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PARTY ISSUES ARE SECURITY ISSUES



- PLO — ISRAEL MUST PULL OUT OF OCCUPIED LANDS
- LET US ALL GET INVOLVED IN OUR UNITY





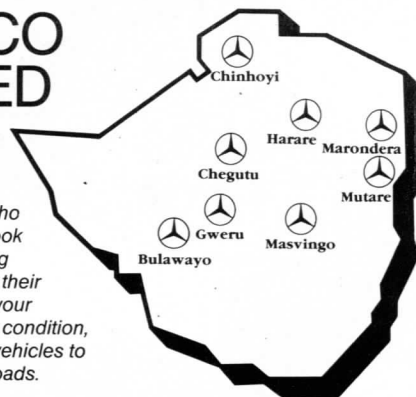
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Child Survival and Development in the Frontline States

Chaired by the First Lady Comrade Sally Mugabe, assisted by the Minister of State (Political Affairs) Comrade Naomi Nhiwatiwa, as administrative secretary, the Zimbabwe Committee for Child Survival and Development in the Frontline States and Southern Africa has been working round the clock since last year, making preparations and co-ordinating arrangements for the March 1 to March 5 International Symposium by writers, artists and intellectual workers to be held in Harare, on Child Survival and Development in the region . . . *Page 13*



Pamberi Nekubatana

Kava kechipiri ini naComrade Joshua Nkomo tichitaura kumhuri yeZimbabwe. Kekutanga kwaive kuBulawayo masvondo matatu apfuura. Nekuona mawandiro akange akaita vanhu vakauya kumusangano uyu uyewo rufaro rwavakatigamuchira narwo takabva taona kuti mhuri yeZimbabwe iri kufarira nekuda kubatana kwemunhu wese ari muno munyika . . . *Page 7*

All Party Issues are Security Issues

First of all I would like to thank the Secretary for Youth and Minister of State (Defence) in the Prime Minister's Office for inviting me to your National Assembly as ZANU (PF) Youth League. My remarks to your Assembly shall be very brief. I will mainly highlight those major areas that concern the department of security . . . Address by the Secretary for National Security Emmerson D. Mnangagwa to the National Assembly of the Youth League, Gweru, 29th August 1987 . . . *Page 11*

Chairman Arafat's Message to the Palestinian People

The Palestinian Revolution is traditionally dated from Jan. 1, 1965, when Fatah, the leading group within the PLO, launched its first announced military operation inside occupied Palestine. *Page 25*

Top Leadership of Tanzania

The National Executive Committee

The top leadership of the ruling party of Tanzania (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) held elections of its last Congress in October, 1987. Comrade Julius Nyerere, Chairman, in his speech marking the start of the elections, urged the electorate to elect: . . . *Page 22*

Israel must withdraw from all occupied Palestinian lands

In recognition of the suffering masses of the Palestine, the Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui was chosen by the Diplomatic Corps in Zimbabwe to deliver a speech on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The selection of Pakistan is a tribute to that country's steadfast support to the PLO in its struggle against the Zionist regime . . . *Page 23*

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EDITORIAL

On Unity

The Unity accord signed between ZANU (PF) and ZAPU was a historic event. People all over Zimbabwe have welcomed and rejoiced in the fact that our people have united once again. This has come at the end of a long process of discussions between the leaders of the two parties. At times it looked as if the road to unity was paved with many obstacles, and that there were forces which were not interested in bringing about this unity. But the will of our people to unity was very strong. What we witnessed towards the end of 1987 was the culmination of this process of unifying the two major historical parties that fought for independence against the colonial-settler regime. It will be registered in our history books as a major landmark.

The agreement between ZANU (PF) and ZAPU has re-united our people. Unity is strength. A divided house opens the door to the enemies. A divided people allows the enemies to incite one group of the people against another group, and this way they take advantage of the situation to advance their own interests. In our own situation, we know that the racist regime in South Africa was able to create a "Super-ZAPU" in order to destabilise Zimbabwe. Dissident activity, financed from outside, had created havoc in many parts of Matabeleland. One of the effects of this was that it was very difficult to channel development assistance to the destabilised areas. Efforts on the part of Government to channel resources into these areas were systematically sabotaged by dissident activity. Their motivation was very clear. They wanted to demonstrate that Government did not care for the development of these areas. This way they wanted to spread around discontent amongst the people against Government.

The unity between the two parties has put to an end the climate of division of which the dissidents were taking advantage. They now have nowhere to hide. They can no longer incite the people against the Government. The people know that it is not in their interests to give refuge to these divisive and mischievous elements in society. Every day, therefore, such elements are now flushed out from the bushes, and their whereabouts made known to the Security Forces. Since the signing of the Unity Agreement, the Security Forces have apprehended a vast majority of the dissidents. Within less than two months, the dissident force has been reduced to less than a third of their original number. The dissidents know, themselves, that they cannot secure food and protection from the villagers, and are now on the run. In this situation, some of them are likely to join the South African mercenary forces to continue to terrorise the population. Some of them may well have

joined the RENAMO forces in Mozambique. But they are not likely to go far with these unpatriotic activities. The Security Forces will eventually catch up with them and bring an end to their anti-people activities.

The Unity Accord also has significant economic consequences. Although we still have to spend a lot of money on our defence forces in order to prepare them to fight against the South African-backed RENAMO in Mozambique, we are spared the need to deploy these forces in the former disturbed areas of Matabeleland. This itself is a great saving for the economy. We can now concentrate our troops to defend our political independence and territorial integrity from attacks from outside without having to divert scarce resources for the defence of the country from internal enemies. This therefore means that these resources can now be devoted to developing the economic well-being of the masses of our people. Unity has brought Peace to Matabeleland, and therefore it has cleared the way for putting resources into that part of Zimbabwe for the development of the people. Hence, unity has had profound effect not only for the whole of the country, in terms of saving on the expenses of the security forces, but, more specifically, it has had very positive effect on the economic development of some of our least developed areas in the country which hitherto were destabilised by the dissident activities. People in these areas can now get on to the task of developing their farms, and restocking their cattle, in the confident knowledge that they will not be sabotaged. Internally, our only enemy now is the drought, and united we shall find ways to beating the drought as well.

Furthermore, the Unity Accord has enabled us to make full use of the manpower resources of the two parties. We have in ZAPU, as we do in ZANU (PF), very talented people, people who are patriotic, skilled and committed to the economic and social welfare of the broad masses of the people. It is unfortunate that for so long they were not fully able to participate in the national activities of the country. Many of them were on the side, watching but not participating. Because of political division between them and the ruling party they used their time only to criticise the Government, instead of putting their enormous talents for the benefit of the nation. The Unity Agreement has, finally, cleared the way for bringing these talents in the service of the nation. We already have a number of them in the Cabinet and in the civil service. They know they can make their full contribution to the best of their abilities. But

these talents exist not just amongst the leadership only. There are people in all walks of life who, rightly or wrongly, might have previously felt uncomfortable because they were seen to belong to the opposition. Now they need not feel so. They can put the weight of their skills and brains to the joint effort of fighting the now common enemies of poverty and external interference.

Let the new way forward consolidate this gain of Unity. Let us reach down to the smallest and the

remotest village to preach the gospel of unity. Let us tighten ourselves so that the enemy cannot penetrate our security. This way we cannot fail to both repulse our enemies and at the same time to develop our economy. The way ahead is challenging. Unity is only the beginning of a major task ahead. Let us take seriously the challenge of the future, and show to ourselves that the fruits of unity are for all to share.

LETTERS

Dear Editor,

The uncertainties within the Dynamos Camp have been resolved and the Glamour Boys are looking forward to giving their fans the kind of soccer they have come to expect.

The new Executive is of the opinion, however, that the record should be set straight regarding the team's non-availability to play the fund raising match for the new Party Headquarters.

Dynamos Executive pointed out that it would have preferred to have made a statement as early as possible after the incident, but certain aspects of the incident required investigation before a statement could be issued by the new Executive, which was not fully conversant with every detail.

Dynamos FC takes great exception to the false statement made in ignorance, by Godfrey Majonga, one of the Masters of Ceremony, on the night in question, when he stated on national television that the "seven million club refused" to play the Party Headquarters fund raising match against Kabwe Warriors on Sunday, 25 October, 1987.

The events leading to this incident are quite plain and by no means a secret.

These are the facts.

- 1 Obediah Sarupinda received a letter from the Party Headquarters fund raising committee on Thursday, 22 October, 1987 asking Dynamos to play against the Zambian side on Sunday,

25 October, 1987 only two days before the actual game.

Surely a match of this importance warranted advance notice in order that the club could prepare itself sufficiently.

- 2 On such short notice, it was difficult to contact team members to get a team together, as there was no training session on the Friday, and the next time when the team would get together would have been the following Tuesday.
- 3 The club currently had six first team injuries and after the CAPS/Dynamos match and fracas the previous Wednesday evening, Leo Ntawatawa, Dynamos goalkeeper had gone underground to avoid angry fans. The reserve 'keeper, Lucky Dube was out of town attending his sister's funeral.
- 4 The fact that the Dynamos Executive had resigned the following day, only served to make the situation worse and left the club without its decision-makers.
- 5 Obediah Sarupinda called ZIFA to explain why the team was unable to play the match. He was instructed to contact Mrs Mawema, a member of the fund raising committee, who had some difficulty understanding the mechanics of putting together a team. He then spoke to Killian Bukutu, Director of Sport in the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, who insisted that he specifically wanted Dynamos to play that

particular game, ignoring points 1-4 above.

- 6 Sarupinda again explained the club's position and further advised him that Dynamos FC was not prepared to field a reserve side for such an auspicious event as this was not in keeping with the club's policy of always giving off its best for the Party and Government.

With reference to the anonymous letter which appeared in the official organ of ZANU (PF), "Zimbabwe News" (Volume 18 No. 11, November, 1987), the points mentioned above should suffice as an adequate explanation of why Dynamos FC did not play. It goes without saying, however, that Dynamos has proved over the past twenty five years "on which side of the struggle" the club belongs.

To put an end to all speculation and to suppress any further accusations, it must be realized that both ZANU and Dynamos were formed in 1963 and the Party and the club "grew up" together in the face of a great deal of opposition and oppression. Dynamos FC therefore feels that there is the strongest bond, born out of nationalism, between the club and the Party.

The Party has had Dynamos unflinching loyalty and support in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

Dynamos FC wants to reassure the Party, Government and the "seven million" that the club has been and always will be of the people, for the people.

Dynamos Football Club

Lead a Disciplined life — President's Address to the 21st February Rally



The 21st February Movement will be an exemplary group in Matters of Discipline

I feel very highly honoured by all of you who have gathered here today to join me in celebrating my birthday. I would also wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the ZANU (PF) Youth League and those Government Ministries and individuals who have worked hard to mark the advent of this day with such splendour. It seems to have become a tradition that, without fail, on this day people plan various ways of rejoicing with and making me feel loved. I feel overwhelmed by this generosity annually extended to me.

I would, on my part, wish to invite all members of the 21st February Movement gathered here today, and all those others who for one reason or another failed to come, to join me in sharing the fruits of these efforts. I am savouring every minute of it and I hope you are also enjoying the celebrations. Already many well-wishers have extended their good wishes to me but I would like to assure you that your own testimony has been so profound that it is second to none.

At 64 I may seem very old compared to some of you who are still at school or have just reached your prime, but the gift I am going to give you today has no age barriers; it is the benefit of my experience. In life each one of us will be faced with good and bad years, success and failure, and so on, but I would like to ask all of you, particularly those of you who are young, to aspire to lead a life that is disciplined, one that has aims and objectives which guide the routes that we finally take.

Many of us see life as a play that can be perfected and replayed at a later date, but I can assure you that life has no room for rehearsals. Every step we take is final and can either mar or improve our well being. Therefore, my piece of advice to you is that life should be viewed at all times as a perpetual practical examination by which society is able to judge our success or failure.

Life is hard work and sacrifice; hard work and sacrifice for not just your own good but for the good of others. Life is thus love for others and bids us to work for each other. That is what our national struggle or Chimurenga taught us. Life is also self-discipline, for without discipline you can-

not achieve much. You become chaos itself. We must avoid being disorderly and disorganised. Obedience goes a long way in making us disciplined.

Looking at the social problems such as crime we encounter in society today, the Youth seem to account for more than their fair share of criminal activity. In that regard, I would like to hope that members of the 21st February Movement will be my exemplary group in matters of discipline. Let their discipline, hardwork and purposefulness in life shine among others and let them sow the seed of righteousness wherever they go.

May I thank you for your unqualified support in making the 21st February Celebration such a great success.

Thank You!
Mazviita!
Musanete namangwana!
Lingadinwa Lakusasa!

Zimbabwe Charts a Non-aligned Course

It has become a Zimbabwean tradition for the Head of State to receive Heads of Diplomatic Missions and International Organisations accredited to Zimbabwe at State House for a New Year reception at the beginning of each year. This is my first opportunity to meet you on such occasion and I warmly welcome you all and wish you a happy and fruitful New Year.

This occasion affords me an opportunity to interact with you informally and, hopefully, to create a better understanding between our Governments and peoples. Building understanding between nations depends on a sound knowledge and appreciation of the ideology, policy, principles and strategies each state pursues in the conduct of its foreign policy and how it perceives its role and place in the international community. These are the elements that Zimbabwe, like any other modern sovereign state, takes into consideration in the formulation and conduct of her foreign policy.

I am pointing this out to assure you that the major constitutional changes that have taken place recently do not entail a change in policy. Our foreign policy is an extension and reflection of our domestic policy and environment, and is formulated from our collective experience during our struggle for national independence, during which we fought for justice, self-determination, equality and peace for all.

These principles continue to guide us in the conduct of our policy and it is on this basis that we have committed ourselves firmly to supporting all those who are waging just struggles for national liberation and for freedom from oppression and dictatorship. We give diplomatic, material, political and moral support to genuine liberation movements because we are conscious that our own struggle benefitted critically from such support from progressive forces worldwide. Our support for national liberation movements also finds expression and a basis in UN Resolution 1514(XV) of 1961.

Our own experiences and principles dictate that we should naturally find ourselves in firm opposition to puppet forces used for aggression by proxy, such as UNITA in Angola, the MNR in Mozambique, the dissidents in our own country and the Contras in Nicaragua. These sundry bandits are mere tools of states which choose to use war to destabilise other sovereign, independent states in order to achieve their selfish ends.

Zimbabwe will never accept, and will continue to actively oppose, all such poli-

cies and any other actions aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of other states or undermining their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We consider the upholding of these principles as crucial to interstate relations.

Zimbabwe is aware that the situation in our region emanates largely from efforts by the Pretoria regime to undermine our sovereignty and that of other regional states. As a domestic policy, apartheid is violence and we all know how this is conducted against the majority of the South Africans. As a consequence, that violence is extended abroad through proxy wars and cross-border state terrorism, the most glaring instances of this being in Mozambique and Angola.

South Africa's violence has been very costly in human and material terms. Over \$30 billion has been lost, 1 million people killed and about 8 million displaced or made refugees during the last eight years as a result of South African aggression and destabilisation. This represents a loss of decades of development and presents a challenge to us in the region and those who are assisting us to attain self-reliant development.

Indeed, the incompatibility of conflict and development is clear, not only in our own region but also in other areas. The situation in the Gulf most painfully demonstrates how billions of dollars that should have gone into development are channelled into a war that continues unabated despite international calls for an end to that war. A comprehensive, just, honourable and durable settlement should be achieved in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions 582 of 1986 and 598 of 1987.

Peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the United Nations Charter is, for us, a vital principle which we strongly believe should be adhered to by all. Only by so doing can all the arguments for the arms race, and the threat and use of force in the conduct of inter-state relations, fall away.

Zimbabwe has repeatedly said that the arms race consumes resources that could be better used for development. While we are happy with the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) agreement between the Superpowers concluded last year, we sadly realise that the INF is only 4% of the total nuclear arms. A total elimination of all types of nuclear weapons is necessary in order to ensure world peace and remove the threat of a global nuclear war.

Such a step would consolidate world peace and security and thus enable us to tackle the problems of development more vigorously.

Regionally, we have tried to achieve development and collective self-reliance through the SADCC and PTA. We also pursue the same objectives on a wider scale through NAM, the Group of 77, and the South-South Commission chaired by Mwalimu Nyerere. Our efforts at these fora are designed to achieve a united front by developing nations, which is the only way any meaningful measures can be taken to achieve a just and equitable international economic order.

The urgency of this issue is shown by the increasing difficulties faced by most Third World states in the repayment of the burgeoning external debts, and the increasing vulnerability of debtor nations to manipulation and external interference by creditor nations. We firmly condemn such manoeuvres as we believe that they undermine the non-alignment of debtor nations. We realise that creditor nations would be acting as neo-imperialists and neo-colonialists if they took unfair advantage of opportunities offered by their economic assistance to interfere in the internal affairs of beneficiary nations. But debtor or assisted nations would also be acting foolishly if they permitted it to happen, as they would lose their freedom, independence and non-alignment. North-South co-operation should be based on mutual respect and equality and not on client-mentor relationship.

Here in Zimbabwe, realising the value of equality and national unity, we have adopted the policy of national reconciliation. This policy has culminated in the unity agreement between our two main parties: ZANU (PF) and PF-ZAPU, an exercise which we hope to translate into physical reality soon. We believe that reconciliation and unity at the regional, continental and global levels will enable humanity to create and maintain conditions of peace, security and progress.

On that note, let me once more wish you a happy and prosperous New Year.

May I now invite all of you to join me in a toast to:-

- The prosperity, development and well-being of your countries and peoples;
- your own success and happiness during 1988; and
- world peace.

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Pamberi Nekubatana

Kava kechipiri ini naComrade Joshua Nkomo tichitaura kumhuri yeZimbabwe. Kekutanga kwaive kuBulawayo masvondo matatu apfuura. Nekuona mawandiro akange akaita vanhu vakauya kumusangano uyu uyewo rufaro rwavakatigamuchira narwo takabva taona kuti mhuri yeZimbabwe iri kufarira nekuda kubatana kwemunhu wese ari muno munyika.

Vanhu vanga vaneta uye vafinhwa nekusawirirana uyewo mhirizhonga yanga ichitika munyika ino. Vanhu vomunyika ino vanoda kubatana nekuti vanoziya kukosha kwekubatana panyaya dzebudiriro yenyika. Vanozivawo kuti kubatana kwemapato edu ari maviri ndiko chete kungaite kuti mhuri yese yeZimbabwe ibatane. Kana mhuri yeZimbabwe yabatana, zvimhingamupinyi zvanga zvichitidzorera shure zvichakundwa.

Chibvumirano chekubatana chakanyoreranwa pasi naPresident vedu Comrade Robert Mugabe naComrade Joshua Nkomo chave kutipa mukana wekuti tiumbe bato rechimurenga idzva tichitungamirirwa naPresident vaMugabe. Iri bato idzva ndiro chete ringakwanise kupa gwara kuruzhinji rweZimbabwe.

Hapana chimurenga chingabudirire kana bato rinochitungamirira risingatevedzeri zvido zvevanhu. Kuti tibudirire pakuvaka bato idzva iri rine midzi yaro muvanhu, takafanira kuona kuti vanhu vakabatana. Tinofanirawo kunzwisisa kuti kubatana chete ndiko kunotipa masimba ekurwisa nekukunda mhandu dzedu kuti tigovaka



eumhondi neumharadzi nekuti vanhu tainge tisati tabatana asi nhasi voshaya zvokuita nekuti tabatana sesvinga rehuni, havachakwanisi kuenderera mberi nemabasa avo aya amanyongori. Nyangwe iyo *Radio Truth* yevadzvanyiriri yanga ichitaura twusina maturo haichina anoteerera nekuti vanhu vave kuziva kuti awa manyepo amanyusa bedzi.

Kuti tikunde vapanduki, vadvzanyiriri navose vasingadi kuona nyika ino ichibudirira, tinofanira kutsigira nekusimbaradza kubatana kwedu. Tinofanira kuona kuti mhombho yeZimbabwe nevashandi vese pamwe chete nevarimi nevechidiki vabatana kuti nyika ibudirire.

munyika ino. Tinovimbazve kuti munyika muno muchave nerunyararo neupenyu hunofadza.

Tinonzwa kudada kana tichiona kuti nyangwe zvazvo pange paine zvinonetsa asi vana veZimbabwe vanga vachingoedza uyewo vachibudirira mumabasa akawanda. Zvizhinji zvakaitwa zvinotaridza kuti isu tinokwanisa chose kuita mabasa akasiyana anoita kuti nyika yedu ibudirire.

Masimba atakashandisa pakurwisa vambepfumi kuti tiwane nyika yedu, ayo akatiita kuti tikwanisezve kurwisa vese vaiedza kukanganisa upfumi hwedu mumakore ekutanga ekuzvitonga kwedu, ndiwozve masimba akaita kuti tigone kuramba tichiwedzera upfumi hwenyika. Nhasi zvakare tisuzve tinofanira kuramba takabatana kuti tiumbe Zimbabwe yakasimba.

Vaye vasingadi kubatana nanhasi vachakaputirwa nepfungwa dzakare dzekungofungidzira kuti rudzi urwu ruri nani pane urwo. Ava vanhu vachiri kungosimbirira kukudza "Tribalism, regionalism neracism" vanoita kuti nyika idzokere shure. Havadi kubatana. Taingove nevanhu vakadai muma-zuva ehondo yechimurenga. Nanhasi uno hatifanire kurega zvinhu zvakaita seizvi zvichitidzisa kubudirira.

Vaye vachiri kungosimbirira nerekusada kubatana havasati vanzwisisa kana kuona kuti nyika yedu ino yakakosha sei. Havaoni kuti vana veZimbabwe havadzokere shure pakurwisa kuti vakunde zvipingaidzo nyangwe zvakaoma sei.

Chakanyanyokosha munyika yedu ino upfumi hwedu, kubatana kwedu uye kushandisa masimba atinawo kudzivirira upfumi hwedu. Tinofanira kuona kuti kana tikasangwara, tikaramba kubatana, upfumi hwedu hwenyika hunonyangarika takatarisa. Tinofanirawo kunzwisisa kuti tinokwanisa kukunda zvese zvinoita kuti tisabatane. Zvombo zvekurwisa dambudziko rekusabatana kwemarudzi tinazvo iyesu. Changosara kuzvishandisa.



Mapato asungana — ruzhinji runokurudzirwa kusunganaswo

Zimbabwe itsva ichatsigirwa nekubatana kwedu. Pari zvino pane mhandu dzine chitsama dzisingadi kuona vanhu vachibatana. Mhandu idzi dziri kurwisa kuti dzikanganise runyararo rwenyika dzinosanganisira vapanduki vachitsigirwa nehurumende yevadzvanyiriri yeSouth Africa. Vapanduki ava vaichimbokwanisa kuita mabasa avo

Tave kukwanisa kutaura semhuri imwe chete kubva panguva yakanyoreranwa chibvumirano. Zvese izvi zvinobva mukuziva kwedu kuti zvido zvevanhu zvinofanira kutevedzwa. Tine tarisiro yekuti tichakwanisa kukunda zvimhingamupinyi zvanga zvichitidzorera shure uyewo kukunda mhandu dziri munzvimbo dzakasiyana-siyana

Hondo yechimurenga yakanyatsotaridza kuti hapana dambudziko risinga kwanise kukundwa nyangwe rakakura segomo chairo. Chinongodiwa chete kuti vanhu varwise vaine gwara rimwe nechinangwa chimwe chete. Tarisiro yeupenyu hwemangwana hwakanaka inobva pakuziva kuti vanhu vakabatana, vane gwara rimwe nechinangwa chimwe chete. Izvi ndizvo zvinondipa chivimbo chekuti chibvumirano chekubatana chichaita kuti nyika yedu ibudirire.

Mumaguta ese enyika ino nekumaruwa akasiyana-siyana, vanhu vagare nerufaro rwakapamhidzirwa pavakaziva kuti pave nechibvumirano chekubatana. Saka zvaka-kosha kuti tose tione kuti pave nekubatana sezvinodiwa nevanhu.

Basa redu guru iye zvino nderekutsvaga nzira dzinoita kuti nyika inyatsobudirira uye nzira dzinobvisa zvachose kusawirirana nekusabatana. Nzira idzi hadzigoni kutsavga kune dzimwe nyika kwete, dzinotofanira kubvaimo matiri isu.

Upenyu hwedu hwamangwana huchazove hunofadza kana tikaramba tichitsigira musa-

ngano wedu tichitsigirawo President vedu, VaMugabe, uyewo tikaramba tichikurudzira kubatana.

Kubatana kunopa simba rekuti pashaye anonyara kutaridza nyika yese kuti takabatana, kunopawo simba rinogona kukunda zvese zvingakanganise rusununguko rwedu namagariro edu akanaka.

Kubatana Kunoreva kuti taregererana zvatakatadzirana kare. Izvi zvinoita kuti vataimbotti mhandu vave shamwari tese tiine chinangwa chimwe chete.

— Chekuvaka Zimbabwe —

Kubatana kunobva mukuteedza gwara rimwe chete nekutaridzana rudo.

Kubatanana nerunyararo rwemunyika hazvisi zvinhu zvinongoshuviwa zvisingakwanisi kuitika. Kubatana kunotanga newe. Kunobva mukuzvipira kwako kushanduka mupfungwa, nemukuedza kwako kunzwisisa uye munhu wawanga usingawirirane naye. Kubatana hakungouye kwega samabori asi kunotovepo nekuzvipira kwedu tese, kwete kungotarisa tichiti zvichaitika hazvo.

Umwe mwana weZimbabwe akazvipira kufira nyika yake yechizvarwa muhondo yechimurenga akati, "Kune hondo irikurwiwa muZimbabwe pakati pemapato maviri. Rimwe bato riri kuvaka Zimbabwe asi rimwe iri riri kupunza Zimbabwe zvino ini semwana weZimbabwe, ndotobatana nevaye vari kuvaka Zimbabwe". Anga aona gwara rakamuburitsa muruvengo rikamuita munhu mutsva muZimbabwe itsva.

Paridzai shoko iri kune avo vese vari kuda kuvaka Zimbabwe ine vanhu vakabatana — mhuri yeZimbabwe kana yakabatana uye iine runyararo ichakwanisa kuvaka "Zambuko" muAfrica.

Tinoda kuvaka Zimbabwe itsva uye isu chete tisu tinofanira kuzviita izvi. Vaye vanoda nyika yavo yeZimbabwe taridzai nyika dzepasi pose kuti tave muZimbabwe itsva:

- Zimbabwe ine mhuri yakabatana
- Zimbabwe yave neupenyu hutsva uye nerunyararo
- Zimbabwe ine chinangwa chekubudirira
- Zimbabwe itsva yakawanikwa mushure mekudeuka kwerope rakakosha.

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Development, Progress and Prosperity Through Unity

December 22, 1987 is another historic date in the growing strength and independence of Zimbabwe. On that day, less than two months ago our President Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, as the first Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) signed the State House Agreement with me in my capacity as President of PF-ZAPU, an agreement to unify our two parties.

The State House Agreement was the result of years of patient and determined political negotiation, the climax of which was the intense series of ten meetings of the joint PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF) sub-committee between October 1985 and December, 1987.

During those negotiations your leaders struggled to achieve an understanding of the enormous problems which confront Zimbabwe, and we concluded that the fundamental tool needed to solve these problems is the unity of all Zimbabweans, the key to that national unity being the unity of our two parties. The first duty of the leadership was thus to see the problem and create the solution — unity. Our other duty, which we are doing today, is to present this agreement to the people, to explain it clearly, to show why it is a necessary and positive action in the interests not only of the members of PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF) but of all Zimbabweans. It will then be the duty of the people to seriously consider the agreement, to ensure they understand it and to decide through the democratic processes to support our Agreement. We must be quite clear on this. The strength and lasting quality of an agreement on such an important Act as the merger of our two historic parties, depends upon it being understood and democratically accepted. Without the wholehearted commitment and support of the people, the unity agreement will be nothing but a piece of paper recording the consensus of a few individuals. Clarity and understanding are the essential basis for your democratic decisions made throughout the country, leading to resolutions of the congresses of the two parties. Finally, your will must be expressed at the first congress of the merged party where we will stand united.

My second vital task is to urge *all* Zimbabweans to concern themselves actively with unity and examine our reasons for this common commitment. In fact you must all become *activists for unity*. This is an important foundation for the merged party, but it is even more important to the potential for the democratic operation of the one party state, which the merged party will seek to establish. You will all need to do as much, if not more hard work than we your leaders have done. It demands discussion, debate, organisation and mobilisation.



Dr. Joshua Mqabuko Nkomo

You must not think that explanation, analysis and clarification is only done by leaders at rallies. It must go on at every level and right down, to the grassroots.

But national unity is not the personal property of PF ZAPU and ZANU (PF), dominant though they have been at the polls. Zimbabwe is, and always has been more than political parties. It includes trade unions, churches, industrial, commercial and agricultural and professional associations, organisations of women, students, intellectuals and other combinations of people. It includes those who are more or less powerful, those who are rich and those who are poor. Their commitment to national unity is important. Here I must appeal to all communities in Zimbabwe to involve themselves in our *real* political process. The white community, dominant in the pre-democratic colonial state, and still economically powerful in our country, must no longer isolate themselves from an understanding of the problems of the mass of our people. Politics is not only high office for the "experienced" and "expert" veteran, it is also the hurly-burly of ordinary organisation, listening to ordinary people's problems, and finding ways to help them solve them. These are tasks for young as well as old people, and we urge Zimbabweans of every group and organisation, to get involved, to get active in our unity. This is the essence of the democracy which PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF) fought for during our liberation struggle.

It is now essential that a period of intense political and democratic activity be initiated. Branches must strengthen and activate themselves. Members who have been silent must rediscover their tongues and revive their thinking. The leadership must have a lively and critically constructive base with which to interact. Otherwise we will play-act to ourselves and suffer delusions of infallibility and grandeur. People must take this opportunity to fully restore Zimbabwean politics to the energetic and tough, the sensitive and solid political system of the late 1970's that enable a peasant people to defeat a powerful but undemocratic colonial regime. That was essentially a time of intense national unity, as it will be again when we all understand the unity agreement and are committed to it.

Why the Unity Agreement?

The common history of our parties is deep and powerful. It has a common origin in the Nationalist struggle for Liberty, Human dignity, Human rights, Democracy and Justice for all Zimbabweans. It matured and strengthened in the heat of the armed struggle. It became conscious of the broader international and imperialist dimensions of the struggle for justice. It established new alliances. It developed a more penetrating analysis which laid the foundation for our common commitment to a socialist path. We have also lived through the harsh reality of dealing with powerful established structures and the dilemmas of compromise. We are deeply conscious that our historic commitments to democracy and justice; to full employment, to a fair distribution of the land (which was a central purpose of our peoples' struggle), to health and to education, have yet to be fully realised.

The vast scale of these, our common tasks, our historic responsibility, is thus the *first* reason for our realisation that unity alone will provide us with the necessary strength to fulfil the task.

In the face of this enormous challenge, there is the clear evidence of the overwhelming support of our people for our parties and the policies and perspectives we have adopted. This popular demand that we do what the people have endorsed, is another reason which makes unity essential. We have a responsibility to the people.

There is a common desire among all our supporters for genuine peace, for law and order and social and economic development. Our common experience has taught us that what is needed is the disciplining and control of the organs of state power. We can

allow no room for discrimination whether based on race, region, religion, tribe or clan. Equally we see Social and Economic Development as the realistic and firm basis of political stability. This is 'positive stability'. When jobs and schools and health facilities for all are achieved, the result will be the inevitable ending of violence and insecurity.

Thus we concluded that the fullest achievement of our common goals required broad national unity, and primarily the unity of (PF) ZAPU and ZANU (PF). Peace and prosperity in Zimbabwe, we are convinced, is impossible without this unity. But peace has an international dimension. To secure peace in Zimbabwe we must be able to confront and overcome the aggression, and destabilisation of the evil *Apartheid* regime. As well as being able to defend ourselves from the racist South African regime, an equally important reason for unity is that we must be able to contribute positively to the Liberation of South Africa and Namibia, and the final eradication of *apartheid*. To meet this fundamental African and international duty, unity is even more essential.

Thus unity is therefore an urgent national, regional and international need. It can no longer be postponed.

How will the Unity Agreement be Implemented?

The two parties agreed to merge under the name: ZANU (PF). The structures we contemplate provides for a Party President and First Secretary, (Comrade Robert Mugabe) two Vice-Presidents and Second Secretaries. The unified Party will be brought about by the merger of the existing Party structures. The Party congresses have been made the critical instruments for the ratification and eventual implementation of the unity agreement.



Through unity there will be progress, prosperity and development



Unity for National Development — Women the backbone

The agreement provides that in the interim i.e. the period between the signing of the agreement and the decisions of the congresses, the President and First Secretary, Cde. Robert Mugabe, shall create the machinery for the preparation of the implementation of the agreement.

Conclusion

What your leaders have done therefore is to lay the foundation of a new national unity. It is intended to be an *active* unity, which is to be brought into existence by an active, energetic and democratic process involving all Zimbabweans. This is intended to guarantee a unity which enjoys maximum participation and support. It is a mobilised unity. It must be strong enough to meet the justifiable demands that our people will make on it. It must be able to defend its gains against its opponents and enemies. It is a

unity for development! It must be proportionate to the vast tasks facing us. In the towns and cities and in the rural areas, the challenges are similar. In the urban areas we need *investment*, to produce *industrialisation*, to create *employment* and so to bring about *development* wherein there will be satisfaction and *peace*. In the rural areas, we face the same task that has confronted every transforming and modernising society: *Land Reform*. This is a complex and difficult task, it too will require *investment*, resulting in *productivity* leading to *employment* and *development*, consequently bringing satisfaction and *peace*. It is absolutely vital that a much larger proportion of the resources made available for this task, should be Zimbabwean. Our national capital must be more ready to commit itself to our economy. It must invest. Our wealth and our productivity should increasingly become owned by our own capital. Their profits should increasingly be paid to Zimbabweans. Our manpower must be made as expert and as trained as is appropriate. It must be used efficiently and fairly, without distortions based on irrational or personal considerations. This needs the democracy exemplified by a free and patriotic trade union movement interacting vigorously with patriotic employers. Diversity must be honestly faced up to, but unity of national purpose be maintained. It is this unified but democratic Zimbabwe which we believe can be achieved by the merger of PF-ZAPU and ZANU (PF). It is a unity which will ensure a country at peace. My vision of peace is not, as some may think, the peace of the graveyard. It is rather the peace of the garden, in which variety, activity and productivity, based upon human commitment and energy thrives.

It is our hope that this is a vision, which every wise Zimbabwe will share. Unless you do positively share it and involve yourselves in it, it will remain only a vision and not a reality.

All Party Issues — Are Security Issues

Address by the Secretary for National Security Emmerson D. Mnangagwa, Member of Parliament to the National Assembly of the Youth League, Gweru, 29th August 1987

First of all I would like to thank the Secretary for Youth and Minister of State (Defence) in the Prime Minister's Office for inviting me to your National Assembly as ZANU (PF) Youth League. My remarks to your Assembly shall be very brief. I will mainly highlight those major areas that concern the department of security.

I take it that as the National Assembly, your main task is to reflect over the resolutions that were drawn up by the second people's congress relating to the work of the Youth League. That is, what progress has been made in implementing the resolutions, what problems have been faced and you thereby make recommendations as to how best you can carry out those tasks set by congress.

Comrades, in my introductory remarks, I would like to point out that in the Youth, in you that is, we see the future. We have hope in the future. We see the future of the Party and the future of the revolution. For any revolution not to die, it must learn to bring up its Youth in the best traditions of the revolution. It has to mould its youth with the correct Political Education, with patriotism, the zeal and desire to carry out the struggle to its logical conclusion. It is only there that the revolution assures itself of its heirs who will uphold the banner of the revo-



**Cde. Emmerson Mnangagwa,
The Secretary for National Security**

lution and pass it to the coming generations. Correct political education and not intrigue and faction is the only true foundation for the future of the revolution.

The Youth, particularly many among you have had the opportunity to live through white settler colonial oppression, to fight this oppression and witnessed its overthrow.

There is no great privilege for a revolutionary that can surpass active participation in the actual revolutionary process. The opportunist on the other hand will always want to champion the cause after some people have already accomplished greater tasks where even some have sacrificed their lives.

Comrades, while the older generation fought (energetically also in their youthful stage) for the overthrow of the settler regime, it is the task of the Youth today to fight for the construction of a new society. The building of this new society can however, not be done blindly. It can only be done through the guide of a correct revolutionary theory, the theory of scientific socialism that has been chosen by our Party.

There have been a lot of misconceptions on the role of the youth in the party to the extent that in some quarters the Youth are referred to as the 'use' meaning that you can use them for anything you like. I can forgive the old generation, because in our days the anti-colonial days, the spirit of anti-colonialism was expressed in many varified ways, to the extent that the hard core anti-colonialist began to be known as *Makoronyera!* *Koronyera* — colonial, but the manifestation of their anti-colonial spirit bordered to near thuggery! The colonial era is now over, *Hatichadi Makoronyera!* *Tinoda vano rwisana neImperialism*. This requires more discipline. This is because imperialism is more organised and its battle front much more wide, covering the political, economic, ideological and even military



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where it goes to sponsor bandits, in Zimbabwe, in Mozambique, in Angola, in Nicaragua and all over the world. The anti-imperialist cannot be fought *namakoronyera!* As this is a much more deliberate and conscious struggle and in our case, this is combined with the struggle for building a new society. In a situation where Political Education is not taken seriously cliques and factions are bound to emerge within the party. Each of those factions strive to get control of the Youth and use them to factional, tribal or regional ends.

Comrades, you are really too young to burden yourselves with championing the 'cause' of a tribe or region. The cause for Zimbabwe is much more noble and honourable. The truth is that, with the development of science and technology, with the liberation struggle that has unfolded in this country and now the struggle for socialism that unites everyone under the banner of a scientific ideology, scientific socialism, the material and even the spiritual basis of a tribe is no longer there. What all this has created is the basis for a one Zimbabwe, one state with common aspirations for peace, progress and prosperity. This should be the dream that fires the imagination of the youth today and not that of a region or a tribe.

Comrades let me now turn directly to the role and place of security in the party and how it relates to the above.

Role and Place of Security in the Party

Security lies at the heart of all the activities of the Party. All party deliberations are by their very nature of security concern to the party. This is largely because the party itself is an organisation that is formed for the sole purpose of struggling to gain political power. When that political power is gained, that party organises people into power to rule and fall or realise their aspirations through building the society outlined in the party programme and ideology. Any deviation from the party line and programme means that the party will not realise its objectives. The task of security is therefore one of taking measures to protect and safeguard the party so that it is able to carry out its programmes thereby realising its objectives. Security means taking measures to guard against any deviation from the party line. It means taking measures to protect and safeguard the party leadership. It also means taking measures to protect party property. The tasks of security within the context of the party is therefore to check on:

- Adherence to the party line by leadership and general membership.
- Adherence to party discipline by party leadership and general membership.
- To guard against misuse of party property.
- To guard against embezzlement of party funds.

How does this take place?

For the party to be able to guard against all these, information is required on time. In many cases, for any security measures to be

taken, information is required even before the act of breaching party discipline, of misusing party property, of embezzling party funds and many others.

Party Line

How do we guard against deviation from party line?

In the first place, we must have a thorough understanding of what the party line is. The party has chosen scientific socialism as its basic guide. It is therefore of great importance that both the leadership and general membership understand what scientific socialism is. In our context the principles of scientific socialism are to be reflected in the basic party documents, i.e. the constitution, Congress Resolutions, Central Committee decisions and directives.

For the Secretary of security it is of prime importance that we have a thorough grasp of these Party documents. It is on their basis that we guard against any deviation from the Party Line. Party Line itself if incompatible with all negative 'isms' such as tribalism, regionalism, racialism, etc. irrespective of rank or level. The security officer should submit an immediate report on the manifestation of these tendencies. It is however the duty of every party member to guard against and report on these tendencies as they lead to the destruction of the Party.

Party Discipline

The mode of conduct of party members regarding Party life is also spelt out in the constitution. It is again the task of the department of security to see to it that all members of the Party, regardless of levels or rank adhere to party discipline. Regarding the programme of the Party it means that the tasks laid down by the Party are carried out as per when it is stipulated. Regarding party meetings, it means that the time for meetings is respected, Agenda is followed and all resolutions made by that meeting are carried out. What it means is also that what is discussed within a meeting or document produced by the Party remains a preserve of the Party. All Party Documents are to be kept in the Party Office.

Party Procedure and Regulations

A lot of harm can be caused to the Party Procedure if Regulations are not followed. Lack of adherence to party procedure results in the slackening of Party work, maladministration and finally breakdown of all Party Communication. The Secretary for security should always take note of all these irregularities and one of his best allies at the party office is the Party Administrator. These irregularities should always be brought to the notice of the Provincial, District, Branch, cell or Executive meetings where they are discussed and finally rectified.

You will notice that I am not talking of South Africa who is our major threat as a

country. I am talking of the fact that if it is not observed, leads to the downfall of the Party. The major organisation is internal decay. This is what we should actually guard before we can actually think in terms of standing up against South Africa.

Our Party is a mass Party. What this means is that in terms of membership it admits anyone willing to join. There are no rigorous measures taken to scrutinise any new member and there is no programme that is undertaken before one is admitted into the party. What we should seriously consider is that on joining the Party there are certain basic documents such as the Constitution which outline the rules and regulations of Party Life, that must be taught to the new members. As a mass Party we are faced with the situation that even members coming from other parties have joined the party and in some cases have assumed positions of leadership. Where they are no basic requirements on joining the Party what it means is that these new members, some of them now in positions of leadership, do not actually know party procedure and regulations and therefore cause a lot of confusion within the party. It is the task of the department of security yet again to take note and report on such tendencies. What the party requires at a National Assembly such as this one is to come out with a programme of basic requirements that must be made on joining the party. It also has to appraise seriously the progress that has been made in implementing congress resolutions and to highlight problems that have been encountered and make recommendations.

Party Property

It is the task of the department of security to report on any misuse of Party property. While the Party Administrator compiles this report on misuse of Party property, it is the task of the Secretary for Security to try and establish whether or not this is not deliberate and therefore aimed at disorganising the Party. In taking note of all these the best allies of the Secretary for Security are the people themselves.

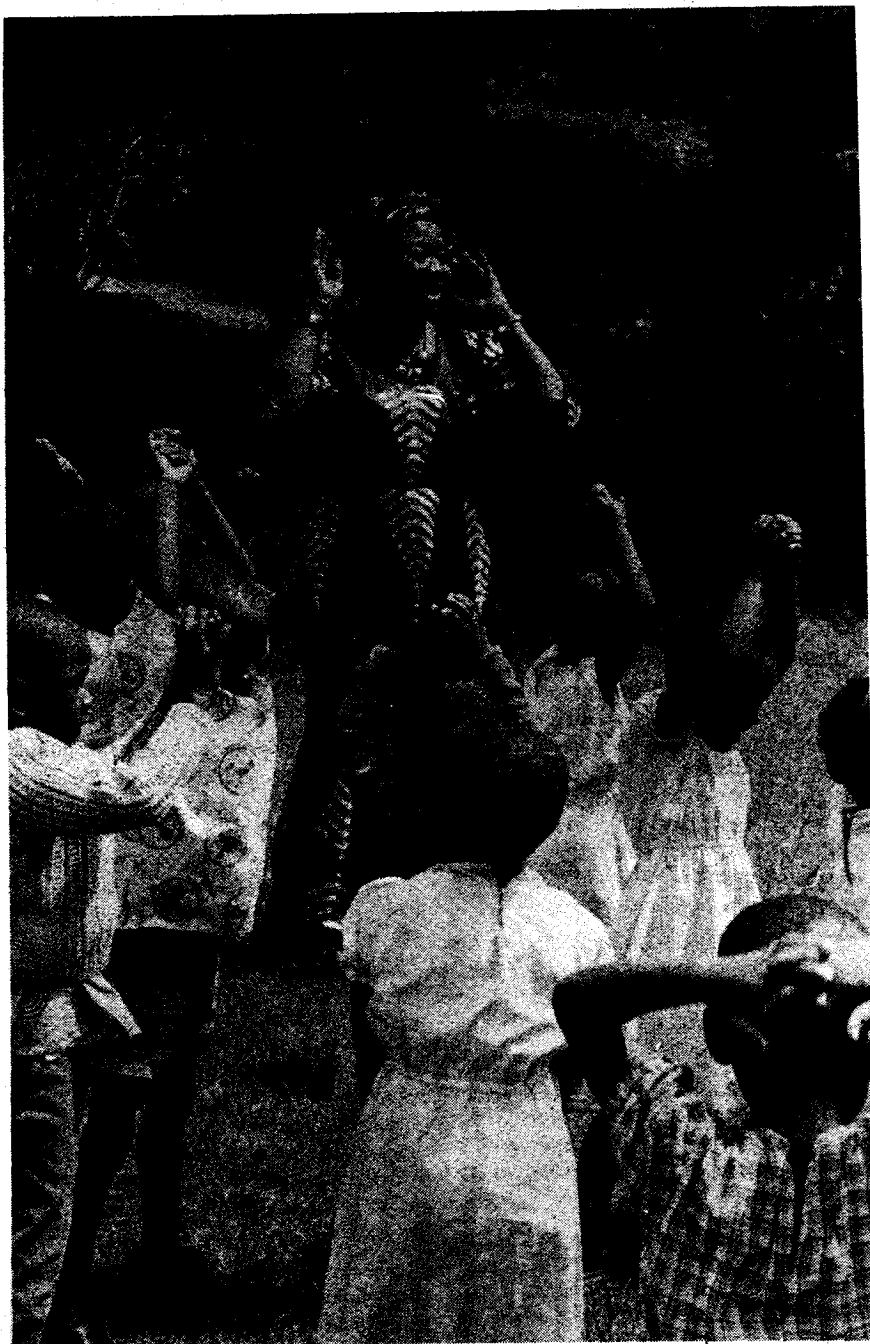
What I am really trying to bring out is that the work of security is found in everything that occurs in the Party. The task of security is one of taking note of anything that is detrimental to the Party and working out counter-measures before such an eventuality. What this means therefore is that the Secretary for security should create or establish cordial relations with both members of the Party in order to get any information detrimental to the Party.

These are my few remarks to your National Assembly. I wish you great success and hope that you will continuously guard against being used for tribal, regional or any other factional ends. Your future, the future of the Party and the revolution lies in scientific socialism as the revolutionary theory and guide to all actions.

Aluta Continua!

Child Survival and Development in the Frontline States

Charles Chikerema



Cde. Sally Mugabe, Executive Chairperson of the Zimbabwe Child Survival and Development Committee for the Frontline States and Southern Africa champions the cause of children under the threat of apartheid terrorism

Chaired by the First Lady Comrade Sally Mugabe, assisted by the Minister of State (Political Affairs) Comrade Naomi Nihwatiwa, as administrative secretary, the Zimbabwe Committee for Child Survival and Development in the Frontline States and Southern Africa has been working round the clock since last year, making preparations and co-ordinating arrangements for the March 1 to March 5 International Symposium by writers, artists and intellectual workers to be held in Harare, on Child Survival and Development in the region.

The objectives of the symposium are the mobilisation of international and continental support of artists, writers and intellectuals, for child survival and development not only in the Frontline States, but also in other states of the region. It is intended that the artists, writers and intellectual workers should use their elevated social positions and influence to help focus attention on the plight of the Children in the Frontline States and Southern Africa.

Expected to participate in the symposium are more than 100 writers, artists and intellectuals of international repute, including film makers, heads of state and known African international performers.

The symposium is being co-sponsored by the Zimbabwe Committee for Child Survival and the United Nations Children's Fund. The Zimbabwe Committee has also been working closely with the Pan-African Committee comprising top African artists,

writers and intellectual workers and a Zimbabwe representative.

It is important to note that the coming symposium is not the first of its kind to be held in Africa. The Harare event will in fact be a follow-up to the one which was held in Dakar Senegal from March 20 to March 23 in 1987. The symposium also falls within the Programme of the United Nations Children's Fund to mobilise academics to eliminate ill health from preventable causes in Africa.

The Dakar symposium a year ago came out with a *Dakar Plan of Action for the Preservation and Development of the African Child*, which called upon: "Those of us in Africa, who by our skills and creativity as artists or our knowledge and perception as intellectuals can contribute in various ways to social mobilisation for the preservation and development of the African Child, to resolve to act now by committing ourselves individually and collectively to a strategy of action".

The writers, artists and intellectual workers in the Dakar symposium resolved to seek the involvement of their colleagues in the task of taking positive steps to bridge the gap existing between: the unjustifiable and preventable high infant mortality rate in Africa and actions undertaken to combat the state of affairs.

- the existence of readily available and usable knowledge and simple techniques, on the one hand, and their actual use by communities on the other.
- the proclaimed intention of public authorities and effective action undertaken by these authorities in defence of the interests of the African child.
- disseminating information and ideas for the purpose of mobilising communities and societies for child care.
- making effective use of modern mass media techniques to broaden the scope and impact of messages designed to provoke awareness of child care requirements. In this connection it was agreed in Dakar to:
- produce a cycle of documentary films aimed at mobilising public opinion in favour of the preservation of the African child.
- produce television programmes and radio plays in each country in both local and international languages to educate and inform the entire population about preserving the life and interests of the African child.
- produce a series of records and audiotapes containing songs and messages promoting the cause of the African child, and to:
- publish books, pamphlets, newspapers and magazine articles, posters and handouts designed to contribute to the goals of social mobilisation.

The Dakar conference also set up a committee for purposes of liaison to facilitate the implementation of the Dakar Plan of Action for the preservation and development of the African Child, in collaboration with

UNICEF and the special UNICEF Goodwill Ambassadors for children's causes: Miss Liv Ullmann and Mr Harry Belafonte.

The liaison group was entrusted with the task of assisting UNICEF in establishing committees of artists and intellectuals to promote social mobilisation in the interest of the African child in each African country.



Africa's finest flower which South Africa is cutting down . . . for how long?

Pending the reconvening of another major seminar such as the one in March, the liaison group was to set up detailed plans for the establishment of an international Association or Foundation of African artists and intellectuals for the protection and development of the African child.

It was hoped that African Governments, African regional and continental organisations, UNICEF and other international bodies would help and facilitate the funding for the implementation of the Dakar Plan of Action for the African Child.

It is a foregone conclusion that most of the intentions and goals enshrined in the Dakar Action Plan will be upheld and improved upon in the March symposium in Harare. As already stated, men, women and children from all walks of life will participate in the March event. And as a result of that diverse composition the symposium will constitute a platform for a broadly based body of opinion on the topic of the survival and development of the child in the frontline states and Southern Africa.

As is clear from the Dakar Plan of Action the issue of fighting against preventable diseases is high on the agenda. This is also to be discussed at length at the coming symposium in Harare.

But due to the socio-political atmosphere in the Frontline States and Southern Africa the issue of the impact of the Apartheid regime's policies of destabilisation in the region will not be avoided.

The Zimbabwe symposium on the survival and development of the Child in the Frontline States and Southern Africa is most likely to take a hard look at the whole environment involving all aspects of life un-

der which the child in Southern Africa and the entire region is living. In this connection, issues of health, the use of modern technologies and nutrition for the advancement and development of the child in the region, will be viewed against the background of the war situation imposed by the policies of destabilisation of the racist South African government.

The position to link the fate of the African child in Southern Africa and the Frontline states to the overriding issue of peace and stability in the region emanates from the belief by many, including those from outside the region that millions of children in the Frontline States are reeling from the "impact of apartheid, destabilisation and warfare" being waged on the "children in Southern and South Africa", by the apartheid regime.

In fact not long ago, UNICEF produced a report entitled: *Children on the Frontline*, which left nothing to the imagination, regarding the blame which lies on the doorsteps of the apartheid regime for the inhuman atmosphere under which the children of the region are forced to be brought up.

The report says in its preface: "The situation of children in the nine countries forming the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, deserves more of the world's attention than it has received so far. Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa has been almost universally condemned, as have South Africa's military involvements and incursions into its neighbouring states. But the extent to which South Africa's policies of apartheid, economic disruption and destabilisation have seriously affected the lives, health and welfare of children in other countries of Southern Africa has been hardly reported upon, and almost certainly too little appreciated".

The report points out that although the impact of drought on Africa has been adequately publicised in most news reports and television programmes, the impact of war and

apartheid which are far much greater than that of drought and still intensifying was not receiving adequate coverage.

Papers in the UNICEF report established that the SADCC countries had a population of 70 million. It established that out of close to three and a half million births, some 750 000 children died before reaching the age of five and attributed a "significant percentage of this loss to the impact of the conflict" in the region.

"Angola and Mozambique have about a third of the children of the nine countries of the Southern Africa sub-region, but it is not only they who are affected.

"The state of the 15 million children under the age of five who live in countries bordering the Republic of South Africa is grave and getting worse. They are caught up in externally supported civil conflict and economic destabilisation, which they are too young to understand or counter", part of the report points out.

The danger of course exists of some influential forces in world affairs who wish to confine the burning issue of child survival to processes of health care in an attempt to avoid "politicising" the subject. But in many cases this is unrealistic because: "In areas of Southern Angola, and much of rural Mozambique vaccination programmes have been halted because of the security situation. Many health workers have been killed, wounded, maimed or kidnapped. The result of all this is that easily preventable diseases or curable illnesses are now taking a hideous and rising toll on the vulnerable age group of infants and children under five", the report says.

The UNICEF report papers point out that since 1982, 484 health posts (constituting 42 percent of the total) have been destroyed in Mozambique. The result of that was that by 1985, over 2 million people had been deprived of access to health care, with more than 300 000 primary school children being without places at which to learn because their schools had been destroyed.

On the economic front which cannot be separated from all efforts to bring health care to the child, the report points out that the "need to maintain abnormally high levels of security expenditure has adversely affected Botswana, Lesotho, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe."

The destruction of shorter and cheaper trade routes severely increased the freight bills of Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

A Mozambican Minister once told the author of how the MNR bandits that are sponsored by the apartheid regime embark on recruiting young children in order to work on them and turn them into terrorists from a young age.

This is another burden of the atmosphere of war imposed by South Africa onto the shoulders of the children in the region . . . that of turning them into killers when they

should be at school learning how to be useful to society as a whole.

When she opened the National Workshop on Child Survival and Development at the University of Zimbabwe on January 23 this year, the widow of the founder president of Mozambique, Comrade Graca Machel called a spade a spade in a manner that gave a foretaste of the goals and message the March symposium should achieve and carry.

She said matters regarding the survival and development, not only of children but of the human race in the region were happening in such a way that Africans were getting accustomed to untimely and preventable deaths as a normal course of their life process.

She raised a telling point when she pointed out the fact that in many cases those who advocated the confinement of child survival and development to the departments of health care and nutrition, were prepared to provide food and medicine for the African child, while furnishing the apartheid regime with arms of war to carry out acts of aggression and destabilisation that are killing the children.

The Executive chairperson of the Zimbabwe Committee on Child Survival and Development, Comrade Sally Mugabe said: "The silent emergency in which 13 000 African children . . . 90 of them being Zimbabwean children die, quietly, every day must be made into a LOUD EMERGENCY. We must say this level of waste of children's lives is totally unacceptable.



"This death toll is like 50 AIRLINE CRASHES EVERYDAY KILLING EVERYONE ON BOARD."

Yes! All aspects surrounding the survival and development of the child in the region will come under discussion and no doubt valuable and lasting contributions will be made from an array of impressive personalities, writers, artists and intellectual workers, following the footsteps of the Dakar Symposium which paved the way for the forthcoming Harare event.

But the tone and emphasis will shift because Southern Africa is in a war situation, imposed by the apartheid regime with the support of those who need the economic benefits that are being made possible by the apartheid system, which the United Nations has identified as a crime against humanity.

The death of children in Southern and South Africa, will be compared to "50 AIRLINE CRASHES EVERY DAY KILLING EVERYONE ON BOARD."

If a similar symposium could have been held in Paris while Hitler occupied France, nobody in their senses could have said: "Speak all you want about the French child, immunisation and nutrition, but do not politicise the issue by talking about the abuses of the Nazi war machinery!"

In the same vein the coming Harare symposium will appeal to the writers, artists and intellectuals to publicise the plight of the child in the Frontline States and Southern Africa, so that those with medicines and modern technology can come to the assistance of the child, who has become an endangered species in the region.

But the symposium will also seek to draw attention to the fact that apartheid is an unnecessary system which is contributing with wanton impunity to the systematic death of the Southern and South African child.

The symposium will appeal to the writers, artists and intellectuals to write a play for the child, to sing a song for its survival and development and to promote films in its favour.

But at the same time, the symposium will seek to win over the writer, the artist and the intellectuals to the struggle against the apartheid regime and to have them regard it as a preventable disease, which is afflicting not only Southern and South Africa, but the whole African continent.

It should not degenerate into a social occasion at which the writers, the artists and the intellectual workers will merely indulge in moral philanthropism, by spilling their guts out regarding the need to care for, to love, cure and feed the children.

Patriotism which is love for one's country also entails love for the lakes, mountains, the rivers and other physical features of one's country. Yet in reality, patriotism is best reflected in the hatred one has for those seeking to oppress one's country and people.


Likewise, deep love for the children, their survival and development in Southern Africa requires that society so organises itself to enable the provision of food, shelter and health care for the children.

But because of the peculiarities of the region, genuine love for the children should provoke universal revulsion against the apartheid regime as a social order to be destroyed for denying not only the children but the millions of humanity in the Frontline States and Southern Africa, normal conditions under which to grow, to survive and develop.



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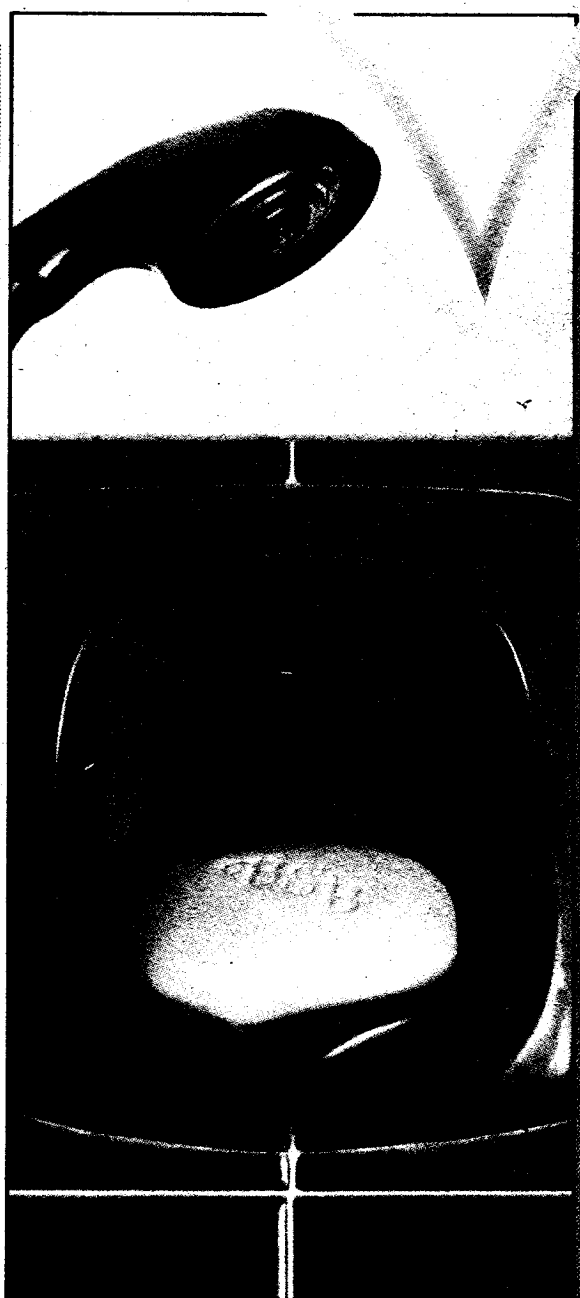
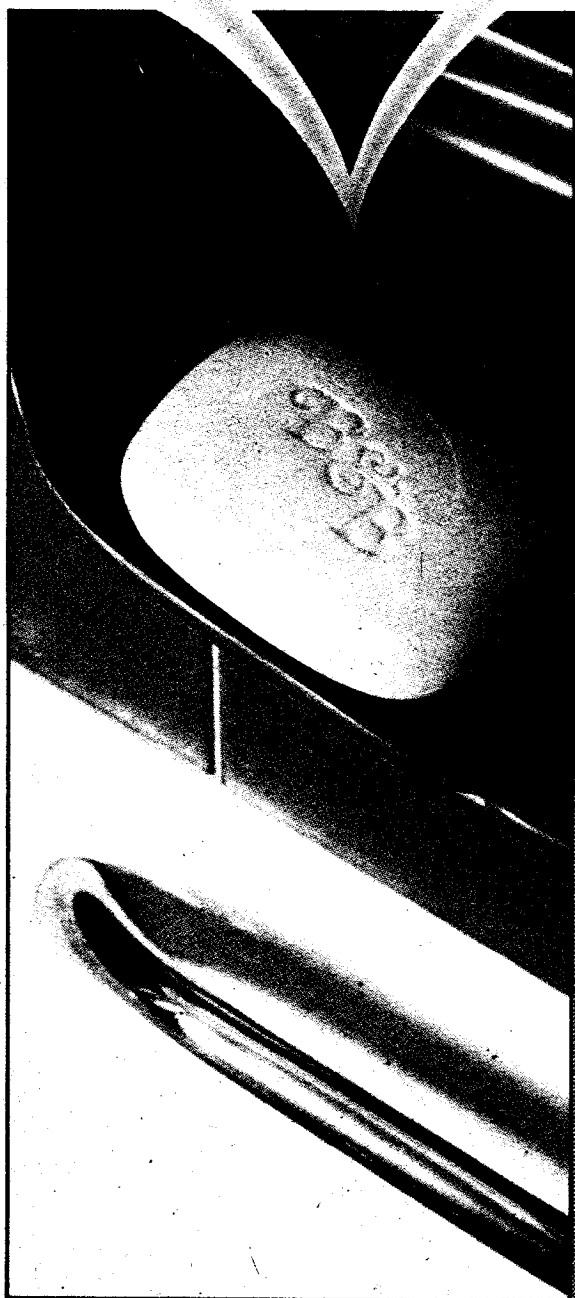
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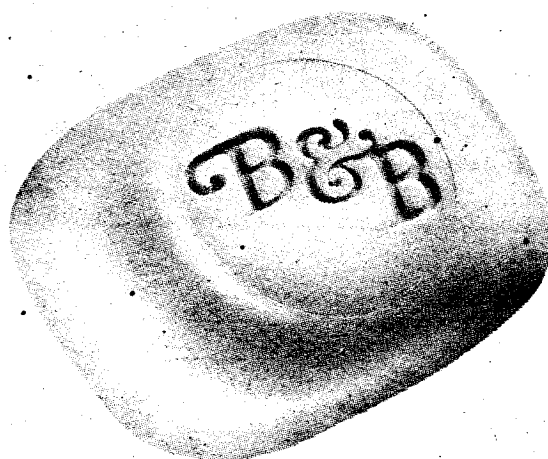
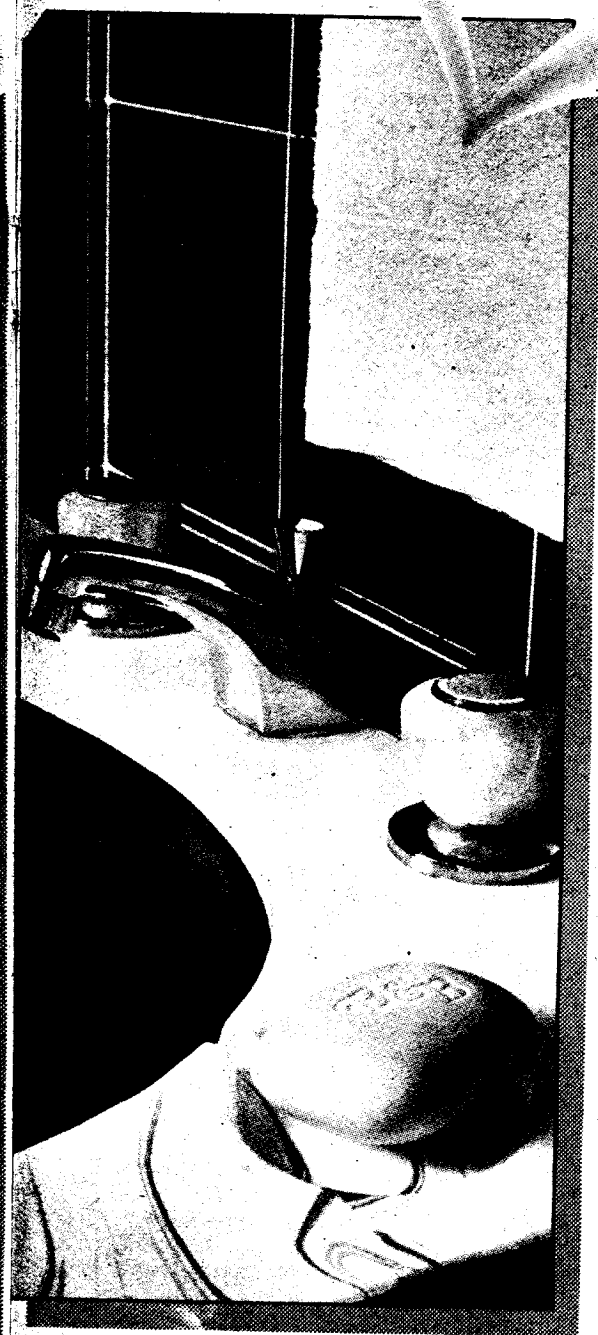
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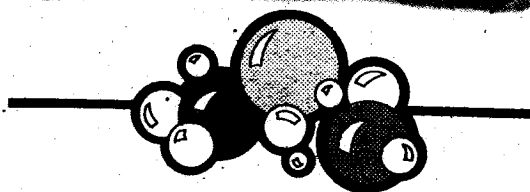
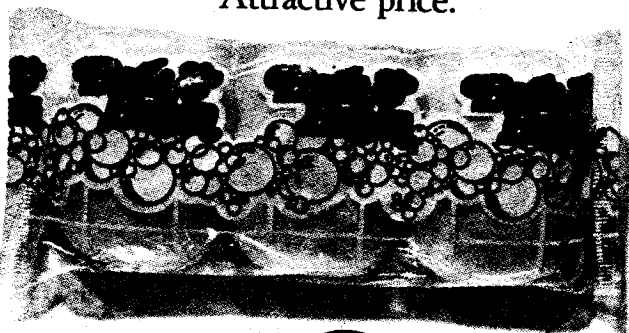


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Co-operatives Need Commitment, Discipline and Effective Management

By C.C. Mashiri

"The viability of a country's economy despite adequate resources and favourable domestic, regional and world markets, always depends on the determination of its people to achieve their highest possible performance", said His Excellency President the Honourable Robert Gabriel Mugabe at his inauguration as Zimbabwe's first Executive President on 31st December 1987.

In his characteristic eloquent style, our leader, who is not only a distinguished statesman and highly learned man but also one of Zimbabwe's most humble citizens made a very important request: "Hard work is what I call upon our entire nation to offer."

This call is addressed to all Zimbabweans, from Zambezi to Limpopo, from the economic giants to the emergent businessmen and no less to co-operatives which will play a decisive role in the socio-economic transformation to socialism.

It will be recalled that when the Government spelt out its policy on co-operatives at independence there was widespread enthusiasm resulting in the spontaneous formation of co-operatives, especially by ex-combatants who pooled their demobilization allowances to start new ventures. Some began operating bottle stores, supermarkets, grinding mills, farms, industrial and other various projects in both urban and rural areas.

By 1984 there were 1320 registered co-operatives in Zimbabwe, with a total membership of 94 000 in agricultural, industrial and collective ventures. While there was all this enthusiasm some co-operatives flourished and set for wider expansion, others collapsed because of alleged lack of sound financial and management discipline among the major causes.

Given the strategic role of co-operatives in the restructuring of the socio-economic relations inherited at independence on the road to Socialism, one could not but feel concerned as a patriot, to learn that as of Sunday, 10th January 1988, according to the ZBC TV news bulletin, of the 143 registered co-operatives in Chitungwiza only 20 are still operating. The high mortality rate was attributed to finance and administration. Other sources have talked of a considerable number of co-operatives being "liquidated" for similar reasons.

At a time when the nation is facing a serious unemployment problem, in fact, last year about 100 000 school leavers joined the

labour market and few of them secured or will manage to secure jobs until another flood of school leavers joins them by the end of 1988. As seen in the figures for co-operatives registered up to 1984, a strong 94 000 membership meant employment for a sizeable number of people who will otherwise be unemployed. Going by those figures, one feels that something has to be done to ensure the viability of co-operatives in view of the staggering projected unemployment figures for the immediate future.

Policymakers are aware of the grave consequences of unemployment socially, economically and politically. But with Zimbabwe's population growing at its alarming rate of 3 per cent and mortality falling due to improved health standards, one gets justifiably worried, without being alarmist, however, to learn that the country's population is poised to reach 9.4 million in 1990, 12.5 million in the year 2 000 and to double by the year 2 015.

According to experts, the effect of population growth on employment would be that by the year 2 000 about 218 000 school leavers would be competing for 43 000 jobs!

Apart from co-operatives, I do not know from where such massive investment will come to provide employment for our offsprings, given the unreliable international economic environment, the uncertain geopolitical situation in Southern Africa (i.e. taking into account South Africa's destabilisation tactics aimed at scaring away foreign investors), unpredictable damaging drought spells and objective economic conditions.

As I see it our future lies in self-reliance and an egalitarian system but with the reported problems facing co-operatives despite the enthusiasm, the relative mood of complacency is most likely to make our struggle to socialism much longer and harder. It is, therefore, in that context that one calls for a timely solution to these problems.

The problems of finance and management are not insurmountable. If the various sectors involved were committed to getting over the problems, our co-operatives would be very viable. Indeed where there is no financial discipline, there is no business. Also mismanagement can ruin a business that took several years to build, in no mean time, to the frustration of innocent members and the community.

One would, therefore, expect the law enforcement agencies to ensure swift action wherever allegations of someone dipping his

hands into the gravy surface. Although some claims can be groundless, in most cases, where there is smoke there is fire.

As for the mismanagement, it is my submission that intensive training of managers of co-operatives is very imperative in view of the possible harm that will result in the absence of sound management skills. A business venture, particularly, a collective entity, calls for unwavering integrity from all partners no less from those who handle cash and keys for the projects. There is therefore a need for the ruthless culling of corrupt, incompetent and lazy managers. Those who embezzle funds must not be allowed to get away with it, because that will have a disincentive effect on hard workers and sincere managers. Deterrent measures are very exemplary and the courts should not be lenient with those who misappropriate collective funds.

At the same time the private sector could play an important role in the training of co-operative personnel as well as giving them sound advice on the viability of their ventures. There is a challenge on the business and commercial bodies to assist the Government in the provision of training.

Problems of securing loans from financial institutions because, they have no confidence in co-operatives, have also been cited. Whilst urging the private commercial banking sector to change its attitude to viable co-operatives, I would urge the quicker formation of the planned Co-operative Bank, which should ease the burden faced by emergent co-operatives in getting start-up finance and capital.

The success of co-operatives will, however, depend on the level of supervision by Government, which has a big stake in these self-reliance activities. There is need for effective monitoring of the activities of co-operatives, including ensuring that their accounts are in order and that they are properly and regularly audited. If Government passes a blind eye on this, then it has no one to blame if the list of liquidated co-operatives gets longer than those still operating.

As I see it, the adoption of socialism through Marxism/Leninism by the historic Second Congress of ZANU (PF) in 1984 was a very progressive move but every cadre must know that the attainment of Socialism in Zimbabwe will take time and calls for hard work, commitment, discipline and skilled management.

Top Leadership of Tanzania

The top leadership of the ruling party of Tanzania (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) held elections of its last Congress in October, 1987. Comrade Julius Nyerere, Chairman, in his speech marking the start of the elections, urged the electorate to elect:

- a) Socialist leaders who would work tirelessly to strengthen the Party, and maintain Tanzania's policy of Socialism and Self-reliance.
- b) Leaders who would be able to promote national unity and justice.
- c) Leaders who would be able to bring justice to all by the implementation of the Arusha declaration.

His speech made elections to NEC to be competitive and stiff. It meant the delegates were going to re-examine candidates who had been screened by the lower Party organs. It also added an additional criteria to those to be elected to NEC. At the end of it all, a good number of prominent people, including Ministers and Deputy Ministers lost their NEC seats to new-comers. Those elected were entrusted to elect members of the Central Committee.

Members of the Central committee

The new line-up of the Central Committee members is as follows:

Chairman	— J K Nyerere
Vice Chairman	— A H Mwinyi
Secretary General	— R Kawawa
Defence and National Service	— J Warioba
Education and Training	— K K Mwira
Social Services	— G Mongela
Political Propaganda and Mass Mobilisation	— D Makwawago
Foreign Affairs	— S A Salim
Administration	— A O Mohamed
Finance	— A Tandau
Organisation	— Col Moses Mnauye
Control and Discipline	— Paul Sozingwa
Economic Affairs	— Dr Salmin Armour

Two incumbent members of the Central Committee have not been elected. They are Seif Shariff Hamad, the powerful Chief Minister of Zanzibar and Cleopa Msuya, Minister for Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning.

Afghan Settlement this Spring

Kabul (APN). Can 1988 become a year of long awaited peace for Afghanistan? This question naturally arises today, what with the current flurry of activity on the diplomatic scene concerning the Afghan problem.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Comrade Eduard Shevardnadze began the year with a working visit to Afghanistan. Meanwhile US Undersecretary of State Michael Armacost made a trip to Pakistan. Soon Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the UN Secretary General is to visit Kabul and Islamabad. And the world public is becoming increasingly hopeful that the next February, round of Afghan-Pakistani talks, to be held through his offices in Geneva can also be the conclusive one.

By and large, the situation at the Geneva talks is taking shape favourably. The entire package of the requisite accords has already been agreed upon in effect. The contacts which have existed of late between the Soviet side and representatives of other states bear out the fact that there are good international prerequisites for settling the situation around Afghanistan and for ending interference in its affairs from without. And this in turn will make it possible to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan within a 12-months period, concerning which there

exist full understanding between Moscow and Kabul.

Describing the attitude of the US Administration to the latest developments around Afghanistan, an official White House spokesman stated several days ago that a situation has taken shape which gives certain cause for optimism. However, when asked when American aid to the anti-government forces would be brought to an end, he replied that that matter had not been decided, and that as soon as the date for the start of, and the timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops were precisely established, other matters would be settled quickly.

As far as the "date and timetable" are concerned, it is sufficient to take a look at the documents that have already been signed out at Geneva. According to them, the pledge to cease outside interference, the guarantors of which the USSR and the US will be, is to go into effect sixty days after the signing of the accords. The American side has agreed to be a guarantor and, by implication, to halt its aid to the armed groupings engaged in hostilities in Afghanistan against Kabul.

It is when the pledge in question goes into effect that the Soviet troops withdrawal is to begin. If the Geneva accords are signed on March 1 (and, by all indications, the Af-

ghan side intends to strive for this), May 1 could become the initial date for the withdrawal. There is a good reason for the two-month lapse, namely, Islamabad has to be given time to dismantle the guerilla bases on Pakistani territory.

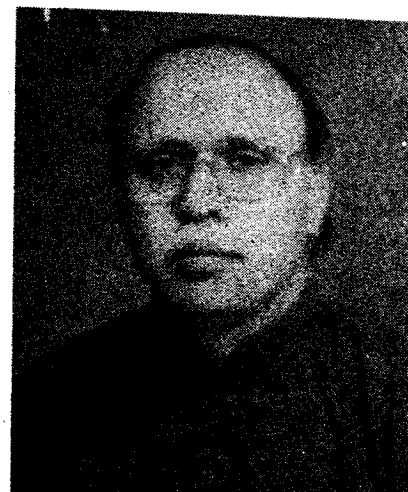
In Short, the problem lies not in the date of the Soviet troop withdrawal, but in the date American aid comes to an end.

The new political thinking has persistently hinted ways and means that would rule out a military solution of the problem. Thus emerged draft political settlements of the Afghan problem. The essence of the national-reconciliation policy consists precisely in the fact that the belligerents can shape the future of Afghanistan not through armed struggle but through involvement in nationwide political dialogue, decision-making and the administration of the country.

The positive changes in the international situation have also boosted hopes for a settlement of the Afghan problem this year. Yet another interconnection cannot but be seen reflecting world tendencies, the national-reconciliation policy being pursued by Kabul is in turn exerting a favourable influence on the international climate. Both in and of itself and as a possible model for a settlement of other regional problems.

Israel Must Withdraw from all Occupied Palestinian Lands

*Pakistan Ambassador to Zimbabwe
Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui*



In recognition of the suffering masses of the Palestine, the Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui was chosen by the Diplomatic Corps in Zimbabwe to deliver a speech on the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The selection of Pakistan is a tribute to that country's steadfast support to the PLO in its struggle against the Zionist regime. Pakistan has a long history of support to anti-colonialist movements in Asia and Africa. It has played an active role by supporting Liberation Movements in Southern Africa and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Zimbabwe News publishes below the full text of the speech delivered by Comrade Tayyab Siddiqui:

We, the members of the international community have assembled here to demonstrate our solidarity with the people of Palestine; to re-affirm our support to the just and legitimate struggle of the Palestinians, and to reiterate our conviction and commitment that the Palestinians are entitled to a homeland of their own, under the leadership of PLO — their sole and legitimate representative.

The Palestinian tragedy began in 1917 when the then British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour signed a letter to Lord Rothschild. It was a short letter — only 118 words to be precise, but it changed the course of history and stripped the Palestinian nation of its land and identity. The letter, commonly known as the Balfour Declaration, promised "A national home for the Jewish people", in Palestine, and as Arthur Koestler put it. "One nation solemnly promised to a second nation, the country of a third".

This year has a unique significance for the Palestinian people. Seventy years ago, the Balfour Declaration sowed the seeds of the Palestinian problem. Forty years ago, the Palestinian home-land was forcibly rent asunder. Twenty years ago the remaining territory of Palestine was occupied by Israel.

During the last 40 years, the Palestinians have endured hardships and made sacrifices that have no parallel in human history. Five million Palestinians have, since lived in a

state of exile, disowned, displaced and dispossessed, and some as aliens in their own home-land.

The Palestinians, however, undaunted by the overwhelming odds, are continuing their struggle, regardless of the cost and consequences persevering in the belief that a people's war cannot be defeated as it is a just and legitimate war which must triumph over forces of evil. This is the lesson of history. This is the law of Nature. Palestinians will ultimately prevail and justice shall triumph over tyranny, as it did 7 years back in Zimbabwe and earlier in other parts of Africa.

We who are assembled here are proud and privileged to be the members of free nations. But freedom like peace ought to be indivisible. It is and should be the right of every human being and not the exclusive preserve of the few. Palestinian, Namibian or South African are not the members of a different species of human race to be ineligible to have a country and identity of their own. It is not ordained by Nature that they should continually live under foreign bondage or reduced to an alien status in their own lands or in a state of exile and wandering. They have a rightful claim on us to help them to break these shackles, to achieve self-determination and live as free citizens of this world, like any one of us.

The significance of November 29 should not be merely as a day of rededication to this belief but, a day of soul-searching and stock-taking; of asking ourselves as to how we can contribute further to the Palestinian cause and how we can, both individually and collectively, accelerate and intensify the struggle for liberation which the heroic Palestinians are so gallantly carrying out.

This day, therefore, calls for a renewed pledge from all of us to redouble our efforts and to discharge our debt to the enslaved and dispossessed humanity. The Israeli inhuman practices of systematic persecution and oppression inside the occupied territories aimed at the annihilation of the Palestinian people and its policy of creeping annexation through Jewish settlements designed to obliterate the Palestinian identity and culture, are a light on the human conscience and a

challenge to all freedom loving nations.

The Palestinians over the last 40 years have amply demonstrated that their indomitable will, and undaunting resolve for self-determination will not be weakened, whatever the pressures. We must sustain them in this resolve and in their armed struggle — for attainment of their inalienable rights.

The world will have no peace and this generation claim no credit despite having achieved incredible technological advances and scientific miracles, unless inalienable rights of the people of Palestine as those of Namibia and South Africa are fully restored. Middle East will continue to live in violence and terror until the international community, if true to its lofty protestations of peace and security, will bend all its efforts and energies to force Israel to withdraw from all the occupied Palestinian lands including Al-Quds and to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their right to self-determination and statehood in their home-land. The holding of an international peace conference with participation of PLO on equal footing may contribute to these objectives and deserves vigorous international support.

During last 40 years of Palestinian struggle, the PLO has, despite few reverses, recorded increasing political and military successes in its drive for freedom and liberation. The dawn of freedom may not be on the horizon, but the blood of the Palestinian martyrs have dealt a blow to the dark forces of repression and dispossession and victory is inevitable.

History has seldom experienced the kind of brutality and terrorism, like the one inflicted on the poor and helpless Palestinian refugees. While the massacres at Sabra and Shatila camps during Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 were the most inhuman and barbaric in the history of human conflict, unfortunately the Palestinian masses continue to be the victims of degradation, humiliation, starvation and killings, in the camps in Lebanon.

So while today we demonstrate our

Continued next page



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Chairman Arafat's Message to the Palestinian People

*The 23rd Anniversary of the
Revolution*



The Palestinian Revolution is traditionally dated from Jan. 1, 1965, when Fatah, the leading group within the PLO, launched its first announced military operation inside occupied Palestine.

Israel must withdraw Continued

solidarity with our Palestinian brethren, it has to be on two levels. We must support and stand steadfastly with those Palestinians carrying out armed resistance both from within and outside the occupied land, to recover their lost territories. But equally important is our manifestation of solidarity with the Palestinians in the camps, where innocent women and children are living in a state of siege and enduring sufferings that had made their lives a long night of terror and torment.

At this critical stage of Palestinian struggle there is no better and effective weapon than unity. Unity both within the Palestinian ranks, and among the forces in support and solidarity of this struggle. The aspirations of the Palestinians have eluded them not only because of the machinations and conspiracies of the imperialist and Zionist forces, but also through dissipation of resources in internal and regional conflicts and fratricidal wars among those who are and should have been in the vanguard of the Palestinian struggle. In pursuance of our commitment to the cause of Palestine, and to promote freedom and peace for all, let us close our ranks and allocate our resources in the fight against our common enemies, Zionism and Apartheid — the twin cruel and perverse systems, repugnant to the laws of God and Crime against the laws of Nations.

Long Live Palestine Revolution

Revolution until victory

On January 1, this year, the 23rd anniversary of the Revolution, Chairman Arafat delivered an important and wide-ranging speech against the background of the most sustained Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation to date.

In accordance with tradition, Chairman Arafat gave the new year a name — "Amal-Bushra," the Year of Glad Tidings.

Addressing the Palestinian people, Chairman Arafat opened his speech with an assessment of the continuing uprising in occupied Palestine:

"We celebrate today the national day of our people, ushering in the 23rd anniversary of our gigantic Palestinian Revolution, in the midst of this atmosphere of epic steadfastness and this tremendous people's revolution unleashed by our Palestinian masses and their militant revolutionary vanguards in all parts of Palestine, where these masses are carrying out with unprecedented daily heroism magnificent battles and confrontations against the fascist, terrorist and racist enemy.

"In every confrontation, you are creating a miracle and making out of the sacred stones of Palestine a national weapon, by which you frighten all enemies. You are transforming your blood into swords confronting the enemy's military machine. You are unfolding your Revolution and tremendous people's uprising like a wave upon wave in all parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Galilee, the Triangle and the Naqab joined in the political confrontation of the "iron fist" which has been transformed by the enemy into a savage and criminal war, its seventh, against us. It is a war in which the soldiers of the occupation army and the racist settler gangs are practicing the policies of murder, terrorism and blind fascist oppression. By such policies, the enemy thought that it could frighten and ter-

rorise you into putting an end to this explosive revolutionary vigour. Its attempts are thwarted by the firm popular will and deep belief which are filling Palestinian hearts and by your generous readiness to make sacrifices.

"The enemy, with all the internal and external sources of its power and despite the unlimited support it gets from its allies in the US administration, stands incapable in the face of this belief and will not be jeopardised and will not rest until occupation is eliminated forever from our sacred and holy land.

"Destiny puts on the shoulders of our struggling people on our masses filled with belief, on our militant cadres and on the shoulders of the courageous young generations the duty of achieving the great historic results of our national struggle of wresting the freedom of the homeland and the people, as well as of life and pride for our people, children and women in our holy land.

"This historic national achievement is the inevitable result of the struggle for civilisation against the Zionist racist fascist enemy. The march of our people and our Revolution is with the current of history in accordance with its rational dialectics. Undoubtedly we shall be victorious.

"The youthful Palestinian body throwing stones in the face of iron, bullets and bombs, the Arab Palestinian spirit kindled with pride inside the occupation prisons, detention camps and cells; the raging masses, women, children, men and the aged, are creating today a new history and a bright dawn. With this determination and belief they are confronting oppression and terrorism. With this epic steadfastness they are challenging the Israeli racist and fascist occupation.

"The young Palestinian generations are carrying with worthiness today the banners of the uprising. They are executing the decision of the Revolution to carry out resistance which has been mixed with their

blood. Our people is making great sacrifices and losing great martyrs, so that history will be recorded with characters of light and fire, so that our blood will defeat the sword. Verily, the Palestinian blood has overcome the Israeli sword".

Chairman Arafat went on to praise the heroic resistance of the Palestinians in Lebanon: "At the same time, our masses in Lebanon are engaged in the battle of defending the refugee camps, which are proud in their steadfastness, resistance and belief in the Revolution and glory, and which are also filled with the ardour of martyrdom in Serian and in the South. The Palestinians in Lebanon are defending the dignity of the Arab nation, as well as fighting in the forward post and positions of our Arab Umma (nation) against the Zionist enemy and its agents. With their starvation, suffering, plight and ordeals; with their determination, resolution and belief, they are carrying out an extraordinary epic of steadfastness in the face of the siege imposed on them for the third consecutive year. The chains of this siege have been broken and destroyed by this strong determination and this renewed heroic epic of our people and masses; of the children of the rocket-propelled grenade who are making, with the children of the sacred stones of our homeland, this creative revolutionary harmony in the unity between blood and destiny, the unity of the people and the masses, the unity of the Revolution and the revolutionaries, the unity of our people — all of our people, both inside and out-

side our occupied territories — under the banner and leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, its sole and legitimate representative.

"It is the destiny of our people to be the spearhead which constantly resists and from among whose ranks the heroic Mujahedeen men, women and children emerge. They are Mujahedeen fighting alongside our beloved allies, the Lebanese, together with all their national and Islamic forces who are steadfast in the forward trenches confronting the Zionist enemy . . . fighting on many fronts, conducting in south Lebanon against the Zionist enemy the most magnificent and successful war of attrition, following the epic of the siege of Beirut. At the same time, they are fighting to defend their refugee camps in the face of certain treacherous forces.

"This is taking place while we are confronting the American-Israeli scheme, in which some Arab forces have been involved, which aims, in service of Israel and its masters, at striking at the Palestinian Revolution and the Palestine Liberation Organisation liquidating the Palestinian presence in Lebanon and partitioning Lebanon into sectarian mini-states, thus paving the way for the Balkanization of the region and throwing it into the darkness of sectarianism.

"Against this background, we can understand the meaning of the steadfastness which has been shown by our masses and revolutionaries through their great sacrifices and

the blood which has not stopped flowing for a moment in confronting the conspiracy and the conspirators, who have been defeated on the rock of Lebanese-Palestinian brotherhood, defending the unity of Lebanon, its territory, people and institutions.

"We have to follow up the work with our brothers in the Lebanese national and Islamic movement and with all good forces in Amal in order to put an end to the tragedy of the refugee camps. We have to reinforce the Lebanese-Palestinian unity in order to be able to confront the Israeli enemy which is entrenched in our land and in order to continue to teach it lessons such as those we have, and are at present, giving it."

Chairman Arafat hailed the vanguard role of our masses in carrying our cause forward, strengthening our Revolution and militant march, defending our existence and national entity through the unity achieved by our people at all levels — cadres, communities, individuals, organisations and groups — inside and outside our occupied Palestine under the banner of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. "Our people embodies with its firm and real unity its lofty revolutionary ideals and patriotic consciousness," he said.

The Chairman said that the blazing furnace and the blood that has been flowing through Palestinian martyrdom, the pains of the injured and the sufferings of the detainees, were strong incentives for this great people and represented the climax of revolu-

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tionary contribution amidst the difficult Arab situation. "They give the example and the hope that the Palestinian dawn is rising, that new winds are blowing so that the banners of the Revolution, the banners of Palestine, flutter on the walls, minarets and churches of Jerusalem. This is the will of the masses which cannot be defeated," he said.

Chairman Arafat emphasised that the intensification of the Zionist policy of repression against our people, which includes siege and encirclement and wide-ranging military campaigns of killing, reveals the extent of the dilemma into which the enemy leadership has fallen — that leadership which has lost its balance and nerve in the face of Palestinian steadfastness, firmness, Jihad and heroism.

Addressing the Palestinian people on behalf of the PLO, chairman Arafat said: "This is yet further proof that your achievements and those of your Revolution have foiled the wars, invasions and occupation of the Zionist racist enemy. We have pledged before you and your martyrs that we will not rest, that we will march together on the road of revolution and resistance and that we will enhance all means of steadfastness and persistence so that our people will be able to realise its inalienable national rights, which will not be a donation or a grant from anybody, but have to be wrested by suffering and blood. It is our sacred and legitimate right to establish our independent free state in the territory of our Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital."

The Chairman called upon our people to intensify its struggle and determination so that the enemy, which is heavily armed with the American weaponry of death, will realise that the flesh of our children is stronger than its iron, that this Revolution has been launched to triumph and so that the invaders and their masters will comprehend that there will be no stability, peace or resolution in the region except the Palestinian resolution and the Palestinian peace.

Chairman Arafat said that the whole world was looking with great appreciation and respect upon the heroic resistance with which our people was confronting the enemy. He said with this resistance, our people were creating a new dawn in a year of sad anniversaries of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. These are the 70th anniversary of the detested Balfour Declaration, the 40th anniversary of the Partition Resolution, the 20th anniversary of the defeat in June 1967 and the fifth anniversary of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

"Due to your heroism and sacrifices," he told the Palestinian people, "all our friends and freedom-lovers the world over, the peoples and states of the Non-Aligned Movement, the African countries, the Islamic countries, the countries of the socialist system headed by the friendly Soviet Union, China and other friendly states, forces and organisations, have stood by our side and by the side of your struggle and just cause."

"These positions of support and solidar-

ity which our struggle is receiving have not only strengthened it, but also intensified the isolation of our enemy. The whole world now knows that Palestine is the sole homeland of the Palestinian people and that Jerusalem is our sole capital. Our sacrifices will not be in vain. The martyrs who have fallen, whether inside or outside Palestine, have written with their lives and blood the glory of our sacred homeland in the confrontation with the Zionist enemy which receives unlimited support from its American strategic ally on all military, financial, economic, political and diplomatic levels. You have unmasked the reality of this enemy, its also false democracy. You have unmasked the biased US administration which makes a lot of noise about what it calls the rights of the Soviet Jewish citizen, while it ignores and forgets, at the same time, the human rights of the Palestinians."

In his speech, Chairman Arafat paid tribute to the spirit of the great Arab-Islamic leader, Saladin, on the occasion of marking the 800th anniversary of the Battle of Hittin, in which he defeated in Palestine the crusader invasion of our land. He compared this spirit with the kindred spirit of these times, where we are entering the 24th year in the life of our Revolution. Chairman Arafat described the revolution as "the longest revolution in contemporary history, filled with rich experiences of armed, political, popular, diplomatic, scientific and cultural struggle, by which our people was able to create the Palestinian miracle, the miracle of the phoenix which rises from the furnace of fire, stronger and more resolute to change the political map in the region, and . . . to establish the Palestinian factor as . . . the most important factor in the region."

Chairman Arafat stressed in his speech the important changes taking place in the enemy's society and in the structures of its party institutions, as well as in its progressive and democratic forces: "Many voices previously unheard are speaking out against the oppression and terror carried out by the enemy and are expressing themselves on the side of the national rights of our people."

He continued: "We are confident that the Jewish democratic voice of the democratic progressive forces will always be able to break through the siege imposed by Zionism on reality. Through this voice, they will also be able to express their solidarity and the seriousness of their endeavour to seek a just peace. I wonder how many violent shocks the occupiers need in order to comprehend that their attempts to stamp their occupation of our homeland and people with the seal of holiness, will definitely be transformed into a curse they cannot escape? Have not the events of the current uprising brought you closer to reality? Or will they pass unanswered and unheeded as was the case after the invasion and siege of Beirut, the Sabra and Shatila massacres, the war of Lebanon and its casualties?"

"Therefore, while thanking those noble-minded people who have discovered the fas-

cist racist terrorism and have witnessed it being practised against our people, we call upon them to escalate their struggle against this darkest mentality which not only aims at liquidating and eliminating our people, but also at kindling the spirit of racism and fascism stained with the blood of our people."

"This mentality will have dangerous consequences for the situation of struggle from which no one, neither the victim nor the victimiser, will be saved. Therefore, I make my appeal: "A just peace."

Concerning the Gulf war, which is entering its eighth year, Chairman Arafat said that Iraq was defending the eastern gate of the Arab nation: "This war is against the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, against the peoples of the Arab and Islamic nations and against the Palestinian cause. The continuation of this war threatens the interests of all the peoples of the Third World. The only beneficiaries of this war are Israel and those standing behind it."

Chairman Arafat stressed the importance of putting an end to the Gulf war as soon as possible. The Islamic, non-aligned and international initiatives, including United Nations Security Council Resolution 598 accepted by Iraq, were the only means of solving the problems between the two countries, he said.

Chairman Arafat added that the current escalation in the Gulf, including the deplorable events at Mecca, threatened the security and states of the region. It further harmed the Islamic Umma and all its issues, at the core of which is the central cause of Arabs and Moslems alike, namely the cause of Palestine. He reiterated his previous appeals to the Iranian leadership to accept the good will initiatives in order to save the lives and blood of Moslems.

The Chairman expressed pride that our Palestinian Revolution was able through continuous mass and arduous armed struggle to overcome the lean years, during which the enemies of our Revolution, whether Zionists, American imperialists or their lackeys in our area, thought they would be able to liquidate the Revolution and the Cause. "However, your Revolution and your Palestine Liberation Organisation came out much stronger, firmer and more experienced in this Year of Shining Hope (1987)," he said.

Chairman Arafat said that the current uprising in occupied Palestine in support of the refugee camps in Lebanon had crowned the miracle of Palestinian survival and resistance in that country. "In addition," he continued, "we achieved our national unity at the Palestine National Council held in Algiers, in which all the active forces of our people participated and which was supported by all currents of our militant masses."

He added that some thought they were able to falsify the will of our people and to impose on it liquidationist solutions of our cause. This manifested itself in such forms as functional division, joint administration and civil administration, the attempts to create alternative leaderships, replacing the

elected municipalities, and dubious developmental projects. "Some are so insolent, Chairman Arafat continued," as to claim that the reason behind the uprising is the need to improve the living conditions of our people in our occupied land. They forget that our people is not a commodity to be bought or sold, nor can it be bribed or cheated, nor can its will be falsified. "The distribution of roles in this conspiracy against our people, in which some Arab parties are involved, is ugly and dangerous and done with the joint covert and overt support and planning of the Zionist enemy and all the other evil forces under the leadership of the current US administration, which has persecuted our Revolution and organisation and closed down our office in the United States. Having unmasked the roles played in this ugly conspiracy, we should realise that the moves against our people, Revolution and March will continue under various forms and changing methods, especially as the conspiracy has been foiled during this round by the steadfastness and sacrifices of our people."

Chairman Arafat emphasised that while our Revolution has always had a Palestinian face and an Arab heart, it has international dimensions and extensions: "Thus we have played a distinguished role in the Arab region. Similarly, we have played a clear role with our sincere friends in Africa. This explains our continued position of support, through all means, for the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin and Central America; and especially our position with our comrades in the same trench in South Africa and Namibia, who are facing

the Racist Pretoria regime, the twin-brother of the racist Zionist Tel Aviv regime. We have also adopted a position of absolute support on the side of the African front-line states against South Africa and its racist aggression."

On the question of nuclear disarmament and international detente, Chairman Arafat expressed his support for the agreements made on nuclear missile reductions at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, as steps towards a comprehensive international peace to cover all peoples, including the Palestinian people.

The Chairman said: "Because our Revolution understands the dynamic historical process and interacts creatively with it, it has been able to achieve political and diplomatic victories at the United Nations, especially the forceful resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly and most recently the UN Security Council. We abide by all the resolutions of international legality. However, let it be understood that legality is an indivisible whole and is not composed of one or two resolutions. Based upon this, we have given our approval to an effective international conference under the auspices of the UN, with the participation of the permanent member-states in the Security Council, as well as of all parties concerned in the conflict in the region, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with the other parties, in order to realise the national rights of the Palestinian people, and not merely to record them, and on the basis of international

legality and the resolutions of the Arab summits, especially the Fez summit of 1982, which were reaffirmed at the Amman summit, despite all attempts to obliterate them."

The Chairman stressed that in seeking a solution, we depend above all on our own strength and capabilities, supported by those of our Arab Umma and of our friends and freedom-loving and honourable people the World over. He called upon the leaders and peoples, governments and non-governmental organisations of our Arab Umma, to come to the support of our people in all their capacities: "The Arab Palestinian people is resisting with its bare hands the Zionist fascist onslaught, defending its land and yours, its holy places and yours, its honour and your honour. It is looking for your support. Don't let my people down. Your brothers in the Palestinian Revolution everywhere need your support and solidarity. I am confident that you will not hesitate to extend this support and solidarity."

Finally, Chairman Arafat forwarned our Palestinian people that "it is our destiny to be steadfast in the forward trenches of confrontation in defence of our holy places, homeland and Arab nation. It is our destiny to carry the torch in order to light the way to Jerusalem, which has been paved by our martyrs. It is our destiny to be the forward force of resistance of our Arab Umma. Let us continue on this road with determination and belief, during this new year, 'Aam al-Bushra,' the 'year of glad tidings.'

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Bulgaria Facing the Realities

"Restructuring — the work of the party, the work of the people". This was the title of the report to the national conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the first to be held since 1978, which was convened on January 28–29 in the capital of Bulgaria — Sofia.

Some 3 200 delegates represented the nearly 1 million party membership. The main speaker was the secretary general of the CC of BCP Comrade Todor Zhivkov and his report is the most important event in the life of the party and the country after the last 13th Congress of the BCP.

The conference strike a balance of what has been achieved to map out the basic problems and tasks in the further implementation of restructuring in socialist Bulgaria. It is logical development of the new strategic course to a qualitatively new approach, which, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, was promoted by the new realities in Bulgaria and in the world.

The Conference stated that at present, when the party and the country have entered the crucial period of the elaboration of a new concept of restructuring in order to answer these realities the main thing is to build up in all ways the rates of transformation and shift the centre of gravity to purposeful organisational, ideological and political work in all directions of domestic and foreign policy.

Dwelling in detail on the new model of socialism in Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that it was developed on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, that it is in line with the Communist ideals and is based on the strategic aim to turn Bulgaria

into a highly advanced and civilised socialist country. The concept is an open system. It will be further developed, added to and specified when the conditions change and with time. "We need approaches which would make our society dynamic, open and sensitive to everything new and capable of adopting itself quickly and painlessly to changing conditions, of fully developing its abilities and possibilities, and of fully revealing its advantages".

A bowal section of the report was devoted to the problems of restructuring the style and the methods of the work in the party itself. It was stressed that the party cannot supersede either the elective bodies of self-government communities.

About 30 delegates took the floor to participate in the deliberations afterwards.

The conference adopted a final resolution that outlines the following basic trends of further transformation of socialist society:

- Achievement of highly advanced modern socialist state by considerable raising the material, social and cultural standard of living on the basis of diversification of socialist property and self-management.
- Establishment of new bodies of state management — both in economic and territorial aspect to create a united technological infrastructure. In 1988 only, 75% of capital investments in production will go to technological innovation.
- Specific importance should be attached to development of trade, health care, culture and law.
- Creation of a new system of individual earnings based on profitability and experience.

Elections to be held for managerial posts and administration.

- the authorities should not oppose the formation of independent societies and groups of people lest they do create anarchy and chaos.
- From now on the role of the party in the society to be based on strictly political approach.
- A mandate system will be introduced in the party. From the top elective offices in it — the secretary general of the CC of the BCP, down to the secretaries of the grassroot organizations should be held for two consecutive terms at the most or, as an exception for three terms. This is a policy of prompt personnel rotation in the entire party, the Central Committee and politburo included.

On the international arena the resolution stressed the need of:

- Accelerated promotion of integration with socialist countries in all walks of life.
- Diversifying the cooperation with western companies and corporations.
- Cooperation with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America should be approached entirely in a new way to match the real capabilities, traditions and mutual interest.

The conference deemed as necessary to pursue with greater vigour the promoting and developing of everything that makes it possible to get rid of stagnant phenomena, to speed up democracy in society, regarding this as the principle condition for direct involvement of broad masses of working people in restructuring, a major condition for social and economic development.

Consumer Council Report

With no enough fertile land to grow food and no jobs, people become desperate. Fathers suffer the indignity of having to beg. Mothers suffer the shame of having to sell themselves in order to survive and on the other hand, children have to steal to stay alive.

However, the world has enough food for everyone. But not everyone has enough food. Too much food produced by the poor, feeds the animals eaten by the rich. And vast amounts of land in developing countries produces cash crops for the industrialised world.

Consumerists and other food experts, are convinced that when some people go hungry it is not food that is in short supply — its justice. The causes of hunger today do not as in the past, lie in food shortages. In fact, the causes have to do with the way in which food production and distribution is organised at national and world level.

Although drought, soil erosion, desertification, deforestation and in general, the destruction of the ecological balance, undoubtedly help to bring about food crisis, but in most cases, famines also have economic and social causes.

In other words, hunger is the product of unjust distribution of food at all levels, whether locally or internationally. Consumer movements worldwide/including our national consumer body have always been working for economic and social justice for all consumers. Perhaps there is no other area than the food area where what consumer activists say and do, is so directly linked to the question of life and death, to survival or extinction.

Food on its own, is a complex issue; it includes for example, additives, adulteration, hormones, pesticides, nutrition, diets, labelling, marketing, fast foods, packaging,

food trade, agri-business, hygiene, overconsumption, vitamins, contamination, seeds, food for special groups such as baby foods, irradiation and food safety.

We all know that eating is a vital function of every human being. It is the first basic need that must be satisfied to preserve and develop life. This is evidenced by the fact that a large part of the consumer's income is spent on food and this is the item most frequently bought by consumers.

Food, together with water and pharmaceuticals is also regarded in the United Nations Guidelines for consumer Protection as an area of essential concern. Food is a subject the International Organisation of Consumer Unions (IOCU) has worked on since the very beginning, and it has remained crucially important and relevant ever since.

The food area has never lost its relevance

in the global consumer contact, though the problems which consumers are facing in this field differ according to the grade of development each country has achieved.

Consumerists worldwide, consider sufficient food a fundamental consumer right and they have been lobbying to their national governments and international institutions such as FAO to support all possible efforts to assist food-deficit developing countries to attain a substantial degree of food self-sufficiency.

Food is important, both for the health and the economy of the population. It is also an area of concern to all consumer organisations around the world, by ensuring that the provisions of nutritional food adequate quantities and at reasonable prices to all the peoples of the world be accepted as a fundamental goal of national and international food programme.

Many of the changes in society we experience these days including the real falling in income will very easily have unfortunate consequences for the food area. In addition, changing structures in the food industry, merging of firms resulting in fewer and bigger industries producing our food, changing production and shop patterns all influence the quality and price of food not without negative consequences.

Food experts also say economic practices, international trade restrictions and elimination of market forces have also hampered the free flow of goods in the food area thereby leaving the economic burden to be borne by consumers.

For some years now, International Consumer organisations including FAO, have been working towards the elimination of food cartels and the promotion of expanded world trade in foodstuffs. At the same time however, efforts should be made to ensure adequate and stable supplies of foodstuffs through appropriate stabilisation and support scheme.

In some parts of the world, especially developing countries, more emphasis has gone towards bigger and bigger chain of supermarkets, and the sale of food has been centralised making it difficult for the more vulnerable consumer groups (single parents, young children, elderly and handicapped) to get their daily food easily.

We are certain that there is more than enough food in the world. But, in some countries, it is exported or stored because people are too poor to pay for it. The most disturbing feature is that enough food is available in those very countries where so many people are forced to go hungry.

For example, in Mexico, where about 80 percent of children in rural areas are undernourished, we are informed, livestock consume more grain than the entire population — livestock that is then exported to the USA to be made into hamburgers. And in Bangladesh, after the 1974 floods, four million tonnes of rice remained in storage because people could not afford to buy it.

In most cases, the hungry countries are not the ones which are the most densely populated, or which consume the most. But these are the countries where the poor are not given access to land to grow food, or money to buy it.

In some Third World countries, Africa in particular, since the late seventies, human suffering has never been so great. Even for those lucky enough to find jobs, they think themselves very fortunate by selling food, cleaning shoes or running errands, but unfortunately their reward is only a pittance. And having two meals a day is a luxury they cannot afford.

When consumers in developed world sit down to a meal which includes tea, coffee, chocolate or bananas, they will be eating food produced in the poor countries, sometimes at a great cost in human suffering.

These foods are for export and are called cash crops. The general practice among Third World countries is that when a country does not have mineral resources, these cash crops are the only means of acquiring foreign exchange and without it they cannot buy machinery, import oil or vehicles.

So those growing cash crops are often encouraged, a move which has left many people suffering especially peasant farmers in the rural areas.

Even today, some developing countries export millions of tonnes of food to Europe or other countries, while the local people are literally starving. For example in the disastrous famine in the Sahel in the early 70's, food exports actually increased while hundreds of thousands of people starved to death.

In most parts of Africa, land is used to grow groundnuts. This is then shipped to Britain and fed to cattle. To us, this system is clearly wrong and unjust.

And contrary to the popular belief in Europe, the World is not at peace. In some countries like Mozambique, Nicaragua and Angola or even the Middle East, aimless wars kill and maim thousands each year. In these war zones, fields are ravaged, homes looted or razed and thousands are left homeless. As a result, people then starve to death.

In addition, more complicated factors to do with the world recession and the enormous debts of some countries cause hunger too. This is because in the last decade, the

policies of the International Monetary Fund (the body that gives loans to poor countries), has pushed thousands of the poorest to the brink — and continues to do so.

Consumerists argue that there is enough land to grow food but who it feeds, what it is used for and what it grows are the problems. Hunger in the Third World cannot be attributed to droughts and floods because these are not new. In fact, in the Sahel region of Africa drought is practically part of the environment cycle and in Asia or Latin America, everyone knows that floods will occur regularly. In short the weather cannot be totally blamed for people going hungry.

However, although food aid is a lifesaver in many situations, but in other cases, it does more harm than good. Food aid therefore is not the long term solution to hunger — in fact it does not help the poor to grow the food where it is needed.

The World Commission on Environment and Development says in its report that many developing countries do not give sufficient support to their farmers and in some cases, the food-growing small farmers have been neglected.

The report, which is dubbed 'Our Common Future' adds that most developing nations need more effective incentive systems to encourage production, especially of food crops. This can be furthered by land reforms and by policies to protect vulnerable subsistence farmers, pastoralists and the landless. In the case of Zimbabwe, our greater prosperity will depend on integrated rural development that increase work opportunities both inside and outside agriculture.

According to the UN Guidelines for Consumer Protection, Governments when formulating national policies and plans with regard to food, they should take into account the need of all consumers for food security and should support or adopt standards from FAO and WHO or other generally accepted international food standards.

Governments should maintain, develop or improve food safety measures, including, inter alia, safety criteria, food standards and dietary requirements and effective monitoring, inspection and evaluation mechanisms" concludes the Guidelines.

Consumer movements believe that in a world that can land men on the moon, transplant hearts and make test-tube babies, therefore one death from hunger is a scandal. The fact is nobody should be allowed to go hungry because the world has enough food for us all.

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PARASTATALS

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

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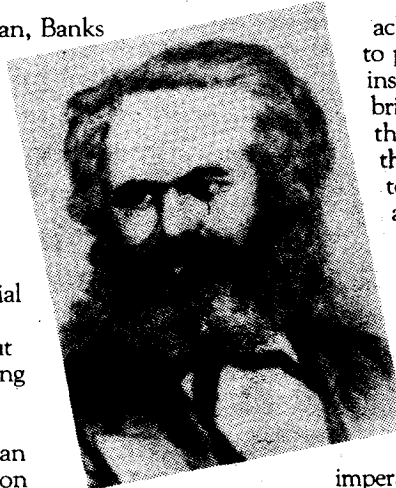
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