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REBUILD ZIMBABWE

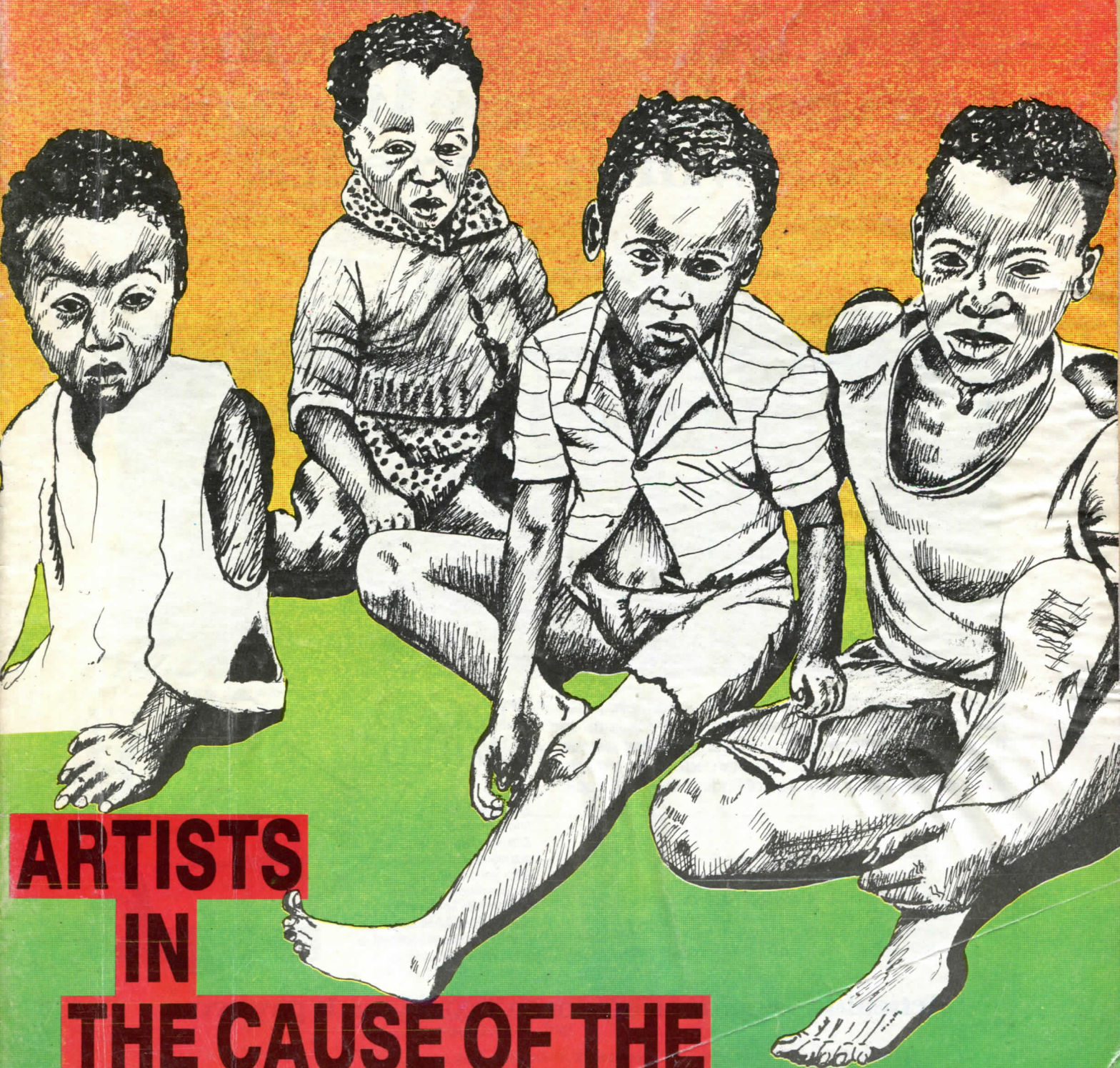
Zimbabwe News

Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

Department of Information and Publicity, 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare
Vol. 19 No. 3 April 1988 Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

70c (incl. sales tax)

DO NOT LET THE FLOWER WITHER



**ARTISTS
IN**

THE CAUSE OF THE

CHILDREN



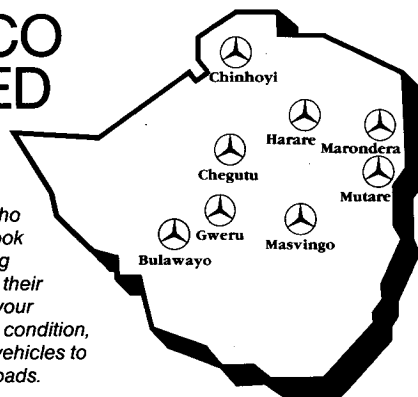
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Unity — A Weapon for Progress

The history to unite the Zimbabwean nationalist political parties dates as far back as the late 1950s.

At the merger of the African Youth League and the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia in 1957, Comrade Joshua Nkomo assumed leadership to challenge the Rhodesian white minority regime that completely excluded African participation and representation on grounds of race.
... page 6

No To The Killing of Innocent Children

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... Page 8

Ex-Combatants Receive Decent Reburial

Mashonaland East is one of many provinces in the country where the remains of our fallen heroes and ex-Zanla Combatants have been reburied. Most of the Districts where this was necessary have witnessed the reburials in what we call local Heroes Acres. Burials have taken place in places like Wedza ... Page, 20



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

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EDITORIAL

Unity in Diversity

The road to unity is difficult and hard. It is also long, winding, and tortuous. A nation cannot be united in a day, a decade, a generation, or even a century. Some of the older nations in Western Europe, in the Americas, or in Asia, are still not united after many centuries and several bloody wars. For example, there is no unity in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, although that nation ruled a large empire in the world, and gave constitutions to many nations. The Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland are in open revolt, while the Scottish and Welsh nationalists are also demanding autonomy for their regions, and protection for their culture and language. Reports in the press show that even the super powers, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, have constant ethnic conflicts within their borders, showing that they have not solved the nationality question. The founder of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade V.I. Lenin, devoted a lot of time to this question, urging his government in 1920 to seek unity in diversity. He thought toleration of different cultures, languages, and traditions within one nation should be seen and used as a point of strength for the nation, not weakness.

The young nation of Zimbabwe has started its long journey on the road to unity. The first requirement is a tolerant and wise leadership. In Zimbabwe, we have this in the President, Comrade Robert G. Mugabe, with the support of the Vice-President, Comrade Simon Muzenda, and the President of ZAPU, Comrade Joshua M. Nkomo. Comrade Mugabe has shown exceptional qualities of leadership. He led this nation to the glorious day of independence on April 18, 1980. He has united the army, consolidated the national economy, and forged the current unity between ZANU and ZAPU. Furthermore, his style and method of work is to consult all interested parties to an issue, and seek a broad consensus. His office at State House is like a court yard where everyone comes to speak his mind without hinderance or fear. The campaign being waged by some Western European embassies in Harare that President Mugabe is set on the road to dictatorship and intolerance is both unfounded and ill-

founded. These false and baseless generalisations do not come from our well-wishers — they come from those who have been consistently opposed to our young nation, and to our progress. Fortunately, we have proved them wrong in the past, and we will prove them wrong again in future.

Our unity is based on the fact that we accept one nationality of Zimbabwe and one loyalty to our President and our constitution. We accept and even welcome the fact that we have two main tribes, the Shonas and the Ndebeles. We also have several smaller tribes within our borders such as Venda, Tonga, Ndaou, Shangaani etc. Among the Shona-speaking we have several dialects, such as Manyika, Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, etc. The Different cultures, languages and traditions are accepted and welcomed in the new political order of Zimbabwe. We are pleased that since the signing of the unity agreement there has been a sense of great relief among all our people, and relaxation of all cultural tensions. The Ndebele-speaking people feel free to express themselves fully and publicly in their own language. Even the small tribal communities such as the Kalanga, Tonga, Venda etc are encouraged to express their own culture, and speak their languages at home, in schools, and on public radios. The cultural diversity of our people is a point of our national strength. What we are seeking is a unity of national purpose behind clearly defined principles.

It is inconceivable that any single delegate to the forthcoming Congresses of ZAPU and ZANU can vote against unity. The unity accord has been explained to all our people at joint public rallies addressed by Comrades Muzenda, Nkomo, Nyagumbo and Msika. All our people have warmly welcomed the accord. Therefore the Congresses being held by the two parties this month should meet in a spirit of joy and satisfaction, and ratify the accord without a single voice of dissent. It is a great moment of supreme political achievement for the young nation. Indeed, a firm foundation stone has been laid for our new nation. Every patriotic Zimbabwean should build upon it in his or her own way. We have come a long way; but we still have an even longer way to go.

Promoting Child Survival is our Duty



The President Comrade Robert Mugabe

It is a singular honour for us that Zimbabwe is hosting this very important Symposium on Child Survival and Development in the Frontline States, and Southern Africa, and that once again the eyes of the world are focused not only on Zimbabwe but also on this region. The participants at this Symposium, I notice, include writers, artists and intellectuals. The primary objective to be achieved is to mobilise this high voltage of creative energy represented here for child survival and development within the context of the Frontline States and Southern Africa.

This is not the first international gathering we have held in Harare on matters related to survival of people in general and children in particular within the regional context. In 1986 we hosted the Non-Aligned Movement Conference which spent a great deal of time and energy on matters that affect the survival and development of this region and its people of all ages. The following year, 1987, we were again proud to host the International Book Fair at which writers and artists also spent some time on the development and education of our children once more within our regional context. Later that year, we hosted the International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa, and I had the pleasure and honour of addressing that gathering.

Diverse Disciplines Together

However, we must ask ourselves whether this conference is different from all the others. What is it that we are doing differently this time? The difference perhaps lies

in the level of participation, for we have here a genuine cross section of people of conscience and action. I notice, Madame Chairperson, that you have been able to bring together First Ladies, Ministers, political leaders, civil servants, painters, sculptors, musicians, film-makers, writers and intellectuals to deliberate on this very important subject as equal participants. You are to be commended for this achievement of breaking down, albeit temporarily, societal barriers of status, protocol and idiosyncracies for the sake of the survival and development of our children.

You have charged people of diverse disciplines, professions, and other persuasions, with a singular mission: to work out practical ways of confronting the scourge of high child mortality rates occasioned both by natural, but preventable causes, and the equally preventable inhumanity of man to man.

Action Now

I notice that, at the National Workshop on Child Survival and Development held at the University of Zimbabwe last month, you were able to bring together Ministers, civil servants, painters, sculptors, musicians, writers and workers. This is also something new. You charged these diverse disciplines with a singular mission: together to find out the best ways in which we should confront this scourge of child mortality as members of a community, as a nation, as a region and as one international community. We all have a sacred duty to assure the survival and prosperity of our children and, hence, of future generations. This assignment suggests to me, Madame Chair, that we should no longer be content to see sportsmen sitting

in their own clubs talking about apartheid in sport. We can no longer be content to see lawyers sitting in their own specialist conferences drafting resolutions or analysing the laws of a fascist regime. We should no longer watch or listen to pediatricians cataloguing the horrors of child mortality in specialist journals that are unreadable to everyone else. These efforts, though well intentioned, no longer suffice, if they ever did. What is now required is action.

The challenge now is how to pool our resources and energies in tackling the emergency and vital task of saving the children; providing them with their inescapable requirements such as food, shelter, clothing, education, medical care, and an overall decent life. What is needed is the building of the foundations of a more humane socioeconomic environment that will replace the existing deprivations.

Our own modest efforts towards this end here in Zimbabwe since Independence perhaps deserve a passing mention in the present context. In 1982, 83 of every 1 000 infants born in Zimbabwe died from ill-health before their first birthday. Two years later, the infant mortality rate (IMR) had been reduced to 79 per 1 000 live births. The estimate rate for 1987 is 60, placing Zimbabwe among the lowest Infant Mortality Rate category in Southern Africa.

The child mortality rate (i.e. of those under five years) was dramatically reduced by 50% within a few years, from an estimated 12-13 deaths per 1 000 just before 1980 to 7 deaths per 1 000 by 1982. The 1987 estimate is very likely to be even lower when we finally get the figures. Remarkable progress has been made in the field of health, since Primary Health Care (PHC) was chosen as the most effective strategy for improving the health status of the population, especially in the rural areas. In 1982, 25% of the one-year-olds were fully immunized. The percentage increased to 48 in 1984 and 67 in 1986. An 80% full immunization coverage has already been achieved in the two major cities of Harare and Bulawayo and also in Chitungwiza. Zimbabwe will undoubtedly reach Universal Child Immunization (UCI) by 1990 at the latest.

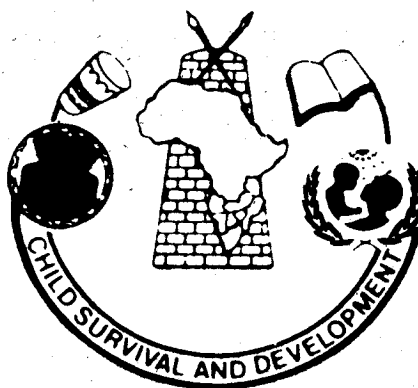
By 1986, 64% of rural mothers knew how to prepare and use an oral rehydration salt solution for the treatment of diarrhoea at home compared to only 15% in 1984. Some 8 000 Village Health Workers have been trained since Independence and are now key players for improving the health status of rural Zimbabwe's children and women. The percentage of infant deaths due to complications during delivery and from neo-natal tetanus has also been reduced as a result of

the upgrading of the skills of traditional midwives. We are determined to do more.

The Method is the Challenge

People of different disciplines and persuasions can help a great deal in this struggle. The challenge is that this symposium has been deliberately designed to bring together artists, writers, intellectuals, policy-makers and others who rarely sit down together, because we have come to the rude awakening that the masses of our nation and of the world can be mobilised only when the need for such mobilisation is conveyed authentically and forcefully as a collective cultural necessity. Political jargon alone will not do it. Scientific precision alone will not do it. Philosophical discourse will not do it. And certainly charity has not done it, even though we have received some of this. As promoters of culture, you are being confronted with a special message: children are dying needlessly of preventable diseases, among other things. How that message is communicated in song, film, sculpture, the written word, is the challenge you face.

How effectively can you communicate the excruciating pain of a child dying of diarrhoea when the salt, sugar and water solution to prevent that death is there but the par-



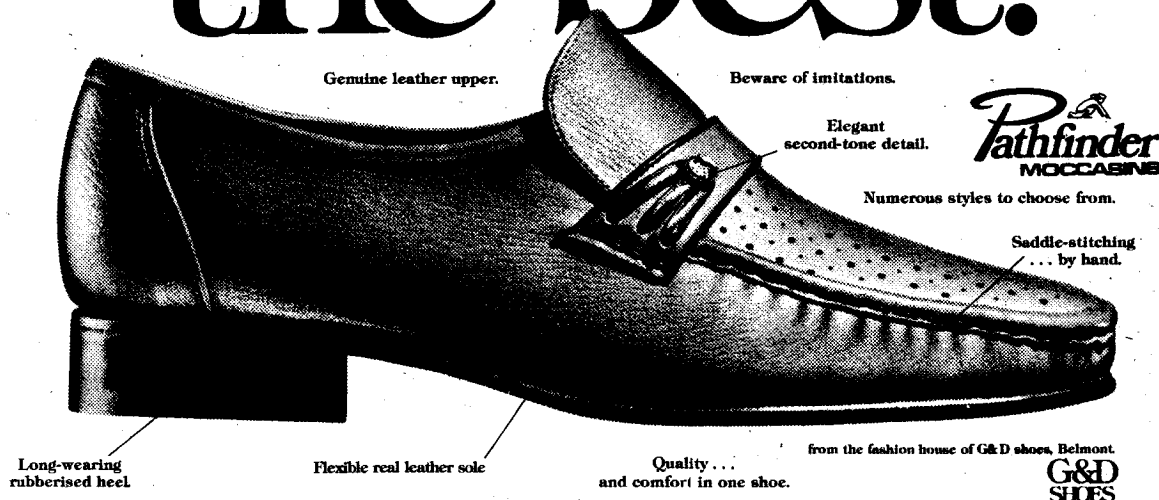
ent does not know how to make and use it? How effectively can you communicate with a village or extended family that is torn apart because of conflict born of superstitious belief in witchcraft as the cause of disease. And can you capture with your paint brush or lyrics, the silent emergency of a mother too weak to mourn or bury her own child because of hunger in a refugee camp which has been created by disruption of food production due to the destabilisation activities of the apartheid monster in our region. The challenge here is that of communicating in order to rouse the world's conscience so that effective action is taken against apartheid and its destabilisation activities.

The scourge of apartheid, its destabilisation activities and bandit wars, lead to a diversion of resources from child-oriented welfare programmes to defence and other protective measures. In other words, within the geopolitical context of the Front-line States and Southern Africa, child survival and development are inextricably bound up with the prevailing political and strategic currents in this region. Any efforts at child survival and development, which ignore or seek to underplay these factors, will yield only ineffective and irrelevant solutions. We need only look at the two most affected states in our region, Mozambique and Angola. The largest death toll recorded for infants under five is due to disruption of agricultural production and delivery of essential services in these countries.

The challenge for you writers, artists, policy-makers, politicians and intellectuals is not only to understand these casual relationships but also to communicate them as part of the message for promoting Child Survival and Development in Southern Africa.

It is my hope and wish that your deliberations in plenary sessions, workshops, field visits and, indeed the musical galas, will make these challenges more real to you so that you can as the Bible tells us, "Write the vision, make it plain upon tablets so he may run who reads". □

Only the best.



Pathfinder
MOCCASINS

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SHOES

Who is Who in ZAPU — the Leaders



President Mugabe, signs the Historical Unity Agreement with the ZAPU President Comrade Joshua Nkomo watched by Comrade Banana sitted in the middle

As we move closer and closer to unity, we need to know more about the people we are uniting with. Below are the names (and their positions) of the ZAPU leadership.

Patriotic Front — ZAPU Central Committee and National Executive

National Executive

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Dr. J.N.M. Nkomo | President. |
| 2. J.W. Msika | Vice President. |
| 3. W.H. Mabhena | Secretary General. |
| 4. N.C.M. Nyashanu | Deputy Secretary General. |
| 5. K.M. Mano | Treasurer General. |
| 6. N.K. Ndllovu | National Chairman. |
| 7. R.G. Marange | National Organizing Secretary. |
| 8. J.L. Nkomo | Executive Secretary for Publicity and Information. |
| 9. R.P. Nyandoro (Director) | Executive Secretary for Transport. |
| 10. E.D. Ndllovu | Executive Secretary for Political Education. |
| 11. S.J. Nkomo | Executive Secretary for Foreign Affairs. |
| 12. N. Zikhali | Executive Secretary for Youth Affairs. |
| 13. Mrs M. Makwavarara ... | Executive Secretary for Women Affairs. |
| 14. Dr. I. Nyathi | Executive Secretary for Security. |
| 15. Adv. S.K.M. Sibanda | Executive Secretary for Legal Affairs. |
| 16. Dr. K.L. Dube | Executive Secretary for Education. |
| 17. A. Masawi | Executive Secretary for Tradition and Culture. |
| 18. L.G. Madiye | Executive Secretary for Public Relations. |
| 19. M. Chinamasa | Executive Secretary for Commerce and Industry. |
| 20. Mrs R.L. Chinamano | Executive Secretary for Welfare Services. |
| 21. Dr. S.U. Sakupwanya ... | Executive Secretary for Health Services. |

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 22. M.M. Bhebe | Executive Secretary for Mines. |
| 23. J. Padzakashamba | Executive Secretary for Construction. |
| 24. K.B. Bhebe | Executive Secretary for Agriculture. |
| 25. N. Moyo | Executive Secretary for Economic Planning and Development. |

Deputy Executive Secretaries

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 26. S.K. Vuma | Deputy Executive Treasurer General. |
| 27. H.S.K. Mazendame | Vice National Chairman (Acting). |
| 28. S.D. Malunga | Deputy National Organizing Secretary. |
| 29. Mrs A. Masuku | Deputy National Organizing Secretary. |
| 30. B. Hollington | Deputy National Organizing Secretary. |
| 31. P. Chilimanzi | Deputy National Secretary for Publicity and Information. |
| 32. W. Dhlamini | Deputy Executive Secretary for Transport. |
| 33. D. Mangwende | Deputy Executive Secretary for Political Education. |
| 34. N. Mabhena | Deputy Executive Secretary for Foreign Affairs. |
| 35. M. Chiranganyika | Deputy Executive Secretary for Youth Affairs. |
| 36. W. Knife | Deputy Executive Secretary for Youth Affairs. |
| 37. T.V. Lesabe | Deputy Executive Secretary for Women Affairs. |
| 38. D. Dabengwa | Deputy Executive Secretary for Security. |
| 39. Adv. S. Katsere | Deputy Executive Secretary for Legal Affairs. |
| 40. Adv. L. Senda-Moyo | Deputy Executive Secretary for Legal Affairs. |
| 41. Prof. G.P. Kahari | Deputy Executive Secretary for Education. |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 42. Chief J.M. Mangwende | Deputy Executive Secretary for Tradition & Culture. |
| 43. K.C. Muhodi | Deputy Executive Secretary for Public Relations. |
| 44. E. Khan | Deputy Executive Secretary for Commerce & Industry. |
| 45. Rev. Masiyane | Deputy Executive Secretary for Welfare Services. |
| 46. E.B. Hananda
(Director) | Deputy Executive Secretary for Health Services. |
| 47. T.V. Mpofu | Deputy Executive Secretary for Mines. |
| 48. P. Takundwa
(Director) | Deputy Executive Secretary for Construction. |
| 49. P. Matende | Deputy Executive Secretary for Agriculture. |
| 50. S.D. Mhlongwa | Deputy Executive Secretary for Economic Planning and Development. |

Administration:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 51. S. Chatsama | Secretary for Administration. |
| 52. B. Tshuma | Deputy Secretary for Administration. |
| 53. J. Mafa | Deputy Secretary for Administration. |
| 54. A. Njawaya | Financial Secretary in the Administration. |

Other Central Committee Members:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|--------------------------|
| 55. M. Masiyakurima | Director | 84. Z. Kanyasa |
| 56. Skwili K. Moyo | Director | 85. E. Hokonya |
| 57. P. Matumbike | Director | 86. L. Mathuthu |
| 58. A.G. Mkwanzani | Director | 87. D.R.S. Mamvutho |
| 59. G. Mutazu | | 88. S.K. Moyo |
| 60. A.B. Honye | | 89. F. Mukombwe (MP) |
| 61. A. Ndlovu | | 90. L. Ngwenya |
| 62. S. Mabika | | 91. J. Dauramanzi |
| 63. P. Njini | | 92. M. Machonisa |
| 64. Mrs I. Murape | | 93. A. Tsuro |
| 65. Mrs E. Mafu | | 94. G. Gwenzi |
| 66. Miss N. Ndlovu | | 95. E. Nyandoro |
| 67. Mrs R. Mururi | | 96. Chief V. Maduna |
| 68. Mrs Harare | | 97. R. Ngugama |
| 69. Mrs E. Nkiwane | | 98. P. Mupanduki |
| 70. K. Madzorera | | 99. Edward M. Chilimanzi |
| 71. Mrs J. Mhindurwa | | 100. Adv. C. Ndebele |
| 72. M. Muzvondiwa | | |
| 73. Mrs L. Ngwenya | | |
| 74. A.T. Musongelwa | | |
| 75. A.D.N. Tshabalala | | |
| 76. S. Bhebe | | |
| 77. Mrs S. Mtoti | | |
| 78. Mrs J. Musingarabwi | | |
| 79. S. Njini | | |
| 80. R. Tshuma | | |
| 81. P. Chipudla | | |
| 82. V.H. Moyo | | |
| 83. Mrs Dhlamini | | |

Unity — A Weapon for Progress

The history to unite the Zimbabwean nationalist political parties dates as far back as the late 1950s.

At the merger of the African Youth League and the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia in 1957, Comrade Joshua Nkomo assumed leadership to challenge the Rhodesian white minority regime that completely excluded African participation and representation on grounds of race.

The split which led to the formation of ZANU guided by militants as opposed to reformists of ZAPU at that particular time dismayed not only Zimbabweans but many progressive forces or supporters of freedom and liberation.

However, many leading personalities at home and abroad worked tirelessly in the years that followed to once again unite the people of Zimbabwe under one political party. That was no easy task since the colonial regimes effectively utilized a policy of divide and rule. The settler regime managed to exploit tribal differences among Zimbabweans to perpetuate capitalist colonial interests.

When the Organization of African Unity was formed in Addis Ababa in 1963, it must have been clear that all was not well within the top leadership of the Zimbabwean nationalist movements. Hence, from the very early stages of its existence, the OAU has been involved in attempts to bring about unity between ZANU and ZAPU. The involvement of the OAU started following the formation of ZANU, on the 8th August, 1963,



Through unity — progress and development — PF-ZAPU President Comrade Joshua Nkomo and ZANU (PF)'s Vice President Comrade Simon Muzenda join hands

which was for a long time regarded, by its foes, as a splinter group led by intellectuals.

Disunity among the nationalist parties divided not only the people of Zimbabwe but also the OAU and the progressive international forces.

However, division could not go on indefinitely. So the first real attempt to unite ZANU and ZAPU was in 1972 when the patriotic forces, through OAU mediation, formed what became known as the Joint

Military Committee which however failed to bring about the required unity of the two parties. The importance of this JMC is that it laid down the foundation of the Patriotic Front which was established four years later, on the eve of the Geneva Conference. Another attempt to unite the two parties was the formation of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) in 1976. The creation of ZIPA did not rise to the people's expectations as it was a unity anti-climax. The theory behind the creation of ZIPA was that perhaps



Only a united nation can conquer the obstacles created by colonialism and imperialism

if the armed wings of ZANU and ZAPU came together, it would create a favourable atmosphere for the unity of the two parties, but this failed to materialise as both wings were governed by the principle that the party commanded the gun and not the other way round.

The internal settlement that had been reached by Ian Smith, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole created new conditions which pointed to the imperative need for the two political parties to co-ordinate their tactics and strategies to defeat the new manoeuvres that the colonial forces and neo-colonial forces in Zimbabwe were putting into shape to perpetuate their positions of privilege.

The patriotic Front effectively mobilized world sympathisers to help the liberation struggle and to redirect support towards the fighting forces. It also exposed the internal settlement as a sham and illicit political device to perpetuate white domination. As long as the Patriotic Front was in existence, there was no way the OAU was to recognise the internal settlement in the face of that solid diplomatic wall and the intensified armed struggle in the country. This led the

British Government to call for Constitutional talks — held at Lancaster — leading to Zimbabwe's independence in April, 1980. The independence of this country was therefore the result of the joint effort of ZANU and ZAPU as the Patriotic Front (PF)

However, at independence the parties campaigned separately. Though old wounds seemed to have opened, hopes for a unity accord were still in the pipeline. Several attempts were made to unite the two parties. In the end Unity was reached on December 22, 1987.

The unity agreement signed between ZANU (PF) and PF ZAPU has been hailed by Zimbabweans and the progressive international community as one of the greatest achievements since independence. With the signing of the accord, Zimbabwe's history has dramatically taken a different course.

What it now means is that the people of Zimbabwe who, for a long time struggled against colonialism, will now continue with the struggle to consolidate their independence and develop the country united under the able leadership of Comrade President R.G. Mugabe. This ushers in a new era. The occasion was summed up by the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF), Comrade R.G. Mugabe as follows:-

"To me, to Comrade Nkomo, members of the two parties, to the President and to the whole nation, today is a great day. It is great because we have seen, the coming together in body and spirit of our two parties, which as you know had maintained their own positions for quite a long time".

Benefits to be Derived

Unity will enable all Zimbabweans to build a strong base for confronting Apartheid's destabilization activities and to assist the liberation movements. To that extent, the former President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Comrade Canaan Banana had this to say:-

"A united Zimbabwe is a strong Zimbabwe and a strong Zimbabwe is of tremendous benefit to the struggling masses in South Africa, Namibia and the whole of the sub-region".

United we stand, divided we fall!

Forward with Unity!

Pamberi nekubatana!

Pambili lokubambana!

No To The Killing of Innocent Children

Comrade Sally Mugabe



The First Lady — Comrade Sally Mugabe — children need to develop — in peace and with security

Extracts from the address to the Child Survival and Development Symposium by the Executive Chairperson of the Zimbabwe Committee on Child Survival and Development in the Frontline States and Southern Africa, the First Lady, Comrade Sally Mugabe.

This is unlike our usual international multilateral gatherings, with financial contributions coming from member governments or full-fledged organisations. We have had to do our own fund-raising to cover most of the local costs, while UNICEF kindly took care of the external costs. With the exception of one full time coordinator and a secretary, all the people involved in the preparations had full-time government or private jobs who, instead of going home to rest after their normal work-day, went to the secretariat to put in extra hours, often working late into the night.

And therefore, I will kindly entreat you to bear with us, should things not move along as smoothly and super-efficiently as one would expect in other fully-funded international fora. You know you are dealing with non-professionals — but what a very hard-working and willing group of non-professional conference-organisers we have turned out to be! We have learnt many lessons along the way.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Participants, Observers, Guests, Comrades and Friends, we are gathered here to officially

open what has been an ardent, strenuous preoccupation these past few months: *The Artists, Writers and Intellectuals Symposium on Child Survival and Development in the Frontline States and Southern Africa.*

I find it so rewarding to see that there is so much energy, so much commitment from people of all walks of life, who have come together to do something concrete in support of UNICEF and the common search to protect and nurture the well-being of the African Child, especially, the African Child born onto the Southern Africa Frontline.

Today, it is rewarding to see that so many people have agreed that the death-toll from, what are often easily preventable diseases, can be cut down by tackling the conditions supporting the spread of the diseases.

“While the impact of drought in Africa has been widely covered and publicized in news reports and television programmes, the impact of war and apartheid on the children -- far more damaging than the impact of the drought as far as our region is concerned — has not been given as wide coverage as that of the natural disasters by the International Press”; Comrade Sally Mugabe

I also find it historic that after so many years of allowing the forces of anti-humanity, the forces of anti-love, the forces of anti-Christ, namely, the forces of banditry, destabilization and apartheid to have a full reign of destruction among our communities, more and more people are becoming aware of the need to come together in a mass movement, and to say, NO. To say No that this killing of innocents must stop, this waste of the lives of our children must stop.

Our children in the Frontline States and in the entire Southern Africa region must be offered a better, secure future; a future where children of all races, Black, White and Yellow would play together, grow together and share a common destiny. □

Artists — Fight for Child Survival

At a time when the apartheid regime is being hit hard economically, politically and morally, its viciousness becomes more and more intolerable as it manifests its brutality through the murdering of innocent children in Southern Africa and in the frontline States.

The world stands condemned, if it remains silent on the crucial issues that face the children at the moment. The indiscriminate massacring of the innocent and the defenceless is a typical fascist tendency which is only comparable to that of the Germany Fuhrer, Herr Hitler. This nazism is however not motivated by the same reasons as was Hitler's though the basis is the same.

After the Treaty of Versailles had been signed between the victorious allies of World War 1, Germany the main aggressor then was rendered immobile.

The coal rich Sudetenland was put under the allies, including various other territories and industries. Germany was disarmed and put under mandate not to re-arm.

Hitler, a corporal in the army then wrote a book, *Mein Kampf*, in which he espoused the Hitlerite doctrine of Nazism, National Socialism at which he said the Germany race was victimised by the Versailles Treaty and had to regain its dignity.

This fooled the British and other European states who thought that this is all what Hitler wanted to achieve without anticipating his other designs to conquer the world and make the German race the most superior. This is the very mistake which today western Europe is making in supporting the Botha regime of the apartheid state.

However now, in the same way as Hitler stated his interest as *only national* when in fact they were both economic and expansionistic, the Western states are interested in the economic gains from trade with the Botha regime as well as in exchange for insuring the survival of that regime.



A refugee child — victim of apartheid indiscriminate violence

in the economic gains from trade with the Botha regime as well as in exchange for insuring the survival of that regime.

In this respect the Western world; United States, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany are well prepared to sacrifice the sovereignty of the African States, their livelihood and the lives of defenceless and innocent civilians. So Botha with impunity,

bombs economic infrastructures in the Frontline States, destroys cities, and threatens the people with death. South Africa has imperialist interests in Angola, it has already colonised Namibia.

Instead of being the monitors of international law and order, by virtue of its superpower status, the United States stalls efforts of curbing these evil apartheid tendencies and in place mouths to the world about communism in the form of Cuban troops while Angola fights for its sovereignty and the well being of its people daily being murdered by the racist regime with its full support. The United States and its international brigandage is reeking havoc among the peace loving people's of the world, especially to manipulate these sovereign states for capitalist exploitative motives.

Should the Children of Africa suffer because the United States and Britain wish to make profit from the labours of their fathers?

A UNICEF report released recently has shown that an infant or child under five dies every four minutes from apartheid and bandit military aggression. The United States and Britain fully subscribe to this situation through their open support of the regime.

Because of the self-interests of these imperialist Governments, the Frontline States will not stabilise enough to develop in peace



A Mozambican refugee family — apartheid's doing

and see through the implementation of their economic programs.

However the people of Southern Africa because they are their, "own liberators" are, through unified action, working towards containing the apartheid threat that seeks to create lethargy in our revolutionary thrust to change the circumstances for stable-mass orientated programs.



The conditions for the achievement of this are being created through the cooperation of progressive and revolutionary organisations and governments. The Non-Aligned Movement, the Organisation of African Unity, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, (SADCC) and other Non Governmental Organisations have joined in the thrust to unseat apartheid and introduce democracy and suitable conditions for progress.

It is in the same vein that the Child Survival and Development Symposium in Southern Africa and the Frontline States was held recently in Harare. It was a gathering of Artists, Writers, Intellectual workers who assembled to contribute to this crucial issue of children, so inhumanely abused by a system thirsty for their blood.

The role of the artist in the preservation of life and its development was mapped out at the first Symposium held in Dakar on 20th March 1987. Apart from raising of funds for the restoration of the child's humanity, the creativity of the artists would play a very significant role in the cause of child survival and development. It is recognised that the child does not only suffer from political and military repression but as well from health hazards caused by drought, famine, malnutrition and other evils . . .

"If all that is required to preserve the lives of millions of African children each year is for communities and families all over our continent to learn to utilize inexpensive and readily available techniques and remedies, who would be so lacking in generosity and humanity as to refuse to help nurture the gift of life?"

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 mobilization for the preservation and development of the African child hereby resolve to act now by committing ourselves individually and collectively to a strategy of action . . ."

Children from the frontline states talked of the horrors they had been subjected to by the bandits, the MNR and UNITA the Trojan horses of both the United States and apartheid South Africa.

They were horror stories, if there is such wilful exerting of pain on the children then the source can only be dealt with, with equal severity.

One participant put up the argument that there was no way in which the children's



plight can only be seen in terms of what financial assistance can be given to them but also arms had to be made available in order for the victimised to have a double edged weapon.

"If necessary, a hundred Sowetoes must be created in the regime until the regime is brought to its knees but give the children weapons."

"We cannot stand by and watch while our innocent are gunned down, and some maimed for life. Just as the Americans did in Hiroshima, the racists are doing with guns and chemical weapons here" another participant put in.

However it was not only militarist solutions that were suggested as being the basis of the liberation of children.

Culture was an important issue on the agenda with Comrade Mahosu, denouncing in strong terms the situation where the



Diane Abbott — Britain's First black female MP — there should be more contact between the oppressed peoples of the world

strength of an artist has tended to depend more and more on who controls the resources which they use. In other words the artists is only strong when he or she is being backed by a powerful sponsor and short of that he or she is nothing. This reflected a situation that was unpalatable because effectively that artist would only produce according to the dictates of the sponsor, where his role would be reduced to that of a puppet.

As a result therefore the messages would not at all educate the African children to be themselves and be proud of their culture and heritage. Harry Belafonte's criticism was strongly against the electronic media in the third world where the content, he said, was basically that of the western decadent cultures and therefore this militates against a cultural awareness.

Harry Belafonte, an international musical star said that there was no point in discussions based on the need for change in cultural programs on the television when it only ended there. "Something positive has got to be done." A British black Member of Parliament, the first black female MP Diane Abbot also attending the symposium said that she would go and highlight the plight of the children to the British Parliament. She also said there was need for a stronger cultural development internationally where the black child in Britain and in the United States would grow up understanding the existing contradictions as it was also the black children in the United States and in Britain who were oppressed by the system. The task of the artists was therefore immense and it has now been left to the artists, writers and intellectual workers to work towards making the survival of the child through raising essential funds, publicising the child's plight for international action and solidarity for the development of the child. □



The Harare Declaration

By Shehnilla Mohamed

After four days of serious deliberation and discussion the symposium came up with a declaration which they called the Harare Declaration.

This called on writers, artists and intellectuals throughout the world to focus their energies on creating global awareness of the child survival crisis in Africa.

In looking at the role of writers, artists and intellectuals in promoting child survival, the declaration made the following points.

- Children should be the focal point of the activities of writers, artists and intellectuals and be exposed to the arts not just as audiences but as participants, performers and creators of art.
- International artists should mobilise children in their countries to produce art in solidarity with children on the Frontline.
- Poets should write more for children including nursery rhymes which had been neglected and African children must be taught in their own languages to enable them to conceptualise the world from an African perspective and not a Eurocentric one.
- The mass media in Africa should make use of funds used to purchase Western soap operas and comedies to produce programmes of national and regional value and to package messages on child survival into song, drama and dance. Political leaders should also be sensitised to these demands.
- The OAU should use its facilities to promote child survival and bring assistance to the victims of apartheid.

- Plans should be formulated for the creation of a world artists movement to allow all artists in the world who are in solidarity with the African child to focus their energies towards creating a global awareness of child survival.

The declaration noted that children had their own ideas and were creative artists, writers and intellectuals in their own right and it was important to find ways to allow them to give their own views on their survival, development and needs.

Other important points in the declaration included that testimonies given by the victims of the horrors committed in Angola and Mozambique should be disseminated to reveal the "gruesome horrors of the undeclared war" raged by the regime.

But just how successful was the conference and what will be its impact on anti-apartheid campaigns?

According to the Mozambican Minister of Education and a leading participant in the symposium, Cde. Grace Machel the symposium was a resounding success.

Commenting on the five-day symposium she said the fact that local and international African writers, artists and intellectuals came together for the sake of children was clear testimony to the success of the meeting. Descriptions by children from Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe on how their lives had been affected by the South African regimes destabilisation campaign on its neighbours, deeply moved the delegates.

The children recounted how the horrors of the apartheid regimes forced actions and their MNR and Unita bandit friends had driven them from their homes into refugee camps.

During the symposium, the children pleaded with the adults to give them a chance so that they could become something when they grow up.

But the pleas of these children may go unheard unless the projects and recommendations drawn up during the symposium are fully implemented. The Harare Declaration should be used to haunt the consciences of governments that support the conflict and wars that cause untold suffering to the children as a result.

The symposium as such has been a great success in focusing public attention to situation in the region and the plight of the children. The revelations of the children about their sufferings to the symposium brought a tear to many a delegates eye showing that there are people who care and it is these people who should lobby together to fight for a change to the situation.

Writers, artists and intellectuals have powerful tools at their disposal which they should use in disseminating information to the world and conscientise them on the situation. This is their opportunity to play an important role in improving and saving the lives of millions of African children and the more dedicated and devoted they are to the cause, the stronger will be its impact on anti-apartheid campaigns.

South Africa's War on Children

By Richard Falk

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, a venerable figure who was exiled from South Africa many years ago for his part in the struggle against racism, convened a large gathering in Harare, Zimbabwe, in September. The International Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa was an astonishingly powerful event. Because South Africa's resort to stricter censorship has dimmed the media glare, events like the one in Harare are necessary to keep up world awareness.

Most of us who attended were not shocked anew by fresh revelations of the daily horrors of apartheid. What made Harare most compelling was the vivid interplay of pain and resilience. Apartheid was brought to anguished life by the presence of 200 or so township children, several of whom recounted their rending personal stories, often in barely audible voices. The youngest witness was an 11-year-old, William Modibedi, who was accompanied by his mother. Also present was a lovely, radiant 12-year-old girl, Nthabiseng Mabuza, crippled for life

by police brutality.

The singing of the children, the joyful spirit of solidarity, the extraordinary self-confidence of these young people seemed to express a sense that victory was already theirs, that apartheid will assuredly be dismantled, no matter how much blood is shed in the process. The conference organizers were surprised that such a large delegation from South Africa had been allowed to attend an event of this sort, and there remains concern even now that those who denounced apartheid in Harare will be punished once they are home again.

In a century filled with many atrocities, there is no need to claim a special status for apartheid. At the same time there is a special moral claim present: This form of acute repression is intensifying and is likely to produce massive suffering throughout the whole of South Africa before it collapses. And for Americans this claim has added dimensions. The United States continues to play a complicit role, helping to sustain the South African economy and indirectly lending support to the Pretoria regime.

A 13 year-old who has just been released from detention in Johannesburg shows wounds suffered during assaults by police in 1986



The latest phase of apartheid was disclosed at Harare. The statistics cited by scholars at the conference are quite incredible. During the period 1984 through 1986, children under 18 (and some as young as 5) endured the following levels of police violence: 300 killed, 1 000 wounded, 11 000 detained without trial, 18000 arrested for protest activity and 173 000 held in prison cells awaiting trial. The South African government has declared war on the black children of the country. This deliberate targeting of the young has no precedent in the sordid history of repressive politics. Since June 1976, when the first Soweto uprising occurred, young people have been at the centre of township resistance, aggressively refusing to submit quietly to the daily humiliations of extreme racism.

How a political system treats children rev-

eals its true character. To wage war against children is to embrace barbarism. As several white psychologists from South Africa have explained, the rigors of township life rob the young of their childhood and cause severe psychic disorders. The struggle against intimidation begins almost at birth. Yet, as the South African children at Harare confirmed, the human spirit mobilized by resistance and sustained by community cannot be extinguished.

Most of us realize that apartheid has survived partly because the government of South Africa is white, Western and considered a geopolitical asset when it comes to East-West matters. Americans, with their own unfinished agenda of antiracism, should rank this struggle their highest moral and political priority. To be fully human in the last part of this century means to be engaged actively in the struggle to destroy apartheid.

We can act concretely in many ways. Foremost, by insisting on extending and enforcing the sanctions Congress mandated last year over President Reagan's veto. Also important is doing whatever is necessary to withdraw the remnants of legitimacy from South African racism — professional societies in law, medicine, engineering, education and the armed forces should sever ties with their South African affiliates. It is time to form groups such as Lawyers Against Apartheid, Police Against Apartheid and Soldiers Against Apartheid as a way of disseminating information and raising the morale of antiapartheid militants in South Africa. It should be made clear by official pronouncements that to serve the apartheid system in any fashion is to commit crimes against humanity that are violations of international law and can be prosecuted and punished anywhere in the world. An appeal should be directed by prominent Americans to citizens in South Africa, saying that the time for non-cooperation with racist policies and practices has arrived.

A fiery young religious leader from Capetown expressed at the Harare conference a widely held sentiment: "It is the refusal to be angry enough that has allowed apartheid to continue."

A final thought: Zimbabwe was white-dominated Rhodesia less than a decade ago. It is a country with many unresolved problems, yet it has not rid itself of white racism at the price of installing black racism. I met with many whites in Harare, and none complained of post-independence abuse. One white woman, whose father had been a Rhodesian prime minister, told me that the only racist incidents she had observed since the black Africans took over the government were those of whites against blacks. Her story is reinforced by the reality of a large and prosperous white presence in Zimbabwe and a net inflow of white immigrants in recent years. Zimbabwe is not South Africa, but it is encouraging to realize that at least one country in the region has largely emancipated itself from racism. And it was encouraging that at Harare all the notables, from Oliver Tambo, head of the African National Congress, to the young township firebrands were clear and eloquent about their commitment to a nonracist and democratic post-apartheid South Africa. If there are any wise heads left in Foggy Bottom, they could usefully contemplate the hopefulness of the Zimbabwe path to a postracist society, as well as its ardent endorsement by the ANC.

As it is, my contact with the US Embassy in Harare was not reassuring: Unlike many other resident diplomats, the US Ambassador watched events disinterestedly from the sidelines, self-consciously distancing himself. After a particularly moving session at the conference the second-ranking US diplomat, a pleasant, experienced Foreign Service officer, told me, "If I listened to speeches like that for three days, my head would turn to mush." Perhaps, at this stage, a little mush of this sort would improve the quality of US policy in the region.

The Centrality of Arts and Culture in our Solidarity Work for the Survival, Liberation and Development of Children in the Frontline States

*Speech to the Plenary Session of 1 March 1988 of the Symposium on
Child Survival and Development, Harare International Conference
Centre By Dr. Tafataona P. Mahoso, Director of National Arts Council of Zimbabwe*

The existence of the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe, at a time of critical shortages and lack of funds for economic development, means that the people of Zimbabwe are not willing to starve their hearts or minds, they are not willing to suspend their aesthetic sensibility and cultural and spiritual development until the end of the physical war against the settler fascists of South Africa.

Since my time is limited to about ten minutes, I have chosen a method by which I could summarise how the arts and culture are central to the work we must do in solidarity against the regional fascism of the South African regime, the work we must do for the Survival, Liberation and Development of all our children.

I have chosen to ask our artists and the whole conference these important questions:

What is it that Zimbabwe and Southern Africa could give back to our international friends from solidarity groups who have given up lucrative contracts elsewhere in order to come and perform in Harare for the Survival, Development and Liberation of our children?

After all, Africans are culturally and traditionally a very generous people, as evidenced by the Shona Proverb: "Kakari kanoenda kunobva kamwe", which means that in the process of gift giving, the giver is often the receiver and the receiver is also often the giver.

So what is it then that Zimbabwe will give our friends to take back to Copenhagen, Oslo, New York, Philadelphia and London?

It certainly won't be foreign exchange, even though there are poor people in the United States or Britain who could use some foreign exchange from us. It certainly won't be food, even though there are many malnourished and hungry children in Camden — USA, Appalachia — USA, or London — UK, who could use some good

sub-tropical food from Zimbabwe. It certainly won't be medical insurance or health care, even though there are millions of poor and unemployed people in western countries who lack health care or medical insurance. What are we giving back then?

I have directed my question to the Zimbabwe and Southern Africa side because that is the side which chose me to speak. But the question is as important for Zimbabwe as it is important for our friends. Why are you here? What are you expecting to get out of this Symposium? Having taken part in similar solidarity efforts before, I know many of our friends will go away hurt or disappointed.



They will be hurt if we do not give them the credit they think they deserve for all the good work and the contributions they have made in our name in their own countries. They will be disappointed if — in pointing out the generally destructive role which the west as a block have played in South Africa — we do not mention their particular city or club or nation as an important exception to that generalisation.

Our friends would be right to a certain extent in feeling this way and perceiving us as unthankful. But they would have missed the whole point of this gathering. They would have missed the greatest gift we have to offer in love and solidarity.

Our gift of love is a demonstration, an explanation, a conviction we can pass on to our friends so that they stop seeing us as the only ones who are at risk.

Our gift is an explanation of our situation which can at once clarify the grave danger we face in Southern Africa and, at the same

time, show that grave risk exists here precisely because it also exists in a much more entrenched way especially in Britain and the United States: The risk of becoming permanent victims of fascism.

The system and culture of fascism in South Africa continues to receive diplomatic support, tanks, radar, bombers, computers, mercenaries and financial credit from Britain and the United States for the very reason that there is a culture of fascism and racism in Britain and the United States. This is what makes Apartheid an international problem and not just a regional one. There would be no international crisis of repression and oppression in South Africa for so long if the problem did not exist elsewhere. But there is a deeper level at which we are all threatened. For what we have are not two unrelated or mutually exclusive worlds. What we and our friends from the west share are the two poles of the same capitalist contradiction.

For the benefit of our friends from the west I shall first illustrate the contradiction in terms of western culture itself. The relationship between white South Africa and the victims of its war and its reservation policies is similar to the relationship between the Yuppy and the so-called bum in the United States. It is fascinating to note that the phenomenon of the Yuppy emerged exactly at the same time as the problem of the homeless and the unemployed. I need not tell you that about one fourth to one third of the homeless and unemployed are children and youths, even in the United States. The Yuppy is a false denial of the bum.

But what is remarkable is that the Yuppy and the homeless person are victims of two sides of the same mythology: The myth that individuals or families are completely to blame for the tragedies that befall them. This myth paralyses both the yuppy and the homeless person. As long as he seems to be doing well, the yuppy will beat his chest and say "I am where I am because I am smart

and my father before me was smart. I deserve all I have got."

And the homeless or unemployed person will say almost the same thing except in self-pity and self denigration: "I am poor and oppressed because I am no good; my father before me was no good." He might even go further to say his own whole race is no good and therefore accept the existing conditions as the best he could get.

Whenever the Yuppy suspects that he too is oppressed by those who pay him so well, he might complain a bit. But he will be reminded that he is lucky. "Look where the others are who lost their jobs. They lost their houses and their husbands and wives too. They are bums. You are much better than them and you can even become the best."

And whenever the homeless and jobless organise to fight for their rights and their dignity, they too are told that everything is possible. They could have been all Yuppies and millionaires if they worked hard. Therefore they are in their condition because they choose it or because of some fault of theirs. The proof; well, the existence of so many Yuppies, of course!

And the superiority of the Yuppy to the bum is based on the stark contrast in their consumption patterns. The Yuppy dresses to kill and drives the latest car models as a demonstration that he lives in a world apart from the masses of humanity. The yuppy's obligation is perpetual material satiation. The bum sleeps under cardboard and discarded newspapers in the shadow of the Empire State Building and the World Bank as a final demonstration of human incapacity. The duty of the homeless — unemployed is perpetual deprivation in a world of sumptuous glut and waste.

If you transfer the situation to Southern Africa there remain many similarities. The majority of white people in the western countries believe that the fascists of South Africa are stronger and richer than the African Frontline States merely because whites work harder and better than Africans. And the fascists themselves understand this philosophy and set out to make it self-fulfilling by destroying every clinic, every bridge, every dam, every school which the Frontline States build to prove that they are as hard working and as enterprising as anyone else. Since 1980, the fascists and their collaborators have destroyed more than US \$25 000 000 000 worth of the Frontline's productive economy.

Just as the Yuppy measures his superiority to other classes of people by his pattern of conspicuous consumption, the architects of apartheid measure their status, identity and advancement by their toilets, beaches, post office counters and swimming pools reserved for whites only.

And our real tragedy, which is a measure of barbarism of apartheid that goes deeper than its brutality, is that the fascists have also almost succeeded in restricting, holding, our own national development at that same barbaric material level. How have they

done it? By forcing us into the battle of syphus where all our resources and energies go into merely replacing physical structures which they come back and destroy, they have succeeded, almost, in forcing us to present ourselves to both friends and enemies as so many mouths to feed, so many buttocks to inject, and so many wounds to bandage. This is the ultimate barbarism of apartheid. For some of us are beginning to think that it does not matter how we beg and whom we beg to assist us, as long as the crumbs and bandages keep coming in. We are also beginning to measure our success by the quantity of material we receive to replace what is destroyed by the fascists. Within the context of this stalemate of barbarism, within the context of the two poles of the global capitalist contradiction, our own artists have the following responsibilities.



Celebrating those victories which our people have already won.

In 1969 and 1970 respectively, two books came out in the United States celebrating the end of African liberation movements in Southern Africa from the point of view of the Rhodesian, Portuguese and South African settler fascists and their friends. One book was Henry Kissinger's *National Security Memorandum 39*, which concluded that there were sufficient reasons to doubt that the people of this whole sub-continent had the capacity and determination to fight for and win their independence from white rule. The best the western powers could do for the Africans was to offer them crumbs of charity through the white oppressors who would ration that charity among the oppressed.

The other book was by another North American supporter of Southern African Settlerists and it was titled *Traitors' End*. It concluded that the African leaders — Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Nelson Mandela, Toivo ja Toivo, Goven Mbeki — would never be heard from again. They and their movements were finished for good.

Now you know what happened and continues to happen. Zimbabwe is independent. So is Angola. So is Mozambique. And they are making limited contributions towards the liberation of South Africa itself. Even more startling for the fascists is the fact that Nelson Mandela who should never have been heard after 1964 is known and heard in Peking, in Tokyo, in London, in Moscow, in

New York, in Oslo, in Copenhagen and almost everywhere on earth. Whether he is released soon or kept in jail longer, there is no question that a revolution in consciousness has already taken place:

Mandela and his movement world wide represent life and the future. Botha and his movement represent death, repression and the fascist legacy and menace which took more than 50 000 000 in the 1940s. This change is a positive credit to progressive artists, musicians, writers, journalists and intellectuals who refused to accept the North American view of the future of Southern Africa as the final truth. This much we should celebrate in poetry, in song, in colour, in movement and in sound — even as we mourn and bury the victims of this monster.

Reclaim and renew the role of the artist in society and in production, and thereby link the artist with the worker

What I mean by reclaiming and renewing the role of the artist in society and in production should be clear when we understand the African tradition of 'Nhimbe':

What our ancestors taught us about production as a cultural act. Nhimbe could be defined as collective work-feast involving a whole village or a series of villages in collective labour.

A family or household who needed their fields weeded or a new house built would ask the chief for permission to prepare a work-feast. On the day of the work-feast neighbours would appear with their tools at the family homestead or farm as early as 5.30 a.m. or 6.00 a.m. in summer and start working. As many as fifty or a hundred adults might gather.

By noon they would be done. The work routine often involved singing and ululating. There might be a short break around 9.00 a.m. or 10.00 a.m. for drinks and a little food.

After completion of the job, the villagers gathered in the shade for the feasting part of the work-feast. There they would discuss civic and political affairs, sing, drink, dance and otherwise celebrate the season and its gifts. They also celebrated labour, collective labour. The best artists of the society were always among them.

The near fusion of production with song, dance and celebration was not the only genius of nhimbe. There was the clear understanding that collective work humanized the community and recreated society. Without it there was no security for men or women, adults or children. As one scholar has said, "the creativity of labour is the foundation of all creativity. From the collective productivity of labour resulted a social formation or community. From Community emerged human consciousness which alone gives meaning, audience and

markets to the arts and other cultural products. Linking work with culture strengthens both.

In other words, the artist — by staying away from the work place and from the worker — diminishes himself and his contribution to development. African communal artists always took part in *nhimbe*. Likewise, the worker — by staying away from artists and the arts, by viewing arts and culture as frills in relation to labour — deprives himself or herself of the right to reproduce himself as a full human being. In the alienated factory or home, she/he can only reproduce as a drudge. Moreover, as we have already observed, without culture and art, the workers deprive themselves of the means by which to question the quality and purpose of production. The work place is without cultural accountability.

We would go further to argue that there are in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa more than enough resources to feed, clothe, immunize and educate all our children. The reason these resources are not fully mobilized for the nourishment and upbringing of all our children is because those who control the means of production in this area do not feel culturally accountable to community for their production. Since it is in culture that the struggle is enacted and legitimated, since it is at the level of culture that society mobilises for its own defense and inspiration, there will be no full mobilisation of resources that lie in the hands of people

who feel that their work is outside or above culture. This is a challenge to artists, writers and intellectuals. This is a challenge to the whole society. This is a challenge to the whole world, as long as it tolerates production relations which do not fall within the embrace of human community and culture.

In this respect there is very little difference between those of us in Southern Africa and those progressive allies of ours who come from Britain or the United States. The product of African Communities has been appropriated for the purpose of building the South African Defence Force, just as the product of North American and British workers has been appropriated for the purpose of building NATO and its nuclear arsenals. In both cases the forces built with the fruits of the people's labour lie completely outside the power and supervision of the people's communities.

As a practical first step for the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe, we are recommending that the artists join us in a national public education campaign to run simultaneously with a programme of training our artists for excellence and relevance. As more and more of our people turn for entertainment to locally produced dramas, dances and shows whose quality is also improving, it should become possible to obtain the support of organised labour and working people in general. These should be our primary source of theme for art as well as our primary market. We should then export

those products we consider best for ourselves first.

The support of working people for the arts would enable the nation through its workers to demand that all major factories, plantations, mining towns and compounds should have theatre halls, dance halls, and places to exhibit art and show films, just as most of them have soccer fields and soccer teams.

In addition, the nation, through its workers, could also demand that every welfare fund of a major employer should include a substantial portion for arts and culture for the workers as well as for the public in general.

Make the artists' role a Pan-African One

The Union of African performing Artists, which was born in Zimbabwe in 1983, has already led the way in showing what African artists could accomplish together. They have proposed a programme called the African Centre for Training Performing Artists which they would like to base in Zimbabwe. Apart from reclaiming our African theatre directors and choreographers who now live out of Africa, apart from collecting African Theatre methodologies and curricula to be used for training our people for greater excellence, a programme such as ACTPA would also help us focus Pan African attention on a very urgent need.

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In order for us to get out of the paralysis and stalemate of material deprivation and destruction caused by Apartheid and its bandits, in order for us not to have to wait for the end of the physical fight against fascism before we can develop our own arts and culture of emancipation with excellence: we need now a programme of national development which allows us to "chew gum and walk" at the same time, a programme of development which recognises that people do not mobilise for a cause as specialists or as exceptions or as special interests. People legitimate their causes and fight for them as communities united through their culture.

If we do not have such a programme of development which has arts and culture as its binding thread, we would find that — even after winning the physical fight against fascism — we would have lost the peace. We would lack the cultural foundation for a new humanity; and we might be persuaded to go to the oppressor's universities for guidance on our destiny in post-apartheid Southern Africa. We might be forced to go to the old friends of South African settler fascism — not just for technology and foreign exchange — but even for ideas on how we should reconstruct our independence. The cultural war against fascism is there-

fore necessary for the purpose of inspiring the physical fight now and for the purpose of securing the future.

Humanise the Oppressor

I have already demonstrated that both we and our friends from the west face adversaries who make no distinction between a high standard of living and a high standard of consumption. I have already said that by starving us and destroying the physical and material amenities we build, by depriving us of the vote, of education and of consumer goods, they have ensured that we hunger after these things and exaggerate their value too.

We are faced by a consumer barbarian who measures and defines his importance, his status and his identity by the number of classes or races he can exclude from his night clubs and brothels, by the number of classes and races he can exclude from his beaches and swimming pools, by the number of classes and races he can exclude from the game parks, the amusement parlours and the mansions constructed on stolen land.

When I was teaching African-American

history I noticed a very important fact which our artists, writers and intellectuals need to note with regard to the liberation of South Africa. When slavery finally ended with the massive involvement of the African slaves in its destruction, the cousins and financiers of the defunct slave oligarchy put together hundreds of programmes and projects to "humanise and civilise the Negro", in their words.

The slave masters who had brutalised, maimed and otherwise dehumanised four million Africans and caused the deaths of millions in the process of capturing and transporting them — were allowed to go without re-education. It was they who needed to be educated about the humanity and civilisation of the African. It was they who needed training in democracy. Instead they were left free to reorganise a new slave system called "debt peonage" and a new white terrorist movement called the Ku Klux Klan. The United States, more than a hundred years after the abolition of slavery, still suffers its lingering inhumanity.

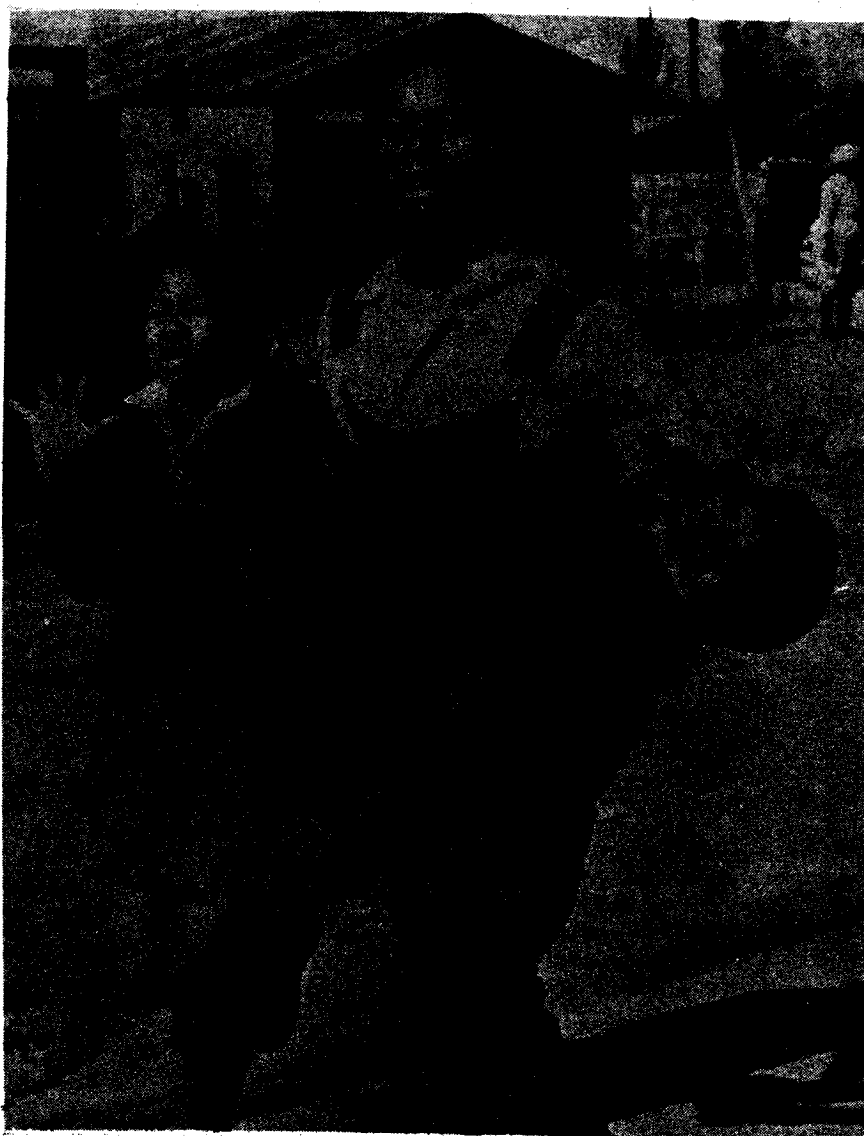
Our Pan-African artists and intellectuals must not let this happen when South Africa is free. Start working now. □

Repression in South Africa is Stimulating the Revolution

By Moeletsi Mbeki

Children — victims of apartheid
— Soweto — 1976

It is not often that one agrees with a minister of the Pretoria regime but when Adriaan Vlok, the racist regime's Minister of Law and Order in a dramatic press conference called on 24 February, 1988 said three years of the state of emergency had failed to quell the revolutionary climate in South Africa, for once, one had to agree with him. It appears that the repressive measures are actually stimulating the spirit of resistance and the revolutionary climate.



South Africa has been in the grips of a long-term political and social ferment for 15 years now since the first workers' strikes started in Durban at the beginning of 1973. During that 15 years, the Pretoria regime has tried all sorts of tricks in its book to get on top of the situation, all to no avail. This much Adriaan Vlok admitted by banning 17 anti-apartheid organisations on 24 February.

The regime has tried the carrot, represented by the mostly cosmetic reforms that have been the swansong of the P.W. Botha administration. It has also used the stick, the big stick, and repeatedly. Since 1973 literally thousands of black people have been murdered — some famous like Steve Biko, some not so famous like Solomon Mahlangu — by the security forces of the Pretoria regime. All that however has not brought peace, if anything the regime is in deeper trouble; even its puppet structures like the bantustan system, are beginning to fall apart.

Recently the world was treated to what can only be described as comic opera of the most farcical kind when soldiers in the bantustans of Transkei and Bophuthatswana "took power". Surely a case of powerless puppets; an exercise in futility in other words but a clear indication of the difficulties faced by the puppet master.

What we are witnessing in South Africa is the unfolding of a social revolution in the purest meaning of that phrase. In Africa generally there has been very few social revolutions though there has of course been many political changes brought about through violent insurrections or armed struggles. Most of these changes have not however brought about a change in the socio-economic order of the countries concerned.

One of the few social revolutions to take place in Africa in recent times was the Ethiopian revolution of the mid-1970s which abolished the centuries-old feudal system in that country. The reason that there has been so few social revolutions in Africa is not because they are not necessary rather it is because a great many factors that have to come into play for a revolutionary situation to exist are absent and even when they exist, there is no guarantee that they will triumph in the way they want. There can be many intermediate stages forced on the revolutionary forces by the staying power of the reactionary forces. This, in a nutshell is what the current situation in South Africa is.

The revolutionary forces, represented by the liberation movements and their supporters and the mass movements inside the country, are pressing on the reactionary forces.

But who really are the revolutionary forces and what do they want; and who are the reactionary forces and what it is that they want? While on the face of it this seems a simple question to answer the reality of the present situation in South Africa proves that this is not a simple matter. Revolutionary forces in fact are an alliance of a wide spectrum of forces with a wide range of agendas that have to be constantly realigned to keep the united front alive and operational.



Racist police attacked a youth in the streets

Similarly, the reactionary forces, who we know are represented by Botha's National Party and other white parties to the right of it, by big business and foreign multinational corporations, by western imperialist powers, and by the black agents of the Pretoria regime such as bantustan structures, also constitute an alliance of interests that are not necessarily identical at all times and under all circumstances.

It is the complexity of the alliances both amongst the revolutionary forces and amongst the reactionary forces that makes social revolutions such complicated and long drawn-out processes that can take decades to reach resolution. In this respect South Africa is no exception. Many people in Africa and in the Frontline States want to see a quick resolution of South Africa's problems so that destabilisation can come to an end and the region can get on with the business of economic development. This, of course, is a noble wish but it must be seen in the overall context of finding a long-term solution to the situation in South Africa.

To be able to understand the current situation in South Africa and what is likely to result from it, it is necessary to understand how South Africa got to where it is in the first place. That is one side of the equation.

Secondly, it is necessary to understand the character of all the forces at work, both major and minor forces, and how they interrelate among themselves under the constantly changing revolutionary situation being created by mass opposition from the black population.

Clearly it is not possible in this brief exposition to deal with all the main aspects of the history of South Africa, we will therefore touch on only a few key factors. The first point to grasp about South African society is that South Africa approximates more the classical capitalist societies of western

Europe and north America than any other society in Africa. This means that unlike the societies of for example Zimbabwe, Nigeria or Egypt where peasants and other small scale producers predominate — independent artisans, traders, small transport operators, etc — in South Africa it is the working class that makes up the largest class in society.

The working class in South Africa however does not exist in the same way as the working class in western Europe does because the working class in South Africa though it is exploited through the same capitalist mechanisms as its counterparts in the west, in South Africa the working class was carved out of a conquered people who still remains conquered. The working class in South Africa is therefore politically, and not just ideologically, subject. It is how the working class in South Africa is held subject and its resistance to that political subjection or domination, that is creating what we have described as an unfolding revolutionary situation. By contrast, while a subject peasantry creates conditions of rebellion or even armed struggles, fundamentally it does not challenge capitalism as such because sociologically peasants are a petty bourgeoisie, that is, small capitalists and therefore have a vested interest in the preservation of the capitalist system.

Peasant uprisings therefore do not pose a danger to the capitalist mode of production though they may threaten certain types of bourgeois regimes such as white settler regimes or comprador regimes that discriminate in access to the market against the peasantry.

It is however when we analyse how the black working class is politically subjugated and economically exploited that we will gain a better understanding of the nature of the unfolding social revolution in South Africa.

The black working class in South Africa first developed in the middle of the 17th century when the Dutch East India Company established an outpost where Cape Town today stands in order to supply its ships going to Asia with fresh food and water. The first black workers were slaves that the Dutch captured in Asia and West Africa.

Slavery was practised in South Africa for about 150 years between 1658 and 1834 when it was finally abolished by which time the British had taken over South Africa from the Dutch. (This happened in 1795.) At the time of the abolition of slavery there were about 40 000 slaves and it was this group that became the first free black wage workers in South Africa. Their descendants are the Coloured people who today number over two million people and continue to make up part of the black working class.

The next group of black workers were the Indians. In 1860, it was discovered that the British colony of Natal was ideal for growing sugar cane but when the colonialists living there tried to rope in the indigenous people of Natal to become their wage workers, they resisted, so the British thought it wiser to recruit workers from elsewhere and they went to India, then a British colony, and recruited indentured workers. Today there are nearly one million Indians living in South Africa most of whom are workers.

The third and last group of black workers to come into existence were African workers, that is the indigenous people. Africans fought fiercely against the whites who wanted to take their land. The wars of resistance by the Africans started as far back as 1509 when a group of Portuguese sailors were defeated and chased away from South Africa by Africans who lived in what is today known as Mossel Bay. After centuries of warfare, the Africans were eventually defeated militarily mainly by the British during the years 1879 to 1883. The reason why the British mounted their major military campaign against the Africans during the 1870s and 1880s was because valuable minerals had been discovered in South Africa, that is, diamonds and gold, and the British wanted large amounts of cheap labour to exploit to dig out those minerals.

In order to get the Africans to work for them it was necessary that land be taken from the Africans thus between 1879 and about the early 1950s Africans were systematically dispossessed of their land and cattle and so it was that the peasantry was destroyed. In the process of destroying the peasantry, the British and the Boer regimes after them stymied the growth of the black petty bourgeois class as well. This was how it came about that the black working class became the single largest class amongst the blacks.

The type of society that has therefore emerged in South Africa is strongly divided along racial lines. Amongst the blacks is the preponderance of the working class with weak pockets of a middle class. As a percentage of the black population the middle class is only about three percent. The whites on the other hand were the main benefactors of the system of exploitation that was developed.

About 20 percent of the whites belong to the middle class and the super-rich and most of the rest are white collar workers. Only a small section of the whites are actually workers, perhaps about 500 000, out of a total economically active population of South Africa of about nine million.

The system of apartheid operates by exploiting the natural resources of South Africa through the use of black cheap labour. That black labour is supervised by a highly paid supervisory and managerial class made up of the whites. As the whites in South Africa do not themselves own most of the mines and factories, the investors therefore are foreign multinational corporation from western Europe, north America and Japan. This in a nutshell is how South African society works. The crisis that has arisen is because the black working class is no longer willing to submit to domination either by the white or by foreign capital. It has therefore formed trade unions to combat exploitation.

The children of the workers in turn have also formed their organisation called youth organisations. The wives and daughters of the workers have also formed their organisations, the women's organisations. On top of all these organisations there have also emerged radical political movements such as the United Democratic Front, UDF, and the Azanian Peoples Organisation, AZAPO. Clearly then, the ruling class in South Africa is faced with a political and social crisis of major proportions; how to maintain power in the face of such widespread and deeply embedded opposition?

As we have indicated earlier there has been a number of approaches by the different sections that make up the white ruling class. The National Party headed by P.W. Botha has adopted a two-pronged approach of the carrot and the stick. Closer analysis however reveals that what the Botha regime presents as reforms are not reforms at all but attempts to divide the black opposition along ethnic lines.

The tricameral parliament which the Botha regime introduced in 1984 by creating a chamber each for Coloureds, Whites and Indians was designed not so much to introduce an element of power sharing as to split the various sections of the black population and get the Coloureds and Indians to support the whites. That ploy failed however because many black organisations made up of Africans, Coloureds and Indians got together and created the United Democratic Front with the explicit purpose of oppos-

ing the tricameral parliament. Other so-called reforms that the Botha regime introduced as part of its package of the carrot included the repeal of the Immorality Act and turning a blind eye to violations in certain cities of the Group Areas Act. All these measures were perceived by the Botha regime as constituting the carrot.

The main part of the Botha regime's response however was the stick. This included an extensive programme of intimidation against the black population. It also included an extensive programme of intimidations and violence against the Frontline States which the Botha regime accused of harbouring its adversaries, the national liberation movements, especially the African National Congress. It is in this context that the Botha regime unleashed its puppets such as Inkatha against the UDF.

That was one response; the response of the National Party led by P.W. Botha. Other sections of the National Party felt that Botha, with the creation of the tricameral parliament, was giving too many concessions to the blacks, so they broke away and formed another party known as the Conservative Party.

Yet another group of the white ruling class, represented by big South African companies such as the Anglo-American Corporation, Rembrandt, Barclays Bank (since 1987 renamed First National Bank of Southern Africa), etc., felt that the Botha regime was not giving enough to appease the black opposition. These groups sought to increase their strength by lining up with foreign multinational corporations and with Western governments in their effort to bring more pressure to bear on the Botha regime to liberalise.

This then is the current situation in South Africa. Many forces are jostling one another both amongst the blacks and amongst the whites with the Western governments playing an important role. The Western countries, it is clear, want apartheid to be dismantled; they are even ready to accept a black government in South Africa but they do not want a black government where the black working class is the dominant force in that government. This is also the broad outlook of the main South African companies, an outlook that is also shared by the wide spectrum of the white liberals. Similarly amongst the blacks, there is a school of thought that favours a government where the working class will be the dominant partner while another school of thought favours a situation where the black middle class, perhaps in alliance with white liberals and big business will be the dominant force with the black working class playing the role of junior partner. How all this will work out only time can tell.

Destroy Apartheid



Like Hitler who gassed innocent people in chambers the Botha regime kills, maims, starves innocent people in the Frontline States

The toll to human life as a result of war, apartheid and its destabilisation policies carried out by bandits which South Africa supports is now in grave proportions. A recent UNICEF report on destabilisation and warfare on infants and Children in Southern Africa reflects a situation that now needs various solutions to counter forces of aggression.

The rights of children are sacrosanct and transcend politics but the racist apartheid regime is causing untold suffering in the region. African children and infants, mostly under-five are daily being killed and maimed from the bombings of a merciless regime.

In 1985, it was estimated that in the two most war-ravaged states, Angola and Mozambique, about 375 infants or children out of every 1 000 died whereas in Tanzania only 185 perished. The high death rates in both Angola and Mozambique as compared to the low death rates in Tanzania, were not only caused by natural phenomena, as in the case of Tanzania, which was more drought stricken, but indeed by racist regime's bombs.

Another comparison that shocks any reasonable person is that whilst there were 406 000 births registered in Angola in 1985, in the same year 55 248 infants and children died. The reason — War. At the same time, 602 000 births were registered in Mozambique and of these 81,920 died. In both states, the infant mortality went up by 3% in 1986 as compared to the year before.

South Africa's destabilisation which is destroying national infrastructures of sover-

eign states must be stopped to allviate the suffering of the children in the region.

The starving children especially in Angola and Mozambique need food but the racist regime together with the bandit movements are making it impossible for the relief food agencies to operate effectively. The enemy ambushes trucks carrying food and murder governments' and volunteer workers. They mine roads, blow up bridges and railways, create chaos and disorder in the whole transportation system. The bandits movements — MNR in Mozambique and Unita in Angola — reactionary and unprincipled in character, are only being used by racist South Africa and imperialist governments to create inertia in people's self-reliance efforts and development in the Front line States thereby

creating hardships and dislocation of the rural population. The peasantry lose homes, stocks, farm equipment, seed and they have their crops burnt. This has caused Angola and Mozambique to be unable to carry out rehabilitation and resettlement programmes. The war of destabilisation in the region has also made these peasant families, refugees in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. Resultantly, there has been a disruption in the effective utilisation of health services, schools and general economic activities in Angola and Mozambique.

Unashamedly, Pretoria bombs these refugees who initially have escaped inhuman treatment at the hands of racist boers and their reactionary bandit puppets.

Speaking at the Child Survival and Development Symposium held in Harare recently, Martilda R. Cuomo, the wife of a New York Governor, said: "The reality of massive destruction and loss of life of the most vulnerable and innocent human beings by apartheid, war and destabilisation remains, which ever estimate is being made." She also noted that; "The infant and child mortality rates in Angola and Mozambique are among the highest in the world . . . one in three die before the age of five and horribly, half of these child deaths result from conflicts that the children have no part in creating . . ."

In the final analysis, the aid which the Front-Line States receive from the Western Capitals falls far below the total cost of destabilisation. Since 1980, a 25 billion-dollar economic damage has been caused by South Africa's undeclared war on the Front-line States.

As regards to human costs, Martilda R. Cuomo (Supra) pointed out at the Sym-

(Continued next page)

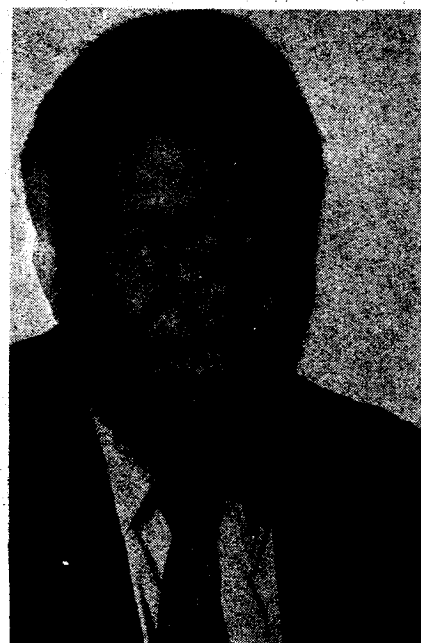


Give the child a chance

Ex-combatants Receive Decent Reburial

by G.M. Chinengundu

Secretary for Information and Publicity,
Mashonaland East Province, ZANU (PF)
Deputy Minister of Justice, Legal and
Parliamentary Affairs



Mashonaland East is one of many provinces in the country where the remains of our fallen heroes and ex-Zanla Combatants have been reburied. Most of the Districts where this was necessary have witnessed the reburials in what we call local Heroes Acres. Burials have taken place in places like Wedza, Goromonzi, Mudzi and Mutoko and preparations are underway to undertake similar exercises in Marondera District (Chihota Area) Mutoko and Goromonzi. Of all the reburials which have so far taken place in the Province, the one undertaken at Mutoko on the 23rd January 1988 was the most remarkably organized.

The reburial took place at a point which is almost three kilometres west of Mutoko Growth Point — which is itself approximately 140 kilometers east of Harare. The site is about a kilometer from the Main Harare-Nyamapanda Road and is opposite the JOC. The Growth Point had been a hive of activity

for over a week in preparation for this very important event especially to the people of Mutoko District and the Province at large. Both the local community and the provincial leadership worked very hard to make the event a resounding success.

Tasks Performed

To begin with the event needed some money with which to buy coffins, food for the people, fencing material etc. A committee was set up to monitor the event and raise the necessary funds which the committee did successfully — thanks to the cooperation and help of the local people — especially the business community of the whole of Mutoko District. The District Administrator for the District — Comrade Mugoni did remarkably well and worked very hard in conjunction with Provincial Party Officials and other party cadres to coordinate all the people who assisted. The MPs for Mutoko and Mudzi, Comrades Katsande and Kabasa respectively did their best to assist. All Government Departments such as the Army, Police, Prison, Local Government and Education to name only a few played a very important role in making the event a success.

As is the custom in the Mutoko area and elsewhere the traditional leaders such as Chiefs and Spirit Mediums had to be consulted, and this was done. They gave their blessings to the undertaking of the event. As will be discussed later the involvement of the traditional Chiefs in such exercises is very important and crucial.

The most difficult task was the digging of the graves and the exhuming of the remains from the shallow mass graves in which they had been buried. This exercise took quite sometime to complete. Once this was accomplished everything else became easy.

The Background

As already stated above the blessing of the traditional leaders such as the Chiefs and Spirit Mediums was required in terms of the African custom. In fact it was partly due to pressure from the Spirit Mediums acting through the Chiefs that eventually persuaded people in the area to undertake the exercise. When the ex-combatants and their supporters were killed during the war, the enemy buried them in very shallow mass graves. Most people who were taken for questioning in connection with assisting the freedom fighters in and around Mutoko were

eventually killed at the JOC near Mutoko and buried in mass graves. The same happened to freedom fighters. Some of those killed came from Murehwa, Mudzi and Rushinga. Because of the shallowness of the mass graves and with the passage of time most of the remains are beginning to be exposed and are seen by people. When this happens and the matter is reported to the Chiefs — they, the Chiefs get concerned because it is taboo to see the remains of a human being. This is believed to bring misfortune to the area, such as drought, floods, lightning and disease, to mention only a few. In fact the drought that has been affecting the country from time to time ever since 1980 has been associated with this phenomenon. The Chiefs had to make it known that something must be done about the reburial of such remains. This is supported by the fact that on November 13, 1987, Chief Mutoko accompanied by Members of Parliament, Katsande and Kabasa actually went to discuss this matter with the writer in his capacity as Deputy Minister of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development then.

For the reason aforementioned and the fact that the Party — ZANU (PF) wished to honour its fallen heroes by giving them a decent burial, the reburial of the remains of fallen liberation struggle heroes was conducted on the 23rd January 1988 as already stated. Both the Government and Party encourage the reburials wherever it is necessary.

Mutoko Heroes Acre

All in all the remains of 126 (one hundred and twenty-six) ex-ZANLA combatants and those who assisted them were buried at Mutoko Heroes Acre on the day in question. The occasion was witnessed and attended by more than five thousand people from all over Mutoko and surrounding districts. They were all buried in coffins bought by the Committee and the Mashonaland East Development Association (MEDA). Among

Destroy Apartheid

sium that;” . . . terrorists and bandits operate without respect for the rights of anyone, but we also know how important it is to try where-ever possible to protect children from the madness of those who know only war and destruction . . .

The progressive forces, gravely concerned about bringing peace, dignity and well-being to these children and their families must come in solidarity with the people of the Frontline and Southern Africa.

It is the duty of the International Community to help the Frontline States to provide material aid and technical assistance, promote the well-being of every child, raise adult literacy, expand parenting education programmes, promote economic development in order to reduce their dependence on South African economy, provide more job opportunities to ease the burden of foreign debts and offer the children hope for a bright and productive future.

**CHILDREN OF SOUTHERN AFRICA
NEED PEACE AND APARTHEID
MUST BE DESTROYED TO CREATE
THAT PEACE!**

the remains could be seen small-sized skeletons which led to the conclusion that small children or even babies must have been killed and buried together with their parents in the shallow graves. Some of the remains exhumed had no heads. This is because the enemy — the Smith's regimes' soldiers sometimes cut off the heads of their victims and publicly carried them all over the villages as a means of instilling fear in the mind of the *POVO*.

The Ceremony

The ceremony started in the morning at nine o'clock and went on until late in the afternoon but the actual reburial took much longer — to the extent that some people were at the Heroes Acre until 12 midnight.

The proper building of the graves went on for a few more days later. Before the coffins were placed in the graves and before prayers and graveyard speeches, the representatives of Chief Mutoko were asked to lead the ceremony as far as tradition was concerned. Six men were seen crouching near one of the mass grave, clapping hands and poetically talking. Later on the writer asked their leader to explain what they were doing and why they were doing it. It then transpired that in the Mutoko District if a stranger dies in the area and his remains are not claimed for burial by his or her relatives the community in that locality will be called upon to bury him or her. Before the burial however, the Chief will consult the spirit medium who will advise him or her what to do. (Mutoko is the only District in Zimbabwe where you find women Chiefs — namely Chief Chimukoko and the late Chief Charewa). The Chief either personally or through one of the elders will then ask the ancestral spirits to accept the deceased as one of their subjects and to give him a place to

rest in heaven as they know it. Thereafter the deceased's spirit will not be expected to be roaming about on earth in the locality bringing misfortunes therein. This is precisely what they did at Mutoko Heroes Acre. The people in the area are now comforted by the fact that the fallen Heroes buried in the area are now part and parcel of them. They now have a place among their own dead and expect no problem in the area which could have come as a result of not giving the comrades a decent reburial. This was the most important part of the ceremony both from a political and cultural point of view. People in Mutoko in particular and Mashonaland East Province in general had not only reburied ordinary people, but had reburied the remains of ex-ZANLA freedom fighters — they associate themselves with the fallen fighters whom they assisted during the struggle and some of whom they knew personally.

Thereafter Comrade S. Sekeramayi, a Member of the Party's politburo and Minister of State, Security delivered his funeral oration by outlining the history of the struggle and the reason why the fallen heroes deserve to be honoured, remembered and respected by being properly buried. This was a sign that the nation was appreciative of the work that the Heroes did and accomplished — that of liberating Zimbabwe, according to Comrade Sekeramayi. Revolutionary songs were sung, followed by a three gun salute. The coffin bearers were soldiers — some of whom were operating together with the fallen comrades in the area. The whole ceremony was very scenic and impressive. One could not help feeling that this was indeed the way the nation should honour its fallen heroes wherever they can be found.

The Responsibility

Questions have always been asked as who

should bear the expenses of the reburial exercises. Various answers have been given. Some have said that it is the responsibility of the Government, others say it is the Party and yet others think it must be the Local Community and the Party. The known fact however is that Government has not directly assigned funds to any Ministry for reburial purposes. All funds have been provided by the Local Committees who work hand in hand with the Party in the area. The money does not come from Party Headquarters either.

Some of the reburial programmes have been delayed because people have been made to believe that Government would provide the funds only to discover that no funds are voted for this purpose by Parliament. The truth is that the Party and the Local Community must find the funds to undertake the reburial exercises in their respective areas and, of course there is nothing wrong with this system because people take pride in the fact that they are solely responsible for the decent reburial of the fallen comrades in their locality. Mashonaland East has realized this and the programme goes on without looking to Government for assistance. It must be made clear that these ceremonies have not been declared State Occasions to merit financing by the State. Despite lack of funds however, the events should not be taken lightly and the reburials must be properly done. It is no use just removing the remains from one shallow grave, wrap them in a blanket and rebury them in another shallow grave. The programme should not be undertaken until adequate funds are available.

The Mutoko programme is not complete yet and many more remains will be exhumed and reburied at the Heroes Acre. Preparations are underway. □

The Stockholm Declaration

During the last few decades, a handful of nations have acquired the capability of destroying not only one another but all others as well. Their war machines could terminate civilization and all life on earth.

No nation has the right to use such instruments of war. And what thus is morally wrong should also be explicitly prohibited by international law through a binding international agreement.

All states have the responsibility to uphold the rule of law in international relations. The respect for its basic principles is a fundamental prerequisite for creating a just and stable world order and for making disarmament possible.

These principles are being trampled upon at this very moment. International disputes

are more and more dealt with through resort to force. The dangerous delusion that might be right is, particularly in the nuclear age, one of the most threatening features of our world.

Crucial decisions to prevent the ultimate catastrophe lie with those who possess nuclear weapons. It is their responsibility to live up to the objectives of eliminating all of them.

But the rest of us, the non-nuclear weapon states, have a legitimate interest in the abolition of these awesome weapons. We demand it. We owe it not only to ourselves, but also to future generations. The fate of weapon systems which can spread death and destruction regardless of national borders must not be left in the hands of only a few states.

When the Six Nation Initiative was launched more than three years ago, prospects for disarmament looked grim. Virtually all negotiations were at a standstill. Since then, we have welcomed the resumption of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States. The signing in Washington on December 8 of the INF Treaty can be seen as a historic first step. It shows that given political will, all obstacles can be removed, including verification which ostensibly has been the principal obstacle for so long. Indeed, the Treaty's provisions on verification provide useful guidelines for future agreements. But much more remains to be done. The arms race has not even been halted, let alone reversed. New nuclear weapons are still being constructed and tested. The INF Treaty will not reduce the total number of nuclear weapons by

more than a few per cent. The Treaty is, however, significant evidence that a reversal is possible. No time must now be lost before more far-reaching nuclear disarmament agreements are achieved.

Even after the implementation of the INF Treaty, thousands of tactical nuclear weapons will still remain in Europe and elsewhere. In fact, these weapons could actually be the ones to trigger a nuclear holocaust.

We urge that also these tactical nuclear weapons be completely abolished, without delay. In this connection, the need for substantial reductions in conventional forces must also be considered on a priority basis.

The strategic nuclear weapons pose a mortal threat all over the world. They form the core of the present overkill capacity. It is our firm conviction that they must be totally abolished before we witness a catastrophe which might occur even by mistake.

The agreed principle of 50 per cent reductions in the strategic arsenals of each superpower must be honoured. We urge that a treaty on such reductions be signed by the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union in the first half of 1988. Such a treaty would constitute a decisive step towards the ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Military competition must not be introduced into new fields. Space belongs to us all, and the number of countries growing more and more dependent on the benefits of the peaceful utilization of outer space is increasing. It must not be used for destructive purposes.

There is still time to prevent an arms race in space. We call on the parties to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty to strictly abide by that treaty. We also reiterate our call for a complete banning of anti-satellite weapons. Specifically, and as an interim measure, we propose an agreement banning the testing of such weapons.

Agreements to reduce existing nuclear arsenals must be backed up by decisive measures to check the unbridled development of new generations of ever more dreadful and sophisticated nuclear weapons. The single most effective measure would be to end all nuclear-weapon tests, by all states. Such a step would be of crucial importance not only for achieving this objective, but also for preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to countries which have so far refrained from acquiring them.

The United States and the Soviet Union have started bilateral negotiations on gradu-

ally establishing lower limits on nuclear tests. Any agreement that leaves room for continued testing would not be acceptable. We stress once again that a comprehensive test ban is already long overdue. Pending that, we reiterate our call for an immediate suspension of all nuclear testing, by all states.

An effective test ban must be universally observed. This requires multilateral negotiations within the conference on disarmament. We, as representatives of non-nuclear weapon states, are ready to contribute in working towards a speedy adoption of a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Our offer to assist in the monitoring of any halt in nuclear testing still stands. In this connection, our group of experts will shortly convene in Sweden a conference with wide international participation to take stock of global efforts so far undertaken to develop the most efficient test ban verification measures.

The conference on disarmament, the single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum, should be strengthened and made a more effective instrument for achieving nuclear disarmament and for the elimination of all other weapons of mass destruction. A convention for the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons should be urgently concluded. It would also provide an example for future efforts in the multilateral field.

Verification of compliance with disarmament agreements is an issue of concern to all nations. We all want to be certain that agreements to destroy weapons, or to refrain from their development, are strictly complied with. We therefore see a strong need for international verification in the field of disarmament.

To that end, we recognize the need for the establishment of an integrated multilateral verification system within the United Nations, as an integral part of a strengthened multilateral framework required to ensure peace and security during the process of disarmament as well as in a nuclear-weapon-free world. Our six nations will jointly propose, at the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament this year, that the UN promotes the establishment of such a system.

The total abolition of nuclear weapons, and the rapid movement towards that end, is a fundamental and moral imperative for humankind without qualification by reference to any other struggle for justice and development in the world. Even so, it is impossible to consider any questions relating to disarmament without being appalled by the waste of human and material resources now being devoted to weapons of death and mass destruction.

The current instability in the world economy has deeply affected the poorest and

most indebted countries. The arms race, particularly between the superpowers, greatly contributes to the worsening of the situation.

The first ever UN conference on the relationship between disarmament and development took place in New York last year. It reached an understanding on the complex relationship between disarmament, development and security, and brought non-military threats to security to the forefront of international concern.

The world's resources are finite. We have to choose. The sufficient manufacture of ploughshares calls for a reduction in the manufacture of swords.

As we have always maintained, the issue of nuclear disarmament is of concern to all nations. We have been greatly encouraged by the support which we have received from other non-nuclear weapon states, from parliament and non-governmental organizations, from peace movements and individuals throughout the world. We look forward to their continued support.

Mutual confidence and disarmament should replace mistrust and overarmament as a prevailing pattern of international relations. Recent developments give rise to hope. It is now of utmost importance that the opportunity be seized to halt and decisively reverse the arms race. Creating a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world calls for even greater imagination, energy and determination.

The nuclear threat remains real. Our world order is still built on the edge of the nuclear abyss. As we move into the last decade of the twentieth century, the goal must remain not only to avert the holocaust, but ultimately to eliminate all nuclear weapons.

Each and everyone can and must play a part in safeguarding our survival, strengthening our security and creating the conditions for a life dignity.

We urge the nuclear weapons states to fulfill their obligations to pursue the process of nuclear disarmament.

We, on our part, pledge to do all we can to make that process irreversible.

Raul Alfonsin
Argentina
Rajiv Gandhi
India
Ingvar Carlsson
Sweden
Adreas Papandreou
Greece
Miguel de la Madrid
Mexico
Julius Nyerere
Tanzania

Statement of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to the Nicaraguan People and the International Community

I

From the moment that the Sandinista National Liberation Front began its struggle, it inscribed in its revolutionary program the attainment of power to build a free, just, peaceful and democratic society in Nicaragua.

The moment the banners of freedom were raised in the hands of the people in Plaza of the Revolution on July 19, 1979, even before the first political or administrative measures were taken, the more reactionary sectors of the United States initiated a false and systematic campaign of deliberate distortions and lies against Nicaragua.

The drafting of the Santa Fe document completed the outline of US policy towards Nicaragua. In essence it advocates a strategy of extermination of the very existence of the emerging Sandinista Popular Revolution.

The election of President Ronald Reagan brought about the literal implementation of the Santa Fe Document, and the first steps to regroup the defeated Somoza National Guards were taken.

President Reagan complimented the aggressive political rhetoric of his administration through outright participation in organizing, financing, training and arming of counterrevolutionaries, naming as leaders of the mercenaries, high officers of the former Somoza National Guard who had distinguished themselves by their links to the Pentagon and as outstanding executors of the policy of genocide and barbarism. The US also included among the counterrevolutionary leadership ranks, civilians contracted as political front. Among these was one widely known as a long-time agent of the CIA in Nicaragua.

The US Government, consistent with its interventionist practices of which Nicaragua has been victim several times throughout its history, extended unconditional support to the counterrevolutionary forces which, as is clearly established by laws that govern processes of change, emerge as counterparts to Revolution. The oligarchy, the criminals, the exploiters that organize under the direction of imperialism as antithesis of popular victory, constitute the negation of the Revolution.

In order to protect and preserve the victories achieved, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) delivered weapons forever into the hands of the people.

Fulfilling its original program, the revolutionary government initiated the literacy



From the first days of the victorious Sandinista Revolution, the US has tried to intimidate the Nicaraguan people, implementing all sorts of sanctions and using the detachments of Somoza gangs which were not finished off. This policy became especially active with the advent of the Reagan Administration to power. It made frantic anti-communism and the suppression of the national liberation movement in Latin American countries the corner-stone of its subversive activity. To defend the country, armed units of the people's army were set up in Nicaragua, which keep a vigilant eye on the intrigues of imperialism and counter-revolution and are always ready to give a worthy rebuff to armed provocation.

campaign that began the democratization of education.

Transforming into reality the aspirations of the Nicaraguan people, particularly the peasants, the process of Agrarian Reform was boldly undertaken. Land, for the first time, was forever given to those who work it.

II

The National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) made clear that a mixed economy, political pluralism and non-alignment, are intrinsically part of the Nicaraguan Revolution. To this historic decision to build a new way of life, totally humane and in the particular conditions of Nicaragua, imperialism and its internal allies responded with war, decapitalization, economic embargo, electoral abstention of groups most subordinated to imperialism and explicit pressures against numerous governments to isolate Nicaragua.

The effect of these external factors generated the Central American conflict. But the instinct of Latin American survival surfaced through the formation of Contadora and its Support Group, to counteract and block the threatening direct US intervention against Nicaragua.

In 1984, when the Contadora Group proposed the signing of a Central American Peace Accord, the Government of Nicaragua was the only government in the region willing to do so.

When the President of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias proposed his plan for peace in Central America, the Government of Nicaragua accepted it as a base for negotiation. When the Central American Presidents met in Guatemala, our President was prepared to sign a general peace agreement. On the 17th of August of this year, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) expressed its recognition of the importance of the Accord and its commitment to strictly comply with it.

III

The people of Nicaragua and the Sandinista Front are deeply pleased that the five Central American Presidents have signed a Peace Accord, in spite of the efforts of the US Administration to keep them from doing so.

Autonomy, repatriation and ceasefire agreed to in the Atlantic Coast region was a prelude to, and over-compliance of Nicaragua, in the search for peace.

Since the signing of the Peace Accord, the Government of Nicaragua has accepted this obligation in good faith and with the support of the people has taken concrete and relevant steps to contribute to regional peace and to ratify with actions its fulfillment of the Accord. The Government of Nicaragua has been unequivocal in taking unilateral steps leading to this objective.

- At the outset, our government withdrew its case before the International Court of Justice in the Hague against Costa Rica and postponed arguments against Honduras.
- Just five days after the signing of the Peace Accord — August 12 — the Government of Nicaragua in compliance with the said Accord invited the Episcopal Conference and opposition political parties legally registered, to select their representatives to the National Reconciliation Commission. Cardinal Miguel Obando was appointed Chairman.
- Thirteen days later — 25 August — the Government of Nicaragua became the first to officially form the National Reconciliation Commission. That same day — to promote even more the Peace Process — it was announced that some priests expelled from the country were authorized to return.
- The first of September, by Presidential Decree, the National Reconciliation Commission was duly installed.
- Twelve days later prisoners, natives of other Central American countries condemned for violation of the Law on Maintenance of Security and Public Order through direct involvement in the ranks of the mercenary forces, were pardoned and released.
- That same day — 13 September — the Decree known as the Absentee Law was repealed and opposition political parties were invited to begin the National Dialogue on the fifth of October.
- Six days later — September 19 — the reopening of "La Prensa" newspaper was authorized.
- Three days after — September 22 — in spite of the continuation of the war and the state of emergency in effect, the Government lifted prior censorship of the Press and ordered the reopening of

"Catholic Radio". At the same time a unilateral cease fire was announced.

Also, since the signing of the Peace Accord, ample freedom has been guaranteed so that political parties may express their views freely in assemblies, meeting and demonstrations.

IV

This coming 5 of November the process of simultaneous compliance with obligations accepted under the Guatemala Peace Accord is to begin.

Nicaragua, obviously, has been at the forefront in fulfilling the Accord, while the U.S. Administration has clearly sought to sabotage it.

The response of the Government of the United States to the search for peace promoted by the Government of Nicaragua, has been to reaffirm its determination to continue with aggression and death.

The response to political opening has been grotesque lies, violating with unheard-of cynicism the responsible exercise of freedom of expression. To the cease fire proposal, the Government of the United States has replied with more crimes and intransigence, supplying the mercenary forces with modern infantry and anti-aircraft weapons and intensifying the activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency against our country.

To the call for National Dialogue, the enemy has responded by undermining the possibility of an internal political understanding.

To the peace mandate, the U.S. Government has replied by pressuring, through direct and indirect means, the Congress and U.S. public opinion to obtain approval of its announced request of 270 million dollars to sustain its mercenary army.

Our firm and explicit will to fulfil the Accord has been amply demonstrated since, without any obligation to do so, we have made important decisions ahead of the time called for in the Peace Accord. We cannot continue to act unilaterally when our genuine commitment to peace is met with imperialist stubbornness; with its confessed vocation of terrorism and death.

We reiterate: The Peace Accord demand simultaneous compliance with each and every one of the commitments agreed to. Amnesty cannot be extended while the mercenary forces continue to murder our brothers. The State of Emergency cannot be lifted while peasants, old people, women and children are being assassinated and while aggression organized by the U.S., which is what brought about the State of Emergency in the first place, continues.

V

Just a few days before the beginning of the implementation of the Peace Accord within the framework of simultaneous steps, the enemy has replied pretending that crimes

committed be totally forgotten; that the rivers of blood and tears of half a century of tyranny be discarded. For the people of Nicaragua, and therefore, for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (F.S.L.N.) this is intolerable.

Contradicting the contents of the Peace Accord, the U.S. has insisted that we talk with the leadership of the counter-revolutionaries, which in essence would mean to displace the internal political parties with puppet representation of mercenaries of the Government of the United States.

Counter-revolutionary is not only antithesis of Revolution. Revolution and counter revolution are irreconcilable. Counterrevolution implies eradication of achievements and principles; a return to the past; to tyranny, injustice, institutionalized exploitation, crimes, torture, brutality. We Sandinistas will never accept a return to the past.

On the other hand the counterrevolution was — as the whole world knows — organised, financed, directed and armed by the U.S. Administration.

The leaders of the counterrevolutionaries are on the payroll of the U.S. Administration, subject to removal, as is widely known. The counterrevolutionary leadership live comfortably in the U.S., Honduras and Costa Rica and receive their pay in U.S. dollars.

They do not know and never will have any representativity or effective control over the counterrevolutionary forces in the field, much less capacity to direct and control these forces. The real leadership is exercised by the U.S. Government through the CIA.

The counterrevolutionary leadership consists of a group of provocateurs charged with presenting the legal and politically unacceptable demands of imperialism and in doing so, give President Reagan justification to sabotage the Peace Accord and obtain from the US Congress the approval of more funds for the counterrevolutionaries and support for the continuation of his interventionist policy in Central America.

Their reasons to remain armed loose meaning and credibility as the peace process progresses. This is clearly the case as can be seen through the unilateral and unquestionable steps taken by Nicaragua and as the totality of steps called for under the Accord are implemented.

The people of Nicaragua and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) declare that in no way, place, or through any intermediary, will there ever be a political dialogue, direct or indirectly, with the counterrevolutionary leadership.

VI

The war however, can be ended: Let the Peace Accord be strictly implemented. Compliance with the Accord, and it is important that this be perfectly clear, means

(Continued on page 30)

Zaire: Mobutu's excellent ties with CIA

By a Correspondent

The Irangate hearings have exposed more than the covert triangular United States operation to fund Nicaraguan Contras with Iranian money. Colonel Oliver North's revelation that Washington had attempted to fund military aid to Angolan rebel movement Unita with cash from Saudi Arabia has drawn attention to the relationship between the two operations.

In each case, a country bordering the one targeted by the rebel movement is being used as a vital transit base for arms shipments. In the Unita case, that country is Zaire.

Earlier this year, when the *New York Times* first revealed that the US was supplying Unita through the Kamina base in Zaire, Washington refused to comment. President Mobutu Sese Seko, however, issued an angry denial.

It is understandable that the merest mention of Kamina base embarrasses the Kinshasa government, particularly since Kinshasa and Luanda signed what may well be called a non-aggression pact.

But it was not the Americans who first saw Kamina's potential. The crumbling Belgian-built air-base first aroused the interest of Israel and South Africa. This would have offered Israel a bridgehead to South Africa.

South Africa would have acquired a refuelling base for planes en route to other African states with which it had secret relations. The then Israeli defence minister, Ariel Sharon, made an official visit to Zaire early in February 1983, to win the approval of Mobutu — who had himself won his paratrooper's wings in Israel in 1963. But, with Sharon edged out in the aftermath of the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Lebanon, the project failed to materialise.

Washington's interest was awakened following the arms-embargo on South Africa. Another conduit had to be found for Washington's military assistance to Unita. The Pentagon and the arms-lobbies began to sell President Ronald Reagan the idea of rehabilitating the base at Kamina. The base would not only continue the supply of weapons to Unita more discreetly and on a larger scale, they argued. It would also give the US the strategic privilege of a discreet air-base right in the heart of Africa.

The project plan presented by the secretary for defence led to a dispute with the State Department, which feared the long-term implications for Washington's relations with the rest of Africa. It was also afraid of compromising a peaceful solution in Southern Africa, particularly in Namibia. But another government department was going to swing this controversial issue. The since deceased *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIS) boss, William Casey, entered the arena.

Casey succeeded in convincing the White House that clandestine aid was not only possible, it was also highly desirable. He had weighty arguments. In the past, the CIA had enjoyed excellent relations with Mobutu. In 1965, after his return to power, the president was briefed daily by agency men. Furthermore, the CIA already had in place an operations systems evolved in the Contras deal. Towards the end of 1985, the Kamina operation began.

The problem was to rehabilitate the base while giving the whole operations the character of normal bilateral aid. The arms shipments to Unita would have to be made with even greater discretion. The CIA director had himself made a secret visit to Zaire to ensure that this would be the case. Zairean personnel at every level were excluded as far as possible from the whole project.

With discretion in mind, black Americans were sent to Zaire to run the operation. They were supposed to look like Africans. Until recently, the director of the operation was a black American, known only as 'the colonel.'

The operation also involves *St Lucia Airways* a private air transport company based on the Caribbean island of St Lucia.

This firm, headed by Dietrich Reinhardt, flies to Kinshasa's Ndjili International Airport from the US sometimes transiting Cape Verde.

The company operates at least three cargo planes — a *Hercules L100* and 2 *Boeing 707s*. Their role is to transport supplies from the US via Kinshasa to Kamina.

At Kinshasa's Ndjili international airport, they also pick up supplies which American military C130s and C141s have brought in. For the past few months, there have usually been three flights a week. Both the routes and cargo details of *St Lucia Airways* are considered classified information. Not surprisingly, the airline has been under pressure from the St Lucia government to change its name.

The whole operation is shrouded in secrecy. Towards midnight, Ndjili airport closes down — at least, officially. A couple of hours go by. Suddenly a large jet, generally a 707 lands. Although a civilian plane, it taxis over to the military area.

In its hold are arms and ammunition for Unita. The plane refuels and leaves for Kamina. Sometimes a plane arrives empty. But the cargo is waiting in huge trailer lorries driven by black Americans. At Kamina, the arms are unloaded by Unita men, while the operation is guarded by American soldiers.

Although those who set up the operation wanted to avoid the South African route, these deliveries nevertheless take place with South African participation. The large *St Lucia Airways* transport planes cannot use the short runway at Jamba, headquarters of Unita chief Jonas Savimbi. In view of the risks that American military planes would run on this route, so dangerously close to Angolan anti-aircraft fire, lighter South African planes, flown by white South Africans, take the cargo on to Jamba.

Secrecy is crucial. After the existence of the Kamina operations had leaked out, the CIA took new steps to protect the operation. To the surprise and dismay of a number of Zairean officials and foreign diplomats, it was decided that all foreign journalists likely to be interested in the operation should be vetted by the CIA. In case of disagreement, the last word goes to the US ambassador to Zaire, Brandon H. Grove.

All visa applications by foreign journalists are reported to him at the embassy in the aptly-named Rue des Aviateurs.

When Zairean consulates abroad have difficulties with reporters invited by Unita, the matter is referred to Zaire's embassy in France.

The case is then referred back to Kinshasa — not to the Zairean government but to the US embassy.

At the time of the bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi in April 1986, Pentagon strategists proposed that Kamina should be used as a refuelling point for US bombers before their flight to Libya.

Terror is the CIA's Main Weapon in Africa

US imperialism continues to pursue its policy of destabilizing the situation in the front-line states, utilizing bandit formations and clandestine radio stations. The leaders of UNITA and Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) terrorist groups are received in Washington as freedom fighters or government officials. Their expenses in the USA are paid for by the CIA and the South African racists. Terrorists from Mushala's bands who, together with UNITA assassins, infiltrate into Zambia, kill civilians and commit acts of sabotage in factories and plants, are in the payroll of the US and British secret services. The "Homeland" of Bophuthatswana, which is dependent on South Africa, is used as a base for groups which Pretoria and its US friends use against Botswana.

US and South Africa armed acts of provocation against front-line states are supported by a large-scale propaganda offensive. Scores of radio stations, specially set up for the purpose, direct at the population of these countries a stream of lies and slander to discredit their leaders and incite tribal enmity. The Foreign Broadcast Information Service, with a regional centre in Swaziland and headquarters in Virginia, USA, plays a leading role in ideological war.

The South African province of Transvaal harbours a radio station with the hypocritical name Radio Truth which is sponsored by experts in radio propaganda from the CIA. With their assistance, the South African secret services have also set up such radio stations as the Voice of Free Africa in Transvaal and the Voice of the Black Cockereel in Namibia. Their lies and misinformation are mainly directed at the citizens of Mozambique and Angola. These countries are also the targets of terrorist activities. Decisive for the financial and logistic support of UNITA and MNR subversive activities was the June 1985 meeting held in the UNITA headquarters in Jamba of representatives of this organisation, MNR, Nicaraguan contras and Afghan counter-revolutionaries, which was organised by the CIA with the help of the US conservative organisation Citizens for America. Following that meeting, President Reagan gave his blessing to these groups' stepping up their terrorist activities by stating that he regarded US assistance to them as a sacrifice necessary to promote freedom.

At the same time, the former CIA Director William Casey removed in February 1986 the last opponent of unbridled covert actions within the CIA, John McMahon, and started to elaborate plans for extensive financial support of subversive operations against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and

Mozambique. Casey devised a source of money which would be unaccountable to the US Congress since he feared a recurrence of the January 1976 situation when Congress adopted the law stopping all CIA operations in Angola. Not having complete trust in his CIA colleagues, Casey, together with the NSC staff, set up a special group headed formally by Lt. Col. North. Generals Singlaub and Secord, whom Casey knew as experts on dirty tricks, became leading members of the group.

This was the beginning of the scandal which the world came to know as the Iran-contra affair. What is not so well known, however, is the fact that the money obtained from arms sales to Iran was spent not only to support the contras (they had enough allocations from Congress and other Pentagon and CIA related outlays) but largely to support the bandits from UNITA and the MNR as well as the Afghan mujaheddin. Arms were purchased for them, they were trained by CIA instructors and mercenaries, experienced in sabotage and subversive activities in various parts of Africa from Katanga to Rhodesia.

CIA instructors advise their clients from UNITA and the MNR to use tactics tried on several occasions in other countries, such as Chile, Nicaragua and Afghanistan and designed to create public discontent with the government. To achieve this they recommend attacks against economic and civilian targets as well as against the population. In this connection the American journalist, Anthony Lewis, rightly pointed out in the *New York Times* that most Americans would certainly reject the idea that political aims can justify murder or the maiming of innocent civilians. But today, he went on, the US government is siding with the forces that apply precisely such tactics, in spite of the fact that it is aware of the atrocities committed by these forces. According to Reagan, the end justifies the means. Lewis stressed that terror against civilians is the principal tactics of UNITA in Angola. David Ottaway from the *Washington Post* reported that on February 8, 1986, several hundreds of Savimbi's soldiers attacked Camabatela, settlement in northern Angola, and killed with firearms and machetes 107 people, primarily civilians, among whom women and children and a methodist minister.

This incident fits into the general picture of terrorism practised by Savimbi. His men lay mines in fertile agricultural areas of Angola in an attempt to force people to move to the already overpopulated cities. Thousands of people have lost their legs so that the International Red Cross has had to open

a factory manufacturing artificial limbs in Angola.

Savimbi's tactics are not a secret to anyone. He boasts that his forces hit civilian aircraft with US-made Stinger missiles. He seizes groups of foreigners as hostages and makes them walk hundreds of miles.

Such are the facts about Savimbi's crimes against the Angolan people described by US journalists in 1986. Already at that time these journalists whom one cannot suspect of special sympathy for the Africans, noted that those crimes did not in any way embarrass the Reagan administration. Quite the opposite, in March 1986 the then CIA Director Casey visited South Africa with the aim of co-ordinating military assistance to Savimbi with the racists. It is only right to add that it is difficult for the Reagan administration to feel embarrassed, since its people elaborated these tactics for Savimbi. Moreover, Reagan, Casey and their political allies have always been and continue to be racists themselves; and to them the life of an African is not worth a dime and is only small change in the game for high stakes which US imperialism and neo-colonialism are playing in Africa.

Savimbi's bandits and the MNR's cut-throats were quick to learn the lessons taught by the CIA and in 1986-1987 unleashed a real war against the civilian population of Angola and Mozambique making use of growing arms shipments from the USA and South Africa. UNITA received US arms, including Stinger missiles, via Kamina air force base in Zaire and South African weapons directly at its base in Jamba on the territory of Angola, protected by the South African regular army which participates in combat operations against the Angolan army and in plundering the houses of civilians. On October 31, 1987, South Africa lost 12 soldiers in a combat operation on the territory of Angola and hastened to state that its armed forces conducted a successful operation against a SWAPO camp. In fact, the South African army, including artillery, fighters and bombers, took part in operations, jointly with UNITA, against Angolan troops and population in the course of which US Stinger and TOW missiles were widely used. It is note worthy that these missiles were shipped to Angola through Zaire in aircraft of the same CIA company St. Lucia Airways which, under contract to the Swedish arms dealer Shmitz, delivered arms, including US-made Hawk missiles, to Iran within the framework of the Iran-contra-UNITA affairs.

The arming and training of MNR troops is primarily effected by South Africa. The CIA, however, takes part in financing the

joint "venture" and in supplying the MNR, via South Africa, with the most advanced and effective types of light weapons. In addition, the CIA provides the MNR with intelligence data about the location of government forces. Intelligence is transmitted within the framework of the same agreement between the US and South African secret services under which the United States supplied information to South Africa about the ANC and its leaders. Information regarding the location of Mozambican troops is obtained by the CIA and the NSA not only through technical intelligence gathering but also with the help of agents in Maputo and during intelligence-gathering trips of Maputo-based CIA men across the country. Recently, the CIA station chief in Mozambique, Esquivel, made unhindered several such trips to government troops locations. Detailed and accurate data enabled the MNR to stage this year three bloody attacks against

the civilian population of Mozambique killing thousands of people.

Lately, South Africa has sharply intensified arms supplies to MNR bandits utilizing for that purpose, according to the Minister of State for Security of Zimbabwe E. Munangagwa, submarines, aircraft and helicopters. In an interview with the South African paper *Financial Mail*, he said that this year South African submarines entered the territorial waters of Mozambique several times and unloaded large shipments of arms on the coast and in the estuary of the Zambezi. To receive airborne shipments two landing strips were built in the forest which were recently seized by Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops.

Having been supplied with fresh arms, the MNR bandits started to invade neighbouring Zimbabwe. This was recently reported

by President Robert Mugabe, who aptly described the MNR as a terrorist organisation devoid of any ideology, political aims or morality and committing crimes just for the sake of committing them.

It was the criminal collusion between the US and South African secret services and the bandits from the MNR which led to the death of President of Mozambique Samora Machel. Despite the efforts of the perpetrators of this terrorist act to cover up their activities, new evidence of their involvement has become known to the public.

Death and sorrow will continue to be the Africans' lot as long as the US secret services and their accomplices from South Africa can operate with impunity on our continent. □

Informative Notes and Dates on Poland's Foreign Policy

Polish Peace Initiatives

Poland's commitment to the cause of peace and strengthening international security derives from the invariable objectives of Polish foreign policy: the resolve to preserve the country's security and independence, its territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, and creating the most auspicious external conditions for socio-economic development, safeguarded by European and global peace and security.

Poland's dedication to peace, consistent with the above-mentioned objectives, finds its fullest manifestation in the specifically Polish — although supported by their allies — initiatives regarding peace, security and disarmament, presented in the post-war era parallel to, but independently of, the socialist countries' joint endeavours to this end.

Initiatives Related to International Security

Among the most significant Polish peace initiatives are those presented at the United Nations:

In 1946, Poland formally submits a draft resolution containing proposal to sign an international agreement to *prohibit the use of atomic energy for purposes other than peaceful*.

*In 1952, the Polish delegation presents a draft resolution entitled "*On preventing the threat of a new world war and consolidating peace and friendly cooperation between nations*".

*Two years later, Poland declares its

readiness to be a party to an all-European agreement on collective security.

On October 2, 1957 the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Adam Rapacki, presents the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. The proposal, later known as *the Rapacki Plan*, envisaged that in this zone (which covered the territories of Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the FRG) there would be a total ban on producing, possessing or stockpiling any kind of nuclear weapons or equipment for its utilization (including rocket launchers). The ban was to apply both to the countries of the zone, as well as to the nuclear states, whose armed forces were stationed on the territory of the zone; the use of nuclear weapons against countries of the zone was to be prohibited; an international mechanism to safeguard and monitor the observance of the obligations adopted was to be established.

*In 1960, Poland proposes *an anti-war and disarmament program* of a more complex and universal character, which appeals to the entire international community.

*In February 1964, the Polish government presents a Memorandum to all interested states. In it, Poland affirms full validity of the Rapacki Plan and formulates an idea of freezing nuclear and thermonuclear armaments in Central Europe. The primary objective of this concept, which became known as *the Gomulka Plan*, was to restrain the further buildup of nuclear potentials in this vital region of Europe and to maintain the then existing balance of force.

*In the autumn of 1964, the Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki submits a

proposal to convene *an all-European meeting on issues pertaining to European security*. The initiative, consistently promoted by the Polish diplomacy in the following years, both at the UN and in bilateral relations, played a major role in generating a broad international debate, which eventually led to the convening of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe with 35 states of Europe, Canada and the USA participating. This Conference ended in 1975 with the signing of a document of enduring significance — the CSCE Final Act.

*In February 1980, Poland formulates a proposal to convene *a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe*, which could meet in Warsaw. The idea, formally presented at the CSCE Madrid meeting the following December was one of the basis for the elaboration of the mandate of the Stockholm Conference

*On September 27, 1985 *a study on the manifold effects of militarization of outer space*, thus following on the tradition of the Secretary-General's disarmament studies prepared at Poland's initiative.

*In December 1986, Poland proposes to extend the mandate of the Stockholm Conference on *Confidence and Security building Measures and Disarmament in Europe*. The objective of this initiative is to enhance the effectiveness of measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation; to this end, the Conference would broaden the scope of its debate to deal with questions pertaining to conventional disarmament in Europe.

*In September 1986, W. Jaruzelski

launches an idea of a meeting of representatives of CSCE states to take place in Warsaw on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the second World War.

*On May 8, 1987, W. Jaruzelski presents a plan for nuclear and conventional disengagement in Central Europe. The plan, whose origins are in line with the tradition of Polish concepts of denuclearization and nuclear arms freeze in Central Europe, envisages a gradual withdrawal and the reduction of previously agreed types of operational and tactical arms — both nuclear and conventional, capable of use for effecting a surprise attack.

Initiatives Concerning Economic Cooperation

Apart from international peace and security, efforts aimed at promoting mutually beneficial economic cooperation between states have taken an important place in Poland's foreign policy. Among the initiatives in that regard, presented by Poland on the international forum in recent years alone, one should note the following:

*The Polish idea of studying the long-term trends of regional economic development, was approved by the UN General Assembly in 1975.

*The concept of confidence building in international economic relations has been incorporated in General Assembly resolution 196/38.

*W. Jaruzelski submitted a proposal — under the eegis of the Secretary-General of UN — of an international centre for the study of debt and development.

*The proposal put forth by W. Jaruzelski envisages the adoption of a universal principle of the free exchange of services, licences and technologies to serve the protection of the environment.

Initiatives in the Humanitarian and Cultural Area

Polish initiatives presented at the UN and in other international bodies as a manifestation of consistent policy of international security, peaceful coexistence and cooperation,

are reflected also in actions addressing social, cultural, and humanitarian issues as well as human rights questions. Worth mentioning in this context are the following:

*The proposal concerning the adoption of principle of non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes against humanity because one of the first steps in the General Assembly to prepare and eventually adopt an international legal instrument — the Convention of 1968.

*The initiative concerning the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Child is Poland's initiative.

The commitment of the Polish People's Republic to peace, security and disarmament also accounts for its participation in efforts to settle or prevent regional conflicts and disengage opposing forces.

The above-mentioned initiatives and proposals submitted by Poland — do confirm Poland's unbending will to pursue — along with other UN members — the goals of peaceful coexistence, international security and cooperation. In the nuclear age there is no practical alternative to the pursuit of their materialisation. □

OBITUARY:

The Late Comrade Clement Toendepi Mudenge Dube

Comrade Clement Toendepi Mudenge Dube was born in 1959 at Rosedale in Mvuma within the Chilimanzi Communal Lands.

The deceased received his primary education at Dzuka School in Gokwe up to Grade Four after which he transferred to Changazi Primary School in Melsetter where he completed Grade Seven. He later got his Junior Certificate of Education through correspondence.

In 1976 he left Chipinge for Mozambique to receive military training at Tembwe ZANLA Military Training Camp. Immediately after training Comrade Clement entered into the then Rhodesia and operated in the Gaza Province until ceasefire was announced after the Lancaster House Agreement.

He then went to Mutandawe Assembly Point in Chiredzi where he stayed until after the elections and started working at Cheziya District Council as a Licence Inspector. Due to his active involvement in politics in Gokwe, he was elected the Provincial Youth Security Officer for the Midlands Province.

At the 1984 National Youth Conference, he was elected to the post of Deputy Secretary for Publicity and Information. Because of this election, he became part of the ZANU (PF) Youth League National Executive.

Comrade Clement had been sick since 1985 and was treated at several hospitals. When medications failed to cure him, the Secretary for Youth League, Comrade E.R. Kadungure recommended him a holiday in Bulgaria as well as medical attention there. He came back still not well and tried several hospitals but all efforts were in vain.

He died at Wilkins Hospital on February 23, 1988. Many of those who worked with him in the Party described him as a "hard working and selfless comrade who worked tirelessly for the success of the goals of the Party". For that reason, the Party Central Committee recommended the deceased former freedom fighter to be buried at Gweru Provincial Heroes Acre. This is a great honour in recognition of his dedication to work for the masses through the Party and for sacrificing his life for the liberation of our motherland, Zimbabwe. □

Monthly News In Brief

Open General Import Licence (OGIL) Renewed

A statutory instrument gazetted in March contained two bits of good news for the business community and families contemplating importing cars from Botswana to Zimbabwe. The instrument stipulates that the open general import license (OGIL) agreement with Botswana which was not to be renewed when it expired at the end of this month was to be renewed.

The notice also reaffirms that returning residents, expatriates, and immigrants can still bring one car a person duty free. But these measures should not be misused by unpatriotic persons who try to retard the growth of local industries, and instead promote foreign industries. □

West Germany's President Visits

President Richard von Weizsacker of West Germany paid us a very successful visit last month. He was warmly welcomed by President Robert Mugabe, and by all the people of Zimbabwe. We have major differences with West Germany on the question of South Africa, but we continue to talk to these Western European governments and their leaders, so that they may change their policies on this question. West Germany has increased its economic trade and involvement in the South African economy. It has politicians comrade Franz Joseph Strauss who openly support the South African regime. □

Japan Gives Zimbabwe \$33 million

Japan has given Zimbabwe about \$33 million to help ease the foreign debt as well as buy spares and machinery from the cheapest sources in any country in the world. The completely untied "non-project type" grant is the first Japan has awarded to Zimbabwe. Previously, Japanese grants covered specific Government projects only.

While we welcome Japan's aid to us, we remain unhappy with the increasing involvement of Japanese multinationals in the South African economy. Curtailment of trade and aid to and with South Africa remains a major plea of OAU states. Japan, Western Europe and North America should take this plea seriously. □

Professor Stanlake Samkange Dies

Hundreds of mourners gathered at Tambaram Farm in Musengezi Purchase Area on March 12, 1988, to pay their last respects to the late Professor Stanlake John Thompson Samkange, a great son of Zimbabwe.

As a historian, author, teacher, businessman and publisher, he made a great contribution to the building of our young nation. The funeral was attended by the President R.G.

Mugabe who delivered a graveside oration, Government Ministers, Professor Walter Kamba and leading clerics from various denominations.

Unfortunately, three cars returning from the funeral of Professor Samkange were involved in a road accident near Norton, resulting in the deaths of Comrade J. Ngara, legal advisor to the Ministry of State Security, and Comrade M. Tsomondo, Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Justice. Zimbabwe mourns these great sons who were builders of our young nation. □

Unity Pact Bears Fruit

Bandit activity in the former dissident-haunted areas of Matabeleland has been drastically reduced following the signing of the unity accord between Zimbabwe's two main political parties, said the Vice-President, Comrade Simon Muzenda in Gweru on March 13, 1988.

Addressing a Joint rally with Comrade Joshua Nkomo the ZAPU leader, at Mko-ba Stadium Comrade Muzenda called on all dissidents to lay down their arms.

Comrade Muzenda called on ordinary people to strengthen unity at grassroots level, saying that it was only at that level that division could arise. "Division can only

come from below, because that is where cheap and loose comes from. We want unity, and not division".

The Vice President and Comrade Nkomo have addressed joint rallies throughout the country over the last two months. On some occasions, they were joined or assisted by Comrade M.T. Nyagumbo, Secretary for Administration, and Comrade Joseph Msi-ka, Vice President of ZAPU. □

The Party Expands Business Ventures

In an interview with the Herald recently, the Treasurer Comrade Enos Nkala, said ZANU (PF) is continually expanding its business ventures and enterprises to create a business institution which will cater for ex-combatants, those injured in the armed forces and other party members. The idea behind these ventures was to create a stable future for party members. So far the party owns 60 percent of Woolworth, 50 percent Consolidated Textiles, 10 percent of Catercraft, 50 percent of the Duty-free shop, 100 percent of Jongwe Printers and some farms and properties which produce wheat, maize and other crops.

On the party headquarters, Comrade Nkala said that out of the \$18 million needed, so far about \$7 million had been raised and fund raising activities were still going on. □

Mviromviro DzeChimurenga

Vaiva nenzeve vakanzwa,
Izvo zvakataurwa kareko,
"Kuchauya vasina mavvi",
Ndiwawa makuru mashoko
akataurwa nowedu mushakabvu,
Vasekuru Chaminuka mufemberi.

Zvakazoitika mugorero,
hoyo mudungwe rongondo,
pamusoro nhundu denge,
akange masvosve parwendo,
Inga ndevasina mavvi,
vakange vauya zvachose!
Kuzopamba chombo chiri gidi!

Vomunyika vose,
vakanzwa raChaminuka roto
ndechokwadi kuti vakazoonza
nokuyeuka mapako vaniwa.
Vakazvionera pamhino sechikwepa
uku chakarumwa uku chakatsva,
napo pokupinda vakashaya,
matongo akanga agarwa namanhamba amutiro
gidi mumaoko chichichi!

Wakaonecho mutema gore iro
wakasukutwa sedehwe rembudzi
Rakatorwa rake dura
mahupi ndokuenda, naye Chauya BO ndokudyiwa.
Akawira mumuromo mamupere
akaerera nemvura — Hukurahwindi

ikainda namutora huku,
fuma yake yakapera,
yakadyiwa yose namawanga,
iye dzezvirovira ndokudya, dziri mbishi nhoko
mutema wakashaya chokubata,
mbavha yakanga yapinda!

Vakafunga vaNehanda
kwavazukuru vavo kutambura
pasi pejoko dzvuku rounhapwa
joko romusveta, mupambepfumi, mupambevhu.
Mutema wakava muranda,
muneyatateguru nyika.

Nehanda wakaunganidza vazukuru vake
ndokuvaruma nzeve vose
vakakurukura huru nyaya:
Mauya vazukuru?
Tavakunetseka onai,
naicho chibharo mumapurazi avazungu,
mitero yembwa ndidzo shanu nembofana,
ratakasiirwa navaMonomotapa ivhu,
rakaererwa nemvura yechirimo,
nhasi hatina chokudya
dzakapera dzedu n'ombe
naiye Chirozva dzakadyiwa
mumukanwa mamagonde dzakapinda
kwakainda tsuro ndokwakaenda imbwa.

Vazukuru shoko ndirori
randakudanirai mashambanzou

riripachena harivhikwi
chirimumusakasaka chinozvanzwira,
munoda kugara sembwa here?
Ko kuita varanda?
Ino nyika inhaka huru
yamunofanira kufira yenyu
mapfumo aChaminuka naChangamire,
akakutavai vazukuru.
Gadzirirai hondo huru
Chivava chitsvatsva nepwere
chimedza nemburungwe
zuva rakacheke nyika.
Ndinopika navose vashakabvu
avo vava vagari vezvuru
ticharwisa kusvikira yasununguka
nyika youchi nomukaka
dura rendarama
nyika yezvitubu namakute
Yedu nyika inoera . . .

Yakarira hwamanda munyika,
dzose nzeve dzakavhurika
rakanzwika shoko rokuti:
Rodzai mapanga enyu
pfurai miseve yenyu
vezai tsvimbo dzenyu
pfumo ngaripinze
zvirokwazvo ndinoti yazosvika zvino
nguva yokuti tose
tipwanye musoro wemhungu
iyi yapinda mumba,
kutikataza magariro.

Wakaripo shera rake Nehanda
rainganduma serimi romoto,
pfumo guru raipisa,
chizezesa mapenzi.
Rakabhururuka
rakati zete, rikatimikira padundundu
rairo guru jena
riya mutakati zimboora.

Musi uyo vakafara
vakaguta navazukuru
chebhunu chiropa vakagocha

vakachitonha neropa dzvuku
vanoti nyama yaishata
sokuipawo kwezviito zvaro bhunu
vanoti zvakare
vakagwangura, vakazvimbirwa, vakafara!

Une zvawo umwe musi
zuva nezvaro rakauya, ndokutandudza ruoko
vedu mbuya vakaresva kuona
avo akanga apera maziso
kwakanga kwavakusakara kwedovo serisakambodiwa nyama
akanga apera mwongo mapfupa
yakanyavaira mhondi huru
ndokubaradzika refu hope
vakaenda rwendo rusingadzokwi
shoko guru vakasiya:

"Mabhunu mandiraya henyu,
asi mapfupa angu achamuka.
Kunavazukuru vangu mose:
ndofa hangu asi musakanganwa
mutoro wandakusiirai mukuru
sungai dzisimbe, ndinemi narinhi
hondo ichatungira mangwana zvakare!"

VaNehanda vakarikusha
rehondo muhana dzedu
rakamera
rikakura
rikatumbuka
takakura naro
kukohwa kwakasvika
takakokana kuita guhwa
taida kupedza nhamo
tikabvumirana tose
takaruma rundebvu
takada kubaya mazungu
takada kutora nyika
yeguru nzinza Monomotapa
chisungo takasunga
chishwe chomusangano watakavaka
Vanhuh vakabatana
ndokupana mazano
awo takapiwa neZANU

Continued from page 24

that all aid from the US and other Central American Governments, without subterfuge or delaying tactics, must end. As long as platforms for aggression against Nicaragua in neighbouring countries remain; as long as the counterrevolutionaries are not instructed to end their war against the legitimate government of Nicaragua; the Peace Accord will remain unfulfilled.

The Sandinista Front, with the same faith and confidence in the possibilities of peace, reiterate its support of the Peace Accord and reaffirms its will to defend it, with the understanding that the commitments "form a harmonious and indivisible whole. Signing below implies accepting in good faith the obligation to comply simultaneously with what has been agreed to within the established time period."

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), with the same will and intransigence with which it defends and will con-

tinue to defend the Peace Accord signed in Guatemala, will likewise defend its right to not accept any demand not contained in the letter or spirit of this Accord.

The FSLN is a revolutionary organisation historically committed to leading a revolution. This means the fulfilment of sacred principles to defend the sovereign right to carry out profound transformations of the structures of domination and eradicate the exploitation of workers. These are our most sacred commitments; commitments signed with the blood of our martyrs. We defend the Guatemala Peace Accord because it is respectful of the historic commitments of our revolutionary vanguard and of the dignity of the nation.

Nicaragua has fulfilled and will continue to fulfil faithfully the Guatemala Accord, within the framework of simultaneous actions.

The Sandinista Front reiterates — as stated by the President of the Republic, Daniel

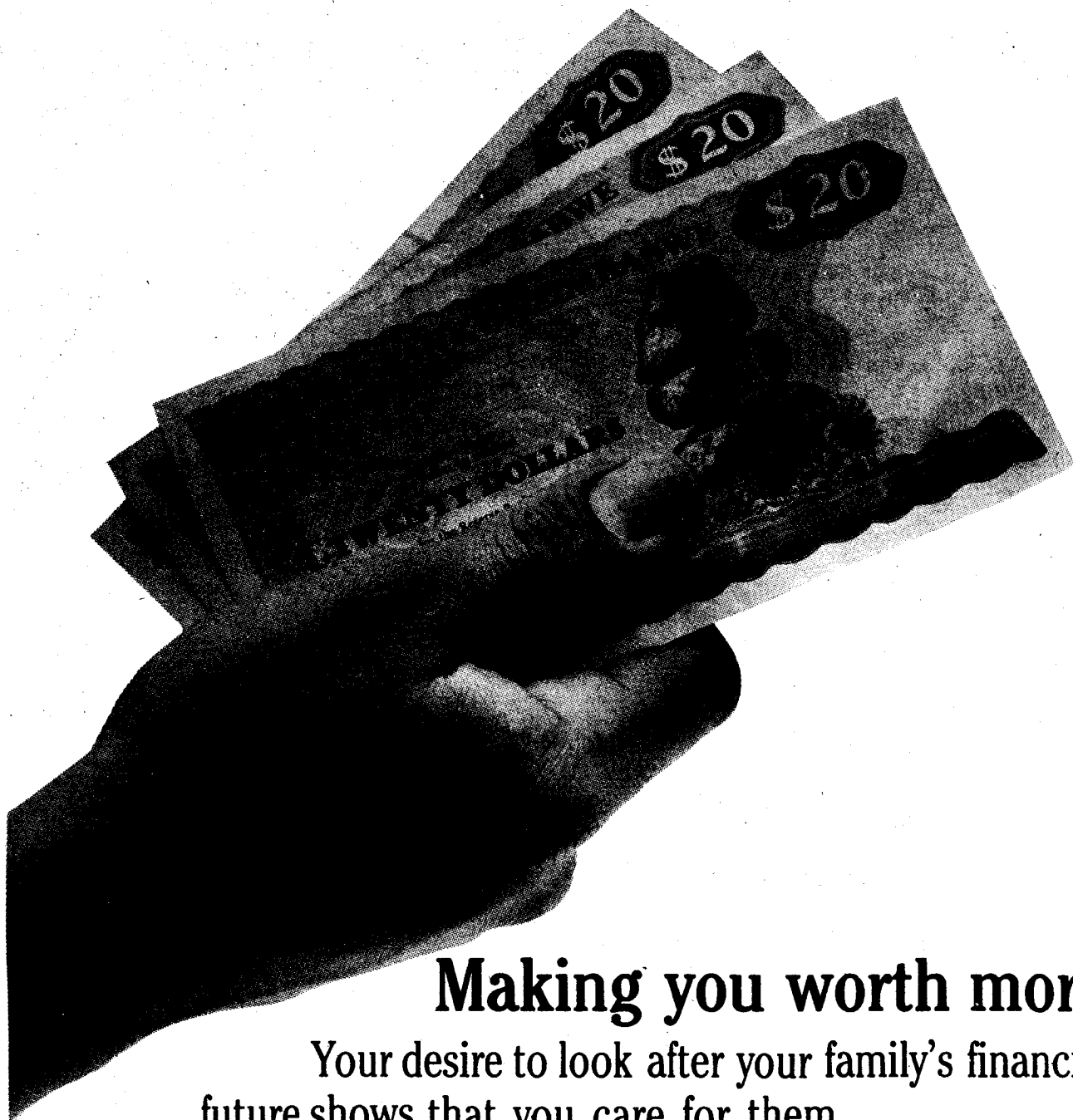
Ortega at the United Nations — its political will to begin a direct dialogue, without preconditions, with the US Government.

VII

The FSLN hopes for peace, but not the peace of cowards and irresolute; not a peace that implies surrender or renunciation of our National Dignity.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) will not retreat one millimeter in its intransigent defense of gains achieved by the people.

The Sandinista Front will not lower its guard. As long as peace is not achieved through the instruments of international diplomacy, we will continue to fight with renewed heroism, guns in hand, until the imperialist aggression is defeated and peace achieved; a lasting peace with dignity which will make it possible to fulfil the duty and right to build a society in which liberty, justice, democracy, national sovereignty and popular power acquire a complete and total dimension.



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MICHAEL HOGG Y&R 18322

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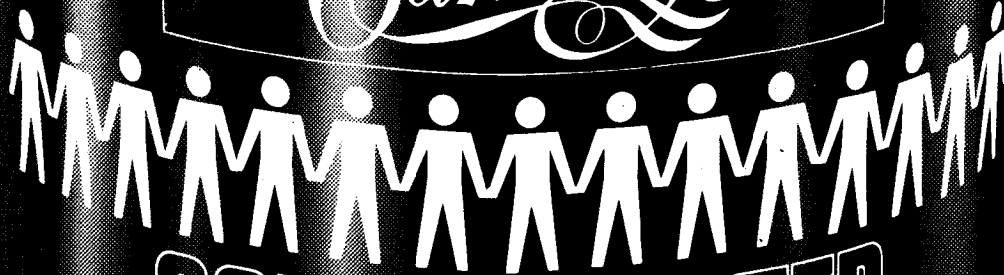
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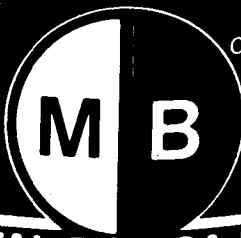
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