and rich Carpatho-Danubian area was inhabited by the Daco-Roman population, which resulted from the Romanization of the native Dacians. . . page 84

## Soviet/South African Relations

There can be no formal or diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union as long as apartheid exists. . . page 79

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# EDITORIAL

Standing for the People's Rights

The history of ZANU is the history of the people of Zimbabwe. The two cannot be separated. For the past 25 years, the two have worked together and stuck together in times of triumph and victory as well as defeat. Over these years, the people have developed confidence in the Party and its leadership, and the Party has struck deep roots in the hearts and minds of the people. During the armed struggle for national liberation, the alliance of the Party and the people was severely tested, but it endured and triumphed.

The bedrock of ZANU's success and support over the years is that it always championed the interests of the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe. The people know that their Party stood with them and would always stand by them.

This country was developed largely by colonial capital. The white settlers and their government encouraged foreign capital investment and created economic conditions favourable to it. Billions upon billions of dollars were removed and repatriated to other countries, especially Britain and South Africa, as profits, or dividends. That was the nature of colonial capitalism.

In that development, there was always a sharp conflict between the demands of capital and those of labour. Labour was poorly paid, poorly housed, and concentrated in communal areas (or Reserves) which were labour reservoirs for practical purposes. The poor living and working conditions of the broad masses of our people in the communal areas and the commercial farming areas today are the painful legacy we have inherited from that colonial era. The farms and factories were only made profitable and viable by the fact that labour was extra-ordinarily cheap. But, the salient fact to be remembered and to be underlined today, is that ZANU stood for and with the exploited workers and peasants throughout this difficult period. It never compromised with the political demands of the owners of capital, and those white settlers who were managing the capitalist system. That we are now independent and fighting for economic independence, are we going to compromise now? Are we going to abandon the demands of the workers and the peasants? That is the critical and central question we have to answer now and at the Third Congress of our Party next year. We must remember and underline again the fact that our success in the past was achieved because we represented the interests of labour against capital. The alliance of ZANU and the people was

strengthened during the armed struggle for national independence. The Rhodesian security forces were armed to the teeth. They saturated the border areas and they attacked our bases in the neighbouring countries of Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. Inside the country, a Police state was established.

How could the freedom fighters of ZANU penetrate a strong and vicious system like that? How did they survive? The simple answer is that the freedom fighters were integrated with the people, the peasants and the workers. They swam in the villages, the compounds, and the segregated townships like fish in the water. That was the secret of our success — the people.

One of the major ingredients of a successful revolution, and a successful political movement, is a strong and dedicated leadership at the helm. From the very beginning, ZANU insisted upon responsible and collective leadership, exercised through the highest organs of the Party, and based on clearly defined principles. It was this collective leadership, exercised through the highest organs of the Party, and based on clearly defined principles that made it possible for those members of the Central Committee, who were in prison in the early 1970s, to get rid of the traitorous presidency of the renegade leadership of Ndabaningi Sithole. Once it became obvious in prison that Sithole's morale had broken down, and he was plotting with the Rhodesian security officers (and South African agents) to betray the people's struggle for freedom and national independence, he was removed from his high office. Misguided efforts by some OAU members to return him to his position failed because they were opposed by all ZANU members, once the facts of his betrayal and opportunism became known.

In the First Secretary and President, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, the Party now has a leader the people can trust. He is a man of high principles, tested and tempered by a decade in prison, a decade in the bush, and eight difficult years as leader of this young nation. The Central Committee elected at the Second Congress also has dedicated men and women who have given full and unstinting support to the First Secretary and President. We can Proudly continue to sing the basic slogans:

Pamberi neZANU (PF)  
Pamberi naPresident Mugabe  
Pamberi neCentral Committee  
Pamberi neKubatana (Unity)

## LETTER

### Jangano Must be challenged.

Dear Editor

I would like to sincerely congratulate you for devoting some space in your November edition of our revolutionary *Zimbabwe News* a number of issues on music and culture. Every time I read *Zimbabwe News* I am very critical of every line because it is from this publication that I understand our Party's thinking on various aspects of national development. Many times I am convinced that the selection of articles and language used in our magazine is consistent with our revolutionary standpoint.

This is why I was not surprised to read

Green Jangano's statement in the article: 'Jangano talks about music and culture', where he says that musicians have been badly treated by the Ministry (Ministry responsible for culture. I presume — Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture).

After eight years of independence and in view of the need to be practical when facing national development problems, we should not allow vague and completely unsubstantiated criticism of government, like this one to go unchallenged. In ZANU (PF) we have no more time for mourning about things going wrong but time to find solutions. We have no time in ZANU (PF) to merely point contradictions but to suggest solutions and solutions.

Therefore if you read Jangano's statement once more, you should ask yourself whether he actually says how 'the Ministry' has neglected musicians in Zimbabwe. He does not do so. In the final analysis, the article is a publicity stunt for Jangano and the Harare Mambo.

It is important to note that in the whole article Jangano does not mention the Zimbabwe Union of Musicians and his wrangle with Friday Mbirimi which destroyed that union. What has Zimbabwe Union of Musicians done? Mbirimi is now in the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture and he is not talking of Zimbabwe Union of Musicians. Before he joined the ministry he wrote articles saying what the ministry should do



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to help musicians. What has the Union done now that Mbirimi is in the Ministry?

Jangano does not refer to the National Arts Council and its serious contradictions on the role of Zimbabwe Union of Musicians in issues dealing with music in Zimbabwe. Any time there has been a committee set up by the National Arts Council to handle an international musical programme such as Human Rights Now concert, the Buwa concert and the Child Survival Frontline Rock concert, we have never heard of the Zimbabwe Union of Musicians playing a role in the issues which affect local musicians and the fundamental one of allowing such concerts in Zimbabwe with almost all supporting technicians coming from abroad and South Africa. This means that there is something wrong in the National Arts Council and Zimbabwe Union of Musicians. These are the bodies which should indicate what they have asked the Party and government to do about music and music industry which was ignored. ZANU should now challenge these organisations who represent musicians and other artists to state their positions and produce copies of their recommendations to government on the improvement of social and economic status of musicians and artists in Zimbabwe which they think government has ignored. The Party should now ignore talks and request for action. What mass action has ever been initiated by Zimbabwean musicians on issues of

exploitation and poor working conditions? Are they even united themselves as regards relationship to ZANU (PF) and government? Do they ever meet to review problems facing the music industry, working conditions and other labour relations issues? If Jangano cannot meet fellow musicians to map out a clear strategy of lobbying the party and government to solve music industry problems he has no right to say that musicians have been neglected by the 'Ministry'.

As a mere Party member, I have been fascinated by how the Party and government have brought musicians into state occasions. At one time I was surprised to hear that the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture was paying bands to take part in the independence musical festival at a rate of about \$700 an hour with transport and musical instruments provided by government. Harare Mambo for example have even better deals than this.

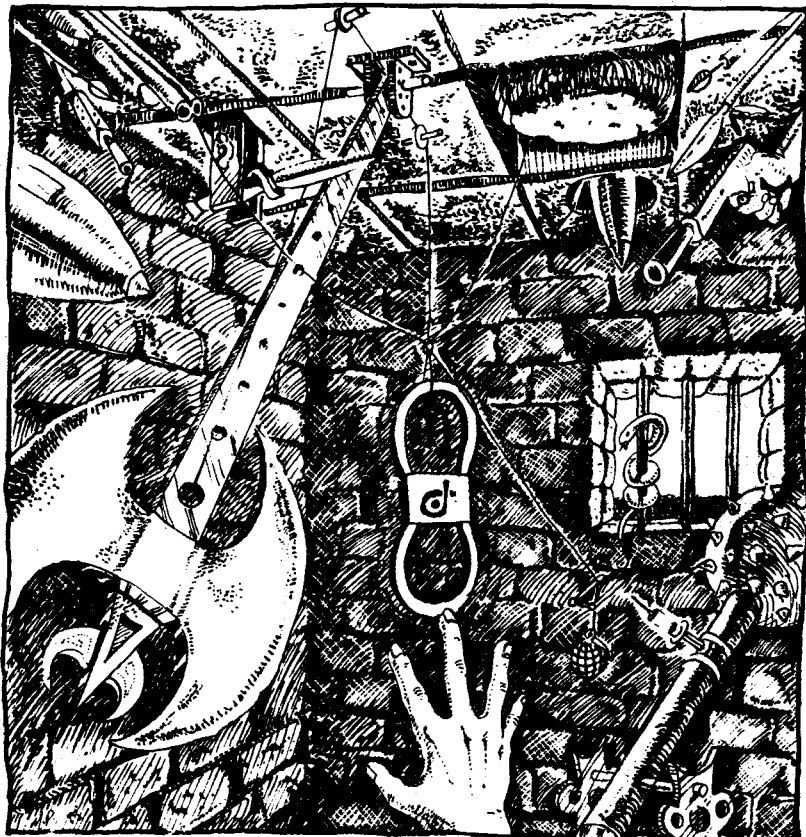
This situation never existed during the colonial era and Smith regime. Jangano says 'nothing has been put across that is to our satisfaction to improve the inherited culture'. All this exposure of musicians into state occasions has therefore made no sense to Jangano. Why did Harare Mambo get to be selected to play at state balls and not Thomas Mapfumo? Did Green Jangano ever ask this question?

Cde Editor, we in ZANU (PF) should now solve serious contradictions that can easily make our political line of thinking quite unclear. We do not need therefore to devote space in our magazine to claims that cannot be substantiated and to baseless criticism of government machinery. We need suggestions and recommendations either through the Zimbabwe News or directly to the Party's Department of Commissariat and Culture. At the recent Party's Youth Congress was there anything raised by youth in the film and music industry? Nothing. So what is ZANU (PF) expected to do? Has Zimbabwe Union of Musicians challenged the National Arts Council on problems facing the music industry? Has it even met the National Arts Council with a list of problems musicians are facing and what they expect to be done? Why has Zimbabwe Union of Musicians not even challenged the fact that there is no musician who represents their interests in the National Arts Council?

ZANU (PF) has created democratic structures to be used in the reconstruction and development of a truly Socialist society. If musicians are unable to use these structures to their advantage then they are politically immature and disoriented.

Pamberi ne Socialist Culture.

Taka Garikayi (Borrowdale — Harare).



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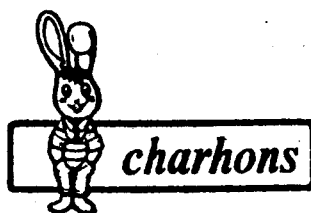


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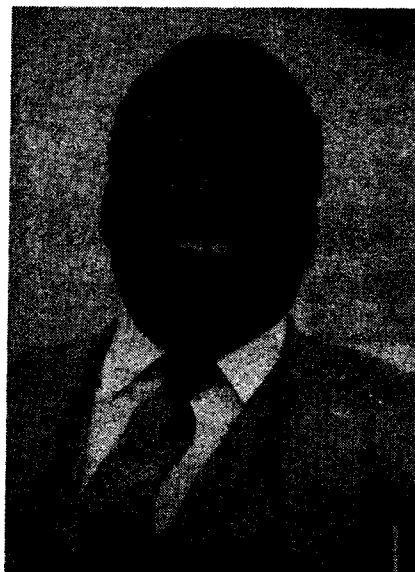
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# An Account of the Nationalist Movement

Comrade Enos Chikowore



Comrade Enos Chikowore

It needed dedication, bravery and courage to confront the enemy for one to be a leader in ZANU during its formation. Comrade Enos Chikowore clarified this when he was giving a detailed account on the formation of ZANU on August 8, 1963.

## Political Parties Prior to ZANU

Comrade Enos Chikowore who is the Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development said, before ZANU, there was a handful of political parties. The Youth League was formed in 1956 and there after the ANC (African National Congress) came into being but did not see many days before it was banned in 1959 by Whitehead who was then Prime Minister of Rhodesia.

"We were still young and going to school those days and in 1959 and 1960 we were in Highfield. That was the period when many people were arrested and restricted under the Preventive Detention Act", he said.

The National Democratic Party (NDP) was then formed and its first leader was Comrade Michael Mawema.

"We, the youth, pointed out that countries like Ghana were already independent. Nigeria was on the eve of attaining independence. Therefore an active political party capable of waging a liberation struggle was desperately needed."

The Youth, he continued, joined the National Democratic Party, their main objective being to fight for their country.

Unfortunately NDP did not live longer to

see these objectives achieved or rather implemented. It was banned and all property of the party such as cars and typewriters were confiscated by the minority Government. The NDP was declared unlawful.

"After NDP was banned, we did not sit back and leave the situation as it was. We decided to form another party immediately. ZAPU was born," Comrade Chikowore said. He added that ZAPU was a bigger and well established party because it had incorporated prominent people like Parirenyatwa and Comrade Robert Mugabe. Comrade Joshua Nkomo was the leader.

ZAPU became a force to reckon with. The youth was always proud of the presence and active roles played by people like the late Comrade Silundika and other leaders at political meetings.

The enemy did not allow ZAPU much breathing space. They banned it.

"When ZAPU was formed we had agreed that if banned, we were not going to form another party in Zimbabwe. Of course, some small parties were formed and we destroyed them saying that we did not want many political parties." One of such small parties was PASU (Pan African Socialist Union) which was formed by Paul Mushonga.

## Death of Parirenyatwa

Youths started making petrol bombs. They then embarked on an aggressive programme of setting pigs, horses and cattle on fire in the whitemen's farms. All this happened under ZAPU with Comrade Chikowore leading the youth.

Through all these activities which caused unrest and disturbance to whites, ZAPU's reputation was reduced, but people did not accept defeat. All leaders were told to spread the gospel that, "we now want majority rule."

Unfortunately Comrade Parirenyatwa passed away after having been involved in an accident with a train. The fatal accident remains a mystery up to now.

"After the death of Comrade Parirenyatwa we vowed again that we were not going to form another party. We said we would rather form an underground movement," Comrade Chikowore said.

The heavy boot of the enemy landed on the black majority and restricted all leaders. Comrade Mugabe was restricted in Zvimba, Comrade Chikowore was sent to his home area Mhondoro, where he was not al-

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Dr. Tichafa Parirenyatwa, Joshua Nkomo and Comrade Robert Mugabe at a rally in 1962

lowed free movement and talking to many people. Comrade Nkomo was restricted in Kezi.

"After the restrictions, we met to plan how we could operate from underground. The going was getting tough because there was no proper leadership due to fear of victimisation.

"People started to burn places like the Wattle plantation in Mutare. The enemy, of course, felt the bite and responded by forming a police unit known as Police Reserves. Their main task was to arrest all those who wanted majority rule.

"We also responded by directly declaring war on the Police Reserves. That was underground Movement. We wanted to show our oppressors that they could not arrest or detect us. In urban areas, factories and industrial buildings were burnt".

The lack of proper leadership at that time greatly undermined progress of the underground operations. Therefore, there was need to form another party. The new party, Comrade Chikowore emphasized, demanded people who were man-enough to face the enemy, people who had what he termed the 'politics of confrontation with the enemy'. There was no more room for round-table negotiations.

"Many people were afraid because they had been in restrictions, some were afraid of the police. Another group adhered to the point that we were not going to form another party. They could say, 'you destroyed those small parties how come you talk of forming another party?'"

Then rumours spread that there was a likelihood of the emergence of another party. The leaders met and said they had been advised by other sister and brother countries to come and form a government-in-exile.

#### Government in Exile

Some leaders, for instance Comrade Mugabe who had been sent to Tanzania were told that it was impossible to carry an armed struggle from as far away as Tanzania. They

were asked if they had the fighters, if the people at home were politically conscious and aware of the objectives of the struggle. Those who had remained at home sent the word that they could not wait any more, another party was needed immediately.

The formation of the new Party did not mean that ZAPU was to be destroyed. It was to exist under the leadership of Comrade Nkomo.

"Comrade Nkomo then decided to go and form a government-in-exile but was greeted by the news that war must be fought within your country not from here. Here at home we were holding private meetings" Comrade Chikowore said.

People who were involved in this were Comrades Enos Chikowore, Enos Nkala and Henry Hamadziripi. At that time Comrades Nyagumbo, Chikerema, Mushonga and Nyandoro were released from restrictions and detention.

"They provided a very strong backing to the youth. Then word was sent to our leaders, Comrade Mugabe and Comrade Takawira, that we were forming another Party and they gave us the go ahead", he said.

Since this new Party's main aim was to face the enemy, the problem was, who was the right leader. Comrade Takawira was known more by reputation than otherwise for being behind bars on several occasions. Comrade Mugabe and his wife had already tasted jail life.

Comrade Chikowore said, "We wanted someone whom the Minority government would respect. Finally, Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole became the rightful candidate. As a Pastor, we thought they would not associate him with politics and the like".

This was agreed on and some of the involved parties were Comrades Nathan Shamuyarira, Trinos Makombe, Edgar Tekere and others.

#### Small Organisations

Besides political parties like ZAPU, ANC and NDP there were also other small organi-

sations such as the Trade Union which was led by Reuben Jamera. Political parties and workers organisations operated side-by-side because they were fighting a common enemy, the oppressor. The other reason was that members of political parties were also workers.

Whites also formed some parties which were used as weapons to disengage people from revolutionary parties. Among those parties the one which caused a headache to black politicians was the UFP which was formed by Whitehead.

"This party integrated some blacks such as Savanhu, Chanetsa, Gondo and Samuriwo. The majority was then urged to follow the footsteps of these instead of shouting for majority rule", he said.

When Whitehead tried to address a rally in Highfields which was aimed at convincing people that his government was cognizant of people's grievances and was doing its best to redress them, he left the hall through the unusual exit, the window.

However, Whitehead did not let this go unchallenged. He again established a group of Police Reserves specifically directed against people who said anything political. ZANU was already existing those days. The Police Reserves also received their share from the revolutionaries.

"Having felt the bite the whites finally decided that ZANU needed someone tougher than Whitehead. A conflict erupted between them and at the end of the day it was Winston Garfield who was in the shoes of Whitehead".

But before Winston had done anything he was dethroned and the Dominion Party composed of whites only swallowed UFP and took over the Government. Members of the Dominion Party like Ian Smith emerged and vowed to reduce the black politicians to size. Smith was of course very instrumental in trying to preserve minority rule, but nothing lasts forever.

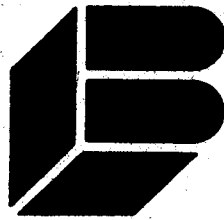
#### Problems Encountered

The formation of ZANU was no easy going. There were a lot of natural and man-made obstacles to be cleared first. Of course, there is no way to the end of a journey but to travel the road that leads to it.

Comrade Chikowore said, "It was difficult for us to form this Party because we had told people that we were not going to form another party. Therefore, courage was the keyword if one was to become its leader.

Nkomo then returned and announced to the public that there were people who wanted to form another party. He openly declared us enemies of the people and our names were listed. There were comrades Nkala, myself (Chikowore), Chitepo and others. He referred to us as enemies of the people because we had agreed to form a new party".

He added that since it was apparent that a new party was to be born we went ahead



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and His Party on their 25th Anniversary**

and ZANU was formed on August 8, 1963 at Comrade Enos Nkala's house.

ZAPU members received the news and immediately called for a meeting. They wanted to paint a bad picture of ZANU before the world. They used the ground at Cold Comfort for their meeting. They agreed at the meeting to liquidate ZANU as had happened to the small parties. But because ZANU had its own objectives, fighting between the two parties occurred.

During underground operations some groups were introduced and these groups became the taproot of the new party. Even those who later went to countries like China were once members of the underground movement. Some of them were Comrades Mnangagwa, Maramba, Mudukuti, Shiri-huru, only to mention a few.

Leaving the country was one of those things which one would not want to have a second experience after having been successful in the first place. Mostly private arrangements were made with transport companies like Swift so they could hide these people in their goods.

#### **Contribution By Party Leaders**

When ZANU was formed there was not even a single cent. They then agreed that all leaders who were working must help the Party.

"I was working at the Central African Airways, now Air Zimbabwe. After receiving the money I would give it to the Party".

Those who owned stores like Comrade Robert Marere helped the Party to see the sun up to now. They used to give foodstuffs and other items to people who were leaving the country.

When ZANU started, Ndabaningi Sithole was the President and Comrade Leopold Takawira was his Vice. Robert Mugabe was the Party Secretary. Comrade Enos Nkala was the Treasurer and Comrade Trainos

Makombe was responsible for External Affairs. Every Prominent member of the Party needed security at their houses so they could not be destroyed. ZAPU had by then established an organisation known as the People's Care-Taker Council (PCC) to fight against ZANU.

"In most cases you could organise something by someone and that person would go back to PCC without your knowledge and divulge the contents of the discussion. So these were some of the problems encountered together with food shortage, lack of transport and bankruptcy", said Comrade Chikowore.

He also stated that his house in Highfield was the convergence point of the youths. Most of their meetings were done there.

The farm which was where Glen Norah is today was the testing ground for petrol bombs and TNT's. All students who had a modicum of science were welcome. From the testing field the main targets were low density suburbs where the majority of whites resided.

Whites then realised that ZANU meant war. Therefore many leaders were arrested. Comrade Chikowore was sent to prison because he was always scapegoated for any bombing incident in the country. Even if someone was caught red-handed in Mutare while Comrade Chikowore was in Masvingo, the whites always wanted to believe that he was responsible.

During the Gweru Congress he was behind bars and was busy telling those who were free to appoint more leaders. "We had agreed that every leader was to be replaced immediately if ever anything happened. So Tekere was to take over from me as the youth leader when I was arrested", he said.

It was during the Gweru Congress that proper leadership was formed. The whole country started to know the objectives of ZANU. Soon after the congress Comrade

Mugabe and other leaders were also arrested.

#### **Chitepo's Contribution in Organising the External Wing.**

Initially, the late Comrade Herbert Chitepo was the chairman of ZAPU. Tanzania then became independent and the TANU Government under the leadership of Julius Nyerere asked for the assistance of a person very knowledgeable in law. Comrade Chitepo was then sent to Tanzania where he was given the post of Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) in the TANU Government. During his stay in Tanzania he remained the chairman of ZAPU.

"After misunderstandings within ZAPU and the subsequent formation of ZANU, Comrade Chitepo decided to join ZANU and he remained the chairman", Comrade Chikowore said.

There was a communication system which enabled Comrade Chitepo to have up-to-date information of what was going on at home. He was also informed of the Party's intentions to send people out for military training.

"I have mentioned that some people went to Ghana, Egypt and Tanzania. The presence of Comrade Chitepo in Tanzania, though he was on work was helpful because he used to receive the people".

When people realised that ZANU with its military wing ZANLA, really meant war, people like the late Comrade Josia Tongogara left Zambia and went for military training.

Comrade Chikowore added that having sensed that an armed struggle was inevitable, as evidenced by the battle of Sinoia in 1966, Comrade Chitepo asked the Tanzanian Government to relieve him. He wanted to concentrate fully on the affairs of the struggle. That was the time when ZANU was recognised by other countries including the OAU liberation Committee. □

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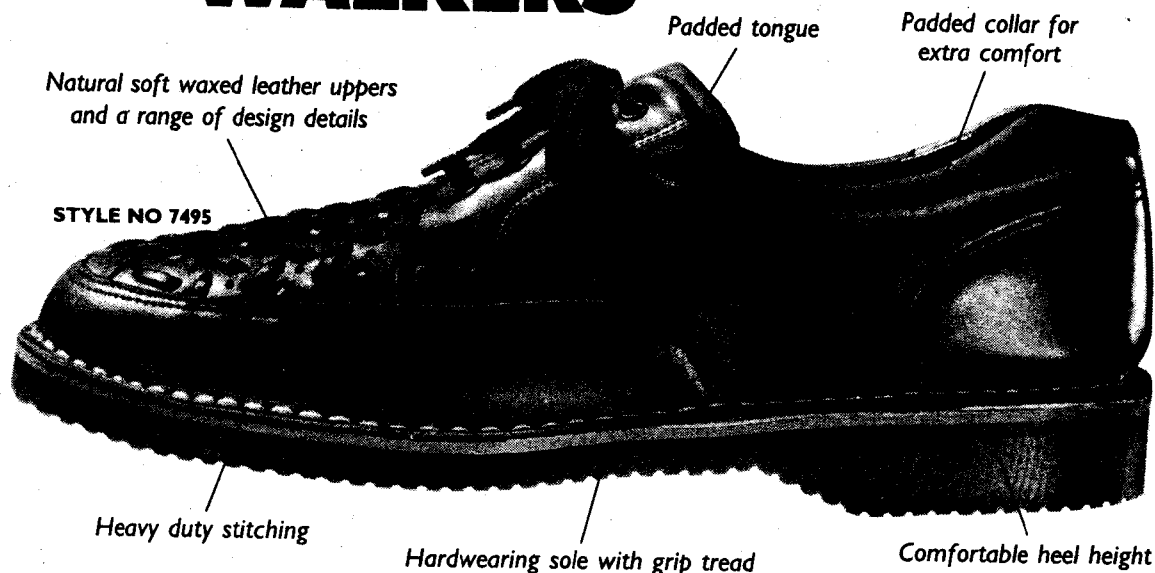
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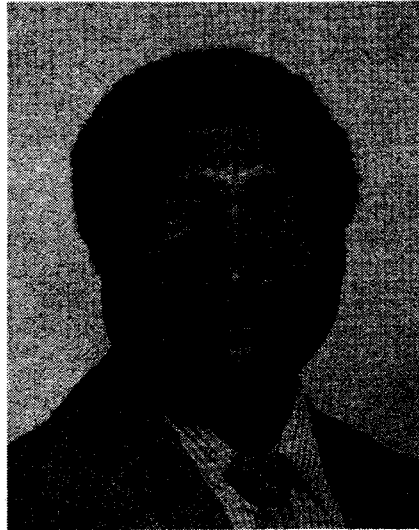
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# Formation of ZANU

*Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo*



Secretary for Administration and  
Acting Secretary for Commissariat,  
Comrade M. Nyagumbo

On the 8th of August, 1963 at Comrade Enos Nkala's house in Highfield, Harare, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was announced. A group of leading Comrades who had wearied of the then existing ineffective means of waging the struggle for national liberation and independence decided to launch a new political party, fully dedicated to the armed struggle as a principal method of effecting change, the essence of which would be the complete overthrow of the oppressive colonial system and substitution for it of a new political and socio-economic order with a popular base.

Ndabaningi Sithole was elected President, the late Comrade Leopold Takawira Vice-President, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe (now President of the Republic of Zimbabwe) as Secretary-General, Comrade Enos Nkala became the Treasurer, and Comrade Moton Malianga the Secretary for Youth.

## Reasons for forming ZANU

The formation of ZANU was as much a historical event as it was a necessary and logical step in the revolutionary process of our country. Imperialism and colonialism being by nature oppressive and exploitative, always have a potential for creating deadly instruments for their own destruction. The oppressor stands opposed to the oppressed, the exploiting bourgeois to the exploited worker, the land-seizing bourgeois farmer to the impoverished peasant farmer and overallly the ruling settler minority community to the ruled broad masses. It was this pervading phenomenon of class antagonism,

gaping clearly for the adoption of the instrument of armed violence against the ruling settler bourgeois class, that gave rise to ZANU.

For years since 1890, our people either as impoverished peasants or as ill paid workers, had struggled in vain to remove the burden of racist oppressive rule and socio-economic disabilities that followed the trail of European occupation and settlement. Their grievances and petitions humbly put before the settler regime had not only gone unheeded but had also ironically followed by increasingly sterner rule and harsher economic measures. The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and latter the 1969 Land Tenure Act which became the white man's "iron fist rule" was to the African the basic law of segregation, deprivation and indignity as well as an instrument for maintaining the master-servant relationship.

## Armed Approach

From its very inception, ZANU was unequivocal in its approach to the liberation struggle. It purposefully chose war as a means of achieving liberation. It must always be borne in mind that a system sustained by violence can only be defeated by war. So, because the essence of settler power was force, ZANU decided to adopt the very method of force to defeat it and create a just system based on people's power whose main anchor and guarantee shall remain a popular force. Accordingly, if ZANU at its birth was to become a truly revolutionary movement, it had to forge an instrument of force, sharp and devastating to the enemy. This sharp instrument was Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA); whose structure only materialised some years later after the formation of ZANU. Thus the struggle in Zimbabwe definitely assumed a new form.

## Gweru Congress

ZANU had its first Congress in Gweru where a Five-Point Action Plan was adopted. Military action had in fact already begun, with successful attacks on whites by the "Crocodile Gang" in Chimanimani and efforts to secure training facilities. It was during that time that Comrade R.G. Mugabe went to Cairo, Egypt and Ghana to look for support. As a result, Ghananians sent an aircraft to Malawi to pick up recruits — who were transported in batches from Rhodesia in Comrade Mugabe's little car, which was often driven by Comrade Simon Muzenda.

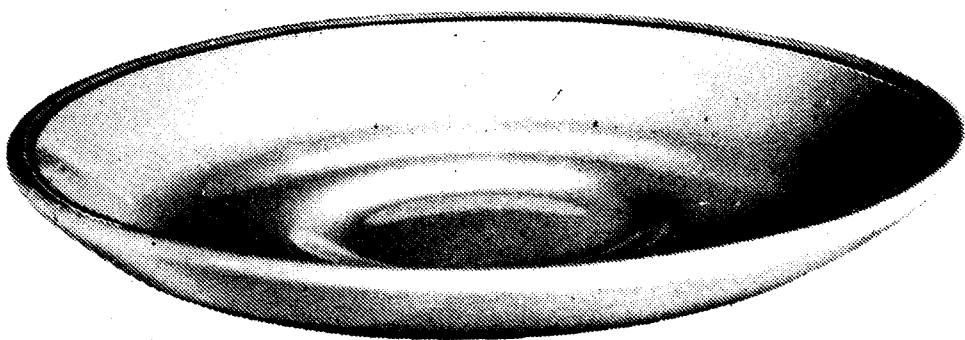
ZAPU, under the leadership of Comrade Joshua Nkomo regarded ZANU as an enemy and this manifested itself in the form of

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Comrade R.G. Mugabe, Mr. N. Sithole, the late L. Takawira and Comrade M. Malianga at Sikombela in 1965

attacks on property owned or rented by members of ZANU. This violence spread to rural areas.

In August 1964, both ZANU and ZAPU were banned. ZANU leaders who included the late Comrade Leopold Takawira, Comrade Robert Mugabe, Comrade Ndabaningi Sithole, Comrade Edgar Tekere, Comrade Eddison Zvobgo, Comrade Nelson Mawema, Comrade Enos Nkala, Comrade Bossopo-Moyo, Comrade Mark Dube and Comrade Shiriuru were restricted in a remote area in Gokwe.

In November, 1965, the restrictees were moved to Remand Section of the Salisbury Prison. Here three days later, they heard that the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) had been declared by Ian Smith.

#### Life in Restriction and Detention Camps

Restriction and detention camps were places where African nationalist leaders were detained and restricted without trial. To detain a person without trial is to do him gross injustice. At Wha Wha men and women and even children were confined to an area of five acres of land. Nothing could be more brutalising and dehumanising than this. The restrictions and detentions imposed by the white minority resulted in the loss of breadwinners of many families. A good number of children went hungry, scantily clothed and could not afford school fees because

their parents were in restriction. These restrictions disrupted more African homes and more social problems were created.

#### Ndabaningi Sithole's Betrayal

When ZANU was formed in August 1963, and the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole was installed as its president, not all members approved of this decision. So vehement was the opposition to Sithole that some, among the hard-core founders of the party, had contemplated initiating a move to choose another leader in Sithole's place at the first ZANU Congress at Gweru in May 1964. After much discussion, however, it was finally decided not to proceed with this, in order to avoid creating divisions in the Party. But Sithole brought about his own downfall. In 1968 he was charged with plotting to murder Ian Smith and other perpetrators of UDI, and when he was brought to trial in February, 1969, he pleaded guilty. He was sentenced to six years imprisonment. In mitigation he declared: "I wish publicly to disassociate my name in word, thought or deed from any subversive activities, from any terrorist activities and from any form of violence."

Sithole had thus betrayed and recanted both the armed struggle and those men and women who were fighting for Zimbabwe. It was a blood blow for ZANU's Central Committee; the leader had effectively betrayed the armed struggle.

The external wing in Lusaka headed by Comrade Herbert Chitepo was equally dis-

turbed. Moves to unseat him and replace him with Comrade Mugabe began. However, Comrade Mugabe made it clear that such action could not be taken while the leaders were in prison, and away from the membership and people who should be consulted. Meanwhile those outside the country formed an eight-member war Council, the DARE. It requested FRELIMO in Mozambique for access to Rhodesia via Tete Province which was warmly accepted.

#### Chinhoyi Battle

In April, 1966, ZANU had sent two Com-mando groups of 14 men into Rhodesia from Zambia. They split up into three groups, and one of these attempted to attack the town of Sinoia (Chinhoyi). A pitched battle with Rhodesian Security Forces ensued and all the guerillas were killed but not before they had accounted for 25 policemen. The battle not only consolidated the belief in the armed struggle, but also the belief that the enemy must be faced with the same weapons. It did much to raise the level of the People's consciousness.

It is principle and commitment that held us together as a Party during the rough days of 1963-1964. It is the same principle and commitment that sustained us against the imperialist strategy of 1974-1975 which sought our ruin and nearly destroyed us. It is once again the principle and commitment which continue to act as the anchor of our growth, transformation and development as a political group. □





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# Achievements of ZANU between 1966 and 1972

*Comrade Didymus Mutasa*



Comrade Didymus Mutasa,  
ZANU (PF) Secretary for Foreign Affairs

## The life of Detainees

The minority white settler regime first adopted detention, as a method of eliminating political opposition, in February 1959, when many members of the African National Congress were raided in pre-dawn swoops, handcuffed and taken to Kentucky Airport near the present Harare International Airport. From there, they were taken in plane loads to Khami Prison near Bulawayo and detained. Henceforth detention of politicians by the white settler government became a common practice.

In 1964, prior to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the settlers, many politicians were detained at Sikombela, Wha Wha and Gonakudzingwa. They were later transferred to Gwelo and Salisbury Prisons.

The life of the early *detainees* who were not prisoners was not security tight; they were allowed to walk about within the detention area and had to look after themselves. But from 1964 onwards, the life of a detainees became very difficult; all detainees were imprisoned and put under constant surveillance. They were allowed one visitor a week and could write or receive only one letter per week. This does not mean that the detainees did not find other methods of sending out or receiving letters. They engaged into what they termed "smagology".

Those who lived in prisons were classified; the lowest class being "D" — which

was for 'very dangerous prisoners' and all detainees fell into that class. Apart from being locked up in prison cells, class D prisoners, and therefore the detainees, were accompanied by a prison warder, even inside the walls of the prisons. They were not allowed to have physical contact with their relatives. At Salisbury Remand Prison, communication was through a telephone, with a warder listening on another extension.

The Rhodesian Regime intended the lives of detainees to be very difficult indeed. The detainees soon realised this and devised means of entertaining themselves and made the best use of their time by studying. Charitable organisations such as the Detainees' Aid Fund, helped considerably to provide games and assistance for study. Consequently, most detainees spent much of their time studying.

Depending on the detainees' behaviour, the authorities could make life really difficult in several ways. For example, authorities could discipline them by putting them into cold rooms, solitary confinement, special diet or prohibit them to meet visitors. Occasionally, detainees would lost their temper and box the warder up. These were always white warders. On one occasion, a warder was very badly beaten up at Salisbury Remand Prison and the detainee involved was severely punished.

The prison authorities could conduct searches at any time to find out if there was any property or literature which they did not like to be in the possession of detainees. One such search was conducted at Salisbury Remand Prison and a radio set was confiscated. We had used this set to listen to local news and the BBC.

Detainees established deep friendship among themselves. They were able to assist one another in various ways. Those who were more educated led others in education courses and those who could be assisted by outside friends shared that assistance with the rest of the detainees. When a number of comrades were released from hard labour at Khami Prison, in Bulawayo where they had been convicted as freedom fighters and detained at Salisbury Prison, a lot of friends brought clothes for them and responded generously to the detainees' requests.

There was no knowing when detainees would be released and that aspect of detention seemed to bear very heavily on many detainees' minds. They lived in expectation and it was very disappointing when the ex-

25 YEARS ON



Detainees established deep friendship among themselves. In the picture are: *From left:* Comrades E. Tekere, E. Zvobgo, E. Nkala, Mr. N. Sithole, R.G. Mugabe, L. Takawira and M. Malianga at Sikombela

pectation was not fulfilled. Those who been detained for the longest period appeared to have adjusted themselves to staying there forever. They comforted new-comers by saying: "Do not worry. You will be released within a very short time. But we shall remain here until this country is free." And that was true. Naturally, detainees tended to be easily irritable and it was therefore very important to help one another to go through that difficult time.

Detainees, like other prisoners, received sad news such as the death of friends or relatives but were never allowed to go out to attend their funerals. Their food was not the best money could buy. The clothes provided by the prison authorities were intended to be uncomfortable unless a detainee could afford to provide clothes for himself, he had to live in that discomfort. This is where outside friends and relatives became very important.

On the whole, there was amazing comradeship. But there was also a lot of secrecy, based on the fear that informers could be brought in as "detainees" and pass secret information to the regime. Unless one detainee trusted the other completely it was not possible to reveal everything to everyone. It was during this period of detention that many plans were discussed. For instance, Comrade Nyagumbo and I discussed the suitability of sending comrades out to train through the Nyanga area. Those returning to fight could find the Inyanga terrain the best for guerilla warfare.

We had conducted a survey with Comrade R. Mupawose and the late Comrade Taderera. Indeed this route was very useful in 1974/75, when many young people left Rhodesia to go for military training in Mozambique. We were able to compare notes of what happened or went wrong and whether the regime was aware of our plans.

Comrade Nyagumbo was amused when I told him that when he came to hide at Cold Comfort Farm, he was there at the same time as Cephas Msipa, who had been brought to us by friends at the University. They stayed for two weeks, in the same house, without knowing of the presence of the other. It was quite satisfying to assure him that such discipline was possible amongst us at the early stage of our struggle. □



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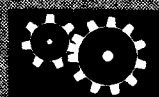
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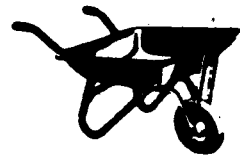


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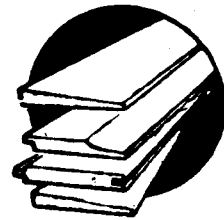
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## Times of Suffering

*Comrade Moven Mahachi*

**T**here were times of suffering and hardships. However, the secret of success of the struggle lay in the objective, determination, hope, patriotism, collective efforts, the burning desire or will to conquer.

Below are some of Comrade Mahachi's recollections on the traumatic and other experiences of the Zimbabwe's armed struggle.

### Hard Times

Comrade M. Mahachi recollects the hard times and endurance of the detainees and the significant role of the famous Cold Comfort Farm where some progressive ideas in support of the struggle were discussed.

Comrade Mahachi and others helped the imprisoned Comrades by supplying them with literature (books), ensured that their families were taken care of and that their children were educated and some got scholarships. Constant visits were paid to ZANU detainees at Silobela, Harare Central Prison and Kwekwe.

"My involvement at the time of detentions was merely directed to help relieve some social problems affecting a number of detainees and their families". Comrade Mahachi said and added that "the armed struggle was initiated by ZANU which had decided against conferences after conferences". So Chimurenga was adopted as the only way out.

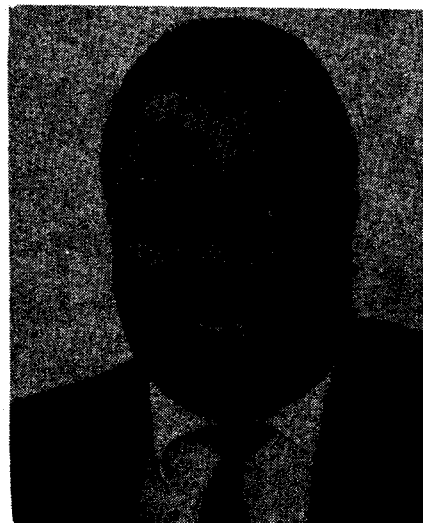
### On the Party

Comrade Mahachi said "ZANU was different from ZAPU in that it had adopted a dynamic approach of armed confrontation. ZANU was not leading us anywhere because its leadership was not determined to pursue a violent struggle and hence there was a split which resulted in the creation of ZANU some of whose prominent leaders were/are Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, Comrade S. Muzenda, Comrade E. Nkala, Comrade M. Nyagumbo, late Comrade H. Chitepo, Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira, Comrade R. Marere, Comrade Edson Zvobgo, Comrade Maluleke and the Malianga Brothers and some of the majority of the present hierarchy of the Party.

After its formation, ZANU was banned and started operating underground to recruit people for military operations. Comrade Mahachi participated through persuading youngsters to join Chimurenga via the Mozambique — Malawi borders. When the colonial authorities uncovered Comrade Mahachi's activities he was arrested in 1974 and charged for recruiting, assisting and abetting terrorists. It was the work of informers that led to the arrest and trials of Comrades Mahachi, Nyagumbo, Philip Foya and Samson Mupanduki and others.

### Cold Comfort Farm

Cold Comfort Farm was created to facili-



Comrade M. Mahachi

tate political motivation of young people and productive work based on co-operative principles. Many young men like Comrade Mahachi joined this agricultural Institute (Cold Comfort Farm) which was successful financially, technically and socially. To Smith's Regime, the Farm was a threat because of its socialist nature: "So many people came to see what was done in terms of production and land use and environmental preservation", said Comrade Mahachi who also pointed out that "we spent some of our time discussing political issues at that Farm which later became a base for recruitment of cadres to implement programmes of underground activities, assist detainees and inform leaders outside the country of what was happening. It was the education got from Cold Comfort Farm which made many cadres determined to work underground for the Party's recruitment. The obvious consequence was the banning of the Farm by Ian Smith in 1970 since it was declared an illegal organization.

Comrade D. Mutasa, who was Chairman of Cold Comfort Farm was detained and Mr. Guy Clutton Brock, the Treasurer, a white man, was deported. Comrade Mahachi and others left the banned Cold Comfort Farm to start a similar co-operative at Nyafaro. More determined than ever, they mobilised the Tangwena People of the Eastern border, assisting and encouraging the people to join socialist organizations. They associated themselves with every squatter eviction problem and with the Murehwa and Mutema resistances. It was through participation, mobilization, identification and association with the people that encouraged them to resist the Land Tenure System and to fight for their rights. As a result of this experience, many people adopted a nationalist and patriotic feeling resulting in the recruitment of many youths to join the Second Chimurenga. □

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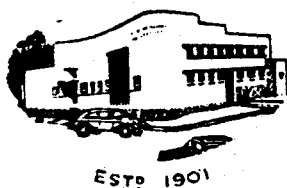
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## The start of the Second Chimurenga

*Comrade Didymus Mutasa*

**D**ifferent people have different memories and knowledge of the start of the First Chimurenga. The Second Chimurenga started in earnest in 1966 and at that time the Cold Comfort Farm had just been established. ZANU had been established about three years earlier and life in the townships was very difficult because of the fighting between ZAPU and ZANU. It was not possible to work openly as ZANU and thus the early operations and activities of ZANU had to be very clandestine indeed. I was not in any way involved

decided to go to Zambia to train as Freedom fighters. Many of these decided to do this as a result of meetings held with students at Chibero, Nyadire Mission and St. Ignatius. The purpose of the meetings was to make them aware of the fight for their motherland. Invariably, students met ZANU officials secretly and were advised on how to escape through Botswana to go to Zambia.

In 1970 the World Council of Churches decided to give humanitarian assistance to



Comrade R.G. Mugabe supported the Tangwena struggle: Mugabe and Chief Rekal Tangwena

in the recruitment of the first fighters nor did I have much inner information and details of what was taking place in the initial of the Second Chimurenga apart from the bits and pieces of information that were passed on to me by Comrade Nyagumbo. However, there was no doubt in many people's minds that the only method to achieve justice, equality of opportunity and the desired political changes, for the majority of the people, was through the armed struggle. So, we were exceedingly pleased with, and supported very strongly, the news of the Chinhoyi Battle. As a result of this battle and as time went on, more and more people became politically conscientized and

freedom fighters at Geneva. A meeting was held in May, 1970 which I attended as a consultant. This was the first meeting of the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism. It was attended by Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira, Dr. Phillip Porter, Andrew Young, Pauline Webb and other members of the World Council of Churches Executive Committee. The discussions were quite extensive and the World Council of Churches committed itself to give that support to the liberation movement. For Rhodesia, the support was through the Christian Council of Rhodesia.

Sir Garfield Todd, the late Jack Grant and myself were asked to set up the Zimbabwe

25 YEARS ON



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an Committee of that programme. We decided that our first task would be to upgrade the quality of *Umbowo Newspaper* at Old Umtali, which would report more on the activities that were taking place in Zimbabwe but which the *Rhodesia Herald* was not reporting. *Moto*, which had been doing this very well had been banned. I was detained before we had done very much.

Before this, we held meetings in Highfield, and together with Arthur Chadzingwa, who was a member of ZAPU, agreed that we would do as we could to help our respective liberation movements. During the same period we had become very deeply involved with the Tangwena struggle which helped to encourage people that the armed struggle would succeed.

Indeed, the support and courage that was given to Chief Tangwena and his people's resistance added confidence to the freedom fighters many of whom we came into contact within the area.

It was sufficient for me to help others to be freedom fighters. I wanted to be one. This was delayed because of detention. □

ZANU (PF)

# Formation of ZANLA 1963 – 1966

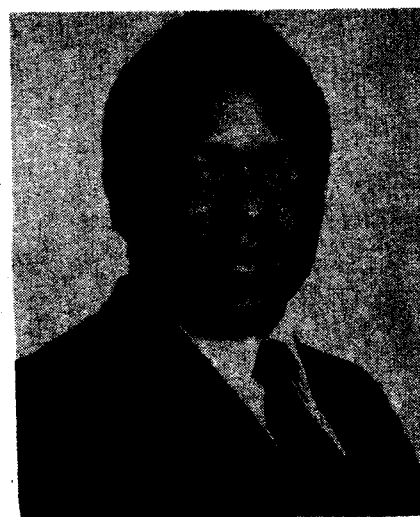
*Comrade Emmerson Mnangagwa*

In a wide-ranging interview with the *Zimbabwe News* on the commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), Cde. Emmerson Mnangagwa, who is the National Security Secretary and was one of the first ZANLA combatants to go into action against the minority regime in Rhodesia disclosed that the formation of ZANU and its armed wing ZANLA marked the turning point of the "cool" Zimbabwean nationalist politics into that of direct confrontation with the enemy.

Comrade Mnangagwa made it clear that when he left this country at the end of 1962 or early in 1963 for Mbeya to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, he had gone under ZAPU and not ZANU as ZANU had not been formed by then. From Tanzania he went to Egypt where they had been invited by the late Abdul Gamal Nasser to undergo military training. While in Egypt, 11 of the 13 cadres revolted against the ineffective leadership of Dr. Joshua Nkomo. Comrades Ronald Sibanda, Joseph Msika and James Chikere-ma were sent to Cairo to find out what had gone wrong with the rebellious cadres.

Fortunately a few weeks later on August 8, 1963, ZANU was formed and the 11 rebellious cadres immediately gave their support to the new party. Comrade Mnangagwa recalls that they gave letters of their approval of the new party to Comrade Trainos Makombe who was secretary for External Affairs of ZANU to take home and to Dar-es-Salaam. Only five of the original 11-member group went to Tanzania as six of them had decided to call it a day.

The five who had decided to go for military training together with 59 from FRELIMO, and 12 cadres from PAC and ANC of South Africa opened the first Frelimo mili-



Comrade E. Mnangagwa,  
Secretary for Security, ZANU (PF)

tary Camp at Bagamoyo in Tanzania in August 1963. The current President of Mozambique, Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano was also at the Camp. It was at Bagamoyo Camp that Comrade Mnangagwa and his group left for the People's Republic of China as the first batch of ZANLA combatants to be trained in that country on 27 September 1963.

The People's Republic of China was the first country to provide training facilities to ZANLA combatants. The first group of ZANLA combatants was composed of Comrades E. Mnangagwa, John Shoniwa, Edson Shirihuru, Lawrence Svosve and James Mdavanhu. Two years later Ghana came in and trained the second group of ZANLA combatants which was composed of 48 or 50 comrades.

## Difficulties

When the five comrades completed their

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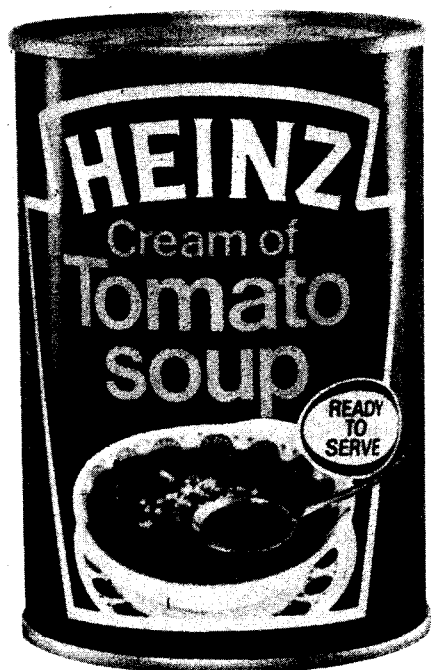
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training in April, 1964 they returned home where they were joined by Comrades Charles Daulamanzi, Lloyd Gundu and George Mudukuti who had trained under ZAPU but had decided to join ZANLA forces.

The newly trained guerrillas encountered many difficulties in the operational zones. Comrade Mnangagwa remembers vividly what happened at the time.

"The people who were supposed to be planning for us had not been exposed to any guerrilla war. Initially it had been decided that we do sabotage work. The concept of an actual protracted armed struggle was not yet in the minds of our leaders, some who were still far from being convinced that it was necessary to wage an armed struggle," he said.

Another major stumbling block was that ZANU needed to be recognised by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). For ZANU to be recognised, they wanted military action to be carried out in the country. Whenever military action was carried out against the enemy, they would leave out pamphlets with words to show that it was ZANLA that had carried out the military operation. Once this got its way in the "Rhodesia Herald," they would make cuttings and rush with them to the OAU to show that ZANU was more active than ZAPU.

"In fact this is how ZANU was recognised by the OAU — and of course it landed me into prison where I escaped hanging by technicality. But I am glad ZANU's goal of being recognised was achieved," he said emotionally.

#### Operational areas

The operational areas were actually developed in two phases. The first was directly concerned with urban warfare, whereby the guerrillas blew up railway and road bridges with explosives. Since the party did not have explosives, some of them were stolen from mines and Cde. Simon Muzenda took them from Mashava Mine where he was based. Another interesting thing is that the targets were not chosen by the guerrillas themselves but by the leadership.

The second phase of the operational areas switched to the rural areas. The guerrillas at that time were operating in groups of 6 to 10. They had a greater advantage in that they were operating with the A.K. 47 and semi-automatic rifles. These groups used to cross the Zambezi River through Hwange, Kamativi, Hurungwe and the Chirundu Border Post in 14 days. By the time they reached the other side of the river, they would be so exhausted that they became an easy prey to the Rhodesian Security Forces. The majority of the comrades were killed in this process and those who survived were captured, hanged and some sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

At that time, FRELIMO had not opened the Tete Province as they were still operating in Cabo Delgado and therefore there was no north-east front in Zimbabwe.

#### Ideology of the Combatants

On the question of whether the combatants had any ideology, Comrade Mnangagwa said he could not speak for the group that had been trained in Ghana "because I was not trained in Ghana," but for those who had been trained in the People's Republic of China. Before anyone could start military training in China, he had to spend 3 months at an ideological college where Marxism-Leninism and Maoism were taught.

"For those of us who went to China, we were fully trained to that level of being a political soldier where you understood both your gun and politics. We knew the ideology that you must be like fish in water . . . you must have the masses organised and must not take the war as your own but a people's war," he said.

#### The crocodile gang

Comrade Mnangagwa remembers that the "Crocodile Gang" which killed a white farmer, a Mr. Obolhotzer, in Chimanimani took place in 1964 when he had just returned from China. He was staying at Comrade Shamuyarira's house in Highfield.

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The Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, who was the President of ZANU, wanted a country-wide action to happen overnight. In particular, he wanted this sort of armed insurgency to happen in Chipinge which was his home area. For this reason, he recruited Comrades William Ndangana, Victor Mlambo and Dhlamini who had arrived from Zambia to

carry out the armed action.

#### Role of the broad masses

The workers in towns and cities had a crucial role to play in arranging industrial strikes and boycotts which was another form of fighting for national independence. In the country side, the peasants were busy covering up dip tanks and killing cattle that be-

longed to white commercial farmers. However, this sort of struggle was not co-ordinated because people would think of what to do on their own.

In a nutshell this was the beginning of the revolution as was shown by the capture of Comrade Mnangagwa and his subsequent imprisonment.

**ZANU (PF)**

# History of ZANLA during the liberation struggle: Introduction

*Air Marshall Josiah Tungamirai*



*Air Marshall Josiah Tungamirai*

In order to talk about the history of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), it is necessary to know the background of this army and its concepts of operation. ZANLA was formed as ZANU's military wing to fight against a common enemy defined or identified in 1963 when the Party was formed. The formation of ZANLA was necessary as round-table talks and other attempts towards the attainment of majority rule for Zimbabwe had failed. Then it was realised that liberation would be achieved only through the barrel of the gun.

ZANU was formed as a People's Party and ZANLA became a People's Army right from its inception and it remained so until the Zimbabwe National Army integration was launched in mid-1980. From birth, particularly from the commencement of its

operations in Zimbabwe in the mid sixties, ZANLA identified itself positively with the masses who formed its ranks.

The colonialist forces served as mere tools of repression and value money instead of human life. ZANLA distinguished itself not only as a military force but as a people-oriented organisation as evidenced by its production and politicization activities. Hence a clear understanding of ZANLA's cause and objectives resulted in the masses supporting the liberation struggle overwhelmingly. One could aptly describe the fish/water phenomenon of existence as bearing true likeness to the ZANLA/MASSES relationship.

Throughout the struggle, the strategy of ZANLA was that of sparrow warfare to rout the enemy while building the liberation army and conscientising the masses to support the revolutionary struggle. The protracted nature of the struggle necessitated avoidance of conventional warfare until at a later stage when the liberation forces had assumed an offensive posture. This was a sound strategy, for it kept the enemy on the run while our losses remained minimal. We had opportunities to adjust and improve our tactics. When ZANLA began launching offensive operations, the enemy was forced in 1979 to the Lancaster House Conference after which a ceasefire was declared. Then we went into the Assembly points.

The military training of ZANU cadres was done with the assistance of many countries for instance Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Cuba, Romania, Yugoslavia, China, Mozambique and Tanzania where our major training bases were located.

1975 was a year of historical importance as far as the armed struggle was concerned.

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The year witnessed a temporary setback to the people's revolution because of the Detente exercise initiated by Voster, Kissinger and Kaunda. The trio's objective was to neutralise our war by arresting ZANU leaders who were considered radical. The exercise led to the death of the chairman of ZANU, Herbert Chitepo.

When Comrade Chitepo was killed by a bomb in Lusaka, the leadership of ZANU in exile in Zambia i.e. the Central Committee members, High Command and members of the General Staff was detained. However, Comrade Rex Nhongo who was a member of the High Command managed to escape, with other cadres, from Zambia and sought sanctuary in Mozambique.

In the war front, the situation became worse: comrades were experiencing shortage of ammunition. At the rear food supplies and training facilities dwindled. To overcome detente and advance the revolution while ZANU leaders were in detention, Comrade Nhongo who is now Lieutenant General Mujuru worked tirelessly to convince Comrade Samora Machel of Mozambique that ZANU was prepared to wage an armed struggle. His ideas were welcomed by the Mozambican leader who later convinced the President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and the OAU.

Though Comrade Machel and Nyerere at that time suggested the idea of a new party,

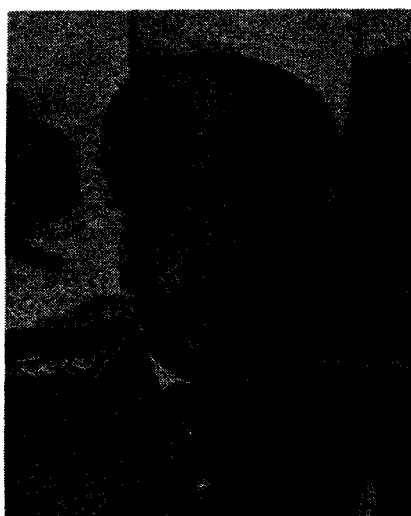
Comrade Nhongo and other cadres refused but accepted only the formation of an ad hoc committee to champion the revolution until leaders were released from prison. Thus the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) which comprised nine command elements from ZANLA and ZIPRA, the armed wings of ZANU and ZAPU, was formed. ZIPA was not meant to be a new political organisation since there were no joint written doctrines. ZIPA was formed to facilitate getting arms and other military assistance through the OAU liberation committee and we were able to resuscitate the fighting in January 1976 until the ceasefire in December 1979 which led to the Independence Agreement signed at Lancaster House in London. □

## ZANU (PF)

### ZANLA and the armed struggle

*Deputy Army Commander,*

*Major-General Gava*



Comrade Sheba Gava

**T**he formation of ZANU on the 8th August 1963 was a turning point in the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. ZANU, considered as a breakaway faction from ZAPU, was aimed at forging an armed struggle as opposed to negotiated settlement through peaceful means as the enemy was still strong and becoming increasingly more aggressive and uncompromising.

Since the Party had decided to implement an armed confrontation with the enemy some members were arrested and detained while others managed to escape to countries which supported the new Party (ZANU).

The ZANU leadership in detention directed some of the members in exile to organise the armed struggle. Among the members who were tasked was the late Comrade Herbert Chitepo. He was chosen to be the chairman of the external wing composed of elect-

ed and co-opted members. As members of the DARE they became responsible for the political and the Party Military Wing (ZANLA).

The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) was formed as the military wing of ZANU and this was headed by Dare reChimurenga, composed of a four-member committee representing the highest body of the Party, the Central Committee. Under the Dare were the Chimurenga General Council and members of the General Staff.

Some members of Dare reChimurenga were Comrades Herbert Chitepo, Mukono, Hamadziripi, Mutambanengwe, Tongogara, only to mention a few. The Dare structure was the planning body for the armed struggle.

**Ground work for the armed struggle**  
Initially, it was necessary to reorganize the Party effectively within the various areas throughout the country. Party structures were successfully created and then some comrades were sent to other countries to receive training. The first group of ZANLA comrades which included comrade Mushonga went for training in China in 1963. This was subsequently followed by the other groups whose training was basically centred on strategy for the armed struggle, mass mobilisation and military training.

Training in Tanzania commenced in 1965 at Itumbi Camp with the assistance of the Tanzanian People's Defence Forces (TPDF) and four years later the Chinese instructors. Those who fought the second Chimurenga's first battle at Chinhoyi in 1966 were trained at Itumbi.

The first historically significant battle was in November 1966 in the area of Sinoia

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(Chinhoyi) where seven comrades were killed after a long fierce fight. This battle was a good lesson to ZANU in that the war could not only be won by training guerrillas and sending them to the war-front with weapons to fight the colonial regime. It was realised that it was vital to mobilize the masses in order for the armed struggle to succeed. The enemy was far too superior in numbers and armaments.

On reviewing the approach used at Chinhoyi, a new policy was adopted by the Party. Training was to focus on mass mobilization prior to the launching of a protracted struggle. The political leaders were therefore tasked to reorganize the Party and to look into all the necessary requirements for political and military mobilization.

In 1969 at Chunya, more ZANLA comrades received military training from the Chinese instructors. A group of ten was selected and assigned the responsibility of reconnaissance within the area of the Zambezi Escarpment.

#### Strategy revised

After the formation of the Dare in Lusaka in 1969, it was realised that the Zambezi border was difficult to cross after some reconnaissance because of the Zambezi Valley. The Zambezi River was a barrier and few people stayed in the area to provide information, food and shelter to guerrillas. It was discovered that the Mozambique/Rhodesia border in Tete Province was more ideal, so ZANU approached FRELIMO who initially were very unwilling. This was because they supported ZAPU more and had offered it the Tete area from which to operate militarily. However, ZAPU refused the offer and discussions between ZANU and FRELIMO continued until 1970 in Lusaka where they eventually agreed to attach four Zimbabwean combatants to FRELIMO in the Tete Province to study their mode of operations and to obtain practical experience.

Prior to this, a High Command structure composed of eight members was created in 1969 in order to map out a military strategy. Zimbabwe was subsequently divided into three provinces for operational purposes. These were as follows:

- (a) MMZ — covering the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border.
  - (b) ZZ — the Zimbabwe-Zambia Border.
  - (c) BBZ — Botswana-Zimbabwe Border.
- Each province had its own Provincial Commander and they had the following tasks:
- (a) Recruiting people to join the struggle.
  - (b) Identifying crossing points along the border to facilitate the crossing of recruits from Zimbabwe. These points would also be used to infiltrate weapons, recruiting and educating the masses.

Comrades Mayor Urimbo and J. Chauke and other two were the first comrades who went to study and operate in the MMZ under the cover of FRELIMO and Comrade Shebba Gava was responsible for the BBZ and Kazungula areas and partly Malawi

where he received correspondents from abroad. He was doing it alone. However, the number later increased to 15. At a later stage 145 comrades worked with FRELIMO to infiltrate weapons into Zimbabwe from Tete Province using it (FRELIMO) as cover. The comrades were not supposed to speak any language other than the FRELIMO language because their weapons were treated as those of FRELIMO. Comrades also laid down the groundwork by educating the masses and recruiting more locals for training.



ZANLA/MASSES Relationship — like fish in water

From 1969 to 1970 FRELIMO had their military operations right inside Mozambique. Some of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters were militarily helping FRELIMO in the Tete Province up to a stage when they were able to ferry weapons from Chifombo across the Zambezi River into Zimbabwe. Infiltration of weapons was also done in other provinces.

After enhancing this preparatory phase, the armed struggle began on the 21st December of 1972 when a group of nine comrades attacked Altena Farm and captured Gerald in the North-East to test how the Rhodesian Security Forces were going to respond. The enemy's response was more conventional. This indicated that the enemy was not aware that a new approach had been adopted, that is the guerrilla approach.

So the enemy army's approach was of using a bigger force whereas we used a smaller force and guerrilla tactics. Thus the enemy used a wrong medicine to a wrong disease.

Recruitment was also being carried out along the Botswana-Zimbabwe border. School leavers were given Chimbi Chimbi training (crash programmes) on how to infiltrate weapons, identify economic targets for sabotage and convince more locals for further recruitment.

#### Proposals for an Internal Settlement

In 1971, Ian Smith and the British Foreign Secretary signed an agreement setting out proposals for an Internal Settlement. The African National Council (ANC) headed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa was formed to coun-

ter the British imperialist manoeuvres. The Bishop was appointed by both ZANU and ZAPU to lead the masses in rejecting the Pearce Commission proposals. Papers and pamphlets printed in Zambia under the guidance of Comrade Morton Malianga who was our Party Publicity Secretary were infiltrated into Zimbabwe through Botswana using teachers and railway guards to inform the people about the real intention of the British proposals. Thus the Pearce Commission brought the people of Zimbabwe together and they voted a resounding 'NO'

to the imperialist proposals. It was a great success on the part of the nationalist movement and a blow to Smith's regime.

#### The joint military council (JMC)

The JMC was subsequently formed in February 1972 at Mbeya in Tanzania. This was a result of pressure from the liberation Committee of the OAU for ZANU and ZAPU military wings to operate jointly. FROLIZI, which had been formed earlier by James Chikerema with elements from ZANU and ZAPU was more recognised by the OAU liberation Committee which was not aware of ZANLA activities. The JMC was therefore aimed at undermining FROLIZI's claims that it was a product of unity between ZANU and ZAPU.

Though the JMC gained support from the OAU liberation committee, it never functioned mainly because ZANLA had already planned its groundwork for a protracted armed struggle, which was at an advanced stage in the three provinces, as opposed to ZAPU's conventional approach to the war.

#### Detente and ceasefire

From the Altena incident the war progressed mainly in the MMZ Province. As infiltrations increased, more guerrilla incidents were witnessed. However, ZANLA was operating separately despite the formation of the JMC which included ZIPRA.

In 1974, the Portuguese Government was overthrown and subsequent talks in Lusaka resulted in a ceasefire and independence of Mozambique in 1975. In late 1974, talks for a Detente Scenario between Voster, Kaun-



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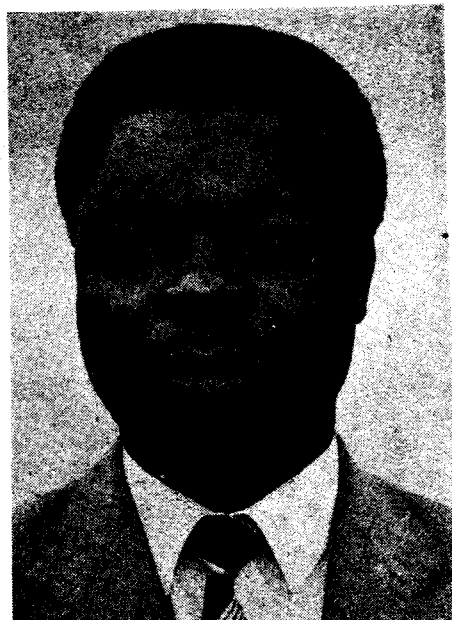
Comrades: (1) the late Josiah Magama Tongogara,  
 (2) S.T. Mujuru (Rex Nhongo), (3) Mayor Urimbo,  
 (4) Charles Dauramanzi, (5) Justin Chauke — the first guerrillas  
 to undergo military training in preparation for the armed struggle



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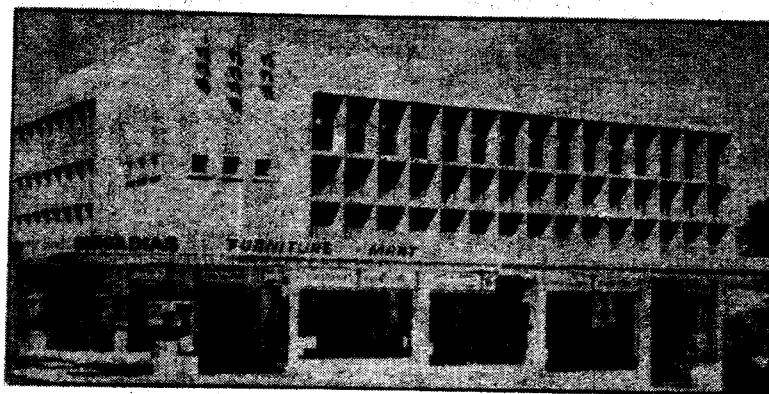
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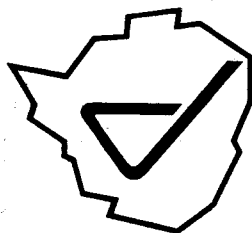
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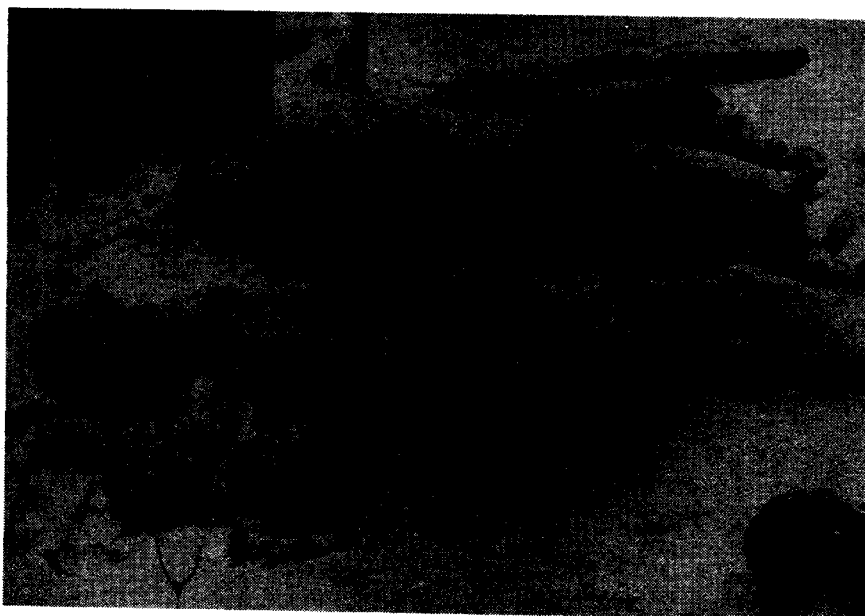


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da, Smith, Sithole and Muzorewa were initiated at the Victoria Falls for an Internal Settlement. This led to the release of detained leaders from prison as a pre-condition for the talks. In December 1974, a ceasefire was announced — a result of the talks. Soon after the announcement of the ceasefire the Nhari rebellion erupted in Zambia and it was spearheaded by Nhari and Badza who wanted to takeover leadership of ZANLA with the support from some members. In essence the rebellion had been initiated by the Rhodesian Special Branch in order to create division among the freedom fighters but it was crashed after some kidnappings and attempts to murder the ZANLA leadership.

Before the situation was back to normal, Comrade Herbert Chitepo was assassinated on the 8th of March 1975. The death of Comrade Chitepo had serious setbacks on the armed struggle in the following year. When the ceasefire was declared at Victoria Falls, all supplies of weaponry and ammunition were stopped.



The Racist enemy retaliated brutally

Comrades were rounded up and some were urged to surrender to the Zambian government and stop fighting. Most of the members of Dare, the High Command and the General Staff were arrested in Zambia on allegations of murder.

The Rhodesian effort to disrupt the liberation war was nearly successful at that stage. However, Comrade Mugabe and E. Tekere left Zimbabwe for Mozambique to continue the war effort thus replacing most of the external leadership already detained.

#### The Mgagao Declaration

In March 1975, the ZANLA commanders at Mgagao in Tanzania wrote and signed a statement pledging that Comrade Mugabe be the leader of ZANU. They also denounced and criticized Ndaningi Sithole and declared him to be no longer leader and

spokesman of ZANU. Muzorewa and Chikerema were also condemned for their role to slow down the revolution.

The Mgagao declaration was distributed to all ZANLA camps and Party branches.

#### Formation of Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA)

The war of liberation resumed in January of 1976, the year in which ZIPA was formed. ZIPA was a joint military wing where membership was drawn from both ZANLA and ZIPRA. It had 18 members in the committee which was headed by Comrade Rex Nhongo. Many recruits came to join others who had crossed into Mozambique in 1975.

The new Mozambican government under the leadership of the late Comrade Samora Machel established refugee camps for the Zimbabwean recruits at Nyadzonja, Chimoio and Tembwe.

When members of the Dare reChimurenga were arrested and detained in Zambia,

members later went back to Zambia leaving ZANLA behind.

Meanwhile other leaders who had been detained were released. Some commanders who held positions in the Party did not want those from prison to resume their positions. Consequently, some of those elements were arrested.

From early 1976, ZANU was restructured and the war was intensified. Training camps, schools and self-reliance projects were established. While thousands of trained guerrillas infiltrated into Zimbabwe, more were sent for military training in different countries such as China, Yugoslavia, Romania and Ethiopia, only to name a few.

In retaliation to the upsurge in guerrilla activities, the Smith regime attacked bases, refugee camps and schools at Nyadzonja, Chimoio and Tembwe. Despite the efforts the armed struggle reached a peak whereby the enemy was defeated and forced to hold the Lancaster House Conference where in 1979 an agreement for the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 was reached.

#### Integration of the Forces

After independence, the three forces, that is the Rhodesian army, ZANLA and ZIPRA were integrated to form the Zimbabwe Defence Forces. A lot of freedom fighters were demobilised since the numbers were overwhelming. Some ZIPRA elements, disgruntled by ZAPU's failure to win the elections went back to the bush. They took up arms against the new government. Despite dissidency, the British Military Advisory Training Team provided standardised training to the different forces and the integration progressed very well.

During the exercise to build a single and loyal army, I became the Commander of 3 Brigade (stationed in Manicaland) with the rank of Brigadier. In 1983 I was promoted to the rank of Major General and posted to the Army Headquarters as the Chief of Staff General responsible for training and operations.

#### Comment

The liberation war for Zimbabwe was the people's war which assumed the guerrilla approach based on educating people, to make them conscious of colonial capitalist exploitation and oppression and on how their rights were being abused by the Smith regime.

Political orientation and mobilization is the key factor in any guerrilla war. When the people understand, these weapons can be used to destroy the enemy politically and economically.

As opposed to the colonial army, which mainly relied on forcing people to comply, the People's Army (ZANLA) mobilised them politically. This helped the guerrillas to win the people and the war. □

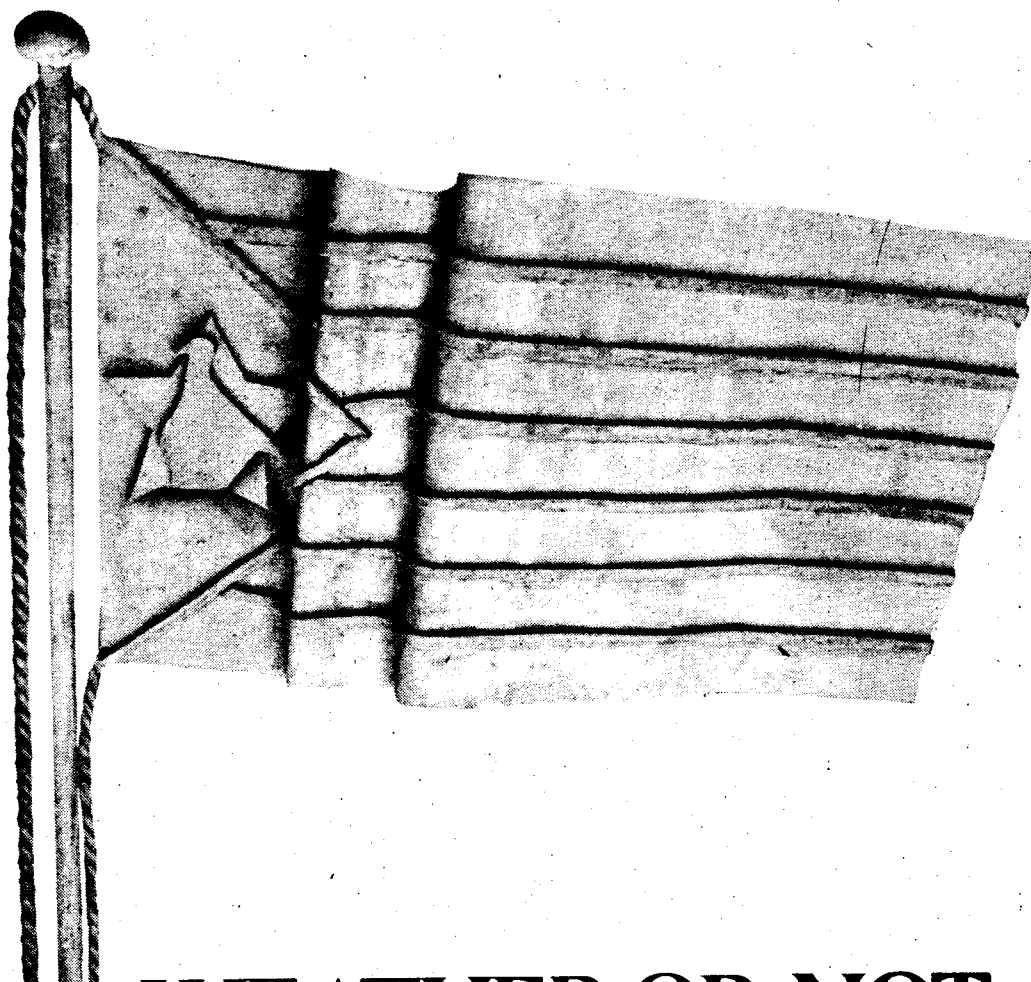
some members were appointed to be members of the enlarged High Command in order to meet the unity requirement between ZANLA and ZIPRA. Thus comrades Hon-do and Nyikadzino were now members and their appointments were made with the full knowledge of the detained leadership.

Thus the creation of ZIPA was a means of trying to convince the OAU liberation committee that Zimbabweans were united and therefore needed material support to prosecute the armed struggle to the end.

#### Progression of the Struggle

When ZIPA was formed three fronts were opened in Tete, Manica and Gaza along the border with Mozambique. The ZANLA and ZIPRA cadres fought side by side for a period in the three provinces but the ZIPRA





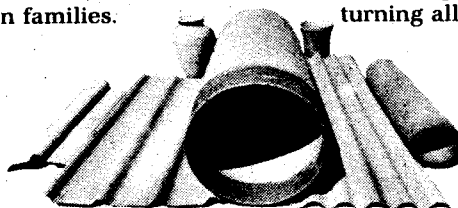
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# Women in the Struggle

Comrade Joyce Teurai Ropa Mujuru



Comrade J.T. Ropa Mujuru, Secretary for ZANU (PF) Women's League

**C**omrade J.T.R. Mujuru is one of the prominent figures in Zimbabwe Politics. She is able to tell the nation the history of ZANU, particularly of the armed wing of that party since she was directly involved in the armed struggle. In this issue of *Zimbabwe News*, we want to draw her to specific questions dealing with the role of Women in the struggle.

**QUESTION:** *In the early 1970s, the Joint Military Command (JMC) was formed, later it was the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). Were Women comrades represented in those institutions?*

**ANSWER:** The JMC was formed in 1972. I do not have much information about that organization because at the time of its formation, I was still at Howard Institute where I was doing Form 1. Though I had a slight idea of the fighting that was going on in the North-Eastern Border (my home area) I had not heard much about comrades of ZANLA, let alone of the JMC.

However, as regards ZIPA, it was formed in 1976. At the time, I was over two and half years in the struggle. ZIPA was composed of elements from ZIPRA and ZANLA Command. No woman was actually included in its structures as such though some of us who were members of the General staff maintained the General staff status in the ZANLA ranks. I do not know about women of ZAPU.

Our responsibilities in the ranks of ZANLA included the political training of fighters. Some of the women like comrade Sheeba Tavarwisa, a member of the General Staff became education instructors under the Department of Education and Culture, the late Fungai Hondo, also a member of the General Staff was an educationist. Comrades Dadirai and Cathrine Garanewako were Military instructors using wooden guns carved from wood.

It was the duty of women to teach the recruits how to handle and operate guns.

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25 YEARS ON

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Military women instructors were trained together or jointly with their male counterparts in the military training camps such as Nachingweya, Mgagao, Morogoro, Tembwe, Chimoio, Inyaminga and so on. Some of the general staff girls helped in the Health Department treating comrades who were wounded by the enemy. While some women guarded the arms at the armouries, others worked with the Logistics and Security departments.

**QUESTION:** *Can you elaborate on reasons why women were not represented in ZIPRA?*

**ANSWER:** I cannot give specific reasons. I cannot say it was sex discrimination. Probably, it was the toughest and the roughest period of the war when men wanted to actually get the war going. Though women were not physically integrated in the structure of ZIPA, we involved in ferrying war materials to the battle front where we also recruited more girls to join the struggle. However, I must acknowledge that the seriousness of the war in the 1976 to 1977 period really demanded people with male physical fitness. One cannot say it was discrimination but natural segregation based on physique.

**QUESTION:** *How many women were in the general staff of ZANLA? What was the exact role of women comrades in the ZANLA ranks?*

**ANSWER:** I think we were nine or twelve women in the General Staff. I was one of them. Comrade Shebba Tavarwisa was the only one woman promoted to the High Command. Our specific role encompassed duties as medical officers and personnel, working in the Health Department; we were involved in education, political and military training. Women were also responsible for logistics, carrying of arms of war, commandship of Women detachments and battalions and dealing with Social matters excluding the Military part e.g. Agricultural, Production, Rearing children (we reproduced a lot of children who were to be future fighters in the protracted armed struggle); females had a duty to guard against child delinquency by providing services and guidance to young girls, counselling and so on. We reminded our girls and women that one day when Zimbabwe become free, we would be mothers, workers, leaders *et cetera*. Thus they needed to have a clear career that would actually afford them future responsibilities. That is why we formulated our own education curriculum to materialize our ideas.

**QUESTION:** *As one of the pioneer member of the general staff, what did you do to mobilize women to join the war and why did those women join the guerrilla war?*

**ANSWER:** I joined the armed struggle in 1973 freely. I had already had contact with fighters who used guerrilla tactics to win my

mind. When other women heard of my joining the war they also joined. I think the mobilizing factor was the word that there was a woman moving armed and engaging in military operations in Mount Darwin, Mashonaland Central. People felt obliged to take part in the armed struggle. Men felt belittled by a woman joining the war — so they flocked in thousands because to them it was a challenge. By joining the war, women were seen to be great and superior. This encouraged many girls; parents' morale was also boosted; so they persuaded their daughters to join. Thus many children and girls left schools to go to Mozambique to fight for their freedom. Teachers had also adopted the role of political commissars to mobilize school children to join the armed struggle.

**QUESTION:** *What would you say was the general attitude of men towards women in the armed struggle?*

**ANSWER:** Obviously, men were influenced by traditional culture which still exists even today. Though one can say that the Party doctrine has changed the man's negative attitude, the male cult still persists. During war, women would try to put across progressive ideas but men would not pay attention. Sometimes women comrades opted for the quickest solution in order to get themselves to be understood. However, some males were progressive and easy to convince because they were actually "grilled through the machinery of the Party" in order to welcome ideas from women. A lot of men in ZANLA were more friendly to me than my fellow women fighters. This enabled me to learn guerrilla tactics from them. One becomes more hardened by learning from attitudes of men.

**QUESTION:** *Who was doing the training? Did women train separately from men?*

**ANSWER:** The trained Officers such as comrades Richard Hove, Kumbirai Kangai and a number of members of the Central Committee administered the training of females.

**QUESTION:** *Can you describe any military incident in which you were involved?*

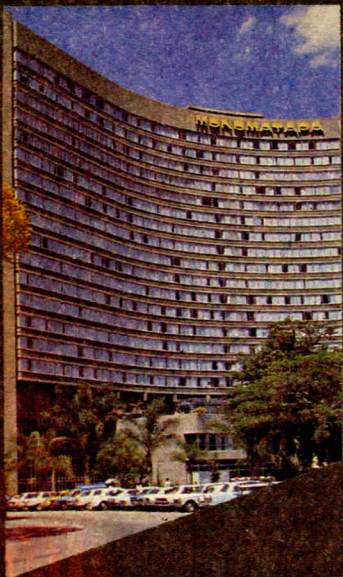
**ANSWER:** A military incident which I still vividly remember is the one at which I downed a helicopter of the enemy force. It was on the 17th February, 1974 when we saw a Spotter plane of the Rhodesia Forces. At that time, the DDF planes were used to detect the position of guerrillas; so we thought it was one. Suddenly, a villager came running towards a group of guerrillas telling us to "be ready" for the enemy coming across a dangerous flooded river. My colleagues started shelling mortar in the direction from which the enemy was advancing towards us. I was not familiar with the gun and had not even gained military tactics nor knowledge of weapons or characteristics of guns.

In that first experience in the real fighting and confrontation, I stood up eager to see how the whites were being killed by fragments from the shells. One comrade pulled my dress and I fell on my face. He was afraid the enemy would aim and shoot



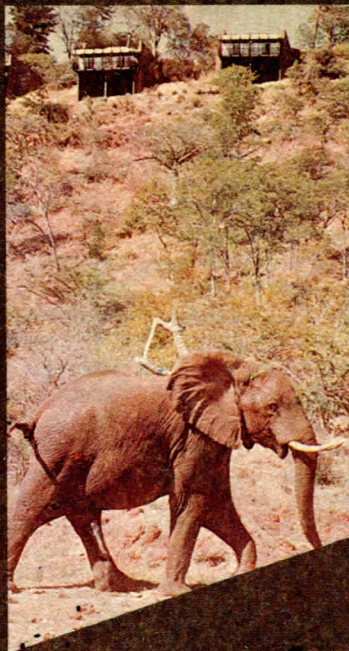
A woman guerrilla in the struggle





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me. But still I wanted to see exactly the reaction of a shell mortar bomb. Thus I remained where I was to verify whether the whites were going to get up or were they really dead?

Another idea came to my mind — I wanted to go and undress the dead whites, get the watches, clothes, boots, shoes! Before I did it, one comrade pulled me away because he realized that the enemy was going to reinforce. Comrades were scattered and before we could regroup, more enemy helicopters and vampires came and bombed the area while the dakotas dropped paratroopers. One of the helicopters divided us (the late comrades Mhembwe, Ngoro and Me). Comrade Ngoro was shot and died on the spot. I had fallen into a drainage with long grass and Comrade Mhembwe was shot in the right hand as he tried to cross the groundnuts field. Then he crawled back to surrender his gun and a medical kit to me. He encouraged me to wear them and disappear. Obviously since I had two guns and a medical kit the enemy would regard it as evidence of my "terrorist" activities. Once they caught me, I knew I was going to be hanged. It was a matter of life and death! So I decided to use the gun. I opened fire! and it was by God's grace that I aimed at

the pilot! I could see smoke and the other helicopters went away?

I had a chance. I went across the river to my sister-in-law. Unfortunately, even my own people started deserting me as I stood with two loaded guns and a medical kit. While I stood asking myself what to do next, it started raining heavily. So the enemy reinforcements could not do anything because of too much rain. Reinforcements with dogs, horses and so on started three days later when the rain had stopped. By that time, I had already got out of the radius and re-joined my colleagues.

**QUESTION:** *When one fights a just war, one must have an objective, for instance to eliminate colonialism, to liberate the country, to bring about equality and socialism. Now after gaining independence, what would you say about the post independence era? Have you been able to materialise the principles for which you were fighting for?*

**ANSWER:** To be frank, I am content though in life you can manage to do some things better and others worse. In accordance with the Party policy, most of the things have been afforded or given to our people especially education: more schools and hospitals, co-operatives and so on have been

created. However there are explanations why we have not accomplished some of our objectives. No need to elaborate since you already know.

Women who were considered third citizens in this country are now considered as first citizens with all the opportunities like men. However, as human beings we misuse some of those opportunities. Now women are policy-makers. For me this is an honour which I could not even had, had I not joined the armed struggle. I would not have been where I am today namely, I am a Minister, Member of Parliament, Member of the Central Committee and Politburo of ZANU (PF), the ruling party. I would have been a mere housewife, a teacher or nurse had I not joined the war.

What else would I opt to be? I think I have reached the highest notch that nobody in the history of our country has ever attained, particularly a woman, with very little education!

For my colleagues who are yet to be policy-makers, I advise them to do much better when given an opportunity as that given to me. They should be able to correct the mistakes I have made. They will be able to do so using knowledge and education which they have acquired. □

**ZANU (PF)**

## Some of the important events of the period — 1972 — 1982

Comrade Kumbirai M. Kangai



Comrade K.M. Kangai

**T**he period 1972–82 was very crucial in the prosecution of the liberation struggle and stabilization of the situation. It was crucial because it began at the

end of the "Pearce Commission exercise". The slogan during the Pearce Commission exercise was "Kwete Chete". After "Kwete Chete" what next? In answering that question individuals and organisations failed or succeeded in making positive contribution to the liberation struggle.

Those who believed that the British government was genuine and would simply give Zimbabwe independence on a silver plate adopted a position on the lime light so that they could easily climb to power. Others were very clear that power for the people of Zimbabwe would come from the "barrel of the gun" and they braced themselves for a real struggle against forces of colonialism and reaction.

Forces of colonialism were the settler power base and the forces of reaction were the "sellouts" and unprogressive forces in our society. For ZANU, direction had been long defined at Gweru Congress. Those who were ardent disciples of ZANU were already actively engaged in various stages of the armed liberation struggle. Hence the resuscitation of Chimurenga on December 21st/22nd of 1972.

**25 YEARS ON**



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A clear strategy had been adopted which had the following features:-

- Politicization of selected groups of the people inside Zimbabwe.
- Recruitment of cadres.
- Military training (of the cadres) which was parallel to the delivery of war material into Zimbabwe.
- Deployment of trained cadres who were both combatants and politicians
- Mass politicization and general mobilization
- The onslaught on the enemy which was not divorced from continuous recruitment, military training both outside and inside Zimbabwe.

While the strategy which I have described focussed on the national front, there was the international front. What were the features of the international front?

- Posting party representatives in what were considered key areas e.g. the frontline states, the Americas, United Kingdom, Socialist countries, some Western European Countries where they became accredited.
- Participation at important international fora e.g. UN Agency Meetings, OAU Afro Asian Solidarity and so on.
- Despatching senior members of the leadership to mobilize Zimbabweans abroad to physically join the struggle or provide Financial material and diplomatic support.
- Rally the international community to support ZANU financially, materially, diplomatically and morally.

During that period, other comrades and I undertook several missions to fulfil the Party strategy with incredible success in many respects. 1973 December — Refugee Conference Addis Ababa.

1974 Middle East and OAU liberation committee in Uganda.

1974 September to December People's Republic of China.

1975 January to February UNDP Conference in New York followed by tour of Western Europe, UK, and West Africa.

1976 October, Geneva Constitutional Conference followed by the tour to Egypt, Sudan, Kenya to brief the respective governments on the outcome of those talks.

1977 UK and Western Europe shortly after Chimoio Massacre.

1978 Arusha Conference on Refugees.

1979 OAU liberation committee and Summit in Monrovia, Liberia followed by a trip to Bulgaria and Libya.

1979 Geneva and UK.

Those are examples of fulfilling the international front which was also a very important front in the liberation struggle.

From 1972 to 1975 the party made tremendous gains on the battle front. For the first time during that period, the enemy experienced losses and began to also bury their beloved ones.

Before 1972, recruits were difficult to come by. Once the North East front was opened, Zimbabweans began to join the armed liberation struggle in hundreds. The party set up refugee camps in Zambia. SIDA

donated money to Zimbabwe Refugee Trust Fund for the purchase of a farm in Zambia. The cost of the Farm was K33 000 00. The trustees of the fund were Chairman Comrade Hebert Chitepo, Mr. Edward Shambwana, a Zambian Lawyer, and myself as Secretary for Labour and Social Service. Our targets at that time were security forces and their institutions. There were a number of whites e.g. farmers and some missionaries who supported the struggle and provided us with food, clothes, medical supplies *et cetera*.

In order to destroy the armed liberation struggle, the imperialists initiated detente exercise, a strategy formulated by Dr. Henry Kissinger the then USA Secretary for the State. The strategy was accepted by Mr. Forster the then Prime Minister of Racist SA and rebel Ian Smith. Later the frontline states accepted that strategy.

#### Detente

What was the detente exercise? Unity was used as a "catch phrase". Unite all the liberation movements and other democratic forces of Zimbabwe. Combatants must lay down their arms and enter into negotiations with Ian Smith inside Zimbabwe. It became clear to us that the emphasis was on cease-fire. ZANU also knew that one does not gain on the negotiating table what one did not achieve on the battle field. ZANU accepted unity of purpose: Unity which would strengthen our belief that the only objective form of struggle for the people of Zimbabwe was armed struggle.

There was no way we could compromise the struggle. Therefore, ZANU which at that time was the only viable fighting force rejected the cease-fire. However, after a lot of discussion and pressure, we agreed to join the UANC an umbrella body. We made it clear that ZANU leadership could not compromise on the question of cease-fire before a constitutional conference had produced a constitution acceptable to us.

Because of that position, all the other forces including the Frontline States adopted a hostile position towards the Party (ZANU). Some genuinely believed that the rebel leader was sincere and wanted to give up power. For us it was not the case. Unfortunately, our President at the time Ndabaningi Sithole started wavering. In one of our sessions he said that we were making him a fool by continuing with our position while all others had agreed to declare a cease-fire and talk to Smith. The joint meeting of the central committee members elected at Gweru congress and members of Dare reChimurenga stood firm. The Unity accord known as the 1974 Lusaka Declaration was signed. We took advantage of our meeting to lay solid plans for intensifying the 2nd Chimurenga. A FRELIMO government in Mozambique provided good prospects. A strategy to mobilize the masses of Zimbabwe into a fighting force was also formulated. The party machinery inside and outside was strengthened.

#### Leaders released

The six leaders who had just been released from detention returned home. They were comrades R.G. Mugabe, M.T. Nyagumbo, and N. Sithole. The Dare reChimurenga members were comrades H.W. Chitepo, M. Mudzi, H. Hamadziripi, M.N. Mukono, J. Mataure, T.J. Tongogara, R. Gumbo and K.M. Kangai. As the meeting was being held, the NHARI rebellion was in progress. It was later crushed in January 1975. I was despatched to address the UNDP governing body annual meeting in New York and also tasked to explain to the outside world and our members in particular the party's position on:-

- (a) Unity accord;
- (b) So called cease-fire and the;
- (c) Nhari rebellion.

Interviewed on BBC programme "focus on Africa" of February 17th 1975 I restated the party's position on the above issues and caused a stir in the Frontline States but delight to ZANU members at home and particularly when I said "ZANU" will form the first government of an Independent Zimbabwe and that its leader will be the first Prime Minister." Unfortunately N. Sithole was still the leader.

Less than a week after my return, the tragic death of our beloved Chairman Comrade H.W. Chitepo occurred. The leadership was detained, the Party was banned in Zambia and the detente exercise began to shape. Comrades in the training Camps and those inside the country fighting went through a period of intolerable suffering.

Supplies were cut and no reinforcements were received from outside. The President later denounced the Party and opted for cease-fire and full integration into the ANC. We were left without choice but to bestow the Party leadership to the Secretary-General of the Party Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe. It was a great relief when we established contact with him and Chimurenga was resuscitated in 1976 with firmness to crash the colonial regime.

The imperialists having realized that Chimurenga had gathered momentum, convened the Geneva Constitutional talks which lasted for almost two and a half months and it ended being correctly described as "talks about talks". In 1978 again the Malta talks were held which were characterized by the arrogant approach of Dr. David Owen who was British Foreign Secretary. The only difference was that the constitutional talks were chaired by a Minister because the Geneva talks had been chaired by the British Ambassador to the UN, Ivor Richards. During those sessions, tempers almost flared up and had it not been the quick intervention of Mr. Andrew Young who was US Ambassador to the UN, the meeting would have been much shorter. During one of the sessions he called for a "Break", consequently prolonged the sessions in search of a solution.

Chimurenga continued after the failure of



those talks. The Liberation struggle was vigorously and systematically prosecuted. The people of Zimbabwe both inside and outside directed their efforts on total destruction of the enemy until the Lancaster House talks which produced a cease-fire. That marked the success of the democratic and revolutionary forces. Democratic forces are those who only wanted their country (*Tinoda Nyika Yedu*). Revolutionary forces are those who sought to transform Zimbabwe society by replacing the capitalist society by a socialist one.

#### **The Cease-fire and the Elections of 1980**

During the cease-fire there was a lot of suspicion. ZANU (PF) members in assembly points or in cities lived under constant threats from the Rhodesian Forces. During that period, there were two attempts to assassinate Comrade Mugabe. The first incident occurred at his house in Quorne Street and the second one in Masvingo after the rally. The very night of the first attempt on Comrade Mugabe, I was unfortunate because I was injured when two RPG7 rockets were thrown into the house in Marlborough where I was sleeping on February 7, 1980. I survived because I was rushed to the hospital where a blood transfusion was carried out.

There was no doubt that the state machinery which conducted the elections was against ZANU (PF). The Party survived because of the Unity of our people and the



"We were left without choice but to bestow the Party Leadership to the Secretary-General of the Party, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe" — Kangai

leadership. The wisdom of the leadership was at its peak when the policy of reconciliation was announced and an invitation to join ZANU (PF) in forming a Government was extended to PF-ZAPU. The effects of those events in stabilizing the situation will

be analysed in future.

Finally it has to be emphasized that the acceptance of leadership of the Party by President Mugabe was crucial and marked a turning point in the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. □



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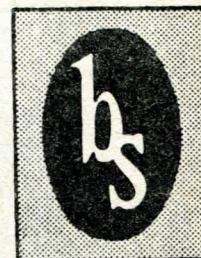
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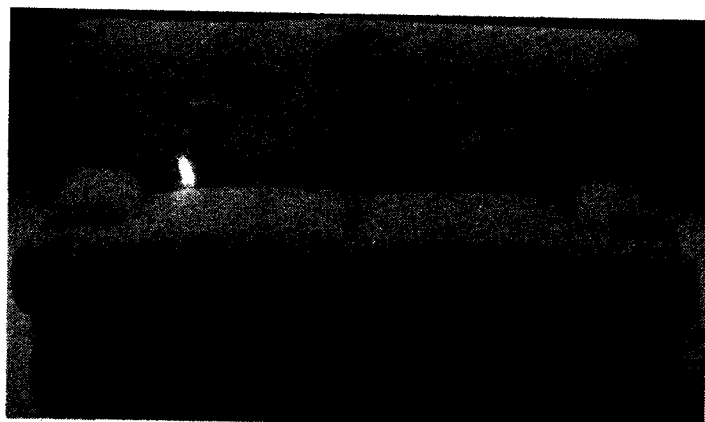
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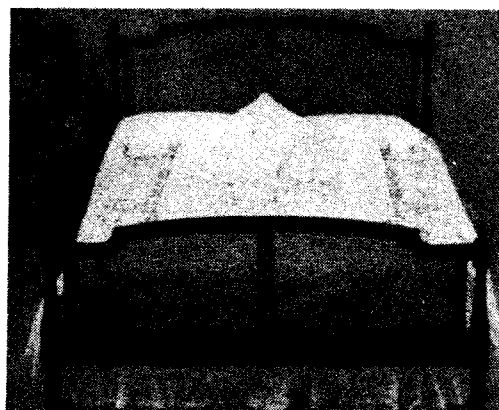
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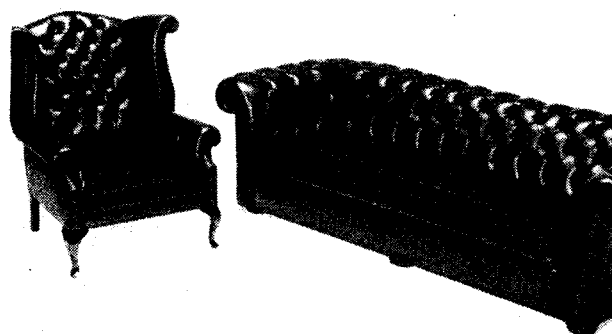
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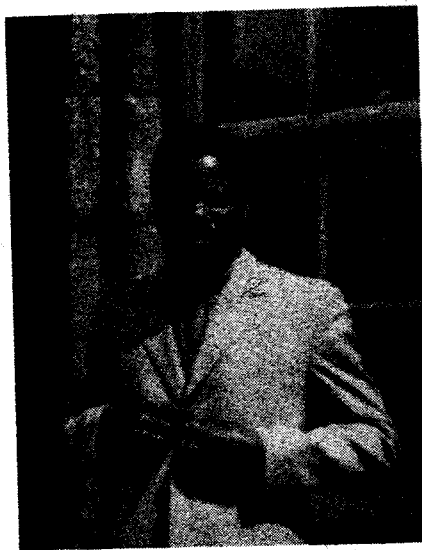
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# The education policy during the liberation struggle

*Comrade Dzingai Mutumbuka*



Comrade Dzingai Mutumbuka,  
ZANU (PF) Secretary for Production

**T**he ZANU (PF) Department of Education and Culture during the war of national Liberation played a crucial role in the preparation of the government in exile, especially in the field of education. Comrade Mutumbuka was heading the department and was responsible for the implementation of the education policy of the Party during the armed struggle. Below he narrates some of his experiences and contributions of the department of which he was leader.

Before he became a member of the Central Committee in 1977, Cde. Dzingai Mutumbuka was the Deputy Secretary for Information, and Publicity. At Chimoio Conference in 1977 he was appointed Secretary for Education and culture following the footsteps of Comrade Ernest Kadungure.

"At the time of my appointment, it became clear that there was a large number of young school children who had crossed the border into Mozambique. I was then mandated by the President, Cde. Robert Mugabe, as leader of the Party to organise an education system for these young Zimbabweans", said Cde. Mutumbuka.

Thus schools under the trees were organised in exile. The first such school was established at Mabvudzi in the Tete Province, Mozambique. This was followed by the creation of other schools at Chimoio (A school at Chimoio became to be known

as Chindunduma Youth Academy), Doroi and Chibabava Refugee Camps and at Xai-Xai in the Gaza Province.

As youngsters increased in numbers, there was a need for teachers. We recruited trained teachers from Rhodesia and built a strong teaching force. However, we had problems of organising educational materials and a large number of untrained teachers.

Luckily, we got support from UNICEF to buy books in Tanzania. Those books and other learning materials were distributed to various schools in Mozambique. Unfortunately while comrades were in the process of despatching the learning materials to various schools, Chimoio and the Chindunduma Youth Academy which were then the headquarters of other schools were attacked by the enemy in 1977, resulting in the destruction of a lot of school equipment, text books, exercise books and other stationery.

## Re-organisation

After the bombings at Chimoio, there was an effort to re-organise the education system at Gondola between Mudope and Chimoio and at Mudzingadzi and Gorongosa. These centres were also attacked by the Rhodesian forces. A lot of school children died in those attacks. At Chimoio 192 children and 12 teachers lost their lives. In view of these vicious attacks on children by the enemy, the Central Committee eventually decided that they should be moved very far away from the firing line. They were sent to Matenje, a school near Mabvudzi, which became the Headquarters of the department of Education and Culture and of the Chindunduma Youth Academy. Children there were never attacked. They stayed there until they were able to return home after independence.

Once the children of war were settled, the Department of Education and Culture started organising a system of educating them properly. Funds from the international organisations were sought. Enormous assistance was provided from organisations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR, World University Service (WUS), World Council of Churches, ICCO and many organisations that were interested in the welfare of the Zimbabwe refugees.

The Department of Education used to get supplies from Tanzania and Swaziland. After a decision to do a proper research on the education system under colonialism, a num-

25 YEARS ON

ber of teachers were instructed to accompany the combatants to the war zones, the liberated and semi-liberated areas of Zimbabwe to collect various educational materials. In the end, they managed to collect all the text books that were being used in the colonial school system.

With circulars and all the educational information needed it was possible to set up a research department to critically analyse the colonial system of education. On the basis of the analysis, a base of a liberation pedagogy was formulated. This policy would be implemented once Zimbabwe was liberated.

Armed with this experience, a school and a Teacher Training College at Chindunduma the forerunner of ZINTEC were established. ZINTEC actually started in Mozambique. A School of administration to improve the administration system was set up. The vibrant research department engaged in the research for the revival of the Zimbabwean culture.

#### Why did we do this?

##### Asked Comrade Mutumbuka

It was done because it became clear to the liberation forces that the colonial regime was going to collapse at any time and there were some areas in which the training of Zimbabweans was necessary. In addition to the areas mentioned above, some people were sent to Denmark to train under the Development Aid from People-to-People in various skills such as electricians, builders, agriculturists and so on . . . More students were sent to Sierra Leone under the UNESCO Programme and almost all of them have gained academic degrees, Bachelors or Masters Degrees.

##### Schools for the disabled

A school to cater for the needs of the comrades who were wounded or disabled in the war front was set up in Machava suburb outside the city of Maputo. This school was moved to Nampula when it was realised that the enemy would attack Machava.

The Department of Education and Culture

why we were waging a war. They had to know why they were poor, they had to analyse the land question and to understand what is meant by just and unjust wars. The Department of Education and Culture was very active in teaching the people about these issues. Ideologically, the positive and negative factors of our culture were discussed too.

##### Training in Critical Areas

The areas already discussed above were considered as critical areas. Depending on the capitalist nature of our economy, it was also necessary to train personnel in banking and accounting, health, management, hydrology, water engineering, construction and so on.

##### Employment After Independence

Comrade D. Mutumbuka admits that the issue of employment for the ex-combatants is a sensitive issue. He remembers the struggle that happened at Air Zimbabwe when that institution refused to incorporate or take technicians trained by the liberation movement. It was very difficult to get jobs for the skilled comrades because there was tremendous resistance from that establishment. Even today, ex-combatants who studied in Socialist Countries are having a raw deal. In the private sector of the economy, it has become a joke. The people there say "let them run the government but we are in charge . . ." Some people even used to say "Well if you go to Parliament, it is Zimbabwe but here we are still in Rhodesia".

So it is true there was a lot of resistance. There are still complaints particularly when party members who have studied in Socialist Countries are turned away since their diplomas and certificates are 'not good'. Many of them end up very frustrated because their wishes to develop Zimbabwe are shattered when they come home to find themselves stranded.

##### Ministerial Directives

For some comrades to be given employment, Ministerial directives were necessary for instance the Ministry of Education instructed the Public Service Commission to recognize the experience of the ex-combatants who were teaching in Mozambique. Under the leadership of Comrade Ushewokunze, the Ministry of Health issued a ruling that some of the Medical Officers during the war should be accepted and integrated in the post-Independence health system. In local Government, Comrade Zvobgo ordered the integration of ex-combatants while the President's Office absorbed quite a number of ex-freedom fighters.

##### The Post-Independence Education System

No education system is neutral. Every education system mirrors the nature of society that it creates or intends to create. In Zimbabwe, we aspire to create socialism. So our educational system should be built on socialist principles. The styles of teaching, the concept of sharing and equality are all socialist principles which should be embedded in the system of education that we aim to create. □



Zimbabwean students sent by the Party to study at the Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique 1978 — celebrating ZANU Day

##### Skills Training

The Research Department was also instrumental in the creation of the Department of Manpower and Planning. Comrade Mutumbuka together with the late Manyika set up a massive programme of manpower development. Under such a programme many comrades were sent all over the world to undergo training in various disciplines ranging from university to technical courses. In the Federal Republic of Germany, 278 students studied various courses while others were sent to Pakistan, India, Romania, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, Nigeria to train as pilots and as aircraft technicians specialising in aircraft maintenance, power plantavionics and air-frame building. Twenty students were sent to study Economics, Law, Linguistics, Agriculture, Forestry, Engineering and Veterinary science at the University of Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, Mozambique in 1978.

spent a lot of time analysing the colonial education system, its strong and weak points in order to replace it with an alternative system. It trained people in the critical areas of manpower. It extended its role in teaching the new ideology of liberation and socialism.

##### Ideology

Education and ideology are close elements. To that extent, the department of education was extremely active in political, ideological commissariat work. As you know, a revolution is not a physical experience; it is basically a psychological thing which starts in the people's mind. Thus educationists did a lot of Commissariate work. They used commissariate lectures from the commissariate department to teach about the political economy of the colonial state of Rhodesia and about the basic national grievances. People had to know the reasons

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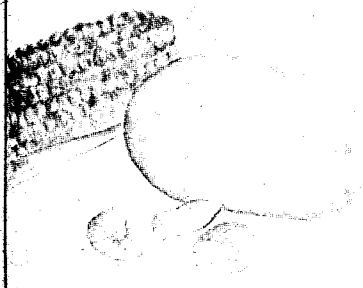
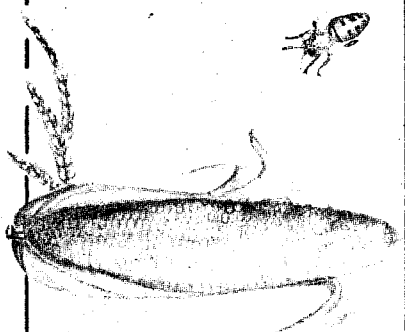


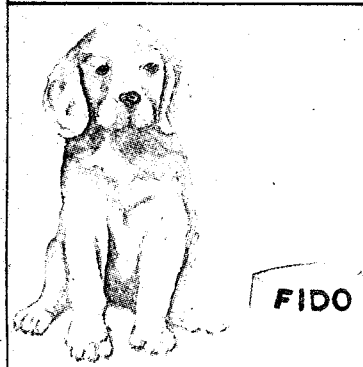
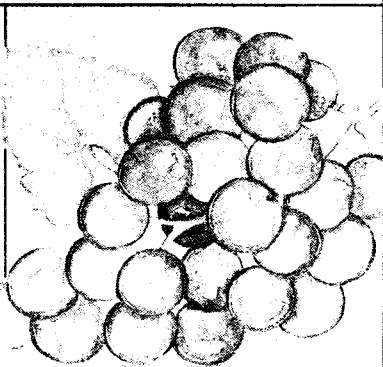
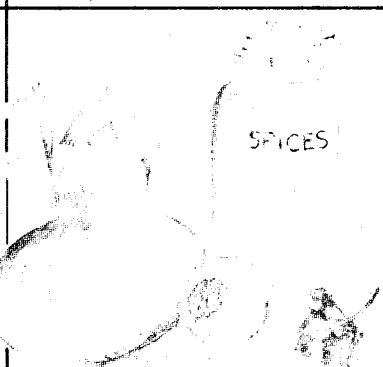

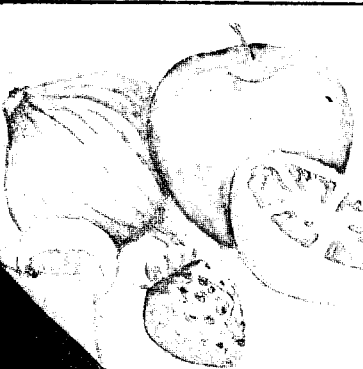



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# Aspects of the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference

*By Comrade Hon. Simbi Veke Mubako, MP.,  
Minister of National Supplies,  
Member of the ZANU (PF) Central Committee,  
Legal Adviser — ZANU (PF)  
Member of the House of Assembly*

**Comrade Mubako was ZANU's legal adviser throughout the 1970s. At the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference in 1979 as at previous conferences, he was the leader of ZANU (PF) legal team. Zimbabwe News asked him about his role at that historic conference and here are his brief profile, reminiscences and comments.**



**Comrade Simbi V. Mubako**

**C**omrade S.V. Mubako was born in 1936 in Zaka and had his primary education at Manokore, Silveira, and St. Joseph's Schools. He went to Gokomere for Secondary Education and then to Chishawasha Mission where he studied scholastic philosophy.

He started work in Gweru as one of the founding editors of *Moto* in 1958. Not long after he went to University College in Lesotho, where he read for and obtained the Bachelor of Arts Degree in Political Science and History of the University of South Africa. In 1961 he entered the University College Dublin, reading Law and obtained two degrees: LLB and the BCL. His studies in Ireland were financed by a group of Swiss benefactors and had the moral support of the Rev. A. Haene, then Bishop of Gweru Diocese.

In 1965, he moved on to the London School of Economics for legal research specialising in constitutional law. By the time he left London in 1970, he had been awarded two more degrees: LLM MPhil. at a later stage with a Ford Foundation Fellowship he entered Harvard University in Boston and was awarded the LLM for

research in Legal Controls of Mineral Resources.

Comrade Mubako worked as an academic for ten years. From 1970 to 1975 he was a lecturer at the University of Zambia Law School. In 1976 he went back to England as lecturer at the University of Southampton for about three years. Shortly before returning to Zimbabwe in March 1980, he served as Professor of Public Law and Dean of the Law Faculty at the National University of Lesotho.

He combined his academic pursuits with active political involvement throughout the period of the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. He was a member of the African National Congress youth group in Gweru in 1958 and a warrant for his detention was issued when the party was banned but he had left the country. As a student in Lesotho he became President of the Student Representative Council as well as leader of the Zimbabwe student supporters of the nationalist movement at home. In Ireland and Britain he was an active member and later President of the Zimbabwe Students in Europe which supported ZANU.

During his long stay in Ireland and England he travelled extensively in Europe mobilising international support for ZANU.

In 1970 he became a close side and adviser in Zambia of the late ZANU Chairman, Comrade Herbert Chitepo, whom he sees as his "main inspirer". They jointly drafted the ZANU petition to the Peace Commission. During 1975 and 1976 he worked hand-in-hand with Comrade Simon Muzenda to raise funds, and led the legal defence of Comrade Tongogara and other ZANU leaders who had been wrongly detained in Zambia. He himself was briefly detained in Bulawayo in 1976 while trying to carry political messages from ZANU combatants into the country. Comrade Mubako has been the Chief legal adviser for ZANU (PF) during all the conferences and negotiations on Zimbabwe, starting with Geneva, Malta I, and Malta II, and finally the Lancaster House Conference.

**25 YEARS ON**



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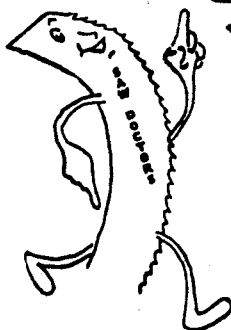
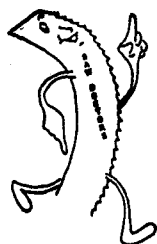
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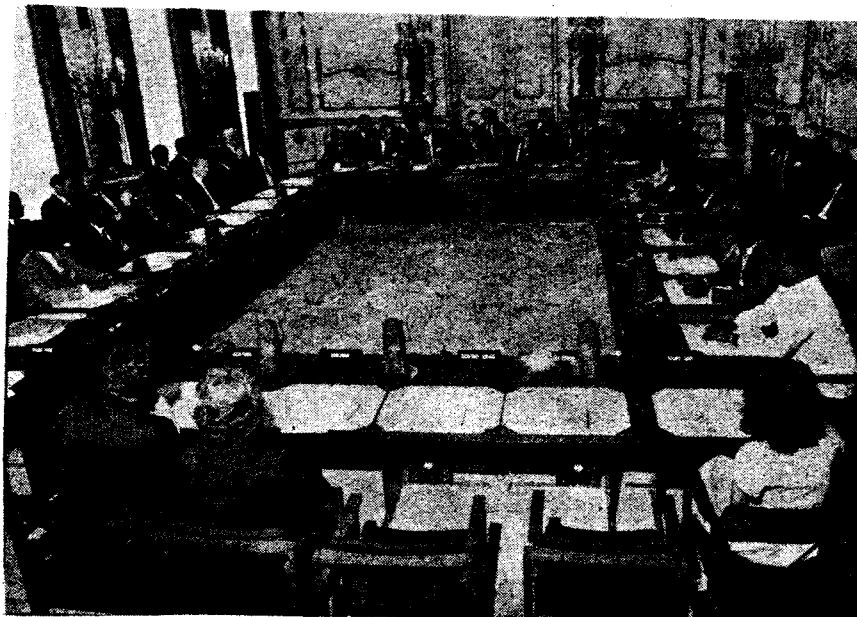
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In Parliament he served as a Senator and now a member of the National Assembly for Ndanga East (ZAKA) Constituency. On the party level he was elected to the Masvingo Provincial Council and became Vice-Chairman of the Province. Since 1984, he was elected to Membership of the Central Committee of ZANU (PF).

He is married to Dr. Hazel Mubako and has five children. Apart from his political responsibilities and his legal and academic pursuits, Comrade Mubako is a devoted family man.



The Lancaster House Conference — 1979

#### Lancaster House Conference and the Lawyers

The Conference which met in London from 10 September to 21 December, 1979 was seen by the world primarily as peace conference. For Britain the principle policy objective of the conference was to find a way of ending the fourteen year old Rhodesian rebellion without capitulation or military intervention. Officially it was termed the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference on Southern Rhodesia.

It was also a major international conference in which foreign powers and organisations (the United States, Frontline States, South Africa, Jamaica, Australia, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the United Nations) played significant roles not only through their known diplomatic postures but through direct intervention often at the highest state level and occasionally in less-than-subtle terms. In another sense it was an independence conference like those held in the same ornately gilded Georgian Mansion between the United Kingdom Government and her former colonies such as Zambia, Kenya and Ghana. It was a conference for politicians, diplomatists, military commanders but also for legal advisers. I could only count myself to belong to the last group but was also a keen student at the conference skills of the other groups. Lawyers were present in strength at the conference but only as appendages to their respective

delegations. There was neither a pool of apolitical legal technocrats nor meetings of all the lawyers to hammer out a legal consensus on technical issues. In other words all legal issues were also political issues.

Officially three delegations attended at Lancaster — the host delegation (U.K. delegation) and two visiting delegations (the Patriotic Front delegation and the Rhodesian Regime's delegation). However, only the British Government delegation led by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Lord Carrington was a

homogeneous entity. Both the visiting delegations were federations. The Patriotic Front delegation admitted to be an alliance with two heads — it was officially called "Mugabe, Mr. Nkomo and Delegation". The Rhodesian Regime pretended to present a united delegation of the democratically elected government of Zimbabwe Rhodesia officially called "Bishop Muzorewa and Delegation". However, everyone knew that there were two other leaders namely Mr. Ian D. Smith and Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole, and the divisions did come to the surface now and again during the Conference. For Conference sessions each of the visiting delegations was allowed eighteen persons. The Patriotic Front included among its delegates four legal advisers — two each from the legal teams of ZANU and ZAPU led by me and Mr. Justice Leo Baron. The other members of the team were professor Walter Kamba and Advocate Kennedy Sibanda respectively. Outside the conference hall we were backed by larger legal teams. My team included in addition to Prof. Kamba, Mr. Godfrey Chidyausiku — (now Judge of the High Court), Mr. Honour Mkushi — (Legal Practitioner) and Mr. Vengai Guni — (Barrister).

We in fact had more lawyers in the delegation — Mr. E.J. Zvobgo and Mr. E. Mnangagwa — but these were assigned to publicity and security duties respectively. As lawyers our task was to advise our leaders

on legal matters that arose and to draft position papers even on matters that were not strictly legal. We were attending a constitutional conference and the agenda for discussion had "Independence Conference" as first item. The second item was Pre-Independence Arrangements including (a) elections, (b) a cease-fire and military arrangements and (c) the administrative arrangements and the maintenance of law and order during the transitional period.

In appearance the agenda was a field-day for legal advisers and indeed throughout the three odd months we the Patriotic Front lawyers were kept busy churning out memoranda for our leaders. Like at the Geneva Conference, Malta and Dar-es-Salaam the quality of the memoranda from our team impressed our opponents even when they disagreed with their contents. British friends had readily acknowledged that on occasions but I was pleasantly surprised when in 1980 Mr. Chris Andersen who was then opposition MP and whom I had faced across the table in the Rhodesian delegation but had never talked to, came to my office as ZANU (PF)'s first Minister of Justice and was gracious enough to congratulate me on the excellent performance our team had exhibited at Lancaster House Conference. He described Muzorewa, his erstwhile delegation leader, as an "unmitigated disaster". He reminded me that even Mr. Ian Smith had admitted in London that ZANU (PF) deserved to win.

Credit might have rubbed off on the lawyers but it was primarily due to the Patriotic Front leaders and in the case of ZANU (PF) to R.G. Mugabe who at Lancaster was at his brilliant best. As lawyers we drafted and gave advice on constitutional principles. There was sharp debate and even acrimony on some aspects of the Constitution e.g. the clauses about citizenship, racial representation and the private property clauses contained in Section 16 of our Constitution.

However, the detailed drafting of the constitution on which Zimbabwe became independent was done in Whitehall by British civil servants in consultation with Muzorewa's lawyers. The Patriotic Front was deliberately excluded from this exercise. Justice Baron and I protested to no avail. The final text including several new substantive points which the British considered necessary were never brought back to the Conference for final approval. They became part and parcel of our fundamental law. The saving factor was that, armed with the magic wand of sovereignty, independent Zimbabwe can now amend the constitutional clauses we did not bargain for, as she sees fit. Indeed by a series of major amendments the Constitution has been pruned down pretty well the form the Patriotic Front had proposed at the Lancaster House Conference.

The final agreement signed by the parties to the Conference consisted of three parts: — a summary of the Independence Constitution; — arrangements for the pre-independence period; and — a cease-fire agreement

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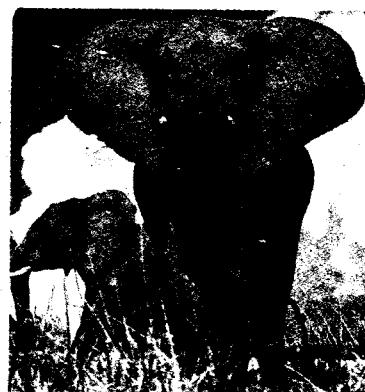


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"The Muzorewa group and their Army and police broke the agreement on many occasions" — Comrade Mubako

The transitional constitution reposed all governmental power, executive and legislative into the hands of a British Governor of Rhodesia for the brief period of two and half months, and with instructions "to do all things necessary to secure compliance with the conditions for free and fair elections".

The Patriotic Front proposals for power — sharing arrangements in the interim period lasting some six months and for restructuring of the police and security forces in advance of the elections were rejected as was the insistence of the Muzorewa delegation that their Ministers continue to administer the country while the British only supervised elections. In practice the Governor ruled the

country through the Rhodesian civil service, police, and army and the British only observed the election process. As predicted by the Patriotic Front the interim period was tilted heavily in favour of Muzorewa and Ian Smith. However, as everybody knows, despite the odds against them, the Patriotic Front parties won a resounding victory at the independence election (57 for ZANU (PF), 20 PF-ZAPU as against 3 for Muzorewa's party, Zero for other African parties).

The Muzorewa group and their army and police broke the agreement on many occasions. They did not campaign peacefully; they used threats and intimidation. They did not in truth renounce the use of force for political ends witness the attempts on the

lives of Comrade Mugabe and other ZANU (PF) leaders by units of the army and police. Finally they did not readily accept the outcome of elections and their forces in fact attempted to stage a putsch as soon as it was known that ZANU (PF) had won an overall majority of Parliamentary seats.

The Cease-fire Agreement was largely the work of the military men in all the delegations in which lawyers had little to contribute. What I found most astonishing was the profundity of military expertise our men from the bush brought to bear on the discussions, and correspondingly, the mutual respect the military leaders had for each other across the delegations. They actually held military conclaves of their own which produced results. The authority of Comrade Josiah Tongogara was recognised in and outside the Patriotic Front groups. The British referred to him officially in conference as General Tongogara — a title his own army had not yet bestowed on him. On the ground the cease-fire subsequently stood the test of time beyond expectation and led to the integration of ZANLA, ZIPRA and the Rhodesian forces into today's Zimbabwe National Army.

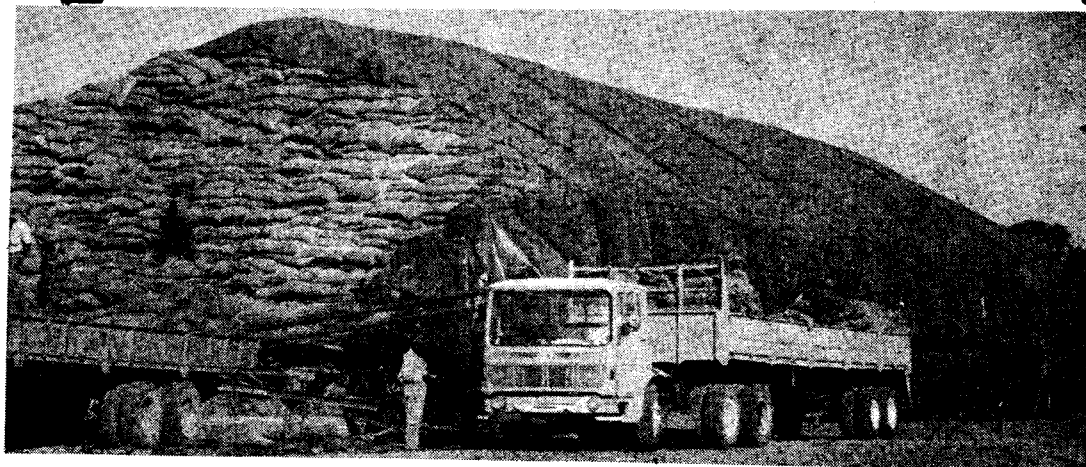
Looking back after eight years, the Lancaster House Conference was a great experience for all who attended it, a grand occasion to put to good use and lasting cause diverse professional, legal, military, and diplomatic, talents and skills which became the midwives to the birth of the great nation we call Zimbabwe. □

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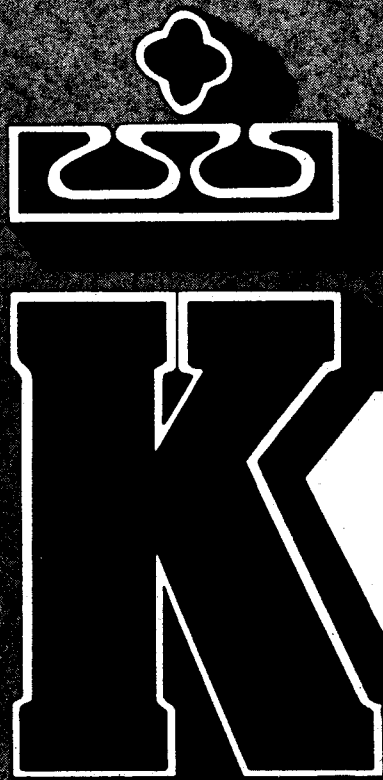


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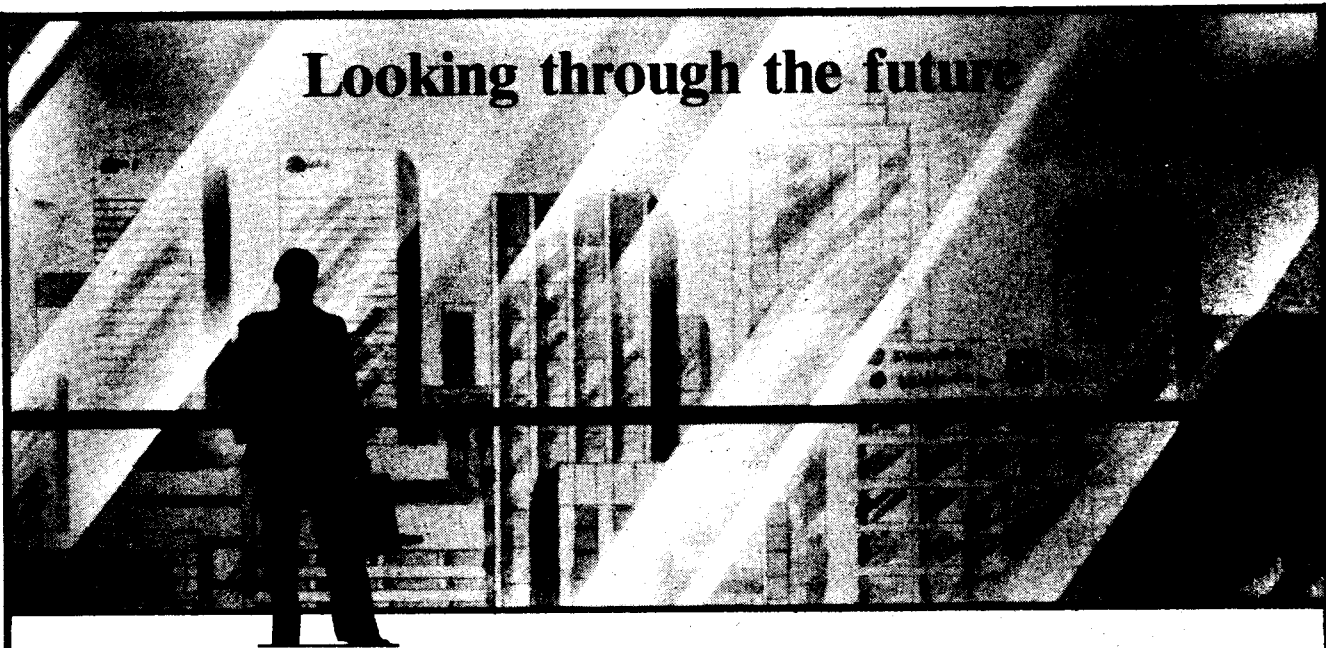
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# PILKINGTON



# Secretary for Administration responds to questions

**Z**imbabwe News has put a number of questions to the Secretary for Administration, Comrade M. Nyagumbo. Below are the questions and answers supplied by the Secretary for Administration.

**QUESTION:** *Can you tell us when the unicameral legislature is going to become effective?*

**ANSWER:** The unicameral legislature will come about after ten years of the Lancaster Constitution. We hope that after the General Elections of 1990, it will then become possible to legislate for unicameral assembly.

**QUESTION:** *And what about the establishment of a one Party state? What is going to be the Party structure under a one Party state?*

**ANSWER:** We believe that it is needless to legislate for a One Party State as the people of Zimbabwe seem to desire to unite under one Party and one leader. It is, therefore, envisaged that a One Party State should come by evolution and for that reason, it will always be difficult to give a time table for it to occur.

**QUESTION:** *How far has the Party gone towards the creation of a socialist society?*

**ANSWER:** The country had been dominated by capitalist structured economy for 95 years before independence. It would have been unrealistic for the Party and Government to demolish this system in order to establish a socialist state. However, the Party and Government has so far done a lot in encouraging co-operatives which appear to have taken roots both in agriculture, industry and mining.

**QUESTION:** *Are there any problems encountered on the road to socialism so far?*

**ANSWER:** After reading my reply on the above question it becomes obvious that there are problems to be encountered but the strides to the road to socialism can be seen although it would appear to be very slow.

**QUESTION:** *What are the Party structures and the functions of the various organs? Have the organs succeeded in carrying out their specific tasks?*

**ANSWER:** The Party structures are the cells or the Village Committees, the branches, the districts, the Provinces and the Central Committee. These organs have successfully carried their specific tasks.

**QUESTION:** *Do we have any agreements or bilateral relations with foreign organisations?*

**ANSWER:** Yes, we have bilateral relations with foreign organisations such as Chama Chamapinduzi of Tanzania, FRELIMO of Mozambique and many others including the communist parties of Russia and China.

**QUESTION:** *Has the coming merger of ZANU and ZAPU brought any changes to its original plans?*

**ANSWER:** There are no changes in ZANU (PF)'s original plans.

**QUESTION:** *Can you tell us about the functions of the Executive Presidency?*

**ANSWER:** The Executive Presidency chairs the Cabinet meetings and also holds meetings with his individual Ministers. He receives foreign diplomats and also holds meetings with them. In fact, these are few of the many functions carried out by the Executive President.

**QUESTION:** *Does the Party have any future plans?*

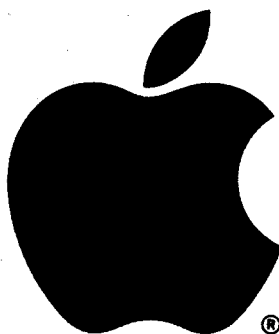
**ANSWER:** There has always been plans for the future. For instance we intend to establish a Chitepo College where ideological training is going to be carried out. The Party has gone into enterprises and there is need to extend these activities. □

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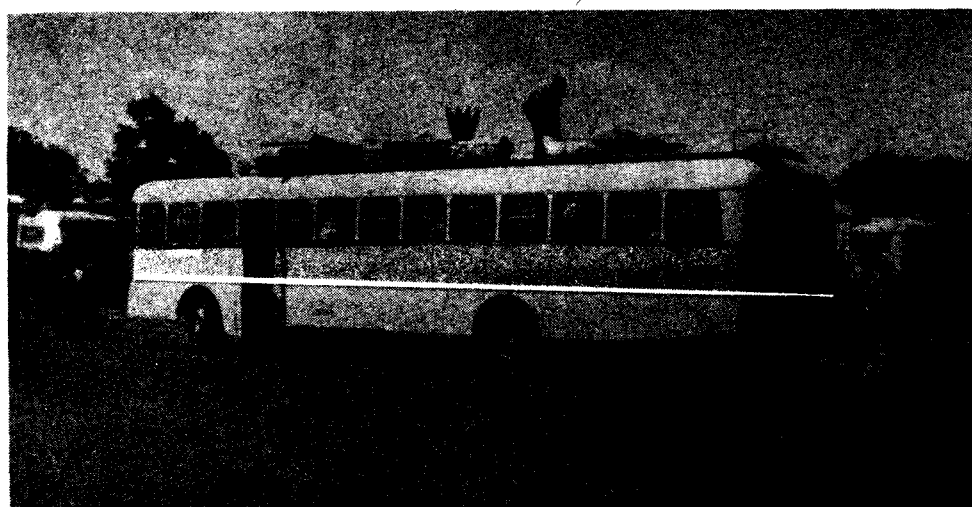
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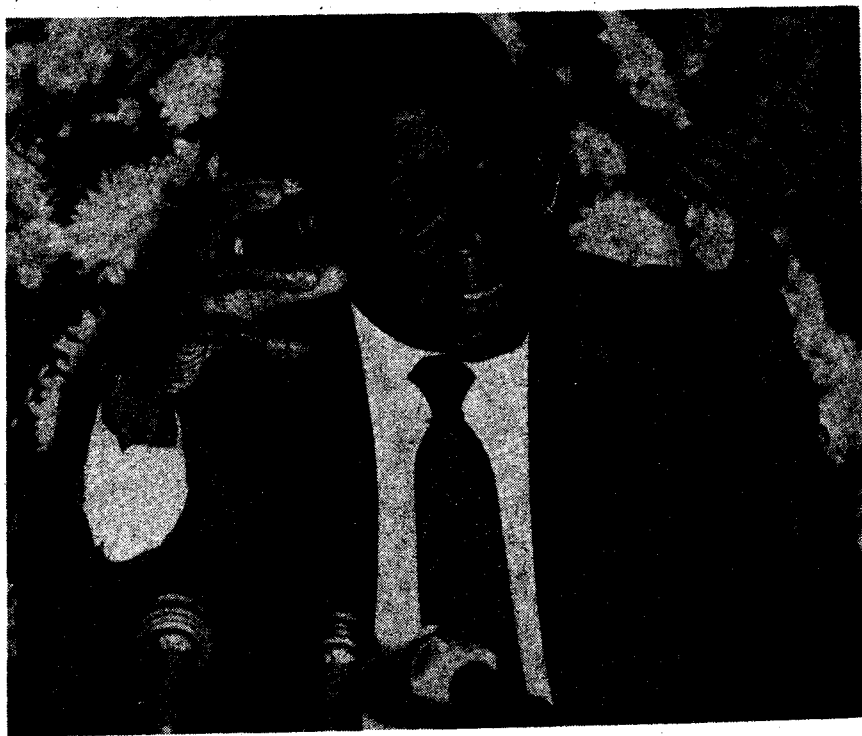
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# President addresses the joint Session of the House of Assembly and Senate



**T**he abolition of racial seats in our Parliament, the constitutional change leading to the Executive Presidency and the signing of the historic Unity Accord between our main political parties, ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU constituted major developments on the political front at the end of 1987.

His Excellency the President, Comrade R.G. Mugabe said this when he addressed the joint session of the House of Assembly and Senate on the 7th of December, 1988.

Comrade Mugabe said the Unity process has already constituted a most important milestone in the political development of our nation since independence.

## Unity Achievements

"The benefits of the Unity Accord have been tremendous in our political history strewn by unnecessary political rivalry and conflict, which posed serious threats to our national integrity and oneness as a people. Our enemies, particularly the racist South African regime, infiltrated agents within our midst to engage in subversive activities", he said.

The Unity Accord has also brought in peace in most areas of Matabeleland where people who had previously lived in fear of the destructive and murderous activities of dissidents are now able to go about their business unmolested and without any fear of victimisation. Government sponsored and non-governmental developmental projects are now progressing well without the fear that they might be attacked or stopped by the bandits. The Zimbabwe Defence Forces

and the Zimbabwe Republic Police played a sterling and utterly indispensable role in their vigil which has been constant.

## Role of Security Forces

The insecurity in areas of Mukumbura, Rushinga, Mutambara, Chikombedzi and Gona Rezhou has arisen because of the successes our forces have scored in operations along our corridors to the sea, namely along the Beira corridor, the Tete-Zubue route and the Chicotalacuala Maputo corridor. These successes have forced the MNR bandits to flee from hinterland of Mozambique and concentrate their operations on the border areas where they found softer targets among unarmed civilians. This has had the effect of forcing the bandits to roam along our border areas in search of food, water and cover.

Our commanders reacted to the upsurge of banditry by deploying both the regular forces and the Peoples' Militia along the entire border from Rwenya to the Save-Limpopo confluence. The end of the banditry in the western and south western provinces of our country has contributed much to add more personnel to attend to the Eastern border security requirements. The forces have been able to recover stolen livestock, to clear these persons who were illegally living in our country. This was done because it was discovered that it is among these aliens that we have flushed out several hundred MNR bandits and sympathisers.

## South Africa supports bandits

Regarding MNR Bandits Comrade Mugabe said, it was noted that there would be no MNR without the existence of apartheid in South Africa. "Without the logistical sup-

port and the sanctuary provided by Pretoria, the MNR bandits would long have become a thing of the past. South Africa must drop apartheid so that, not only its own citizens, but also Mozambicans and the whole sub-region may know the experience peace and collective development," he said.

## Our Forces in Mozambique

"Our military presence in Mozambique shall remain as long as there exists a banditry threat to the security of our routes to the sea, and of course as long as such presence serves the mutual interest of both Mozambique and Zimbabwe", he said.

Historically and geographically, Mozambicans and Zimbabweans are one people who have no choice but to swim or drown together, live and prosper or die and perish together.

## Regional and International Relations

The interests and concerns of government in the field of foreign affairs have continued to extend over an extremely wide range of issues affecting not only Southern African region, but also our troubled continent and the world as a whole. Our membership has been maintained and we have played our full part in various international and regional organisations such as the United Nations and its agencies, the Commonwealth, the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement. We continue to give moral and political support to the liberation struggle being waged by the ANC and PAC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia. We also lent support to the ongoing talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and USA.

Our trade relations with the United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, Australia, Canada, the United States of America and many other friendly countries have significantly improved in the recent past. This has resulted to the USA resuming its aid to Zimbabwe.

As Chairman of the NON-ALIGNED Movement, Zimbabwe has been involved in all efforts to resolve various regional problems in Central America, Western Asia, South Asia, South East and the Middle East.

## Condemning Zionist Regime

The government has clearly expressed its condemnation of Israel's genocidal policies against the Palestinian people. With 71 other countries Zimbabwe decided to recognise the newly declared state of Palestine as part of its contributions towards resolving this thorny issue. Zimbabwe has supported the efforts of Secretary-General, Javier Perez De Cuellar on the Iran/Iraq conflict and welcomed the progress achieved so far in trying to normalise relations between these two countries.

## Economic Recovery

Economic performance of 1987 started on a rather weak basis which was compounded by an unsatisfactory agricultural season culminating in a poor performance of the 1986/87 financial year. The picture improved in 1987/88 particularly with a



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promising agricultural season which laid ground for optimism, hence the projections for real growth rate in the GDP (Gross Domestic Products) for the year 1988 of 5%.

The budget deficit which has fluctuated between 9% and 11% since 1986/87 is largely due to the increased recurrent expenditure by government to redress the social and economic disparities inherited at independence. Some 1.1 million tonnes of maize have been sold to the Grain Marketing Board which made the Agricultural sector play a vital and central role in the overall performance of our economy. Tobacco crop increased our foreign currency earnings on the World Market. The success of

all our farmers has been recognised by the international community resulting in our being awarded the Hunger Project's 1988 Africa Prize for Leadership for the Sustainable End of Hunger.

#### Leadership Code

On a recent debate, there has been a tendency to confuse conduct that offends against the law of the land with that which offends against the rules and guidelines of the ruling party, ZANU (PF).

There is a set of rules and regulations developed by the party — including its leadership code, that applies or should apply in the first place, only to its members as determined by its decision-making organs.

These rules and regulations are not enforceable by the police or courts of the land as they are not yet the law of the land. The party is going to take firm action against all those who have offended against the Code.

Comrade Mugabe said the government accepts criticism about its performance from anybody in our society, but should be criticisms with a view to correct errors, thus constructive criticism.

With the new year 1989 ahead of us, we are determined to make yet bigger and greater advances. With the serious unemployment situation presently faced, the government expects to significantly boost the level of investment in the entire country, a happy productive and fruitful, 1989. □

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## ZANU (PF) Statement on University students

**T**he action that the Government has decided to take against the students is a direct result of the lawlessness that now prevails amongst our students.

In particular the Party was disturbed by the action of some SRC students in beating those who refused to take part in the illegal demonstration. Furthermore the SRC, after having forced students to gather for the demonstration, encouraged them to defy the law by proceeding to leave the campus grounds in the direction of the city.

They had been instructed by the police to demonstrate within the confines of the University grounds and not to proceed to the city, where it was feared they would damage properties. The fears were justified because many of the students were carrying bricks and stones which could be used to destroy property. It is this total disregard of the law that has forced the Government to take some action.

#### Freedom of Speech

The Party upholds the freedom of speech, expression and the freedom of pursuit of knowledge which are an embodiment of our constitution and the Bill of Rights. The Party believes strongly that no one should ever be penalised for lawfully expressing their own points of view. The Party and Government defend the right of citizens in Zimbabwe to hold views of their own even if these are at variance with our own.

In the same vein, we do believe and insist very categorically that those who hold certain views should not force them on others and certainly not on Party members.

The activities of the SRC on campus have been calculated to sow discord between the Government and the University. Furthermore, students have picked up issues and magnified them beyond proportion in order to either embarrass the Government or to give Government a bad name with the public.

The Party and Government unequivocally do not condone any acts of corruption. In fact, this policy has been demonstrated by the vigorous action by Government in its efforts to weed out any corrupt elements from our society. Many cases have been brought before our courts and some Government officials have been convicted.

There is no case of impropriety known to this government which has not been made public or brought before the courts. To allege that the Government is either sitting on any cases or collaborating with offenders is completely false. It is this indulgence in falsehood and misrepresentations for which the SRC is guilty.

In the much discussed case of Deputy Minister Shuvai Mahofa, the Party and Government has been eager that the truth be known. It was for this reason that the case was brought to court, and when the case was dismissed, the government appealed against the court's decision in the hope that more evidence could be adduced. But the courts refused the appeal of the Government and insisted that Mrs Mahofa had no case to answer.

In the case of Deputy Minister Charles Ndlovu both the police and the Attorney-General's Office have been looking for evidence on which to bring his case to an open trial. The Government is informed that a docket has now been prepared and the Deputy Minister will soon be asked to answer the charges in court.

It must be stated clearly that the Government cannot act arbitrarily and without facts or information. The source of such information is the courts. The judges of our land are qualified to assess any cases and have the power to make any decision they see fit. We cannot operate on the basis of rumours

and slanders that are propagated in the streets or bars.

#### Stop Rumour Mongering

It is important that Zimbabweans should stop rumour-mongering and indulging in falsehoods. We believe that a clean society is a prerequisite of a clean Government.

The students have also been talking about what they called the white elephants when they made reference to the decision of the Government to construct the Sheraton Hotel, the National Stadium and Party Headquarters. But the students have not told us about the biggest white elephant there is — which is the University where the Government has spent \$300 000 000 in the last eight years, putting up new buildings, expanding the student intake and the teaching staff, etc. Plans are afoot to establish a second University because of the ever-increasing demands for training of our young people. The Government is spending \$4 100 per student in the Arts and Social Sciences, \$4 400 in the Sciences, as much as \$5 000 for those in medicine, etc. The money is far more than what an ordinary worker could earn in a full year.

The Government has expanded the expenditure on our colleges because of Zimbabwe's needs for more trained manpower.

The Government built the Sheraton because the capital needed a big 5-star hotel conference centre in order to meet the growing demands for such facilities in our country. We built the National Stadium in order to provide first class facilities for our growing sporting nation. We are seeking more funds to build more sporting facilities for our people in all regional centres. It also goes without saying that the new Party Headquarters is necessary for the work and life of the ruling Party. □

# Lenin's Guidelines for Building a Revolutionary Party

By N. Vorskresenskaya, Ph. D.

In the process of a socialist transformation in Zimbabwe ZANU (PF) has assumed the role of a vanguard party. The guidelines for developing such a party were first worked out and substantiated by Vladimir Lenin, leader of the first victorious socialist revolution in the world history.

Basing his work on the theory of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and generalizing the experience of international working-class movements, Lenin elaborated the standards and principles of party development.

He set these forth in "Letter to a Comrade About Our Organizational Tasks", "What Is to be Done?", "Draft Rules of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party", in his speeches at the second Party congress, in his book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* and in other works.

In 1903 the second Party congress adopted the Party Constitution, based on the organizational principles Lenin formulated.

Lenin attached great importance to the quality of the Party's make-up. He noted that the strength and efficiency of a revolutionary party depends to a tremendous extent on the high moral qualities of its members, not on how numerous the party is.

He provided the theoretical basis and in practice did everything possible to ensure that the Party consisted only of true champions of the interests of working people — revolutionary internationalists displaying staunchness, heroism and self-sacrifice under any conditions.

As well as setting the standards to be followed in Party activities, Lenin suggested the order in which Party ranks should be formed. He gave the gist of membership principles in the first paragraph of Party Constitution and in his speeches at the congress: "A Party member is one who accepts the Party's programme and supports the Party both financially and by personal participation in one of its organizations".

As he put it, the main task was to comprehensively safeguard the firmness, consistency and purity of the Party member higher, higher and still higher". He noted: "It would be better if 10 who do work shouldn't call themselves Party members (real workers don't hunt after titles!) than



V.I. Lenin — The main architect of Socialism in the Soviet Union

that one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member".

Lenin's standards of Party activities and his principle of an individual approach are the basis of regulating its numerical growth. "We need new Party members not for advertising, but for serious work", he wrote.

He stressed that the strength of a revolutionary party lay in the consciousness and activity of its members. Striving to increase the number of members to the detriment of the membership's quality damaged the Party and reduced the prestige and efficiency of Party organizations. As he pointed out, "Communists don't admit new members so that they may enjoy the advantages connected with the position of a governing party, but so that they may set an example of real communist labour . . ."

Lenin regarded systematic and ordered control as the sine qua non of developing Party activity and strengthening Party discipline. The need for control follows from his thesis that "... every Party member is responsible for the Party, and ... the Party is responsible for every one of its members".

A revolutionary party strengthens its ranks by ridding itself of unworthy people.

Every Party member should carry out the basic Party line and instructions firmly and without deviation, inspire working people to realize Party policy and set an example by an honest and creative attitude to everyday work, conduct and high discipline. Every Party member should work persistently for higher production efficiency and the steady growth of labour productivity.

Every Party member must consistently support the principle of social justice inherent in socialism, should be modest, kind and attentive to other people. His behaviour — personally, in production work and in work for the community — should be exemplary.

The Leninist principles of Party membership have proved their validity and viability, and have been recognised and adopted by the world revolutionary movement. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that a revolutionary party could successfully fulfil its tasks only if it were a united, efficient and centralized international organization.

He stressed that a revolutionary party should rely on the principles of centralism and discipline, which do not reject, but embrace democratic standards — such as the election of all Party bodies, from the lowest to the highest, periodic reports by Party bodies to their Party organizations and higher bodies, collective leadership, free discussion and criticism, and systematically informing Party organizations and the general public about Party activities.

Lenin's principles and standards of party activities include: devotion to strengthening the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, the barring of factionalism and the subordination of the minority to the majority; decisions of higher bodies being obligatory for lower bodies; strict Party discipline and encouragement of criticism and self-criticism.

Africa's ruling revolutionary parties use the Lenin guidelines striving to make social, economic and political systems more efficient. These parties are ensuring that their role in, and influence on, public processes grows and that Lenin's standards and principles of Party work are put into effect without exception. □



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# The Parasitic Nature of Capitalist — Sitting on top of Gold



Comrade Sibanda and nieces outside their shanty dwelling: Behind is the waste from the gold mine

**P**eople say life is a boomerang, you reap what you sow, but this is not the case with Comrade Ziyaya Sibanda, who thinks that he is probably 100 years old and has toiled throughout his life only to find himself dumped in a shack at Royal Family Mine in Filabusi without anything tangible to show that he was not sitting on his hands all these years.

Comrade Sibanda, Malawian by origin, came to Zimbabwe via Chipata, Zambia in 1920 to look for work. He got married at Queens Mine near Turkey Mine, North-West of Bulawayo. He had two children with his wife but one of them died. The old man has four grandchildren and 14 great-grandchildren.

Before coming to Zimbabwe, Comrade Sibanda fought in the First World War from 1918 to 1919. During the war he went to Tanganyika, Kasangwe, Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia. All travelling was done on foot while vehicles carried baggage and ammunition.

He received the first shock of his life when he was demobilised in 1919 at the end of the war. All blacks received very little money or nothing as compensation for their participation in the war. On the other hand, whites whom they had fought side by side with received several hectares of land as rewards. The black demobees found themselves forced into a situation of becoming whitemen's labourers. The very people they

were fighting with became their masters overnight.

## In Search of Work

Comrade Sibanda, still optimistic crossed the border into Zambia then ultimately into the then Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) where he started working as a miner. At one time he was a baas boy at Muriel Mine where his salary was one pond and 10 shillings.

He then went to Royal Family Mine where he is today. Having seen that they could no longer get much from a person of his age, the employers of Comrade Sibanda felt that the best they could give him in appreciation of the services he had provided was the unused piece of land next to the Mine waste dumping place.

In 1984 he built his shack on the remnants of what used to be his restaurant — call it an eating house which was authorised by the colonial government. Even though he is not receiving his pension, Comrade Sibanda has been completely silenced — he stays where he is without paying rent.

This sort of thing is not happening or did not happen to Comrade Sibanda alone. Comrade Sibanda is only an example of many people who have been severely used to uplift the social, political and economic status of the colonial oppressor. This shows how the Capitalists managed to stay afloat

at the expense of the under-privileged black majority.

After having drawn all the blood from Comrade Sibanda, it was decided that the place that suits him most was near the dumping area, which is outside the Mine Compound. Once a worker, he is now a 'squatter' who beyond any doubts can be told to pack and go at any time.

However, this is the life of the exploiter and the exploited. Once one is unable to lift a spade full of earth or run with a wheelbarrow, then there is no place for that person in a society where the prevailing situation is survival of the fittest.

Many African people were used by whites as springboards into the pools of wealth. Such people as evidenced by Comrade Sibanda worked hard in a bid to improve their social standing but were surprised at the end of the day to find that they had nothing besides themselves and their muscles.

Comrade Sibanda is dying of hunger while food is right on his mouth. The old man is sitting on top of gold but unfortunately his hand is not long enough to reach the fruits that can make his dreams materialise.

At present he is managing to live on meagre food and public assistance. The Filabusi social welfare gives him \$19 per month. □

## Socialism faces historical challenge

By A. Dewitt, APN analyst

**S**WAPO leaders, in statements on what policy they will pursue in Namibia if they win the future elections, speak not of orientation towards socialism, but towards an independent and mixed economy resting both on the state and the private sector. Many regimes in the developing countries, which favour socialists orientation, vigorously develop economic ties with the West. This is also the aim of the trailblazer of socialism — the Soviet Union — which began establishing joint ventures with the capitalist firms. China, Poland, Hungary and other socialist countries are taking large-scale measures to free their market mechanisms from the fetters of the administrative system of command.

This and many other facts of today make one pause and think how to describe the present state of socialism and how to assess its prospects. Some believe that socialism is in a deadlock, and the only possible way for it is to return to capitalism. Others are sure that the processes going on in the socialist countries now are evidence not of a crisis of socialism, but, on the contrary, of its ability to develop and renew itself.



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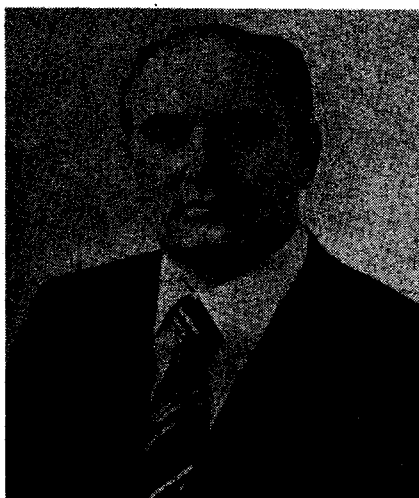
Only practice can give a convincing reply. This is one of the reasons why so much interest is shown all over the world in the Soviet perestroika, in the course of which the Soviet Union is effecting a radical economic reform, introducing large scale democratisation in every field of life and is reforming its political system.

The three and a half years of perestroika have confirmed that socialism is not a sort of order imposed forcibly from the above. Masses of ordinary people, gaining the possibility thanks to openness to freely express their opinions, demand not orientation towards capitalism, but the eradication of deformation of socialism. Such as, away of bureaucracy, wage levelling the spend-away economy, and underestimation of personal freedoms. The "more democracy, more socialism" slogan put forward by the party is meeting with broad support among the masses.

This support stems from the fact that people see actual possibilities appearing for them. For example, the possibility not to elect to a party conference a party functionary who does not enjoy the trust of the people. The possibility to stop construction of an enterprise that threatens to pollute the environment. The possibility to show initiative and earn lots of money by renting a farm.

### Any Limits to these Possibilities?

It is sometimes asked if there are any limits to these possibilities. The Answer given by the CPSU is this: no limits exist, everything that benefits people, benefits socialism has the right to exist. And socialism is not identified with some dogmas, like one recently current, according to which only state ownership of the means of production can



Mikhail Gorbachev, General-Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) — the initiator of Perestroika and Glasnot

meet the criteria of socialism. The same applies to the pluralism of views.

And Moscow does not suffer from the complex of Narcissus — a mythological hero who fell in love with his own image. Moscow adopts what is good from other peoples both in economic and political life — be it a pizza house or regular public opinion polls.

Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Medvedev, recently elected member of the Politburo, said "... in working out the socialists prospect and formulating the modern concept of socialism, one cannot forget about the experience of humanity as a whole, including in the non-socialist part of the world". Speaking in Moscow at an international scientific con-

ference "Current Problems of Development of Contemporary Socialism", he favoured a serious analysis of today's social democratic practices.

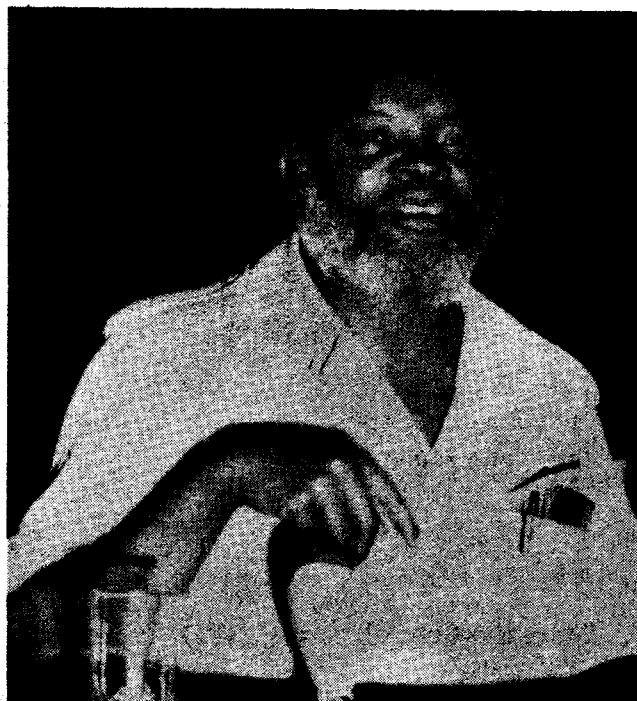
Also there Vadim Medvedev spoke of an obsolete concept according to which capitalism and socialism can develop quite separately, as if without touching each other. The two systems inevitably interact within the framework of one and the same human civilisation, he stressed.

If his idea is developed with regard to the Third World, it will be possible to conclude that the "intersection" of capitalism and socialism in many or some developing countries is natural.

SWAPO's renunciation of the idea of an immediate "socialist revolution" in Namibia as soon as it acquires independence, meet the realities of our world better than frequent attempts taken in the Third World to build socialism in an economically backward country. Such attempts have often involved force and lacked popular mandate. Naturally, they proved abortive and sometimes gave rise to serious problems.

The historical challenge facing socialism arises not so much from capitalism, although this, too, is present, as from highly complex problems now confronting mankind as a whole. These problems are well known: nuclear threat (coming not only from the military, but also from the peaceful atom), the pre-crisis condition of the natural environment, hunger and diseases (including such new and dangerous ones as AIDS).

Socialism, by proposing that class interests and ideological differences should be skipped for the sake of solving these problems, is setting an example of how to meet historical challenges. □



Comrade Sam Nujoma President of SWAPO



International

## Against or for SWAPO!

The small mining city of Kabwe, which is known as the place where Zambia's ruling party UNIP emerged, was a focus of attention of the international media covering the developments in the South of Africa. It was the venue for a three-day meeting of the SWAPO leaders and representatives of Namibia's white community.

Reportedly, the meeting discussed ways of decolonisation of Namibia and possible state structures for the country. The participants described the discussions held as a major contribution to better understanding between the sides.

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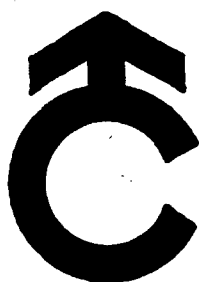
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Novosti's Vladimir Astafiev writes the following in this connection.

The Kabwe meeting is largely considered as a stage in SWAPO's preparations for taking power in Namibia, within the framework of the UN Security Council's Resolution 435. Twenty two years ago, SWAPO called on the Namibian people to take arms in the struggle against the colonial rule. Over the years it has become the nation's political vanguard, internationally recognised representative of the Namibian people. SWAPO will have to prove its high prestige during the forthcoming general elections.

The key provision of UN Resolution 435 is the withdrawal of South African occupation troops and democratic elections to the constituent assembly under UN supervision. Namibia has never had opinion polls. Still, judging by everything, SWAPO will get the majority vote. The more so since the bloc of 'internal' parties has discredited itself by collaborating with the occupation authorities. Besides, the so-called care-taker government which raised hue and cry against SWAPO, proved to be inefficient.

Pretoria's puppets in Windhoek, and the South African leaders are well aware of the most probable outcome of the struggle in Namibia, if not accept it as inevitable. At last, the latter show some signs of a sober approach to the situation in the region.

South Africa is changing its obstructionist posture with respect to SWAPO. This could be explained by many factors. The most im-

portant one is Pretoria's realisation of the necessity to cooperate with SWAPO in order to resolve the Namibian problem and establish normal inter-governmental relations in South-West Africa.

This sense has been developed in pains, but better late than never. For many years Pretoria was a captive of its own anti-communist hysteria.

#### Which Path to Follow?

SWAPO leaders do not make secret of the party's socialist orientation. After all, socialist-oriented countries account for nearly half of the world's population. It would be absurd to deny these nations the right to self-determination.

As for SWAPO, socialism in Namibia is a long-term objective. Perhaps, it will become a socialist state, but it will have to cover a long and painstaking way to this end. By that time one could expect drastic changes in South Africa itself.

SWAPO's short-term goal is to turn Namibia into a democratic state without racial prejudices and based on the equality of all citizens, including the white community. It is prepared to cooperate with the latter in determining Namibia's policies for the present and the future. The country has enough space and resources to accommodate all Namibians irrespective of their race, the colour of their skin, or religion. Stressing the role of the state in the effort to rehabilitate and reconstruct the economy, SWAPO does not rule out mixed and private enterprises operating in an independent Namibia.

It is no secret that Namibia's economy depends on South Africa, which, in its turn, is oriented to the West. The leading capitalist states absorb at least half of Namibia's GDP. Almost all diamonds and strategic materials produced in the country go to South Africa and the West. South African and other foreign companies dominate Namibia's bank and financial structures.

Clearly, an independent state can no put up with such a situation. TNCs will have to revise the existing contracts and recognise Namibia's sovereignty. Economic subjugation regime must give way to equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation.

This is the only way to resolve the problem peacefully. No matter how hard Pretoria would try to check the process, changes are inevitable. The business communities in South Africa and Namibia are fully aware of that. Their ideas were reflected in a recent article carried by Johannesburg-based magazine Financial Mail. Incidentally, this magazine calls for implementing UN Resolution 435 and turning power over to SWAPO. In spite of all expectations, says the magazine, the possibility of granting independence to Namibia and SWAPO's ascent to the room at the top has failed to provoke panic with Namibia's business community. On the contrary, Namibian businessmen are looking forward to bettering the economy. Many of them, above all, those involved in tourism, have launched construction of hotels and camps across the country. □



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have international solidarity in this, how will we take care of these people", the ANC representative said. He pointed out that the largest anti-apartheid movement was in London and that Mrs Margaret Thatcher was not dictating to them how to conduct their fight against apartheid.

"It is, therefore, clear that it is not only the Soviet Union that gives us support but it also comes from Europe and the Scandinavian countries".

#### South Africans Choose their own System

Mr. Makana also stressed, and he was supported by both Dr. Asoyan and members of the SAASC, that it was up to the people of South Africa to decide what kind of system they wanted in South Africa — socialists or capitalist. "This is not for the super powers to decide", he said and noted that the official Soviet foreign policy agreed on this principle.

The Soviet foreign policy's concept of "peaceful co-existence" includes the renunciation of the use of threat or force, every nation's right to choose its own destiny (also in South Africa), non-interference in other states' internal affairs, consideration of one another's legitimate interests, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and co-operation on the basis of complete equality amongst others.

Referring to increasing reports inside and outside South Africa about a change of heart on the part of the Soviets regarding relations with South Africa and an apparent willingness to establish relations with Pretoria, Mr. Makana said: "Officially the USSR is not trying to establish relations with South Africa".

He said that one should rather talk of the USSR allowing informal contacts between Soviet citizens and South Africans for the exchange of views and ideas — "and the ANC supports these informal contacts which

are taking place along the same lines as previous talks between South Africans and the ANC".

It was pointed out that perestroika and the new political thinking did not ignore apartheid. It was agreed that after more than 30 years of a total break in diplomatic relations between Pretoria and Moscow, rumours of a change of heart by the Soviets towards South Africa were newsworthy. But it seemed that South Africans had not taken into account the realities of why there were no relations between the two countries at present.

Yes, the Soviet Union is for the peaceful settlement of the problems in South Africa — but this should not result in the continuing existence of apartheid. According to the Soviet foreign ministry, the ball is now in Pretoria's court and it is for Pretoria to show that it really wants a peaceful settlement of South Africa's pressing political problems. □



International

## PLO's Declaration of Independence

*In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

**P**alestine, the land of the three monotheistic faiths, is where the Palestinian Arab people was born, on which it grew, developed and excelled. The Palestinian people was never separated from or diminished in its integral bonds with Palestine. Thus the Palestinian Arab people ensured for itself an everlasting union between itself, its land and its history.

Resolute throughout that history, the Palestinian Arab people forged its national identity, rising even to unimagined levels in its defence, as invasion, the design of others, and the appeal special to Palestine's ancient and luminous place on that eminence where powers and civilizations are joined . . . All this intervened thereby to deprive the people of its political independence. Yet the undying connection between Palestine and its people secured for the land its character, and for the people its national genius.

Nourished by an unfolding series of civilizations and cultures, inspired by a heritage rich in variety and kind, the Palestinian Arab people added to its stature by consolidating a union between itself and its patrimonial land. The call went out from Temple, Church, and Mosque that to praise the Creator, to celebrate compassion and peace was indeed the message of Palestine. And in generation after generation, the Palestinian Arab people gave of itself unsparingly in the valiant battle for liberation and homeland.



The Non-Aligned Movement is at the fore-front of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles. Here the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and President of Zimbabwe, Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe holds hands with the Leader of PLO, Comrade Yasser Arafat at the latter's arrival for the 8th Summit in Harare

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International

# Soviet/South African Relations

By Jurie van der Walt in Moscow

*There can be no formal or diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union as long as apartheid exists.*

**T**his is the clear message that emerged during a series of discussions I had here with Soviet foreign ministry officials, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the African National Congress (ANC).

Although this might come as a surprise to many South Africans who read recently of a "new realism" in Soviet policy towards South Africa or a softening of its policy towards the situation in the country, it was made quite clear to me that the Soviet Government and political observers were alarmed at such reports. They also criticised South African journalists who visited the Soviet Union for not taking into account the long-standing Soviet policy towards South Africa.

The USSR's view regarding relations with South Africa and its support for the liberation movements have not changed at all.

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (SAASC) was the first to react to these reports. The SAASC, founded in 1956 as a non-governmental organisation to promote friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the USSR and those of Africa and Asia, is presently actively involved in providing humanitarian and non-lethal assistance to such organisations as the ANC, SWAPO and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

Three senior officials of the SAASC with whom I had discussions, Mr. Alexander Artyemyef, Chief of department and researcher in the SAASC, Dmitri Zavgorodni, Secretary of the Committee and Vyacheslav Tetekin, an authority on Southern African Affairs, stressed the fact that there had been no changes in the Kremlin's official policy towards South Africa and apartheid.

The view expressed by the SAASC was that the Pretoria Government should have "no illusions" at all about Soviet foreign policy towards South Africa.

**No diplomatic relations with Pretoria**  
The Kremlin still supports those movements fighting against apartheid in South Africa — and as long as apartheid exists, under whatever government, there will be no relations between the two countries.

Dmitri Zavgorodni believes that South African journalists, following their recent visits to the Soviet Union, have presented a distorted view of Soviet foreign policy towards South Africa as having undergone

a change under President Mikhail Gorbachev's new political thinking.

Dr. Boris Asoyan, Deputy Chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Department of African Affairs and former acting USSR Ambassador to Lesotho, also dismissed reports citing a softening of Soviet policy towards South Africa.

In an interview in Moscow Dr. Asoyan said that there was no talk presently of establishing any relations with the Pretoria Government — although informal contacts with South African journalists, students and academics were supported.

These contacts, according to Dr. Asoyan, were mainly aimed at exchanging views on the current developments in South and Southern Africa and on the future of South Africa and not at bringing Moscow and Pretoria closer.

"In 1942 consular relations were established between the Soviet Union and South Africa and these were severed in 1956", explained Dr. Asoyan.

"After 1948 when the National Party came to power and apartheid was introduced as its official policy, relations between the Soviet Union and South Africa began to deteriorate", he added.

Dr. Asoyan, who spent many years in Africa as correspondent for the Soviet publication "New Times" and holds a doctorate in history, said that with apartheid as its official policy, South Africa became a pariah — and this was still the case.

"There is no talk of establishing relations with Pretoria — in fact there were never such talks after 1956. Those journalists in South Africa who wrote stories to this effect acted in their own interests. Soviet foreign policy has never changed towards the apartheid government of South Africa", he stressed.

Dr. Asoyan explained that the Soviet Union regarded apartheid as "a moral crime" against humanity and that Moscow supported the United Nations member states in all their attempts to bring an end to apartheid.

## Continued support to liberation movements

In addition, he pointed out, the Soviet Union had not changed its view on support for the "National liberation Struggle against apartheid" either.

"Our policy towards the Liberation Movements is still the same. The Soviet Union supports the ANC and considers it as the major force in the fight against apartheid.

The ANC is the oldest movement in South Africa — even older than the National Party. When I hear talks in South Africa and read reports in British papers that the Soviets have begun to rethink their policy on the ANC, I am alarmed because this is not the case", Dr. Asoyan said.

In making clear the Soviet Union's policy of new thinking on Southern Africa, he stressed that the situation in Africa was "disastrous". If regional conflicts were allowed to continue, the situation might even become worse — which is why the Soviet Union supports the Angolan peace talks.

"We think these conflicts should be stopped, preferably through peaceful means. The fact that four countries are discussing peace in relation to the South West of Africa is unique, and if it succeeds it would create a precedent which could be followed in other parts of Southern Africa", he said.

Dr. Asoyan also pointed out that there were two viewpoints regarding South Africa and Southern Africa.

"There are those people who say that apartheid should first be removed and then they will talk about peace. Others are of the opinion, and I side with them, that it is better to create an atmosphere of stability and peace in Southern Africa that would allow the anti-apartheid forces to fight more effectively against apartheid in South Africa.

"From this point of view, Soviet policy towards the ANC and other movements has not changed at all", he said.

The Chief Representative of the ANC in Moscow, Mr. Simon Makana, fully supports the views expressed by Dr. Asoyan.

"The Soviet Union has not changed its policy towards supporting the ANC at all", he said, adding that "journalists and politicians can write what they like, but the official policy of the Soviet Union is one of firm support for the struggle against apartheid".

Makana noted, however, that the Kremlin was not in a position to dictate to the ANC or the South African Communist Party (SACP) what methods to use in its fight against apartheid.

"The ANC has to take care of thousands of South African refugees and if we do not



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### **Palestinian Arab People Ignored**

When in the course of modern times a new order of values was declared with norms and values fair for all, it was the Palestinian Arab people that had been excluded from the destiny of all other peoples by a hostile array of local and foreign powers. Yet again had unaided justice been revealed as insufficient to drive the world's history along its preferred course.

And it was the Palestinian people, already wounded in its body, that was submitted to yet another type of occupation over which floated the falsehood that "Palestine was a land without people". This notion was falsified upon some in the world, whereas in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919) and in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the community of nations had recognised that all the Arab territories, including Palestine, of the formerly Ottoman provinces were to have granted to them their freedom as provisionally independent nations.

Despite the historical injustice inflicted on the Palestinian Arab people resulting in their dispersion and depriving them of their right to self-determination, following upon UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (1947), which partitioned Palestine into two states, one Arab, one Jewish, yet it is this Resolution that still provides those conditions of international legitimacy that ensure the right of the Palestinian Arab people to sovereignty and national independence.

### **Colonization**

By stages, the occupation of Palestine and parts of other Arab territories by Israeli forces, the willed dispossession and expulsion from their ancestral homes of the majority of Palestine's civilian inhabitants was achieved by organized terror; those Palestinians who remained, as a vestige subjugated in its homeland, were persecuted and forced to endure the destruction of their national life.

Thus principles of international legitimacy were violated. Thus were the Charter of the United Nations and its Resolutions were disfigured, for they had recognized the Palestinian Arab people's national rights, including the right of Return, the right to independence, the right to sovereignty over territory and homeland.

### **The Struggle**

In Palestine and on its perimeters, in exile distant and near, the Palestinian Arab people never faltered and never abandoned its conviction in its rights of Return and independence. Occupation, massacres and dispersion achieved no gain in the unaborted Palestinian consciousness of self and political identity, as Palestinians went forward with their destiny, undeterred and unbowed. And from out of the long years of trial in

evermounting struggle, the Palestinian political identity emerged further consolidated and confirmed. And the collective Palestinian national will forge for itself a political embodiment, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, its sole legitimate representative, recognized by the world community as a whole, as well as by related regional and international institutions. Standing on the very rock of conviction in the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, and on the ground of Arab national consensus, and of international legitimacy, the PLO led the campaigns of its great people, molded into unity and powerful resolve, one and indivisible in its triumphs, even as it suffered massacres and confinement within and without its home. And so Palestinian resistance was clarified and raised into the forefront of Arab and world awareness, as the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people achieved unique prominence among the world's liberation movements in the modern era.

The massive national uprising, the "Intifada", now intensifying in cumulative scope and power on occupied Palestinian territories, as well as the unflinching resistance of the refugee camps outside the homeland, have elevated consciousness of the Palestinian truth and right into still higher realms of comprehension and actuality. Now at last the curtain has been dropped around a whole epoch of prevarication and negation. The Intifada has set siege to the mind of official Israel, which has for too long relied exclusively upon myth and terror to deny Palestinian existence altogether. Because of the Intifada and its revolutionary irreversible impulse, the history of Palestine has therefore arrived at a decisive juncture.

Whereas the Palestinian people reaffirms most definitively its inalienable rights in the land of its patrimony:

Now by virtue of natural, and the exercise of those rights historical and legal right and the sacrifices of successive generations who gave of themselves in defence of the freedom and independence of their homeland;

In pursuance of Resolutions adopted by Arab Summit Conference and relying on the authority bestowed by international legitimacy as embodied in the Resolutions of the United Nations Organization since 1947.

And in exercise by the Palestinian Arab people of its rights to self-determination, political independence, and sovereignty over its territory.

The Palestine National Council, in the name of God, and in the name of the Palestinian Arab people; hereby proclaims the establishment of the State of Palestine on our Palestinian territory with its capital Jerusalem (Al-Quds Ash Sharif).

### **State of Palestinians**

The State of Palestine is the state of Palestinians wherever they may be. The state is

for them to enjoy in it their collective national and cultural identity, theirs to pursue in it a complete equality of rights. In it will be safeguarded their political and religious convictions and their human dignity by means of a parliamentary democratic system of governance, itself based on freedom of expression and the freedom to form parties. The rights of minorities will duly be respected by the majority, as minorities must abide by decisions of the majority. Governance will be based on principles of social justice, equality and non-discrimination in public rights of men or women, on grounds of race, religion, colour or sex under the aegis of a constitution which ensures the rule of law and an independent judicature. Thus these principles allow no departure from Palestine's age-old spiritual and civilizational heritage of tolerance and religious co-existence.

The State of Palestine is an Arab state, and integral and indivisible part of the Arab nation, at one with that nation in heritage and civilization, with it also in its aspiration for liberation, progress, democracy and unity. The State of Palestine affirms its obligation to abide by the Charter of the League of Arab States, whereby the coordination of the Arab states with each other shall be strengthened. It calls upon Arab compatriots to consolidate and enhance the emergence in reality of our state, to mobilize potential, and to intensify efforts whose goal is to end Israeli occupation.

The State of Palestine proclaims its commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations, and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It proclaims its commitment as well to the principles and policies of the Non-Aligned Movement.

In further announces itself to be a peace-loving State, in adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence. It will join with all states and peoples in order to assure a permanent peace based upon justice and the respect of rights so that humanity's potential for well-being may be assured, an earnest competition for excellence be maintained, and in which confidence in the future will eliminate fear for those who are just and for whom justice is the only recourse.

In the context of its struggle for peace in the land of love and peace, the State of Palestine calls upon the United Nations to bear special responsibility for the Palestinian Arab people and its homeland. It calls upon all peace and freedom loving peoples and states to assist it in the attainment of its objectives, to provide it with security, to alleviate the tragedy of its people, and to help it terminate Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories.

The State of Palestine herewith declares that it believes in the settlement of regional and international disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the U.N. Charter and resolutions. Without prejudice to its natural right to defend its territorial integrity and independence, as it therefore rejects the threat or use of force, violence and terrorism

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against its territorial integrity, or political independence, as it also rejects their use against the territorial integrity of other states.

Therefore, on this day unlike all others, November 15, 1988, as we stand at the threshold of a new dawn, in all honour and modesty we humbly bow to the sacred spirits of our fallen ones, Palestinian and Arab, by the purity of whose sacrifice for the homeland our sky has been illuminated and our land given life. Our hearts are lifted up and irradiated by the light emanating from the much blessed Intifada, from those who have endured and have fought the fight of the camps, of dispersion, of exile, from those who have borne the standard of free-

dom, our children, our aged, our youth, our prisoners, detainees and wounded, all those whose ties to our sacred soil are confirmed in camp, village and town. We render special tribute to that brave Palestinian woman, guardian of sustenance and life, keeper of our people's perennial flame. To the souls of our sainted martyrs, to the whole of our Palestinian Arab people, to all free and honourable peoples everywhere, we pledge that our struggle shall be continued until the occupation ends, and the foundation of our sovereignty and independence shall be fortified accordingly.

Therefore, we call upon our great people to rally to the banner of Palestine, to cherish and defend it, so that it may forever be the symbol of our freedom and dignity in

that homeland, which is a homeland for the free, now and always.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

"Say: 'O God, Master of the Kingdom,  
Thou givest the Kingdom to whom Thou wilt,  
and seizest the Kingdom from whom Thou wilt.  
Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou abasest  
whom Thou wilt; in Thy hand is the good; Thou art powerful over everything'".

Sadaqa Allahu Al-Azim

□



International

## Romania: December 1, 1918 — A Day for Eternity

**T**he making of the Romanian national unitary state, was a process which lasted for more than a thousand years. The pleasant and rich Carpatho-Danubian area was inhabited by the Daco-Roman population, which resulted from the Romanization of the native Dacians.

Their first political structures were several smallish formations; mediaeval sources; in Latin call them duchies, whilst Slavonic sources name them voivodates and kniazates. The first Romanian duke known to history is the transylvanian Gelu, mentioned in the earliest Hungarian chronicle towards the end of the ninth century. The union of the political communities lying between the Southern Carpathians and the Dunube gave rise, through internal processes, round about the year 1300, to the State called Tara Romaneasca or Wallachia. Basarab I the Great was its first ruler and the founder of a dynasty.

The second Romanian state, Moldavia, was formed under Dragos, east of the Carpathians, some fifty years later. Dragos had come from Maramures, a region adjoining Transylvania to the north. In 1359 the descendants of Dragos were removed by Voivode Bogdan, himself a native of Maramures. He was the founder of the Moldavian dynasty and enjoyed the support of the Romanian population. But for the intervention of the Hungarian State, a third Romanian state would have been formed inside the Carpathian arc, in Transylvania; however, even under Hungarian occupation, Transylvania maintained her own individuality and her rulers, as those of Wallachia and Moldavia, were likewise called Voivodes. It is worth noting that in the southern part of Transylvania documentary mention is made in 1222 of the "land of the Romans" (terra Blacorum).

Throughout the centuries, close economic, political and cultural relations were main-

tained between the three countries of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, inhabited by one of the same native Romanian population.

### Economy

In point of economy, Transylvania formed a mutually supplementary unit with two other Romanian countries. A large number of roads, as well as trucks for horse-drawn carts crisscrossed the mountains. The very oldest historical sources testify to lively exchange of produce and goods between the three countries; there was a brisk and continuous movement of people and their belongings, and money circulated likewise. Whenever, artificially or as a sequel of war, this movement was stopped, all three countries suffered.

### Politics

In point of politics, the most important events were linked with the struggle of the Romanian states for independence and against invaders. During the reign of Mircea the Old, Voivode of Wallachia (1386-1418), there started a war against the Ottomans which was to last about a hundred years; it continued during the reign of Iancu of Hunedoara, who descended from a Romanian family in south-western Transylvania and who himself was a voivode of that country and a governor of Hungary (1442-1456); after that, under Stephen the Great, ruler of Moldavia (1457-1504), whom the Pope called the "Athlete of Christ". War against the Ottomans was also waged in the times of Michael the Brave, ruler of Wallachia (1593-1601), who succeeded in uniting for the first time the three Romanian countries under his leadership and was calling himself — in 1600 — "Prince of Wallachia, Transylvania, and the whole of Moldavia". The union achieved by the Brave, though shortlived, exerted a considerable influence on the generations to follow, turning into a goal to be attained. This was done in two stages: first, by means of

an extremely strong popular movement the union of Moldavia and Wallachia was obtained under Prince Alexandru Ioan Guza (1859-1866); thus came into being Romania, which achieved her independence following the 1877-1878 war, waged jointly by Russia and Romania against Turkey. Romania took part in World War I on the side of the Allied Powers, which promised to meet the demand of having Transylvania united with her.

### Postwar Era

After the war, in 1918, the making of the Romanian national unitary state was completed. In the general circumstances caused by the defeat of the Central Powers and of Austria — Hungary's dismemberment, and as an outcome of the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed nations, Bukovian — on November 28, 1918, and Transylvania — on December 1, 1918, united with Romania. A couple of months before, on April 9, 1918, Bessarabia — Moldavia's territory lying between the rivers Prut and Nistru (Dniester) — has also united with Romania.

The union of the Romanians living on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains in one single state is the natural outcome of a thousand-year old process, marked by successive integrations. Fully justified appears therefore the repeated international recognition of this union, first through the Peace Treaties of Saint-Germain (1919) and Trianon (1920), and later through the Peace Treaty of Paris (1947).

Today the Romanian state and nation have risen to a new stage in their development — the Socialist Republic of Romania. The latter bends all its efforts to build up the multilaterally developed socialist society and makes a persevering and steadfast contribution to bringing about a climate of peace and international cooperation, indispensable to the progress of mankind. □



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International

## The People of Afghanistan have chosen the path of National Reconciliation



President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah has more than once met with unit Commanders of the territorial troops, explaining the essence of the policy of national reconciliation

**M**ore than ten years have elapsed since the victory of revolution in Afghanistan. Its goal was to wrest Afghanistan from age-old backwardness and put it on the road to social progress.

The revolution was triumph in a society that used to be one of the world's most backward countries. Per capita national income in 1970 was merely 160 dollars. In the field on health protection according to UN statistics, the country held 119th place among the 129 States. As for education, it ranked 127th, for the vast majority of the population (more than 90 percent) could neither read nor write. In the Agrarian sphere, the peasants suffered under a double yoke of Feudal Lords and usurers. The revolutionary was the logical outcome of the internal development of the Afghan society which had become ripe for radical social changes. It was an explosion of the outrage which had been building up for centuries amongst the Afghan people.

The revolution was triumphant in Afghanistan and it was the turning point in the life of the people of that country. The revolution

was accomplished in the interests of exploited masses of the people. Its main objective was to take the country out of its age-old backwardness and put it on the road of modern development.

But from the very beginning of the victory of the revolution, reaction, together with the most aggressive circles of imperialist power, created a tense military and political situation in and around Afghanistan.

They turned Pakistan into a spring-board of their aggressions against Afghanistan.

The scope of the aggression expanded day by day even threatening national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan. Under such circumstances, on the basis of the treaty of friendship, good-neighbourliness and co-operation between the two countries, the leadership of Afghanistan requested the Government of the Soviet Union to help Afghanistan. Thus the Soviet Union sent a limited contingent of its troops to the Republic of Afghanistan at the request of its leadership.

During these ten years of undeclared war

against Afghanistan, tens and hundreds of human beings lost their lives, have been wounded and disabled and great damage has been inflicted on the economy and culture of Afghanistan.

Counter-revolutionaries have destroyed more than 1 814 schools, 31 hospitals, 11 health centres, 906 peasant co-operatives, thousands of trucks, 14 000 kilometres of telephone lines and hundreds of electric poles. The total losses incurred as a result of the crimes of counter-revolutionaries has exceeded billions of dollars. They have killed more than 2 000 teachers.

In fact the atrocities of counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan are similar to the atrocities of bandits in Mozambique.

They are typical criminals with typical psychology of looters and killers. A combination of brutality and hypocrisy is the distinctive characteristic of these mercenaries of imperialism and reaction.

From the very beginning of the conflict, the Government of Afghanistan believed there were no problems which could not be solved through a political settlement.

According to that policy, Afghanistan called on its neighbours Pakistan and Iran to normalize their relations, first in May 1980 and again in August 1981.

After the proclamation of those principles, constructive, flexible, and generally acceptable proposals, the Government of Afghanistan and the Government of Pakistan entered into "indirect" and then "proximity" talks in Geneva in June 1982 and ended in the signing of four documents in April 1988.

One can briefly say that infact the conclusion of the Geneva accords has aimed to achieve the following two important political objectives:-

- a) Cessation of every type of foreign interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and consequently termination of sending arms and ammunition, the sending of mercenaries, and dismantling of the anti-Afghan military training camps.

The cessation of hostile propaganda against the Republic of Afghanistan, closing all offices and organising centres of the opponents of the Republic of Afghanistan in the soil of Pakistan

and observance of the other provisions of the Geneva Accords.

- b) The return of the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan to their homeland.

After the conclusion of the said accords, two approaches have been made towards them. That is to say, on the one hand, the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have accomplished all their commitments with full faithfulness, and Pakistan and the United States of America have made flagrant and broad violations of these accords on the other.

The time that has passed since the conclusion of the Geneva Accords shows that interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan has been intensified. Penetration of armed extremists groups into the territory of Afghanistan and participation of Pakistani citizens in military operations on the side of opposition with the aim of conducting terrorist activities against the ruling regime in Afghanistan, unceasing deliveries of weapons and ammunition to armed groups, hostile propaganda over the radio and in the press against the republic of Afghanistan. Such are some forms of interference in the affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

In spite of the fact that the United States is one of the guarantors of the Geneva Agreements, it turns a blind eye to Pakistan's non-observance of these agree-

ments and continues to supply modern armaments to the Afghan opposition groups.

The United States insistence on symmetry that it would continue to give weapons to the extremists as long as the USSR continues to give weapons to the legitimate Government of Afghanistan. The same policy was announced by the United States regarding Angola which will jeopardise the peace process in that region.

Because of the continuation of systematically violating the Geneva Accords by Pakistan and irresponsible activities of the extremists, the casualties amongst the civilian population increased, only in the capital of Afghanistan and Kabul Province over 750 civilians became victims to the terror of extremists after May 15, and as a result of the breach of the Geneva Agreements by Pakistan, the situation in the region, especially the situation relating to Afghanistan deteriorated and became more complicated.

Under the present circumstances, the Republic of Afghanistan takes all necessary measures to safeguard the integrity of Afghanistan.

The people of Afghanistan are prepared to continue to defend heroically their homeland. They will never swerve from the path they have chosen.

The aim of the Government of Af-

ghanistan is to stop the war and create conditions for national reconciliation and formation of a coalition Government, which would include the opposition groups.

The fulfilment of the Geneva Accords are faced with a serious crisis and it has become more difficult to implement the agreements. Recently the Government of Afghanistan called upon the UN Secretary-General to urgently direct interference in the present situation.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has proposed that an international conference be called to determine and guarantee the neutral status and demilitarisation of Afghanistan, as well as rendering help to its economic rehabilitation. This would enable the delivery from the present situation and prevention of its repetition.

The conference should determine the demilitarisation of the Republic of Afghanistan and its status of neutrality. All the participants of this international conference, particularly the neighbouring Pakistan, Iran and China, in the first place as well as the United States, the Soviet Union and other member countries of the UN Security Council, should recognize the legal and international neutral status and demilitarisation of the Republic of Afghanistan by offering international guarantees. All the arms should be collected from the country and delivered to the manufacturing countries.

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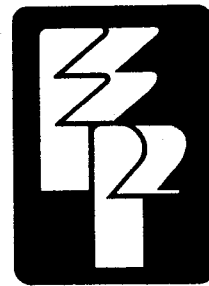
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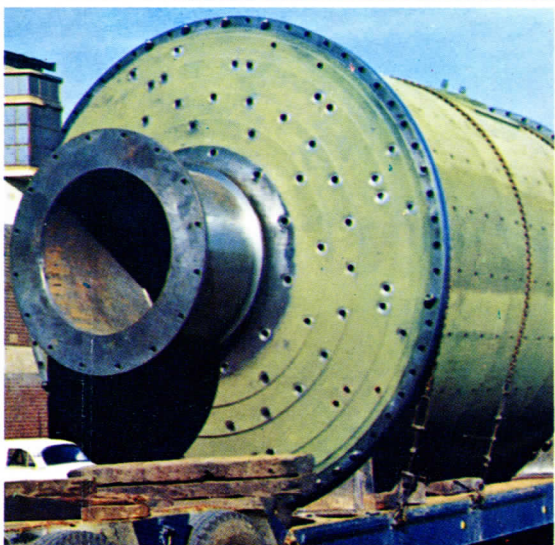
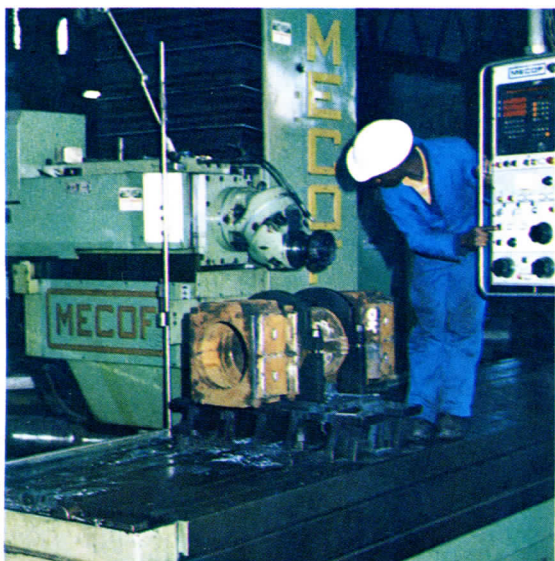
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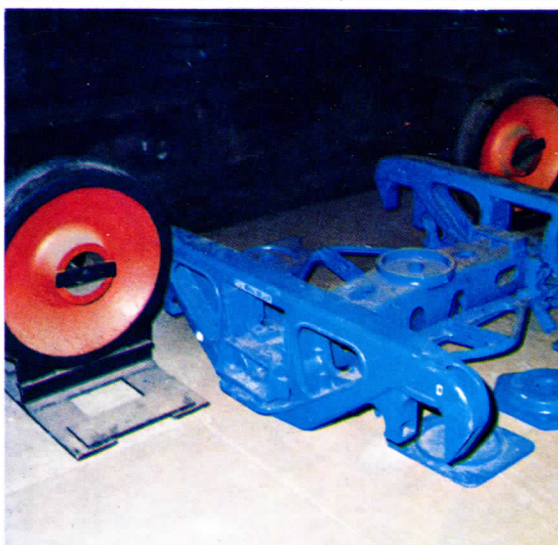
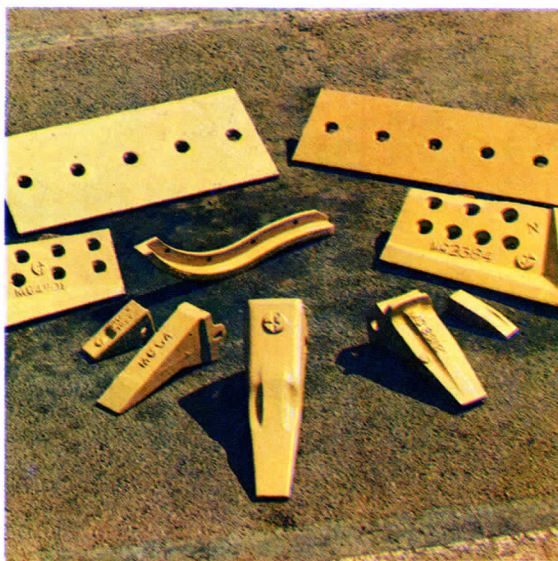
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