



Zimbabwe News

Official Organ of ZANU(PF)

Department of Information and Publicity, 14 Austin Road, Workington, Harare
Volume 17 No. 10, October 1986, Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

70C (incl. sales tax)

NAM FUND OPENS NEW FRONT AGAINST SA

Herald Reporter
THE special fund set up at the Harare NAM summit last week is to strengthen the Frontline States.

BUREAU GIVEN POWERS

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES AS PM TAKES THE HELM

RALLY ROUND FRONTLINE URGES GANDHI

NAM's objective must become to destroy apartheid—Iran

Political Editor
Prime Minister Gandhi and outgoing Secretary of the NAM Movement.

PAC asks NAM to increase aid for liberation struggle



Summit raps the two superpowers

Make fighters full NAM members

NAM STARTS FUND FOR FRONTLINE

SUMMIT IS VICTORY FOR LIBERATION FORCES



Contents

Editorial	1
Letters to the Editor	2
Economic Sanctions Against South — “A Method Which Shortens the Day of Bloodshed”.	3
<i>by Morley Nkosi and Moeletsi Mbeki</i>	
Sanctions Move Closer and Closer	5
<i>by Our Political Editor</i>	
The Destabilisation Process of the South African Apartheid Regime	6
<i>by Our Own Correspondent</i>	
Women Workers under Apartheid	9
<i>by F.L. Chitauro, Secretary for Publicity and Information (Harare Province) of ZANU (PF)'s Women's League</i>	
Neutrality or Co-option	11
<i>by Rev. Lapsley</i>	
The Non-Aligned Movement — Historical Record on Palestine	11
NAM Pictorial	12
The Role of the Mass Media in Zimbabwe's Transition to Socialism	17
<i>by Comrade Chaminuka</i>	
Food for Thought — Whither Zimbabwe?	19
<i>by a Special Correspondent</i>	
World Economic Trends and the Developing Countries	20
<i>by a Special Correspondent</i>	
Let us Learn from others	22
Poetry	24



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)].

Editorial Council: Cde. N.M. Shamuyarira; Cde. S.S. Mumbengegwi; Cde. C. Ndlovu; Cde. D.N. Mutasa; Cde. E. Kanganga; Cde. C. Nduku (Managing)

Pictures by Jongwe Archives, Zimbabwe News papers and Ministry of Information

EDITORIAL

Southern Africa is now one of the burning issues in world politics. We who live in this region see it simply as an historical conflict between the Boers who took our forefathers' lands, and settled on it, and the indigenous black majority. But the real issues are more complex and wider than that.

The two super-powers, America and Russia, are deeply divided on the issue, and stand on directly opposite sides of the pole. Different nations have taken different positions on this pole, but all of them strongly condemn the inhuman racial policy of apartheid. Apartheid has been condemned by all international social forces, but there are deep divisions between the imperialist forces, and the progressive forces, on how it should be brought to an end. There is even deeper divisions on the adoption of the armed struggle as the principal means of attaining freedom and liberation.

In Africa in general and in South Africa in particular, the policy of apartheid has been soundly condemned by all sections of the black population, including the conservative, tribal elements being misled by Gatsha Buthelezi; and even by sections of the minority white community itself. Those who support apartheid are in fact a minority within the white minority — the Boer Afrikaanders. But that minority is supported by powerful vested interests in some Western European nations, and in the USA. These vested interests are: the billions and billions of dollars invested in South Africa by the multinational companies, as well as the governments, of West Germany, Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and the USA. There are also those among them who want to keep the strategic Cape Sea route in the hands of a white oligarchy they control directly. The

ANC and the PAC have never said they would close down the vital route. This brings to the third of the vested interests-racism that runs so deep in the Anglo-Saxon race, and in America.

These vested interests can mobilise formidable military, financial and manpower resources, to defend the South African state and all that it stands for in the world today. Rightwing politicians such as Reagan, Thatcher, Kohl and Chirac who have captured positions of power and influence in their societies, are there to mobilise and galvanise these dark social forces.

In this difficult international situation, and the sharpening conflict between white and Black South Africans, one part of a solution is to produce a programme of economic sanctions that would be agreed upon and acted upon by all nations. To be effective, the sanctions would have to be mandatory and comprehensive. Our political editor has analysed and exposed the feeble efforts being made by the EEC and the USA to impose economic sanctions that are so limited that they cannot produce any results. The effort is tantamount to a bare faced lie that action is being taken against apartheid when in fact it is not. The length to which some of the white nations are prepared to go to defend the boer Afrikaanders is quite surprising.

The notable exceptions are all socialist countries of Eastern Europe, China, the Scandinavian countries, Australia and New Zealand, and Canada, who have joined hands with the Third World to fight against the South African State system genuinely. What could be a comprehensive and mandatory sanctions programme was adopted at the Eight Summit of NAM in Harare last month. The far

reaching proposals of that August body have been ably presented to the United Nations General Assembly by the Current Chairman of NAM, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, of Zimbabwe. These proposals have the support of three-quarters of the human race on this earth. And yet there is distinct possibility that they may be vetoed in the Security Council by the USA or Britain or both.

Indeed, such a veto would be a crime against humanity because it seeks to protect a state system that has itself been described as a crime against humanity.

However, even if a comprehensive sanctions programme were adopted in the General Assembly of the United Nations (and not vetoed in the Security Council), there must be a demonstrable political will on the part of the nations applying sanctions, as well as a willingness to use force ultimately, to make them work effectively. These two factors do not exist in the Western Nations (and Japan) discussed above. The political will to overturn South Africa is not there, and violence against South Africa is strongly opposed.

And yet the same nations have armed South Africa to the teeth, and are now arming bandit organisations such as UNITA and MNR, to attack and destabilise African frontline states. That leaves the NAM, the OAU, and several Third World countries, as the only serious applicants of sanctions against South Africa. There are several puppet states among them whose political will should be doubted, and whose support for the armed struggle is nil. However, the puppets are few and far between, and scared to speak or act against the established consensus position. Therefore, an effective sanctions programme can be mounted.



Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

As a Zimbabwean I'm greatly concerned about events in South Africa. The Black people are being killed daily by the racist regime, because of western economic interests, which that regime is protecting in order to maintain boer dominance. I do not think that the very existence of this regime could be possible without backing from the big western countries, Britain and the United States. If these countries stopped supporting the regime, the liberation of South Africa would be at hand.

South Africa, the Commonwealth and Sanctions

The value of British investment in South Africa is 11 Billion pound sterling. Half of this is direct. In 1985, Britain's export earnings from trade with SOUTH AFRICA was one billion, sterling. None of the Commonwealth Countries' trade with Britain is as large as Britain's with South Africa. As a result of this trade relationship, Britain manages to keep nearly five thousand Britons in gainful employment. With the rise of mass unemployment in the UK, chances of Britain ever contemplating the imposition of sanctions against the apartheid regime of South Africa have always been remote. Britain never took the mission to South Africa by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group seriously and, its half-hearted participation was well reflected in Margaret Thatcher's dispatch of Geoffrey Howe to the racist regime to attempt the impossible. To prove that he does not take seriously international effort to effect peacefully change in South Africa Botha sent his commandos on raids into the Frontline states whilst the EPG was still involved in dialogue with racist officials. Botha even snubbed Margaret Thatcher's emissary.

What Thatcher is trying to do is buy time for the racist regime, stalling coordinated efforts by the Commonwealth and Non-Aligned countries to help establish justice and peace in the region. She herself stands isolated on the issue to implement the Nassau declaration of sanctions approved at the London mini-summit to the Commonwealth countries. When sanctions are implemented against the racist regime they will not help the economic position of SADCC countries. They will not improve the economic function of the region. In fact they will make these countries suffer more. In a recent interview with an American magazine, the Executive Secretary of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, Dr Simba Makoni had this to say:

For those who argue that not imposing sanctions will not save us from suffering, they must ask themselves how much more suffering they are hoping to save us from".

The direct effects of South African destabilisation over the last five years amounted to \$10 billion. According to Comrade Makoni this figure is more than the total official development assistance which all the nine members states have received in the same period and about one third of the total export earnings.

Southern Africa is a region under siege, economically and militarily. It is one of the reasons why Chester Crocker has woven the policy of "constructive engagement" on the premise that South Africa is the region's power house. It was in the hope that SADCC states are so much dependent on the racist economy that these countries would bow down to economic pressure and military pressure from the racist regime. That Thatcher and US President Reagan take a negative standpoint on comprehensive sanctions and encourage Botha's destabilisation tactics. At the same time the racist regime aided by the western countries, especially the United States, in its designs, has tried to halt the intensification of the armed struggle, both South Africa and Namibia, cannot be a sacrificial lamb on the apartheid altar, hence have pledged moral and material support for the ANC, PAC and SWAPO.

The threat to the economies and peoples of Southern Africa is therefore not from sanctions but rather from the retaliatory measures which the Botha regime has threatened to take or will take against the Frontline and SADCC countries, both militarily and economically.

The package presented to the Botha regime by the EPG including five fundamental prerequisites to the dismantlement of apartheid in order to pave the way to a majority ruled democratic South Africa.

- 1) The state of emergency must be lifted;
- 2) Nelson Mandela and all other political detainees released;
- 3) Political bans lifted on the ANC; and dialogue begun with a view to a non-racial, fully representative government in South Africa.

This was before the decision to implement sanctions had been taken. South Africa rejected all of them.

For a brief moment, South Africa lifted the emergency regulations. Journalists covering apartheid say this was only window-dressing. Armed police and Army troops continued terrorising the people in the black townships and kill d the unarmed and defenceless children and

women.

It is divisive to see sanctions and their implementation or non implementation as the point of contention over South Africa. As is often stated by leaders of the Frontline states that punitive sanctions against the racist regime are meant to bend Pretoria's back while the armed struggle plays the major role towards the independence and freedom of South Africa.

Some western leaders, academics and the media try to confuse issues by refusing to recognise the fact that sanctions are not only a reaction to the South African regime's repugnant laws and its odious system but an attempt to bring justice and freedom in South Africa as well as peace in the region.

Zimbabweans, who love their traditional dish 'sadza nenyama' will go without it once sanctions come into effect against South Africa. "We came out of a bitter war and therefore cannot lose the lesser war of the consolidating of that independence," said the Prime Minister in an address at the Heroes Acre. South Africa threatens the independence of the countries of the Frontline states, militarily and economically.

"We should remember that if we are not united we will get nowhere" this message was not only for Zimbabweans. Indeed the implementation of sanctions against the racist regime is a question of concerted effort by the international community.

This will make Pretoria feel the pressure and change its stance of complete disregard for human life and rights.

Today the lives of the black people of South Africa continue to be wasted. The regime's destabilisation tactics in Southern Africa are countless, halting socio-economic development, reducing standards of living. Frontline states are having to spend more on defence instead of industrialisation and the uplifting of social standards.

Thatcher will continue to bury her head in the sand because Reagan's is buried there too.

Counter revolutionary groups in the region are increasingly and openly being given aid by the United States to help South Africa in its destabilisation programme.

Earlier this year the United States Congress approved an aid package of arms and finance to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA worth \$15 million. Perhaps in time the two western leaders, Reagan and Thatcher will stop building their laager with Botha and join in the efforts to build peace, justice and freedom in the region through the elimination of apartheid.

Economic Sanctions Against South Africa — "A Method Which Shortens the Day of Bloodshed" *By Morley Nkosi and Moeletsi Mbeki*

South Africa's apartheid policies and acts of destabilisation have brought the whole of the Southern African sub-region on the brink of open war. Latest efforts to try and persuade the regime to change its ways through dialogue, have failed.

The present calls for comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against the racist regime are aimed at complementing the armed struggle for the liberation of South Africa, yet certain western countries, notably the United Kingdom, United States of America, West Germany and Portugal, are blocking moves towards sanctions, in this article Morley Nkosi and Moeletsi Mbeki examine the whole South African sanctions question within its historical context.

Appeals to the international community to impose some types of sanctions against South Africa go back to the mid-1950s, a few years after the accession to power by the National Party. In 1958, following a year of mass action including the third Alexandra Township bus boycott intended to stop fare increases, the African National Congress (ANC) called for a nationwide economic boycott of business firms dominated by National Party members. In a speech delivered on June 26, 1959 Chief Albert Luthuli, the President of the ANC extended the call for this boycott to the international community. He noted that such a boycott would undoubtedly result in hardship for Blacks but emphasized that it was nevertheless "a method which shortens the day of bloodshed" and that the suffering would be 'a price (Blacks) are willing to pay'. This appeal was directed particularly to South Africa's major trading partners and suppliers of capital, technology, skilled immigrants, and military hardware. Those countries included Britain, West Germany, the United States, France, Canada, Australia, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries and Salazar's Portugal. In their feverish preoccupation with making and taking profits out of South Africa, the call for sanctions could and would not be heard.

The Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960 which occurred a day after the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa (PAC) had launched its campaign against the carrying of reference books (passes), resuscitated the appeal for economic sanctions against South Africa. This time, the same industrialized democracies of the West whose interests in the form of both direct and indirect investments in South Africa were continuing to grow, expressed mild shock and vociferous indignation at the death toll of 69 Africans killed, and over 350 other injured, primarily from being shot on their backs by the South



Consumer boycotts, strikes and general disruptions of the South African economy by the youth and Trade Union Movement of South Africa will complement the armed struggle to bring about the downfall of apartheid, hence freedom, justice and peace, internally and in the region

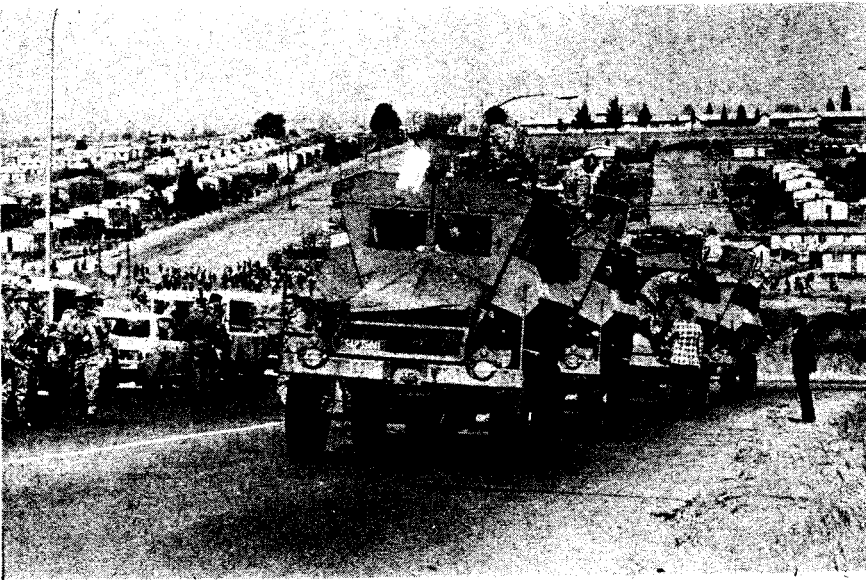
African security forces. On this occasion, economic sanctions, the oil and arms embargoes were perceived by the same democracies as too drastic and totally unenforceable. This was clear indication that black lives were far less valuable than the rates of return on investment made in South Africa. Racism also seemed to permeate this stance. Still, economic sanctions against South Africa were rejected by those with vital economic interests in the country.

On June 16, 1976, Soweto exploded in protests led by school children who dared defy the state's education authorities by refusing to be taught in the language of Afrikaners and by the time it was over in the following year, the South African security forces had shot and killed at least 850 people most of whom were children. The leading capitalist countries were shocked but not moved to seriously consider and implement sanctions. Individual, national economic self-interest was too important. Evidently, killing black children had become necessary in the process of surplus creation and capital accumulation in South Africa. This, the children in particular, have come to understand only too well. With the current crisis where not a single day passes without several blacks being killed by the state's security forces, Britain, West Germany and the United States, three countries with the largest and most significant economic and strategic stakes in South Africa, are leading the resistance by the west to the imposition of effective comprehensive sanctions against that country.

As of now, two types of sanctions are

being debated, comprehensive and limited economic sanctions. The former are, by definition, extensive and translated into political language, suggestive of full or total sanctions while the latter are circumscribed strictly to selected measures. Either type of sanctions can be voluntary or mandatory. The ensuing analysis assumes that the debate is over mandatory sanctions. Comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions have the greatest potential of helping the system of apartheid grind to a halt faster and at a substantially reduced cost in terms of loss of both black and white lives. This is an optimal and logical solution if the objective is the total abolition of apartheid and the possible emancipation of the enslaved black South Africans in and outside of South Africa, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and a growing number of Third World states. Limited or selective mandatory economic sanctions leave many "life-lines" open for the South African economy to survive a protracted transformation of apartheid which will definitely incur mounting losses of both black and white lives. Consequently, their impact would be minimum-to-dubious and therefore, undesirable.

Advocates of limited Sanctions are the leading western countries including Japan, who have varying important and somewhat strategic economic interests in South Africa which they are determined to protect throughout the current crises into a future South Africa which they would like to help shape. Comprehensive sanctions on the other hand, are drastic,



The racist machinery of oppression and repression, the South African Defence Force (SADF) on routine business to kill defenceless women and children, in South Africa's Black townships

radical and accompanied by greater uncertainty about the future of South Africa.

The West and sanctions

There are presently feverish attempts by western industrialised countries to formulate a common list of limited sanctions that are affordable to their individual economic and commercial interests. The European Economic Community (EEC) met recently and agreed on limited economic sanctions measures against South Africa which excluded a ban on imports of coal, which accounts for 15 per cent of South African imports. The effect of the measures taken by the EEC will be marginal to zero and will have a moderate impact on South Africa as it develops alternative markets. In the mean time, the United States executive branch of government, the Reagan Administration has been anxiously awaiting the outcome of EEC package in order to influence the results of both the House of Representatives and the Senate bills on sanctions against South Africa.

The House and Senate bills together would do the following:

1. ban the import of uranium, coal and steel
2. revoke landing rights for South African Airways (SAA)
3. bar new loans to the South African Government
4. allow visas to South African government officials on a case-by-case basis
5. perpetuate sanctions imposed by President Reagan in 1985 including a ban on exports of computers or related software to agencies of the South African Government
6. require American businesses to divest themselves of South African

7. oblige the 400 or so American companies (transnational corporations) operating in South Africa to leave within six months.

An exception would be the strategic minerals that the President, like Prime Minister Thatcher, declared vital to national security. The table below shows the extent of US dependence on South Africa for certain strategic minerals:

Strategic imports (Averages, in per cent, 1981-84)	<div>Industrial diamond stones</div> <div>Platinum group metals</div> <div>Chromium</div> <div>Vanadium</div> <div>Manganese</div> <div>Uranium</div> <div>Gold</div>						
Share of US imports originating in South Africa	67	67	56	38	33	24	n.a.
South Africa's share of world reserves	7	81	84	47	71	14	55.1
South Africa's share of world production	14.8	43.2	n.a.	42.2	14.7	14.8	47.0

Source: US Department of Commerce, US bureau of Mines; Organization for economic Cooperation and Development.

President Reagan will resist additional economic sanctions but seems inclined to

approve some limited sanctions coordinated with the EEC allies. Sanctions preferred by the US and the EEC, two very powerful economic and political groupings buttressed by a common military organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), are bound to surface at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly. The prospects of a formidable united front consisting of the US, the EEC and Japan appealing for some form of limited sanctions must be taken seriously by both the Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU.

The Commonwealth list of sanctions is more extensive than what the EEC and the US have in mind. Measures contemplated by the Commonwealth include the following:

1. a ban on all new government loans to the Pretoria government and its agencies;
2. a readiness to take unilaterally what action may be possible to preclude the import of krugerrands;
3. no government funding for trade missions to South Africa or for participation in exhibition and trade fairs in South Africa;
4. a ban on the sale and export of computer equipment capable of use by South African military forces, police, or security forces;
5. a ban on new contracts for the sale and export of nuclear goods, materials, and technology to South Africa;

6. a ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa;
7. a strict and rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and paramilitary equipment from South Africa;

8. an embargo on all military cooperation with South Africa; and
9. discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contribute toward the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in promoting it.

Unfortunately, the Commonwealth is not as cohesive and powerful as either the US or the EEC. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and her cabinet recognize this reality and are, consequently, working hard at coordinating British policy on sanctions with the US, the EEC and Japan. But the Commonwealth list of sanctions represents a strong base on which the struggle for comprehensive sanctions can be joined by other states between now and the start of the next General Assembly session in September. The Non-Aligned Movement which met in Harare from the 1st to the 6th September came out with an unequivocal stand on comprehensive mandatory sanctions and a call on member states to uphold the resolutions of the political declaration. The summit also set up the Africa Fund which will greatly assist the Frontline states when South Africa increases retaliatory economic and military measures against them. The appearance of the West's preferred list of sanctions such as the recent EEC package must be countered by broadly-based and supported list of sanctions adopted at the Non-Aligned Movement conference. The most attractive prospect if comprehensive sanctions are implemented effectively is that apartheid would be dealt a telling blow both in South Africa and in Namibia.

Comprehensive Sanctions: Implications

Obviously, comprehensive economic sanctions, because of their nature will cut drastically and deep into the national interests of individual western countries. The loss of markets, earnings and some capital in the form of physical assets that cannot be written off as well as the uncertain future after apartheid has been dismantled are the most substantive reasons why the west is against them. Both the kith and kin and white racism are very strong and emotive but secondary arguments why the west will not support comprehensive sanctions. Moral and ethical incantations against the suffering created by comprehensive sanctions in particular, are metaphysical. Limited sanctions, on the other hand, have a less clouded future on markets, earnings direct foreign investment now in place, and leave room for influencing a gradual and controlled transition from apartheid to who-knows-what under some acceptable type of government conceived from powersharing. Such an evolutionary process is extremely useful for commercial



Simonstown Harbour, where the headquarters of the South African Navy are stationed, protecting the strategic Cape Sea route. The West feverishly wants to keep it to serve western interests, without regard to the racists' genocidal acts against the Black majority

and economic interests who need it for planning purposes. What is being planned is essentially an efficient system of surplus creation and capital accumulation without apartheid but still based on relatively cheap black labour. Comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions make planning a little more difficult but shorten the day of bloodshed.

Postscript

South Africa is like an enormous modern factory in which investors from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark,

Finland, France, West Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Malaysia, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan and some local whites supply the capital, technology, managerial and technical skills, blacks provide massive cheap labour, and the South African state manages this enterprise. Apartheid provides both the principles and *modus operandi* of management. The state's security and military forces maintain discipline, law and order in this huge factory called South Africa.

SANCTIONS MOVE CLOSER AND CLOSER

By Our Political Editor

The eighth summit of the Non-Aligned Movement lived up to the expectations of those in Southern Africa and indeed the progressive international community, who were calling for effective practical measures against the racist South African regime.

At the end of the summit of the 101 member movement, held in Harare from the 1st to the 7th of September the movement came out with clear cut resolutions, supporting mandatory sanctions, against Pretoria, and a call on all member states

to effect the adopted measures.

The summit set up the AFRICA fund which will assist the Frontline states in the event of military and economic retaliatory action by South Africa. The document which set up the fund examined all areas of concern to Southern Africa including, transport, communications, energy and trade.

At the dawn press conference which marked the end of the summit, the First Secretary and President of the party, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and Chair-



Leaders of the Non Aligned Countries observe a moment of silence in respect of late leaders of member countries who have passed away since the last summit. One such leader is Maurice Bishop, killed during the US invasion of Granada in 1983

In the picture are the new Chairman of the Movement and Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Comrade R.G. Mugabe, (left) and outgoing chairman Mr Rajiv Gandhi, (centre) Prime Minister of India

man of the Non-Aligned Movement, Comrade Robert Mugabe, pointed out that the Frontline States are well aware of the adverse effects that sanctions will have on their economies and are therefore preparing to contain these effects through such measures as the AFRICA Fund. Comrade Mugabe emphasised, however that it is the significant impact of sanctions on the apartheid economy that should be the focus of attention.

The measures taken by the NAM summit are part of the on-going efforts by the progressive international community to increase effective measures against the regime at a time when it is facing unprecedented internal resistance by the struggling masses of that country as well

as an escalating armed struggle.

At the mini-summit of the Commonwealth held in London in early August, the seven member committee consisting of Australia, the Bahamas, Britain, Canada, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe, endorsed a package of economic sanctions against South Africa, which was however, weakened by the uncooperative and blatantly pro-Pretoria stance taken by the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher.

That the civilised humanity has accepted its moral obligation to put an end to the neo-nazi apartheid system is now beyond question. As a result such industrialised nations as Britain, the United States, West Germany, Japan, et al, who

have amassed gigantic returns from the exploitative apartheid system find themselves caught in the horns of dilemma.

They must be seen to live up to the principles of democracy and justice enshrined in their constitutions. They must also respond to the call by the majority of their populations to impose comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria. On the other hand comprehensive sanctions would gravely affect their investments in South Africa hence their economies. This is why the western countries are coming up with token sanctions such as the recent limited EEC sanctions package which at the insistence of Portugal and West Germany, excludes coal from the list of embargoed goods. Coal accounts for 15 per cent of South Africa's exports and its exclusion from the embargoed list of goods reduces the impact of the EEC measures to "virtually nothing". This once again demonstrates the moral bankruptcy of the West.

We agree totally with the United Nations Committee against Apartheid that the limited EEC sanctions are "totally inadequate and a betrayal of the community's (EEC) own declared position on the subject". For its part Africa continues the struggle. At the next session of the United Nations General Assembly, the African countries are expected to make a concerted effort aimed at ensuring an effective UN position on comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

No doubt Africa will be strongly supported by other members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 whose position on sanctions is unequivocal.

The General Assembly debate will coincide with the imminent show-down between President Ronald Reagan and the United States Congress which is calling for more far-reaching measures against South Africa than preferred by Reagan

(continued on page 24)

The Destabilisation Process of the South African Apartheid Regime

By Our Own Correspondent

The Southern African region is experiencing rapid changes but at the same time facing enormous difficulties and contradictions. Apart from racist South Africa, the region is in the forefront of the hard but necessary struggle for the creation of a free, more humane and just social order for the majority of its people who have been long oppressed and neglected. Blunting this struggle are the horrible relics of racial oppression and colonialism in South Africa and Namibia.

The Pretoria regime's long-standing aspirations to regional hegemony has created a disturbing situation within Southern Africa as a whole. Equally, imperialist interests in the region have led some Western countries to adopt policies towards the region which are harmful to its people.

Barren Bantustans

In the early '70s during the period of the so-called "detente" in Southern Africa,

the Apartheid regime announced its policy of a "constellation of states", a sub-regional economic grouping consisting of independent states, South Africa itself and Namibia. The carrot dangled before black countries was that of huge economic benefits and consequently improvement in the lives of their people. South Africa never helped Mozambique after the Nkomati accords. It has never helped the Bantustans economically. Instead, the Bantustans are now barren and impoverished. South Africa has its own huge pile of economic problems.

Thanks to the foresight of African leaders, the apartheid regime's policy has not been adopted. It has in fact justified and given impetus to the creation and development of the South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA), organisations which

have been formed to promote regional economic development through collective self-reliance. These organisations are based on the principles and objectives of achieving economic independence so that the African people are lifted from their under-development and poverty as they participate in the creation and enjoyment of the fruits of their labour.

The success of both SADCC and the PTA is, in the eyes of South Africa, a great danger to its political and economic interests because it belies her arguments in favour of apartheid as well as denying her lucrative markets within the region. Therefore, she has formulated several strategies to weaken these organisations and eventually destroy them.

Besides South Africa's interests, the United States, especially since President Reagan's assumption of power, has taken an intensely keen interest in the region, to protect and promote capitalist interests particularly those of American multinationals. Mr. Reagan has made it no secret that he does not like communism and that he is prepared to fight it anywhere in the world in defence, according to him, of Western civilization and democracy by which he means *exploitation by the minority rich of the majority poor*. His sympathy and support for the Pretoria regime is thus readily understandable because South Africa has for decades been telling the West that nationalist and liberation movements of Southern Africa are communist inspired and orientated.

After the independence of Mozambique, Angola and later Zimbabwe and their adoption of progressive socialist policies, racist South Africa now cries, "wolf", saying communism is knocking at her doors. In Namibia there is a communist movement, SWAPO, ready to wrest power from the minority regime, adds the Pretoria regime. The result of both South African and imperialist interests within the Southern African sub-region has been the Reagan administration's policy "constructive engagement" with Pretoria.

Imperialist Interests

Basically both the South African and American governments have two closely linked concerns which are:

- i) to protect, promote and expand the private enterprise economy (the cornerstone of capitalism) from which the minority and multinationals continue to draw their wealth and privileges; this means controlling and retarding the socio-economic growth of black states and keeping them in a state of dependence; and
- ii) to maintain apartheid in South Africa and the control of Namibia (because of its strategic minerals); this entails the destruction of ANC, PAC and SWAPO and intimidating neighbouring states from supporting



The people of South Africa are waging a relentless struggle against the Afrikaans minority apartheid regime. Workers are more organised and in 1986 alone more than six workers stoppages have helped to make the country ungovernable

them.

The policy of "constructive engagement" is designed to safeguard these two concerns. This explains why it has been vigorously opposed by leaders of the Frontline States who have rejected it.

Mr. Reagan claims that the policy of "constructive engagement" will create the necessary conditions for the gradual dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and the resolution of conflicts in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. But this is not true for the reasons that have been said. In fact "constructive engagement" is a blueprint for South Africa to engage in naked acts of brutal repression and the murder of blacks in South Africa,

continued occupation of Namibia and active military aggression against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Zambia.

To achieve its objective of control and domination of Southern Africa, the Pretoria regime uses direct and indirect military intervention and economic and political pressure on her neighbours in order to destabilize them. Destabilization is in several forms. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Witness Mangwende has observed, South Africa has a different strategy for destabilization of each of the black-ruled states of Southern Africa. This is true. The main aim of destabilization is to bring each African country to the conference table and sign a non-aggression treaty which benefits only South Africa.

In 1981 and 1982 the Pretoria regime used its own troops and mercenaries to

invade Angola, an exercise that involved about 20 000 troops. Besides killing thousands of innocent and defenceless civilians, the troops destroyed roads, bridges, villages, factories, hospitals and schools. They also disrupted supplies and development projects. The extent of South Africa's damage to Angola is indicated by the fact that Angola needs over 12 billion dollars in foreign aid to resuscitate her economy.

Not only has South Africa directly invaded Angola, it has also actively supported the bandit UNITA movement led by the renegade imperialist running dog Jonas Savimbi which is fighting the legitimate MPLA government of Angola.

UNITA is also backed by the CIA with the connivance of Mr. Reagan.

The Lusaka Accord of 1983 signed between Angola and South Africa was aimed at effecting the withdrawal of all South African troops from Southern Angola and the halting of logistics supplies to UNITA, among other things. Today South Africa still occupies Southern Angola and supports UNITA, whose activities have been intensified since the Accord was signed. Reliable reports say that at present over 20 000 South African soldiers are concentrated along the southern border ready to invade at any time the Angolan territory.

The 20 000 soldiers are divided into three brigades, 18 independent infantry battalions and two assault and debarkment battalions supported by 150 tanks, 300 mortars, 400 artillery pieces, 80 fighter planes and helicopters and several

hundreds of armoured cars. This recent event clearly indicates that South Africa has no intention of abiding by the Lusaka Accord.

The South African army continues to give military and logistic supplies to the UNITA bandit movement. In fact South African defence forces fight on behalf of that bandit movement. This was proved in March 1984 when the Angolan army was about to drive out UNITA from its headquarters at Jamba in Southern Angola. South African army units moved in to replace the badly mauled rebels and fierce battles raged on with severe loss of lives and property. Sensing that they could not beat off the Angolans, the South Africans sent for more reinforcements including fighter planes and helicopters which struck deep into Angola thus giving relief and ground to UNITA. It has since been established that only on very rare occasions do UNITA rebels fight; the South Africans do their dirty work for them. A South African soldier captured last year in May, Captain Wynand Petrus du Toit, admitted this during an interview with journalists in Luanda.

Racist, Bandit and Imperialist Dine Together

There is clear evidence that the Pretoria regime enjoys the support of Reagan and other right-wing Americans in its assistance to UNITA. In fact President Reagan and his right-wingers are embracing rebels from Angola to Afghanistan and Nicaragua. Last year in June, a right-wing American businessman, Mr. Lew Lehrman sponsored and attended a conference of reactionary political organisations from Asia and Latin America. This was held at Jamba and among those in attendance besides Savimbi were Ghulam Wardack of Afghanistan and Adolfo Calero of Nicaragua — both are rebel leaders.

This year in February Savimbi paid an official visit to America where he received red carpet treatment. The White House welcomed Savimbi with material and military aid. At the moment President Reagan is seeking 15 million US dollars worth of aid for UNITA to purchase military hardware. The American Senate has approved of the aid. The proposed aid if finally approved by the Congress will mean prolonged suffering and misery for the people of Angola.

As of now according to TASS, the Soviet News Agency, the US, unwilling to be directly associated with the Pretoria regime is using Zionist Israel into a kind of transshipment point for extensive supplies of US made military hardware including jet fighters, military transport planes, tanks and submachine guns to South Africa. These weapons are being

used by the Pretoria regime to suppress the people of South Africa and Namibia and for the bandit attacks against the countries of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

A major feature of South Africa's destabilization activities is sabotage and military aggression directed against Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe where targets such as bridges, railways, electricity and water supplies are frequently attacked and destroyed.

Racist and Bandit Intransigence

Bandit organisations such as Super ZAPU and the MNR are financed and armed by the South African army and given training in the northern Transvaal. In the case of the MNR, the South African army provides support in the form of command, control equipment and helicopter transport. The bandit movement also receives assistance from the 750 000-strong Portuguese community in South Africa who fled Mozambique after its independence. MNR activities and the economic pressures exerted on Mozambique by the Pretoria regime have crippled Mozambique's economy to such an extent that it signed the Nkomati Agreement in March 1984 out of necessity.

Three years after the Nkomati Accord, the MNR has stepped up its activities inside Mozambique with the collusion of the South African government. While Mozambique has honoured its side of the bargain in preventing the ANC from using it as a springboard for launching attacks into South Africa, the Pretoria regime has reneged on its promise to halt the MNR banditry.

The Reagan administration claims that the Lusaka Accord and the Nkomati Agreement indicate that its policy of "constructive engagement" is paying off. But as is clearly evident South Africa was not sincere in signing the accords. Thus the post-accord events in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique indicate the failure of the Reagan policy in Southern Africa as a whole. In fact it can be described as a policy of destructive engagement.

Last year the South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha made thinly veiled threats against those Southern African states that have not signed peace accords with it. This was an attempt to pressurize Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho into coming to the conference table with Pretoria. At present South Africa is using the bantustan of Bhoputatswana to threaten Botswana with military reprisals for allegedly allowing the ANC to use its territory as base for attacking it. To make good its threats, South Africa sent agents to attack the residence of two South African exiles in Gaborone which was completely destroyed. This attack is

similar to South African commando attacks in Maputo in 1981 and 1983. The Botswana government has been equally threatened.

The Pretoria regime has been putting an economic squeeze on Zimbabwe by using the MNR to cut the railway lines to the ports in Mozambique. Its aim is to force Zimbabwe to use South African ports so that it can have a grip on her economy. In 1982 South African commandos blew up an oil depot at Beira. The oil was destined for Zimbabwe which had only enough oil for two weeks stored locally. The resultant fuel shortage disrupted Zimbabwe's socio-economic activities, as travel became impossible and business concerns functioned sluggishly.

There is evidence to indicate that South Africa finances minority political parties in Zimbabwe for the purpose of toppling the Government. A recent book by Eschel Rhoodie (former Director of Information in South Africa) entitled "The Real Information Scandal" reveals that the minority parties in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia received 75 million rands in donations in 1979 for the purpose of contesting the 1980 elections which they nevertheless lost. These parties work for South Africa and this is one of the reasons why ZANU (PF) wants to establish a one-party state. The minority parties are neither nationalistic nor patriotic. They are enemies of the people.

Zimbabwe as well as other Frontline States have been a victim of South Africa's information aggression. Besides Radio Truth which is meant to subvert Ndebele speaking people of Zimbabwe, the official Radio RSA broadcasts an extensive service that distorts news against independent African states. South African agencies plant negative articles in international news agencies and reputable



Even if the USA and Britain veto the Security Council programme of total and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, the international community will support the struggle of the people of South Africa. Here members of the ZANU (PF) Youth League march in the streets of Harare in support of the just struggle of the people of Azania

newspapers to tarnish the reputation of Africa and justify apartheid.

First, the effectiveness of South African propaganda can be gauged by the red-carpet treatment given to President Botha — then Premier — in 1984 on his European tour, the first such tour by a South African Prime Minister after over 20 years of isolation. The official reception Mr. Botha got indicated that the West gave credence and respectability to his Government's immoral policies and activities within South Africa and outside its borders.

Second, the events surrounding last year's coup in Lesotho indicate the strength of the South African propaganda machinery. Alleging that Lesotho was allowing its territory to be used as a base by the ANC, the Pretoria regime sealed off its borders with that country. The closure of the border played havoc with the economy of Lesotho as the country was faced with severe shortages on all fronts. Exploiting the resultant discontent, the South African mass media claimed that there was unrest in Lesotho (meanwhile the Pretoria regime was busy grooming some citizens of Lesotho for top positions in a new Government). Then the South African Broadcasting Services said that there was a revolt by some

members of the defence forces of Lesotho. This was denied by the Government of Chief Jonathan.

However, a few days after this denial, Brigadier Justin Lekhanya, with the help of South African military chiefs, successfully staged a coup the result of which has been the creation of a Government in tune with Pretoria.

Since the Soweto uprising of 1976, black South Africans are displaying radical militancy in the form of public protests, demonstrating, strikes and consumer boycotts against the Apartheid system. Such growing internal opposition and unrest has created a chaotic situation inside the country and seriously affected its economy. As the situation continues to deteriorate, some white industrialists, churchmen and students are advocating dialogue between the ANC and the Botha regime. These same groups of people have even flown to Lusaka and Harare to meet leaders of that liberation movement. The Botha regime has offered to release Comrade Mandela conditionally.

But its offer cannot be taken seriously since the Pretoria regime understands the language of violence and the gun. It is obstinately trying to maintain the status quo within and outside its borders. With the escalation of the armed struggle and

violence, the Pretoria Regime has clamped a state of emergency throughout the country and imposed a news blackout. Such desperate measures show that there is a breakdown of law and order and the country appears ungovernable. The result is that the Pretoria Regime is intensifying its destabilising activities throughout the Southern African region.

Recent simultaneous attacks on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia are an indication that the situation within the region will get worse before the Pretoria Regime is finally toppled. As South Africa's economic woes continue to multiply it is opportune that sanctions be applied against the Botha Regime to speed up the revolutionary process there. That President Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher oppose sanctions is readily understandable — they want to safeguard their strategic interests in South Africa. It is sheer hypocrisy for them to argue that sanctions would inflict severe hardships on the blacks in South Africa as well as the Frontline States. What hardships can be more severe than the murders, arrests and torture of thousands of blacks inside South Africa itself and the aggression against us? We shall enjoy peace and security in the region only when apartheid is fully destroyed.

WOMEN WORKERS UNDER APARTHEID

By F.L. Chitauro, Secretary for Publicity and Information (Harare Province) of ZANU (PF)'s Women's League

Black women in South Africa experience great hardships. Discriminated against because they are black and on account of their sex, they are the greatest victims of apartheid in education, employment and other areas. In this article Comrade F.L. Chitauro examines the plight of women workers in that racist country.

Having attended the 4th World Women's Conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Madrid in 1985 from 23rd to 26th April, and the latest seminar in Bamako, Mali from the 20th to 21st May 1986, I found myself interested in the plight of fellow women workers under apartheid. I held long discussions with fellow sisters and brothers from South Africa.

Zimbabwe has just emerged from a protracted war with the Smith regime and from my findings you will see that there is not much difference between our situation before independence and the situa-

tion in South Africa today. It should therefore be easy for us to understand and respond accordingly to the plight of our South African comrades in Apartheid South Africa.

Already the response shown on the 10th Anniversary of the Soweto Day at Rufaro Stadium makes me believe that we all understand that it is not enough for Zimbabwe to be free if South Africa is still under apartheid, and indeed the whole of Africa will not be free until the whole of Africa is liberated.

Women and Bantustans

South Africa is the only country in the world which has institutionalised racism. All so-called reforms in South Africa have been made within the apartheid system. "Grand apartheid" which aims at relegating the majority of the black population to the so-called Bantustans de-



Comrade F.L. Chitauro, Secretary for Publicity and Information, (Harare Province of ZANU (PF) Women's League

nying the South African citizenship and thus making them aliens in their own country, has been pursued relentlessly. It has been accelerated through the policy of forced removals which involves the arbitrary relocation of black populations to suit the Bantustans consolidation plan.

This system has made black people migrant workers in their own country and has made normal family life impossible

for the black majority. The "grand Apartheid design" is implemented through the net work of legislative and administrative measures, and in particular, influx control, regulating the mobility of labour according to the needs of the market, which is a monopoly of the white minority and of the foreign investors. Black women in South Africa remain in the lowest echelon of apartheid, discriminated upon because they are black and also on account of their sex.

Over 57 per cent of the black population (Female) of South Africa is permanently confined to the so-called Bantustans, where jobs available to them are scarce, unprotected, low paid and insecure.

Starvation and malnutrition in the so-called Bantustans has been further aggravated by severe droughts in the past five years. Due to the migrant system imposed on the Black population, black women are frequently forced into a situation whereby they are heads of households, with the double burden of being workers and mothers with no supportive structures.

Furthermore black women are the greatest victims of apartheid education, which has denied them opportunities of skills and betterment. In the circumstances they are the easiest prey for exploitation by employers, and occupy the most menial jobs.

They Carry a Double Yoke

In order to improve their chances of obtaining even menial remunerated work or to visit migrant worker husbands, women



In 1976, the Pretoria regime confronted unarmed and defenceless boys and girls marching in protest against the racist regime's educational policies. Many of them were killed and hundreds injured. Above Azanian women in exile, join Zimbabweans in expressing solidarity with the Azanian people's struggle

The situation of African women is most tragic in the Bantustans of South Africa, where they are doomed to unemployment and half-starved existence. Bantustans have no schools, no hospitals and sometimes even lack drink water. Child mortality rate is very high there. About 20 people die every week in one of them, called Onvernagt. Mostly these are children under the age of three. In an attempt to get out of this hell dozens of thousands of women, in violation of the apartheid laws, go to the cities which offer more chances to get a job.



are frequently forced into a situation whereby they enter white designated urban areas illegally. In 1984 over 50 000 Black women were arrested under pass law offences.

Almost 70 per cent of all women are in the service and agriculture sectors (50 per cent and 20 per cent respectively) which are not entitled to social security, have no minimum wage protection and are seriously hindered in any efforts to organise themselves. Those in industry occupy largely unskilled positions or are mainly concentrated in sectors where only the average wages are low.

Black women workers suffer from constant job insecurity, which is aggravated by the government refusal to amend legislation to protect pregnant women from termination of employment and to introduce obligatory reinstatement of employees at the end of certain periods of time. Hiding of pregnancies in an effort to avoid dismissal has led to numerous miscarriages and health hazards for Black women workers.

Many of South Africa's so called reforms such as the Matrimonial Property Act totally exclude the Black women just as the so-called constitutional reforms totally exclude the whole of the black majority population of South Africa. Thus

a black woman is often totally dependent upon her relationship with a man for the purpose of finding accommodation or maintaining her present accommodation.

In spite of this intolerable situation, black women workers have been in the vanguard of the independent black trade union movement and have produced many outstanding leaders and organisers. They have led demonstrations against pass laws; against the whole gamut of injustices they are subjected to by the Apartheid regime. Women trade union leaders such as Emma Mashini, Rota Mahlomakulu and many others have survived South African jails and courageously continue their trade liaison work, regardless of constant harassment by the regime.

Peace and justice are indivisible and are a prerequisite for development, peace will not last without development and the elimination of inequalities and discrimination at all levels. The apartheid regime cannot continue to oppress and exploit the people with impunity. The people have taken up arms to bring to question the very existence of apartheid with violence. South Africa will not know peace until apartheid is thoroughly and completely crushed, "only free people can truly be peaceful".

BOOK REVIEW

By Rev Lapsley

Neutrality or Co-option

This book is both interesting and depressing reading. Interesting in that it shows that those clergymen who were criticised, and even castigated for their views against the colonial and racist system at the time, were right both in their analysis and action. Theologians like John White of Mashonaland, Arthur Shirley Cripps, and much later Bishop Kenneth Skelton of Bulawayo, who were isolated during the time of their work and ministry, now come out of these pages of history, shining as the fine Christians.

The book is also depressing in that it lays bare the racism and political bankruptcy of some of the clergy notably Bishop Burrough of Mashonaland, Dean Da Costa, Dean Wood, and of course the well-known racist reactionary Father Arthur Lewis. Their sins of political judgement are chronicled in the book. But there are many lessons for us to learn, and which would be very useful today in formulating and working out the relationship between the churches and the state. All through history, there has been constant conflicts between the churches

and the state. Post-colonial states in Africa have had their fair share of this conflict. We would like to avoid any such conflict in Zimbabwe.

Father Lapsley's book clearly demonstrates that the church viewed either as a divine or human institution, cannot be neutral in politics, or in the socio-economic life of the people. The bishops discussed in the book all professed neutrality, especially Father Lewis, and Bishop Burrough. But in the end, they had no leg to stand on when it was revealed that Father Lewis was being financed by the Department of Information of the Government of South Africa, and Bishop Burrough was actually an agent of both the Smith regime as well as the South African regime. One of his major concerns was to keep the Cape Sea route open for the western nations. Their persistent condemnation of violence from the freedom-fighters: their enthusiastic support for the Internal Settlement which brought Bishop Abel Muzorewa to power, and their criticism of the Lancaster House Constitution which brought Comrade Robert Mugabe to power,

all go to show how partisan they were. Although these priests promptly left Zimbabwe soon after independence, their ideas about neutrality linger in the minds of certain people. Let me make it clear that there can be no neutrality on the burning issues of apartheid which we are facing in South Africa. Those who profess neutrality, must know that they are supporting P.W. Botha and his henchmen.

The book shows that the priests who were making various lofty pronouncements from their pulpits were not speaking for the majority of their church members. On the two occasions when they took a firm political stand — over the pearce commission, the Internal Settlement, and the Lancaster House Constitution — their church members did exactly the opposite of what they were being told from the pulpit. The laity has its own views also. This must be a salutary experience to all those who often give the impression that they are speaking for the whole church.

By N.M.S.

The Non-Aligned Movement

Historical Record on Palestine

On August 26, preparations commenced for the eighth Non-Aligned Summit meeting, to be held at the beginning of September in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Non-Aligned Summits have taken place since 1961 when the first conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned countries was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Since that first summit, the Palestine issue has assumed an increasing importance. This has mainly been due to the efforts of the PLO — currently an acting head of the movement — which, since its foundation in the mid-sixties, has accumulated considerable political influence over the years, both regionally and internationally.

The first summit of the Non-Aligned countries in Belgrade, 1961, devoted its attention to national liberation struggles such as were occurring in Algeria, Angola and other Portuguese territories, and to the South African state policy of racial

discrimination. It declared its support for "the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations and its Charter".

The second Non-Aligned summit conference in Cairo, 1964, discussed the practical means of supporting liberation struggles.

The resolutions issued included the Palestinian people among the "peoples under colonial rule, foreign occupation or racist regimes" which would "legitimately resort to arms to secure their full independence . . .".

The conference further called upon the "Non-Aligned member states to afford all necessary material support — financial and military — to the peoples engaged in freedom struggles".

In September 1970, the third Non-Aligned summit meeting was held in Lusaka, Zambia. At this conference, a



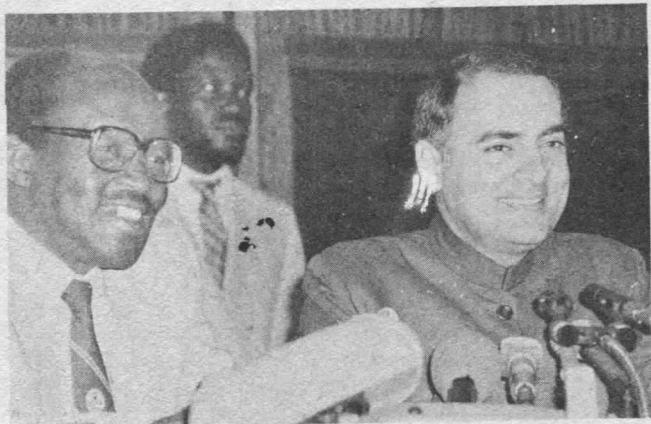
The Chairman of the PLO Brother Yaser Arafat addressing the 8th NAM Summit in Harare in September, 1986

new Arab member was welcomed: the PLO.

Two resolutions were adopted on the Middle East. The first, relating to the Middle East conflict in general, deplored Israel's intransigence regarding im-

Continued on page 14

NAM



India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi with the ZANU (PF) Secretary for Information and Publicity, Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira at a press conference during the recent NAM Summit, in Harare

"Violence will now down a multitude of the finest flowers of South Africa" Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India.

"Both superpowers should react to why we say that they cause problems. They should read our views" Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, India.

"Apartheid cannot be reformed. The Pretoria regime is not prepared for a peaceful solution. It must be forced to abandon its criminal policy" President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria.

"I hope mankind will not helplessly look by as the racist regime continues to inflict untold suffering on our people in a crime against all humanity" ANC President Comrade Oliver Tambo.



The First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade R.G. Mugabe and Brother Yasser Arafat stand at attention as the Zimbabwean National Anthem is played at the Harare international Airport soon after the arrival of the PLO Chairman for the NAM summit in September this year



Captain Thomas Sankara, the President of Burkina Faso expressing a point to his aide soon after holding a press conference during the NAM summit in Harare

"No one must use our suffering as an excuse to refuse to impose sanctions against South Africa" South African Anti-Apartheid leader Allan Boesak.



The Cuban President Comrade Fidel Castro addresses the Plenary Session of the Harare NAM Summit

PICTORIAL

"We reaffirm our total and unwavering solidarity with the valiant people of South Africa and their struggle" Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in a statement issued on behalf of member states on the day the racist regime of South Africa killed innocent black people in Soweto.



Comrade R.G. Mugabe receives the Zambian President at the latter's arrival for the NAM Summit



The wife of the First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) Comrade Sally Mugabe, Deputy Secretary for Women's Affairs takes a look at some of the handicrafts exhibited for NAM delegates. Also in the picture is Comrade Betty Kaunda wife of the Zambian President, Comrade Kenneth Kaunda

"We must redouble the efforts to destroy apartheid and we should not be swayed by any other forces like greed and selfishness when addressing this question" President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda.

"By its very nature non-alignment is the anti-thesis of force and domination" Yugoslav President Sinan Hasani.

"One of the problems of the whites is that they have not yet experienced enough, have not yet shared the pain of apartheid" Dr. Allan Boesak, South African Anti-Apartheid leader.



Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya at an address during the 8th Summit. To the left are, President Canaan Banana, Comrade Witness Mangwende, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Emmerson Mnangagwa, Minister of State (Security) in the Prime Minister's Office



The President of Burkina Faso Captain Thomas Sankara takes the Salute as the Burkinabe National Anthem is played at his arrival at the Harare International Airport. Standing next to him is President of Zimbabwe, Comrade Canaan Banana, who came to greet him. In the background is Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Comrade R.G. Mugabe

"We consider that as long as apartheid exists in South Africa, the illegal occupation of Namibia and the murderous aggression of Pretoria against the states in the region continues it would be illusory to imagine a return to peace in this part of the world" Denis Sassou Nguesso, Chairman of OAU and President of Congo.

Continued from page 11

plementation of the decision of the UN Security Council 242 of November 22, 1967 and called for adequate measures against Israel.

The second resolution condemned Israeli attacks on Lebanon and called for "all members of the world organisation (the UN) to make all the necessary efforts and undertake all measures to prevent a repetition of such acts of aggression".

As can be seen from the above mentioned resolutions, the Middle East conflict was gradually assuming greater weight in the deliberations of the Non-Aligned nations. This was mainly due to Egypt's and Arab World's increasing concern at Israel outward expansionism. In fact, the 1967 war and the loss of further Arab land demonstrated the importance of the Middle East problem to the Non-Aligned Movement.

Support for PLO grows

The conference also declared that "full respect for the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is a prerequisite to peace in the Middle East"; called for "the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in their usurped homeland" and reaffirmed "its support in their struggle for national liberation and against colonialism and racism".

The fourth summit meeting held in Algiers, Algeria, between September 5 and 9, 1973, laid the grounds for an important turning point in the Non-Aligned Movement's handling of the Palestine question.

During this conference, the participating liberation movements exerted increasing pressure on the Non-Aligned movement. The PLO was particularly effective in this respect.

This time the conference adopted a separate resolution on the Middle East and Palestine. The most important provision was the reaffirmation of "the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestine people . . . for the complete restoration of their national rights, a struggle which is an inseparable part of the liberation movement in the world".

Calling on the Non-Aligned countries to extend support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for their rights, the resolution further emphasized that "complete restoration of those rights represents the basic condition of a just and durable peace," and declared that the PLO "is the legitimate representative of the Palestine people and their legitimate struggle."

The conference welcomed "the decision of some member countries to break off relations with Israel," and called on "the other member countries to work for a boycott of Israel in the diplomatic, economic, military and cultural fields and in the sphere of maritime and air traffic in accordance with the provisions of Chapter VII of the UN Charter."

The Non-Aligned movement's definition at this conference of the Palestinian people's struggle as a struggle against "Zionist racism" was to cause a furore at the UN, later.

Moreover, the conference further resolved that liberation movements should be given increased military assistance and training as well as financial aid from a solidarity fund.

In 1975, the Non-Aligned foreign ministers' conference in Lima, Peru welcomed the PLO as a full member of the movement.

Further positive developments in the position of the Non-Aligned movement on the Palestine question came during the fifth summit held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, August 1976.

At this conference several resolutions were adopted regarding the report of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people, the question of Palestine, the issue of permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Arab territories, and on the Middle East in general.

For the first time, the question of Palestine was dealt with separately on an individual basis, and was described "as one of the leading issues" facing the Non-Aligned movement. It was also the first time that such an abundance of material on the Palestine issue had been discussed in the resolutions.

Isolate Zionism

The conference stressed that the root cause of the Middle East crisis was the Zionist occupation of Arab Palestine, not the non-acceptance by some Arab states of the existence of Israel. It also reaffirmed its "total and effective support for the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle to recover their inalienable national rights in Palestine, which comprise: their right to return to their homeland and to recover their property as guaranteed by UN resolutions; their right to self-determination without any outside interference . . . ; their right to freely exercise their sovereignty over their territory and to establish their national independent Palestinian authority as an expression of their own will and a confirmation of their national identity."

The fact that Israel continued to refuse to implement the UN decisions accepted by it, prompted the Colombo conference to call on all Non-Aligned countries to sever diplomatic, economic and other relations with Israel and to impose sanctions against it.

The conference also urged "the need to take the most adequate measures in order to strengthen (the non-aligned countries') pressure on Israel in the UN and its specialized agencies, including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its membership in these institutions".

Finally, all states were urged "not to

allow Jews to emigrate to Arab areas under Israel's occupation".

An entire section of the political declaration issued at the end of the summit was devoted to the question of Palestine, and the PLO was included as a member of the Coordination Bureau, established at the Algiers meeting in 1973.

At the sixth summit meeting held in Havana, Cuba, September 1979, the importance of the Palestine issue had come to assume in the deliberations of the Non-Aligned countries was again evident.

Resolutions were adopted on the question of Palestine and on the permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Arab territories. Israel was again called on to withdraw from all occupied territories, and an embargo on arms and oil exports to Israel and economic sanctions against it were also demanded. Moreover, the question of its expulsion from the UN was raised.

The main development occurring at this conference was the decision to call upon the UN General Assembly to convene a special session on Palestine and to declare November 29 as an International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel were strongly condemned as they sought to impose on the Palestinian people a settlement that would effectively prevent the fulfilment of their legitimate national aspirations.

Moreover, Zionism was cited in the final political declaration as one of the manifestations of racism and racial discrimination which "constitute crimes against humanity and represent violations of the Charter of the UN and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

The conference also called for the strengthening of the struggle against racism, Zionism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

At the seventh Non-Aligned Summit meeting in March 1983 in New Delhi, India — the first after the heroic battle of Beirut and the prolonged siege and bombardment of the city by Israeli troops — the Palestine question was considered one of the most urgent and important before the conference. The mood of sympathy with the Palestinian people was particularly strong.

At the opening of the conference, a message of solidarity with the Palestinian people from the heads of state or government of the non-aligned countries was read out. A message of support for and solidarity with national liberation movements including the PLO was also read.

The conference reaffirmed its previous resolutions and decisions of the Palestine issue. It condemned the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the crimes committed there, in particular "the acts of genocide perpetrated against the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanese territory under occupation by

Israeli armed forces." The conference also "decided to request the international community to set up a war crimes tribunal in order to try Israel under international law for the crimes committed against the Palestinian people in all the territories which it has occupied since its establishment in 1948."

Finally, the conference "expressed its support for and adopted the Arab Peace

Plan proclaimed at the twelfth Arab summit conference held at Fez, Morocco, September 1982, and emphasized that this plan, being based on international legitimacy and on the principles of right and justice, constitutes a framework for establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

In conclusion, it can be seen that the Non-Aligned movement gradually came

to accord the Palestine question greater and greater importance, to such an extent that eventually a stage was reached when the Non-Aligned countries themselves took the lead in drafting resolutions on the Middle East and on Palestine which came eventually to be adopted at the UN General Assembly. The movement had even succeeded in totally isolating Israel in various international spheres.

Family Planning

By T.K. Hungwe, Secretary for Women's Rights, Family Health and Child Welfare

Although the idea of family planning is as old as mankind, for many varied reasons the concept has not yet won unreserved universal acceptance. Religions prejudices, social misgivings, political dynamics and in many cases, downright ignorance of the importance of planned fertility have all contributed to this situation.

The following article by Comrade T.K. Hungwe examines the history of family planning efforts in Zimbabwe.

Before embarking on discussing the subject of Family Planning it is important to start by defining the term. Family Planning is an attempt to have children in a more organised and planned way, so as to give parents a chance to prepare themselves psychologically, physically and economically before the arrival of another child. Family Planning is also a means used to control further pregnancies where a couple feel they have enough children.

Over the years, man has tried to control his fertility and not to leave child bearing to chance. The phenomenon of Family Planning has been practised in different cultures and societies for a long time. Indeed the methods of Family Planning are found in the Bible. Moses instructed Jews not to have sexual intercourse soon after child birth, this in a way was a good method of Family Planning. This demonstrates that the practice of Family Planning is as old as mankind.

In Zimbabwe, before the introduction of conventional methods of Family Planning, the indigenous Zimbabwean had his/her own methods, of Family Planning. Among the culturally acceptable methods, were the withdrawal method, the breast feeding method and finally the method of polygamy.

Polygamy was considered a method of Family Planning because if a man had two wives when the other wife was breast feeding, the husband would have his sex needs catered for by the other wife or



Comrade T.K. Hungwe, a member of the Central Committee of ZANU (PF) and Secretary for Women's Rights, Family Health and Child Welfare of the ZANU (PF) Women's League

wives. In reality, it was a matter of taking turns in bearing children and satisfying the husband's sexual needs. Rudimentary as these methods were, a lot of failures were encountered. These old fashioned methods cannot be used in modern independent Zimbabwe hence the need to use effective conventional methods of Family Planning used in many countries.

Early History of Family Planning

Family Planning is not a new concept, its history is found in the Egyptian papyrus written 4,000 ago. (Havemann, E. 1967, page 21 Birth Control).

Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher was among the outstanding personalities to preach the importance of birth control as it was known by then. He advocated the legislation of laws that would limit the number of children a couple could have in order to preserve civilization in the cities of Greece.

However during the Aristotle era man did not fully understand why a baby was born. Babies were considered strictly the

product of the woman. The father's role was not even recognised. (Havemann, E. 1967, page 22 Birth Control). As a result, women were subjected to odd kinds of "medicine" to prevent pregnancy. Women wore magic charms as a method of Family Planning. It is interesting to note that in Zimbabwe, some people believe in charms as an effective method of Family Planning, a phenomenon the writer finds difficult to believe.

The discovery of the microscope about 300 years ago revealed the role played by the man in procreation. The microscope revealed the presence of live human sperm cells in semen. This discovery resulted in "better" methods of Family Planning such as the withdrawal method being used.

Brief History of Family Planning in Zimbabwe

Like in many countries the introduction of Family Planning was initiated by Voluntary organisations. These organisations detected the need of this service by many communities of the world. Most governments to begin with, had nothing to do with what they considered a controversial issue. Family Planning was introduced in Zimbabwe by the Pathfinder voluntary organisation based in the United States of America. Doctor Gamble of the Pathfinder Voluntary organisation, sent Miss Gamble, a health Education Officer to introduce Family Planning. Miss Gates who did not take a "no" for an answer came to the then Rhodesia in 1955. She invited Mrs. Paddy Spilhouse to help her establish Family Planning. These two ladies faced many problems from both black and white communities. The black influenced by our nationalist movement felt that Family Planning was a way of curbing the birth rate of the black population for political reasons. These fears were not unfounded when one looks at the utterances of some members of Parliament at that time. For example, Mr. B. Owen (Rhodesian Front, Salisbury North) urged the government to encourage whites to increase their families and also suggested incentives of tax relief. He however, appealed to the opposition black members to realise and encourage their fellow men to practise Family Planning (Birth control) (The Herald 06.09.1967). As if what Mr. Owen had said was

not enough, Mr. J.R. Ryan (Rhodesia Front, Salisbury Central) stated that Family Planning would be a suicide by Europeans and he suggested that, instead, incentives like tax relief be instituted for large white Families (the Herald 21.04. 1966). These unfortunate statements confirmed the suspicions which the nationalists had.

Why We Should all Plan our Families Now

Zimbabwe is now free, the suspicions which existed during the colonial era are no longer existing. Zimbabwe should not allow itself to fall into the same trap which other countries fell into by ignoring the concept of Family Planning until they were faced by a problem of population explosion.

There are countries whose governments stipulate the number of children each couple should have. This removes the freedom of people to choose for themselves the number of children they want. These governments have no option but to take this measure because the populations of those countries are growing faster than their economic resources.

In developing countries, populations are growing faster than their economies. (Maurice King, 1978 page 200) Zimbabwe is no exception. In the past man has depended in large measure on his capacity to reproduce and so make good his losses in war, famine and disease. The introduction of health services has cut the death rate tremendously. In the past the birth rate and death rate somehow balanced. The human body was vulnerable to diseases like tuberculosis, small pox, tetanus, diphtheria and many others. The introduction of vaccinations, sanitation programmes, better nutrition and the discovery of antibiotics have all reduced the death rate considerably. It is therefore only logical to reduce the birth rate as well. At present Zimbabwe is in the process of implementing primary health care, this will further cut the death rate and increase the life expectancy of people. In the past people were old at 40 but these days life only begins at 40.

Zimbabwe's population at the census in 1982 was 7.5 million people. This population may double in twenty years' time. This poses many questions as to whether the resources of this country though at present may seem adequate, can support twice the present population in twenty years' time. Unfortunately, the population can double its number but the country's resources cannot double nor can a country's area stretch to accommodate a bigger population. The only option we have is to limit our birth rate.

When Depo provera was discontinued many people thought that the government of the people was not in favour of Family Planning. This is not the case, the Zim-



All families must provide good shelter, health, clothing and proper education for their children. They should afford these necessities until the child is able to support him/herself

Above are children attending an ORAP Creche in Glenville — Bulawayo in trying to satisfy these needs.

babwe government supports Family Planning. This support is demonstrated by the fact that we now have the Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council, a parastatal body which receives a government grant. This council is under the Ministry of Health. Depo provera was discontinued as a mode of contraception because of the many side effects it caused. The Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council has worked hard to open new clinics and renovate those clinics destroyed during the war. The council is manned by specialists in Family Planning and offers a variety of methods of contraception.



The Role of the Mass Media in Zimbabwe's Transition to Socialism

The mass media is an important instrument in any society. Its role is even more crucial in the developing nations which face numerous challenges as they attempt to redress the legacy of colonialism and provide a better standard of living for their people. Here the Secretary for Administration in the ZANU (PF) Women's League and Deputy Minister for Information, Posts and Telecommunications Comrade Naomi Nhiwatiwa addresses the role that mass media must assume in Zimbabwe's transition to socialism.

The words "mass media" and "communications media" are often used interchangeably to suggest not always the same range of components. Unless otherwise specified, in this paper the terms will be used to refer to such media of communications as newspapers, radio, television, magazines and films.

The mass media existing in any given society are an integral part of that society. The kind of service they offer usually reflects the political system which is dominant in the setting and what it is aspiring to achieve.

Before Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, for instance, the mass-media, particularly radio, television and newspapers reflected a white dominated Rhodesian Society. Thus, it projected the existing socio-economic and political system with the political ideology which resulted in the tragic war during which so many lives were lost. The extent to which the mass media in this country were used for this purpose was partially depicted in Elaine Windrich's *The Mass Media in the Struggle for Zimbabwe* published in 1981; in Julie Frederikae's *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe* published here in 1982; and elsewhere. The full story, of course, will probably never be told. The advent of Independence called on us all to look afresh at every aspect of the organisation of our mass media and the role they were playing. The direct responsibility for examining the existing position and working out new lines of approach fell within my ministry; the Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications.

The world around us offered a wide variety of models of media organisation. One model which some people encouraged us to adopt was that found in places like Britain, the United States, West Germany, France, and in a few other countries of Western Europe — particularly with regard to the press. In these countries, the concept of "free press" is preached, which in theory offers

everybody the right to start and publish a newspaper provided one has the means to do so and the ability to withstand economic competition and political pressures. In practice, only those with the financial means or backing of the powerful, inside or outside the country, do so.

In our case, adopting the model I have referred to would have meant leaving control of our press in the hands of South African financial interests, which were generally known to be hostile to the new majority rule Government of Zimbabwe. Now, only a Zimbabwean requiring the immediate attentions of a skilful psychiatrist, would have seriously recommended that to us as a sensible arrangement.

The Zimbabwe Government could not justify the continued ownership and control or even influence of the country's national newspapers by hostile outsiders. Having made this decision, the Government was then left with the task of working out the exact format of media organisation appropriate for the realities of our country. This required a great deal of thinking in my Ministry.

In all countries, the national value system has a lot to do with the content of the mass media. The political system also determines what the media are used for, what control is imposed on them and who owns them and has the right to use them. In other words, in most political systems there are what, in the media jargon, are called gate-keepers — people who decide who is to appear on television, who should be invited to participate in a particular radio or television discussion programme, which stories are to be given front page prominence and which ones are to be consigned to the obscure columns of the back pages, near the obituaries. Such "gate-keepers" operate within a prescribed national value system or political system. These may be editors of national or weekly newspapers like *The Herald* or *The Sunday Mail* or news editors of radio and television newsrooms.

Zimbabwe — A Different Approach

In terms of the role of political ideology in the mass media, there are three basic views which are usually referred to typologically as follows:-

- (1) There is the so-called "libertarian"



Comrade Naomi Nhiwatiwa Secretary for Administration, Zanu (PF) Women's League, Deputy Minister for Information, Posts and Telecommunications

system of the media. Under this system, the idea is to keep the media as free as possible from Government control. The people use the media to check on the Government and to criticise the actions of public officials. But in practice, they have no absolute freedom. Their freedom is curtailed and compromised by those who put up the capital in the first place.

- (2) There is the so-called "authoritarian" system found in most of the less industrialised, less wealthy, countries. Under this system, newspapers are owned either by the Government or the party in power. More often than not, this system is found under a one-party state.
- (3) There is the Soviet-type system which is also so-called "authoritarian". Here the media are exclusively owned by the Government and/or the only political party legally allowed to operate.

We in Zimbabwe opted for what can only be called the "Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust type" of organisation which is a new concept in Africa. It is also a departure and a synthesis of all the three systems mentioned above. Under the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust type of arrangement, the newspapers are not owned or controlled by the Government and/or party. The Trust is entrusted to run the newspapers as a viable commercial concern with the national interest in mind. Profits that are made by the newspapers are ploughed back into the industry to buy new equipment and machinery — as has already happened at *The Herald* — and to cater for the welfare of workers. Indeed, we had intended the workers in this industry to form a Mass

Media Workers Union to facilitate the effective representation of these workers in every aspect of the running of the industry, including boardroom decisions.

Removal of private ownership of our major newspapers has also erased the private profit motive, which in many countries has driven the press into excessive emphasis on sensational stories in order to win circulation battles at the expense of the truth. Our press people, freed of this burden, have the opportunity to strive only after the truth, having due regard to the national interest in the process. Put in different terms, what I am saying is that Zimbabwean journalists in the new situation need not be slaves of the titillating at the expense of the important!

Our electronic media presented problems of a different dimension at Independence in that, unlike the press, they were already in public hands. All the same, a great deal of re-organisation was required here to give the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation a sound operational structure, and to modernise its equipment and modes of functioning. Like the press, broadcasting also needed a redefinition of role in order to properly serve the new Zimbabwe. This leads me to the fundamental question of this lecture: What should be the role of the mass media in Zimbabwe's transition to socialism?

When the Prime Minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, officially opened the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation Mbare Studios complex in Harare on May 31 this year, he spoke of the role of the mass media in these terms: "It is important to realise and acknowledge that appropriate mass media institutions, in particular the broadcasting services, are among the most decisive and effective means in changing the ideological outlook of any given society. They assist in changing the attitudes of the people, thereby transforming society from an underdeveloped and backward state to a progressive and advanced one. Their proper utilisation should enable a people to realise their livelihood and fulfil their social and human relationships."

In that sense, the mass media in this land have a vital role to play in our socialist transformation.

The Role of Media

But in more specific terms, what does this entail? This question, comrades and friends, is not an easy one. However, I believe that at the very least our media should be involved in the following tasks:-

- (1) helping to bridge the gap between the masses of the people and the policy makers, by keeping the people well informed of Government policies, decisions, anxieties and so on, and vice versa;
- (2) keeping the entire nation informed about the world around us on a sub-regional basis, as well as continen-

- tal and global basis;
- (3) becoming the teachers of the masses on major issues or problems facing the nation through correct and objective interpretation of events, and thereby indicating to the people the friends and enemies of the state, and instilling in the people's minds sufficient consciousness which is a prerequisite for the vigilance or alertness of each individual and which, in turn, will safeguard the sovereignty of the state.

In discharging this role it may be that the media will, from time to time, expose things which some would prefer not to watch or see in print — cases of corruption, for instance, which tend to denigrate the name of our society as a whole. But we should all realise that the media are a mirror of society and what is going on within it. We should resist all temptation to take issue with our mirror merely because, every now and again, it shows us pimples beginning to form in our collective face. Rather, we should always endeavour to find cures for the causes of the resented developments. The media, for their part, should always try to cover issues and events without deliberate exaggeration or distortion.

As the mass media discharge the role that I have described, the Ministry of Information, Posts and Telecommunications being as it were the "linkman" between the various ministries in Government and the media will have a critical influence. But it is important to point out that the quality of what the Department of Information relays is directly dependent on what it receives from other arms of Government, it means all sectors of Government need to produce more information on what they are doing, which the Department of Information will then pass on, using the resources at its command.

My Ministry, being involved in the formulation of appropriate policies for the spread of communications facilities, has a big role to play in ensuring increasing access to the media by the masses of this nation. In this regard, we have taken a number of initiatives aimed at achieving that goal.

Back in 1980, while the bell of Independence was still sounding, we created the Zimbabwe Inter-Africa News Agency (ZIANA) in order to facilitate news collection and dissemination in Zimbabwe and outside. ZIANA was charged with the task, subject always to financial constraints, of establishing offices in all provinces of our country. At the moment, they have offices in Mutare, Gweru, Bulawayo, Harare, Gwanda, Masvingo and will be opening one next month in Chegutu. The goal of ZIANA is to reach the two-thirds of our population in rural areas, who live beyond the ambit of our normal news services. ZIANA's usefulness to Zimbabwe lies in the field of its feature services. At this point in our history, the content of these features

could play a most important role in explaining the issues arising from our quest for a socialist order.

ZIANA's principal role should be seen as that of a disseminator of information to support and promote the social and economic development of our country. Seen from this angle, ZIANA's importance as a vehicle to assist in the promotion of the policy objectives of the country is quite obvious.

Plans are in hand to create communication centres at growth points throughout the country where radio and television reception will be made available, and a local manufacturer has been encouraged by Government to begin production of radios at a price the masses can afford. The company is also to explore the possibilities of making cheap television sets.

Publication of *The People's Weekly* by the Ministry amounts to half a million, and our fleet of mobile cinemas screens to audiences estimated at 2.5 million people per film per year. Externally, our publications are despatched to more than 80 countries.

The Media and the Ideological; Cultural Debate

Before I draw towards the conclusion of this paper, let me make reference to the present debate on socialism in this country. Our papers and broadcasting media have carried various articles and programmes on the question in recent months. While these efforts have been very useful, in my view they have not sufficiently focused on one dimension which will be central if we really are to shift towards socialism. I am referring here to cultural revolution which will be a major component of any socialist change. If cultural revolution is not significantly present in the social transformation we are seeking, then we will see a very slow and insignificant transition from capitalism to socialism in Zimbabwe.

It is a matter of great importance that we should realise that even if we were able to articulate precisely the political and economic basis of socialism but fail to initiate basic social change, it would be most difficult to develop a practical socialist democracy and socialist mode of life.

A socialist cultural revolution should ~~not~~ be directed towards efforts aimed at creating a new socialist culture which is produced and consumed by the masses. To do that there is a definite need for deliberate cultural policies and actions capable of destroying cultural retardation brought about by colonial domination of the masses and by the unquestioning inheritance of past traditions.

Radio and television in Zimbabwe play a central role in this socialist cultural revolution by articulating the qualitative and quantitative changes taking place in

many areas of the people's culture. To do this, these media have to adopt a more comprehensive plan of developing indigenous programme inputs than at present. These programmes should be premised on a socialist line of enabling the masses to become creators and consumers of their own cultural and intellectual products.

Efforts by Zimbabwe Television in recent times to produce, with the financial support of private companies, programmes such as "The Mukadota Family", "Solo and Mutsai in Harare", and "Chaka" in Shona, English and Ndebele should be considered positive steps in this intricate process of creating a socialist culture. Unfortunately, the quality and impact of such television programmes have been affected adversely by major social and cultural contradictions present in our society which has had a big injection of capitalist television culture, as ex-

emplified by such programmes as "The Greatest American Hero", "The Professionals", "Falcon Crest" and others which have been shown. When the masses in our society, particularly those in urban areas, are faced with cultural and intellectual materials produced by their own people they unfortunately apply capitalist yardsticks to determine the cultural usefulness and artistic standards of such programmes. This contradiction therefore becomes the key stumbling block in our cultural revolution.

Our broadcasting media suffer from a number of constraints which inhibit the realisation of their full potential in developing programmes along the lines that I have mentioned. They, for instance, face considerable problems in finding adequate resources in human and material terms. The Government is doing its best to assist through its substantial subventions and licence fees. But a signifi-

cant portion of the ZBC's revenue derives from commercial advertisements, a situation which exercises a big influence in their programming. Whether this link between our broadcasting services and commercial interests is healthy, given our desires to see these services adopting a more socialist posture, should, in my view, be the subject of debate.

Mr. Chairman, the transition to socialism is not easy. It is plagued with many contradictions which are a product of our historical past and the realities of the day. It is important that we appreciate that we are in the development process. We have stated our goals and objectives. We are in the process of moving towards those objectives. It is also true that in this developmental processes we will encounter many contradictions, but these are the inevitable in any transitional process.

Food for Thought

Whither Zimbabwe?

By Comrade. Chaminuka

Six years after the attainment of national independence, Zimbabwe has already established itself as a country of great achievements and exciting prospects. The goal of national unity is no longer as elusive as it might have appeared in 1980. Internationally, too, Zimbabwe's achievements are no less notable: she is a leading actor in Southern Africa and now chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. There is a lot to be proud about, and much much more.

There are, however, internal and external factors that will continue to threaten our hard-won victories and thereby further limit our capacity for far-reaching change and development. Some of these factors are now well-known and need only brief mention. First, the economic and strategic objectives of United States imperialism (and its allies) in the Southern African sub-region. Some analysts argue that political independence in Zimbabwe was born partly out of the imperialist formula of the Lancaster House Agreement, in the attempt, by the US and Britain, to arrest and contain in further radicalization of the national liberation movement. If this is so, then the obvious question is: to what extent has imperialism succeeded in its (economic and strategic) aims and objectives?

The answer to this question will have to be found in a general consideration of the agenda of the national liberation



Development programmes which involve the masses will bring a better tomorrow for Zimbabwe. An agricultural cooperative farm 20 km out of Harare

movement prior to national independence and thereby ascertaining how far those revolutionary objectives have so far been fulfilled. But let us first turn to the second factor, namely, the threat of South African destabilization. This further reinforces the imperialist formula, seeking to ensure that Zimbabwe does not dare embark on the kind of radical economic and social transformation that was envisaged under the agenda of the national liberation movement.

The relationship between these apparently external factors and the internal dynamics of our society are quite obvious. In the final analysis, the totality of the relationship between internal and external factors determine and influence the character of the class forces within the society as well as the nature of the post-colonial state. It is therefore impossible to understand the post-colonial situation

in Zimbabwe without a historical analysis of imperialism, white settler colonialism, the class structure that developed among the indigenous people, and the nature and content of the national liberation struggle.

By definition, the post-colonial situation refers to a society which in its national objectives remains heavily constrained by the imperialist and colonialist legacy. Similarly, the concept of the post-colonial state describes a state which is so divided between on the one hand existing as an inherited phenomenon of colonialism, and on the other seeking to carry through the agenda of the national liberation struggle. Some analysts have described post-colonial Zimbabwe as the post-white settler colonial situation with a post-white settler colonial state. The crucial factor in all this is who controls the post-colonial state and whose interests it is therefore designed to serve. The

answer is implicit in the concept and definition of the post-colonial situation itself. For it is evident that the post-colonial state cannot, by definition, fulfill the demands and requirements of the masses. It can resolve neither the *Land Question* nor the *Labour Question*. It is unable to challenge fundamentally either capital or vested class interests. At best, it can only for a time arbitrate between the irreconcilable interests of capitalism on the one hand and those of the masses on the other.

The key factor in the post-colonial situation is the indigenous petty bourgeoisie, the *African petty bourgeoisie*. This class consists of the educated, propertied and leading elements of our society: the governing class, the comprador elements, the professionals and the emergent businessmen. In general, this is the class which inevitably takes the leading role, as much during the liberation struggle as in the post-colonial situation. This is because the working class is so small and mostly disorganized; and the peasantry is mostly illiterate. The African petty bourgeoisie was able to articulate the nationalist aspirations and mobilized the peasants, workers and all other nationalist forces towards national independence. It is this same class that now inherits the state from the outgoing colonialists and invariably becomes the bridge between the internal and external factors, often arbitrator between international capital and the masses.

Depending on both the historical exigencies and nature of the consciousness of the masses, the petty bourgeoisie — or sections of it — might seek to advance the revolution immediately following independence or work towards stalling it.

The petty bourgeoisie can seek to enhance its mass-base by keeping close to the latter and therefore responding to the popular demands for more land, better conditions of work and better conditions of life. But it can also gradually break away from that base and underdevelop the mass party.

It can through the post-colonial state begin to act more independently of the forces that brought it to power, aligning more with the forces from whom it inherited power. The state now protects the interests of this class as well as those of the former settlers and international capital.

Indeed, the African petty bourgeoisie can either accept the reality in which it finds itself immediately following independence and argue forever that the conditions for economic and social transformation are not yet ripe. It can accept the *status quo* as given and claim that to do otherwise would be to provoke the wrath of both our external enemies and their local lackeys. Yet in the meantime the petty bourgeoisie will become comfortable in their newly acquired positions, accumulate property and gradually lose interest in the revolution from which they have just come. *Vanenge vakudzirwa*.

On the other hand, the African petty bourgeoisie has the option: to challenge the *status quo*, preparing for the final onslaught by building upon the popular mass base through whom national independence was born in the first instance. If such a decision is made early, then there arises initially a situation of economic hardships as the sacrifice for ensuring that imperialism is kept at bay, the indigenous reactionaries are kept in check and the fruits of national independence increas-

ingly reach the masses. As always, the masses have nothing to lose but all to gain in such a situation, provided that the mass Party remains the framework of organization and politicization. The masses have always known hardship: colonialist oppression and exploitation; war and strife; denied even the basics of human existence. Unlike the petty bourgeoisie who are concerned about all sorts of luxuries, consumption goods and good living, the peasants and workers require only an improvement in their standard of living. For this little the masses are prepared to sacrifice; and they will support — nay, constitute — any programme of development about which they are convinced that it will bring a better tomorrow for them and their children.

The debate is only just beginning and is bound to rage in a country like Zimbabwe: about the conditions under which national independence was attained in 1980; about whether or not a revolutionary programme was feasible in the period immediately following independence; and whether or not contemporary Zimbabwe is simply an outcome of what is historically possible in such a country and within the current configuration of regional and global forces. But the debate will be a waste of time if it cannot lead us into a great awareness of the possibilities for transforming our reality.

Much depends on how we organize ourselves around the Party, acknowledge the fundamental role of the masses in any transformative process, and accept all the sacrifices and challenges that necessarily constitute a revolutionary exercise.

In the meantime, let the debate rage on.

World Economic Trends and the Developing Countries

By a Special Correspondent

Analyses of world economic trends have long been largely left to institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank — both based in the heartland of Western ideology, the United States.

As such, they have already reflected the views of the Group of Five major industrial nations (G5) when dealing with developments in the Third World and have generally contained only mild rebukes for the policies of the G5 countries, even when these very policies lie behind many of the problems facing developing countries.

It is therefore refreshing to read the first major economic review of the New

Delhi-based Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and Other Developing Countries (RIS), released in Harare during the Non-Aligned Movement summit.

Entitled "The World Economy in the Mid-Eighties", the report is expected to be followed by regular annual reviews of the world economy as it affects developing countries, thereby providing a much-needed alternative to IMF, World Bank and other reviews.

Simply and clearly written, with a touch of humour here and there, the report pulls together all the complicated strands weaving in and out of the world economic fabric today to provide a com-

prehensive view of how the world economy works — to the detriment of the poor and to the benefit of the rich.

To be sure, it relies heavily on data from the various major multilateral institutions, but then they have more money and expertise at their disposal to gather information. But RIS interprets it in a completely different way.

The World Bank and the IMF, for example, merely look at the debt problem in terms of developing countries having borrowed too much and now having to adopt "structural adjustment" programmes entailing a cut-back on deficits, subsidies and state participation in the economy.

The RIS report, however, makes it clear that while individual country domestic policies might have some bearing on growing debt, the situation has been exacerbated and, in the case of much of Africa, brought to crisis point by developments in the current world economic order, dominated by the G5.

The end result of these developments

has been low commodity prices, increased protectionism, high interest rates, misaligned and volatile exchange rates and decreased aid and investment flows.

As a result, developing countries have seen their export earnings dwindle while their debt servicing payments have risen sharply, leaving them in an untenable position in which they are forced to adopt "adjustment policies" that often have severe socio-economic and political consequences. No such adjustment is, however, forced on the G5 countries.

But at the root of the world economic crisis lies the huge US budget deficit — which has been financed by high real interest rates, a still overvalued US dollar and by investment funds that could have gone to developing countries — and the tight monetary policies adopted by European countries to fight inflation — which have also helped push up interest rates while causing the high unemployment that has fuelled protectionist sentiments.

Need for Technological Inputs

These and many other factors make it clear that the present system is not working and that credible and co-ordinated measures are needed to pull the world away from the "unsustainable and perilous path towards which it is drifting" — in other words, the establishment of a new and more equitable world economic order.

Perhaps the hardest hit by the chaos perpetrated by the current system has been the African continent, and the RIS report fittingly contains a special chapter, prepared with the help of University of Zimbabwe staff, on the African crisis and proposes an agenda for action.

This chapter highlights the fact, often overlooked by outside observers, that the so-called "African crisis" revolves not only around drought and famine, but also a series of developmental crisis that need immediate international attention and, in particular, the support of the more advanced developing countries with their more appropriate inputs and technology.

"Although the crisis manifests itself in an emergency situation, it is a consequence of long-term forces and trends. The crisis is above all a developmental crisis, and it can be traced back primarily to the colonial division of labour and the inability of post-colonial strategies of development to reverse it," said the report.

While it agrees with the World Bank's view that price and exchange rate policy distortions have affected agriculture in Africa, it recognises, as the World Bank does not, that this is only part of the problem. Structural problems such as the sexual division of labour with men growing cash crops for export and women the food (a colonial heritage) and the growing pressure on the land as populations



Half a billion people are starving in the Third World. But instead of feeding them, vast sums are being squandered on the arms race imposed by imperialism and militarism.

grow and industrialisation remains low, have had an equally negative effect on agriculture.

Where developing countries have tried to deal with these structural problems by trying to step up industrial development, they have been criticised by the World Bank, even though this would ease pressure on the land and allow for the more productive use of land.

Effects of External Factors

As it is, the RIS report points out, small markets and heavy reliance on imported inputs have made it difficult for African countries to expand manufacturing activity and many remain heavily reliant on one or two export commodities which leaves them highly vulnerable to price changes. The situation has been made worse by the fact that the prices of many of their commodities have fallen sharply.

Industrialisation should, therefore, contrary to World Bank arguments, be given higher priority. But rather than relying on the West for the necessary technology, African countries should make greater use of the less expensive, more appropriate and labour intensive technologies developed in other Third World countries.

The World Bank has also argued that the crisis in Africa is due to the inefficient use of resources, rather than inadequate resources, in the 1970s.

In making this judgement, RIS believes

that the bank has "relied excessively on aggregate results for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole."

If the three commodities — oil, coffee and cocoa — which account for more than 60 per cent of total sub-Saharan exports and which are concentrated in a few countries saw "a considerable price boom over the 1970s, it is hardly surprising that overall African terms of trade movements would appear favourable, in spite of the fact that nearly all minerals and metals, cereals, fats and oil and raw materials have suffered sharp real price decreases. In other words, the majority of African countries would still have suffered terms of trade deterioration over the 1970s."

RIS said that contrary to popular belief, it has not only been since 1980 that Africa has been highly dependent on world trade cycles. This dependence dated back to the 1960s, although the effects of the various cycles have varied.

In the 1970s, although terms of trade were not favourable, capital inflows were, accounting in part for the build-up in debt in developing countries. But in the 1980s, both terms of trade and capital flows worsened and, coupled with rising interest rates and increasing protectionism, the results were devastating.

This dependence on external factors therefore made it crucial that African economies be restructured to be less externally dependent — otherwise "the crisis such as the present one will not be the last."

Again, the World Bank and the developing world had different ideas about how this should be done.

The World Bank emphasised an agriculture-based and export orientated development strategy coupled, of course, with devaluation and pricing policies in favour of agriculture production as a prelude to industrialisation.

The Organisation of African Unity's Lagos Plan of Action, on the other hand, took a longer term view that concentrated on increased self-sufficiency in all spheres, including industry and agriculture.

RIS rightly points out that the latter is in the best long-term interests of Africa, but that African planners must come up with suitable short-term strategies to implement it. As it was, the World Bank's short-term strategies, which had a completely different long-term aim, were filling the gap, putting the realisation of the goal of self-sufficiency even further beyond reach.

North Causes Inequity

This was because the World Bank and the IMF were "particularly in a position to call the tune for African governments because any recovery programme would require external resources, which will not be forthcoming without these institutions giving the go-ahead."

This had been exacerbated by the fact that the two organisations were increasingly working in tandem and, as a result, more and more African countries had adopted policy adjustments over the past five years under pressure from them and donor countries.

The burden of adjustment in a crisis caused by factors largely beyond their control was therefore being placed on African countries, while the developed countries' rhetoric about helping Africa ease its debt burden in particular had not been matched by concrete measures.

This had been highlighted by the much-vaunted Baker Plan and the rhetoric at

the recent United Nations General Assembly's special session on Africa. This first, which has yet to be fully supported by commercial banks, benefits only two sub-Saharan African countries — Nigeria and Ivory Coast — while developed countries have made no binding commitments to the latter despite the willingness of African states to "put their own house in order."

In view of the inadequacy of the North's aid effort, the continued inequality of the world economic order and the growing need for SOMETHING to be done to help Africa, the RIS report makes wide-ranging proposals for increased

South-South co-operation to help Africa, proposals that were later reflected in the NAM action programme for economic co-operation.

While there is no doubt that the more developed countries in the Third World can do to help the worst-hit African countries, as well as the Frontline states in the face of South African economic aggression, political will and commitment will be needed here and now to set the ball rolling. Hopefully the commitments made at the NAM summit will soon be followed up by action.

Let us learn from others

It is an acceptable political truth that a revolution can never be exported. But, a revolutionary party can learn from other revolutionary and socialist parties in building a strong revolutionary base for the successful implementation of its programmes for developing a scientific Marxist-Leninist Party of Peasants and workers, dependent on the actual situation prevailing in the country. ZANU (PF) fought a bitter struggle for liberation is now engaged in the struggle to consolidate people's power, politically and economically.

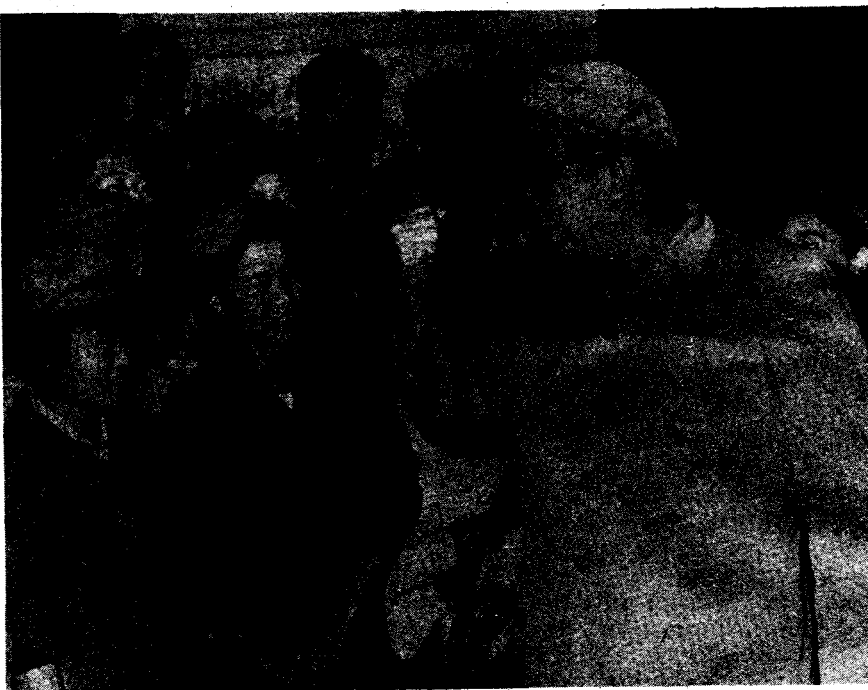
In this article we draw some experiences from our Korean revolutionary comrades, whose struggle was no different from ours though we live continents apart, we share experiences that are important to internationalist forces who are striving to build truly socialist states.

It is fitting to re-print the work of Comrade Kim Il Sung while our fraternal comrades celebrate the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Workers Party of Korea.

The work consists of seven parts.

In the first part, "The Struggle of the Korean Communists to Found the Party", the work explains that Korean communists laid a firm foundation on which to build a revolutionary Party through a protracted, hard-fought struggle and points to the course of founding the Party on this basis.

The WPK was founded in 1945, but the struggle to establish it in Korea had begun a long time before. The formation of the Down-with-Imperialism Union in 1926 was the starting point in the building of a new-type of revolutionary Party in Korea and the glorious roots of the WPK began to grow from it. The first Party organization formed in Kalun with the young communists of the new generation in accordance with the Juche-based



The respected leader President Kim Il Sung encourages members of the Capital Construction Youth Shock-Brigade (September 1967)

revolutionary line advanced at the historic Kalun meeting in 1930 marked the glorious beginning of the WPK and its organizations expanded rapidly with it as the mother's body.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle opened a new phase in the effort to establish the Party. During this period, a large force of the organizational backbone of the future Party was trained, the unbreakable unity and cohesion of the communist ranks were achieved and the solid mass foundations for Party building laid. The foundation of the Party was proclaimed to the world on October 10, 1945 on the basis of the organizational and ideological foundations for Party building which had been laid and the brilliant revolutionary traditions established during the anti-Japanese

revolutionary struggle.

In its second part, "The Workers' Party of Korea is a Revolutionary Party of Juche", the work refers to the character and mission of the WPK and the principle on which it was built. The WPK is a working-class Party of a new type, a Marxist-Leninist Party of a Juche type.

The guiding ideology of the WPK is the Juche idea and the Party is guided by the Juche idea and builds itself and carries on all its activities on the basis of this idea. The basic mission of the Party is to fight for the victory of the Juche cause and its immediate revolutionary task facing it today in carrying out the Juche cause is to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of the Republic and to bring about the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. The Party

is working hard to carry on the Korean revolution well and, at the same time, achieve the victory of the world revolution. Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism and of anti-imperialism and independence, the Party will unite closely with the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and other progressive political parties in the world, oppose imperialism, colonialism and all acts of aggression and subordination and continue to wage a fierce struggle to provide Chajusong for the people. In building the working-class Party it is the basic principle to ensure political leadership over the whole of society, with work amongst the people as the main task.

One Ideological System

Work with people is the basic mode of government by the working-class Party. The revolutionary principle must be adhered to in Party building. The basic principles which the WPK maintains in Party building are, first, to establish the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party; second, to make the Party one with the people; and third, to ensure continuity in Party building.

In its third part, "The Organizational and Ideological Consolidation of the Party Ranks", the work points out that always of its ranks as the main task of Party work, the WPK has pressed ahead with this work and, in the course of this, gained valuable experience and lessons.

The most important thing in the organisational and ideological consolidation of the Party ranks is to establish the monolithic ideological system throughout the Party. From the first days of its foundation, the Party considered the establishment of the monolithic ideological system to be the basic line of Party building and has consistently striven to bring this about. The main effort the Party made to establish the monolithic ideological system was to introduce Juche and eliminate all kinds of factional elements including flunkeyism, dogmatism and factionalism. In order to consolidate the Party ranks organizationally and ideologically, the Party life of its members must be strengthened, ideological education intensified amongst cadres and rank-and-file members and the function and role of Party organizations be raised. The ranks of cadres, in particular, should be firmly built up, their political and practical qualifications constantly improved and the Party ranks be trained as an elite.

In its fourth part, "Unity and Cohesion between the Party and the Popular Masses", the work says that the WPK has adhered to the principle of Party building that the Party and the popular masses should be an integral whole and their unity and cohesion achieved with credit. In achieving their unity and cohesion it is im-

portant to build the Party into a mass Party of the working people, organize the working people's organizations, constantly enhance their functions and role, do the work of the united front efficiently and work well with people of different sections. The mass line has to be carried out in Party activities in order to achieve firm unity and cohesion between the Party and the popular masses. The mass line of the WPK is to defend the interests of the masses in the revolution and construction and to solve all problems arising therein by increasing their role.

The Party Leadership and Revolution

In its fifth part, "The Party's Leadership in the Revolution and Construction", the work points out that from the first days of its foundation the WPK has correctly led the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction and, in the course of this, gained valuable success and experience. The Party not only worked out all its lines and policies independently in conformity with the prevailing conditions in Korea, but also organized and guided the work for their implementation properly. Basing itself on the brilliant solution of the question of power, the most important matter in the revolution, the Party, with the people's power as a weapon, has led the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction properly, such as the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, the three revolutions — ideological, technical and cultural — and so on.

In the Party's guidance over the revolution and construction it is particularly important to strengthen its guidance of economic construction. In the building of an independent national economy, the Party has held fast to the basic line of economic construction on giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture, and propounds as a main task the need to make the national economy Juche-oriented, modern and scientific. The Party solved the problem of economic management brilliantly by creating the Taean work system in conformity with the characteristics of the socialist society and the requirements of the developing situation. During the last period, the Party worked out its foreign policy by embodying the idea of independence, friendship and peace and has carried on external activities in accordance with it and guided the foreign affairs of the government bodies and social organizations correctly.

In its sixth part, "The Party's Art of Leadership", the work notes that in the course of directing the revolution and construction, the Party has created a revolutionary and popular art of leadership and applied it to Party activities.

The WPK's art of leadership is that of Juche which is based on the Juche idea and embodies the revolutionary mass line. Its major contents are the revolutionary system of Party work and the revolutionary and popular work method and work style.

In the last part, "The Party is the Guide of the Socialist and Communist Society", the work says that in order to develop and strengthen the Party to become the guide of socialist and communist society, its cause should be correctly carried forward from generation to generation. In carrying forward the Party's cause, it is essential to solve the problem of the heir to the political leader correctly. A working-class Party must have as heir a leader of the people who is absolutely loyal to the Party and the revolution and who has the personality and qualities to achieve complete political leadership over the whole of society.

The WPK has satisfactorily solved the question of carrying forward the revolutionary cause.

The top echelon of the Party has been built up, the organizational and ideological foundations of the Party laid as firmly as a rock and its guidance system solidly established so as to carry on the ideas and leadership of the Party. This is a brilliant success and a great victory in the building of the Party.

An important matter in carrying forward the Party's cause is to inherit its revolutionary traditions correctly and model the whole Party on the Juche Idea. The cause of the working-class Party continues even after the building of communism and, therefore, the Party should be strengthened and developed in keeping with the needs of a communist society.

This work, published by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, is an encyclopaedia for the building of the Party of Juche and an ideological and theoretical review of the historical struggle for the building of the working-class Party; and it represents a militant banner leading the Party and the revolution to victory.



(continued from page 6)

who is pro-Pretoria.

It is important to note that the Scandinavian countries have assumed a generally positive stand on the sanctions issue. During a Press Conference in Harare on September 17, the Norwegian Prime Minister, Mrs. Gro Brundtland, expressed her country's support for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, pointing out that Norway, "would go it alone" if the rest of the Western nations refuse to meet their moral obligation to impose comprehensive sanctions.

International efforts to impose sanctions are gaining momentum and if effectively applied, sanctions will inflict blows on the apartheid economy. Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl are aware of this, hence their posturing and crocodile tears behind the "sanctions will hurt the blacks" facade. Humanity is however morally bound to bring the West's commitment to upholding the principles of justice and a peace is being put to a practical test. It

is on trial. Will the West plead, 'not Guilty?'

The rest of humanity is however determined to go ahead with full and comprehensive mandatory sanctions. The South African regime will not doubt attempt to weather and contain the effects of sanctions by turning into itself and seeking alternative markets as well as raw materials from within the country. It will also undertake import substitution on a massive scale.

It is therefore important for the liberation movements to mobilise the South African workers, students, peasants and other progressive forces to effectively disrupt attempts by the regime to cushion the effects of sanctions given the capacity of the South Africa workers to effectively rally behind a given objective. This could prove an effective weapon which would ensure the success of sanctions particularly if this is co-ordinated with the on-going economic boycotts, strikes and the general civil strife that characterise

South Africa today. No doubt Botha's cohorts will increase repression; there will be more cold blooded murders, maimings and torture, but such is the stern stuff a revolution is made of.

The sanctions debate is at the centre stage of international politics. It should however not detract the masses of South Africa from the real issue, which is that *the principal means of struggle against oppressive regimes has been and will always be armed struggle* and that such measures can only play a supportive role.

★ POETRY ★

The late Comrade L. Takawira

In Comrade Takawira God had sent
us our own Moses
Here was a man who could never be
forced to say yes instead of 'no', or
vice versa
They saw that he was a wise man who
could reveal their evilness,
And they jailed him for that!

Because during that time a black man
being wise was an offence,
Resisting the white men's wishes was
an offence,
Saying the truth was a very serious
offence,
Even talking of Zimbabwe as our
country was a very serious offence
that cost a life.

That is the time when Comrade
Takawira was sent to us by God
He led the people to fight against
apartheid,
To fight for their right over the soil of
Zimbabwe,
And to fight for peace and freedom

He turned down all their false peace
agreements,
He wanted all the cards put on the
table
That is the time when they jailed him
for false accusation of rebel

In jail they did all they could on him,
To force him stop preaching reality to
the people
But Comrade Takawira was not that
sort of man,
He preferred imprisonment to betray-

ing his own nation

Consequently we lost this dedicated
leader
He died there in their filthy cells, as if
he had no home
Maybe it was due to the unnatural
conditions of their racist prisons
So, in short we can conclude that he
was murdered!



Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe where were you
Zimbabwe?
Our Motherland.
People were crying for you.
People died for you.
Others are cripples because of you
Zimbabwe.
Others lost their families because of
you.
People suffered for many years
because of you.
You were nowhere to be found.
Where were you?
Blood was shed like rain.
Others were living in the
mountains.
Where were you all along?
What kind of punishment is that?
Our beloved Motherland.
You came back later after we
suffered.
We have brought you back.
People are happy now.
They unite because of you.
Because of the blood of those who
died for you.
Motherland Zimbabwe you are
back.

By

Gloria Sibanda

Reprint from

Young Women in the Liberation Struggle
Published by Z.P.H.

Subscription Form For ZIMBABWE NEWS

Please send

☐ 12 issues (1 Year) Z\$8,40 ☐ 6 issues (six months) Z\$4,20

☐ A subscription form for other countries than Zimbabwe to the undermentioned person:

Name:
(Please Print)

Address:
.....
.....

Signature

The Rates Include Postage and Handling.

I enclose my cheque/postal order for the amount indicated above.

Mail to

*The Sales Officer/Zimbabwe News
Jongwe Printing & Publishing Co.
14 Austin Road
Workington
HARARE
Zimbabwe*



**We speak
your
language**

ZIMBABWE INSURANCE BROKERS

Talk to them before you buy any insurance. Insurance is a complicated business and the Insurance brokers at Zimbabwe Insurance Brokers will guide and advise you on all aspects of insurance at no cost to YOU.

Your ZIB broker will negotiate the best deal for you; he doesn't deal with just one insurance company, but knows exactly what each company has to offer you. He can get existing policies changed to EXACTLY cover your needs.

Should you need to make a claim, your broker will be there to save you time and frustration. He will sort everything out and get your money for you quickly. He will become your insurance advisor.

If you would like more information about ZIB write to us, or better still phone us and talk to one of our friendly, professional brokers. He/she will set an appointment for you to come and chat to him/her about your insurance needs.

**P.O. Box 3413,
Harare.
Tel: 729651**

**P.O. Box 2286,
Bulawayo.
Tel: 78641/5**

'SA STEPPING UP ITS ATTACKS'

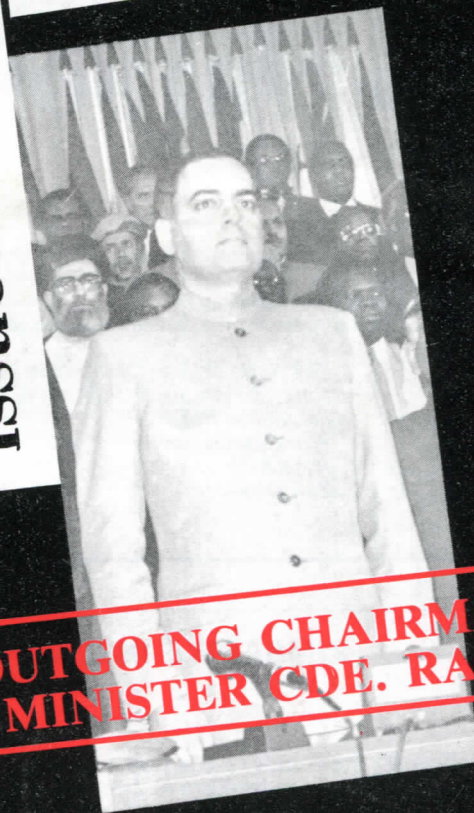
Third World debt is a crisis of mammoth proportions

Downfall of the Pretoria regime a matter of time, says Swapo boss

If US wants another Vietnam it will lose once again, says Ortega

ready to start immediately in constructive

Peace, arms and debt issues are tied—Castro
Peace, arms and debt issues are tied—Castro



THE OUTGOING CHAIRMAN INDIAN PRIME MINISTER CDE. RAJIV GANDHI

'SA oppressed will stand and fight, not run'

INDIA WORKING ON PLAN TO WARD OFF RACIST SANCTIONS

Gaddafi calls for anti-US army to fight imperialism

ANC asks NAM to help launch last stage of war

PAC asks NAM to increase aid for liberation struggle